

ANDEAN PAST
Volume 13
2022

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Cover: Multi-story buildings at the Huata site, Upper Marañón. Photograph by Alexis Mantha.

Andean Past
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editor's Preface by Monica Barnes v

OBITUARIES

Elizabeth Polk Benson (13 May 1924–19 March 2018)

Elizabeth Polk Benson by Colin McEwan, Joan Wilentz, & Monica Barnes 1

Elizabeth Benson, Pioneer by Elizabeth Hill Boone 13

The Twinkle in Her Eyes, the Warmth of Her Smile, and a Mind Full of Wonder
by Thomas B. F. Cummins 19

Remembering Betty Benson by Jeffrey Quilter 21

A Woman for All Seasons by Joan Wilentz 25

My Cousin Betty Benson by Martha King 27

Lawrence Kaplan (14 April 1926–6 March 2018) by Emily Kaplan 29

Harold B. (Bud) Rollins (1 February 1939–9 January 2017) by Daniel H. Sandweiss 35

Joan M. Gero (26 May 1944–14 July 2016) by Jack Rossen 41

Alana Cordy-Collins (5 June 1944–16 August 2015) by Christopher B. Donnan 53

Death Notices—Joerg Haeberli, Laura Laurencich Minelli, Ursula Wagner, Nancy Ellen Kirkhuff
Porter, Billie Jean Isbell, Lynn Ann Meisch, & Bernard White Bell Jr. by Catherine J. Allen,
Monica Barnes, Davide Domenici, Frances M. Hayashida, Vincent R. Lee, Carla Minelli, Carolina
Orsini, Ann Pollard Rowe, Izumi Shimada, & Sofia Venturoli 59

ARTICLES

The Lost Emerald Mines of Ecuador: Contrasting Patterns of Emerald Use in Native South
America by Warwick Bray 75

The Monoliths of Chumbivilcas, Cusco: A New Focus on Pukara Culture by Rainer Hostnig &
François Cuyenet 109

The Settlement History of the Lucre Basin (Cusco, Peru) by Brian S. Bauer, Miriam Aráoz Silva, & Thomas Hardy	149
The Amaru-Illapa Illa from T'oqocachi in Cusco by Carlos Delgado	193
By Stones and by Knots: The Counting and Recording of Chili Peppers Stored During the Inca Occupation of the Guarco Administrative Center of Huacones-Vilcahuasi, Lower Cañete Valley, Peru by Sergio Barraza Lescano, Rodrigo Areche Espinola, & Giancarlo Marcone Flores	221
Incas and Arawaks: A Special Relationship along the Andes-Amazonia Frontier by Darryl Wilkinson	265
Late Pre-Hispanic Communities of the Upper Marañón: Lineages, Houses, or Simply Ayllus? by Alexis Mantha	295
Land Use, Settlement Patterns, and Collective Defense in the Titicaca Basin: The Constitution of Defensive Community by Elizabeth Arkush	339
The Ayllus of the Chanka Heartland: An Interdisciplinary Assessment by Lucas C. Kellett	369
The Dynamics of the Raya-Raya Farming Site in the Occupational History of One Sector of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Jujuy, Argentina) by Agustina Scaro	413
RESEARCH REPORTS	
Plants and Diets in Early Horizon Peru: Macrofloral Remains from Rehydrated Fecal Samples at Caylán by David Chicoine, Beverly Clement, & Linda S. Cummings	445
Taxonomic Analyses of the Vertebrate Faunal Remains from Caylán, Peru by David Chicoine, Víctor Vásquez, & Teresa Rosales	456
A Peruvian Central Coast Mortuary Assemblage in the Logan Museum of Anthropology, Beloit College by Kylie E. Quave & Christopher Heaney	463
Identification of Pigments from a Late Central Coast Textile Assemblage by Alicia Hoffman & Kylie E. Quave	478
Technological and Chemical Analysis of a Late Central Coast Metalwork Assemblage by Alicia Hoffman, Reed Peck-Kriss, & Kylie E. Quave	482
Three Illas Figurines from Mareniyoc, Callejón de Huaylas by Víctor Ponte	488

EDITOR'S PREFACE
ANDEAN PAST 13

In this issue of *Andean Past* we must, once again, mark the passing of several valued colleagues, among them one who contributed to the first of our volumes, **Elizabeth Polk Benson**. Although she most frequently published with her home institution, Dumbarton Oaks, the Harvard University center in Washington, D.C., Betty entrusted two of her early and influential articles to us. "The Moche Moon" appeared in *Recent Studies in Andean Prehistory and Protohistory: Papers from the Second Annual Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory* (1985), edited by D. Peter Kvietok and Daniel H. Sandweiss. "Bats in South American Iconography" was part of the first volume of *Andean Past* (1987). This latter is a precursor to her 1997 book *Birds and Beasts of Ancient Latin America*. I met Betty earlier in the 1980s when she and I were active in the Latin American Indian Literatures Association and we both contributed to the *Latin American Indian Literatures Journal*. Tall and slim, Betty maintained a casually elegant appearance that reminded me of Lauren Bacall. Shortly before one of our week-long symposia in Mexico City, she had dislocated her shoulder while walking an energetic dog. Unable to raise her arm, by the middle of the proceedings she was looking uncharacteristically disheveled. There was a beauty salon in our hotel, but it did not open until midday, when we were already at UNAM. Then, early one morning, Betty emerged radiant, looking uncharacteristically like a Mexican T.V. star, perfectly coiffed, professionally made up, and with polished nails. It turned out that one of the young women who worked in the salon, noticing her plight, volunteered to open early to wash Betty's hair and provide a full beauty treatment!

Later that week we went on a field trip to Teotihuacan. We all underestimated the strength of the noonday sun beating down upon

us amidst the stone pyramids. Betty disappeared into a souvenir kiosk and emerged wearing a cheap straw hat. Cheap, yes, but she managed to look as elegant as Bacall in any of her films, as one can see in her obituary photo.

Betty was long associated with Dumbarton Oaks. Indeed, she was one of the founders of Pre-Columbian studies at that institution. On October 4, 2018, on the eve of a D.O. symposium "Reconsidering the Chavín Phenomenon in the 21st Century", held fifty years after the first D.O. Chavín symposium which Betty designed, there was a memorial service dedicated to her. Speaking were Elizabeth Boone, Betty's immediate successor as director of Pre-Columbian studies at D.O., Boone's successor, Jeffrey Quilter, and Tom Cummins, a distinguished Pre-Columbian art historian at Harvard, then a senior fellow of Dumbarton Oaks, and now its director. During the reception that followed, Betty's lifelong friend, Joan Wilentz, delivered another tribute. We are fortunate to be able to publish these, along with a more formal obituary by **Colin McEwan**, late former director of Pre-Columbian Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, **Joan Wilentz**, who was one of Betty's closest friends, and myself. In providing a venue for multiple voices, we follow a format developed for John Victor Murra in *Andean Past* 9 (2009) and for Betty Meggers in *Andean Past* 11 (2013).

Sadly, before publication, we learned of the death on 28 March 2020 of Colin McEwan after a struggle with leukemia of more than a year's duration. We offer our sympathy to his wife, Norma Russo and to the rest of his family. We are honored to have published his biography, *Colin McEwan: The Complete Americanist from Scotland* by Colin's long term friend and colleague, José R. Oliver as *Andean Past Monograph*

4. Since publication, a work that is truly a memorial to Colin has appeared in the form of two volumes, *Pre-Columbian Art from Central America and Colombia at Dumbarton Oaks*, a 768 page catalogue and *Pre-Columbian Central America, Colombia, and Ecuador: Towards an Integrated Approach*, a 494 page collection of essays. Both have been edited by Colin and John W. Hoopes. Forthcoming is *Waves of Influence: Pacific Maritime Networks Connecting Mexico, Central America, and Northwestern South America*, papers presented at the 2019 D.O. symposium of the same name organized by Christopher S. Beekman and Colin McEwan. Together these volumes will reformulate our understanding of the ancient indigenous cultures of this part of the world and shape research agendas for many years to come.

For more than fifty years **Lawrence Kaplan** was recognized as the preeminent authority on the origin and domestication of beans in the Americas. Kaplan made significant contributions to now classic excavations in Mexico and Peru. We are fortunate to publish an outline of his life and work by his daughter, **Emily Kaplan**.

Harold (Bud) Rollins, was an invertebrate paleontologist who has had an important influence on Andean geoarchaeology. My fellow editor, **Daniel H. Sandweiss**, writes about this role, drawing upon his recollections of interacting with Bud in the field and at the University of Pittsburgh. He explains how, under Bud's leadership, he began to formulate his ideas on climate change as it occurred on the coast of Peru.

Joan M. Gero was another colleague who, from its inception, frequently contributed to the Northeast Conference on Andean Archaeology and Ethnohistory and published in the first predecessor volume to *Andean Past*. Her paper "Stone Tools in Ceramic Contexts: Exploring the Unstructured" appeared in *Investigations of the Andean Past* (1983) a collection of papers

from the first conference. She organized the 24th meeting with Anita Cook. Her colleague, **Jack Rossen**, who worked with Joan on the Yutopian site in Northwest Argentina, provides us with a sensitive account of her political activism and her contributions to both field research and gender theory.

We also celebrate the life of **Alana Cordy-Collins**. **Christopher B. Donnan**, a colleague with whom she worked closely at excavations on Peru's North Coast, was joined by Alana's friend **Rose Tyson** in writing about Alana's accomplishments. Alana made important contributions to our understanding of Andean iconography, beginning with her master's degree study of images of reed boats in the Moche Archive, then at UCLA and now at Dumbarton Oaks. Her doctoral dissertation was a study of Early Horizon Carhua painted textiles. In *Andean Past* Monograph 3, by Patrick H. Carmichael (2020), we published her survey report for the archaeological zone of Carhua near Ica, Peru undertaken in 1979, after her dissertation was filed. Following naturally from her work on watercraft, she developed an understanding of contacts in the zone between West Mexico and what is now Ecuador and Northern Peru. Interest in the topic continues and it was the focus of the "Waves of Influence" symposium mentioned above.

We also publish notice of the deaths of several colleagues. **Joerg Haeberli** was born in Switzerland, educated in Peru and Switzerland, and emigrated to the United States. He became an expert on ancient Peruvian iconography and identified the Sigwas culture of Arequipa. **Laura Laurencich Minelli** was an Italian scholar with broad interests that encompassed archaeological field work, manuscript analysis, and the history of collections. **Ursula Wagner** was an expert on archaeometry, in general, and on Mössbauer spectrometry in general. **Nancy Ellen Kirkhuff Porter** was an avocational archaeologist whose

main interest was ancient Peruvian painted textiles. **Billie Jean Isbell** was well known for her ethnography of Chuschi, a community in Peru's highland Ayacucho Department, as well as for her human rights work in conjunction with victims of Peru's Sendero Luminoso insurgency. **Lynn Ann Meisch** documented and collected indigenous Andean textiles. **Bernard White Bell, Jr.** was an avocational archaeologist who worked with Vincent R. Lee on his Vilcabamba surveys. Bell was particularly interested in archaeoastronomy.

While we were at work on this volume we learned of the death on 12 March 2020 of our valued colleague Patrick H. Carmichael. We offer our deepest sympathy to his wife, Elizabeth A. Carmichael, who has collaborated on many aspects of his work, most especially illustration.

Our peer reviewed articles are the heart of *Andean Past*. This issue contains ten solid research contributions that have successfully passed our rigorous three level selection process.

"The Lost Emerald Mines of Ecuador: Contrasting Patterns of Emerald Use in Native South America" is **Warwick Bray's** compilation of all known mentions of ancient emeralds from what is now Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Bray draws upon his vast knowledge of historical sources, archaeological reports, and undocumented finds to create a picture of emerald occurrences and the probable sources of these gems. On this basis, Bray postulates the existence of mines in Ecuador that are now lost, in addition to the known Colombian sources.

Moving south, **Rainer Hostnig** and **François Cuynet** discuss "The Monoliths of Chubivilcas, Cusco: A New Focus on Pukara Culture". In their contribution, they update our knowledge of Pukara monoliths found in Chumbivilcas Province, expanding on earlier work by John Rowe, Manuel Chávez Ballón, Juan Núñez

del Prado, and Sergio Chávez Farfán. They record two new elements and relocate others that have been moved since they were first identified.

"The Settlement History of the Lucre Basin (Cusco, Peru)" by **Brian S. Bauer**, **Miriam Aráoz Silva**, and **Thomas Hardy** is a report on their systematic survey between Oropesa and Andahuaylillas undertaken in July 2006. Sites were identified ranging in age from the Archaic Period through the Inca Horizon. Bauer has frequently published in *Andean Past*, and we are grateful to him for his continuing support of our publication series.

In *Andean Past* 11 **Carlos Delgado González** reported on the results of one of his excavations within the city of Cusco. "Feasts and Offerings in Arcopata, Cusco", reconstructing a series of ritual meals that occurred in a particular part of the Inca capital. Here he continues his analysis of ritual with "The Amaru-Illapa Illa from T'oqocachi in Cusco". Combining archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence, Delgado demonstrates the use of a sacred artifact, an *illa*, related to both lightning and the Amaru, a double-headed sky serpent.

Many years ago, when I first developed an interest in Andean archaeology, one of Guaman Poma's drawings was particularly enigmatic to modern readers. It depicts a *quipucamayoc*, an Inca accountant, holding his knot record, with a grid with white and black dots on the ground before him. While quipus were relatively well understood, the meaning of the grid was still elusive. Now, thanks to the work of Alejandro Chu, Peter Eeckhout, and others, we know that the squares represent a *yupana*, an accounting device with similarities to the European counting board. **Sergio Barraza Lescano**, **Rodrigo Areche Espinola**, and **Giancarlo Marcone Flores** expand our knowledge of these devices in their article "By Stones and by Knots: The

Counting and Recording of Chili Peppers Stored During the Inca Occupation of the Guarco Administrative Center of Huacónes-Vilcahuasi, Lower Cañete Valley, Peru”.

In “Incas and Arawaks: A Special Relationship along the Andes-Amazonia Frontier” **Darryl Wilkinson** presents an intriguing hypothesis. He postulates that there was cooperation, rather than conflict, between the imperial-era Incas and the Arawak-speaking peoples of Western Amazonia. In contrast to those of other groups living along the borders of Tawantinsuyu, Wilkinson suggests that Inca-Arawak relations were essentially non-violent, and involved ritual integration. He presents archaeological, ethnographic, and linguistic evidence for this hypothesis, seeing it as rooted in the Middle Horizon.

As part of the 2018 annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Kevin Lane and Lucas Kellett organized a symposium entitled “Ayllu There? Herders, Farmers, and the Formation of Community in the Andean Highlands”. Nine solid papers explored the interrelationships of kinship, ancestor veneration, political organization, land-holding corporate groups, pastoralism, farming, and warfare, especially in the Late Intermediate Period. Along with Paul Goldstein, I was honored to serve as a discussant.

In this volume of *Andean Past* we publish revised versions of three of the papers presented at that symposium. One of these is “Late Pre-Hispanic Communities of the Upper Marañón: Lineages, Houses, or Simply *Ayllus*?” by **Alexis Mantha**. Drawing upon anthropological theory concerning social organization by lineages and by Houses, Mantha considers these possibilities, and whether, or to what extent, the Andean *ayllu*, a resource-holding corporate group in which members derive their social cohesion by means of ritual, economic, political, territorial,

residential and/or kinship ties may conform to the lineage or House model. Mantha focuses on the Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon in the Upper Marañón region where he has been conducting archaeological research.

Also among the papers presented was “Land Use, Settlement Patterns, and Collective Defense in the Titicaca Basin: The Constitution of Defensive Community” by **Elizabeth Arkush**. We are pleased to publish an augmented version of that paper. Arkush has already made substantial contributions to our understanding of settlement, economy, and warfare in the prehistory of this important region. Her paper here starts with the hypothesis that during the Late Intermediate Period, community in the Andean highlands was not only based on kinship and territory, but also on collective defense, including the defense of important common resources. She explores how farming and herding may have affected the organization of defense and the formation of communities. She examines the archaeological record of the Peruvian Titicaca Basin, pointing out that there are dramatic environmental contrasts across this region that shaped subsistence possibilities and socio-political arrangements.

The third paper in this set is “The *Ayllus* of the Chanka Heartland: An Interdisciplinary Assessment” by **Lucas C. Kellett**. Grappling with the problem of identifying *ayllus* by archaeological means, Kellett focuses on the Andahuaylas region where he has done considerable field research. This was the heartland of the Chanka, an ethnic group and, perhaps, the leaders of a confederation that opposed the Inca, but who were eventually conquered by them. Combining the evidence of ethnohistory, settlement patterns, physical geography, and ecology, Kellett proposes reconstructions of Chanka social and economic organization.

Archaeology is often an essential component of historical ecology, the field that focuses on the dynamics of past environments and landscapes, often taking account of human interactions. In “The Dynamics of the Raya-Raya Farming Site in the Occupational History of One Sector of the Quebrada de Humahuaca (Jujuy, Argentina)” **Agustina Scaro** makes a contribution to his area of study. Her detailed examination of a Pre-Columbian agricultural area increases our understanding of the daily activities and social structures of its human inhabitants. She presents an architectural analysis of agricultural constructions and their configuration at Raya-Raya, with the aim of elucidating their role in the broader occupational history of the south-central sector of the Quebrada de Humahuaca.

Andean Past 13 concludes with six Research Reports. As the section name suggests, these are short pieces that focus on a single aspect of research. The first two, by **David Chicoine** and colleagues, discuss organic remains found at the site of Cayán in Peru's Nepeña Valley. Chicoine, **Beverly Clemente**, and **Linda S. Cummings** report on macrofloral remains recovered from dried human feces while Chicoine, **Víctor Vásquez**, and **Teresa Rosales** present a taxonomic analysis of vertebrate faunal remains.

In an interrelated series of three reports **Kylie E. Quave** and her former students present a possible Peruvian Central Coast mortuary assemblage in the Logan Museum of Anthropology at Beloit College. Quave and **Christopher Heaney** discuss this group of artifacts and the circumstances under which it was acquired by the museum. **Alicia Hoffman** and Quave suggest the types of pigments found in textiles from the group, while Hoffman, **Reed Peck-Kris**, and Quave report on their technological and chemical analyses of metalwork in the group.

Rounding out this section, **Víctor Ponte** discusses the concept of *illa* as embodied in three possible *illa* figurines recovered at the site of Mareniyoc in the Callejón de Huaylas. These are small, portable images that play important roles in Andean ritual. *Andean Past* readers may compare Ponte's finds in the Callejón with those of Carlos Delgado in Cusco.

Each volume of *Andean Past* represents the collaborative efforts of many people. In addition to the authors who have entrusted us with their work, I would like to thank our external reviewers whose input is so important to our decision making and to the improvement of the papers we publish. You know who you are. Special thanks go to reviewers who have waived anonymity to facilitate communication with the authors. For *Andean Past* 13 these are Tamara Estupiñán Veteri, Alf Holmborg, Kevin Lane, and Carol J. Mackey. As always, I thank my fellow editors, Daniel H. Sandweiss, founding editor of *Andean Past*, and Ruth Anne Phillips, Associate Editor. My husband and colleague, David Fleming, does much behind the scenes, in addition to his work on layout and graphics. We couldn't do it without him. Also to be thanked for their moral support and good judgment are our editorial board, Richard L. Burger, Thomas F. Lynch, Michael E. Moseley, and James B. Richardson III.

Monica Barnes
Jersey City, New Jersey
1 May 2022

