

## PRAGMATIC POLITIES: BOLIVIAN-CHILEAN CENTRAL ALTIPLANIC CONNECTIONS

Por  
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## RESUMEN

*En el presente trabajo, se abordan las interrelaciones culturales desarrolladas entre el altiplano boliviano y la costa norte chilena en el periodo tardío por los "señoríos" aymara.*

## ABSTRACT

*This paper approaches intercultural interrelations developed between the Bolivian altiplan and the Chilean northern coast by the "señoríos" aymara in the late period.*

Percy Dauelsberg Hahmann, had an abiding interest in the Bolivian altiplanic connections with the north Chilean coastal areas. The current paper views the evidence from the perspective of the central Bolivian altiplano, and focuses upon the contrast between the patterns of linkages that developed for the late prehistoric Aymara 'senorios'.

Much of my recent work has been in the Lake Titicaca basin. We owe much to the work Dauelsberg did in Arica, defining periods of specific interaction between the Titicaca basin and the Azapa valley (Dauelsberg 1960, 1973a, 1983, 1985; Berenguer and Dauelsberg 1989). Mario Rivera Diaz has reviewed much of this work in his paper in this volume. In order not to duplicate discussion, my paper focuses on the area slightly further south, the Bolivian altiplano in Oruro and Potosi, and the immediately adjacent areas of Chile. The discussion is limited to the Late Period, partly for similar reasons, but also because of a very important interchange between Dauelsberg (1973b) and Luis Guillermo Lumbreras (1973), regarding the identification, definition and utilization of archaeological styles, phases and cultures in Chile. The topic of concern addressed by Lumbreras on one side, and Dauelsberg and Lautaro Núñez Atencio on the other, in a series of open letters published in the inaugural issue of the revista "Chungara", still has ramifications for our understanding of the nature of the linkages between the central Bolivian altiplano and the northern Chilean coast in modern archaeological studies.

Lumbreras (1973:25) wrote that "Me parece que en Arica se ha creado muchos tipos ceramicos y se han movido de lugar, pero nada se ha avanzado realmente." While he acknowledged that the sequence that Dauelsberg (1960, etc.) had developed seemed logical, Lumbreras complained that there was a lack of any published evidence which would support the ordering. The various named styles could be typologically separated, but their correlations with one another was not documented, that "no veo ninguna evidencia publicada para modificar nada."

In his reply, Dauelsberg (1973b:32) wrote that he "concuero ampliamente contigo que en Arica se ha abusado en la creación de tipos, pero con la gran confusion que tenemos al comienzo (en 1959), eran necesarios." He went on to assert that now he was able to take these atomized types and create five large chronological and cultural groupings. Later in this letter Dauelsberg argued that this typology permitted him to identify Tiwanaku state expansion into the coast, and to see the florescence of many Tiwanaku-influenced ceramic varieties. Dauelsberg believed that the Tiwanaku state achieved access to the Azapa agricultural areas through the institution of mitmaqkuna. The range of different ceramic styles defined thus were viewed as measures of two phenomena. On one hand the distinct styles allowed the identification and differentiation

of the constituent members of the proposed multiethnic settlements. On the other hand these styles helped define what were seen as manifestations of social differences between households within these settlements.

With the collapse of Tiwanaku control of the coastal agricultural areas about A.D. 1000, Dauelsberg saw the departure of altiplano influence in coastal styles, an event which was possibly correlated with an epoch of pukara constructions (1982:70), followed subsequently by another resurgence of altiplano influence from Aymara señorios in the later part of the Late Prehistoric Period. Associated with this return of altiplano influence was also the use and construction of specialized burial architecture or chullpas (Dauelsberg 1982:77, 1983:80). It is this second period of altiplano influence that Dauelsberg identifies which is the focus of our discussion.

The general locations of Late Prehistoric señorios and federation are indicated in the location maps in Figures 1 and 2. The Rio Loa and San Pedro de Atacama areas of North Chile Region II display a number of shared ceramic traits, along with possible identical ceramic styles, with the Carangas, Uyuni and Lipez areas of the Bolivian departments of Oruro and Potosi. Most frequently one finds reference to complexes such as Taltape, Lasana, Toconce, or Dupont in Chile, relating to greater or lesser extent with Hedionda, Intersalar, Mallku, Huruquilla, and even Anantoko and Yura styles of the Bolivian altiplano.

The ceramic inventories of the central and southern Bolivian altiplano share a number of designs configurations, and also several ceramic vessels shapes, with the adjacent Chilean regions for the Late Prehistoric period. While the decorative pigments are not identical, and the fabric color may vary because of firing variations, for the first level of approximation one could say that the predominant decoration is a bichrome, with a geometric design painted in a dark color (be it black, brown, purple, or deep red) on a light background (buff, gray, light red, or even white). Some of the styles, such as Hedionda, Huruquilla, and Yura are more frequently of a generic black/dark pigment on buff stock, while others such as Anantoko, Mallku, or Toconce, are more frequently executed with a dark pigment on a more reddish ware. The specific geometric designs are sometimes indistinguishable, with the main difference being whether the local style has a predominance of buff or a predominance of reddish backgrounds (see discussion in Arellano 1992, Lecoq 1985, 1991, Arellano and Bernerian 1981, Arellano and Kuljis 1986, Berberian and Arellano 1980). One explanation proposed in the past was that the two clusters were mainly temporal variants of a single larger complex. Tarrago (1986:127) believes that the two ware clusters may be usefully viewed as reflecting spatial relationships, with the black on buff cluster more typical of the central zones, and the black on red cluster more typical of the southern zone, including Casabindo and various areas in the altiplano of Northwest Argentina.

The evolving interpretation appears to include all of these variants as being constituents of a series of inter-ethnic federation or señorios

"Complejo Chullpario", to use Schiappacasse, Castro and Niemeyer's term (1989:186). The ceramic cluster including Yura-Huruquilla, and Toconce -Mallku has been identified as trade wares in San Pedro de Atacama. Among the thorniest problem is one of dating is this ceramic complex one of relatively long duration, persisting with only minor stylistic changes for 600 or 700 years?, or are we mixing up complexes which are quite distinct because we as yet have inadequate definitions? At this point, associations of these wares are seen in San Pedro as early as A.D. 800-900 (Tarrago 1986, Browman 1986), and they appear to continue to be utilized until the period of Inka expansion into the area. Lecoq (1985:74, 1991:436) sees the emergence of what he defines as

the Killaka-Taltape phase in the Intersalar area of Uyuni also as early as A.D. 800. If future research supports the emergence of these southern seniorios by ca. A.D.800, we then have evidence of the development of an organized set of multi-ethnic federations in the central and southern Bolivian altiplano, and extending into adjacent areas of the valley headwaters in Chile, contemporaneous with the massive expansion of the Tiwanaku polity in the Titicaca basin to the north.

Ethnohistoric research suggest that the immediately pre-Inka interethnic federations of the Bolivian altiplano were organized in a manner quite distinct from the Quechua polities to the north. One argument has been that these seniorios and federations were derived from the remnant of the Tiwanaku state. If, however, these southern seniorios begin as early as A.D.800, then we have an alternative origin hypothesis to investigate: that is, that these seniorios developed independently by southern altiplano groups as a result of interactions with the Tiwanaku state, and functioned concurrently with its period of maximum influence (that is, Tiwanaku 5, often dated roughly A.D. 750 to 1100). Members of the Proyecto Wila Jawira have found intrusive dark on light bichrome wares in units beginning around A.D. 700-800, and have suggested that these are in fact Huruquilla style ceramics. An inspection of these clearly non-Tiwanaku trade pieces from Bermann's work at Lukurmata (1994, p.209, Fig 12.26 p.213, Fig.12.33) and from Janusek's work at the Akapana East residential sector of Tiwanaku (1994, p. 189, Fig 7.25, and p.365, Fig 10.30) fail to reveal any obvious linkages with published illustrations of Huruquilla, Mallku, Intersalar, Anantoko, Yura or other similar complexes. These intrusive tradewares may come from the earlier southern altiplano polities that Lecoq (1991) speculates may be the basis for his Intersalar cluster.

A problem that we must deal with in this reconstruction is the step-wise association of traits. Most previous interpretations would have these multi-ethnic seniorios begin no earlier than A.D. 1000 and perhaps not until as late as A.D. 1200, particularly because most published manifestations of these complexes are associated with the elaborate burial architecture that we today call chullpas, which in other areas of the Bolivian altiplano and Titicaca basin appear to clearly post-date the collapse of the Tiwanaku state; Dauelsberg (1983:80) linked the intrusion of these ceramic clusters with the first appearance of chullpas and also hill-top pukaras in his studies in Arica. There is no a priori reason, of course, why the cultures represented by these ceramic clusters could not have begun as early as A.D. 700-800, with a second pulse of influence associated with the construction of fortified pukaras and chullpa burials after A.D. 1200, but outside of perhaps the Intersalar area, there is no currently available evidence that would provide strong support for such a scenario.

Evidence does exist for strong linkages between Bolivian and Chilean complexes. Sinclair(1994:53) links Chilean Lasana and Toconce with Bolivian and Chilean Hedionda, Mallku, and Huruquilla. Tarrago (1986:127) sees a complex including a Chilpe/Hedionda style, a Yura/Huruquilla style, and a Lasana/Toconce style. Lecoq (1985, 1991) and Arellano (Arellano and Berberian 1980:267, Arellano 1992:317) define a Mallku/Intersalar/Hedionda complex. Dauelsberg (1984:19) saw evidence linking Chilean Taltape with Bolivian Huruquilla, beginning possibly as early as A.D. 900-1000.

Space does not allow complete elaboration of these arguments. The general areas of the Bolivian components are illustrated in Fig.3. Typical of Anantoko, Hedionda, and Intersalar, for example, are the rather simple geometric designs such as illustrated in Fig.4, upper. However there are more elaborate designs, such as that replicated for the Intersalar area in Fig.4, lower. These are clearly linked with some of the Taltape

style wares from Az-6 and Az-76 in Arica (see Figure # 4, from Dauelsberg 1984:24, 27) as well as highland Huruquilla wares from sites in Bolivia and Northwest Argentina (see Figure # 6, upper and middle rows, from Fernandez 1976:27). Plotting the complexes on national maps, one can observe that the Uyuni/Poopo Hedionda or Intersalar complexes link most closely with the rio Loa /Lasana complexes in Chile immediately to the west, that the Lipez/Bolivian assemblages link most directly correlated these archaeological complexes with historic federations; thus Intersalar would be explicitly associated with the Carangas/Karanka.

The general patterns of distribution of ceramic styles reported in Region II of North Chile seems to replicate those identified by Rivera for areas further north. For example, for the Camarones valley, Rivera (1991:36) reports that in the coastal area, typically 65% to 85% of the ceramics recovered are of Chielan coastal styles, while as one moves up into the mid-valley maize growing areas, the patterns shift, with now frequently as much as 70% to 90% of the ceramics recovered being derived from altiplano complexes.

Blonsky (1995) has suggested that the fact Chielan sites such as Taltapae lack the complete assemblage of altiplano ceramics found in the Bolivian type sites for Huruquilla would support an argument of mitmaqkuna ethnic enclave expansion. In his model, Taltape people are viewed as producing Taltape/Huruquilla ware for local domestic consumption. The fact that the Chilean outliers lack some of the elaborations of the highland style is seen by Blonsky as indicating a lower status colonial population. If the linkages were wholly trade, one should expect that the finest wares would find a market as status-validators. Because this is evidently not the case, the current distribution pattern appears to thus support the multiethnic colonial federation model.

Other traits in addition to ceramic complexes define this inter-relationship. The mid valley- areas appear to be the boundary of occurrence of the highland chullpa burials. Patterns of blood genetic markers support strong linkages between the Bolivian altiplano and Chilean coast (Browman 1994:244-245). Reconstructed linguistic patterns (see Fig.# 2) support the north/south break between the clusters that Tarrago (1986) posited, with the northern groups Aymara-linked, and the southern groups Atacama-linked.

Movement of resources (whether foodstuffs such as maize, or household goods such as ceramics) from one zone to another is clearly one of the major vertical linkages. The one non-ceramic artifact virtually ubiquitous in valley and altiplano sites of these units is the horqueta de atalaje, tarabita, or llama packing toggle. Artifact derived from the tropical rainforest in Amazonia are frequently recovered preserved in the dry Chilean sites, further indicating extensive caravan trade networks. How many of these linkages reflect the hierarchically-organized Aymara federation altiplano-to-chilean valley linkages that remain much the same from at least A.d. 1000 to A.D.1460 or so.

Returning to Lumbreras's earlier question to Dauelsberg, we must ask: are the multitude of named ceramic styles (Anantoko, Lasana, Taltape, Dupont, Hedionda, Huruquilla, Yura, Intersalar, etc.) similarly masking broader shared features in this area as well? Schiappacasse, Castro and Niemeyer (1989) have answered "Yes", suggesting the existence of an altiplano "Complejo Chullpario: a series of multi-ethnic señoríos and federations whose material culture traits include the bichrome ceramic assemblage, as well as pukara fortresses and chullpa burials, and the evidence discussed in this paper also indicates broader social phenomena hidden behind the ceramic styles.

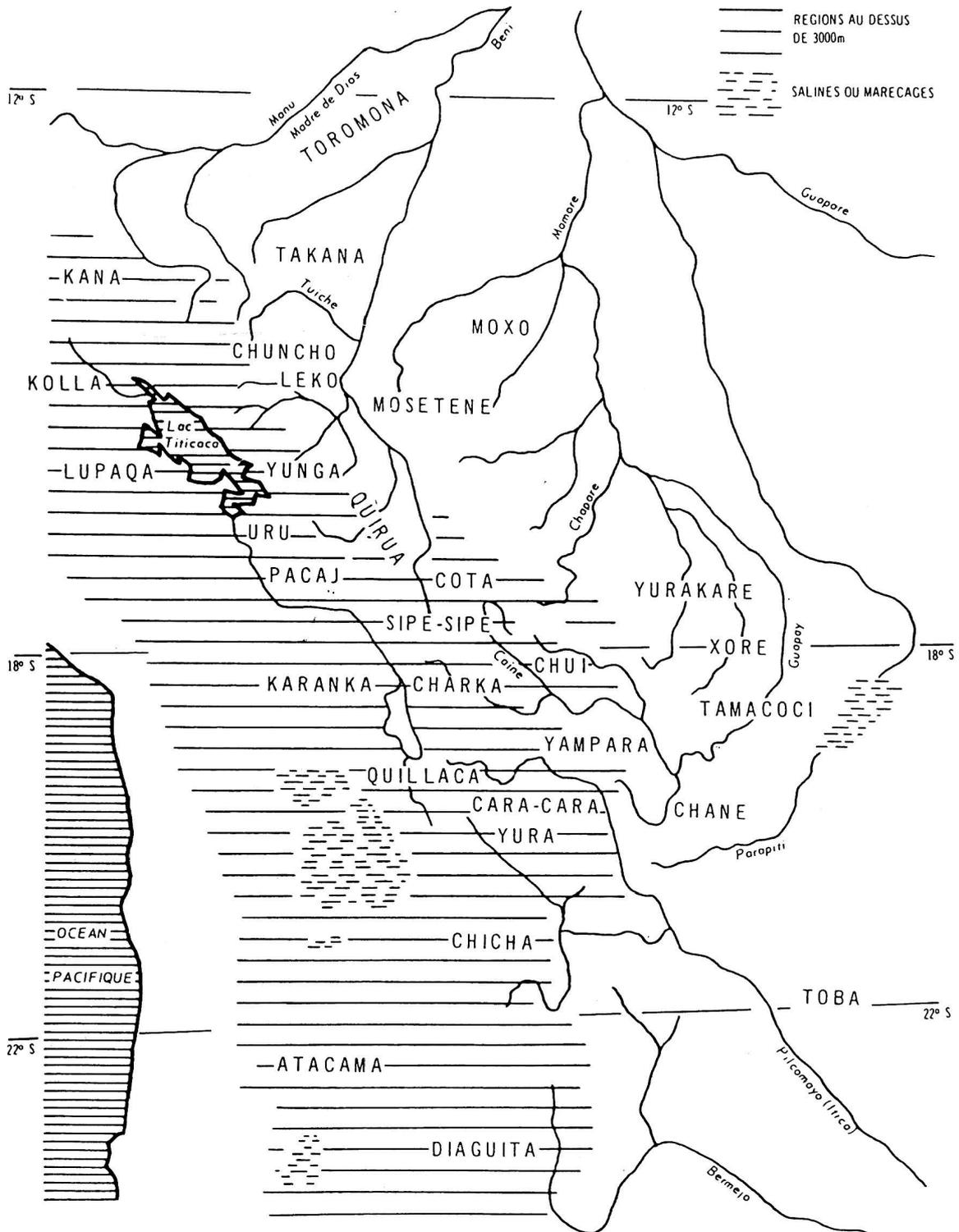
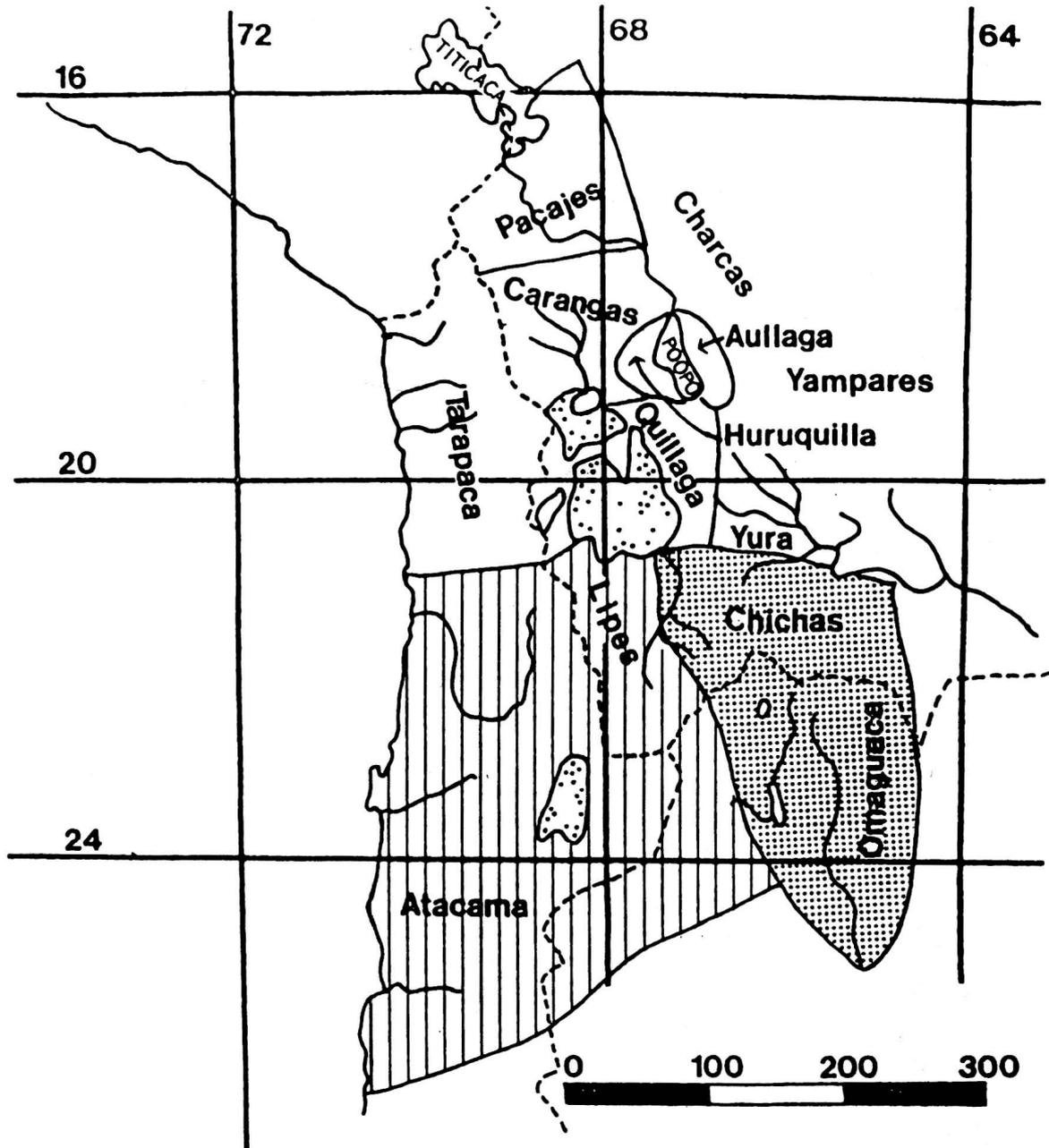


Figure 1. General location of ethnic groups in immediately pre-Inka time. (from Renard-Casevitz and Saignes 1986:110, Map 9).



**15TH CENTURY LOCATION OF MAJOR SOUTHERN BOLIVIAN ETHNIC GROUPS**

Atacama language family  
 Atacama  
 Lipes

Humahuaca language family  
 Omaguaca  
 Chichas

Uru-Chipaya language family  
 Uruquilla

Aymara language family  
 Yura  
 Quillaga  
 Carangas  
 Pacajes  
 Aullaga

Fig. 2 Approximate linguistic boundaries, Late Prehistoric period (from Browman 1986:252, fig.2).

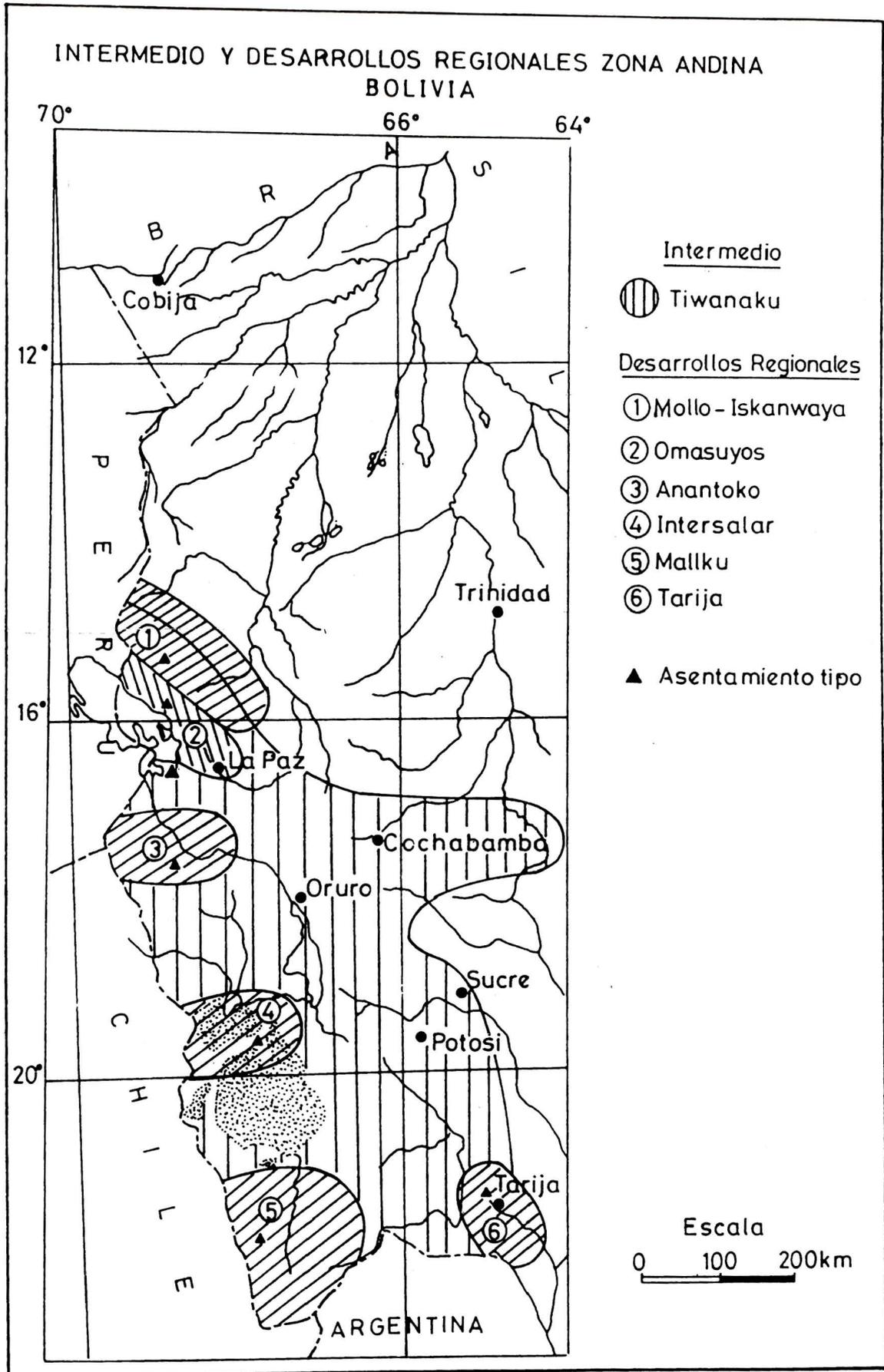
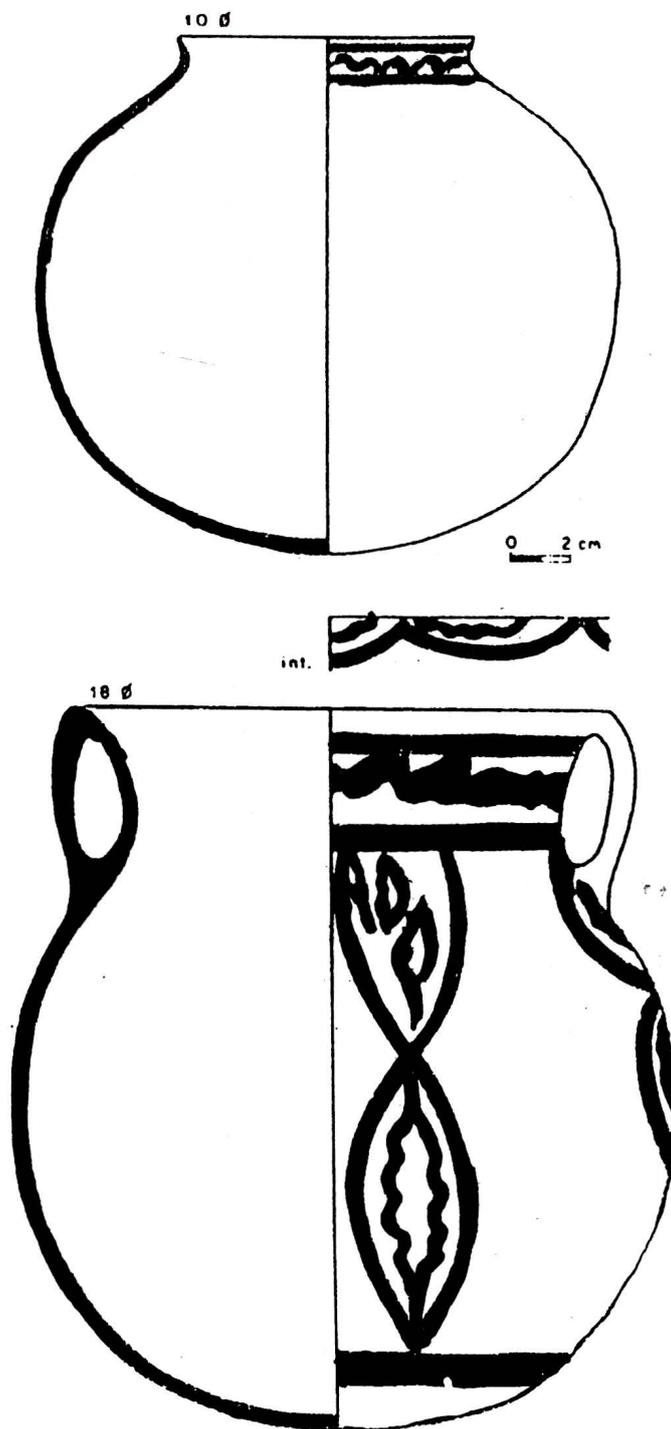


Fig.3 Locations of the Bolivian altiplano complexes.



*Fig.4 Typical Intersalar ware (from Arellano 1992:313, Fig.4).*

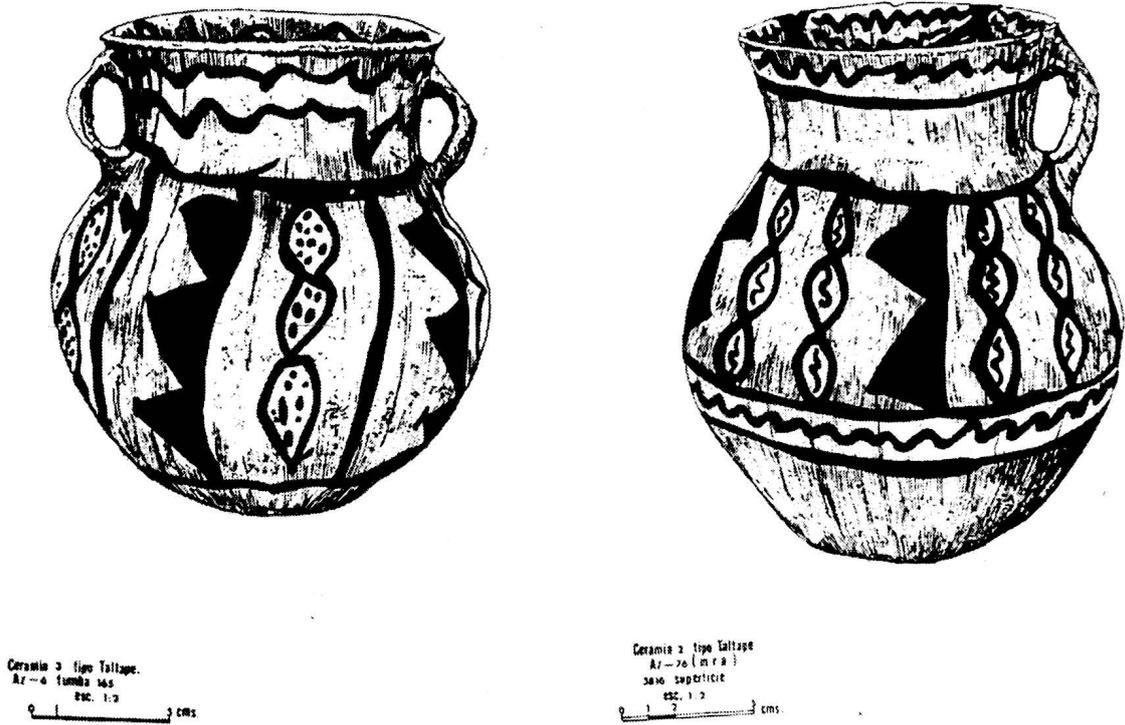


Fig.5. Taltape style ware (from Dauelsberg 1984, pp.24 &27)



Fig.6. Typical Lipez-related wares from Chile, Bolivia and Argentina (from Fernandez 1976:27, Fig. 1).

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