

## Revising the Zonal Complementarity Model in the Eastern Slopes of the Cumbres Calchaquíes: Contributions from Household Archaeology (Tucumán, Northwest Argentina)

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### Abstract

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The aim of this work is to communicate the archaeological data obtained in the identification and material analyses of archaeological sites from the Regional Developments Period (10<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> century AD) on the eastern slopes of the Cumbres Calchaquíes (Northwestern Argentina). Advances in the research carried out in Anfama valley led to the delimitation of three areas of human activity, which are presented and characterized schematically in this paper. We propose to draw on this new information to think about the zonal complementarity model applied to northwest Argentina, the social dynamics of groups settled in the Calchaquí region during the second Millennium and their relation with the surrounding space through the analysis of domestic space.

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**Keywords:** Cumbres Calchaquíes; Site Survey; Regional Developments Period; Santamariano style; Domestic space.

### 1. Introduction

The Regional Developments Period (RDP), Late Period or Late Intermediate Period (*ca.* 1000-1475 AD) has traditionally been characterized as a phase of increasing social and political complexity following the early village societies established in Northwest Argentina (Núñez Regueiro, 1974). In the case of the Cumbres Calchaquíes, in the eastern borders of the South Andes, it was proposed that at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD human groups settled in the Yocavil valley would have started to change their sociopolitical organization and to develop a new one characterized by spatial and social hierarchies, differential access to goods, specialized production of craft and food and emergence of a regional style, the *Santamariano* (Cornell, 1991; Nastri, 1999; Tarragó, 1987, 1995, 2011; Tarragó, González and Nastri, 1997; Palamarczuk, 2002; Piñeiro, 1996; Schwartz 1991; among others). As the result of this process, the Yocavil elites would have favored an increase in the productive foundations to face demographic and environmental pressure, not only through the intensification of agriculture and herding, but also through the effective colonization of other ecological floors in the east of Tucumán, through the passage of Abra del Infiernillo (Tarragó, 1995, Gómez Augier & Caria, 2012).

These narratives proved to be fruitful to think about the socio-political dynamics of human groups settled in the region, but they have scarcely been tested on the eastern side of the Cumbres Calchaquíes, where colonies were supposed to be settled. Still now, there are few researches that have studied the materiality of the human settlements of the second Millennium in the eastern piedmont of the Cumbres Calchaquíes within an integral and systematic framework (Berberían & Soria, 1972; Berberían, García Azcárate & Caillou, 1977; Esparrica, 1999; González & Núñez Regueiro, 1960; Heredia, 1974; Núñez Regueiro & Tartusi, 1987; Tartusi & Núñez Regueiro, 2003).

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Only recently this trend has begun to be reversed, in an attempt to restore historicity to the region, by testing the models traditionally proposed to explain the nature of human groups during the RDP (Corbalán, 2008; Manasse, 2007, 2011, 2014; Páez, 2012).

In this work we communicate the results of archaeological surveys, mappings and excavations carried out in the Anfama valley (Tucumán province, Northwest Argentina), where we have identified three sites built and inhabited during the second Millennium of the Era. In order to contribute to the discussion about the nature of the RDP occupations in the eastern slopes of the Calchaquíes Valleys, we applied theoretical tools of Household Archaeology because of their usefulness to testing zonal complementarity models in the Andes (Aldenderfer & Stanish, 1993; Nash, 2009; Nielsen, 2001; Stanish, 1989). Consequently, we assembled the study of different materialities to approach to the configuration of domestic spaces at different and nested scales: cultural landscape, domestic architecture and daily materiality.

It is in the domestic sphere where the principles that structure the social world are produced and reproduced (Allison, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977) and it is there where one can visualize the way in which ethnic identities are created and imposed through the routines of daily practice (Wilkie, 2006; Pluckhahn, 2010). Therefore, it is in domestic spaces where one can visualize how identification patterns are formulated, how are they maintained or modified, and also how (or to what extent) they appropriate other people's traditions (Wilkie, 2000).

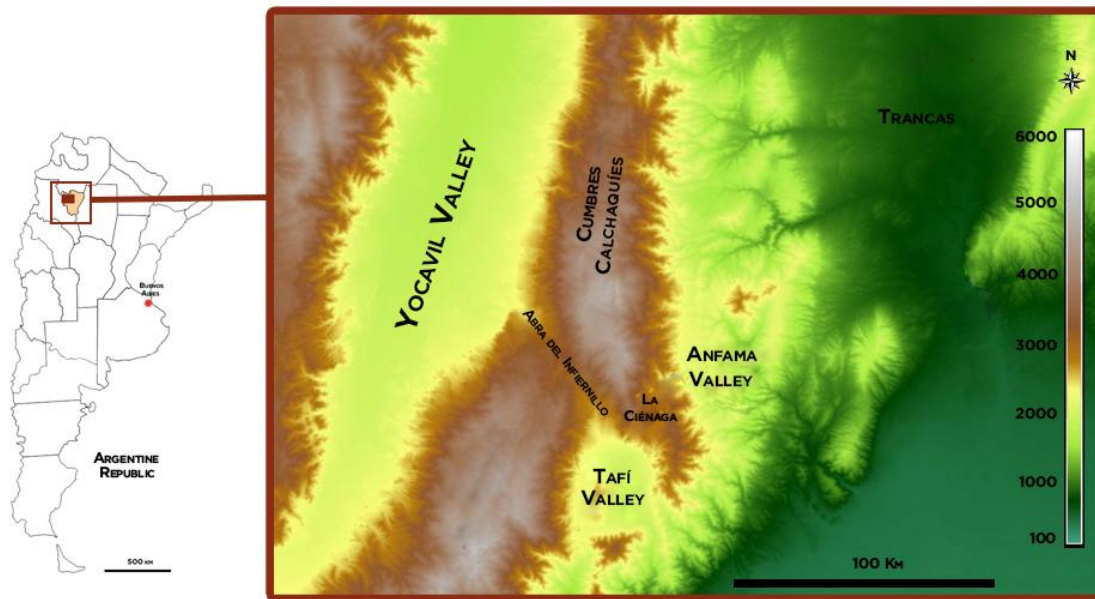
This approach allows one to move away from "artifact-based" visions, which tend to ignore the fundamental fact that objects are exchanged and their circulation does not necessarily have to respond to strategies of direct complementarity (Aldenderfer & Stanish, 1993). In addition, it allows us to overcome the normative bias that relates material culture to particular historical societies (Thomas, 1996; Hodder, 2004), often lacking controls of the recovery contexts (Stanish, 1989) or without critical revision of the links between those elements (Owen, 2005).

Although the researches are still in the initial stages, we consider that household approach is a productive way to address the nature of the RDP occupations in the Anfama valley because it is in this instance where a series of durable dispositions organizes and reproduces the social world (Bourdieu 1977). The domestic space shows the process by which the patterns of material culture are assimilated and reproduced, which is even more important in pre-industrial societies, where the place where it is usually carried out is the same domestic setting, through observation and emulation (Dietler & Herbich, 1998).

We propose that in Anfama during the RDP, the groups settled in the region maintained some local principles of use of space and *ways of doing* that characterized the first Millennium occupations, although they appropriate new regional parameters in the production and consume of ceramics. In fact, we observed that the RDP archaeological sites reproduce the dispersed and symmetrical settlement pattern of previous moments (see López Lillo & Salazar, 2015; Salazar et. al., 2016; Salazar & Molar, 2017) and that they also appear to maintain some local pottery techniques (see Franco, 2019). Those elements allowed us to think in the importance of domestic spaces for the construction of social relations and exchange networks in a regional scale.

### **The case study**

The Anfama valley is located on the eastern slopes of the Cumbres Calchaquíes, department of Tafi Viejo, northwest of the province of Tucumán (Argentine Republic) (Figure 1). It has an altitude that varies between 1300-3000 meters above sea level and it is part of the ecoregion of the Yungas. The altitudinal belt in which Anfama is located comprises the highest floor of the Yungas, the montane forest, which shows the greatest structural heterogeneity of the ecoregion. It has a very sharp topography, so the different exposure to the slopes is reflected in a varied vegetation and fauna (Ramos, 1999).



**Figure 1. Regional map.**

There are few studies in the area, which had not been object of systematic archaeological research. Indeed, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Adán Quiroga explored the zone and described the existence of quadrangular structures with poor conservation, as well as other oval enclosures associated with two "menhirs", although he did not mention other associated materials (Quiroga, 1899). Long after this, in 1980, Beatriz Cremonte conducted a series of surveys for comparative purposes in Las Cañaditas, an archaeological site composed of orthogonal structures with flat blocks or aligned slabs (Cremonte, 1996). Only in recent years, systematic researches have been started in the area, mainly focused on the different processes linked to the conformation of early villages in the first Millennium of the Christian Era, without any line of study concerning problems related to the RDP and its materiality in the area.

## **2. Landscapes and time in Anfama during the second Millennium AD**

Traditionally, the RDP in Northwest Argentina has been associated with large demographic centers with massive architecture, located in high hills or highlands near the flat lands of the bottom of the valleys, being easily recognizable in the landscape. In contrast, little attention has been paid to small settlements, structures, features or isolated artifacts. As Nielsen, Ávalos & Menacho (2000) argue, this fact has prevented to consolidate a realistic characterization of the archaeological record and has contributed to disregard important information about the spatial organization of societies in the past.

The main problem to study the RDP of the Cumbres Calchaquíes is the low visibility of the archaeological remains. In fact, there are few archaeological settlements recognized in the eastern piedmont. This can be explained by different causes, among which there are the absence of classic references about the thematic, the dense vegetation that prevents the surface recognition of archaeological sites, the difficulties of access in some wet and forested areas and the reproduction of presuppositions about marginality and underdevelopment of those ecological areas. Nevertheless, the scarce evidence of occupations in the eastern slopes of Cumbres Calchaquíes, is not equal to inexistence of them. It could be explained to different reasons, such as the difference in intensity, scale and duration of the settlements, the visibility defined by the characteristics of cultural and natural dynamics of sites formation and even because of the scientific efforts to identify them. Nevertheless, there have not been systematic attempts to overcome those problems and to develop specific methodologies of survey.

So as to, one of the first activities of this work was the implementation of different methodological procedures that would allow us to increase data on RDP occupations. This aim required alternative forms of data collection, as well as defining the most appropriate contexts for application of each of them. Those activities combined oral interviews with the local Diaguita community members and archaeological interventions.

## 2.1 Oral data and exploratory test pits

### 3.1.1 Ethnographic research.

Around Chocobar family's home, we identified different traces of human past activities (i.e. mortars, pottery, lithic artefacts, etc.). From these signs, we carried out different interviews with the members of the families, in order to obtain data about the origin of materials and possible locations of archaeological structures. We recovered information about two sectors of the household where large *tinajones* (vessels) and *pucos* (little bowls) "with linear painted drawings" (similar to *Santamariano* pottery) had been discovered. Consequently, we defined the site Casa Rudi 1 (CR1), where we carry out two trial pits (Piedra Trial Pit and Horno Trial Pit) and an excavation area that covered 16 sq. m (Vázquez Fiorani & Salazar 2018).

### 3.1.2 Exploratory test pits

In the North sector of the fluvial terrace where CR1 is located, we defined the site Casa Rudi 2 (CR2) through a series of test pits. The aim of this activity was to identify signs of pre-Hispanic human activity (architectural features, pottery, lithic materials, etc.) not visible in surface due to the high fluvial deposition.

Through these interventions we recovered a material assemblage composed of debris and ceramic fragments of different typologies, all clearly assignable to the RDP (i.e. *Santamariano* Bicolor, *Yocavil* Polychrome, Coarse brushed). We could also identify a small context composed of an architectural feature and abundant vegetal charcoal.

## 3.2 Pedestrian surveys

In second place, we carried out pedestrian surveys to recognize archaeological sites with visible architecture. In some cases, we complemented this task with others interventions to corroborate the chronology of the sites.

### 3.2.1 Casa Rudi 3 (CR3)

On the margins of the Anfama river, a series of surveys was carried out with the objective of identifying grinding surfaces, some of which had already been indicated by the inhabitants of the area. Six multiple grinding areas were recognized. They are groups of several mortars carved in large natural granite outcrops. Their dimensions range from two to four meters long and in all cases, they have multiple grinding units (from two to 20 cavities approximately). The mouth forms are exclusively circular. Longitudinally the cavities have a cylindrical or sub-cylindrical shape with a slightly curved bottom. In some cases, they have complementary morphological features but in general they present a simple form. The depths observed in the sample indicate that they were grinding surfaces in activity, even recording some that suggest that they were in process of being carved.

### 3.2.2 La Laguna

A complex of rectangular structures was recorded on the top of a hill. This archaeological site, named La Laguna, is located in a neuralgic and unavoidable point of the informal footpath (an old and traditional path, probably of pre-colonial origin) that connects the Anfama and Tafi valleys through La Ciénaga and it also have a strategic view of the river terraces, where other settlements were identified.

The surveying activities undertaken were difficult, due to the dense vegetation of the area that defines a very low visibility (Figure 2c). Four architectural units were identified, two composite and two simples, associated to levelling and soil retaining walls. The structures are composed of large double-walled enclosures, similar to those observed in Yocavil valley (Figure 2d). Also, the landslides of the walls generated mounds of up to two meters high.

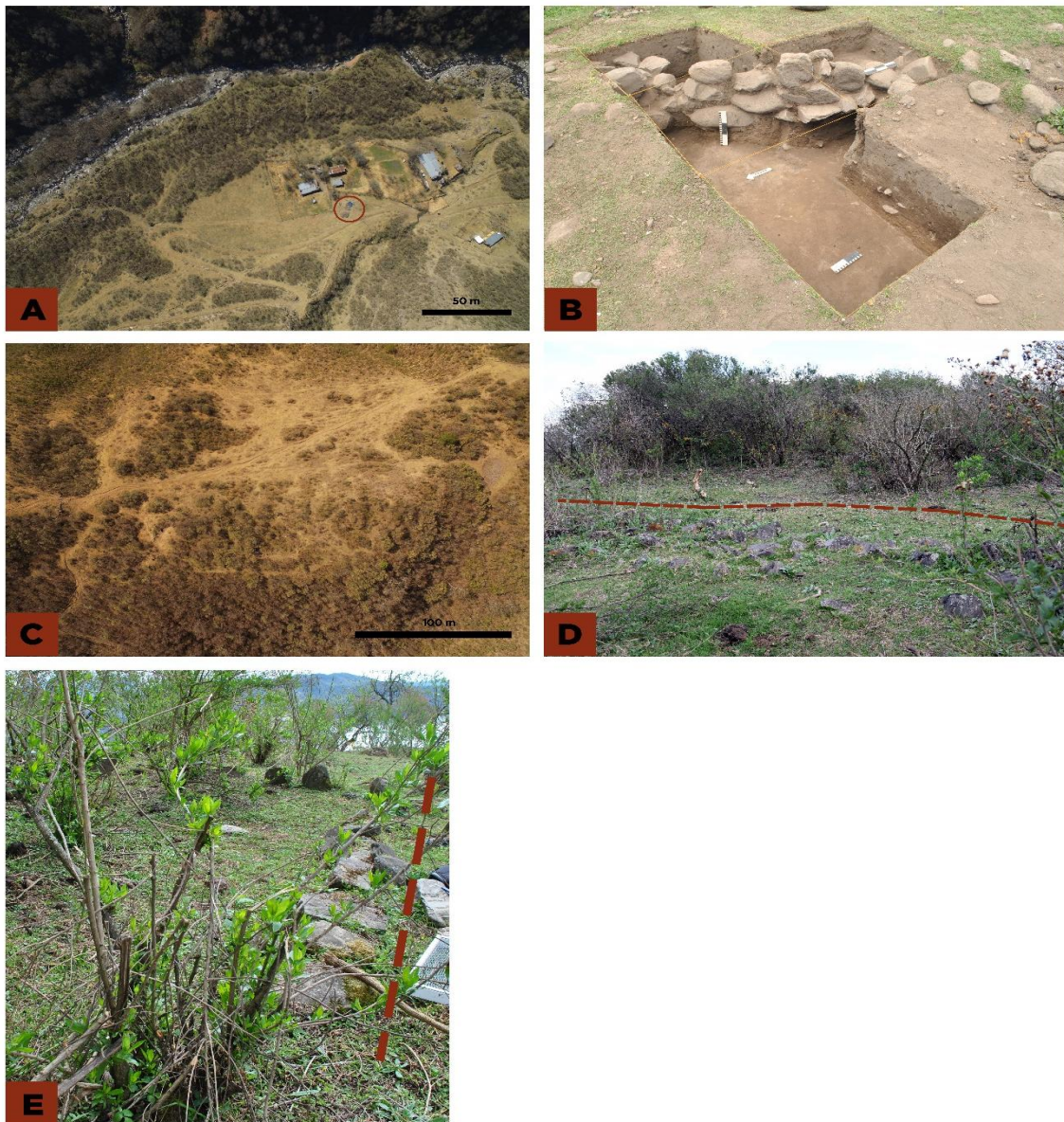


Figure 2. a) View of the fluvial terrace of CR1 b) Detail of the sector A of CR1 c) General view of La Laguna, in which we can observe the dense vegetation d) Double-wall of one enclosure e) Structure E165 (Aliso Redondo-Las Cañaditas).

In order to obtain more contextual data on the chronology of the occupation, four surveys were proposed, three of which were carried out in indoor sectors (E116 and E117) and one in an outdoor sector that presents carved rocks. Among the styles represented in pottery assemblage there is a predominance of coarse fragments. Second, styles such as the *Santamariano* and *Famabalasto* carved black are represented. Among the lithic remains, we can mention different types of flakes and debris, mainly of quartz and red quartzite, and scarce obsidian. Only a broken quartz projectile point was identified.

### 3.2.3 Aliso Redondo-Las Cañaditas

In a high elevation place, we identified a set of complex structures. The settlement pattern was very difficult to observe, due to the superposition of enclosures of rectilinear walls over circular structures. Eight units were identified, one of them composed of two enclosures, as well as a carved stone.

Some of the architectural characteristics of the structures (horizontally lined stone walls and rectangular outlay) suggested a correspondence with RDP. Because of that, we carried out two exploratory test pits to recover contextual information.

A two sq.m test pit was excavated in the central area of E165. A material assemblage was recovered, composed mainly of regional styles like *Santamariano* and Coarse brushed as well as some lithic flakes and artifacts (a grinding mano and a core). Due to the characteristics of the materiality in the lower layers, where styles assigned to RDP disappear and the proportion of coarse pottery without decoration increases (which was very similar to that of the first Millennium of the Christian Era in Anfama, see Salazar, 2010; Franco, 2019) we proposed that the second Millennium occupation would have been located above the early settlement, as it is also seen from the architectural modification of the site.

### 3. Everyday materiality

In CR1 we carried out an open-area excavation, which allowed us to recover a vast domestic artifact set. The assemblage was object of a detailed study, in order to obtain contextual information about the activities developed in the site and to complement the information obtained at general level in the landscape and architecture analysis in Anfama.

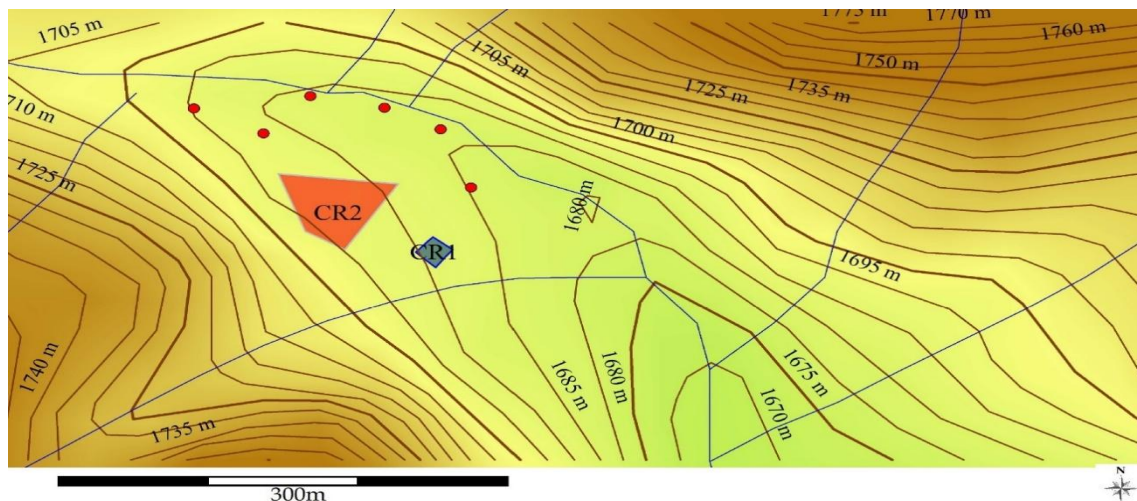


Figure 3. Map of Casa Rudi archaeological site. The red points indicate the mortars named as CR3.

#### 3.1 Ceramic analysis

The ceramic assemblage consisted of 878 pottery shreds distributed in fifteen stratigraphic units that correspond to the RDP occupational floor. Their study involved four stages a) macroscopic classification according to defined styles for the region b) Quantification by fragments and by family of fragments c) morphological classification and d) Description of clays by binocular magnifying glass. In this way, the analysis combined both, the study of iconographic and techno-morphological attributes of the fragments.

The quantitative analysis considering the fragments allows to visualize a predominance of Coarse and Coarse brushed. In second, *Santamariano* style is represented in a 25.6%. Other regional styles are present in a lesser degree, such as *Famabalasto* black carved and *Famabalasto* black on red. A low number of fragments could not be identified in any category, including two fragments with basketry imprints on the outside, which have a white slip and black paint, resembling a *Santamariano* design.

The previous methodology was complemented with a quantification by family of fragments (Orton, Tyers & Vince, 1997) that allowed us to observe a predominance of *Santamariano* style and Coarse brushed in second place. The representation of *Famabalasto* carved black comprises 13.44% of the total sample. The Coarse style appears in fourth place, in contrast to the previous mode of quantification. This calculation allowed to have a more complete vision of the ceramic assemblage, avoiding the oversizing of some types of vessels in the sample (Adroher et al., 2016; Orton et al., 1997; Palamarczuk, 2002).

In the observation by binocular magnifying glass of the fragments, a predominance of oxidizing cooking atmospheres was observed, with inclusions as quartz, ground potsherds (*tiesto molido*) and mica, as well as unidentified black and gray subangular inclusions. In general, they are not very dense and semi-compact pastes. There are groups with porous textures and abundant inclusions density associated with coarse styles and probably, with technical choices aimed at improving their resistance to heating stresses.

Seven technological classes could be established taking into account attributes such as: firing atmospheres, nature of the inclusions and density of anti-plastics. In some cases, an interesting homogeneity was recorded between pastes corresponding to different ceramic styles. It can be noted that some technical choices in the manufacture of the vessels were very similar to those of *Santamariano* style as so as in ordinary pots. Unlike other RDP sites of the CumbresCalchaquíes (Corbalán, Cuenya&Ovejero, 2009; Cornell, 1991; Páez, 2012; Palamarczuk, 2002; Piñeiro, 1996; Schwartz, 1991), coarse brushed ceramics do not present inclusions of ground potsherds, a technic similar to what was observed for the first Millennium of the Era in the area (Franco, 2019; Salazar, 2010). However, this should be tested by increasing the analyzed sample and carrying out new petrographic composition studies.

The forms in the assemblage are three: bowls, pots and vessels (Balfet, Monzon&Fauvet-Berthelot, 1992). Small simple contour forms predominate, mainly associated to the *Santamariano* and *Famabalasto* bowls. Other morphologies typical of this period were recognized, such as restricted jars with a composite or complex shape, associated with the "Santamariano urns". Within the non-decorated styles, restricted vessels were observed to a lesser extent (*ollas*). The pots present marks of use on the surface, mainly in Coarse brushed ceramics, whose morphological and technological characteristics (with inclusions that reduce the propagation of cracks such as quartz) suggest that they were particularly suitable for activities related to the preparation of food. In addition, the application of corncob in the external surface gives a rough texture to the vessel and it allows a better grip of the pot, making it more suitable for daily handling and providing a greater area for absorbing the heat of the fire.

The fragmentation of the sample did not allow in many cases to recognize iconographic elements of pieces, as well as design's composition. Nevertheless, the identified motives repeat typical characteristics of RDP styles in the region. In this way, the compositional elements could be assigned to the iconographic repertoire of *Santamariano*'s tradition. In the assemblage, there are decorations of different nature. The decorative motives could be painted, carved or applied *pastillaje*.

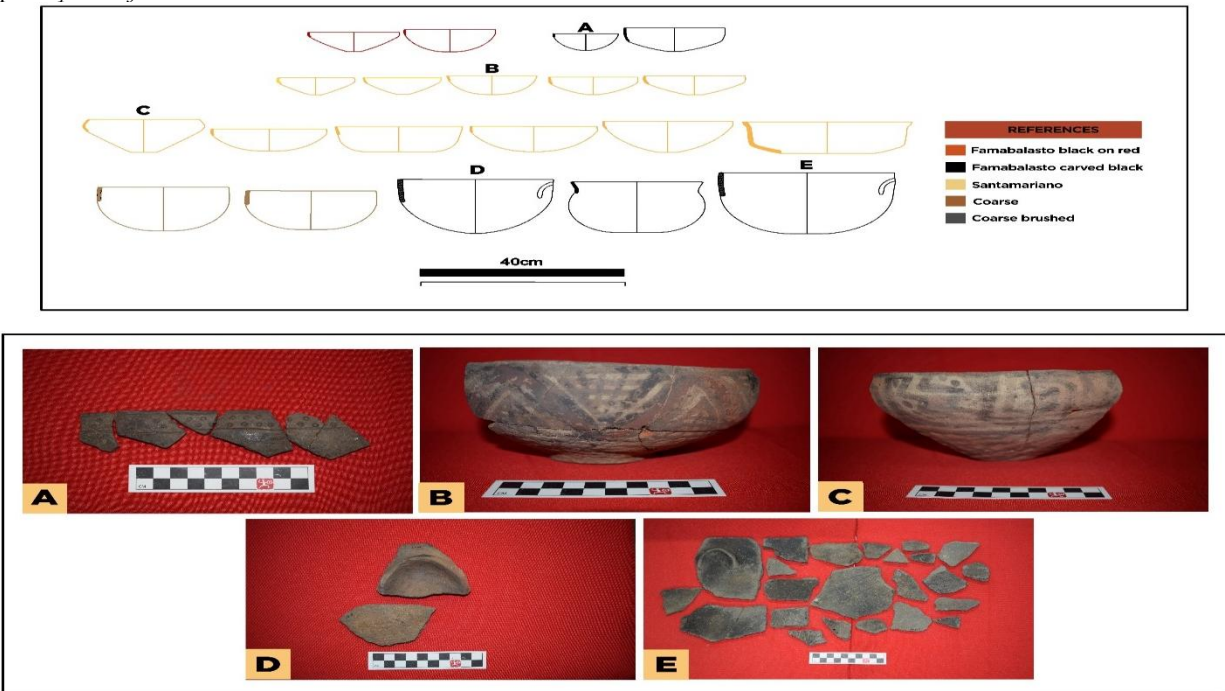


Figure 4. Forms in the ceramic assemblage a) *Famabalasto* black carved bowl b) *Santamariano* Tricolor bowl c) *Santamariano* Bicolor bowl d y e) Coarse brushed vessels.

In the case of *Santamariana* ceramics, there are designs made in black or black and red on a white slip, and only in a few cases applications were identified. First, fragments of jars with anthropomorphic representations were found (Nastri, 2008). But more common are the geometric representations, which usually combine the use of lines and points, forming integrated designs that are difficult to reconstruct, however, due to the conservation conditions (Figure 4b y 5c). In contrast, Famabalasto black carved bowl have more simple decorations, carved on the still flexible clay (by incision). It was possible to distinguish two different compositional motifs: one linear-dotted and one of rhombic-frets, both forming a guard of about two centimeters in width that covers upper end of the piece. Also, one of the ordinary pots presents an anthropomorphic decoration that combines application and incision of small lines. It forms a face very similar to the central figure of Santamariano urns with a coffee-grain eye, eyebrows and tears.

### 3.2 Lithic analysis

The lithic assemblage has a total of 186 elements, formed by 88.70% of debris, 9.67% of formalized instruments and 1.61% of cores. The predominant raw materials are available in the area (i.e quartz and quartzite), although there are also non-local rocks, such as obsidian. Lithic quartz debris come mainly from intermediate and final stages of instrument formatization. This is supported through lower proportion of external flakes compared to internal flakes, as well as the size of them (mainly small). In the case of red quartzite waste, the origins of extractions are homogeneous, although there are larger (medium to large) flakes. The obsidian flakes were exclusively very little (hyper micro flakes) internal flakes.

There are not quartz cores, despite the high numbers of quartz debris. This fact could be understood because of the abundance of this raw material at the local level. It is even possible some kind of sequential production that would involve quarry-workshop sites for the procurement of base forms in other sectors, possibly near to the river. Thus, only small base-form reduction and formatization activities would have been carried out. Unlike quartz, we recovered quartzite and red quartzite cores (Figure 5b). These are active instruments, with a 25-50% crust, multidimensional (four to eight flakes) and they do not have use marks. The presence of these artifacts along with larger external flakes leads us to think that, at least in the case of red quartzite, formatization activities were in the initial stages in the study area.

In addition to lithic debris and cores, other formatized artifacts were recovered. The raw materials of these are mainly quartz and red quartzite, although obsidian, quartzite and flagstone were also found in a lesser extent. Typological groups and subgroups identified were hammers and natural edges with complementary traits, as well as projectile points and knives. These instruments were almost exclusively made on local raw materials, which would be evidence of a greater emphasis on the production of expedite edges, with low investment of time and effort. Thus, the proportion of obsidian is notoriously minor, both in terms of instruments and lithic flakes.

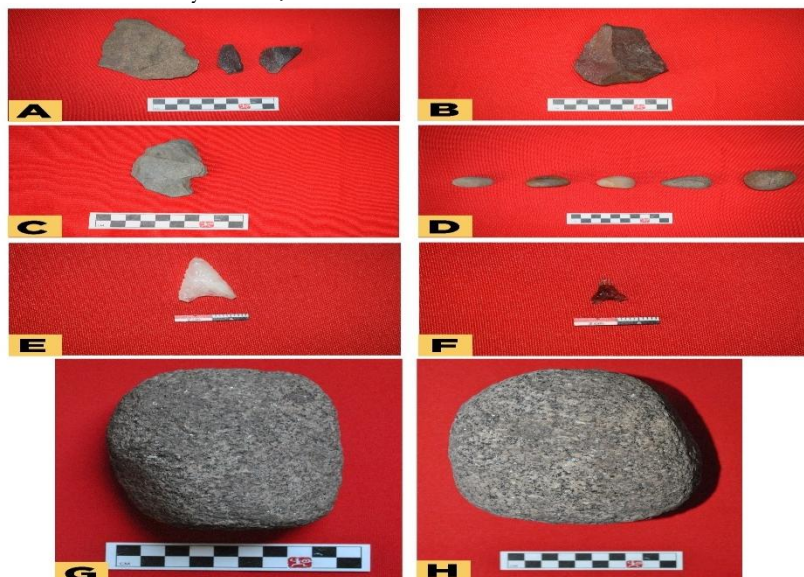


Figure 5. Lithic materials a) Quartzite Natural edges c) Red quartzite core c) Flagstone knife d) Hammers e) Quartz projectile points f) Obsidian projectile points g y h) Grinding stones.



We identified nine hammers (whole and fractured) of quartz and quartzite, with active surfaces associated with percussion marks (Figure 5d). Their size ranges from small to medium. Following Aschero (1983; Aschero & Hocsmán, 2004) the primary function of these artefacts could be inferred as hit hard surfaces, because of their complementary traits. The natural edges are mainly of quartzite and red quartzite, and they are generally intact (Figure 6a). They were knapped from base forms like external flakes. They have also a great diversity of sizes, ranging from small to large. They are mainly simple instruments, with a single natural edge and traces of micro-retouching in one of the faces. The primary function of these artefacts is the scraping or gouging hard surfaces. Quartzite and *flagstone* artifacts were also recovered. In the former case, a medium rubber was identified, probably used to prepare surfaces before the percussion. In the last, it is a large knife, with one of its sides active, with a bevel angle of 25° (Figure 6c).

In two cases, complex instruments were observed. The first is a large quartzite edge, with a natural edge (with a bevel angle of 50°) and micro retouching on one of its sides. This instrument has also a long edge at opposite end made by a summary, unifacial and deep flake. The angle of the bevel of this second edge is 40° and shows use marks in form of notches, so it is inferred that it worked as a knife. In the second case, in a small edge of red quartzite with micro-retouching marks, a tip-tool was made at its end.

Finally, we recovered two quartz (Figure 5e) and one obsidian projectile points (Figure 6f).

### 3.3 Grinding tool analysis.

The grinding tools were analyzed following Babot's methodology (Babot, 2004), with some modifications to the current case. We found ten pieces corresponding to active or superior instruments (*manos*), seven of them whole (Figure 5g y 5h) and three fractured. They correspond to the technical-morphological category of "non-manufactured artifact with complementary traces" (Babot, 2004) because no evidence of manufacturing was identified.

Indeed, all the identified artefacts come from medium grained granitic nodules, obtained from secondary sources, especially local streams, from which one or more faces were selected for use. Only a thick peck was made in their surfaces, in order to optimize their use.

The shapes of the artefacts were classified according to the diagram geometricity of Zingg (take from Babot, 2004) are predominantly equiaxed (N = 4). There are two discoidal and two cylindrical, while there is a total absence of triaxial.

The instruments are simple, double or multiple. Of the 19 identified active faces, nine correspond to mortar *manos* presenting traces of use as rounded edges and splinters that correspond to modes of percussion action and rotating punctual pressure; nine correspond to *manos* of flat and flat-concave metates, presenting traces of use as rounded edges and proximal sectors of active surfaces and parallel rectilinear grooves, compatible with rectilinear sliding pressures. Also, the size of artifacts is variable. The average weight is 1.5 kg, 0.6 being the minimum and 4 the maximum. The average active surface is 121 cm<sup>2</sup>.

Among the passive artifacts, only one has been identified that has two smoothed faces, but without clear traces of use or cavities, apart from some isolated splinters. It may have been used as an anvil, but also as a flat metate. However, the existence of several blocks with multiple mortars that are located in the area that we define as CR3 should be considered.

### 3.4 Zooarchaeological analysis

The studied sample consisted of 168 bone specimens, of which 87.50% of the total sample was found to be composed of seven different taxa (*Artiodactyla*, *Lama* Sp, *Cervidae* Sp, *Mammalia*, *Bovidae*, *Rodentia*, *H. Sapiens*). The existence of post-depositional alterations that could affect the integrity of the sample was considered, so different stages of weathering were taken into account, which varied from 1 to 2, never exceeding grade 3. In only two cases we observed non-anthropogenic marks, consisting of rodent tracks (sensu Mengoni, 1988). In general terms, the assemblage does not appear to have been exposed to significant post-depositional alterations and is well conserved in general terms. The predominant group is *Artiodactyla* (58.50 NISP%), followed by *Mammalia* (15.65 NISP%) and, thirdly, *Lama* Sp. (9.52 NISP%).

The rest of the taxa are represented in a smaller percentage. Concerning to anatomical units, long bones are predominant, so there are represented sectors of the chest (axial skeleton, vertebra, pelvis, scapula, rib) and of the lower limbs (femur, metapodium, radius, tibia), as well as small bones of the feet (astragalus, malleolus, navicular, cuboid). The bones of the skull are almost absent, although they are predominant in the case of *Cervidae* Sp.

The cut marks were only recorded in specimens of *Lama* Sp., *Artiodactyla* and *Bovidae*. In the case of *Lama* Sp., cuts were made on bones of the limbs, which indicate their possible link with processing activities. The marks are transverse-superficial, which can be related to filleting of meat. Intentional fractures were also observed in long bones of *Lama* Sp. (radio and lukewarm) associated with attempts to harness the marrow after processing the piece.

Despite the limited nature of the analyzed sample, the fact that almost all the anatomical parts of *Lama* Sp. correspond to the limbs (metapodium, femur, radius and tibia) and that they present cut marks, makes us to infer that carcass entered to the enclosures already butchered in some degree. In this way, it is feasible to think that camelids were a considerable part of the diet, beyond secondary resources that they could provide.

#### 4.5 Domestic assemblage

The evidences presented here indicate that CR1 constituted a residential place, in which activities related to the processing and consumption of food were carried out. The morphological, technological and functional characteristics of the archaeological assemblage suggest the preparation of food, as well as social practices related to daily and simultaneous activities at a domestic scale.

In the ceramic art set it is possible to observe a series of characteristics that mark the different stages in the process of food handling. The presence of larger vessels, with more porous pastes, special surface treatments and soot traces on their walls, suggests that these pots were used for exposure to fire and probably for cooking. However, no hearth or thermo-altered surface were found in the studied area.

On the other hand, the large number of bowls, both open and restricted, suggests that they may have been involved in actions to display, and service food or other products (Bugliani, 2008, Gazi & Salazar, 2013). In this regard, these bowls would have been linked to the last moments of preparation, related to the mixing and spilling of liquid or consumer substances. The analysis of vegetable micro-plants and fatty acids can, in this line, provide more information about the different resources that were being integrated into these social feeding practices.

However, there were no containers intended for serving food to be shared (such as large bowls or jars) and, therefore, inferring that it was an area where several people congregated (Bugliani, 2008; Menacho, 2001) or where "social occasions" were developed (Gazi & Salazar, 2013). Unlike this, in CR1 the predominance of small forms is notable. This fact suggests that the consumption of food was carried out on a family scale, in a space where other daily activities were also carried out.

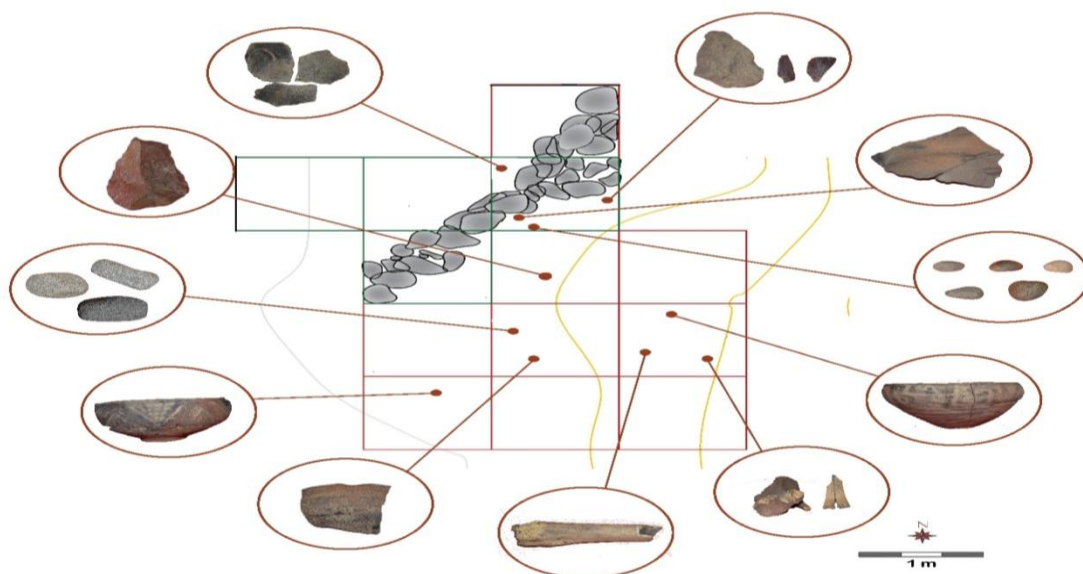


Figure 6. Floor plan showing artefact distribution.

The large proportion of lithic waste recovered in the context contributes to thinking about the existence of a multiplicity of routine and simultaneous tasks that were being carried out in CR1, both those related to the preparation of food and the manufacture of instruments. In this regard, the abundance of flakes in medium or final stages of formatting contributes to the idea that daily activities were being carried out to produce lithic artifacts, which required a very low investment of time, privileging local raw materials. The absence of debris of the first stages of production of these artifacts, in addition, can indicate that the sequence of production would have begun in primary and secondary sources where quartz is found in form of pebbles (as for example, the river next to CR1), where the raw material could have been selected and collected and the first phases of manufacturing (testing, debarking and primary reduction for transport) executed, as observed in the Tafi Valley (Franco Salvi, Salazar & Montegú, 2016).

However, the sample seems to suggest that within the lithic set used, production of expeditive edges was privileged, mostly taking advantage of the natural edges of local rocks, with a low investment of time and energy, a characteristic of domestic contexts related to food processing (Escola, 2004). The presence of formatted artifacts, such as cutting, grinding and striking instruments (natural edges, knives and hammers) also contributes to reinforce the idea of a domestic context where food was being processed.

In this line, these objects associated with the ceramic set induce to think about their use for the cutting and consumption of food. If we consider the presence of faunal archaeological remains with cut marks, it is also possible to think that these artifacts were used for the processing of camelids (cutting, crushing and filleting).

#### **4. Discussion**

This work attempted to generate original archaeological data from an almost unknown area and, from hence, to advance in some points about the RDP in the eastern slopes of the Cumbres Calchaquies. In this way, we started with a concern about the existence of RDP occupations in the Anfama valley and its connection with the general processes that took place during the second Millennium of the Era in the region, trying to articulate two axes of analysis: landscape and everyday materiality. We consider that these two components are fundamental for understanding the configuration of domestic spaces, which is one of the main scenarios of the production and reproduction of human groups and social order (Allison, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977; Nielsen, 2001).

##### **5.1 An approach to landscape construction during RDP**

The landscape construction in Anfama valley evidence the adoption of new architectural patterns of regional diffusion but also the reuse of previous residential units. This leads us to consider some questions about the tension between change and continuity towards the interior of the human groups settled in the area during the RDP. The permanence of local principles of use of space, as well as the incorporation of new patterns in architecture, are interesting elements to think about the nature of these occupations and relationships established with surrounding areas, such as the Yocavil valley.

The analysis of architecture of the second Millennium occupations in Anfama made it possible to corroborate that they repeat some of the trends identified for Yocavil area. Also, they are very similar to those recorded in others sites of Tucuman lowlands, such as Mortero Hachado (Esparrica, 1999, 2002; Corbalán, 2008) or the nearby Tafi Valley (Manasse, 2007, 2011, 2014). The settlement pattern is different from the one that characterizes early occupations in the area, constituted by circular enclosures attached to a central courtyard of the same morphology (Salazar et al., 2016). The exposure of one of the walls of CR1 was not enough to have a full view of the structure that it integrates, but it allowed to observe a low investment of work in its construction.

Unlike what is observed in the architectural configuration, the PDR occupations seem to maintain the logic of use of the space proper to early settlements of the region. In this line, there is evidence of a mode of configuration and distribution of material features characterized by dispersion and low concentration of residences that has been defined as a centrifugal landscape (López Lillo & Salazar, 2015; Salazar & Molar, 2017). This has been associated with a strategy of landscape construction by groups that intended to maintain some degree of autonomy in their reproduction (López Lillo & Salazar, 2015).

The RDP settlements in Anfama are characterized by residential structures that do not integrate more than two or three units. The sites are at a relative distance from each other, so there are no concentrations similar to other villages of the time in the area of the Cumbres Calchaquíes (Nastri, 1999; Tarragó, 1987, 1995, 2011). On the other hand, there are no signs of public spaces or hierarchical places such as plazas or mounds that have been observed in Yocavil (Tarragó, 1987, 2011). This configuration maintains a clear continuity with those of the first Millennium of the Era in the area (Salazar & Molar, 2017).

Visibility is one of the key elements in the configuration of the early landscape, since it tends to reinforce the links between residential units located at a considerable distance from one another (López Lillo & Salazar, 2015). In La Laguna archaeological site, the privileged location of the site on top of a ridge allows to have visibility over the entire fluvial terrace, where all remains of pre-Hispanic human activity corresponding to Casa Rudi are located. Despite current dense vegetation, we consider possible that, at the time of occupation, La Laguna has been visible from the lower fluvial terraces. This suggests that both settlements were closely linked within the landscape.

We observed a tendency to reoccupation of early sites during the second Millennium AD; both, Casa Rudi and Aliso Redondo-Las Cañaditas, constitute RDP occupations located above early sites. In this line, an interesting element to consider about domestic space construction is the way in which architecture and artifactual sets maintain similarities with regional styles, but retain influences of distinctive local traditions.

The existence of ethnic islands supposes a discontinuous territory on which a new population is based, imposing its own traditions (Owen, 2005), but this is not so clear in this case of study. Even if this were so, it is necessary to consider the dynamics of appropriation and reformulation of ways of doing by new populations. The configuration of landscape and logics of space use during the second Millennium leads to state that the human groups settled in the area during this period maintained, although altered to a different degree, local traditions strongly rooted in early times.

## 5.2 Domestic assemblages and daily practice

Material set recovered in CR1 comprises a large number of ceramic sherds, debris and lithic instruments and archaeo faunistic remains, linked to a domestic context, where food processing and consumption activities were being carried out, as well as maintenance tasks. It is remarkable the incorporation of new stylistic patterns in the production of pottery, associated with *Santamariano* tradition that induces us to think about the way in which new parameters are incorporated, appropriated and reformulated within preexisting frameworks.

In the Anfama valley, all RDP occupations contain remains of *Santamariano* pottery. On a microscale, detailed study of CR1 ceramics allowed us to propose that these pieces repeat the usual design patterns of this tradition, both in terms of motifs and composition. This suggests an adoption of iconographic resources typical of the intermontane valleys, particularly of Yocavil, an element that could be related to the existence of ethnic colonies. In fact, in cases of ethnic colonization, there should be a stylistic sequence in the material culture of long duration in the core, but without a history of similar development in the archipelagos, where it should appear abruptly (Owen, 2005).

Despite the adoption of designs and motifs of the *Santamariano* iconography, the composition of ceramic clays suggest that technical choices involved in their production maintained close relations with local ways of doing. In this line, similarities were recorded between decorated and ordinary ceramic clays, and perhaps both were made by the same producers. In a few cases, it was possible to identify ground potsherd inclusions that in other areas is a distinctive feature of RDP pottery (Corbalán et. al., 2009; Cornell, 1991; Páez, 2012; Palamarczuk, 2002; Piñeiro, 1996; Schwartz, 1991). Unlike this, the absence of this type of inclusions is characteristic of the ceramics of the first Millennium of the Era (Franco, 2019). The reproduction during the second Millennium of these technical elections could indicate how it was a naturalized disposition that guided the practice and that reproduced the social order (Dietler & Herbich, 1998).

It can be considered that, although ceramics can play an important role in the construction of identities, they do not have a static character, that is why it is not possible to equate the aesthetics of objects with ethnic affiliations (Pluckhahn, 2010). Identities constitute a feature of social organization and are immersed in broader economic and political relations, so they can also be used as a creative strategy to maintain social ties rather than a passive reflection of them (Wilkie, 2000).

From the above it can be considered that the circulation of a ceramic style, such as the *Santamariano*, in a relatively large space does not necessarily reflect differences (or belongings) of an ethnic nature. On the contrary, it may be showing the existence of interrelation networks of different nature among varied populations, where goods, ideas and people circulate. In this line, the construction of identities is not a homogeneous phenomenon but a dynamic, situational and fluid process in which different individuals participate (and not only the elites monopolizing and managing the circulation of "valuable" objects) (Wilkie, 2000).

## 5. Final comments

Through the analysis of the two previous elements (landscape and materiality), we addressed the logic of construction of social identities in Anfama during the second Millennium of the Era. For this purpose, we applied two scales of analysis, a macroscale focused on the use of space and a microscale, focused on the areas of activity and daily practices within the domestic space, which in turn allowed to integrate the different data.

This perspective allowed us to consider the tension between change and continuity towards the interior of the social tissues, evidencing the subtle way through which the reiteration of daily practices reproduces and alters the social world. What is observed in Anfama suggests that the adoption of regional stylistic patterns (both in architecture and in ceramics) did not imply the transformation of deeper principles rooted in long-lasting traditions. The permanence of dispersed patterns of settlement, reoccupation of sites, continuity of ceramic technical choices, are significative elements.

Although we need incorporate more data, it leads us to reconsider the proposal of ethnic islands as it emerges from the original ethnohistorical model. It we would rather be facing autonomous communities immersed in new social dynamics at the regional level, in spaces where a multiplicity of objects, ideas and people were circulating. This network of interrelations has probably altered and transformed the social order affirmed during the first Millennium of the Era, but without imposing a direct control over the groups settled in the basin of Anfama and their materiality.

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