

PROVA DE PROFICIÊNCIA EM INGLÊS 2015

QUESTÕES PARA SEREM RESPONDIDAS EM PORTUGUÊS

1. Qual a definição proposta para o autor para o conceito de “império”?
2. Quais foram algumas das hipóteses apresentadas, segundo o autor, para explicar o funcionamento de impérios?
3. De que maneira a organização das ideias propostas na obra diferiria dos conceitos dos Inca sobre sua história e si mesmos?
4. Quais fontes utilizadas por historiadores recentes para o estudo dos Inca? Como os estudos arqueológicos sobre o tema têm se constituído nos últimos anos?

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'The Peoples of America'

General Editors: Alan Kolata and Dean Snow

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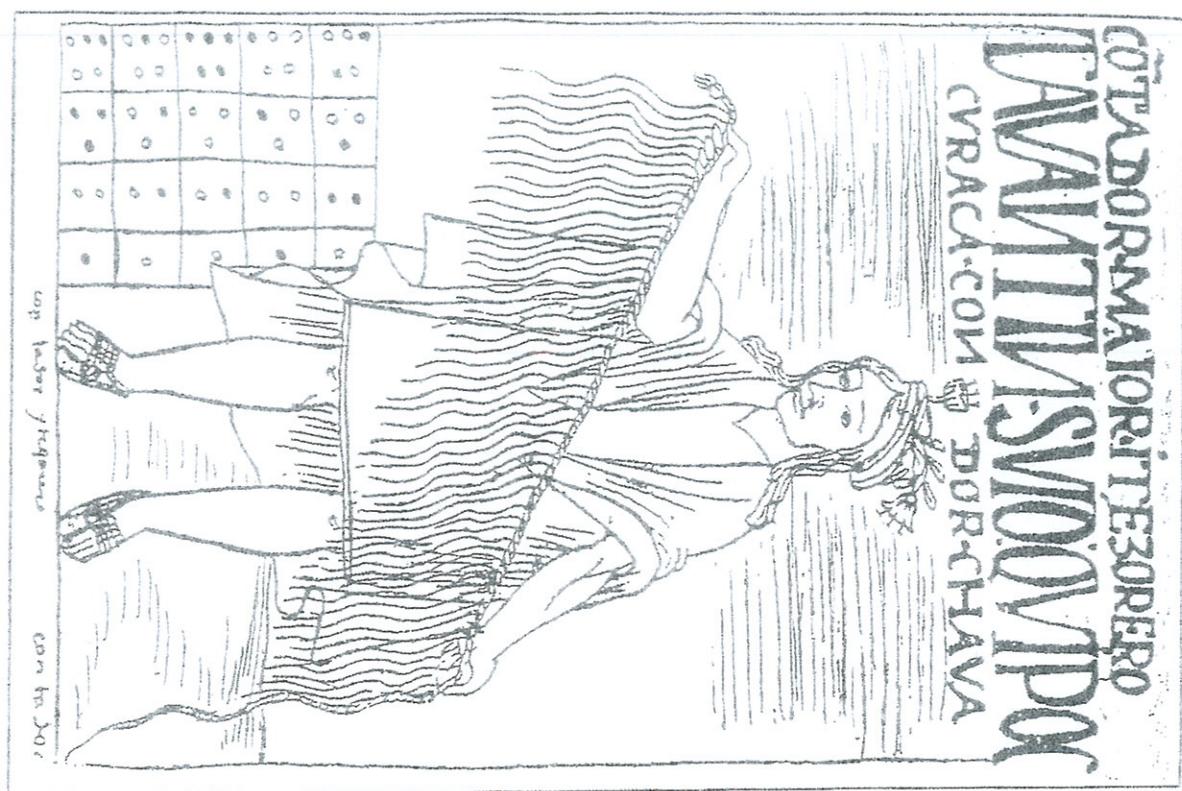


Figure 1.2 *Khipu kamayuq* with his *khipu*, *yupana* (counting tray; see pp. 160–1) in lower left corner; Cumanan Poma's (1936) chronicle.

Empires like Tawantinsuyu were the largest and most heterogeneous of the pre-modern societies, which makes studying them confoundedly difficult. By the term empire, I am referring to an extensive polity – often containing millions of subjects and covering hundreds of thousands of square kilometers – in which a core polity gains control over a range of other societies. The dominion may be political, military, or economic, and it may be remote or immediate, but the essence of an empire is that the core society is able to assert its will over the other peoples brought under its aegis. In the pre-industrial world, only a relative handful of such polities can be named. In the Old World, the Qin and Han Chinese and their successors, Middle and New Kingdom Egypt, the Macedonians maybe, the Assyrians, Neo-Assyrians, Romans, Parthians, Sassanians, Persians, Mongols, Mughals, Mauryas, and Vijayanagara, among others, can fairly be considered to have been empires. In the Americas, the Aztecs, Tarascans, Incas, and Wari qualify, although scholars occasionally dispute the status of each of them. The scale and diversity of those polities make their analysis an enormous challenge. Anyone studying the Romans, for example, might have to consider evidence drawn from more than forty modern countries, written in dozens of archaic, medieval, and modern languages. Even the Inca empire took in lands that now fall within six countries, whose native inhabitants spoke scores of languages.

Scholars have devised several ways to reduce this kind of research to manageable concepts that foster informed comparison (Sinopoli 1994; Alcock *et al.* 2001). Over the last few decades, the most widely used approach in anthropology and history divides empires into their *core* and *periphery*. The core is envisioned as the political, economic, and cultural heartland of the empire, while the periphery consists of the societies that are ruled and exploited by the core. Frequently, the relationship between the core and the periphery has been seen in terms of both power and space. The societies of a centrally located core were visualized as having been more complex politically and economically and more sophisticated culturally than the often barbaric peripheral societies. As the power of one core waned, it would be replaced by another center, often at the margins of the previous heartland. This view owed much to the nature and histories of the Roman and Chinese empires, in which heartland areas were periodically beset by troublesome borderlands peoples (e.g., Latimore 1988).

As historians became more discerning in their analysis of empires as complex systems, they focused less on the layout of empires and more on the relations of inequality between the heartland and surrounding areas. Immanuel Wallerstein's (1974) world-systems model has been widely applied to early empires, even though the scholars who use his concepts often think that he downplayed the complexities of pre-modern empires. Wallerstein observed that macro-regions are often organized by economic relations that exceed political boundaries. Labor organization, resource extraction, accrual of wealth, and market relations, for example, result from relationships that integrate vast areas and, frequently, many politically independent states and even continents. Archaeologists have adapted this general idea to study relations between the heartlands of ancient states and neighboring regions (e.g., Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991; Algaze 2005).

An alternative conception focuses on strategies of imperial rule according to their intensity and mix of different kinds of power. The sociologist Michael Mann has proposed an influential model, in which he views an empire as being constituted by "multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks" of military, economic, political, and ideological power (Mann 1986: 1). Alternatively, strategies of rule have been portrayed as lying along a continuum from low to high intensity (Luttwak 1976; Hasinger 1985: 100–1; D'Altroy 1992: 18–24). At the low end of the continuum is a *hegemonic* strategy, which produces a fairly loose, indirect kind of imperial rule. A hegemonic polity is built by a core state society that comes to dominate a series of client polities through diplomacy or conquest. An overriding goal of a hegemonic approach is to keep the costs of rule low. The downside is that a low investment in administration and physical facilities is offset by a relatively low extraction of resources and by limited control over subject peoples. The Aztecs provide a classic case of this kind of empire (Hassing 1985; Smith 2012).

At the other end of the continuum is a *territorial* strategy, which is an intense, direct kind of rule. That approach to governance is costly, since it requires a heavy investment in administration, security against external threats, and the physical infrastructure of imperial rule, such as roads, provincial centers, and frontier defense. The costs may be necessary to ensure the empire's continued existence, however, or to satisfy the demands of the upper classes. Rome of the first century AD and the Han Chinese provide good examples of territorial empires. Those two poles grade into each other, of course, and may be applied selectively in different regions or at different times as the situation warrants. Numerous factors may contribute to a particular choice of strategy: the organizations of the central polity and its various subject societies, historical relations between the central society and subjects, political negotiation, the distribution of resources, transport technology, and the goals of the imperial leadership.

A widely cited political science approach, described initially by Doyle (1986), organizes theories of empire into three categories, based on where the stimulus for development arose and on the motivations driving the core polity. The first of those categories, called *metropicentric* theories, argues that the central polities were driven by their own economic, military, or political interests in self-aggrandizement. As applied to pre-modern empires, the Romans of the Republican era (Harris 1979) and the Aztecs of central Mexico would stand out. In *pericentric* theories, the expansion of the core polity is catalyzed by the difficulties of maintaining stable relationships with surrounding societies. From this perspective, imperial expansion can be seen as a defensive effort to protect the core. The Roman annexation of Greece through transformation of client polities into provinces can be cited as an example here. The last kind of model, the *systemic*, tends to be focused on more modern cases. It suggests that great powers engage in imperial ventures in an effort to dominate and contain their rivals. Interventions by European powers through their colonialist ventures during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are often seen in this light.

Recent network modeling builds more formally and quantitatively on some of the same ideas that fueled Mann's (1986) sociological approach. Network theorists argue that imperial relationships may be arrayed generally along economic, political, social, military, or ideological lines, or may be structured more narrowly around technologies like transport and communication (e.g., Smith 2005; Glatz 2009; Brughmans 2013). The approach emphasizes that such relationships were never static. They changed constantly, targeting links between key people or places, and leaping over intermediary spaces or societies, as conditions demanded. In this light, treating polities as neatly bounded territories misleads us as to how they actually worked. Even in the most intensively occupied lands, the hand of rule could be applied unevenly. The flows of ideas, people, and materials moved in both directions, from the central powers to subjects and back.

If we take the Inca case, the location of any place looks different in relation to Cuzco if we analyze relationships along the system of roads and provincial facilities or as spaces falling within geographic expanses (Jenkins 2001). Similarly, lines of communication (e.g., for military needs) may have been

built on differing networks than lines along which valuable commodities flowed or foodstuffs were supplied locally. Moreover, the hundreds of radial arrays of sacred places on the landscape that lay at the heart of Andean societies' self-images may have had essentially nothing to do with imperial political networks or the movement of commodities. John Hyslop (1984) made this point explicit some time ago in his book on the Inca road system, when he argued that Inca rule really consisted of a series of overlapping networks, rather than a single integrated system. Where the new analyses often prove most valuable is in their quantitative and graphical formalities of spatial data. Approaches applied through geographic information systems (GIS), for example, can provide startling insights into how affairs ranging from daily practice to imperial strategy played out (Kosiba and Bauer 2012). A final influential set of ideas about how to think about empires has arisen from post-colonial theory, which appeared as a kind of intellectual resistance to the Western domination of much of the world (e.g., Said 1978). The literature on this subject is too vast to do justice here, but a couple of guiding ideas can be highlighted. One is that people or social groups in positions of power often get to decide what constitutes knowledge and how it can be legitimated (Estermann 2009). Since elites determine what history is told publicly (Dietler 2005), they often cast it in a way that makes themselves the inevitable – and desirable – outcome of natural progress. Spencer (1974), Tylor (1958), and other nineteenth-century British social philosophers, for example, saw their nation's supremacy as a natural consequence of the progress of history. Britain's role as an imperial power was therefore entirely justified.

From the vantage point of the post-colonial critique, the study of the past and of non-Western societies by Western intellectuals may itself be part of the process of political domination. So the present book could be treated as part of an intellectual imperialism. It seeks to impose a particular analytical perspective on the world, one that prefers comparative study to explanation that makes sense exclusively within a particular society.⁵ By analogy, archaeology as a professional discipline can be cast historically as a Euro-American project that helped to pilage the world's patrimony in the name of saving it. In this light, justifications for modern archaeological practice are little better than the sense of rectitude that the Spaniards brought to bear in overthrowing Inca claims to legitimate rule.

A second important idea that underpins post-colonial thought is that colonial or imperial leaders often apply derogatory concepts of "the other"

to their subjects or peoples beyond their reach.⁶ Societies outside the core can be safely dismissed as inferior in their intellectual capacities and accomplishments. As a logical consequence, those peoples would surely benefit from being civilized by more advanced societies. That kind of thinking underpinned the Christian imperative in the conquest of the Americas, for example, and Kipling's notion of "the white man's burden." Sweeping terms like Latin America, the Oriental, and the Third World are examples of western colonialist categories that post-colonial theory attempts to counter. The simplifications and caricatures inherent in colonial rule, it is argued, have been used to justify vast damage and exploitation in the name of superior humanity. As we will see, the Incas were no strangers to such ideas. They readily dismissed people outside the empire as barbarians, while the societies of the north coast were dog-eaters and sexual deviants, and the Uru people of the Lake Titicaca area were worthless vagrants.

As useful as they are, all of the broad approaches described here have some weaknesses. One common concern is that the conceptual division of an empire into a complex, cosmopolitan core and a less developed periphery is simply wrong on empirical grounds in several cases. Some imperial societies dominated peoples who surpassed them in urbanization, urbanity, population, social hierarchy, and economic specialization. The Incas are among the most prominent of the counter-examples, which also include the Mongols, Mughals, and Macedonians. A second concern is an unwarranted overemphasis on the power of the core society. Historical records indicate that many empires rose to power through coercive means – often conquest coupled with diplomacy that was backed by not so latent force. Even so, relations between imperial elites and peripheral societies were far more negotiated and dynamic than often thought not too long ago. To take just one counter-intuitive example, Barfield (2001) points out that, rather than extracting resources, Chinese rulers at times paid tribute to the steppe nomads to keep them at bay. They didn't call it that, of course, but the flow of wealth was often from the empire to the exterior.

Another concern is that general models often heavily focus our attention on the imperial elite or on interactions between them and subject elites. As research in provincial regions has advanced, especially within local communities, it has become increasingly clear that many important activities in ancient empires occurred without the intervention, interest, or awareness of the central authorities. Historians have long recognized that the grandiose

claims of ancient emperors were often exaggerated. Imperial histories, whether inscribed on monumental architecture or written in texts, often attributed all decisions and power to the ruler. In part, that was a literary convention or imperial propaganda, but modern authors still commonly describe the functioning of empires in terms of individual rulers. I feel that this perspective attributes too much power to individual leaders, who were often at odds with factions made up of their closest associates, and emphasizes a top-down vision that misleads us about household and community life. Moreover, as Luttwak (1976) points out for the Romans, the tactical and strategic actions of the leadership were frequently at odds when analyzed over the long haul. The decisions of individual rulers could be designed to work for short-term political or tactical ends, while the long-term strategic development of the imperial system could smooth out the occasionally disastrous eccentricities of particular rulers.

Those concerns lead me to the approach taken in this book. My view is that an adequate analysis of an early empire must take into account the perceptions, actions, and interests of the dominant society and those of the highly varied subject peoples, if we wish to make sense of life at the grand and small scale. The overarching goal is to meld information drawn from historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources, with an occasional dash of art history and linguistics. This approach differs from most other books on the Incas, which often rely on early documents, because they provide many details about history, social life, and rationales for behavior that are not available through archaeological sources (Rowe 1946; Davies 1995; Rostworowski 1999). When archaeology is brought into play, authors often use it to illustrate the elegance of architecture or objects or to describe the road system or provincial administrative settlements. The early written record, however, is heavily weighted toward the life and times of the royalty and other elites, especially in and around Cuzco. More troublesome is that vast areas of the empire, especially in the south, are largely blanks in the written record (DAilroy *et al.* 2007). Conversely, until recently, treatments of Inca archaeology have generally been descriptive and draw on documents to explain sites' functions or place in the empire's historical development. Some works, especially John Hyslop's (1984, 1990) exceptional studies of the Inca roads and settlement planning, consciously weave the two lines of evidence together. Even so, history and archaeology are seldom systematically integrated. Because they provide different information and sometimes lead us to incompatible conclusions, I will try to highlight where variations arise and how we might resolve the conflicts.

Studying the Incas

Readers familiar with non-Western societies will not be surprised that the organization of this book does not correspond well to the ways that the Incas thought about their world. Andean peoples did not order things and relationships according to the same categories that we use to structure Western accounts – politics, economics, religion, and the grand chronological sweep of events, for example. In Tawantinsuyu, history served power, and the past was open to change if it furthered political ends. The Incas did not distinguish neatly between ideological and political leadership, since the ruler was both a deity and the head of government. Military power arose from a tangled mix of supernatural forces and human endeavor, while economic productivity resulted from the gifts of the earth, labor shared through social ties, and the favor of deities. In their world, priests could be generals and the dead could contribute to state policy.

So an Inca would have written a different book from mine. Or actually he would have given an oral exposition that featured give-and-take with the audience, since the Incas did not have a writing system in the sense that language was represented by inscribed symbols. Significantly, an Inca from another family would probably have recited an alternative narrative, because the telling of history depended heavily on who the speakers and listeners were. The multiple visions of the past that existed among the Incas themselves contributed mightily to the plenitude of Spanish-authored accounts that we have to work with today. Any explanation of life in Tawantinsuyu must therefore balance Western analytical categories with the ways that the Incas might have viewed any situation and what options may have arisen within their social logic, at least to the degree possible. We must also take care not to freeze Andean life into a single homogeneous instant, exemplified by the way things were in 1532 – but described half a century or more later. As we learn more, it has become increasingly clear that life and culture in the prehispanic Andes were creative, dynamic, and contested.

In an effort to bridge the chasm between Andean and European modes of thought for the reader, I have added a new chapter to this edition, called "Thinking Inca" (Chapter 5). In it, I try to provide some perspective on Inca notions of the nature of existence, time, space, knowledge, information recording, and causality. My hope is that, by having some background on Andean reasoning, the reader may better understand how social order, power, and history played out in Tawantinsuyu. For those readers so

informed, it might help to read chapter 5 after this one, as some of the discussion in it could enrich a reading of chapters 2–4.

In the modern era, scholars have relied heavily on Colonial-era documents for their insights into the nature of life and power in the Inca realm. A wealth of detail and insight can be plumbed from eyewitness diaries, chronicles, letters, inspections, court depositions, church papers, and the other materials preserved in public and private archives. They provide both particular data and culturally based explanations that will never be accessible through archaeology. Over the last half century, the agenda for discussion of the documents has been set largely by such luminaries as John Rowe, John Murra, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Franklin Pease, and Tom Zuidema. ‘They have brought radically different assumptions to the table, but they all rely on close analyses of a wide range of documents.⁷ In many of those historically based works, the role of archaeology has often been limited to providing illustrative material. Sites and objects are frequently interpreted through the lens of written information, and archaeological fieldwork is seen as a context within which ideas derived from historical study can be assessed. Even so, many scholars have worked to integrate historical and archaeological information on the Incas, and visions of the relationships among different sources have undergone radical changes in the process (e.g., Rowe 1946; Hyslop 1984, 1990; Malpass 1993; Burger *et al.* 2007; Malpass and Alconini 2010). Paradoxically, a significant impetus to that change arose from historiographic research, which began to assess more closely the genesis, character, biases, and lacunae of the historical record (e.g., Adorno 1986, 2001; Julien 2000).

The last couple of decades have seen a shift in the balance, so that archaeological interpretation of Inca-era material remains stands as a more independent source of knowledge of the past (e.g., Malpass and Alconini 2010). At the same time, ethnographers, archaeologists, and art historians began to introduce new approaches. Their work has relied more heavily on comparative theory drawn from such diverse sources as gender studies, visual theory, processual and post-processual archaeology, landscape studies, and mathematics (e.g., Classen 1993; Urton 1997; Abercrombie 1998; van de Guchte 1999; González and Bray 2008). In the last few years, post-colonial theory, semiotics, linguistics, bioanthropology, phenomenology, and performance studies have also begun to have an impact (e.g., Verano 2003; Coben 2006; Cummins 2007; Salomon and Hyland 2010). Those theories are generally beyond what I will treat in this book, but the scope of new thought on the Incas is both exciting and at times bewildering.

‘The new approaches suggest that we are in the process of reframing Inca studies, even if early documents and the archaeological record still provide most information. One idea that has nudged my own view of things in different directions recently is the recognition that documents and material remains do not provide two windows into precisely the same domains of knowledge. Instead, they are partial complements. By this I mean that the Incas themselves seem to have organized their own knowledge, ideas, and forms of communication into overlapping formats. They gave some a material form (e.g., textiles, architecture, *khipu* knot-records); they left some crucial things like the grand histories in the realm of the immaterial (e.g., oral narratives); and they linked the two through performances (e.g., daily rituals, state ceremonies, readings of *khipu*). The fact that no physical representations of Inca rulers or their exploits are known is especially telling. Information of that nature appears to have been almost exclusively reserved for oral presentations, assisted by mnemonic tools. As a result, to understand the Incas, we have to read the different sources with an eye as to why a particular kind of evidence is found in that place.’

The Written Sources

Of the thousands of known documents that describe life under the Incas, no more than about fifty contain accounts of Inca history per se. ‘The earliest eyewitness accounts were written by official scribes and soldiers in the heat of a military invasion of an alien land. Their comments were impressions written without time for reflection or understanding of the civilization they were observing. As the Spaniards learned Quechua and began to understand the Andes better, the indigenous peoples found more reason to conceal their activities and beliefs. The situation came to a head in 1559, when the Spaniards were stunned to discover that the Incas around Cuzco were still venerating the mummies of their past kings and queens. In Spanish eyes, the native peoples – far from having assimilated the word of the true church – were still inebriated with their heretical beliefs in living ancestors and a landscape filled with conscious beings.’

‘The simultaneous clash and syncretism of cultures, combined with a gradual increase in mutual knowledge, meant that descriptions of the empire are never both immediate and informed. The eyewitnesses who wrote reflectively were few – Pedro Pizarro and Diego de Trujillo stand out among them, and they did not put quill to parchment until almost forty years had

PROVA DE CONHECIMENTOS 2015

(Mestrado)

1. O que é arqueologia? Quais são seus objetos de estudo? Qual é o lugar da arqueologia entre as ciências sociais e naturais?
2. Como os arqueólogos processualistas têm procurado explicar as causas e os significados da variabilidade artefactual encontrada no registro arqueológico?
3. Qual o papel de uma instituição museológica de natureza arqueológica na gestão do patrimônio arqueológico brasileiro? Considere as questões relativas ao gerenciamento deste patrimônio gerado a partir das pesquisas arqueológicas em território nacional.
4. Quais são as formas de se estabelecer cronologias em arqueologia? Exemplifique.

PROVA DE CONHECIMENTOS 2015
(Doutorado)

1. Qual a importância das arqueologias colaborativas para a gestão do patrimônio arqueológico na contemporaneidade?
2. Faça uma análise das diferentes abordagens sobre as noções de paisagem e espaço na Arqueologia.
3. Como a arqueologia dos encontros coloniais tem desenvolvido a reflexão sobre o colonialismo e a relação colonizador-colonizado?
4. A transmissão cultural, que pode ser entendida como o processo pelo qual o conteúdo cultural é aprendido por e comunicado para os membros de uma sociedade, tem sido foco de estudos e debates mais intensos nas últimas décadas. Dentro desse panorama, discuta os principais pressupostos, métodos, críticas e alguns estudos de caso envolvendo o uso de artefatos ou línguas para o estabelecimento de relações culturais no tempo e no espaço.

PROFICIÊNCIA EM ESPANHOL

QUESTÕES PARA SEREM RESPONDIDAS EM PORTUGUÊS

- 1. Especifique a proposta dos autores do artigo apontando também o que é possível notar a partir da análise das evidências em relação ao sistema de assentamentos.**
- 2. Segundo os autores, “a produção de bens utilizando os distintos recursos que oferece o meio sustenta a hipótese de otimização que as populações arcaicas do norte do Chile fizeram de seu entorno”. Responda com base no texto: quais as implicações disso?**
- 3. Qual o objetivo dos autores e qual a metodologia empregada para este estudo?**
- 4. Segundo os autores, quais as consequências decorrentes da utilização dos recursos naturais na exploração agrícola levada a cabo pelos grupos de pescadores do Vale de Azapa?**

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ESTUDIOS ATACAMEÑOS

ARQUEOLOGÍA Y ANTROPOLOGÍA SURANDINAS



TRANSFORMACIÓN DEL PAISAJE SOCIAL EN ARICA, NORTE DE CHILE: DE PESCADORES ARCAICOS A AGRICULTORES INCIPIENTES

Iván Muñoz O. y Juan Chacama R.¹

❖ INTRODUCCIÓN

Resumen

El proceso de cambio de una sociedad de pescadores-recolectores, como los grupos Chinchorro, hacia una sociedad agrícola más sedentaria, como se ha planteado para las poblaciones Faldas del Morro y Alto Ramírez, no solo implicó un cambio en la estructura social y económica local, sino que conllevó también a cambios en los aspectos ideológicos de estas poblaciones, afectando la manera como el hombre mantuvo su relación directa con el medio. Así, por ejemplo, la vinculación con determinados hitos geográficos, espacios de extracción de recursos y lugares de asentamientos, jugaron un rol trascendental como ordenadores del territorio. Para analizar dichos cambios retomamos un conjunto de sitios arqueológicos estudiados previamente y que corresponden a poblaciones vinculadas con el período Arcaico Tardío y Formativo de la costa de Arica y sector bajo del valle de Azapa. Se analizan comparativamente tres hitos temporales, los que corresponden a los períodos culturales Arcaico Tardío (2000-1000 AC), Formativo Temprano (1000-200 AC) y Formativo Tardío (200 AC-500 DC).

Palabras claves: pescadores arcaicos - agricultores incipientes - paisaje social.

Abstract

The change process from fisher-gatherer societies, such as Chinchorro groups, toward sedentary agricultural society, as proposed for the Alto Ramírez Falda del Morro populations, not only effected their social and economic structure, but also led to changes in the structures of the social organization and the way by which these human groups interacted with their environment. As such, the association between specific geographic landmarks, areas for resource extraction and settlement areas played a main role as territory organizers. In order to study the impact of such aspects in the local settlement pattern, this article analyses a series of archaeological sites associated to the Late Archaic and Formative period in Arica's coast and the valley of Azapa. To this end, we compared three chronological periods, which correspond to the Late Archaic Cultural Period (2000-1000 AC), Early Formative Period (1000-200 AC), and Late Formative Period (200 AC-500 DC).

Key words: Archaic fisher-gatherers - Incipient farmers - Social landscape.

Recibido: septiembre 2009. Aceptado: diciembre 2011.

Estudios recientes desarrollados por los autores de este manuscrito en torno a las sociedades Formativas señalan que, durante el proceso de cambio vivido por los pescadores en tránsito a la agricultura (1500-500 AC), no solamente el hombre fue partícipe de esta transformación gradual, sino que intervino activamente en el escenario natural como un agente integrado al sistema ecológico. En los aproximadamente 1.000 años que dura este proceso de transición, observamos diversas escalas de cambio, que culminan en un conjunto de estructuras funerarias elevadas, asociadas al culto a los ancestros fundadores, además de servir como estructuras demarcatorias de territorios en relación con los hídricos, fundamentales para el desarrollo agrícola. Considerando la magnitud de esos cambios, en el presente estudio pretendemos analizar de manera reflexiva el rol que habrían alcanzado los pescadores de la costa de Arica en el difícil y complejo proceso que fue el tránsito hacia la agricultura. Dicha complejidad ha sido discutida entre otros por Núñez (1969, 1983, 1989) y Núñez y Santoro (2011), al señalar la relación entre los grupos costeros y las primeras sociedades agrícolas aldeanas en los valles occidentales, a través del uso de materias primas y de la presencia de tecnologías para la pesca y caza marina en las sociedades agrícolas, lo que sugiere una continuidad de rasgos culturales entre costa e interior. Este planteamiento ha sido corroborado por Santoro (1980a, 1982), Muñoz (1980, 1989, 2004, 2011a), Starnen et al. (2004), entre otros, quienes han señalado que los pescadores arcaicos serían el soporte cultural sobre el cual se asentaron las poblaciones agrícolas tempranas en los valles costeros de Arica a partir del 1000 AC.

¹ Departamento de Antropología, Universidad de Tarapacá, Arica, CHILE. Email: imunoz@uta.cl, jchacama@uta.cl

Nuestra propuesta –si bien tiene como base la discusión de un modelo local de desarrollo a partir del análisis de un conjunto de sitios de los períodos Arcaico y Formativo, emplazados en el litoral de Arica y sector bajo del valle de Azapa–, tiene la particularidad de que en este análisis integramos el entorno como un factor importante dentro del paisaje social, cuya estrategia de desarrollo apuntaba gradualmente hacia la explotación agrícola de los valles dentro de un ordenamiento del espacio ocupacional. El análisis de las evidencias nos permite plantear un sistema de asentamientos que estaría dado por, a) un proceso de conquista tecnológica y asentamientos con intenso ceremonialismo en torno a la ritualidad de la muerte; b) un proceso experimental que involucró espacios de valle bajo y costa donde se dio la explotación de recursos hídricos y terrenos vinculados a las primeras prácticas agrícolas; y c) la ocupación progresiva y permanente de los valles una vez que se logran ciertas líneas productivas en cuanto a los cultivos.

❖ REFLEXIONES TEÓRICAS PARA EL ANÁLISIS DE UNA SOCIEDAD EN PROCESO DE CAMBIO

Para discutir el proceso social vivido por las poblaciones de pescadores en tránsito hacia la agricultura, hemos tomado en nuestro modelo de análisis el aporte de la arqueología del paisaje, que involucra al hombre y los cambios que hizo en su entorno, en el contexto de su ordenamiento y percepción del espacio. El paisaje, según Criado (1999), se concibe como un producto social constituido por el espacio físico natural, como marco medioambiental de la acción humana; el espacio social o medio construido culturalmente, donde se producen las relaciones entre individuos y grupos; y el espacio pensando o medio simbólico, que permite ordenar y dar sentido y significancia a la apropiación humana de la naturaleza. Según Bourdieu (1999), las personas activamente ordenan, transforman, se identifican y memorizan el paisaje a través del contacto; por lo tanto, el sentido del lugar y su compromiso con el mundo que las rodea invariablemente dependen de sus propias situaciones sociales, históricas y culturales.

La producción de bienes utilizando los distintos recursos que ofrece el medio, sustenta la hipótesis de la optimización que las poblaciones arcaicas del norte de Chile

habrían hecho de su entorno. Esta situación implica que conocieron muy bien el medio, tanto costero (litoral), como la desembocadura de ríos y valles circundantes, lo que les permitió hacer un uso racional de la explotación de los recursos. Sin embargo, el conocimiento del espacio no se manifiesta solo en lo económico, con la explotación de los recursos para desarrollar tecnologías de subsistencia, sino también en la importancia que habrían tenido distintos hitos geográficos en el plano ideológico de estas tempranas sociedades. En el caso de los pescadores y recolectores marinos, asentarse a vivir en el valle de Azapa implicó una relación directa con hitos naturales como las vertientes, humedales y la vegetación, que más allá de la relación por apropiación, estructuraron la organización basal sobre la cual se ordenó el espacio ocupado (Muñoz 2010). Desde esta óptica, la construcción de basurales con formas de montículos en la costa durante el período Arcaico, así como la construcción de túmulos ceremoniales en el período Formativo, sugiere la idea que estas poblaciones consideraron en sus asentamientos la forma de los cerros, imitación que resume la importancia del paisaje natural en la cosmovisión de los grupos tempranos de pescadores del litoral de Arica.

❖ OBJETIVO Y METODOLOGÍA

El presente estudio tiene como objetivo analizar cómo se organizó, a partir de la apropiación de los recursos, el ordenamiento del espacio ocupacional por parte de los pescadores a fines del período Arcaico y durante el período Formativo, partiendo de la base que éste se habría concentrado inicialmente en la franja costera y posteriormente se desplazó hacia el valle de Azapa, en la medida que el proceso agrícola ganó importancia.

Para llevar a cabo nuestra estudio, desde un punto de vista metodológico, se propuso una reevaluación de los sitios excavados, analizando su materialidad (componentes culturales de cada uno de ellos) y las relaciones en cuanto a distancia y visibilidad de dichos sitios –asentamientos– con los recursos hídricos (vertientes y humedales), fundamentales para determinar el espacio de asentamiento.

Las reevaluaciones y prospecciones llevadas a cabo permitieron trazar mapas de ubicación en tres cortes tem-

Áreas geográficas	Sector	Eco zonas
Cordillera de la Costa		Formación de cerros; el morro de Arica
Planicie desértica (depresión intermedia)		
Sistema de tributarios	Quebrada del Diablo (ladera norte)	
	Quebrada de las Llocllas, quebrada de Acha, bajada del cerro La Cruz (ladera sur)	
Litoral	Sur	Costa rocosa, refugios naturales: cueva de la Capilla y Anzota
	Norte	Terraza marina
Valle de Azapa	Tramo costero	Costa de arena (playa)
		Ladera norte, formación de peñones y cerros aislados; cerro San Lorenzo, cerro Sombrero, etc.
		Ladera sur irregular con formación de cerros aislados: Chuño
		Terrazas fluviales bajas
		Caja del río
		Cauce del río
		Ladera norte con terraza fluvial alta
		Ladera sur
		Terrazas fluviales bajas
		Caja del río
		Cauce del río
		Vertientes en zonas de interfluvio

Tabla 1. Espacios geográficos y eco-zonas de la costa de Arica y valle de Azapa.

porales: Arcaico Tardío (2000-1000 AC), Formativo Temprano (1000-200 AC) y Formativo Medio (200 AC-500 DC), cada uno de ellos respaldados por un conjunto de sitios arqueológicos y sus correspondientes dataciones absolutas. El análisis emprendido nos ha permitido visualizar de forma clara el dinámico proceso de construcción y cambio del paisaje social, en este caso de sociedades muy dependientes del mar en cuanto a su territorialidad y que lentamente fueron adentrándose a los valles para asentarse, de preferencia en los sectores con recursos de agua permanente.

ESPACIO GEOGRÁFICO

Para el caso de nuestro estudio, el espacio geográfico está constituido por el litoral de Arica y el sector bajo del valle de Azapa (Tabla 1).

El litoral de Arica y sus ecozonas. Dos grandes ecozonas se identifican en la costa de Arica en términos longitudinales según Keller (1946) y Tapia (2012): la costa rocosa y la costa arenosa. La costa rocosa –ubicada al sur del morro de Arica–, se caracteriza por estar estrechamente adosada a la cordillera de la Costa; en algunos tramos la distancia desde la línea de mar a los faldeos cordilleranos, no alcanza los 50 m. Por su estrecho vínculo a la mencionada cordillera, se trata de una costa predominantemente rocosa, con escasas playas y abruptos acantilados. Existen refugios naturales como las cuevas de la Capilla y Anzota, la primera con evidencia de ocupación por pescadores a fines del período Arcaico y durante el Formativo Temprano. Acorde con dichas características, esta zona presenta abundante cantidad de moluscos de hábitat rocoso que se alimentan de algas y microorganismos de roca. En esta costa se hallan los mayores y más antiguos asentamientos humanos prehispánicos en la

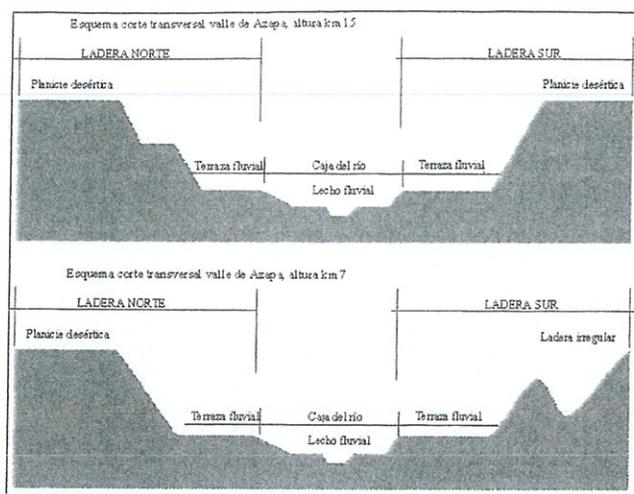


Figura 1. Dibujo esquemático del corte transversal del valle de Azapa a la altura de los kilómetros 15 y 7.

región, tales como Quiani, La Capilla, Playa Miller y El Morro de Arica.

La costa arenosa, ubicada al norte del morro de Arica, corresponde a una gran bahía resultado del hundimiento de la cordillera de la Costa a la altura del morro, que emerge nuevamente en la proximidades de la desembocadura del valle del Caplina, en el extremo sur del Perú. Esta bahía se visualiza como una gran playa de arena donde se encuentran principalmente especies de bivalvos enterrados en la arena y peces de orilla que dieron sustento a las antiguas poblaciones Chinchorro.

El valle de Azapa y sus ecozonas (Figura 1). La primera descripción histórica del valle de Azapa la tenemos de Vásquez de Espinoza, quien en 1628-1629, al bajar desde la cordillera de los Andes en dirección al océano Pacífico, describe dicho valle con sus aguas que drenan en sus arenales, dando una imagen de un valle seco que es más bien un pedregal continuo con afloramientos de (*ojos de*) agua cada cierto trecho, en los cuales se producen ciénagas y humedales, constituyéndose en potenciales espacios de desarrollo agrícola. Este paisaje se mantuvo hasta la canalización del río Lauca, a mediados del siglo pasado, el cual atraviesa y riega actualmente el valle, cambiando su configuración de lo que fue originalmente.

Desde los inicios de la explotación agrícola, el pescador ocupó el sector bajo del valle de Azapa que va desde la

desembocadura del río San José hasta el kilómetro 14. En este espacio encontramos una serie de ecozonas e hitos geográficos que el hombre aprovechó para asentarse. En primer lugar, tenemos las *terrazas fluviales* a ambos lados de la caja del río que se despliegan en dirección este-oeste, constituyendo extensas planicies delimitadas por una parte por la caja del río y por otra por las laderas de los cerros. Estas planicies deben haber cambiado su forma y sobre todo su ancho, dependiendo de los diferentes cursos que el río ha tomado en el transcurso de varios milenios. Registros de tempranos cementerios y restos de campamentos sugieren que fueron los espacios más aprovechados por los tempranos agricultores para construir sus asentamientos.

En segundo lugar, tenemos la *caja y lecho del río*, que son los sectores más cambiantes de todas las ecozonas mencionadas. Compuestos por un fondo pedregoso cubierto de grandes cantos rodados, la caja y lecho del río da cuenta del arrastre fluvial de gran cantidad de material desde las zonas más altas, y son marcados por diferentes surcos que dan cuenta de los continuos cambios del cauce fluvial del río San José. Sin embargo, al no hallarse vestigios de terrazas de cultivos, hemos sugerido un sistema más simple donde los recursos de aguas subterráneas habrían sido conducidos por medio de acequias a terrenos planos cercanos a la caja del río San José. Debemos señalar que este sistema fue descrito para el valle de Azapa por Frezier en 1772 (citado por Dagnino 1909) al describir plantaciones del maíz y ají.

En tercer lugar se hallan las *vertientes*, afloramientos de agua que se ubican preferentemente en los sectores de intersección del valle de Azapa con sus tributarios (quebrada del Diablo, quebrada de las Llocllas, quebrada de Acha, bajada del cerro La Cruz). La diferencia del subsuelo rocoso entre ambas situaciones produciría bolsones de aguas que escurren por los niveles freáticos, provocando respectivos afloramientos (Tapia, 2012). Estos recursos jugaron un rol trascendental en la explotación agrícola que el pescador hizo del valle de Azapa; sin ellos, no hubiese sido posible la conquista agraria, por lo tanto, debieron haber constituido el recurso natural máspreciado por los tempranos agricultores, provocando tensiones y conflicto entre las poblaciones nativas locales. Asimismo, el ecosistema vegetal, formado a partir de estos brotes de agua, permitió a los pescadores en tránsito a

Sitio	Rango temporal	Espacio geográfico	Eco zona		Tipo	Referencia
Morro 1/6 (Mo 1/6)	2320 AC -1905 AC	Litoral	Costa rocosa	Ladera norte morro de Arica	Cementerio	Focacci y Chacón 1989
Morro 1/5 (Mo 1/5)	2170 AC	Litoral	Costa rocosa	Ladera norte morro de Arica	Cementerio	Guillén 1995
Quianí 7 (Qu. 7)	1640 AC - 1290 AC	Litoral	Costa rocosa	Ladera media cordillera de la Costa. Vertiente	Cementerio	Dauelsberg 1974
La Capilla 1 (LaCap. 1)	1720 AC - 840 AC	Litoral	Costa rocosa	Ladera baja cordillera de la Costa	Cueva con pictografías	Muñoz y Chacama 1982; Chacama y Muñoz 1991

Tabla 2. Rango temporal y ubicación espacial de los asentamientos estudiados del período Arcaico Tardío.

la agricultura recolectar una variedad de plantas con las cuales confeccionaron vestimentas, utensilios y esteras para cubrirse.

❖ LOS ACTORES SOCIALES

Con el propósito de lograr nuestro objetivo y obtener una mejor visión de éste, compararemos el uso y manejo del espacio por parte de las poblaciones del período Arcaico Tardío (2000-1000 AC) con las poblaciones del período Formativo Temprano (1000-200 AC) y del período Formativo Tardío (200 AC-500 DC). Antes de caracterizar cada uno de estos hitos temporales, es necesario señalar que las fechas de inicio y término de cada uno de estos períodos, así como muchas de sus características particulares, son aspectos puramente metodológicos que nos permiten observar separadamente cada uno de los segmentos temporales propuestos. Dentro de un proceso cultural continuo, las dinámicas culturales que se suceden dentro de él son graduales. Por tanto, los cambios culturales sucedidos no son abruptos ni cultural ni temporalmente.

Período Arcaico Tardío (Tabla 2). Se caracteriza como el período cultural situado entre el año 2000 y 1000 AC, correspondiente a la época final de la tradición de pescadores Chinchorro. Durante ese período ocurren importantes cambios culturales, entre ellos el del patrón de enterramiento: desaparece la momificación artificial y posición extendida de los cuerpos, que se remplaza por una posición decúbito lateral con piernas flexionadas. Los entierros son depositados en fosas y incorpora como

marcador de entierro un madero en posición vertical. Esta nueva forma de enterrar a sus muertos refleja evidentemente cambios en el nivel ideológico por parte de los grupos costeros.

Aunque el sustento económico siguió teniendo su base en la pesca y recolección de productos marítimos, en este período se observan los primeros intentos de aproximación a una economía con base agrícola. Una calabaza (*Cucurbita sp.*) proveniente del sitio Quiani 7 (Dauelsberg 1974) y restos de Yuca o mandioca (*Manihot esculenta*) provenientes del sitio La Capilla 1 (Muñoz 1982) serían indicadores de estas primeras prácticas agrícolas.

Asimismo, a través del ajuar mortuorio se aprecia una mayor tendencia al uso de adornos corporales como collares y tocados céfálicos (turbantes), cuyo origen se remonta al Arcaico Temprano. A estas incorporaciones tecnológicas y manifestaciones de complejidad social se agrega la introducción del complejo alucinógeno, lo que podría sugerir una temprana ingesta de sustancias psicoactivas en las poblaciones de pescadores arcaicos del extremo norte de Chile, o una activa interrelación de intercambio de bienes de prestigio con grupos foráneos.

Período Formativo. Según Muñoz (1989), el elemento cultural más emblemático de este período fue sin duda el paso de una sociedad de pescadores-recolectores a una sociedad con énfasis en una economía agraria. No obstante lo anterior, otros aspectos no menos importantes caracterizan a este período en los valles occidentales. Uno de ellos es la llegada de objetos provenientes probablemente de la cuenca circumlacustre del Titicaca. Ambos