FROM HOUSEHOLDS TO EMPIRES

Papers in Memory of Bradley J. Parker

JASON R. **KENNEDY** AND PATRICK **MULLINS** (EDS)

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Published by Sidestone Press, Leiden
www.sidestone.com

Lay-out & cover design: Sidestone Press
Photograph cover:
- Front: stock.adobe.com | P. Berezhnoy
- Back: 1st, 3rd and 4th: J. Kennedy. 2nd: P. Mullins.

ISBN 978-94-6426-195-0 (softcover)
ISBN 978-94-6426-196-7 (hardcover)
ISBN 978-94-6426-197-4 (PDF e-book)

DOI 10.59641/d38e92c5

Contents

For Janet and Tabitha.
Bradley's influence has enriched all our lives and your love and support allowed him to resonate with so many.

7

Bureaucrats and Binaries

Household Archaeologies of Indigenous Andean Leadership

Scotti M. Norman and Kylie E. Quave

Inspired by Bradley Parker's cross-cultural approach to households in imperial settings (Parker and Foster 2012; Boozer et al. 2020), we are interested in how social and kinship networks shape imperial and colonial processes at the level of domestic life in the Andean highlands. Parker championed a genre of research for developing material correlates through ethnographic and historical analogy and then testing hypotheses to see if the material expectations fit with the archaeological record (Parker 2011, 2020; Parker and McCool 2015). Here we follow his lead by pursuing insight into imperial and colonial tendencies through comparison of two Indigenous highland Andean cases, in which we critically assess multiple lines of household evidence within their historical contexts to develop testable hypotheses. Specifically, we look for archaeological signs of the highland kuraka (Quechua: ethnic lord/leader, local elite), and propose ways to identify the kuraka's domestic space. Our approach does not rely solely on checklists, but rather on culturally and historically contextualized differences and similarities within and between sites. We propose seeking the remains of local leadership and defining the particular shape of everyday life when serving in an Indigenous leadership role. Our interest is in the intercessors in local settlements in the pre-Spanish and Spanish colonial periods – the intermediate elites (*sensu* Elson and Covey 2006) who negotiated the demands of imperialism and their home communities.

Occupying a central role in Inca and Spanish conquest and ongoing governance, kurakas were Andean Native or ethnic lords responsible for balancing the needs of their communities with the demands of imperial authorities. They managed land and community members, serving bureaucratic functions to link kinship networks to the state (Andrien 2001; D'Altroy 2015; Rostworowski 1999, 2015; Salomon 1986; Stern 1993). They were thus critical intermediary figures who could mobilize the Andean peoples with whom they resided and yet, were simultaneously beholden to these communities. Despite their constrained power and sway in the Late Horizon (~1450-1532) and Early Colonial Period (1532-~1580s), there are only few archaeological studies which have explicitly considered the material correlates of kuraka households (Morris and Covey 2006;

In *From Households to Empires. Papers in Memory of Bradley J. Parker*, 2023. Jason R. Kennedy and Patrick Mullins, eds. Pp. 99-120, Leiden: Sidestone Press. DOI: 10.59641/d38e92c5.

Wernke 2013). Following Bradley Parker's influential work, we integrate data from household archaeology and archival documents and compare two sites – Cheqoq (Cuzco, Peru), and Iglesiachayoq (Ayacucho, Peru) – to emphasize the need for contextualizing social networks and roles of local leaders at the settlement level.

Bradley Parker's recent turn from Near Eastern to Andean households took a multi-pronged approach employing various scales of analysis – from microartifacts as residues of ancient domestic life (Parker and Sharratt 2017) to textual and regional settlement patterns that illuminate imperial political dynamics (Parker 2001) – in the mold of the last 50 years of household archaeology (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Battle-Baptiste 2011; Nash 2009; Parker and Foster 2012; Robin 2020). Ever the comparative anthropological archaeologist, Parker's corpus of work positioned imperial cases in contrast with each other, but also compared archaeological and historical evidence locally and diachronically (e.g., Parker and McCool 2015). Parker was a leader in the movement to reconstruct imperial repertoires cross-culturally, discerning the dynamics of institutions, cultures, and practices that characterize empires (Boozer et al. 2020).

As a component of his comparative exploration of imperialism, Parker was also interested in prestige economies (Parker and McCool 2015). As intermediate elites (Elson and Covey 2006), kurakas mediated between imperial officials and their home communities. They facilitated local needs and desires relative to imperial and colonial demands, while being rewarded through (ostensibly reciprocal) gifting. The archaeological record should be marked by the differential access local lords such as kurakas had to imperial and colonial prestige goods.[1] While this chapter utilizes Parker's work with prestige economies, we also offer a caveat: we are not proposing a way of differentiating the elite and the non-elite. Rather, we are looking for a frame in which to use intra-site study in comparison with other similar sites to identify likely candidates for local leadership. Instead of seeing colonial encounters as falsely dichotomized into local and non-local goods, or assuming that all kurakas lived alike, we find that the complexities of resistance, compliance, and acquiescence require us to assess a suite of cultural attributes in comparison (Silliman 2005). Humans have complicated and even contradictory reasons for accepting or acquiring material goods and binary ways of making meaning of those goods are limited in their usefulness (Ortner 1995). Using multiple lines of evidence, it should be possible to identify domestic contexts that share similar material traces of local bureaucratic and administrative leadership in connection with empires.

Kurakas in the Late Horizon and Early Colonial Period

As governors of Andean communities, kurakas held shifting and relational power statuses determined by their place within and relative to nested and scalar Andean social units (generally, moieties and *ayllus*, or descent groups).[2] Kurakas administered – and were beholden to – principles of reciprocity, and were often tasked with organizing tribute, work, rituals, and economic and labor practices. Those kurakas deemed successful were generous in their redistributive roles and protected the interests of the households and

1 See Cummins 1998 for a thorough discussion on the wills of Andean kurakas and their prestige objects.

2 Kurakas were usually men; however, there are examples (particularly after Spanish invasion) of women taking on these leadership roles (Garrett 2008; Graubart 2007; Ochoa and Guengerich 2021; Silverblatt 1987:16-17; Spalding 1984; Stern 1993).

communities that they represented. As intermediate elites, kurakas were the conduits that made colonizing governance efficient and effective; they were bestowed access to imperial goods to encourage compliance with the Inca agenda (Alconini 2008, D'Altroy 1987). Kurakas thus made possible the "imperial repertoires" Parker has theorized with his collaborators (Düring et al. 2020).

During the Late Intermediate Period (1000-1400 CE, hereafter LIP), kurakas primarily oversaw small, independent kin-based communities who would ally against foes in times of strife (Arkush 2017; Kohut 2016). In the subsequent Late Horizon (~1400-1532 CE), after the Inca began incorporating and subsuming smaller communities, local lords shifted to occupying intermediate positions between Inca authorities and their own communities (Stern 1993). In attempts to balance the demands and needs of both forces, kurakas became susceptible and vulnerable to ousting by either group.

With Francisco de Pizarro's arrival in Peru in 1532, the presence and power of Spanish interlocutors with Inca and Andean groups added a third variable to the role of kurakas and their relative authority (Alconini and Covey 2018; Covey 2020; MacCormack 1998; Malpass and Alconini 2010; Mumford 2012; Penry 2019). Some kurakas elected to ally with the Spanish against the Inca, determining these new Europeans to be a "lesser evil" than the Inca rulers who had controlled much of the Andes for the preceding century (Gose 2008; Hemming 2012 [1970]:344-47). Other kurakas remained focused on their communities and looked to other ayllus or ethnic groups with which to ally. The power of kurakas, then, was fully relational and shifting, depending on alliances, community responsibilities, and the demands of Inca or Spanish authorities (Albornoz 1990[1584]; Mumford 2012; Stern 1993). While the designation of an individual as a kuraka connotes a relative position of higher status within Andean communities, conceptualizing the roles and lived experiences of these ethnic lords requires nuance, multiple lines of data, and acknowledgement of the flexibility and variability of their positions within the Inca and Early Colonial Eras.

Archaeological Studies of Indigenous Leadership

One of Bradley Parker's major contributions to anthropological archaeology was his comparative analysis of imperial features using historically and ethnographically informed analogies, with a nuanced and sensitive analysis of material culture. Early investigations into local elite households generally looked for the "biggest" or "fanciest" household at a Late Horizon or Early Colonial Era site, or used a presence/absence tactic wherein the occurrence of Inca polygonal ashlar masonry definitively denoted an elite household. Though there is nothing inherently problematic with this approach, it is too simplistic a hypothesis, and must be tested with other lines of data. Additionally, a presence/absence approach to identifying elite Inca structures cannot account for changes between Inca- and Colonial-Era occupations, especially given the continued use of Inca sites throughout the Colonial era in addition to the continued roles of kurakas across the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Archaeological investigation into Late Horizon intermediate elites in the Andes is still in nascent stages, perhaps because continued domination of the interest in Inca leaders and their palaces overshadows exploration of more provincial settlements.[3]

3 However, see D'Altroy 1992 and Malpass and Alconini 2010 for forays into provincial power.

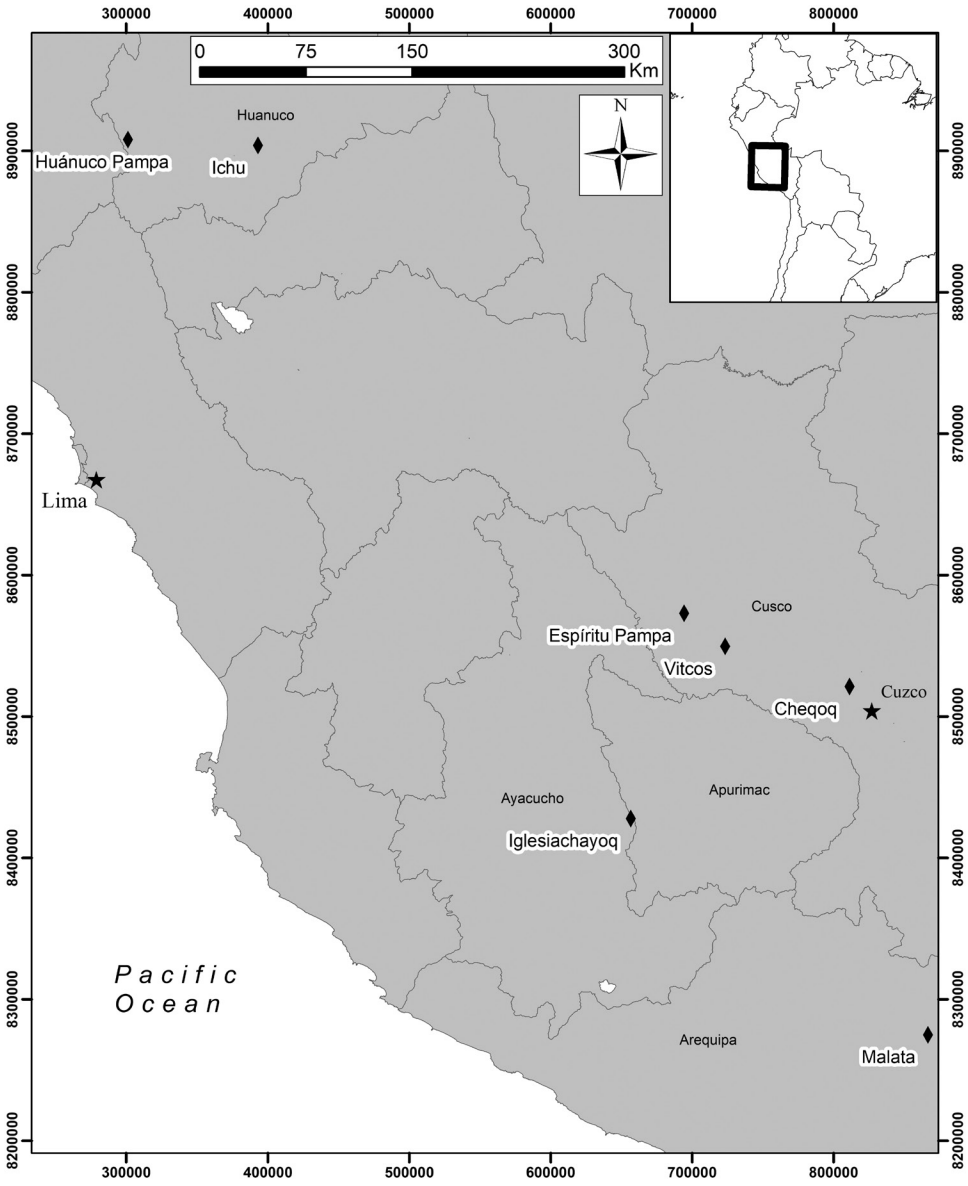


Fig. 7.1. Map of sites mentioned in text where kuraka households have been identified.

Similarly, historical archaeology in the Andes is a newly growing field in itself (Alvarez-Calderón 2016; Astuhuamán Gonzáles 2016; Chacaltana Cortez 2016; Hu 2021; Norman and Kennedy 2019; Quilter 2016; Murphy and Boza Cuadros 2016; Ramón 2016; Van Buren 2010; VanValkenburgh 2019; Wernke 2013). Scholars are still in the process of exploring the broad swaths of conquest and Spanish control (or lack thereof), and how Indigenous Andean communities shaped aspects of continued Spanish rule. However, there are some notable examples of investigation into kuraka households through both the Late Horizon and the Early Colonial Era (Fig. 7.1).

At the Inca provincial center Huánuco Pampa, Morris and colleagues have identified an Inca palace complex, which partially functioned as a space for "encounters between rulers

and those they govern" (Morris et al. 2011:79, Figure 1). They deliberately differentiate between elite administrators and "midlevel elites or commoners," suggesting that spatial location and degree of investment were integral aspects to establishing authority (Morris et al. 2011:80). Inca palaces are distinct from midlevel elite households, though both types of residences are often identified through their spatial location, accessibility, and the quality of masonry. Another attribute palaces and intermediate elite households share is the degree of "Incanization" or Inca style, as the transformation of local elites into consumers of Inca imperial culture was an essential tool of imperialism; Alconini calls them "agents of acculturation" (2008:66). Morris and his collaborators did, however, identify potential kuraka households (Morris and Thompson 1985). Compound IIIC-4 within Huánuco Pampa was elaborately constructed, requiring a high level of labor investment, yet differs from the compound identified as the royal palace (Morris and Covey 2006:143-44, Morris and Thompson 1985:63, 69). The compound is made up of 18 rectangular structures and one circular, with a large quantity of pottery (half of the decorated pottery is non-Inca decorated designs). Much of the pottery is not micaceous like Inca pottery, and most of the vessels are jars (typically associated with processing, storing, and serving chicha, as in feasting), as is common in high status domestic contexts (Covey and Morris 2006:143-44).

In excavations at Ichu, the major Chupaychu settlement in the hinterland of the administrative center of Huánuco Pampa, researchers identified one complex (Structures I and II) as a possible kuraka house (Morris and Covey 2006:141, Morris and Thompson 1985:138-142). Ichu was archivally linked to the senior leader of the Chupaychu in the 1540s (Helmer 1955-56[1549], cited in Morris and Covey 2006:140-41). Structures I and II were built with a technique distinct from that of Chupaychu towns that is similar to rectangular Inca architecture. Additionally, excavations within Structure II revealed at least four rooms with distinctive material types and which featured niches. An apparent kitchen contained dense domestic pottery and objects and features for preparing food, indicating the space was used for preparing food for feasting. A second room yielded high quantities of Inca imperial-style pottery, which is rarely found in other Chupaychu sites (Morris and Covey 2006:142).

Historical archaeologists of the Colonial Era extend the use of features characterizing both palaces and intermediate elite households to conceptualize leaders of all levels. For example, Wernke describes identification and excavation of a kuraka household at the sixteenth-century doctrinal site of Malata (2013; Colca Valley, Arequipa). Grounded primarily in spatial location and architectural style, Wernke convincingly uses several lines of data (domestic features, assemblages) to holistically demonstrate how Spanish authorities deliberately shifted pathways and movement throughout the settlement, directing foot traffic away from the Andean seat of power (the kuraka household) and toward the new Spanish center – the chapel and the priest's residence. Wernke's excavations of the kuraka house at Malata demonstrated evidence of the same types of artifacts as many of the other households at the site, but with different densities and distributions. While the domestic aspects of the kuraka house revealed identical daily activities as a non-kuraka household (cooking areas, ceramic cooking and storage vessels, etc.), the recovered artifacts were generally of a higher quality than the typical commoner households. Additionally, Wernke found evidence of prestige goods such as a Nueva Cadiz bead, indicating that those who resided in the kuraka household had access to these rarer status markers (Wernke 2013). Though Malata shifted from a provincial

Inca-era settlement in the Late Horizon to a Franciscan *doctrina* in the Early Colonial Era, Wernke's data suggest that the kuraka household was continuously occupied, and that the local leader incorporated Spanish-produced goods into his household.

The Inca and Early Colonial settlements in the Vilcabamba region of Cuzco present a different kind of historical context compared to Malata, as these were sites at which the neo-Inca resistance settled in the first years after the Spanish invasion. Vitcos or Vilcabamba was an Inca period elite site and early Colonial stronghold for Inca nobles. Espíritu Pampa, a more remote location, was also used by Inca nobles in the early Colonial years as a refuge. Both Inca towns were abandoned by 1571 and 1572, respectively (Bauer 2015b:4). Bauer and Aráoz's excavations in the *kallanka* and the double structures, elite buildings at Vitcos, yielded iron caret-head nails (temporal markers for the Colonial period [Flint and Flint 2003]) just outside of doorways, but no other non-Andean objects (Bauer and Aráoz 2015:38-41). Further into the jungle at Espíritu Pampa, a central compound referred to as "the palace" still shows European-style roof tiles on the surface (Bauer 2015a:78), while other buildings have revealed limited quantities of roof tiles and Building 5 has been found with nearly 1000 roof tile fragments (Fonseca and Bauer 2015:125). Fonseca and Bauer conclude Spanish roof tiles were treated as decorative or status elements at this elite neo-Inca site. Caret-head iron nails were found in various buildings around Espíritu Pampa, as well as chevron glass trade beads in Building 9 (Fonseca and Bauer 2015). The remains at Vilcabamba demonstrate that, even while intermediate elites and nobles may have rejected Spanish rule, they did not reject Spanish goods. With the variation in each of these broad categories, we thus suggest that site-contingent analysis of spaces can elucidate locations of local leadership, as opposed to a one-size-fits-all model of presence/absence in specific traits.

Proposed Archaeological Material Correlates of Indigenous Leadership

Building on Bradley Parker's work with material correlates (Parker 2011, 2020; Parker and McCool 2015), we reviewed historical descriptions of the lives and roles of highland kurakas and examined some archaeological contexts that seem to correspond with kuraka households. We subsequently propose a combination of material elements that should be evaluated according to their regional (both environmental and cultural) and historical contexts.

Spatial Location and Qualitative Analysis of Masonry

The kuraka house should be found in a central location at the site with clear visibility over communal spaces for collective gathering. The masonry should show a high degree of investment relative to other structures at the same site and *may* contain evidence of Inca masonry *if* it was constructed during the Late Horizon. This criterion is not remarkable in and of itself, and we offer that the spatial location or masonry style *alone* does not provide incontrovertible evidence of a kuraka household. These structures could also be palaces, administrative complexes, kallankas (public halls), churches, or cleric residences. In the Colonial Period, this could materialize as adjacency to a church, as churches were also often centrally located.[4]

4 The co-occurence of kuraka households and churches at some sites may indicate Spanish reutilization or usurpation of important Andean places in the landscape.

Domestic Features

Kuraka households are principally living spaces, and the assemblages and excavated features should reflect the particular daily activities of people who inhabited these spaces. Domestic features like hearths – especially when paired with evidence of atypical faunal and paleoethnobotanical remains – can provide insight into diet and identity, particularly since we know that specific goods were preferred by Andean or Spanish individuals (and their elites) in the Early Colonial Period (deFrance 2003, 2020; Kennedy and VanValkenburgh 2016). Additionally, evidence of these domestic features can help differentiate households from structures with other functions – while a kallanka may have evidence of mass feasting (Morris and Covey 2006) or a church may have evidence of burials and an altar (Norman 2019), a kuraka household should have neither of these features.

Diagnostic Artifacts or Prestige Items

Non-Andean ("diagnostic") artifacts and prestige items should be found in kuraka households. These objects can demonstrate collaboration with or access to authorities or individuals with direct linkages to elite imperial and colonial exchange networks. In all the examples discussed above, the excavated assemblages in kuraka households each had at least one component whose origin or style is in sixteenth-century Spain. These temporal markers – iron caret-head nails (Deagan 2002; Flint and Flint 2003), Nueva Cadiz beads (Little 2010), or Spanish roof tiles (Acevedo 1986) – indicate occupation of these households through the conquest.

Quality, Form, and Style of Ceramic Assemblages

Kuraka households should contain a variety of ceramic vessels which are finer than other domestic contexts at the same site and serve commensal functions. We anticipate finding higher percentages of polychrome or decorated sherds and ware types that incorporate high-quality or unique local non-Inca or non-Spanish attributes. Since kurakas were responsible for organizing feasts or celebrations (Murra 1960), the ceramic assemblages in their households ought to indicate feasting and serving in addition to more utilitarian, undecorated vessels where there is evidence for in-house management of food preparation. Decorated vessels for chicha consumption and ceremonial imbibing are key indicators in both the Inca (Bray 2003) and Early Colonial Periods (Cummins 2002).

Faunal Assemblages

Kurakas ostensibly controlled food access and oversaw commensal politics (Jennings and Duke 2018). The presence of relatively more diverse faunal taxa for consumption, as well as access to exotic foods (especially hunted or non-local species in the Inca period and non-Andean species in the Early Colonial Period) are signs of elevated status and increased access like we would expect for a kuraka household. In some cases, no differences have been found between possible kuraka households and others (e.g., deFrance et al. 2016), yet coastal Colonial settlements in particular demonstrate major differences (Kennedy and VanValkenburgh 2016; Kennedy et al. 2019). Another trend in faunal remains resulting from competition between kurakas seems to be greater diversity of faunal foodstuffs, though this is not linked to particular households at this time (VanValkenburgh et al. 2020). The presence of guinea pigs in likely kuraka households may be one indicator of Indigenous identity, as elite Spaniards largely rejected consumption of guinea pigs in the Early Colonial Era (deFrance 2020).

Domestic Spaces of Indigenous Leadership

Though the profile of a kuraka household varies between sites, the above components can be employed in identifying strong candidates for elite leaders' households and should be considered in combination to qualitatively assess findings from individual sites (Table 1). While there may be a number of households in which the assemblages demonstrate access to prestige goods or polychrome ceramics, not all households will also be centrally located, and not all structures will have domestic features. Kurakas held diverse statuses: their social positions varied according to how far up the imperial power structure they administered, but also according to local environmental and cultural conditions, and temporal differences within and between periods. We review two cases where we believe, based on intra-site and inter-site comparison, that we have identified likely kuraka households.

Indigenous Leadership at Cheqoq, Maras Plain, Cuzco

The site of Cheqoq, located 26 aerial km northwest of the Inca capital city Cuzco, was a 22-ha agropastoral village occupied in the late Inca and early Colonial periods (Quave 2012). The site was made up of a large imperial storehouse complex (8 ha) and domestic terraces (14 ha), as well as a small imperial pottery workshop and camelid corrals. According to the archival record – and supported by our excavations (Quave et al. 2013; Hu and Quave 2020:5) – about 400 permanent retainer laborers linked to a noble faction resided there during Inca times (Glave 2017); the site was part of a larger network of settlements and resources linked to the Yucay royal estate holdings of the ruler Wayna Qhapaq and descendants (see also Covey, this volume). These retainers specialized in quarrying the site's andesite, producing in the nearby salt pans, as well as making pottery (Quave 2017).

In the 1594-95 Maras survey of land tenure (*repartición de tierras*[5]), the inspector Juan de Salas y Valdez reported the name of a *cacique* (the Taíno term borrowed by Spanish administrators to describe indigenous leaders, including kurakas) for Ayllu Checoc, who was named Francisco Seque (or Siqui) (ARC 1594-1595, L.1, f.3). While the average household in Ayllu Checoc and Ayllu Saño – the combined ayllus likely associated with the archaeological site – had 3.4 topos of land to farm (Covey and Quave 2017: Table 4), the cacique Francisco Seque was recorded to have 8 topos.[6] There is at least one other individual named "Don" in Ayllu Checoc who may have also played a bureaucratic role in the settlement – Don Luis Topa Yupanqui. He had access to 8 topos like Francisco Seque (ARC 1594-1595, L.1, f.3). Perhaps Seque and Topa Yupanqui were Indigenous leaders at the Cheqoq settlement – as evidenced by their membership in Ayllu Checoc. Based on names alone, Topa Yupanqui may have been descended from an Inca noble lineage.

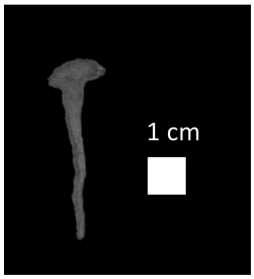
From among horizontal excavations on six domestic terraces, which we consider to be distinct household units, one area in particular stood out for its location, structure, and assemblage (Quave 2012: Table 10.1) (Fig. 7.2). Area Q was one of the largest domestic terraces delineated in the household sector of the site. While other domestic architecture at Cheqoq consisted of single, irregular rooms, Area Q comprises at least two rectangular structures arranged as an Inca-style patio group (Gasparini and Margolies 1980), with

5 This document was provided thanks to R. Alan Covey and transcribed by Donato Amado Gonzáles.

6 "Y a Francisco Siqui principal de los indios de Checoc dos topos de maíz y 6 de trigo" (ARC 1594-1595, L.1, f.3).

Site	Location of Structure	Masonry and Form	Prestige Goods	Domestic Features	Ceramic (vessel form and type)	Ceramic (decorated)	Faunal
Cheqoq	Center of site, highest occupied terrace, between stone quarry and imperial-style pottery workshop	Rectangular structures as patio group, ashlar blocks and double-faced stone walls, white clay floor	One caret-head iron nail; rare seashell and metals, coca	Patio space; subfloor offering with unusual plant foods	Higher proportions of serving vessels and chicha jars than other areas (N = 156): 30% chicha jars and keros (n = 47), 51% other serving vessels (n = 79), 19% cooking vessels (n = 30)	Highest presence mayolica; Higher proportions decorated and imperial: all decorated 96% (n = 1278/1327); Inca imperial decorated 81% (1070/1327) (counts exclude utilitarian wares)	Butchering activity; lowland exotic fauna (peccary)
Iglesiachayoq	Center of site, adjacent but contrasting Spanish church	Local semi-worked fieldstones with rough mortar, cut-stone masonry lining access	One iron caret-head nail	Cooking area in southwest corner	Dominant vessel types cooking wares (n = 36/141 or 25.5%), feasting wares (n = 32/141 or 22.7%), storage wares (n = 22/141, or 15.6%)	12% (n = 200/1574 sherds) decorated. **Not** the highest proportion of decorated sherds (found in the church and a feasting prep area adjacent to the church)	Camelid, perisso-dactyla, butchering activity
Huánuco Pampa (Compound IIIC-4) (Morris and Covey 2006; Morris and Thompson 1985:63, 69)	Along side of central plaza	19 structures in a *kancha* (enclosed) group with patio group within; more complex and larger than other non-palace compounds with standardized rectangular forms		Patio space	Low proportion of mica-tempered (an Inca method) pottery: 17.1% (n = 431/2520); but vessel forms are Inca types and similar to palace with slightly less variety of forms (N = 2269): jars 59.4% (n = 1348), cooking pots 17.6% (n = 400), bowls/plates 20.2% (n = 459)	More non-Inca decorated sherds than palace: 49.2% (n = 30/61); Inca chicha jar forms decorated often in non-Inca style	
Ichu (Structures I and II) (Morris and Covey 2006; Morris and Thompson 1985)	On highest ridge	Fieldstone and mortar, but better formed and selected; multiple rooms; Inca-inspired niches in interior; long, rectangular form atypical for Chupaychu houses		Cooking area with abundant remains		Presence of Inca polychromes, unlike other Chupaychu villages, but also local styles	
Malata (all excavation data from Wernke 2013; faunal data from DeFrance et al. 2016)	Adjacent to single entrance to colonial plaza, visibility over rest of doctrina, compound of two structures	Only gabled structure	Two gaming pieces made of tuff; Nueva Cadiz bead	Hearth feature with ash, animal bone, plant remains; flagstone platform	42% serving vessels, 34% aribalos, 24% cooking vessels in one structure, 69% serving vessels, 6% aribalos, 25% cooking vessels in the other	96% Late Horizon wares, 4% Early Colonial wares, negligible LIP wares	All Andean fauna, no evidence of European foodstuffs

Table 7.1. Material indicators of kuraka households in the Andean highlands.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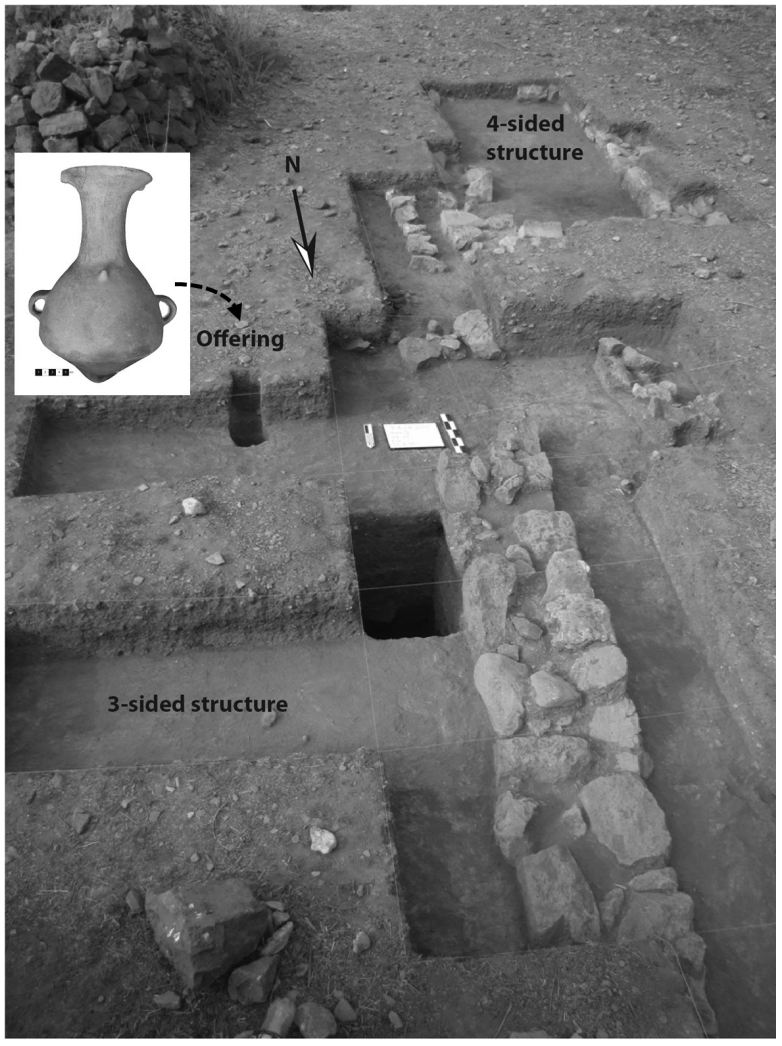
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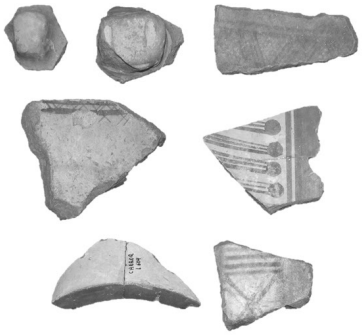

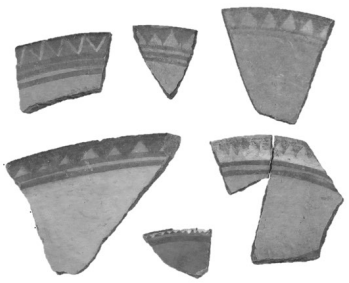

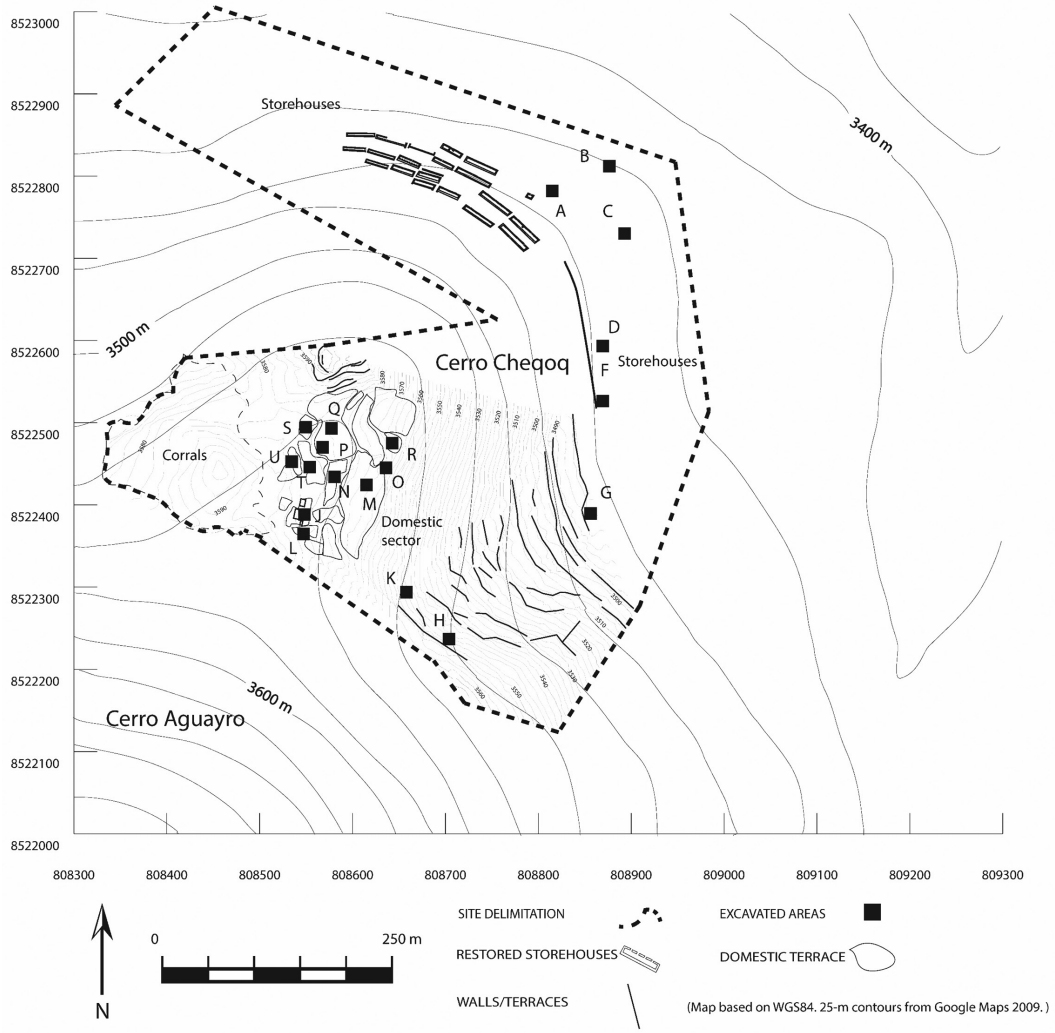

Fig. 7.2. Cheqoq Area Q, a potential kuraka household: (clockwise from top left) caret-head nail, overall photo of Inca-Colonial level showing subfloor offering and urpu from offering, map of excavated areas, fragments of Inca imperial-style serving and chicha vessels.

wide, double-faced stone walls and well-defined ashlar cornerstones, as well as a white clay floor. With at least 66 m^2 of interior space, it was the largest interior domestic space yet identified at Cheqoq.

Among the artifacts recovered were lead scraps and an iron caret-head nail, more imperial-style vessels than other households and a greater proportion of non-Inca decorated vessels than other households.[7] There was also a high proportion of serving vessels to cooking vessels, indicating a focus on feasting and commensality. Area Q yielded unusual faunal (peccary) and macrobotanical remains (maize, which was uncommon, as well as coca seeds, and the condiment *muña*), as well as the densest quantity of butchering tools, perhaps suggesting more meat butchery, greater access to meat, and/or control over meat portioning.

There were also roof tiles in the finds in Area Q (24 out of the 40 roof tile fragments identified in the domestic areas, while three other domestic areas yielded between one to 13 fragments) and nine mayolica fragments (another temporal marker for the Colonial period; there were 10 total mayolica fragments in other domestic areas). One of the two excavated structures in Area Q presented a subfloor offering of an imitation Inca chicha-serving jar (narrow-mouth jar or *urpu*), which was hastily produced in a way only approximating the Inca style. It was interred with burnt bone; tiny *Spondylus* fragments; charred coca seeds, quinoa/kiwicha, maize kernels, and *Fabaceae* seeds; and flakes of quartz mixed with carbon and burnt earth. Area Q appears to be a household of higher status situated in the middle of the major economic activities of the site but was perhaps not ethnically Cuzco-Inca. This household was not the most provisioned in every category, but the combination of indicators of household makeup lead us to identify this one as the best candidate for a kuraka. This patio group was likely occupied into the early Colonial period and continued to have greater access to imperial-controlled goods, as evidenced by the European artifacts.

Indigenous Leadership at Iglesiachayoq, Chicha-Soras Valley, Ayacucho

Iglesiachayoq, known as Chicha in the Early Colonial Era (Norman 2019), is a ~60ha residential site which was founded in the Late Horizon and occupied until its population was reduced in the 1570s (Mallco 2013; Meddens and Schreiber 2010; Norman 2019). The site comprises approximately 90 structures clustered throughout three sectors, and the demographic organization likely included a majority of Soras individuals (the local Indigenous ethnic group), a small population of Inca officials, and occasionally, itinerant traveling Spanish priests. Iglesiachayoq is perhaps most famously known for being a center of the Andean revitalization movement known as *Taki Onqoy* (Quechua: dancing/singing sickness), where Andean preachers advocated for the rejection of the Catholic God in favor of a return to pre-conquest *huaca* veneration (Albornoz 1990[1584]; Molina 2010; Mumford 1998; Norman 2019). As part of the Spanish response to Taki Onqoy, the priest Cristóbal de Albornoz toured what is today Ayacucho, identifying the towns he visited, people he punished, and huacas he destroyed (Albornoz 1990[1584]). In his visit to

7 While Cheqoq has much higher proportions of Inca imperial pottery than other heartland villages (Quave and Covey 2015), it is also the site of an imperial-style ceramic workshop, which has affected the availability of the type there. However, Area Q was among the highest proportions of prestige pottery within the site.

Iglesiachayoq, Albornoz identifies the kuraka as Joan Hachi and names 12 other Andeans punished for their participation in Taki Onqoy (Albornoz 1990 [1584]). Since Albornoz implicates Hachi as part of the Taki Onqoy movement, we would expect to find a mixture of Inca, Spanish, and local (Soras) artifacts, thus reflecting the kuraka's overlapping role in all three spheres.

Iglesiachayoq is visually dominated by two large structures. First, a 35 × 9m rectangular structure originally hypothesized to be a kallanka (Mallco 2013) was actually constructed and utilized as a Spanish church (Norman 2021). The second structure was a 14 × 11 m quadrangular household with rounded corners (Fig. 7.3). The accessway to this structure is lined with Inca cut-stone masonry and was originally hypothesized to be a palace or ritual space rather than a domestic household (Mallco 2013). When compared with excavation of other domestic households at Iglesiachayoq, this structure was not the only one to have prestige goods, nor did it have the highest proportion of decorated/finer ceramics. The assemblage from this structure included one caret-head nail (total site wide n = 2), features indicating cooking and food preparation (including cut marks on animal bones), and a mixture of some Inca polychrome wares in conjunction with regional cooking wares, including two Chicha-style animal lugs (Meddens and Vivanco Pomacanchari 2018; Table 1). The nail was found in context with red-slipped Inca polychrome and Chicha-style wares indicating the transconquest usage of these vessels and this structure.

Though the kuraka house at Iglesiachayoq was large and had impressive masonry and good visibility over the site, it did not have an elevated number of prestige goods, nor was the ceramic assemblage consistently higher in quality than those assemblages from other structures. In the southwest corner, we found a higher density of ceramic, lithic, and animal bone, suggesting it may have been a food cooking or preparation area. Faunal remains were intermingled and consisted of predominantly camelid, supporting a maintenance of Andean foodways, along with rarer European fauna (one possible *Bos taurus* fragment). In comparison with the findings from the other excavated households at Iglesiachayoq, this structure did not have the "richest" assemblage of all the households. However, the historical details regarding Joan Hachi, the mixed goods from several temporal horizons, and the central location of the structure support an interpretation of continued domestic occupation over time and access to rarer material goods.

Toward an Integrated Model of Kuraka Archaeology in the Late Horizon and Early Colonial Era

This is not just a study about kurakas in the Andean highlands. Rather, we are advocating for moving beyond a checklist approach to signs of imperial-colonial and local power. There are no easy binaries and classifications to be found among these settlements. To do so is to flatten lived experiences and to privilege a few visibly preserved signifiers such as trapezoidal niches and chicha jars over the residues of localized daily life for these intermediate elites who served between state and subject. As Bradley Parker has argued, and as Bleda Düring also takes up in this volume, elites are reproduced through daily practices under empire; it is those practices that must be reconstructed in more holistic and locally situated ways.

We suggest that highland kuraka households can be identified qualitatively through site-specific comparisons of at least five lines of evidence: spatial location and degree of investment in structure and architectural style, domestic features and organization,

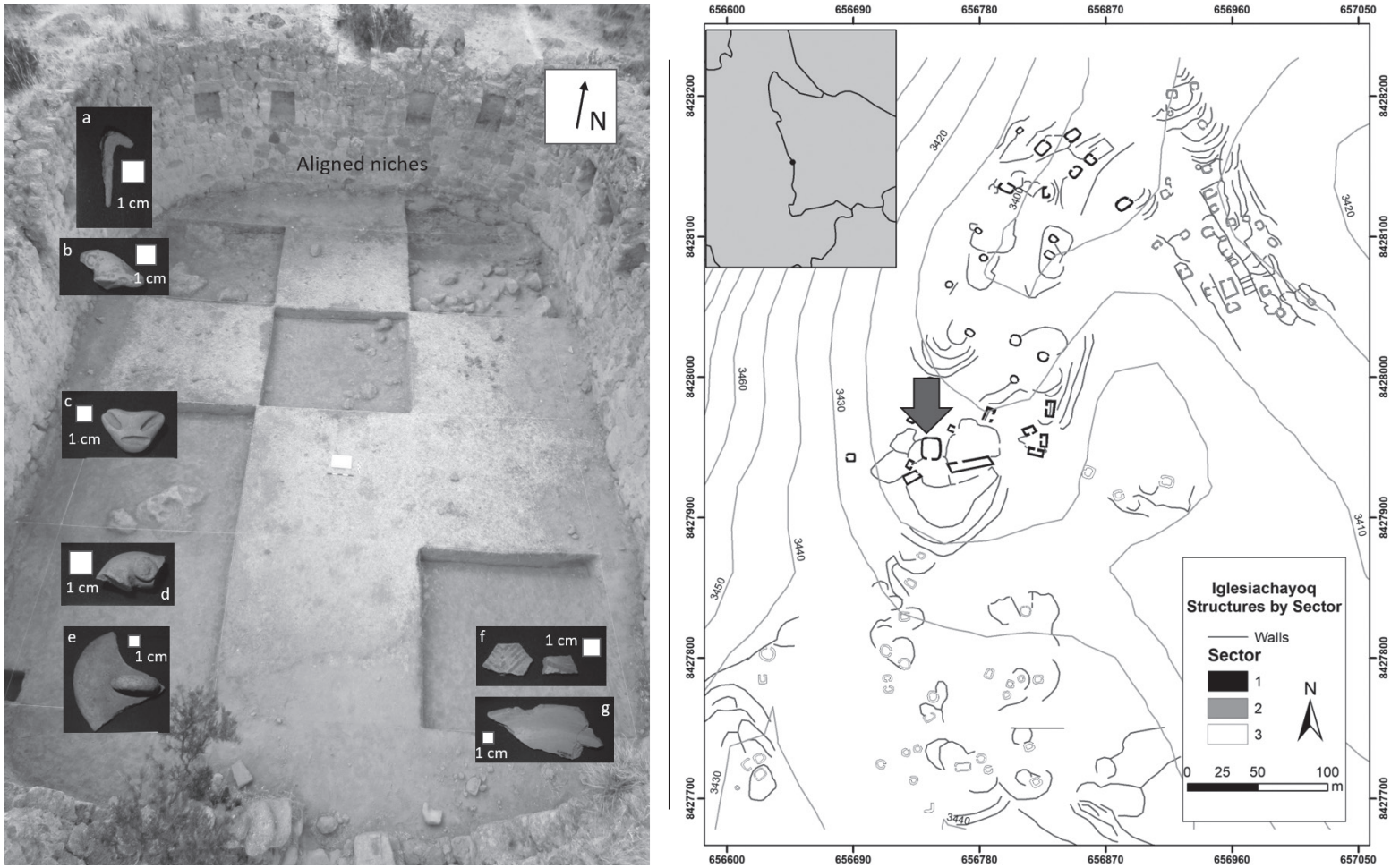

Fig. 7.3. Left: Interior excavations of the kuraka house at Iglesiachayoq with notable artifacts from their spatial *in situ* locations (a. iron caret-head nail, b. Chicha-style animal lug, c. Inca-style nub from an aríbalo, d. second Chicha-style animal lug, e. top view of a vessel lid, f. small fragments of Inca fineline ceramic, g. urpu/narrow-mouth jar rim sherd. Right: site map of Iglesiachayoq with location of kuraka house indicated by gray arrow.

imported and prestige items, ceramic assemblage form and style, and faunal assemblages. The specific indicators referenced for each of the sites are dependent on local conditions and must be evaluated against households in their respective settlements and nearby comparable communities. Though we have included a table listing material evidence types cross-tabulated by site (Table 1), we are suggesting approaches beyond the checklist alone, in which comparisons are sensitive to intra-site and inter-site patterns, and material remains are indexed according to evidence from the ethnohistoric record regarding the nature of each site.

Inspired by Parker's culturally and historically sensitive development of material expectations to be tested through archaeological evidence, we propose an approach for identifying highland kuraka households. Since the role of kuraka operated at multiple scales within the Inca empire and Spanish colonial world, often shifting, ambiguous, or tenuous, we embrace a flexible approach which can account for distinctions between sites rather than one which requires all identifications of kuraka to adhere to a strict list of characteristics. Beyond identifying where kurakas resided, we are also interested in how this type of perspective can move away from false dichotomies and categories that do not honor Indigenous peoples' lived experiences in imperial and colonial movements. The division between Inca and Early Colonial period domestic life is not one that can be readily identified archaeologically, nor can we always de-couple the material remains of those with more or less social power (or even trust that that does not change through the violent disruptions to daily life that would have occurred under imperial conquest). Because kurakas sit in a liminal status, there must be flexible approaches to identifying their households. And this is essential to the broader picture of studying colonialism so that we may reconstruct how local leaders were conduits between colonizer and colonized.

Acknowledgements

Quave's research was supported by the National Science Foundation (Dissertation Improvement Grant BCS-938435), the National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration (Young Explorers Grant 8691-09), the Fulbright Institute for International Education, and Southern Methodist University. Excavations were permitted by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura-Cusco (Resolución Nacional 1579/INC, 2010). Thanks are due to Lic. René Pilco V. and Lic. Stephanie Pierce T. for their codirectorship, as well as the community of Maras Ayllu, particularly the Lucana Morales family. Norman's research was supported by a Wenner-Gren Dissertation Fieldwork Grand, a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship, and several Summer Research Awards through Vanderbilt University. Thanks to codirector Lic. Stephanie Peña del Castillo, the members of the Proyecto Arqueológico del Taki Onqoy, and the communities of Chicha and Larcay.

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