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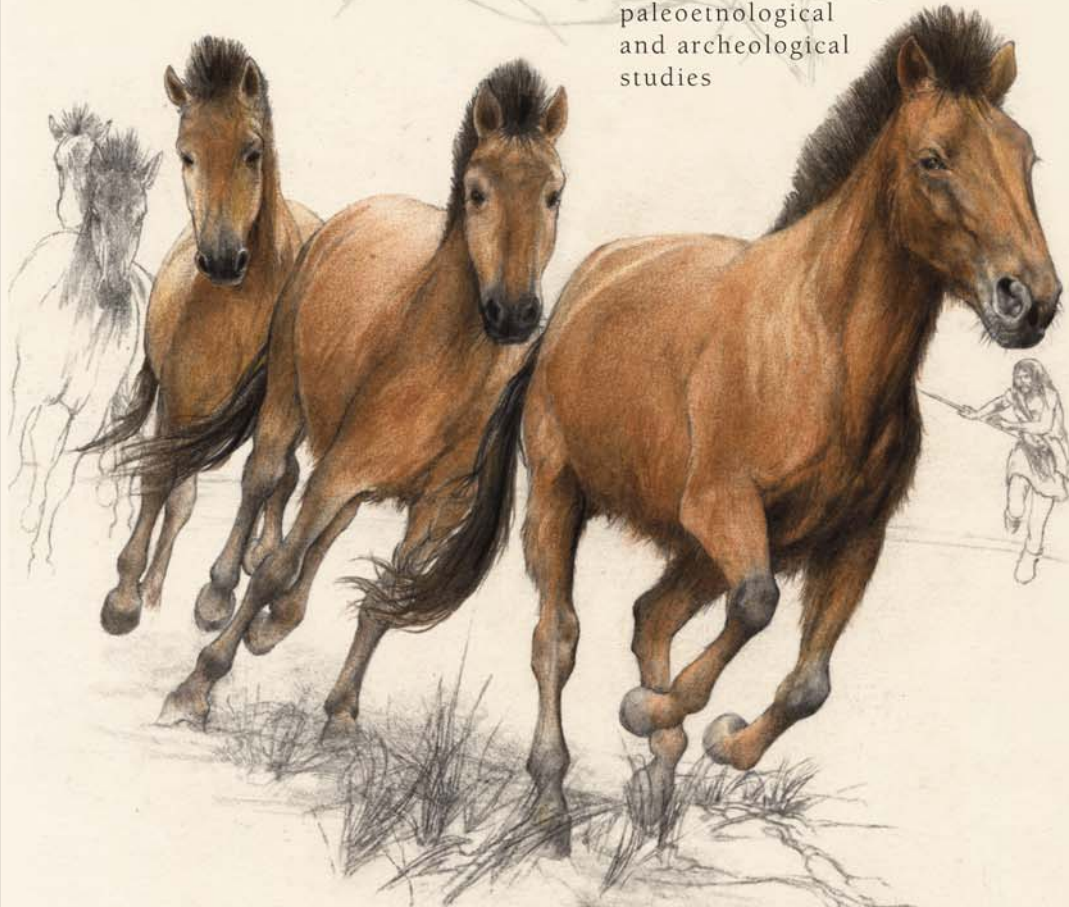
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FORGOTTEN TIMES AND SPACES

New perspectives
in paleoanthropological,
paleoetnological
and archeological
studies



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ETHNOARCHEOLOGY OF TIERRA DEL FUEGO HUNTER-FISHER-GATHERER SOCIETIES. THE SITE OF LANASHUAIA

Ester Verdún¹, Jordi Estévez² and Assumpció Vila³

Abstract

Since 1988, a Spanish-Argentinian team has been developing ethnoarcheological projects in Tierra del Fuego (Argentina). Our objective was to develop a methodology and conceptual instruments in order to go further in the study of prehistoric hunter-gatherer societies. In the frame of these projects, we excavated some archeological sites corresponding to the period of the European contact with native societies (nineteenth century). Lanashuaia was one of the excavated archeological sites. Prof. Jiri Svoboda participated in the fieldwork carried out during 1996. In this paper we present some of the results obtained of the study of Lanashuaia.

Keywords

Ethnoarcheology, Yamana tribe, Tierra del Fuego, settlement structure

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Introduction

An Argentinian team from the Centro Austral De Investigaciones Científicas-CONICET and a team from the Spanish National Research Council (CSIC) of Barcelona and the Universitat Autònoma of Barcelona have been involved in a series of research projects carried out since 1988 in Tierra del Fuego (Argentina). Our main objectives were to verify the ethnographic image of the native Fuegian people through archeological analysis and to test the potential and adequacy of the analytical and inferential systems in archeology (Estévez and Vila 1995a). In order to do this, we studied archeological sites that chronologically correspond to the contact moment, when the first European settlers and sailors arrived in the area.

Moreover, the recent chronology of the sites allowed our Argentinian colleagues to carry out diachronic studies in order to get a broad explanation of the variations and continuities in the hunter-fisher-gatherer economic strategies through the whole occupation sequence of the area.

The main objective of the Barcelona team was indeed the search for archeological indicators of the social relations in prehistoric hunter-gatherers. We understand ethnoarcheology as experimenting to develop systems of analysis and to evaluate the variables that allow insight to be obtained into past social relationships (Estévez and Vila 1998; Vila and Estévez 2000). Going beyond ethnographic direct analogy, actualism and uniformitarianism or simple environmental determinism, we would see: a) how we can demonstrate and measure social inequality archeologically; b) what the indicators of the inequality in a known hunter-fisher-gatherer society are; c) what kind of indicators we could find archeologically for social organizations of prehistoric societies; and d) how we can obtain the significant archeological record of the indicators for inequality. Thus we started from an ethnographically and historically well-known society, which could be studied both with archeological methods and through the study of historical and ethnographic sources. The excavation and analysis of the archeological evidence of sites dated from the European first contact time will serve as a methodological control experiment.

We assumed that social relationships materialize during the processes of production, distribution and consumption of economic goods. The archeological evidence is composed of abandoned items and consumption remains discarded in a settlement. The organization of the human use of space during these processes is something that has to be analyzed prior to considering the distribution of remains as a random feature. The possibility of a random nature of deposition has to be demonstrated in any case. Thus we believe that we can potentially reconstruct the social organization behind those processes through the analysis of the organization and the character of those remains.

The detailed ethnographic records (such as chronicles, graphs, photographs, film, etc.) about the Yamana indigenous society living in the area (e.g. Hyades and Deniker 1891; Bridges 1975; Gusinde 1986) and the archeological context (e.g. Orquera and Piana 1999a) of the coasts of the Beagle Channel were the most appropriate way to find answers to all these questions.

The Yamana were a hunter-fisher-gatherer society with a high mobility subsistence strategy, based mainly on littoral resources and the use of canoes, organized through a sexual division of labour and inequality between men and women. They inhabited the coastal area from the Fuegian Channels southwards to Cape Horn.

Shell middens are a common type of site in Tierra del Fuego. Most of the sites are composed of a high-density accumulation of mollusk shells (mainly mussels and limpets) and other remains of littoral resources (Orquera 1999; Piana and Orquera 2010; Verdún-Castelló 2014b). In general, they are the result of a succession of short occupation periods of the same spots, as is described in the ethnographic chronicles (Gusinde 1986).



Figure 1: Adaptation: Jiří Svoboda at Lanashuaia drinking the typical Argentinian “mate.”

The sites are very easy to localize because they are formed by discrete occupation units that can be perceived on the landscape as a series of concavities surrounded by a raised ring on the surface. In the sites we excavated we could relate garbage areas constituted mainly by mussel middens with other areas that were cleaned. The sites were formed by the accumulation of deposition lumps produced during successive short and discrete episodes of occupation and that could be separated during excavation. Thus we could analyze the recurrences in the consumption and deposition patterns that are the consequences of the social organization of those processes. Therefore we propose our ethnoarcheological experience as a reference frame for other cases (Vila *et al.* 2010).

Here we present some preliminary archeological results obtained from the study of the Lanashuaia site (Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 2: Map of Tierra del Fuego. Lanashuaia site landscape (white arrow signals the emplacement of the site). Concavity of the hut excavated during 1995.

The site

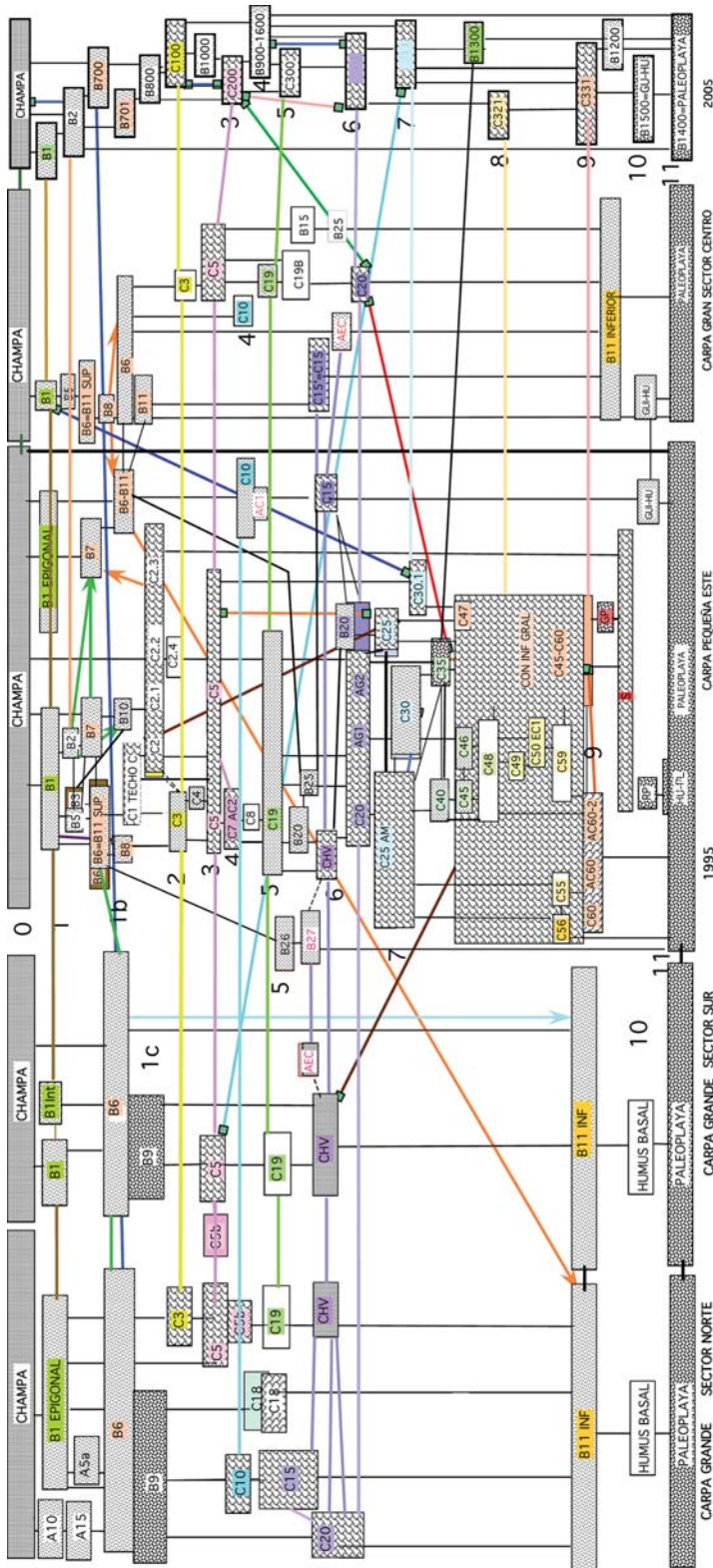
The Lanashuaia site is located in Isla Grande de Tierra del Fuego, on the northern coast of the Beagle Channel (Argentina) (Piana *et al.* 2000), in the isthmus between the inner and outer Cambaceres bays (54°52'48.79"S; 67°16'22.77"W). Lanashuaia was excavated during 1995 and 1996 and in the frame of the European Union project "CEE-CII-CT93-0015: Marine Resources at the Beagle Channel prior to the industrial exploitation" (1994–1997) and the project "The integrity of the social space: ethnoarcheology of settlements in the Beagle Channel, Tierra del Fuego (2004–2005)" (Ministerio de Cultura, Gobierno de España) (Piana *et al.* 2000; Estévez and Vila 2007; Vila *et al.* 2007; Estévez, Vila and Piqué 2013).

Like most of the sites in the area, Lanashuaia is part of a set of similar structures that are located along the coastline. The excavated area corresponds to one of these structures, which has been interpreted as an occupation unit (the remains of a hut). It is composed of an annular raised rim surrounding a central depression (Piana and Orquera 2010). The central area of the excavation corresponds to the place where a hut was located (Piana *et al.* 2000). It was originally slightly dug out, taking advantage of the natural relief of the beach. According to the ethnographic information, Yamana people used branches and some skins to build their huts (Gusinde 1986; Orquera and Piana 1999b). Marks of postholes and the spatial distribution analyses of the archeological remains delineate a circular structure of c. 3–4 m in diameter with a central fireplace, which is very common in the Yamana area (Piana and Orquera 2010). The entrance to the hut was facing the beach (to the east) and was located on an old storm berm. The ring surrounding the central depression was a protection against the rain and the wind (Verdún-Castelló 2010). It was built up by the earth extracted from the central depression and by the deposition of shell lumps.

Stratigraphic structure of Lanashuaia

The stratigraphic structure of the shell middens is very complex (Orquera and Piana 1992; Estévez and Vila 2000). It is composed of the accumulation of discrete waste packages, which represent singular moments of deposition. Thanks to a specially developed excavation methodology (Vila *et al.* 2010) we have been able to distinguish stratigraphic subunits ("*minimal unities of stratigraphical deposition*"). Each subunit represents a discrete period of time (a single moment or a long period of continuous deposition). The differentiation among them is achieved through the identification of stratigraphic layers (compacted trampled surfaces, discontinuities on the sedimentary structure, etc.) and by the recognition of variations in the deposit structure and composition (Orquera and Piana 1992). These differences have been confirmed by the study of soil micromorphology as well (Balbo *et al.* 2010). We could therefore isolate different successive activities of residue deposition and establish intra-site patterns of space management (Mameli *et al.* 2002; Mameli and Estévez 2004; Estévez and Vila 2006).

Figure 3: Stratigraphic structure of Lanashuaia site: boxes signal stratigraphic subunits; arrows indicate refittings.



In Lanashuaia, we could identify different deposition units in the shell midden. However, only one (maximum two) different occupation periods have been registered (Figure 3). This differs from most of the excavated shell middens in the area, where different occupation moments have been documented (Orquera and Piana 1999a; Estévez and Vila 2006). For this reason, we think that Lanashuaia could correspond to an occupation period longer than other sites. The location of the occupation structures following the shoreline, the documentation of minke whale (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata*) bones at the bottom of these units and the information afforded by the ethnographic data (e.g. Gusinde 1986) led us to conclude that Lanashuaia could correspond to a social aggregation of different social units in order to consume a stranded whale (Piana *et al.* 2000).

Methodology

The 93 m² whole area of a circular structure and the surroundings in Lanashuaia have been excavated. Moreover, two trenches (one to the sea and another one to the opposite side) have been excavated in order to verify the extension of the occupation area and the deposition of the remains.

The site has been excavated isolating and extracting each one of the stratigraphic subunits. All the remains larger than 1 cm² have been registered using a total station. In addition, we implemented an experimental program in order to understand the formation processes of the site (Juan-Muns 1993; Estévez and Mameli 2000; Mameli *et al.* 2002). We did experiments of sampling strategies for malacological remains (Verdún-Castelló 2014a), fish remains (Juan-Muns 1993), soil micromorphology and chemical composition of the soil. The results demonstrate that a sample of 1 dm³

of sediment (for subunits without shells) or 4 dm³ (in shell midden subunits) was statistically representative. We collected homogenized sedimentary samples from each stratigraphic subunit for the analysis of malacological and fish remains and recorded the total volume of each subunit during fieldwork to estimate the total amount of fish and mollusks (Orquera and Piana 2000, 2001).

The analysis of the production and consumption of goods involves the study of the archeozoological record together with lithic tools (Briz *et al.* 2005) and other remains in their spatial context. In order to get a complete interpretation of the site, the articulation of working activities should be analyzed: all the processes of manufacturing utensils and tools, the resharpening and recycling of tools and other items, butchering, dismembering, cooking, distribution of products (qualified by their real and consumption values) and lastly the consumption of goods and food. To do this we analyzed the spatial distribution and densities of consumed goods and residues as well as the refitting of skeletons, broken bones and debitage. Refitting was not only designed to fix stratigraphic links and to control postdeposition processes but to accomplish the identification of activity and reject areas, the intra-site circulation of products and the articulation of working activities such as processes of flaking, using, resharpening and recycling tools and other items, or butchering, dismembering, cooking and consuming food, and lastly the way of rejecting residues and the maintenance of the living areas.

Dynamics of the animal resource management strategies

In Lanashuaia, food remains and the accumulation of shells are mostly concentrated in the circular ring that surrounds the central area of the hut, in the outer area east of the hut and to the north of the entrance as well. Two fireplaces have been recorded: one in the central area and another one behind the hut surrounded by a stone knapping area.

Although in Lanashuaia only one occupation moment (perhaps with a short lapse of absence) has been recorded, we also observed significant changes in the NISP of vertebrate taxa during its longer-lasting but maybe unique period of occupation. There was a concentration of cetacean bones at the base of the occupation, deposited in two specific areas of the hut: an accumulation of mainly entire ribs in the outer area of the structure, opposite to the entrance, and another accumulation of fragments of crushed epiphysis that was located inside the hut in the northern corner. Two patches of sediments with a high content of fat besides two accumulations of heated pebbles were documented outside the structure, one to the south and another to the south-east. The fatty acid studies applied to these pebbles revealed that they were related to the processing of marine fauna, probably whale (March unpublished manuscript). There was also a large accumulation of these heated pebbles at the base of the shell midden mound towards its eastern periphery.

In the successive shell midden deposits, first the avian remains predominate (Mameli and Estévez 2004) and later the remains of guanaco, sea lion and finally fish successively increase.

The archeo-malacological remains cover directly the cetacean ribs lying on the basal floor. Mollusks are the most abundant taxa in the site. A total number of 345, 165 mollusks and 320 sea urchins were estimated. The most abundant (73.8%) edible species is mussels (*Mytilus edulis* LINNÉ, 1758), then limpets (8.7%) (*Fissurella*, sp. BRUGUIERE, 1789, *Nacella deaurata* GMELIN, 1791 and *Nacella magellanica* GMELIN, 1790) and finally chitons (3.6%) (*Plaxiphora aurata* SPALOWSKY, 1795, *Tonicia* sp. GRAY, 1847, and *Chitonina* THIELE, 1909). The amount of chitons is significant since such a large quantity has not been documented in other sites of the Beagle Channel (Verdun-Castelló 2014b).

Biometric analyses have been applied to the most important species (*Nacella deaurata*, *Nacella magellanica* and *Mytilus edulis*). They show significant differences between the size obtained from the archeological and the size from collected modern specimens since the archeological shells are significantly smaller than the modern ones. This difference could indicate an intensive use of this resource (Verdun-Castelló 2014a, b).

Morphometric analyses applied to the same species show that mollusks have been collected across the whole intertidal area but mainly the lower zone (Verdun-Castelló 2014b). Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that most of the mussels were collected in the outer Cambaceres bay. Oxygen isotopic analyses and readings of growth increments applied to *Nacella magellanica* indicate that these individuals were collected predominantly in autumn-winter (Colonese *et al.* 2011; Verdún-Castelló 2014b).

Discussion

The study of the Lanashuaia site together with the data obtained from Túnel VII, the other settlement that we excavate also situated on the Beagle Channel shores, allow us to obtain a description of the socio-economic activities carried out by the last hunter-fisher-gatherer groups of the Beagle Channel before the settlement of the European people. The Túnel VII site is located 60 km west of Lanashuaia and both have similar characteristics (Estévez and Vila 1995b, 2006; Estévez and Clemente 2013).

In relation to the consumption of mollusks, the collecting of species that can be found in the intertidal area has been recorded at both sites as well as in samples of older sites (Orquera and Piana 2000, 2001). However, Lanashuaia shows a higher consumption of chitons than the other sites (Verdún-Castelló 2014b).

Regarding the management of vertebrate faunal resources, Lanashuaia presents some differences from the occupations of the Túnel VII site. Divergences in the taxonomical composition of the assemblages have been detected. These differences could be related to the duration and nature of the occupations, the season when the sites were occupied (resources availability), and the activities (types and intensity) carried out in each occupation event (Estévez and Vila 2006).

At both sites, people worked in knapping and formatting stone tools, both in and outside the huts. The raw materials for stone tools are local, but differ in their

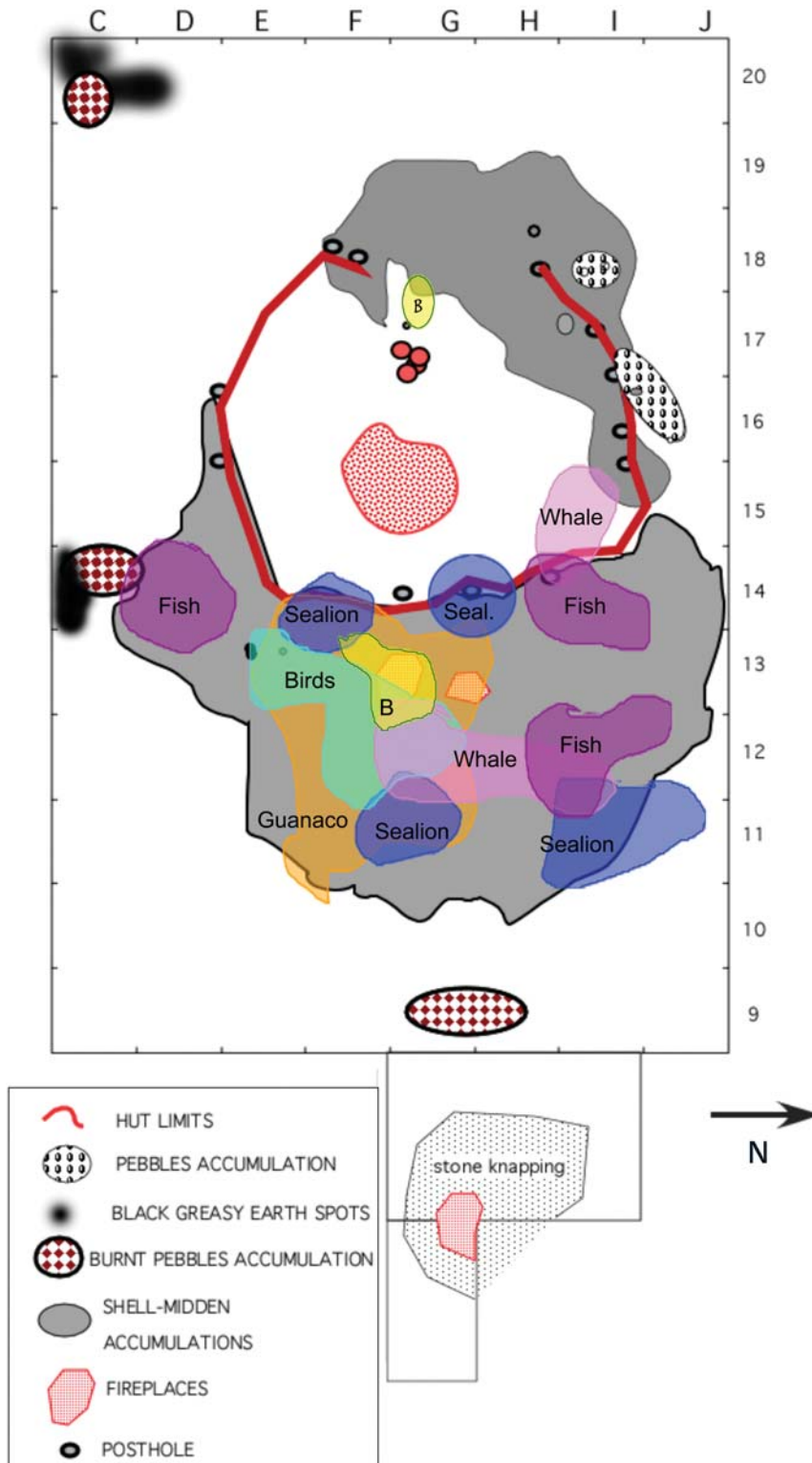


Figure 4: Distribution of the main features of the occupation unit of Lanashuaia. The significant concentrations of bone implements (B), fish (Fish) and bird bones (Birds), sea lion remains (Sealion), whale (Whale) and guanaco bones (Guanaco) are displayed.

relative frequencies. The proportions of stone tools used to modify different types of raw materials are also very similar (predominantly they have worked on wood and soft animal tissues), but in Lanashuaia there are more tools for preparing hides and in Túnel VII more tools for manufacturing objects in bone. This coincides with a higher abundance of guanacos in the first site and with more objects made from animals' hard tissues in the Túnel VII site (Clemente and Terradas 1993, 2009).

Some extraordinary remains in the habitation structures may be related to ideational activities. There is a coincidence of consuming rare birds at the beginning of the occupation of both sites: Austral parakeet has been consumed during the first occupation of Túnel VII and some rare King Penguin remains have also been deposited at the very beginning of Lanashuaia's occupation.

Thus, over a short period of time, people adopted a wide range of strategies to adjust to small environmental variations in space and time. We called this strategy "nonspecialized specialization" (Gassiot and Estévez 2006), because although relying on a broad spectrum of resources, they were caught very efficiently and with a wide range of specialized and curated tool kits.

The spatial distribution of remains allows us to make a first approach to the analysis of the formation process of the Fuegian shell middens and to the recurrences in the processes of exploitation, distribution and consumption of resources (Figure 4). In Lanashuaia and Túnel VII, food remains (both shells and bones) are deposited mainly in the shell midden around the hut (Estévez and Vila 1995b, 2006; Estévez and Clemente 2013). We interpreted this as result of the task of cleaning and maintenance of the habitation area. However, remains are not randomly distributed but concentrated differentially in space, suggesting also differences in the consumption.

The presence of whalebones at the base of Lanashuaia has been recorded in Túnel VII as well. This indicates that Yamana people selected both emplacements first due to the nearby presence of this type of resource (probably a beached whale). The nonrandom distribution of remains stated and the simulation of sampling procedures showed that we need samples from broad excavated surfaces to get an adequate picture of the global content of a site. The faunal remains on living surfaces have to be treated differently than on rubbish mounds. The latter are the results of maintenance work and are therefore not entropic, but can provide a good dissection of the process of formation of the deposit.

In Lanashuaia it could be proved that a long-lasting episode can result in very similar archeozoological evidence, like a sum of short, more specialized occupations. In the Túnel VII site it has already been demonstrated none of the occupation episodes represent a meaningful sample of the global strategies over a century.

Conclusion

In Lanashuaia we were able to document some ethnographic well-described fundamental features through archeological research. We have seen an intensive broad spectrum use of resources emphasizing littoral resources. Also we have

remarked that the exploitation of mollusks, although maintaining great pressure on them, was organized in a sustainable way. The size of the collected specimens was smaller than today's ones, but it did not change significantly during the sequence of occupation. This demonstrates that the population of mollusks did sustain the collecting pressure of native people.

Furthermore, the results indicate differences in the spatial distribution of residues within the area where the hut was located, but we still don't know whether these differences refer to or are caused by the inequality between men and women inside the social units, as documented in the ethnographic record.

Differences and similarities with the ethnographic record referring to the same Yamana group that produced the excavated settlements will allow us to refine the methodology, especially in regard to the social organization of this group. As we have said, our objective is to develop a methodology that could be applied further to prehistoric hunter-fisher-gatherer societies.

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Résumé

Depuis 1988, une équipe hispano-argentine développe des projets ethnoarchéologiques en Terre de Feu (Argentine). Notre objectif est de développer une méthodologie et des outils conceptuels dans le but d'étudier les sociétés de chasseurs-cueilleurs. Dans le cadre de ces projets, nous avons fouillé plusieurs sites archéologiques correspondant à la période du contact entre européens et sociétés natives (XIX^{ème} siècle). Lanashuaia est un des sites qui a été fouillé. Le Professeur Jiří Svoboda a participé à la campagne de terrain conduite en 1996. Dans cet article nous présentons quelques-uns des résultats obtenus lors de l'étude de Lanashuaia.

Zusammenfassung

Seit 1988 entwickelt ein spanisch-argentinisches Team ethnoarchäologische Projekte in der Tierra del Fuego (Argentinien). Unser Ziel war es eine Methodologie und konzeptuelle Instrumente zu entwickeln, um tiefer in das Studium prähistorischer Jäger/Sammler Gesellschaften einzudringen. Im Rahmen dieser Projekte haben wir einige archäologische Fundstellen, die aus der Zeit des Kontaktes der Europäer mit indigenen Gesellschaften (19. Jh.) stammen, ausgegraben. Prof. Jiří Svoboda nahm an den Feldforschungen während des Jahres 1996 teil. In dieser Arbeit präsentieren wir einige Ergebnisse der Studien in Lanashuaia.

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