

DUALITY IN PUBLIC ARCHITECTURE IN THE UPPER ZAÑA VALLEY, NORTHERN PERU

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In the course of survey in the Zaña Valley we found several sites whose internal architecture showed a marked dual patterning and others whose spatial relationship to one another on the landscape demonstrated a different, but still dual, configuration. In order to interpret this patterning we have drawn on cases derived from modern ethnographic studies as well as documentation of earlier Andean society by colonial Spanish observers. We have also drawn on the earlier archaeological work of Dillehay in the Chillón Valley of the Central Coast (1976, 1979) and Netherly's interpretation of the organizational principles operative in the North Coast societies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. and their spatial correlations (1977, 1984). In comparing the Zaña data with these other cases, we have been able to identify some of the different kinds of dual patterning which can be found in Andean sites and regional landscapes. This discussion will present the dual patterning we see in the Zaña data and call attention to the diversity possible in such patterning in this valley and elsewhere in the Andes (Figure 1).*

Four centuries ago, the *hanan-hurin* division of Inka society and the quadripartite organization of their realm, Tawantinsuyu (literally the "realm of the four sections"), was noted by Spanish chroniclers and colonial administrators (Polo de Ondegardo [1567] 1916, cap. III; Castro y Ortega Morejón [1558] 1936). Because these divisions were part of a form of social organization very different from the European model, they were accepted without comment or understanding as a single social division without transcendental political, historical, or spatial importance. Those who, like Polo, had learned much about the indigenous system, did not find it necessary to pass this knowledge on to other Europeans.

The failure of the early Spanish observers to deal with the dual organization of Inka society and the Inka state is hardly surprising. European political institutions provided the model against which Andean social and political organization were judged. There was no antecedent in European experience for a state organized around moiety and crossmoiety divisions with political, religious, and economic functions concentrated, not in the hands of a single monarch, but shared by a group of carefully ranked rulers who represented all the structural sections of the society (Zuidema 1964; Duviols 1979; Netherly 1977, 1984, n.d.a., n.d.b.).

New attention was directed toward the moiety system of the Inka by Zuidema (1964), who applied a structuralist analysis to the information offered by early Spanish and Andean observers and asserted that there had been *two*

* Figures follow text, beginning on page 98.

contemporary rulers in Cuzco--one of the **hanan** and one of the **hurin** moiety--throughout the Inka period. A recent reexamination of the historical sources by Duviols (1979) has provided an independent confirmation of a dual rulership or diarchy in Inka Cuzco.

Netherly has found many organizational similarities between the model of Inka social and political organization presented by Zuidema and supported by Duviols and that of the contemporary society of the North Coast (1977, n.d.a., n.d.b.). The evidence from Spanish colonial written records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for other areas of the Andes suggests that, while there may have been regional variation in institutional organization (division into three or ten parts, for example), there were organizational principles that were pan-Andean, foremost among them a primary dual division (Murra 1968; Zuidema 1964; Netherly 1977, 1984; Dillehay 1976, 1979).

Initially, recognition and understanding of the scope and role of duality in Andean social organization came from contemporary ethnographic studies. In the course of the past 40 years, the dual and in some cases quadripartite organization of communities from all over the Andes has been reported (Arguedas 1964; Fonseca 1981; Houdart-Morizot 1976; Isbell 1978; Ossio 1976; Palomino Flores 1971; Wachtel 1974). This mode of organization is far-reaching. It functions as a means of organizing space within a settlement and across the landscape controlled by that community (Fonseca 1981; Isbell 1978; Ossio 1976; Palomino Flores 1971; Wachtel 1974).

It is even possible to propose the existence of a generalized model of spatial organization for these traditional communities. The territory--pasturelands and cultivated fields--of the whole group is divided into two sections, usually by a river or stream. Each section is occupied by the members of one of the two moieties or else they claim land there. Streams, canals, or other topographic features may further divide the moiety territory into two or more parts, which are held by social subdivisions presently called **ayllu** or **barrios** (Arguedas 1964; Fonseca 1981; Houdart-Morizot 1976; Isbell 1978; Wachtel 1974). Where the cultivated land or pasture is irrigated, rights to the water of the canals irrigating the lands of a particular section (**ayllu** or **barrio**) are vested in it, as is responsibility for its upkeep.

The contemporary use of the Spanish "**barrio**", literally a residential district in a town, emphasizes the fact that the nucleated settlements--the **reducciones** resulting from Spanish resettlement policies of the sixteenth century--replicate the organizational structure of the society in the location and definition of the residential quarters within them, despite the frequently artificial beginnings of these towns as arbitrary European administrative units.

The pervasiveness and persistence of dual modes for the social organization of human groups in the Andes and the application of this organization to the landscape within which these groups live is indeed remarkable. Considering the pressures to which this organization has been subjected in colonial times and in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, its survival must be linked with fundamental aspects of the culture. In the Andes, dual and quadripartite organization of the society serves as a mechanism for obtaining access to resources and to human energy, as well as offering protection against risk (Netherly n.d.c.). These are powerful motives for the continuance of the ancient, and efficient, pattern. This pan-Andean mode of organization is reflected in the colonial

records primarily through the political hierarchy, which was embedded within the social organization, and through corporate rights to land and water (Netherly 1977, 1984, n.d.b).

However, there are other modes for the dual ordering of people, relationships, and space in the Andes which can also be seen in both twentieth century and pre-European Andean society. These modes go beyond intra-group organization. Setting up a relationship of dual opposition appears also to be a mechanism for ordering relationships between different groups across space and, we hypothesize, for the sharing of access to different economic resources by potentially competitive groups.

Dillehay found in the Chillón Valley, for example, that the modern settlement of Pucará, which occupies part of the prehistoric site of Pucará Bajo, is made up of two lineages: one from Arahua, a community on the southern bank of the Rio Arahua, a southern tributary of the Chillón, and the other from Yaguay, a highland community on the north bank of the same river (1976, n.d.) (Figure 1). The families, members of lineages from these two different ethnic groups, are linked through the women, yet preserve their historic ethnic identities by living on the eastern (Arahua) and western (Yaguay) sides of the prehistoric wall which divides the Pucará archaeological site and the modern settlement. The wall has stairways on either side to provide access to the other. These, together with the wall itself, are kept up by the residents of both ethnic groups, "for the sake of tradition".

Pucará is a village on a main road to Lima. Why should the inhabitants of this community retain a residence pattern which makes contact between the families of the two ethnic groups inconvenient, but not impossible? By organizing themselves in a mode of dual opposition, these unrelated groups are able to live in proximity *without being incorporated into a larger entity*. Most members of each group are able to retain rights to land in their home territory, while cultivating lands traditionally held by their group in the Chillón valley around Pucará. The archaeological work carried out by Dillehay in 1973 and 1977 shows that this is an ancient pattern in this area (1976, n.d.).

It is clear that, for contemporary Andean society, the various modes of dual organization appear to provide a general pattern from which an array of variations can be derived for the organization of space in social and economic terms. A number of different models of such organization can be recognized in modern ethnographic studies and these can be used in turn as hypotheses for the interpretation of the use of space in the Prehispanic past.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SPACE: REGIONAL LANDSCAPES AND THEIR REPLICATION IN THE CULTURAL TOPOGRAPHY OF INDIVIDUAL SETTLEMENTS

The Evidence from 20th Century Ethnography

Since it is the principles by which Andean peoples organized their society and the world in which they lived which seem to have endured the longest, we will begin with an examination of the persistence of dual and quadripartite divisions within contemporary Andean communities. In traditional Andean communities today the prehistoric lords are long gone but the social groupings persist, named or unnamed, because it is through them that individuals obtain

fundamental economic rights to land and water, organize their religious observances, and in general act as social beings. Water, particularly flowing water in rivers, streams, or irrigation canals, frequently is used as a dividing median (Netherly 1984). Sometimes a dry watercourse or an abandoned canal forms the median line, preserving the association with water, however tenuous. Water is so important that its sources are considered sacred (Arguedas 1964; Isbell 1978). Thus, to the Andean mind, upstream groups rank higher than downstream groups.

The community of Cuenca in the Central Andes was studied by Marie-France Houdart-Morizot (1976) and is a remnant of a larger colonial and Prehispanic polity which once had four divisions (Figure 2A). We can see that the river here forms a boundary today. The upstream territory is called *Marca* and corresponds to a social group called *Wanaco*. It is separated from the downstream lands called *Wansawchi* of a group called *Qollana*. The division between the two sets of lands originates in the town, and is called *Tikray* in the agricultural zone. Within the town it is formed by the street called *Azangaro* or *Chaupi*. The name *Chaupi* means "middle". Again, within the town the higher-ranking *Wanaco* are upstream relative to the second moiety, *Qollana* (Figure 2B). There is a point to make here. *Qollana* is a Quechua term which usually refers to the most preeminent group of several. It appears that in Inka times this was the highest-ranking group because of the presence of Inka *mitmaq* groups in Cuenca, which were incorporated into *Qollana*. The reversal in rank and presumably a reordering of territory occurred when the indigenous groups (*Marca*, *Wanaco*) recovered their ancient hegemony on the departure of the Inka settlers after the arrival of the Europeans.

In the community of Andamarca in the Central Andean highlands, Juan Ossio (1976) found that the territory of Andamarca was divided into two parts two different ways (Figure 3A). The river divided the territory into left and right banks, which the people of Andamarca called *valle* and *puna*. There was also an upstream/downstream division which was called *Hanan* (upper) and *Uray* (lower). The village of Andamarca was located in both *valle* and *Hanan* sections, that is, in the highest-ranking sector of Andamarca. The corresponding settlement of *Chiricre*, while located upstream is on the lower-ranking *puna* side of the river.

When we look at the organization of space in the town of Andamarca itself, we see that the high-low designation is preserved with *Tuna* ranking higher over *Pata*, which is lower land nearer the river (Figure 3B). The social group *Qarmenqa* is upstream relative to *Antara* and thus ranks higher. Note the position of the plaza and the street called *Lima* or *Chaupis* which is the median line between *Tuna* and *Pata*.

In Chipaya in northern Bolivia, Nathan Wachtel (1974) found a dual and quadripartite division where the town of Chipaya was divided into higher-ranking *Manasaya* and lower-ranking *Aransaya*, which corresponded to an east-west division: *Tuanta-Tajata* (Figure 4A). In this town plan as in so many Andean towns, the church, as an outside institution, is the origin of the dividing line between *Tuanta* and *Tajata*. The fourfold division is expressed architecturally in the presence of four chapels, one of which is in ruins, which are identified with the groups living in the sector of town which surrounds them. The groups of the higher moiety are called *Ushata* and *Waruta*. Those of the lower moiety are called *Tuanchajta* and *Tajachajta*. The farmlands of

Chipaya abut on Lake Coipasa and are laid out in long strips (Figure 4B). The eastern territory of Tuanta is separated from the western territory of Tajata by an abandoned canal called Taypi. The internal divisions within the lands of each moiety are also made by canals.

The Evidence from Sixteenth Century Chicama

If we turn now to the regional landscape of the Prehispanic period, we can see the creation of complexes of monumental architecture which appear to correspond to the same principles of organization. The sixteenth century material offered by the Chicama documentation provides written corroboration of the distribution of space described for contemporary communities (Netherly 1977, 1984, n.d.a.).

The map of the Chicama Valley shows the division of this valley between the late Prehispanic polities of Licapa and Chicama (Figure 5). Their territory was divided by a long canal, no longer in existence, which passed to the north of Chocope. Within the polity of Chicama itself, there was a moiety division and subdivision into a total of four sections. The Chicama River divided the lands of the upper moiety from those of the lower.

On the hill to the north of Chocope there is a complex of elite residential and administrative structures which we may assume was associated with the Prehispanic paramount lord of Chicama, just as the *cacique principal* of the mid-sixteenth century was to be found in the Spanish town of Chocope (Figure 6). The lord of the second section of the higher-ranking moiety, Don Alonso Chuchinamo, is the only lord who can be associated from the written evidence with a named group, Cao, and the area called Cao. We located and mapped a elite residential compound at the late Prehispanic site called Cao Viejo in association with one of the four *doctrinas* established by Domingo de Santo Tomás in Chicama (Figure 7). Cao territory was defined by the canal called Cao, which is the only canal remaining in the Chicama Valley bearing the name of an indigenous polity (Netherly 1977, 1984, n.d.a.).

On the south side of the river there is a large elite complex with residential and administrative functions at Chiquitoy Viejo not far from the Spanish town and *doctrina* of Chicama (Figure 5). Finally, there was a large and important settlement near the mouth of the Chicama River on the south bank which has been largely destroyed. The Prehispanic canal system on this side of the river has been greatly modified to serve the sugar haciendas and it is not possible to delimit the territory of the two southern sections of the lower moiety represented by these sites (Netherly 1977, 1984, n.d.a.).

Nevertheless, it would appear that in the Chicama Valley there was a predominance of the north bank over the southern one and of upstream over downstream, which is congruent with both the ethnographic information and with the sixteenth century documentation.

Dillehay found that there were rather well-defined divisions between ethnic groups in the Chillón Valley, particularly in the Middle Valley. In terms of the topography, it was the river and the lateral quebradas which served as the principal boundaries between ethnic groups, influencing the direction of

penetration onto the valley floor by highland groups, and in turn, determining which *yunga* and highland groups could interact with each other (Dillehay n.d.). Highland groups interacted with the *yunga* groups whose land adjoined the quebradas through which they entered the valley.

Dual Patterning on Precolumbian Regional Landscapes

The Peruvian architect and scholar, Carlos Williams León (1978-80), has provided us with the location of four major U-shaped temple complexes in the Lurin Valley just south of the city of Lima, Peru. These complexes correspond to the first millenium BC. Close observation will show that there are two complexes on each bank of the river and that the upstream complexes are architecturally more elaborate than the downstream ones, which are nevertheless impressive. The analogy to the ethnographic model we have just seen is very powerful and would lead us to hypothesize that different groups were responsible for each complex and that the higher-ranking ones correspond to the more elaborate upstream temple complexes. The Valley of Chancay to the north of Lima has also been surveyed by Williams (1978-80, 1980) and there is one of these monumental U-shaped complexes on the south bank of the river and one very large one on the north bank as well. In Figure 8, taken from Williams's 1980 publication, it is evident that there are *four* smaller U-shaped structures on the north bank as well as one monumental one. The difference in scale of the architectural complexes suggests a difference in the size and organizational level of the groups which constructed and used them. Two of the smaller structures are clearly upstream from the others and the large complex might be construed as providing a median line.

A second example comes from our survey in the Middle Zaña Valley (Figure 1). In the course of survey on the north side of the valley, we located two platform mounds on low ridges projecting onto the irrigated valley floor near the village of Macuaco. We designated these mounds Macuaco I and II, since they were separated by less than 500 m. and seemed to be a pair (Figure 9). Test excavations in Macuaco I indicated that the site had been continuously occupied from the Initial Period to the Late Horizon with a discontinuity between the first ceramic occupation and an underlying Preceramic occupation (Dillehay and Netherly 1983; Netherly and Dillehay n.d.; Dillehay and Netherly n.d.a.). The survey collection from Macuaco II indicates the same span of occupation. The long axis of these mounds appears to be oriented some 8 degrees east of north, although excavation and more precise instruments are required to confirm this observation. Opposite these mounds on the south bank of the Zaña River in and to the east of a hamlet called Viru are two larger platform mounds, again separated by some 500 m. and again apparently aligned between 5 and 10 degrees east of north. The ceramics found on these mounds also range from the Initial Period to the Late Horizon.

The placement of these structures and the fact that unlike the situation in many other coastal valleys, they remained in use for over 3,000 years, suggests to us that they were associated with fundamental socio-political divisions on a pattern not dissimilar to that shown by the Early Horizon structures mapped by Carlos Williams in the valleys of the Central Coast. Moreover, as was the case in the examples from the Lurin and Chancay Valleys of the Central Coast presented by Williams, the two upstream platform mounds are larger than those

downstream and the two at Viru seem larger than those at Macuaco. Huaquero activity in 1982 revealed high-status Chimú tombs in the upper platform of Macuaco I, which strengthens the socio-political association of these mounds.

DUAL PATTERNING IN THE ORGANIZATION OF PARTICULAR SETTLEMENTS

Division of Settlements on the Median or Chaupi Line

Returning to examples which are close in time to the European arrival in the Andes, let us look first at Tunanmarca, the principal town of one of the Huanca divisions of Jauja in the Central Andes. The pre-Inka settlement is divided into two parts, each of which is completely surrounded by a defensive wall. The two unequal parts of the settlement are separated by a broad corridor which is entirely walled and forms a median or *chaupi* line. At the center there are two plazas with rectangular structures which are architecturally atypical for these Huanca hilltop settlements and which are Inka (LeBlanc 1981; D'Altroy 1981 and personal communication). That the Inka occupation of this settlement should be found on the median line, just as the Catholic Church is in modern Andean settlements, is a reflection of the external nature of this domination. It describes the pattern of Inka occupation at other settlements such as Machaca in northern Bolivia or Chíncha, where the two moieties were spatially segregated as well (Albó et al. 1972; Craig Morris, personal communication).

There are two sites in the Chillón Valley which have a wall dividing the settlement and acting as the median or *chaupi* line (Dillehay 1976). The first is Pucará, which consists of two sectors: Pucará Alto and Pucará Bajo (Figure 1). Pucará Bajo is bisected by the modern highway from Canta to Lima and is affected by the modern settlement of Pucará which intrudes on the site. However, the most notable feature is the 2.2 meter high stone wall running north to south and dividing the site into western and eastern sectors. We have already noted the stone stairways which provide access over the wall. Prehispanic nucleated villages of stone structures are found on both sides of the wall. There is an elite compound and a near-by platform mound which abuts the median wall in the western sector. The walling in this sector consists of a well bonded, double-coursed, rubble-filled masonry very like what is found on other sites downvalley. Dillehay also found that the ceramics from this sector of the site resembled those from Huancayo Alto immediately to the west (Figure 1). However, among the ceramics collected from the surface on the eastern side were rimless sherds with highland paste types.

There is no elite/ceremonial complex on the eastern side at Pucará Bajo. However, the dominating architecture at Pucará Alto is a large, stone-faced platform mound with two small rubble-filled mounds behind it to the south. There is also a three-room elite complex. If the wall dividing Pucará Bajo is projected southward, the Pucará Alto complex would lie to the east of it. The masonry at Pucará Alto is singlecoursed and similar to masonry found at Quivi Viejo and sites in the lower Arahuay drainage. On the basis of the ceramics, Dillehay places the occupation span of Pucará Bajo from the Early Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon. Pucará Alto, on the other hand, appears to have been occupied from the Late Middle Horizon through the Late Intermediate Period. No Inca ceramics were found at either site. Dillehay has interpreted Pucará Bajo as a boundary settlement between the Huancayo and Quivi ethnic groups at a point where an important route to the Jicamarca highlands enters

the Chillón Valley, and notes the time depth evident for the occupation of the site.

The other site in this valley with a median wall is Checta, just 1 km. to the east on the same side of the river (Figure 1). There is a large wall running north-south and dividing the site into eastern and western sectors. As at Pucará Bajo, there are stone stairways permitting passage over the wall. There are settlements on either side of the wall but no elite structures or platform mounds. The location of Checta is at a point which controlled passage up and down the valley. The site and its wall abut a large hill to the south. On the other side of the river there is a sheer drop on the mountainside which impedes upstream or downstream movement. Dillehay interprets Checta as being the boundary settlement between the coastal Colli and the highland Canta during the Late Intermediate Period and during the period of Inka domination, the boundary between the Canta and the *mitmaq* from Chacalla who were part of the Yauyos ethnic group from the highlands to the south (Dillehay 1976, 1979).

The *chaupi* or median division at Tunanmarca expressed a moiety division within a single group. The installation associated with Inka domination was placed in the liminal no-man's-land between the walled enclosures of the moieties. The high dividing walls at both Pucará Bajo and Checta express a median dividing distinct ethnic groups. There is no architectural expression of superior authority. Clearly the division at Pucará Bajo was a local one, sanctioned by long occupation and the presence of ethnic authorities and public architecture. The ethnic groups divided at Checta represented larger polities whose political centers lay elsewhere and no architectural expression of local identification in the form of elite architecture or ceremonial complexes is found.

Architectural Expressions of Dual Social and Political Structure

A different instance of Inka occupation of an ethnic polity which expressed the dual social and political division in the architecture of its major settlement is found at Huancayo Alto in the Chillón Valley to the north of Lima (Figure 1). Here there are two elite residential structures of unequal size which date from the pre-Inka period (Figure 10). These structures were used and architecturally modified under Inka occupation in conjunction with the presence upslope, that is to the south, of a large Inka storage complex and, at a short distance, an Inka administrative complex (Dillehay 1976, 1979). In this case both moieties of the Huancayo polity were represented and their lords were clearly involved in the functioning of the Inka center, but cannot be considered representatives of the Inka state.

The dual patterning in the Chillón appears to be a long-standing tradition. It can be traced back to the Early Horizon and may be still more ancient. Dillehay found that the Chavin occupation at Huancayo Alto in the Chillón Valley included an area of residential occupation, an area of storage structures, and a pair of stone-faced mounds lying below the site closer to the river (Figure 11). This complex dated to between 800 and 900 B.C. (Dillehay 1976, 1979). Of the two mounds, the southern one was the larger and had a stone-lined causeway which united it with a group of monoliths. Tests in this mound produced Early Horizon ceramics of local affiliation identical to those found in the storage area. Tests in the second mound produced Chavin ceramics which were external to the south bank of the Chillón, but affiliated with settlements

from the north bank. There are no Early Horizon ceremonial complexes on the north bank of the Chillón. Dillehay concludes that this pair of mounds represents an early Middle Valley north bank/south bank socio-political duality which culminated in Chavin times and was also expressed in the shared storage facility on the south bank.

Turning again to monumental complexes of U-shaped temple architecture of the first millennium BC, we can consider both their internal structure, modalities of dual patterning, and the relationship of such dual complexes to a dual social structure. These relationships, which have been discussed for later periods as well as for the Formative Period, are also found in some Early Intermediate Period sites.

In 1985 the Proyecto Arqueológico Zaña-Niepos located a pair of small Early Intermediate Period mounds surrounded by an extensive area of habitation refuse just outside the hamlet of San José in the Nanchoc Quebrada (Figures 1 and 12). The mounds are low and covered by trees, which impeded accurate mapping. Figure 12 is based on a field sketch and is not to scale. It was clear, however, that the upstream mound, designated Huaca A, is larger than the downstream one. Excavation at this site should clarify the relationship between these two mounds which can only be hinted at here.

Another example, also from the Zaña survey, is the San Luis II complex from the Zaña Valley itself (Figure 13). It was recorded by Dillehay and Netherly in 1978 and mapped as part of the fieldwork carried out in 1985 (Dillehay and Netherly 1983; Netherly and Dillehay n.d.). The complex consists of two U-shaped structures oriented up-river and north of east. It is located on a desert pampa of the north bank of the Zaña River. Unlike the monumental structures mapped by Carlos Williams, here the two mounds are almost equivalent in size and are separated by a distance of some 150 meters. The wall which divides them and the two parallel walls running north-south to the east of the southern structure are all much later and are related to a Late Intermediate Period occupation off the map to the south.

The northern mound has not been subsequently modified and consists of a central structure with platforms and two roughly parallel wings extending north by east. There are two sets of dual entryways, at the entrance to the plaza formed by the wings and at the entry to the base of the central structure. The southern mound is somewhat larger and more elaborate and the extending wings appear to have been larger. The inequality of the wings is a regular feature in this architecture and may be an internal expression of a ranked dual opposition. The more complex architecture shown on the map may involve some late additions, but in any case the structure is larger than the one to the north. What is noteworthy is that this pair of U-shaped mounds is unique on this side of the river and, so far as we have been able to determine, in this part of the valley. One must suppose that only a portion of the population of this area was involved in the communal activities carried out at this pair of public structures and that the duality shown here may reflect the dual organization of that group. Again, the planned excavation of this site should provide more evidence.

Finally, in the light of the pairing of mounds seen in the Zaña Valley and the Nanchoc Quebrada for later periods, we should consider the paired Middle to Late Preceramic mounds at the Cementerio de Nanchoc Site (Dillehay and

Netherly 1983, n.d.a., n.d.b.; Netherly and Dillehay 1985, n.d.). This site lies on both banks of a small seasonal stream which cuts the alluvial fan at the mouth of a lateral quebrada on the north side of the Nanchoc Quebrada valley about 1 km. from the modern town of Nanchoc (Figures 1 and 14). The test and block excavations carried out in 1981 and 1984-5 show that this is a multi-component site characterized by a pair of low, three-tiered mounds faced with aligned stones, which consist of a series of undisturbed architectural fills and living floors. The eastern or upstream mound appears to be the larger, but it has been heavily disturbed by the modern cemetery. The western mound measures some 35 m. in length and ranges from 1 m. to 1.5 m. in height. There are dual entrances to the lowest platform of the western mound. It was not possible to determine whether they were repeated between the first and second platform levels. There is an associated processing area across the gully from the mounds where plant-processing, wood-working, and the manufacture of lime from calcite were carried out. Given the absence of domestic refuse, the type of artifacts recovered, and the presence of platform mound architecture, it is clear that this site was a public precinct where lime was extracted and wood processed. We hypothesize that the processed lime was used with coca, but as yet we have no direct evidence for the presence of coca at the site. In the light of the examples which have been presented here, however, we are more confident in suggesting that even at this early date the presence of *two* mounds is related to forms of dual organization which regulated the structure of the society.

DISCUSSION

Dual organization is very common throughout North and South America. This is well-known to ethnologists and has been for a long time. However, for the most part, archaeologists working in the Andean region of South America have not used this division as a paradigm in research design. Our purpose in presenting the ethnographic and archaeological examples given above has been to bring this fundamental organizational principal of Precolumbian Andean society to the attention of archaeologists working in this region and to demonstrate the powerful continuities between the ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological evidence. We have limited our presentation to only a few of the possible Prehispanic uses of duality as an organizing principle in the economic as well as socio-political spheres and have not attempted to deal with the use of this principle to organize cosmological or politico-religious relationships.

The most important conclusion that emerges from the material presented here is that these same mechanisms were used to organize space, to domesticate as it were the vast expanses of the Andean landscape on the regional level, to organize groups within the context of a particular site, and to express relationships within the context of a particular archaeological complex. Although we have not emphasized this aspect of Andean duality, it is well to remember that for Andean peoples space has symbolic meaning and that a prehistoric Andean regional landscape, a particular settlement, or a particular structure all represent *symbolically organized* space as well as a series of more pragmatic relationships. Andean dualism, as ethnologists are well aware, is tempered by a concept of intermediate space and intermediate status called *chaupi*. We have seen its direct expression in the walls dividing the Pucará Bajo and Checta settlements in the Chillón Valley, and perhaps also in the late wall which

divides the two ceremonial structures at San Luis II in the Zaña Valley. It is also seen in the use of the river to divide a regional organization of space as indicated by Carlos Williams's settlement pattern data from the Lurin and Chancay Valleys and by the organization of the Viru and Macuaco platform mounds from our own research in the Zaña Valley. The construction of paired structures, whether public in function as the paired mounds at Cementerio de Nanchoc and San José in the Nanchoc Quebrada or the paired Early Horizon structures at Huancayo Alto, or socio-political as the elite residential buildings at Huancayo Alto, force us to look at intra-site organization differently than has been done heretofore. The evidence from the reconstruction of the organization of North Coast irrigation and the field survey from the Chillón Valley both suggest, as do the ethnographic accounts, that it is possible to reconstruct the core *territory* of many prehistoric Andean polities and ethnic groups as well as to demonstrate the presence of more than one hierarchical level with considerably more sophistication than has been possible in the past.

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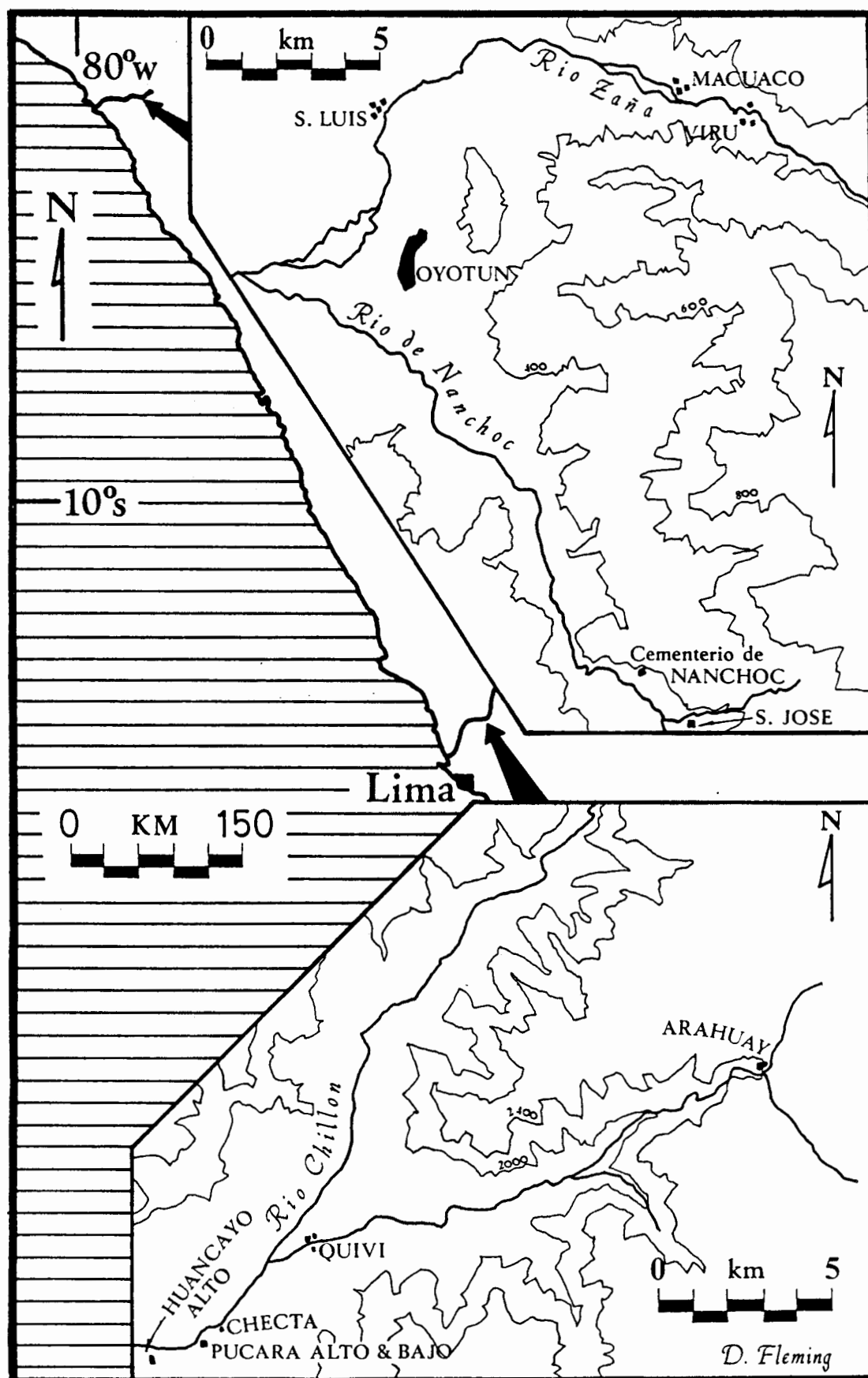


Figure 1. Map of Peru with insets of Zaña and Chillon valleys, showing principal sites mentioned in the text.

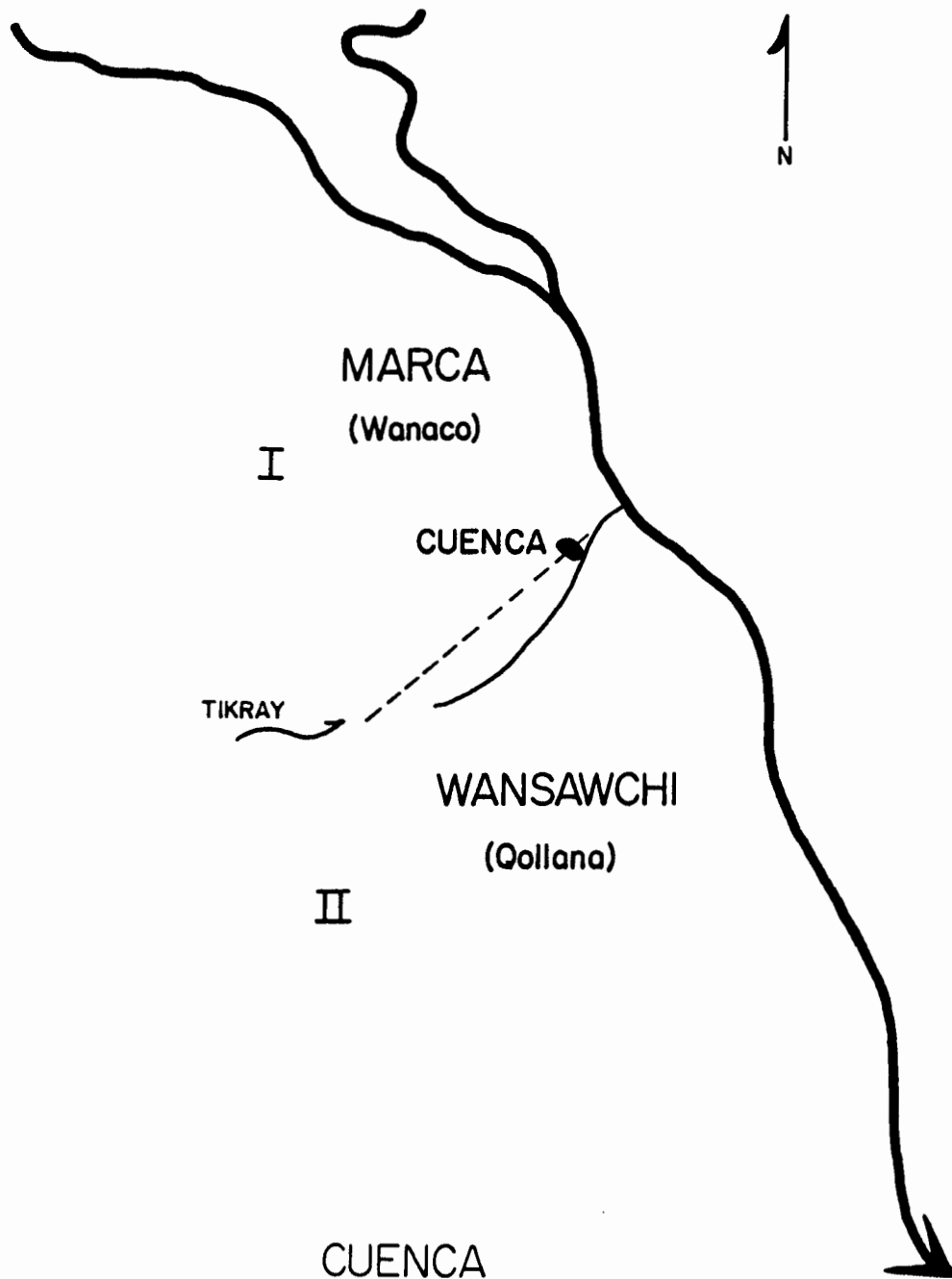


Figure 2A. Divisions in the rural territory of Cuenca. After Houdart-Morizot 1976.

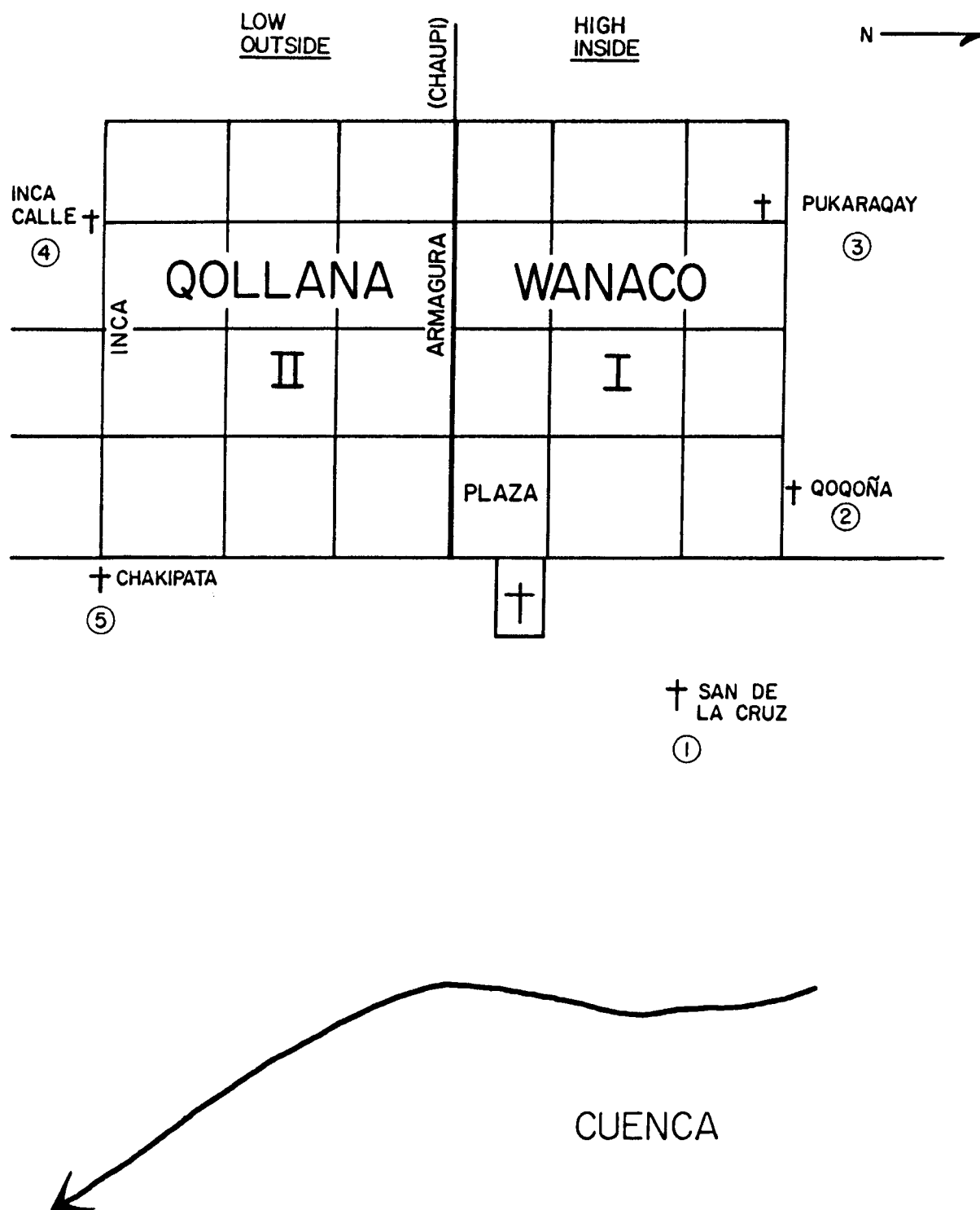


Figure 2B. Divisions within the urban center of Cuenca. After Houdart-Morizot 1976.

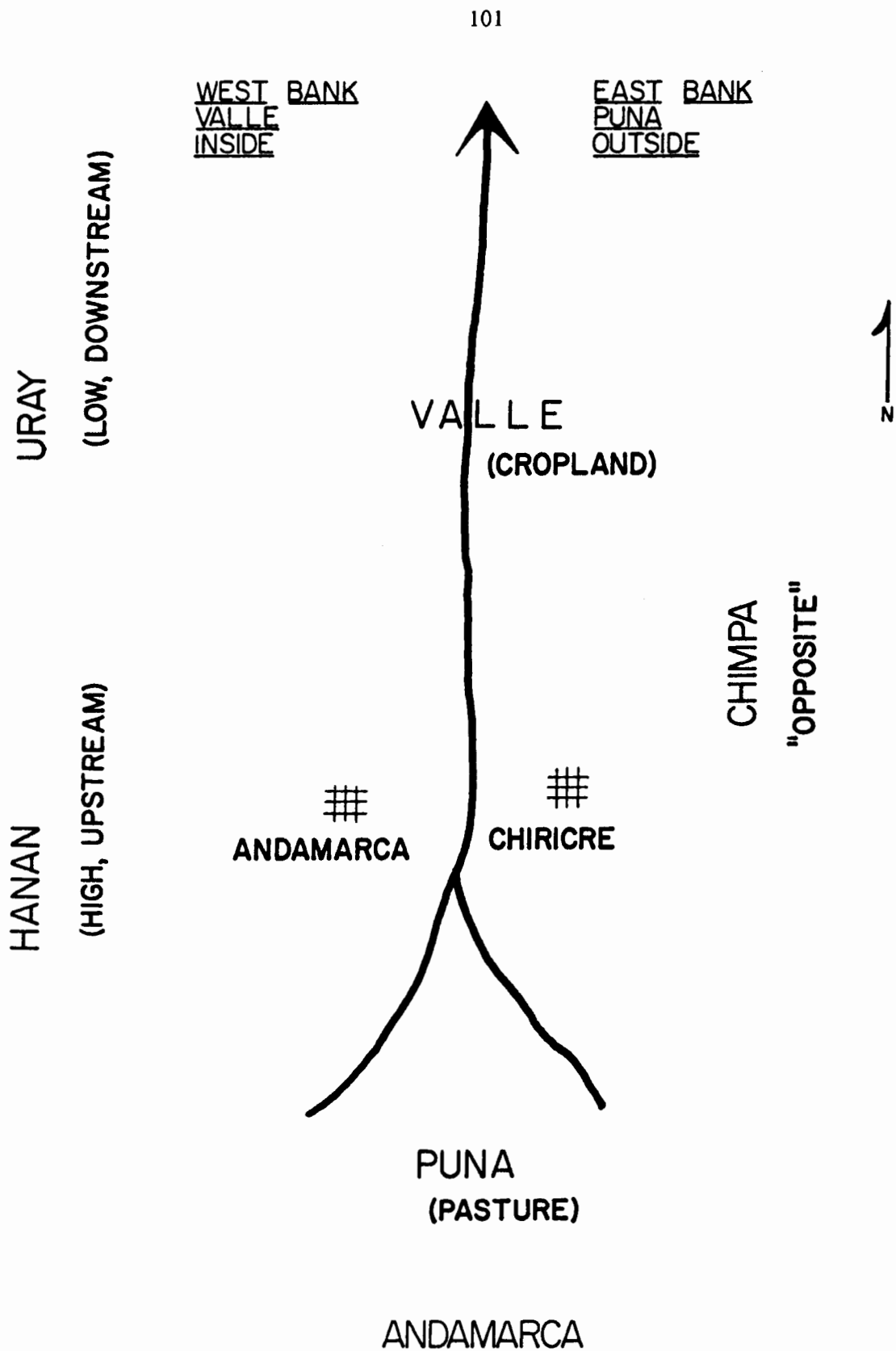


Figure 3A. Organization of the rural hinterland of Andamarca. After Ossio 1976.

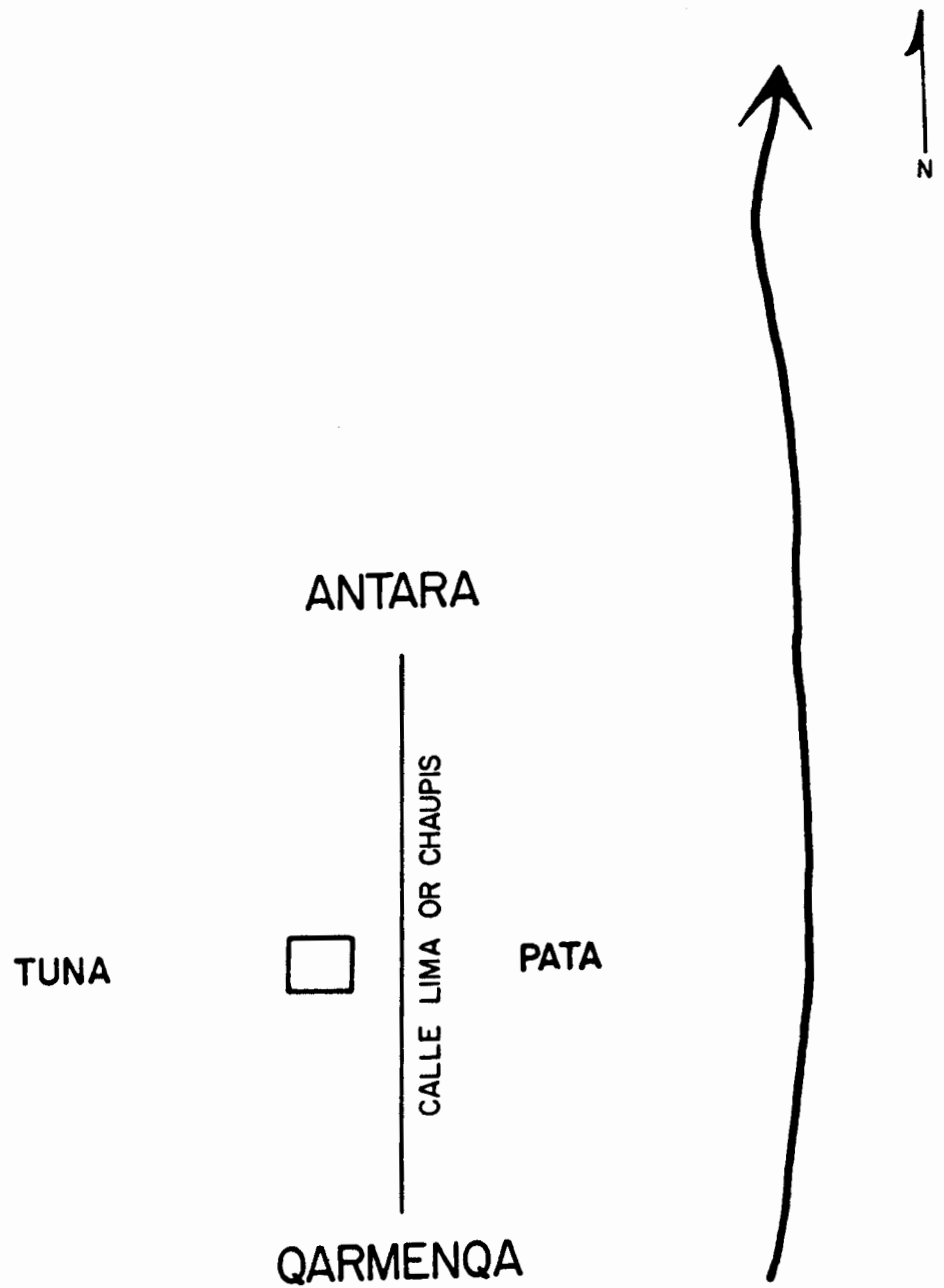


Figure 3B. The divisions within the town of Andamarca. After Ossio 1976.

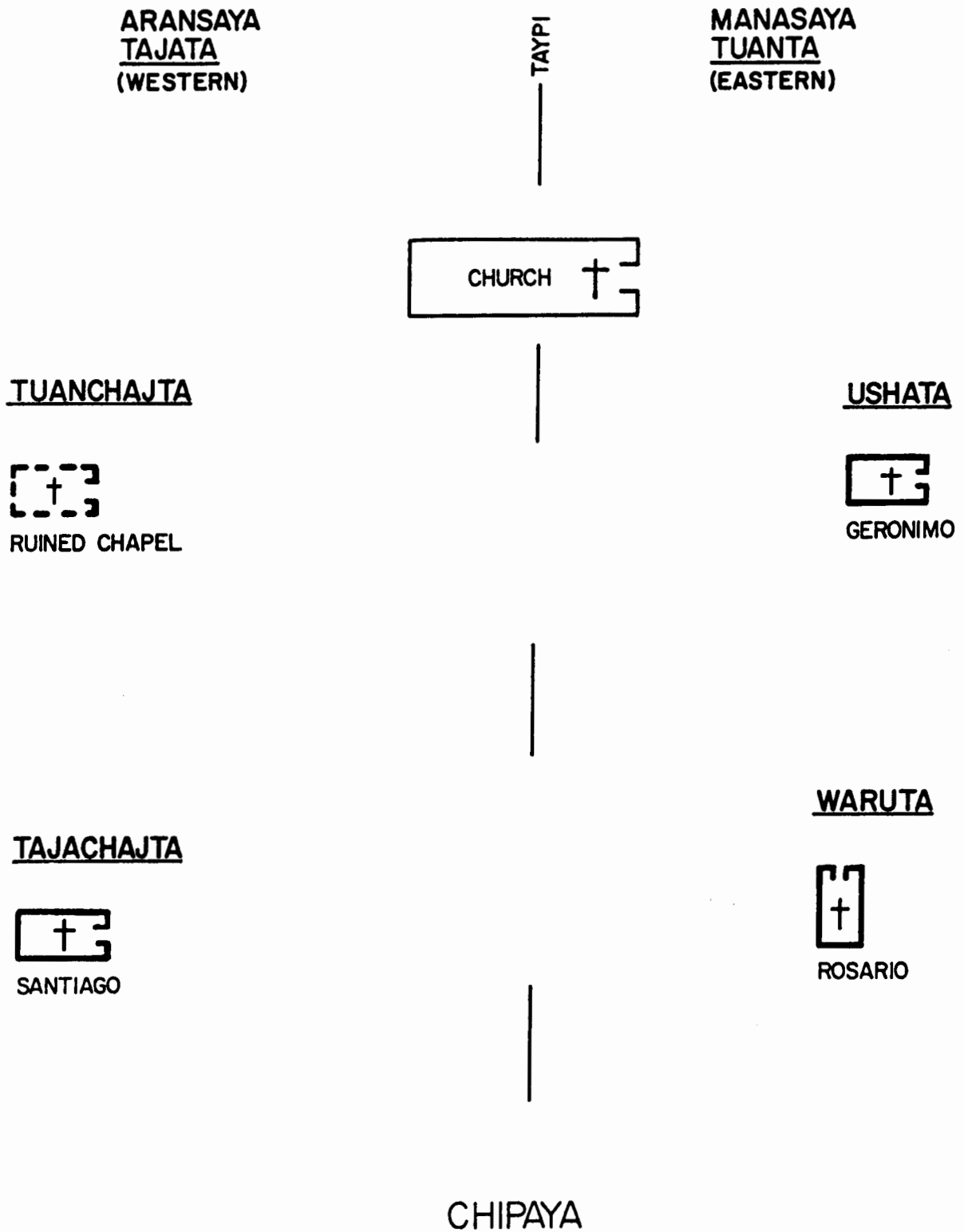


Figure 4A. Quadripartite organization of the village of Chipaya. After Wachtel 1974.

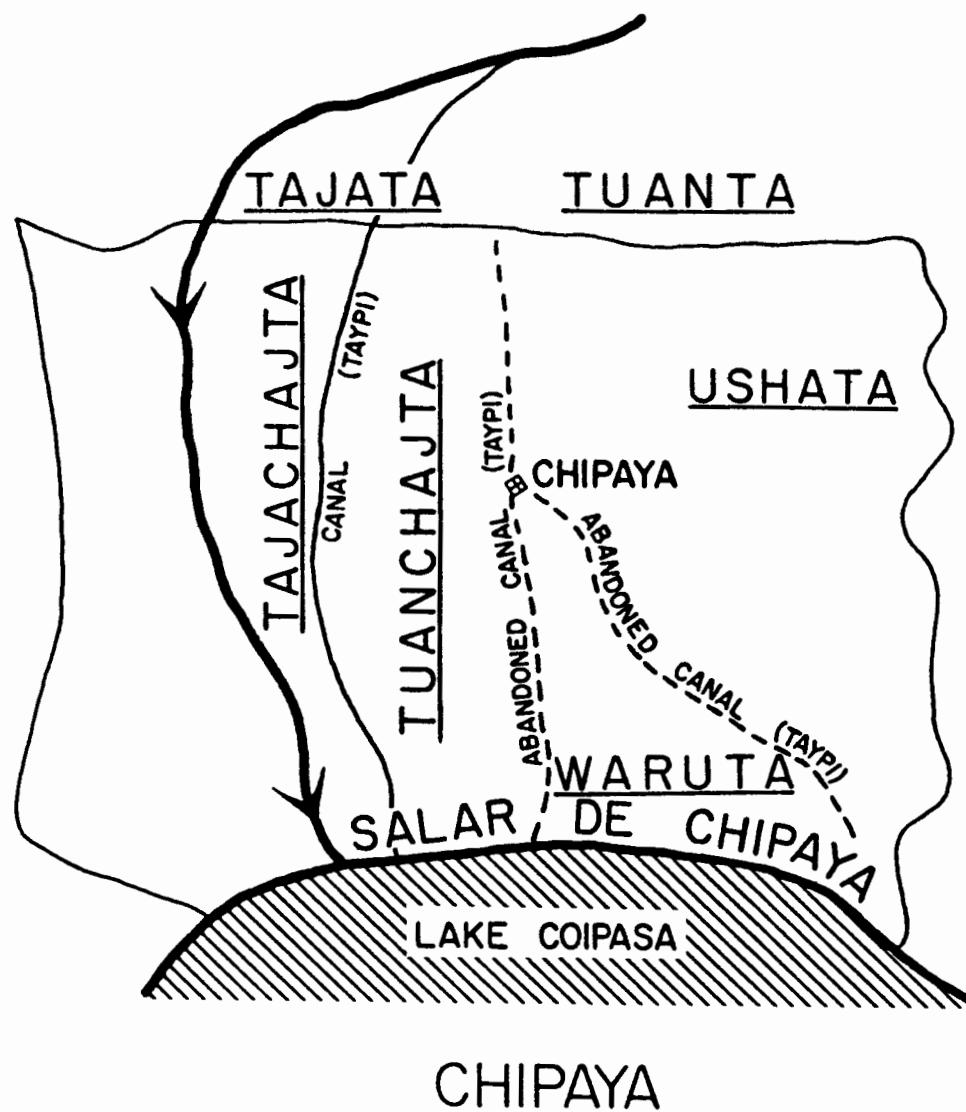


Figure 4B. The rural territory of Chipaya.
After Wachtel 1974.

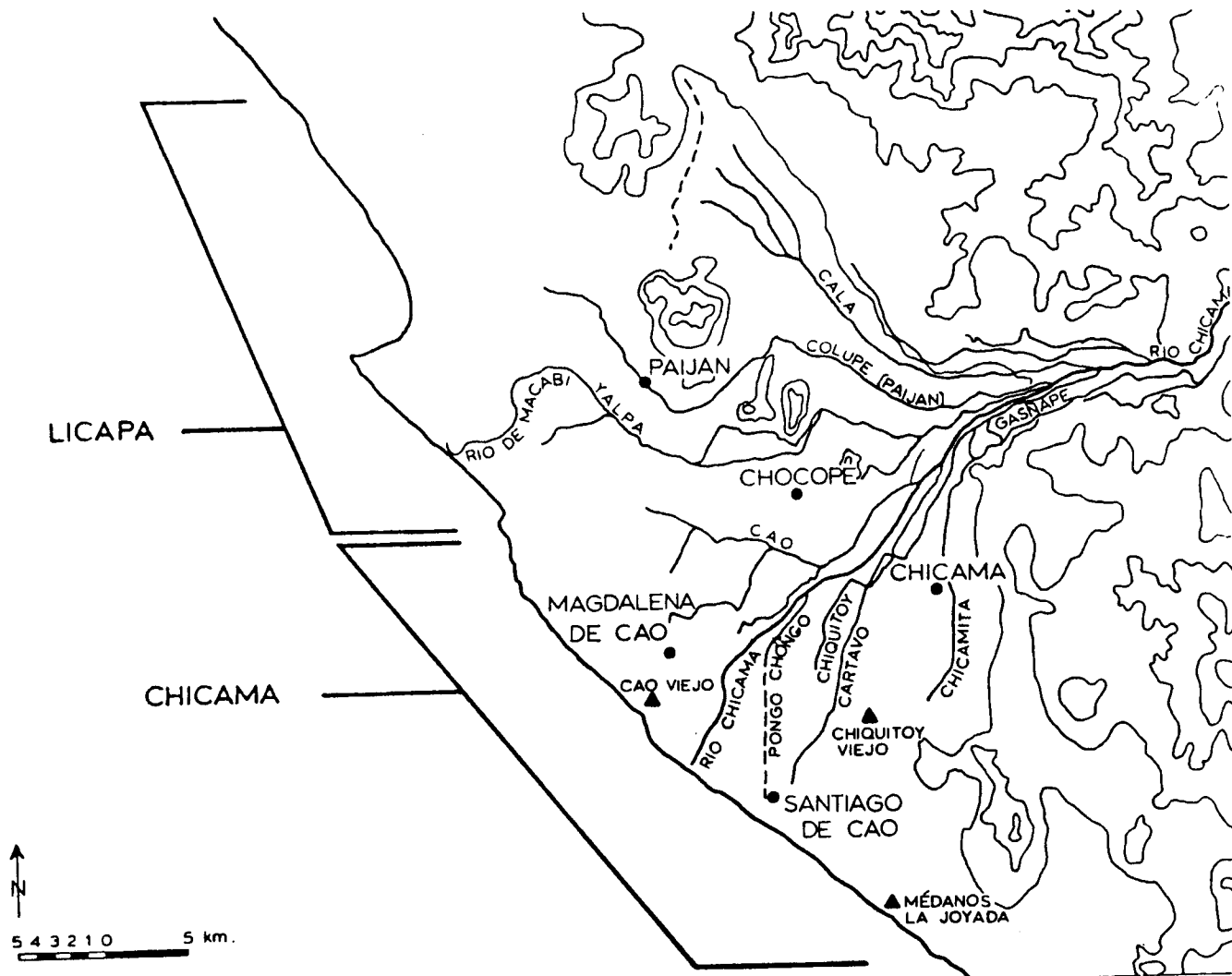


Figure 5. Map of the Chicama valley showing the 16th century division between Licapa and Chicama, major archaeological sites, and the four *reducción* villages of Chicama. The canals are modern.

<p style="text-align: center;">FIRST MOIETY</p> <p><u>DON JUAN DE MORA</u></p> <p>LORD OF THE FIRST MOIETY 1:2 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p> <hr/> <p>-----</p> <p>SECOND LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">SECOND MOIETY</p> <p><u>DON PEDRO MACHE</u></p> <p>LORD OF THE SECOND MOIETY 1:2 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p> <hr/> <p><u>DON DIEGO MARTIN CONAMAN</u></p> <p>SECOND LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p>
<p>MOIETY α^*</p> <p><u>DON ALONSO CHUCHINAMO</u></p> <p>SECOND LORD OF THE FIRST MOIETY LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p> <hr/> <p><u>DON DIEGO SANCAYNAMO</u></p> <p>SECOND LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p>	<p>MOIETY β^*</p> <p><u>DON GONZALO SULPINAMO</u></p> <p>SECOND LORD OF THE SECOND MOIETY LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p> <hr/> <p>-----</p> <p>SECOND LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:4 LORD OF THE <u>PARCIALIDAD</u> 1:8</p>

* HYPOTHESIZED

Figure 6. The sociopolitical organization of the polity of Chicama in 1565.

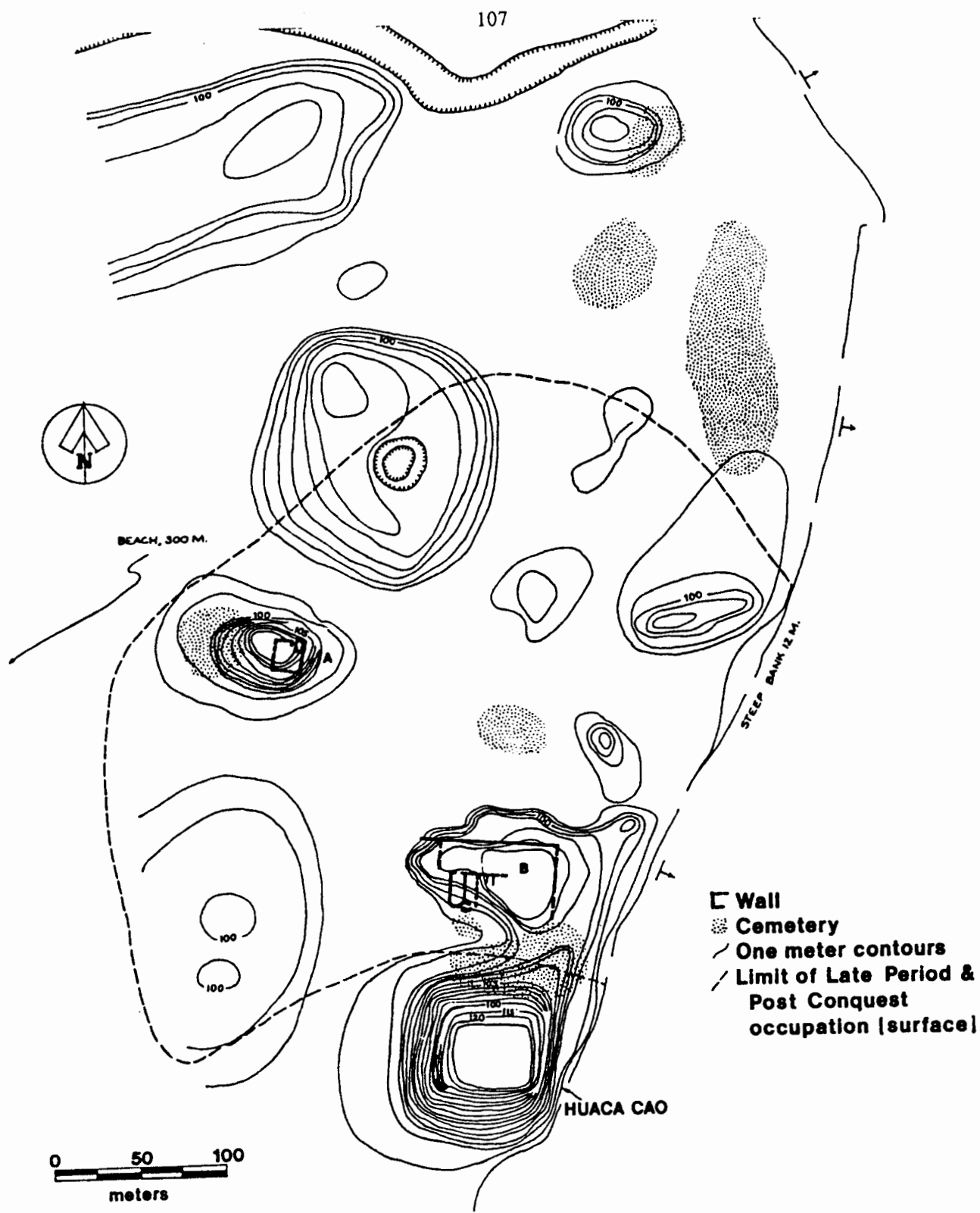


Figure 7. Cao Viejo lies on the same relict terrace as the Preceramic site of Huaca Prieta. The Huaca Cao dates to the Early Intermediate Period. Structure A is the early 16th century church complex, built on a prehistoric platform in front of the Huaca Cao. Structure B is an elite residential structure associated with the terminal prehistoric and early colonial occupation of Cao Viejo.

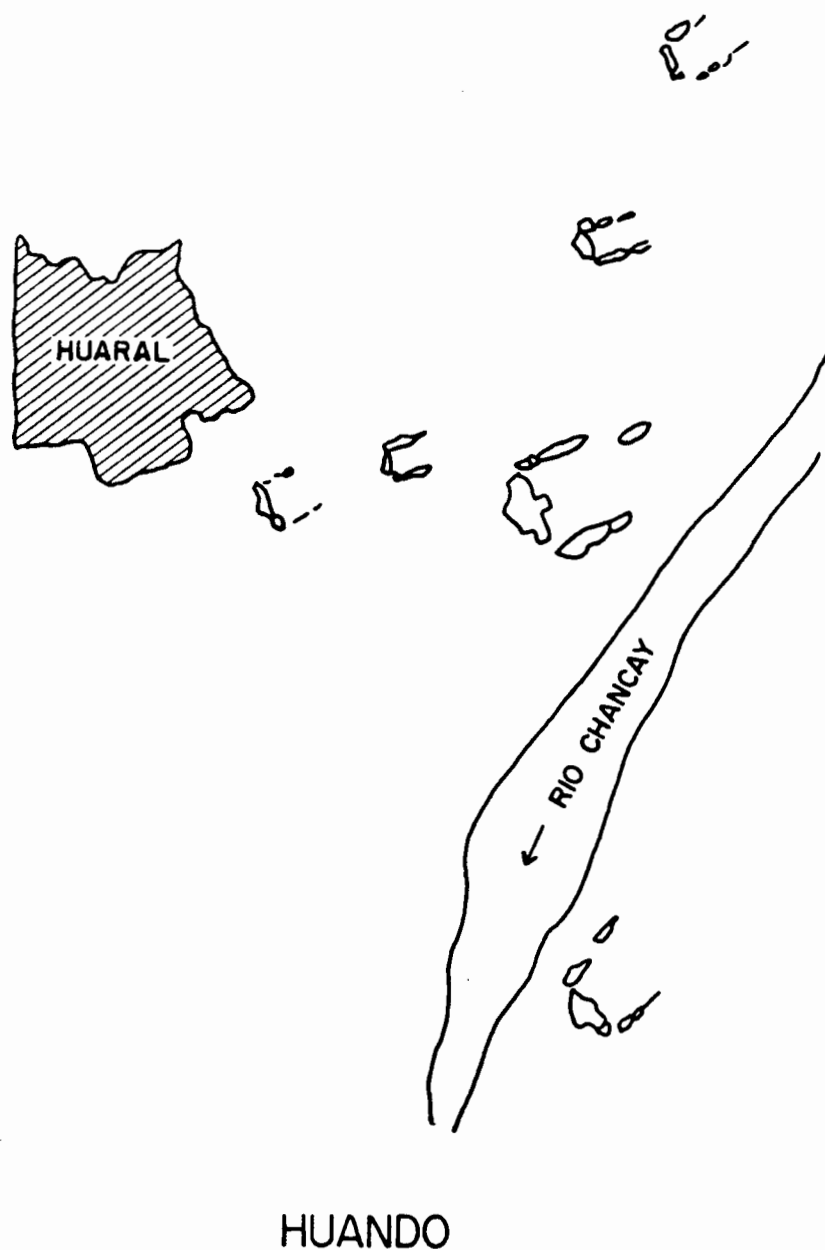


Figure 8. U-shaped mounds of the Chancay Valley on the Central Coast. Note the difference in scale between the four smaller structures and the two larger ones. The placement of the four small mounds with regard to the larger one is also significant. After Williams 1980.

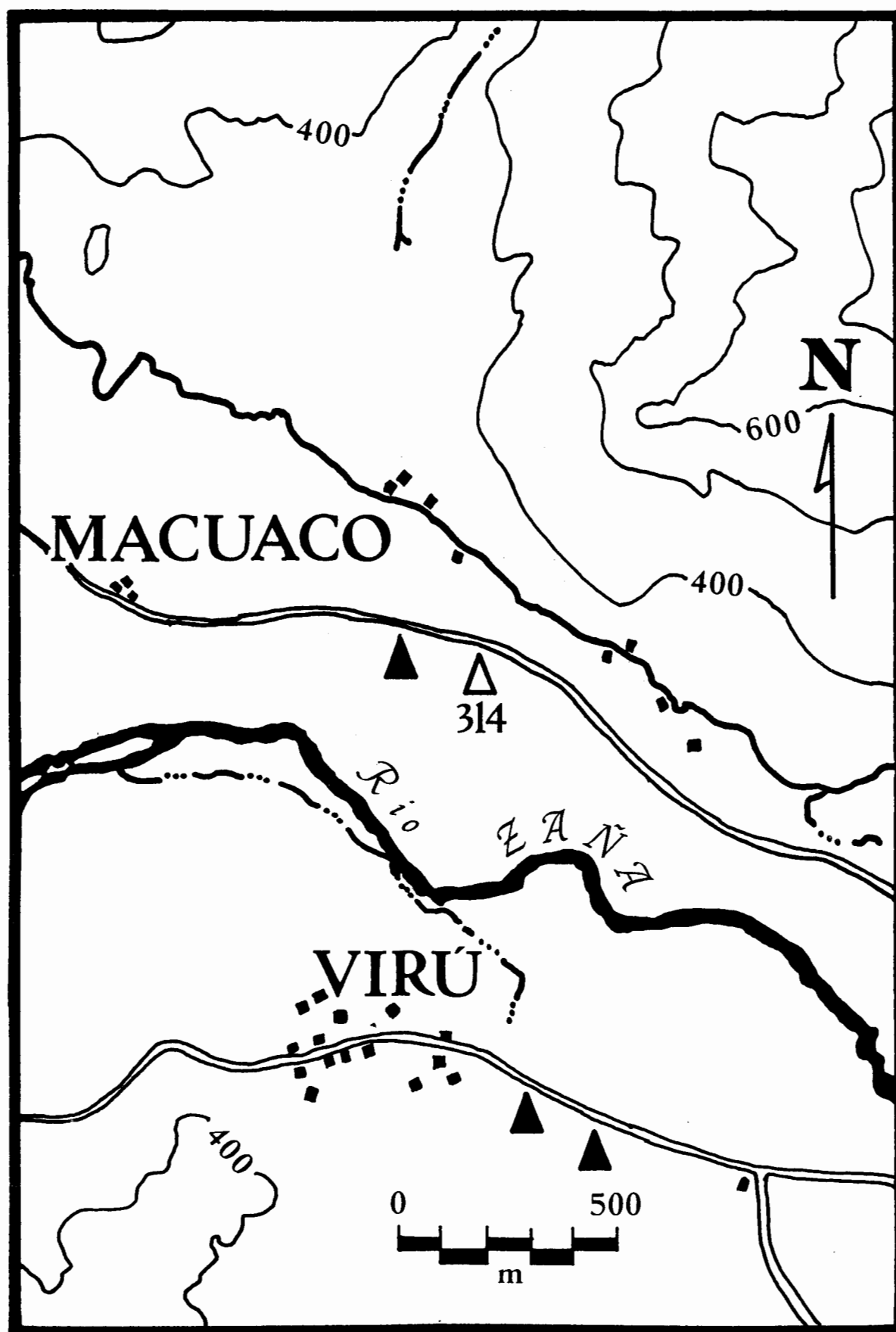


Figure 9. The Macuaco and Viru mounds (triangles) in the Middle Zaña Valley.

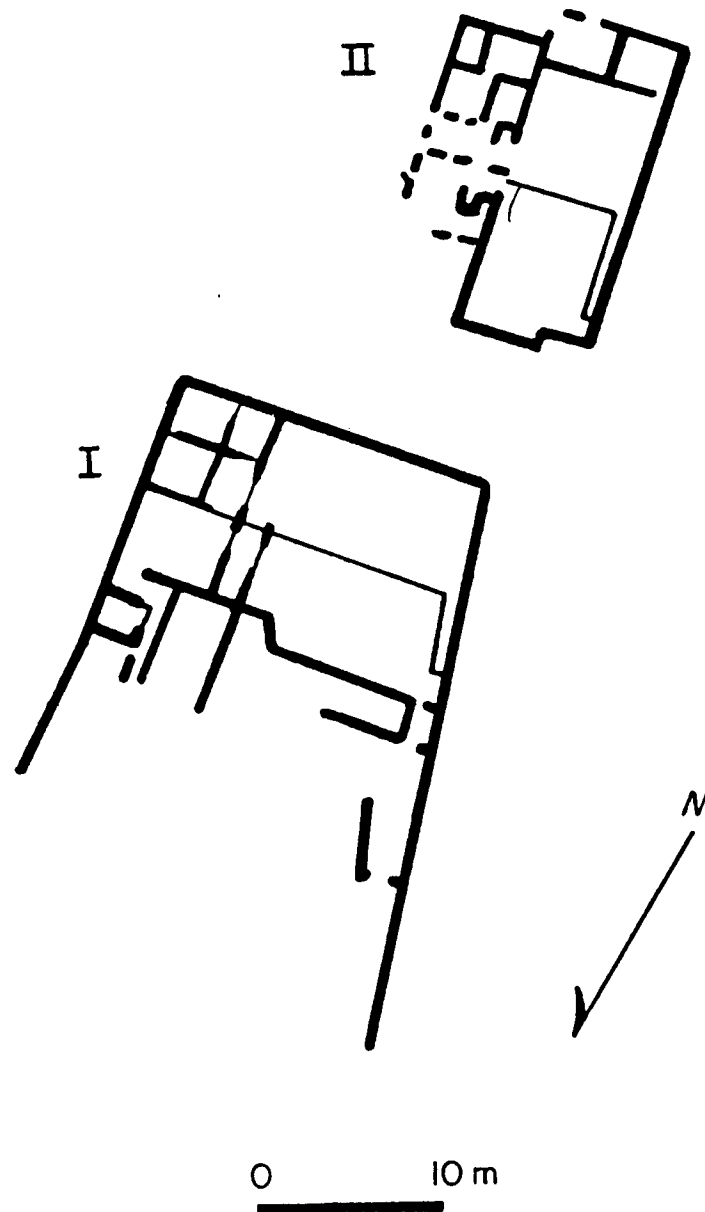


Figure 10. The two elite administrative/residential structures at Huancayo Alto in the Chillon Valley.

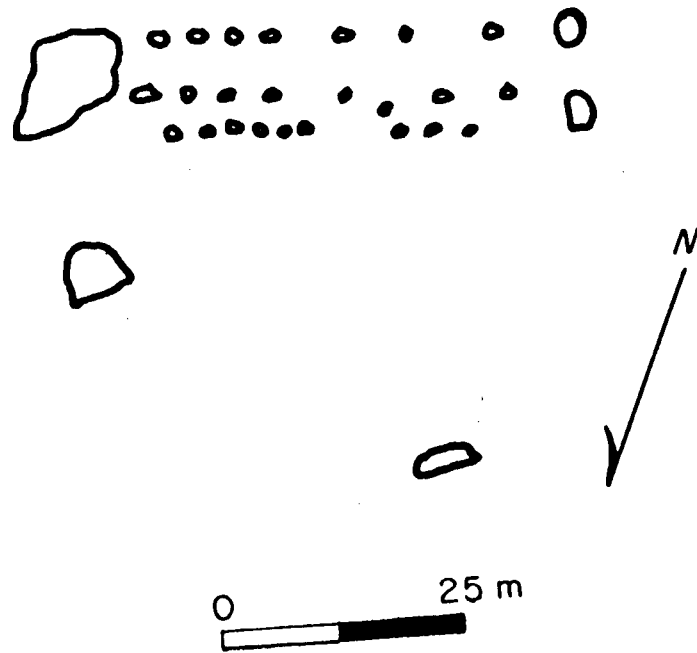


Figure 11. The two Early Horizon mounds in the vicinity of Huancayo Alto. The apparent third structure to the south is a modern rock pile. There was a double-coursed causeway leading to the larger mound, part of which has been destroyed by modern farmers.

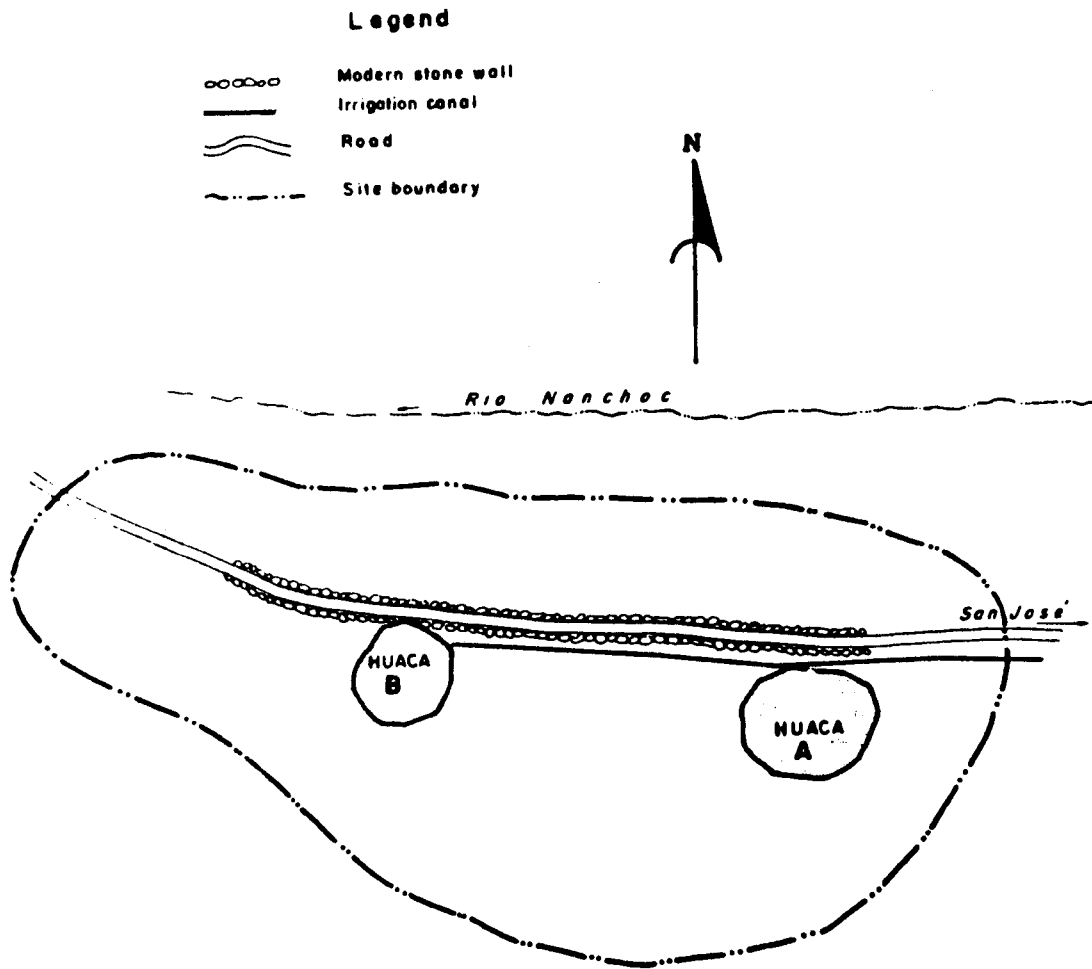


Figure 12. Field sketch, not to scale, of the two San José mounds in the Nanchoc Quebrada. The mounds and the surrounding occupation date from the Early Intermediate Period.

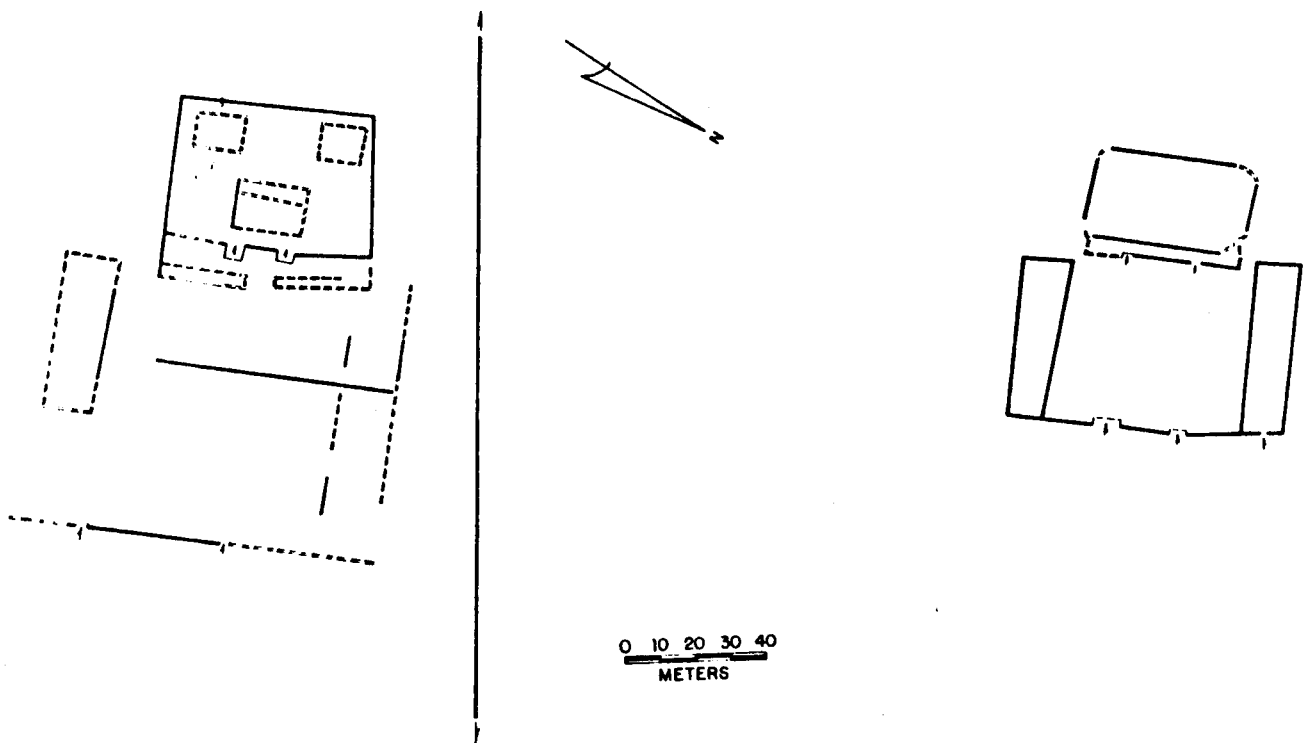


Figure 13. The two U-shaped structures at the San Luis II site. The dividing wall dates to the Late Intermediate Period.

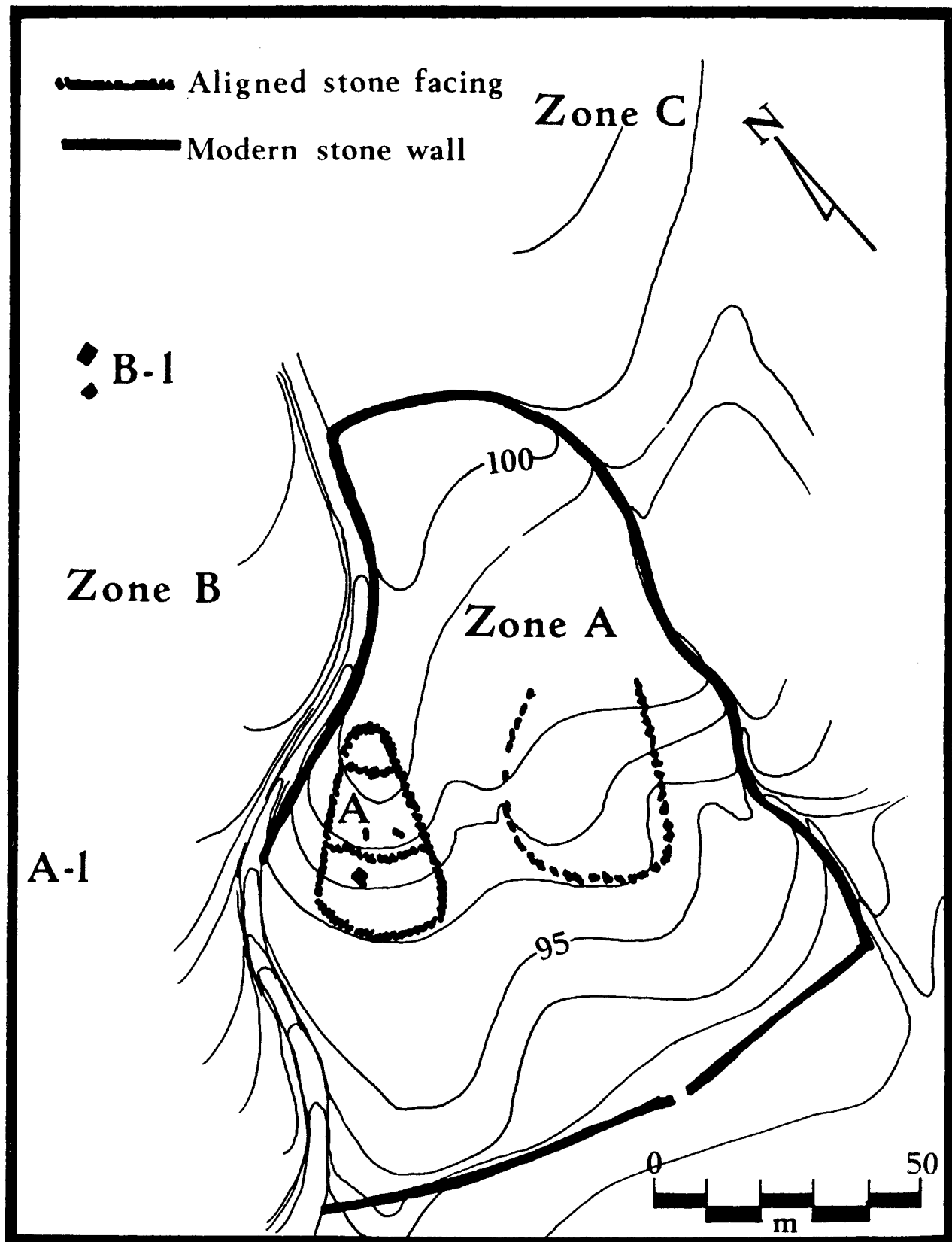


Figure 14. The two low platform mounds at the Cementerio de Nanchoc site in the Nanchoc Quebrada.