

General Introduction

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Both the pleasure and the difficulty in editing a set of papers from a conference like the NCAAE lie in the breadth of the contributions. The Conference invited papers using archaeological and ethnohistoric data covering the entire Andean region and the full temporal span of indigenous Andean culture. The response was a series of reports that range temporally from the Early Preceramic Period to the Early Colonial Period and spatially from Venezuela to Argentina, while simultaneously employing a wide variety of methodological approaches. We view this fact as a positive reflection on the current state of research into the Andean past; nevertheless, on reviewing the collection of papers submitted for publication in this volume, we were faced with the classic archaeological problem of classification. Several organizational schemes were considered, but we finally chose approximate chronological order as the most universal (and traditional) criterion. It soon became apparent that the broad scope of the Conference had attracted a set of studies that could be classified in two major categories: Prehistory and Protohistory. These categories are the logical outcome of the chronological ordering of the papers in the context of the relevant data bases. Other organizational schemes would have produced different kinds of groupings (e.g. organization strictly by methodological approach would have created categories such as Art History, Archaeology,

Ethnohistory, and Archaeology/Ethnohistory; organization by culture area would have created categories such as Northern, Central and Southern Andean regions).

Ethnohistory is an approach to the anthropology of preliterate peoples that employs documents produced as a result of contact with literate societies. In the same way, archaeology is an approach to the anthropology of prehistoric (and historic) peoples that relies on the study of their material remains. The results of archaeological investigations of preliterate people are referred to as Prehistory; we have so classified six of the papers in this volume (Malpass, Daggett, Wallace, Benson, Schaffer, and Spencer and Redmond). The results of the investigation of peoples who existed just prior to and at the time of the introduction of writing can best be termed Protohistory,¹ especially when ethnohistoric evidence is combined with archaeological work. In the Andes, Protohistoric groups would include all those peoples encountered by the Spaniards on their arrival in the region, such as the Inca and the ethnic groups subjugated by them but still maintaining some degree of cultural identity. As the three papers included in the Protohistory section of this volume indicate (Patterson, Pollard, and Kubler), there is a growing emphasis on studies of this kind in the Andes. The number of recent field projects which use ethnohistoric data as a source of hypotheses for archaeological testing show that this trend in Andean studies is continuing.² Therefore, although the term Protohistory is not current in the Andean literature, there is a growing body of work on late prehispanic Andean civilization that calls for such a classification.

The first three papers in the volume (Malpass, Daggett, and Wallace) cover the time span from the Early Preceramic to the Early Intermediate Period. All three approach the problem of intra-regional interaction and variation in different parts of the central Andes by using traditional archaeological techniques such as stratigraphic excavation, synchronic comparison of artifact types (including architecture and settlement pattern), and seriation. In a study which sheds light on the early utilization of the north Peruvian highlands and on coast-highland interaction, Michael Malpass presents the results of his excavations in two rockshelters in the Cordillera Negra of Peru: Huachanmanmachay and Tecliomachay. The former site had evidence of intermittent occupation from the Early Preceramic Period (Paijan, 8000-9000 B.P.) through the Early Intermediate Period (Recuay, 100 B.C. to 600 A.D.), while at the latter site, the same time span is indicated though the principal occupation appears to have taken place during the Late Initial Period (ca. 1000 B.C.). Malpass suggests that the lack of post-Early Intermediate Period remains in the Ancash puna where these sites are located may reflect abandonment of that zone, perhaps due to regional conflicts. For the earlier periods, the discovery of Paijan points, previously unknown in the highlands, suggested brief visits to the puna by the earliest coast-dwellers. Malpass interprets the faunal remains from the sites as evidence of hunting of wild cervids and camelids in the earlier periods, with a shift to llama herding and cervid hunting by the Initial Period; this view accords with recent findings by Wheeler (Lavallee et al. 1982).

In a broad sense, Richard Daggett's study of the transition from the Early Horizon to the Early Intermediate Period on the north coast of

Peru also concerns coast/highland interactions. At the end of the Early Horizon, Daggett shows that both the Nepeña and Viru valleys shared pattern burnished pottery, megalithic architecture, and an emphasis on upper valley settlement; the first two elements are also found in the adjacent highlands in the same period. Daggett interprets this fact, along with the upper valley emphasis, as evidence of strong highland influence. Immediately afterwards, at the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period, Nepeña and Viru show very different settlement pattern, architecture, and ceramic types. Daggett reports on the early Early Intermediate Period upper valley Nepeña sites of Cerro Chacuascucho East and Cerro Chacuascucho West. The sites' location and material remains indicate that Nepeña continued to maintain its highland connections during this period. At the same time, Viru has a renewed emphasis on lower valley settlement and associated architectural and ceramic types that show it to be affiliated with a coastal culture centered in the Moche valley. Daggett's results provide strong, local-level support for the traditional interpretation of the Early Horizon/Early Intermediate Period transition as a shift from a time of widespread cultural unity to one of marked regional diversity.

Dwight Wallace provides an important critique of the Paracas pottery sequence (Menzel et al. 1964) by utilizing additional field data and examining the implicit assumptions of stylistic seriation. Stylistic comparison of ceramic collections from the upper Chincha, upper Pisco, and lower and upper Ica valleys suggests non-contemporaneity for these areally distinct units. Temporally heterogeneous phase traits are observed within one areally distinct unit in Chincha, which Wallace interprets as an indication of directionality of influence. Using the

frequency of a red slipped bowl form in the Chincha (Pinta) lot and the same form's intrusiveness in Ica, Wallace argues for the temporal priority of this stylistic innovation in Chincha, with a later spread to Ica.

The basic issue under investigation by Wallace is the equation of stylistic change with temporal change in seriations and the apparent omission of areal variation in the Paracas study. Contrasting humanistic and scientific studies, Wallace employs several quantitative methods to re-analyze the proposed seriation. Indices of similarity are computed for paired phases, with control factors for unique traits and major thematic trait clusters. The values are presented in a common correlation matrix form and a three dimensional plot; both representations demonstrate the complex interrelationships of space, time, and relative rate of change.

In conclusion, Wallace offers an alternative for the Early Horizon pottery sequence of the south coast. Phases 4 and 5 are lumped together because of an inadequate sample size for temporal differentiation. More importantly, Wallace proposes an earlier placement of the northern Topara influence in the abrupt innovations of phase 8, followed by technological onslaught in phase 10. The implications of these results provide new working hypotheses for south coastal interactions during the Early Horizon and Early Intermediate Period and a reconsideration of the assumptions and limitations of existing seriations.

The following papers illustrate two different approaches to the study of museum collections: inspection of the physical condition of the artifacts themselves and analysis of their iconographic content. In her

contribution, Anne-Louise Schaffer examines a series of looted metal objects in museum collections from the Loma Negra cemetery (Moche I-II, early Early Intermediate Period) in far northern Peru. Most of these objects were personal adornments. By studying the remnant bits of original material and the impressions of completely decayed items in the corrosion products on the metal artifacts, Schaffer was able to identify missing objects such as textiles, shell beads, and feathers that were originally buried with the metal. Careful matching of the corrosion patinas also revealed several cases of stacked, serial objects. Compared with coastal Moche burials, Loma Negra dead seem to have been accompanied by more elaborate personal adornments; Schaffer suggests that metalwork was made specifically for funeral purposes, a role filled by pottery in the coastal Moche case and by fine textiles in the Paracas culture.

Elizabeth Benson evaluates the iconographic evidence for lunar imagery in Early Intermediate Period Moche pottery from the Peruvian north coast. After treating the figure known as the "moon animal," Benson devotes the better part of her paper to an analysis of the two standard late Moche representations which have been called "moon gods." Both are radiant beings but otherwise dissimilar. The first of these figures travels on a supernatural raft or a radiant crescent and is identified as female. The second figure appears in the Presentation Theme (Donnan 1975) as a radiant male warrior. Benson sees both as celestial beings associated with different points in the ritual calendar, but she feels that the raft-crescent figure is more likely to be the moon (or possibly the Pleiades), while the radiant warrior may be related to the sun.

The paper by Charles Spencer and Elsa Redmond offers new archaeological data on two previously uninvestigated zones in western Venezuela. The piedmont, between about 250 and 800 m above sea level, shows no discernible site size hierarchy; monumental sites are not present. Two ceramic complexes were defined for this zone: Curbati, which dates to around 500 to 200 B.C. by association with similar pottery from neighboring areas, and Caño Seco, which was found in association with Colonial sherds and therefore dates to the Protohistoric Period. Caño Seco pottery may have been produced by the Jirijara ethnic group known from early documents. In the high llanos, between about 180 and 240 m above sea level, Spencer and Redmond found a two-tiered site hierarchy, with one monumental site over 60 ha and the rest of the sites under 10 ha. The associated Gavan ceramic complex is broadly similar to the Osoid series from further east in the Venezuelan llanos.

The three studies placed in the Protohistory section make varying use of archaeological and ethnohistorical data. Thomas Patterson discusses the effects of the Inca custom of split inheritance on the relations between the Cuzco rulers and the caretakers of the principal coastal shrine at Pachacamac. According to this custom (see also Conrad 1981, 1982 and comments by Paulsen 1981 and Isbell 1981), the designated successor of the royal Inca inherited his predecessor's throne but not his lands or other property, which included rights to labor tribute. Instead, the Inca's property went to his other descendents to support themselves and the deceased ruler's cult, while the new Inca had to acquire his own lands, servants, etc.. Patterson shows how this system eventually forced Topa 'Inca (the son of Inca Pachacuti) to seek

alliances outside of the Cuzco region, principally with the shrine at Pachacamac on the central coast. Patterson uses archaeological data to support the ethnohistoric evidence for the nature and timing of the Inca connection with the coastal shrine and to show the variable nature of this connection at branch oracles established by the Pachacamac caretakers at different points relative to the imperial boundaries. The branch oracles outside of the Empire were useful to the Inca as sources of information and as a means to influence events in those areas, and the archaeological evidence supports a stronger Inca/Pachacamac linkage at extra-imperial oracles than at those established within the boundaries of the Empire. Patterson concludes with observations on the development and structure of Pre-Columbian states drawn from his analysis of the causes and nature of the relationship between Pachacamac and the Inca.

Toponymy, archaeology, and ethnohistory all contribute to Gordon Pollard's effort to quantify the distance represented by the Spanish league. Pollard began with an early document which lists Indian villages and Inca tambos and the distances between them in leagues for a route followed through northwestern Argentina by an early Spanish traveller, Juan de Matienzo. By matching toponyms and archaeological data with the places in the itinerary, the original route was reconstructed and an average value of 6.8 km per league was calculated. The point-to-point values, however, ranged from 6.0 to 7.5 km per league, with the higher values correlating with the flattest terrain. Pollard infers from these data that the league was a variable measurement at least partly conditioned by a time factor, probably an hour's walking time. A final section to the paper explains Pollard's

reasons for altering the earlier interpretations of Matienzo's route into the Calchaqui valley and makes several suggestions about the nature of the Inca infrastructure in northwestern Argentina.

In the volume's final paper, George Kubler relies on ethnohistoric sources to review prehispanic Andean creation myths and compare them with Mesoamerican cosmogonies. Multiple creations are a feature common to all versions in both areas. For the Andes, out of sixteen cronicas, an earlier group of seven accounts mentions only two creations. A later group of nine accounts refers to as many as five creations, probably the result of an increasing mixture of Mesoamerican and Andean sources. Kubler finds such a merging curiously appropriate, given the common palaeolithic origins of the two traditions and their Post-Columbian historical linkages.

In summary, the papers in this volume demonstrate a variety of strategies for obtaining information about the Andean Past. Several major research trends are apparent; though not representing radically new approaches, they do reflect shifting emphases and priorities in Andean research. We have already discussed the use of ethnohistoric data as a source for hypotheses to be tested against the archaeological record. Another important trend is the innovative use of pre-existing collections and field data instead of or in conjunction with new archaeological fieldwork. The papers by Wallace, Schaffer, and Benson stand out in this regard. It is encouraging that in the current times of reduced financial resources and difficult political conditions in Latin America, Andeanists are successfully turning to alternative research strategies, as well as continuing to carry out important new

fieldwork.

Footnotes

1. Protohistory has been defined variously in different parts of the world. Our usage derives from the term's employment in the New World. In southwestern North America, the Protohistoric Period is defined as a "time of transition" "between prehistory and the ethnographic present" (Wilcox and Masse 1981:1), while in Mesoamerica, one schema uses the same term to cover the final prehispanic epoch, equivalent in usage to the Andean Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon (Adams 1977:13, 261-294). More generally, Rouse (1972:289) defines protohistory as "the transitional zone between prehistory and history." It is in this rather open-ended sense that we mean it: not as a replacement for terms in current usage such as Late Horizon or Colonial Period, but rather as a cross-cutting category which includes the immediately pre-Conquest and surviving post-Conquest elements of indigenous Andean society. Spatial and temporal boundaries vary in accordance with the nature and kinds of available data. Schaedel and Shimada (1982:363, 365) contextually define protohistory in a similar way, as the archaeological validation of ethnohistoric documents and models.
2. The concept of the vertical archipelago formulated by Murra (1972) is perhaps the best known example of a conceptual framework derived from ethnohistorical research which has been adopted as an productive research paradigm for archaeological investigation in the Andes. Applications include the work of Morris (1974, 1978, 1981, 1982) and Thompson (1967) in the Huanuco region, and Hyslop (1976, 1984) in the Lupaka area around Lake Titicaca and on the Inka road system. Among similar studies are those of Morris and Sandweiss at Chincha (Sandweiss 1983), Marcus at Cerro Azul, Earle et al. (1980; D'Altroy and Hastorf 1984) in Jauja, Netherly on the North Coast (1978, 1984) and Shimada et al. (1981) in the Lambayeque Valley. A recent analysis by Ana Maria Lorandi (1980) has elaborated upon the theoretical implications which this collaborative effort may have for future research in the Andes.

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