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Preface

Everyone who travels to the Andes for the first time is overwhelmed by the impressive landscape. Within a short distance of 80 km or less, the Andes mountain range rises to altitudes of over 5,000 m above sea level, crossing virtually all landscapes present on earth, from the Pacific Ocean shore, through the desert coast, rising up to the snow-capped peaks of the western cordillera of the Andes. The different ecological zones are so close together that it seems obvious that the indigenous inhabitants in prehistoric times must have made extensive use of these varied natural and economic resources. This indeed still happens today. The overall impression on a newcomer to the Andes is that people, especially in rural areas, are in constant movement, bringing goods from one location to another or visiting relatives living in other towns and villages.

Throughout the millennia, the Andean societies have ingeniously adapted to this multifaceted landscape and have developed sophisticated systems to take advantage of this favorable situation provided by the surrounding nature. However, in the 16th Century, these longstanding traditions were suddenly interrupted by Europeans. The Spaniards came from a completely different environment from the ecology of the tropical high mountains of the Andes. They didn't understand the complicated geography of the Andes nor the systems of the indigenous societies to effectively use the different habitats with all their resources. Living in this varied geography implicated a specific behavior, particular residence patterns and specialized kinds of mobility for the transport and interchange of commodities. The systems of the Andean people did not fit the objectives of the colonial administration, which required static populations to impose a tribute system according to European models. One of the clearest pieces of evidence of the misunderstanding of the indigenous economic system and mobility was the installation in 1572 by the Spanish viceroy Toledo of so-called "reductions", villages where the indigenous inhabitants were forced to reside permanently, so that the Spaniards could have control over them for taxation.

As the indigenous societies of South America did not develop writing systems, the only disciplines able to reconstruct their history are archaeology and ethnohistory. Based on ethnohistoric sources containing information about the residing indigenous people during the arrival of the Spaniards or shortly before, John V. Murra developed a model that described the use of different

archipelagos in the vertical landscape of the Andes. This Verticality Model has dominated the discussion over the past decades regarding the autochthonous economic systems of Andean populations. Few other approaches, such as the System of Circular Mobility, proposed by Tom D. Dillehay and Lautaro Nuñez, have been discussed to any major extent. Although the Verticality Model has mainly been tested with other ethnohistoric sources, archaeological data have been applied in several cases to confirm or reject the validity of Murra's theses for earlier periods of Andean history. The problem was that these archaeological data were scarcely available due to the lack of respective research designs or the failure to perform regional studies large enough to embrace different ecological regions.

The Nasca-Palpa Project, which was realized over the last 20 years in southern Peru, delivered such archaeological data and the research framework to test different economic models for a specific Andean region in a particular time period. The first field campaign of the Nasca-Palpa Project started with financial support from the Swiss-Liechtenstein Foundation of Archaeological Research Abroad (SLSA), with the aim of studying the geoglyphs of the Nasca culture (200 BC–AD 600) in the context of the settlement history of the Palpa region, some 40 km north of the town of Nasca. During the settlement surveys not only Nasca sites were recorded, but also settlements of other time periods. One of the most interesting sites was Jauranga, a settlement and burial location dating to the Middle and Late Paracas period (600–200 BC), which subsequently inspired a special project also financed by SLSA.

From 2002 to 2007, a large interdisciplinary Nasca project was established funded by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF). With this project, a strong geoarchaeological component was introduced into Nasca-Palpa research. Landscape studies became an important parameter for the reconstruction of the cultural behavior of ancient societies in the research region. Specialists in isotope analysis and palaeogenetics helped to trace patterns of mobility and population dynamics. During this phase of the project, it became clear that the regional history of the coast could not be fully understood without also considering the highland region of the Andes.

This idea led to the establishment of a new project called the "Andean Transect" in 2011, supported again

by the BMBF. Until 2011, the explicit goal of this project was to record a representative sample of settlements along the Palpa valleys, ranging from the catchment area of about 4,500 masl down to the mouth of the Rio Grande River at the Pacific Ocean. The analysis of the settlement patterns and other archaeological features provided insights regarding the interaction of settlements during the different time periods of pre-Hispanic occupation in the study area.

With this project, it became definitively clear that the settlement area of the major cultures in southern Peru, like the Nasca and Paracas culture, was not confined to the narrow strip of the desert coast. Rather, the settlements extended over the entire valleys, including the highland regions of the western slope of the Andes. In order to obtain more detailed archaeological information of one of these cultures, an additional project was carried out from 2012 to 2015 that focused on the Paracas culture. With funding from the German Research Foundation, the efforts concentrated on Paracas sites in the highlands and excavations of large areas of the sites of Collanco and Cutamalla. A significant amount of data stem from these two sites and serve to constitute the basis of the present study by Christian Mader.

Christian Mader participated in several field campaigns of the Paracas Project. He later returned to Peru to do an analysis of the findings, as well as additional excavations. After designing the conceptual framework of his doctoral thesis, he selected a great amount of data from the Paracas Project and from previous work related to the Paracas occupation in the Palpa valleys, thus forming an impressive corpus for his study. He even undertook a hiking tour from the highland of Ayacucho all the way down to the mouth of the Rio Grande River, following the assumed long-distance routes of the ancient Paracas lama caravans along the entire Andean transect. In this way, he obtained a first-hand understanding of virtually every detail of the landscape he was studying in his thesis.

We were extremely happy when Christian Mader, with the establishment of the graduate school “Archaeology of Pre-Modern Economies” of the Universities of Cologne and Bonn, funded by the German Research Foundation, obtained a contract that enabled him to dedicate all his efforts from 2013 to 2016 to the processing and analysis of the archaeological data previously collected in Peru. It is the merit of the organizers of this graduate school, Martin Bentz, Michael Heinzlmann, as well as the supervisor of Christian Mader’s thesis, the Americanist Nikolai Grube, to have provided the intellectual framework and professional background where Christian Mader was able to develop his ideas regarding the economic system of the Paracas culture and to discuss the topic with colleagues and experts in the field.

The present publication of Christian Mader is an important contribution to Andean archaeology. It examines long debated theories about prehistoric economic organization in the Andes with new archaeological data. By doing this, it relates Andean archaeology to the ongoing worldwide discussion of the economic organization of prehistoric societies. Strangely enough, the extremely diversified landscape of the Andes with its longstanding cultural development did not play the role in discussions about pre-historic economies it deserves. On the other hand, it seems that discussions about economic organization in the Andes are not compared to other regions where discussions about this topic have a much longer tradition. The important contributions of Tim Ingold about landscape archaeology, for example, have not yet been considered in the analysis of Andean economic systems.

With Christian Mader’s analysis of production, distribution and consumption of commodities within the Andean Transect, we achieve a much better understanding of pre-historic economic systems in the Andes. And more specifically, we finally obtain a better and more realistic understanding of the Paracas culture itself. In the early years of the investigation of the Paracas culture, during the first half of the 20th century, research mainly focused on objects. The analysis of ceramic objects and textiles followed a rather art historical approach. Even the archaeological chronology was based on a stylistic analysis of mostly non-contextualized ceramic vessels from graves. Detailed settlement studies on the south coast of Peru began no earlier than the 1980s.

With the rich dataset obtained during the research of the Nasca-Palpa Project, combined with data recovered recently by other Paracas projects, Christian Mader was able to rely on a much broader and more secure base of data on the Paracas culture, which were analyzed with modern interdisciplinary research methods. Christian Mader thus reconstructs a more detailed picture of the Paracas culture, which had a much larger area of influence than previously thought, namely that reaching to the highlands. As a result of his analyses, he defines a new economic model, the model of “Economic Directness”, while being careful enough not to completely contradict previously postulated models, like Murra’s Verticality Model. It is the nature of archaeological data to be fragmentary. However, he cites numerous arguments to claim that none of the hitherto formulated models fits entirely to the Paracas case. Rather he uses several elements of existing economic models to postulate the new model of Economic Directness, which more precisely describes the system of the Paracas in the Palpa valleys. Economic Directness means that people of one cultural group occupied a coherent system of different ecological

zones and therefore had direct access to commodities that were interchanged between different groups of the society.

Considering the ample scope of the study and the multiple topics touched upon during the development of the argumentation, it is no wonder that not all the originally intended goals could be achieved. This, however, opens a great potential for future research. Further study of archaeobotanical or lithic material, for example,

would considerably consolidate the basis of data. Other time periods could be investigated with the same methodology in order to test if the same economic principles were the rule in earlier or later times. Or other regions could be investigated to look for similarities or differences. In any case, the present book is an excellent example of a systematic study of a large set of settlement data, which makes a significant contribution to an important discussion about the economy of prehistoric societies.

Markus Reindel