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Author(s): Dick Edgar Ibarra Grasso

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## NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL CULTURES FROM THE DEPARTMENTS OF CHUQUISACA, POTOSÍ AND TARIJA, BOLIVIA

DICK EDGAR IBARRA GRASSO\*

VERY LITTLE has been written about the archaeology of central and southern Bolivia, the attention of students having been concentrated on the Tiahuanaco area. I began exploring this great unknown region in 1940-44 and am now continuing the project in my present capacity as Director of the Archaeological Museum of the University of Cochabamba. The present report is a summary of the results of this work to date.

The best described Bolivian culture outside of the Tiahuanaco area is the one called Mizque-Tiahuanaco by Nordenskiöld and Bennett which I am calling Yampará. I have found tombs in an earlier variety of this style without any Tiahuanaco influence. A characteristic of Yampará pottery is the presence of tripod bowls which resemble Mexican ones; this trait is entirely un-Tiahuanacoid.

The Yampará style extends to the whole of the Department of Chuquisaca, except for Cinti and the southern part of Azero, and it occurs also in the Province of Cornelio Saavedra in Potosí. I found the Yampará culture first in Chuquisaca and the vast majority of the finds made there belong to the Yampará style, as for example the collection of Dr. José Felipe Costas Arguedas in Sucre. The last time I saw the Costas Arguedas collection it consisted of over one hundred pieces, all Yampará except for four Inca ones. My collection, on the basis of which the Archaeological Museum of the University of Sucre was established, consisted of 404 pieces, not over half a dozen of which were Inca or Inca influenced. There were also a few Decadent Tiahuanaco specimens and several Huruquilla ones. Except for one article on pottery by Costas Arguedas (1949), little has been published on the Yampará culture beyond newspaper articles by me and by Costas Arguedas.

My first investigations in 1940 were made in part in company with Carlos Ibarra Grasso; then, in 1942 and 1943, I worked in Chuquisaca and Potosí, often with Pedro Juan

Vignale, with whom I published two short studies. Our work on the Yampará culture was extensive, including the recording of 42 sites, in several of which we made excavations. A detailed report of this work will be published at some future date.

The rest of central and southern Bolivia was occupied by a series of local cultures much poorer than the Yampará. When I first studied them, I was thinking in evolutionary terms and supposed them to be much older than the Yampará culture. I now consider them more recent and attribute their poverty to the fact that this area was a cultural backwater. There is no direct evidence for dating them. These poorer cultures include the Yura, Chaquí and Huruquilla, which are described below. I append also some notes on the cultures of Tarija, Lipez and Chichas.

*Yura.* The Yura culture is found mainly in the Province of Porco (Quijarro), with an extension into the southwestern part of the Province of Frias. The French expedition which explored this area at the beginning of the century made a collection consisting chiefly of Yura specimens which they called simply "Quichua" (Créqui-Montfort, 1906a, plates VII-VIII; 1906b, pp. 543-4). The tombs in Yura cemeteries are cysts, built sometimes with one side against a rock; at a site on the Finca Cayara there is another type of tomb, pits dug in a dune. The skulls found here represent only men. Little worked stone is found; chiefly axes, bolas weights, and hoe blades resembling those of the French Campignian. The pottery is very characteristic, but shows resemblances to Huruquilla; most of the known examples are fine funerary ware. Among the finest pieces are ones which I call "bell beakers," 12 to 15 cm. high with a narrow base, flaring sides, and a reentrant lip. These beakers are painted black on the plain red of the clay with geometric designs, chiefly triangles, forming a central band. There are usually three triangles above, with the points down, and three below filling the spaces between the first three; the triangles are separated by a thin straight line or two. The triangles enclose an ovoid or triangular space containing dots, S-shaped elements, or crosses (see Fig. 46, c).

\* Translated and abridged by John H. Rowe, with omission of some interpretive passages the substance of which have already been published. See Ibarra Grasso (1952).

The pucos or bowls of this style are similar but have a shorter foot and different designs, notably elements in the shape of an E arranged in pairs back to back, and an angular S. There are also some small jars with tubular spouts and a bridge to the neck; they have globular bodies painted in the same style as the other types. This shape probably represents Tiahuanacoid influence transmitted via the Yampará style.

At the edge of Yura territory I found twelve ancient textiles in a looted tomb; it is not certain whether they belong to the Yura culture or to the Chaquí. They are now in the Archaeological Museum of the Casa de Moneda of Potosí. The textiles include ponchos, shawls, tunics, etc. of llama and vicuña wool decorated in vertical stripes in several colors. Some of the colors are natural shades of wool, others represent dyes. This is the biggest find of ancient textiles that has been made in Bolivia.

There are over thirty specimens of the Yura culture in the La Paz museum, some with the type of decoration described above, others displaying step motives which I attribute to Decadent Tiahuanaco or Colla influence. Debenedetti (1912) took these pieces to be pure Tiahuanaco and used them as evidence to support his theory of Tiahuanaco influences in Argentina.

**Chaquí.** The Chaquí culture centers in Frias Province, all around the city of Potosí. There are a number of ruined towns of this culture located on the Fincas of Cayara, Totora, Chaquí and others. These towns are small settlements, the largest buildings of which are only a group of three stone rooms like the rectangular chullpas (burial towers) of the Altiplano. There are also some rough Kalasasaya type structures. There is an oval one on the Finca Rosario built of small stones with four entrances marked by larger stones. Another, on the Hacienda Mondragón, stands on top of an enormous rock which is now very difficult to climb. It is circular, and built of large field stones with a larger one still in the center.

The cemeteries of the Chaquí culture are located near the settlements. They contain shallow cyst burials, often marked by a small stela, simple and without ornament. There are always several individuals buried in each grave, along with grave goods consisting of cooking pots and plain bowls like those found in the ruins of the settlements. The Chaquí culture

does not appear to have a separate funerary style. Some copper objects have been found in Chaquí territory. Some of the sites have no Inca objects, while in others Inca pieces are abundant. The stone objects are made in simple shapes, and grooved axes, bolas weights, and hoe blades like the Yura ones are the usual types found. Arrowheads are not found in sites of this culture, or indeed in those of any of the cultures of this region.

Pottery shapes are very simple and the vessels are not especially large; the water jars, for example, are less than 50 cm. high. The commonest specimens are pucos (bowls) of relatively small size, and these are almost the only ones carrying a painted decoration. They have a coating of unpolished white clay, like a solution of lime, on top of which are some slightly curved lines executed in reddish paint which look as if they had been smeared on with three fingers. The lines are about 5 cm. long. This motive is repeated three to five times around the bowl, and often occurs on the interior (see Fig. 46, d).

Other bowls have black paint, and in this case the designs are still simpler and the white



FIG. 46. a, Yampará jug, black paint outlined in white on a red slip; b, Chicha style jar, from Camargo, design in black on the reddish surface of the clay; c, Yura "bell beaker," design in black on the reddish surface of the clay; d, Chaquí puco (bowl), design in red on an unpolished white ground; e, Huruquilla puco (bowl), design in black on a grayish white ground.

slip is not used. Some specimens are dark brick red; most of them lack all decoration and paint. On the big water jars we find a simple design of crossed or sometimes wavy lines in red and yellowish ocher. There are also small jars with tubular spouts, which are rarely decorated; at the most they are painted white on the neck and upper part of the spout. The cooking pots are pear shaped, 18-20 cm. high, with two vertical handles on the upper half.

In one small jar, found in a cemetery associated with Inca-influenced remains, were found a number of small ears of corn, carbonized with age, as well as some dehydrated potatoes (*chuño*). These perishable remains were preserved because the jar was inverted; they probably represent offerings to the dead.

*Huruquilla.* The Huruquilla culture extends across the Province of Linares, northern Nor-Chichas, a small part of eastern Frias, and perhaps a bit of the eastern part of Porco, in Potosí, and the greater part of northwestern Cinti in Chuquisaca. Isolated Huruquilla finds occur all through the Yampará area of Chuquisaca, but the chronological relationship of the two styles has not been established. There is also Yampará influence in Huruquilla territory, suggesting at least partial contemporaneity. The few Huruquilla skulls found to date are all dolichocephalic. The pottery shares many traits with Yura and shows some resemblances to Chichas. The Chaquí culture is different from all three of these.

No temples have been found in Huruquilla territory except for two Inca ones. The settlements are on hills and consist of small houses. The cemeteries are nearby and consist of shallow cyst tombs or pits lined with stones and provided with a stone slab roof.

The pottery displays a variety of shapes. The decoration is geometric and is done with paint; the only modeled ornament is a face on the neck of some jars, consisting of added pellets of clay to represent the eyes, nose and mouth. The mouth is sometimes omitted. This modeled ornament is lacking in all the cultures of the Department of Potosí but appears in Yampará.

The paste is often an ash gray color and is sometimes as light as porcelain. This is the only known Bolivian culture which uses this type of paste. The usual red paste is also found, and reddish and pinkish slips are used. The painted designs are done in black paint

which sometimes has a sepia tint. There are bell beakers like the Yura ones but wider; also small jars with tubular spouts and several varieties of bowls. The decorative motives are without exception geometric and are usually more complex than Yura ones. A characteristic detail is the common use of "eyes" as space fillers. These "eyes" are made of several curved lines, sometimes forming a flattened spiral and other times concentric ovals (see Fig. 46, e). There are local variations in the designs, sometimes fairly considerable ones; some are more like Yura designs while others are quite different. There is no correlation between geographical proximity to Yura and similarity.

In 1941 I made a brief visit to Tarija, visiting some sites and looking at private collections. What I saw suggests a culture related in some degree to Huruquilla and Yura, but rather different in its stone work, which includes finely made dishes and bowls. Many of these show Inca influence, but others seem to be earlier. Also notable are very fine carved stone pipes, of which I saw two, and some small flat circular or oval stones with incised designs, some of which may have been beads and others spindle whorls. The pipes cannot be Inca, as this culture lacks pipes. I collected one pipe in Mizque and saw another one there. They also occur in the "Draconian" (Barreales) style of northwestern Argentina.

At the site of El Sayre I saw a stone stela 1.20 m. high, shaped roughly like a post with one side only smoothed and with designs in reddish paint which were preserved because the stone lay face down on the earth.

I have not visited the provinces of Lipez, but Vignale brought me from Colcha a collection of sherds found around the great group of stone chullpas there. The shape and color of these sherds are reminiscent of the Chaquí culture, which also has chullpas.

The pots described by Métraux (1933) are from the historic Chicha territory. Some of the bowls resemble Huruquilla and Yura ones, but the designs are different. Bennett, in his summary (1936, p. 390), says that they have a grayish-white paste, a statement which suggests relationships with Huruquilla. Other pieces show Inca influence.

Chicha pottery has a red paste with simple geometric designs in black paint. The shapes and designs show some resemblances to those of Yura and Huruquilla, but also many dif-

ferences. The geometric designs are simple. There are some crude heads on the rims of the cups, made by adding bits of clay. I have seen some distinctive metal specimens.

I have seen also several funerary urns, some for infant burial, like those of Huruquilla territory, others very large and providing a link between the urns of Clisa and Colcapirhua in Cochabamba on the one hand and those of northwestern Argentina on the other.

One of the most distinctive features of Chicha ceramics is that the designs on the great majority of the pots are arranged in three equal areas, while all neighboring cultures have two design areas on the outside and two or four on the inside of the bowls. The pottery of Humahuaca also shows a predominance of three design areas in the inside of bowls.

Although the whole area was conquered by the Incas, and sites with Inca influence are found, this influence is not heavy in the pottery and purely Inca pots are rare. Inca tem-

ples have been found in several places: San Luís in Cinti, Oroncota on the Pilcomayo, Tomina, etc. The handsomest of these temples are the two at Oroncota which are in an excellent state of preservation. Both have trapezoidal plans some 70 m. long by 25 m. wide, much like the building at Lunahuana in the Cañete Valley, Peru.

A new problem was raised by the discovery of pots in the La Paya-Inca style in Bolivia. This style was first reported from northwest Argentina, where it was interpreted as a mixture of local Diaguita style with Inca. More recently it appeared, according to Métraux (1933) and Bennett (1936), that this style occurs also at Culpina in Cinti and at various sites in Cochabamba. I have found additional examples of it in Cochabamba, and only two days ago saw other specimens in this style from the Department of La Paz in the La Paz museum. In my opinion, this style is related to Colla, and may represent settlement of Colla colonists further south by the Inca rulers.

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University of Cochabamba  
Cochabamba, Bolivia  
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