

TERRITORIALITY IN THE EARLY INTERMEDIATE PERIOD:
THE CASE OF MOCHE AND RECUAY

Donald A. Proulx

Introduction

Since 1967 the Nepeña Valley on the north coast of Peru has been the focus of an extensive archaeological surface survey.¹ To date, some 360 sites have been recorded and tentative interpretations of their dates, functions and settlement patterns have been made (Proulx, 1968; 1973; Proulx and Daggett, ms.). Of the various temporal periods represented in the archaeological record of the valley, one of the more interesting is the Early Intermediate Period (ca. 370 B.C. - 540 A.D.). Evidence collected over the past fifteen years by the author and his students suggests a territorial division of the valley between the Moche and Recuay-influenced cultures during this time. The nature of the occupations of these two cultural entities and their interactions will be discussed below.

The Nature of the Moche Occupation in the Nepeña Valley

The Moche culture originated in the area of the Moche and Chicama valleys on the north coast during the first half of the Early Intermediate Period. The Moche ceramic style has been divided into five phases (labeled I through V) corresponding to temporal periods of varying length (Larco Hoyle, 1948; Donnan, 1976). Moche phases I through IV fall within the Early Intermediate Period, while Moche V occupied the early part of the Middle Horizon. A major military expansion out of the Moche heartland of Moche-Chicama took place during Moche III and IV times (Donnan, 1973, pp. 125-127). The expansion to the south reached only to the Nepeña Valley which thus became the southern frontier of this empire.

The Moche occupation of the Nepeña Valley appears to have been both fragmentary and tenuous. A major ceremonial center was established at Pañamarca as the initial step in attempting to take control of the entire valley. It could be argued that Moche ceremonial centers served dual functions as both religious and administrative centers. Each valley to come under Moche control had one or more major ceremonial complexes, not unlike the later Chimú administrative centers established in the valleys they conquered. The Moche ceremonial centers were frequently built on top of the remains of earlier important structures already revered or respected by the local inhabitants, thus giving ritual continuity to the populations in a time of rapid social change. Pañamarca itself was constructed adjacent to an earlier building of finely cut stone which dates to the Kushi-Pampa Phase of the latter part of the Early Horizon (Daggett, personal communication). Early Horizon sherds have been found at Pañamarca augmenting the architectural evidence. The site was apparently sacred long before the Moche arrived in the valley.

Thirty-seven sites containing identifiable Moche ceramics have thus far been found in the Nepeña Valley, and all but eight of them are situated in the middle valley area (fig. 1). The majority of the sites are located on the southern edge of the cultivated valley floor or on natural hills protruding from the valley bottom. The focal point of Moche control in the Nepeña Valley

is the Pañamarca ceremonial complex. Pañamarca (PV31-38) is situated on the top and sides of a large natural hill on the valley floor about 9 km. upvalley from the Panamerican Highway and about 4 km. southwest of the town of Nepeña. Pañamarca is large, covering an area 650 x 300 m. and rising to an altitude of between 60 and 70 m. above the valley floor. The main structure of the site is a large terraced pyramid built of rectangular adobes on the summit of the hill (fig. 2). The structure is ascended by way of a zigzag ramp running up its face. A large excavation into the pyramid from the south side was made in the past by huaqueros.

To the east and north of the pyramid are walled courtyards containing graves, most of which have been badly looted. The north wall of the main court contains the famous group of murals known as the "frieze of the warriors and the priests" (Bonavia, 1974, figs. 25-28). Regrettably, almost all traces of these murals have disappeared through vandalism and neglect. Other murals were located in a room to the north of the pyramid (Bonavia, 1974) and on walls in other parts of the site, but these too have met the same fate as the "frieze of the warriors and the priests."

The pyramid and walled courtyards of Pañamarca form only part of a complex of sites in this part of the valley. Surrounding Pañamarca are two isolated artificial mounds built of adobes (PV31-69 and -70) in the fields known as San Gregorio and three additional mounds built on natural outcrops near Pañamarca (PV31-40,-218 and -219; see fig. 1). Five separate cemeteries (PV31-39,-215,-216,-217,-219), each containing Moche graves, are located around the base of a natural hill immediately to the south of Pañamarca.

Identifiable Moche habitation sites in the Nepeña Valley are quite rare. PV31-103, Huambacho Viejo, is a likely late Moche habitation site, although it may also have had ceremonial functions. This is the only Moche site located in the lower valley area. Other possible habitation sites are PV31-352,-354 and -355 at the juncture of the middle and upper valley areas, and PV31-276 in the upper valley.

The paucity of Moche habitation sites is not easily explained. One hypothesis is that Moche habitations were located on the valley floor and have subsequently been destroyed by alluviation and modern agricultural practices. The evidence from the Santa Valley tends to support this idea, since habitations found there in the course of David Wilson's extensive survey were universally located on the valley floor or the immediately adjacent desert edges (Wilson, ms., pp. 52-55). In an earlier survey Donnan (1973) had found only 7 habitation sites out of a total of 85 Moche sites in the Santa Valley, a ratio approximately the same as we have found in the Nepeña Valley. It is significant that in the Santa Valley, as in Nepeña, Moche sites are clustered in the lower and middle valley areas.

A second hypothesis to explain the small number of identifiable Moche habitation sites in Nepeña is that the frontier control of the valley by the Moche conquerors was so tenuous and abbreviated that the only Moche people in the valley were the administrators. The actual builders of Pañamarca and the other Moche ceremonial buildings were local peoples who had not yet accepted Moche cultural traits, such as ceramic style, into their everyday lives. These local people would continue to make a local style of pottery long after the Moche had physically captured the middle valley area. In such a case, the search for extensive Moche settlements would be fruitless, for they would

not exist.

The majority of the remaining Moche sites in the middle valley area are cemeteries: PV31-11a,-17,-19c,-73,-108,-114,-115,-119,-121a,-123,-187 and -352. Almost all of these cemeteries were later reused during the Middle Horizon, yet another example of the tradition of using sacred locations over and over. Graves were excavated directly into the sand, and in some cases were lined with adobes. Skulls often exhibit green stains on the palate and mandible from metals placed in or around the mouth at death. No Moche grave has yet been scientifically excavated in the Nepeña Valley.

Another possible category of Moche sites is hilltop platform mounds, sites similar in form to the Recuay ones mentioned on p. 87. Three such sites are in the valley neck separating the upper and middle valley areas (Daggett, personal communication). While Moche sherds are found in all three (PV31-271, -288,-312), all have mixed occupations and the association of the sherds with the architecture is not clear. If the structures are Moche, they would appear to be of a specialized type, perhaps related to their strategic locations.

The Nature of the Recuay Occupation in the Nepeña Valley

Recuay is the name of a ceramic style characterized by thin-walled vessels made of white kaolin paste and decorated with motifs that may be applied with either positive or negative techniques. Designs consist of geometric elements painted in black, red or brown on the white background, or may consist of rather naturalistic mythical figures. Modeling is common, with human and animal figures playing an important role in the style. Shapes include pedestal-based bowls, open bowls, flat disk-rim jars, handled bowls, cups, spoons and effigy vessels.

Little is known of the origin and nature of the culture that produced the Recuay ceramics. Most specialists believe that it originated in the northern highlands, for the most elaborate manifestations of the culture are found there. Bennett states that the style has been found in many parts of the Callejón de Huaylas, east of the Cordillera Blanca, west of the Cordillera Negra and particularly around the site of Aija (Bennett, 1944, p. 99). He excavated Recuay sherds in the subterranean galleries near Wilkawain, in gallery refuse sites near Shankaiyan and elsewhere. More recently, Grieder (1978) excavated a temple and associated graves with exquisite Recuay ceramics at Pashash in the upper reaches of the Santa Valley, and Steven Wegner (ms.) has excavated Recuay utilitarian pottery at the Balcón de Judas site (PAN5-5) outside the city of Huaraz. On the coast, Recuay pottery was discovered in the Santa Valley (Larco Hoyle, 1960; 1963; 1966; Clothier, 1943; Wilson, ms.), and to a lesser extent in the Virú (Bennett, 1939; Strong and Evans, 1952), Chao and Moche valleys. Larco Hoyle argued that the Recuay style (which he called the "Santa" style) originated on the coast in the Santa Valley, developing out of the earlier Gallinazo style. He was one of the first to suggest that Recuay pottery was also present in the Nepeña Valley (Larco Hoyle, 1966, p. 104).

When I began my surface survey of the Nepeña Valley in 1967, the first suggestion that there might be Recuay remains there was in the form of five Recuay style vessels that I saw in a private collection at the Hacienda San Jacinto (Proulx, 1968, pl. 13; 1973, pl. 4A-F). The exact provenience of the vessels was unknown, although I was assured that they had been found in the

valley. The other vessels in the collection were all strictly local, so that I had no reason to doubt the owner. The same year I also discovered a looted cemetery at the base of some modified hills on the valley floor near the junction of the middle and lower valley areas. The cemetery was mixed, containing what appeared to be both Moche and Middle Horizon ceramics. Huaqueros had left behind on the surface portions of two broken Recuay vessels, including a kaolin paste, pedestal-based bowl with a series of birds rendered in resist technique. Two fragments of a rounded bowl of kaolin clay painted with a red geometric design were also found (Proulx, 1973, pl. 4G-I). This cemetery is numbered PV31-73.

Shortly after completing my fieldwork in 1967, I learned of a Recuay gravelot from the Nepeña Valley which had been recorded by Michael Moseley, then of Harvard University. The gravelot had been excavated by a huaquero at a site called Tres Marías. The huaquero was living in the settlement called Capellanía, adjacent to the Pañamarca site and less than 2 km. from the cemetery where I had found the looted grave with Recuay ceramics. I strongly suspect that Tres Marías and PV31-73 are one and the same. The gravelot consisted of four vessels: a pedestal-based bowl painted with parrots in red and black on a white kaolin paste; a hemispherical bowl painted on the exterior with white triangles and vertical lines on a red ground; and two plainware dishes, each with a potter's mark (Proulx, 1973, figs. 5,6, pl. 3).

In 1971 I returned to the Nepeña Valley to continue the survey. A re-examination of PV31-73 failed to produce any additional Recuay sherds, nor did the surface collections from any of the 210 sites recorded up to that point contain any identifiable Recuay pottery. My initial thoughts of the possibility of an extensive Recuay occupation in the valley seemed to be greatly exaggerated. Then I remembered an interesting site discovered in 1967 in the upper valley area. The site, called Huancarpón (PV31-59), was situated in a dramatic location on a plateau overlooking the confluence of the Río Salitre and the main branch of the Río Nepeña. The site contained two large terraced pyramids separated by a walled courtyard (fig. 3). To the south, or down valley, the plateau contained what appeared to be habitation areas, looted cemeteries and lookout posts. Some of the pottery collected at Huancarpón in 1967 appeared very strange to me at the time. A few pieces of plain kaolin paste pottery had been found along with a few pieces decorated with reddish-orange parallel lines. My unfamiliarity with the range of Recuay pottery at the time kept me from recognizing the significance of this site.

In 1979, accompanied by Richard Daggett, I returned to Huancarpón to study the site more extensively. We found large quantities of fine kaolin ware with painted positive designs (fig. 4) all around the two pyramids, including many examples of pedestal-based bowls. Associated with this pottery was a fine orange ware which occurs both plain and painted with black or red geometric designs. A very interesting, although much less carefully made fabric-impressed pottery also seems to be part of this ceramic assemblage.

My attention was attracted not only by the pottery from this site, but by the unique architecture as well. One of the pyramids had a deep gallery extending from its north wall down into the pyramid. Smooth walls of finely cut stone could be seen on the sides of the passage; large lintels supported the ceiling of the gallery as it penetrated the pyramid. The extent of the passageways could not be determined because of rubble blocking the way. The use of galleries is a highland trait not seen before in any Nepeña Valley site.

It correlates well with the presence of a pottery style which also is of high-land origin. The top of this same pyramid has a series of closely spaced parallel walls that also has no counterparts. These walls may reflect the presence of internal passageways or galleries. A section of wall exposed by huaquero activity on the west side of the pyramid showed a combination of cobbles and flattened stones set in a mud mortar.

The second pyramid also had some interesting features. Large ceramic storage jars were found sunk into one of the terraces of this pyramid. Similar jars were found in other parts of the site. In the courtyard between the pyramids, circular areas of dense scatters of stone cores and flakes were found, representing activity areas or workshops for lithic manufacture. All in all, Huancarpón became the best example of a Recuay-related site in the valley.

The surface archaeological surveys in the Nepeña Valley during the years 1979 and 1980 have now revealed the existence of 42 sites with Recuay pottery (5 mixed with Moche), all, with the single exception of the Tres Marías (PV31-73) cemetery discussed above, located in the upper valley area. Unfortunately, there are no single phase Recuay occupation sites among these; each of the 42 is a multioccupation site. Dating of architectural remains on these sites from surface ceramics is very difficult, and the results are therefore subject to change. What is needed now is excavation at some of the critical sites to correlate ceramic styles with different architectural types.

The most common type of site containing Recuay pottery is the hilltop platform mound. This term covers a broad range of sites located on ridges and peaks above the valley floor. In most cases the hilltop has been flattened artificially and little or no architecture is present. Some terracing may occur along with stone walls apparently constructed for defensive purposes. In other cases a low artificial stone mound with terraced sides is present. The primary function of such sites was probably ceremonial or administrative, although a great deal of Early Horizon utilitarian pottery has been found associated with them as well, suggesting that at least some of these sites may also have been habitation sites despite the lack of major architectural components.² Most of these hilltop platform mounds were built in the Early Horizon and later reoccupied by the Recuay-influenced culture. However the concept of a hilltop platform mound seems to have continued into the Early Intermediate Period, and some of them appear to have been constructed by the Recuay-related peoples. Sites falling into this category are the following: PV31-51,-57,-61,-158,-184,-185,-229,-240,-244,-249,-256,-257,-265,-266,-274,-293,-299,-310,-312,-331,-348 and -349.

Habitation sites are the next most frequent category of Recuay-related sites in the upper valley. These sites are usually found on ridges, peaks and plateaus overlooking the valley floor. An example of such a site is PV31-159, located on a ridge above the mouth of the Río Salitre not far distant from the site of Huancarpón (PV31-59). Almost half the pottery collected at this site was Recuay, most of it the fabric-impressed utilitarian ware. The site covers an oval area approximately 47 m. north-south and 75 m. east-west and is surrounded on 3 sides by a stone wall. Two fieldstone structures on the summit of the ridge form the focal point of the site, with terraced slopes leading down toward the south. Most of the pottery was found just outside the enclosure wall in a gully area adjacent to the site. Other possible Recuay habitation sites are PV31-231,-238,-239,-241,-253,-292,-297 and -342. These sites have rooms constructed of fieldstone, but because of the multioccupational

nature of the sites, the association of the ceramics with specific architectural features is unclear.

Recuay pottery has also been found at several fortifications, most of which were built in the Early Horizon and reoccupied during the Early Intermediate Period. These sites include the twin fortresses of PV31-162 and -163 as well as PV31-50,-60,-157E and -254. Recuay graves have been found at many of the habitation sites described above as well as in ceremonial sites and fortresses. Three additional cemeteries with Recuay style ceramics are PV31-73, -255 and -267.

Despite the consensus that the Recuay style originated in the area of the Callejón de Huaylas and is essentially a highland manifestation, little is known about Recuay as a political entity. No "capital" or major center of this culture has yet been identified, and the territorial distribution of the style has yet to be determined. With so little known about the Recuay culture in its heartland, it is even more difficult to discuss its nature in a coastal valley such as Nepeña. This much is clear, the Recuay culture extended its influence over the upper part of the Nepeña Valley either directly or indirectly. Whether or not there was a movement of people into the valley with subsequent political control cannot be determined on the basis of present evidence. Recuay kaolin paste pottery seems to have been imported into the valley, for there are no known local sources of kaolin. Local imitations of the highland imports may have been made, however, using a pinkish local clay. The pottery found in the surface collections from the upper Nepeña Valley does not include any fancy modeled pieces (although two or three are known from private collections), nor are there many resist painted ones. The most elaborate Recuay pottery found in the vicinity comes from the intermountain area of the valley near the town of Rayán, where excellent modeled Recuay pottery was found in graves at an altitude of 3000 m. above sea level (Gambini Escudero, 1975, pp. 111-126).

Not only pottery, but also architecture was influenced by the Recuay culture in the upper Nepeña Valley, particularly at the site of Huancarpón where pyramids with internal galleries have been found surrounded by fancy kaolin paste Recuay style pottery. One Recuay highland manifestation not yet found in the upper valley is the use of slab-lined graves, although stone-lined pits have been found at Huancarpón and several other sites. The Recuay influence was extensive, spreading to over 42 sites in the upper valley and its tributaries.

Moche and Recuay Territoriality in the Nepeña Valley

Recent research has demonstrated the basic contemporaneity of the Moche and Recuay cultures. Stratigraphically, Recuay pottery has been found above Chavín pottery at the site of Chavín de Huántar (Lumbreras, 1974, pp. 39-40; 1977, pp. 7-9). At Ichic Wilkawain, outside the city of Huaraz in the Callejón de Huaylas, Bennett found Recuay pottery in slab-lined gallery tombs that were stratigraphically beneath a structure containing Huari-related pottery of the Middle Horizon (Bennett, 1944, pp. 48-50). These discoveries place Recuay firmly in the Early Intermediate Period. Similarly, the stratigraphic position of the Moche culture in the Early Intermediate Period has been demonstrated in several areas, perhaps most notably in the Virú Valley where the local Moche variant (Huancaco) falls between the earlier Gallinazo culture and the succeeding Tomaval culture of the Middle Horizon (Strong and Evans, 1952).

Radiocarbon age determinations also support the contemporaneity of the two cultures. Seven ^{14}C determinations from the Recuay site of Pashash in the highlands range from A.D. 340 \pm 170 to A.D. 570 \pm 100 (Griender, 1978, pp. 191-193), and another radiocarbon age for Recuay materials excavated in the province of Carhuaz by Gary Vescelius is A.D. 329 \pm 145 (Buse, 1965, p. 330). Previous research has established that Moche III and IV, the period of the expansion of the empire into the Nepeña Valley, dates to the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period, or an absolute date of approximately A.D. 100 to 540 (Donnan, 1973, pp. 125-127). Radiocarbon age determinations for the Moche culture are few. Ubbelohde-Doering obtained an age of A.D. 485 \pm 100 for Moche materials excavated at the site of Pacatnamú in the Jequetepeque Valley (reported in Benson, 1972, p. 10) and one of A.D. 33 \pm 190 for a fragment of cord from the Moche levels at Huaca de la Cruz in the Virú Valley (Benson, 1972, p. 10).

Additional evidence for the contemporaneity of Moche and Recuay is the presence of Moche trade pieces in the burial offering at the temple of Pashash (Griender, 1978, figs. 41-43, and pp. 72-73). One of these pieces is a fragment of a modeled vessel and the other a section from a Moche stirrup spout bottle. Rafael Reichert also argues for the basic contemporaneity of the Moche and Recuay styles, "with Recuay developing and ending somewhat earlier than Moche" (Reichert, 1982, pp. 280-281). This contemporaneity can be inferred as well from the examples of Recuay stylistic traits found on Moche pottery and vice versa. The greatest period of Recuay influence was during Moche phases I and II when the Recuay "Crested Animal" (Reichert, 1982) or "Moon Animal" (Bruhns, 1977) was adopted into the Moche style. A Moche Phase I modeled stirrup spout bottle representing a pure Recuay version of this creature is illustrated by Reichert (1982, fig. 9). One of the best examples of this stylistic mixture is a Moche II stirrup spout bottle (#4-2994, Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley) from Grave 14 at Uhle's Site F near the Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley (illustrated by Bankmann, 1980, fig. 13). Another fine example, from the collections of the Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, is illustrated by Donnan (1978, fig. 73). The Crested Animal motif continued to evolve in Moche art and was present throughout the sequence, continuing into the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period (Bruhns, 1977).

There are numerous Moche hybrid vessels with Recuay stylistic concepts displayed on them, again dating mostly to the early phases of the Moche style. Bankmann illustrates some of these vessels, including modeled human figures in Moche style with typical Recuay conical spouts protruding from the figures' foreheads (1980, figs. 1-4). More recently Reichert has illustrated additional examples of hybrid Moche-Recuay vessels (1982, figs. 2-14), including several with modeled humans flanked by felines in typical Recuay fashion. He argues that the direction of the influence is primarily from highland to coast, that is, from Recuay to Moche (Reichert, 1982, p. 290).

Although Bruhns (1977, p. 28) claims that the Recuay culture was on the wane in Moche phases III and IV, when the empire expanded south into the Santa and Nepeña valleys, it must be remembered that Recuay elements like the Crested Animal continue to be portrayed on Moche pottery, although less frequently than before. Evidence that the Recuay culture continued to exist contemporaneously with Moche in the late phases is suggested by a scene on a Moche IV stirrup spout bottle first brought to my attention by Steven Wegner (personal communication, July 5, 1982). This vessel, illustrated in Donnan

(1978, fig. 68), depicts a battle between the Moche and what is obviously a different ethnic group. Wegner feels, as do I, that the Moche are fighting with the Recuay. Elements to suggest such an interpretation are the round faces displayed on the shields and banners, which are similar to faces on Recuay pottery illustrated by Grieder that he calls the "circular head" (1978, fig. 160), and by cross-shaped geometric designs also seen frequently in Recuay art. The Phase IV dating of this vessel places it exactly at the time when the Moche were occupying the middle Nepeña Valley.

With the contemporaneity of Moche and Recuay thus established, let us return to the Nepeña Valley to examine the relationship of the two manifestations. The surface survey suggests a spatial patterning of sites which I am interpreting as a territorial division of the valley in the latter half of the Early Intermediate Period (fig. 1). Geographically, the upper valley area forms a broad pocket of excellent agricultural land which is separated from the middle valley area by a narrow passage near Tomeque. This neck of the valley is a naturally defensible location which plays an important role in our story. The upper valley is surrounded by numerous mountain ridges and high plateaus which were used by the ancient populations for habitation, ceremonial and administrative sites. Two major tributaries flow into the Río Nepeña in this region, the Río Vinchamarca and the Río Salitre.

It was in this upper valley zone that the Recuay influence (or control?) was felt, manifesting itself in 41 separate sites located mainly on mountain ridges and plateaus. It is significant that *all* of these Recuay sites are located in the upper valley area with the single exception of the Tres Marías cemetery (PV31-73). The Moche culture, on the other hand, is concentrated primarily in the middle valley area around the ceremonial site of Pañamarca. Ancient roads, entering the north side of the valley through the Pampa of San José near the modern town of Nepeña, mark the most likely route of the Moche conquerors into the valley (see Proulx, 1973, figs. 11, 12 and pp. 84-92). Apparently the coast held little attraction for them in the initial stages of their conquest, for only one Moche site is found in the lower valley, PV31-103 (Huambacho Viejo). This site appears to date to the end of the Moche sequence according to Carol Mackey (personal communication).

Although the Moche preferred the south side of the valley for their sites, some cemeteries have been found on the north side near San Jacinto. The Moche were also aware of the Recuay-influenced inhabitants of the upper valley and apparently had intentions of conquering this area. Several Moche sites are located at the critical narrow pass leading to the upper valley (PV31-271,-288,-312,-352,-354 and -355). Control of this pass was essential for both conquest and defense. Eight sites with minimal amounts of Moche pottery have been found in the upper valley proper (PV31-60,-158E,-235,-244,-248,-276 and -284). One of these, PV31-60, is a fortress with extremely thick fieldstone walls located on a plateau overlooking the town of Moro and the Río Nepeña. A fair number of Moche sherds were found here, mixed with Recuay, suggesting that this structure represents an effort by the Moche to gain a foothold in the upper valley region.

Moche presence at the remaining 7 sites was minimal with a total of only 27 sherds of possible Moche style being found at these sites. The pottery can best be explained as trade pieces brought into the upper valley rather than as representing any major Moche occupation of this region. It is my opinion that the Moche never gained a major foothold in the upper valley. Their

attempt to penetrate this area seems to have failed, and their empire collapsed before they were able to strengthen their forces within the Nepeña Valley.

One anomaly does need to be discussed. In the intermountain region between the upper valley and the Callejón de Huaylas, near the town of Rayán at an elevation of 3000 m., Wilfredo Gambini claims to have found graves with typical Moche modeled and painted ceramics (1975, figs. pp. 120-124). Those ceramics, and others which I viewed in his collection, appear to date to phases III and IV of the Moche style. The lower part of the Nepeña Valley does not seem to be the source of this pottery. The most likely route by which it reached this region is through the Lacramarca Quebrada, the head of which is near Rayán. Whether or not this intermountain region was actually controlled by the Moche as part of their expansion, or whether these examples of fancy Moche pottery represent trade pieces is an intriguing question. If the Moche were present as a military force in the intermountain region, they were in the position of squeezing the Recuay-influenced inhabitants of the upper Nepeña Valley from two directions. However, many Recuay graves are also found in the Rayán area, suggesting that perhaps we have another instance of prestige Moche ware being traded into what is essentially a Recuay influenced area. Gambini describes the graves in which the Moche pottery was found as "stone-lined tombs with slab covers" (1975, p. 122), a typical Recuay style of tomb. This evidence would tend to support the prestige-ware model. The presence of this Moche pottery at an elevation of 3000 m. does not affect the basic argument of this paper, for there still remains a horizontal distance of some 40 km. and a vertical gap between 300 and 3000 m. where few Moche remains are found.

The lack of Recuay-influenced sites in the middle and lower Nepeña Valley is even more striking than the lack of Moche sites in the upper part of the valley. I would interpret Moseley's Recuay gravelot and the individual pieces collected by me at the Tres Marías cemetery (PV31-73) as either (1) trade ware which ended up in an upper class Moche grave, or (2) the grave of an upper valley emissary who died and was buried in Moche territory. The evidence remains quite strong that there were no Recuay-influenced settlements in the middle or lower valley.

Conclusions

The Nepeña Valley provides an interesting case of cultural territoriality and interaction during the Early Intermediate Period. Two cultures, one a well organized empire with military ambitions, the other less well known politically but heavily influenced by a prestigious highland group, came into contact in a frontier coastal valley. The result appears to have been a stand-off, with both cultures controlling different zones of the same valley. The interaction between the two groups appears marked by mutual respect, with both societies valuing the prestigious ceramics of the other. Although there are hints that the Moche coveted and attempted to penetrate the upper valley, there are remarkably few signs of military activity within the valley at this time. The presumably incomplete control of the Moche over this, their southern boundary, prevented them from realizing their ambitions.

Undoubtedly other contact situations existed in pre-Columbian Peru that involved territorial separation, and these too need to be studied to provide a larger sample of such interactions. In our own case, much still needs to be learned of the nature of the Recuay influence on the valley

and the distribution and form of Moche and Recuay habitation sites. Future work in the Nepeña Valley will be directed at answering questions such as these.

NOTES

¹The author conducted fieldwork during the years 1967, 1971 and 1979, and was assisted during the 1979 field season by his graduate student, Richard Daggett. The 1971 and 1979 fieldwork was supported in part by Grants-in-Aid from the American Council of Learned Societies and grants from the American Philosophical Society (1971 Penrose Fund No. 5619 and 1979 Penrose Fund No. 8496). The 1979 work was further funded by a Faculty Research Grant, a Professional Development Grant and an Equipment Grant, all from the University of Massachusetts. I would like to thank all these agencies for their help and encouragement.

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²Richard Daggett prefers to lump the artificial platform mounds and the flattened hilltops into the same category, for he feels they both served the same function. His argument, that many of these hilltop sites were habitations, will be presented in his forthcoming dissertation.

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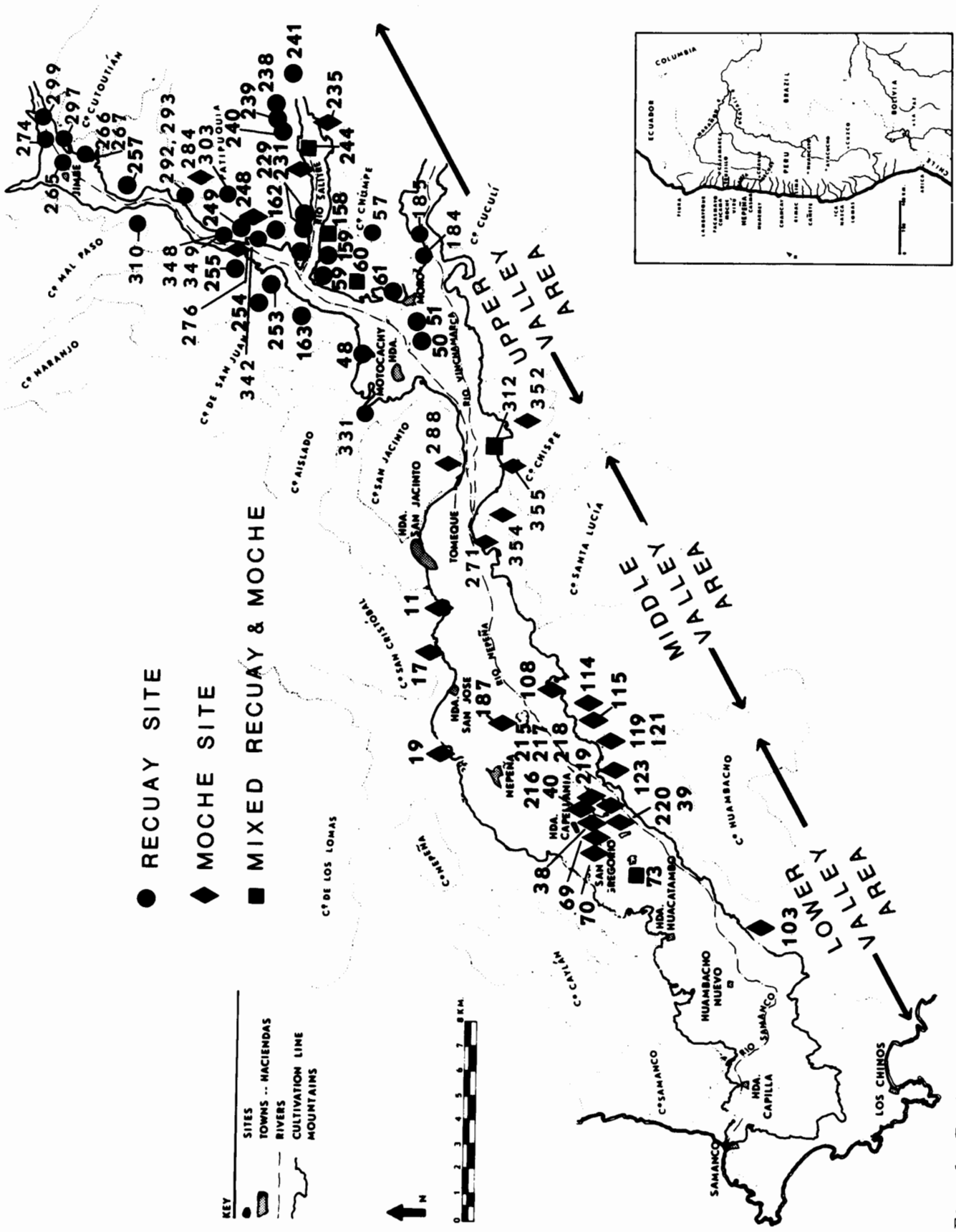
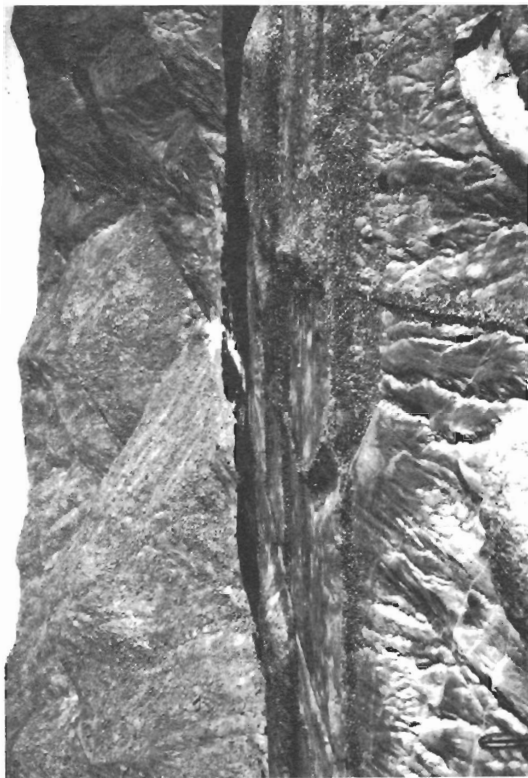


Fig. 1, Early Intermediate Period archaeological sites, Nepeña Valley, Peru.



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Fig. 2, Pañamarca (PV31-38), Nepeña Valley; view of pyramid and walled courtyards.

Fig. 3, Huancarpón (PV31-59), Nepeña Valley; ceremonial sector with pyramids and enclosed courtyard.

Fig. 4, Recuay style sherds with positive painting on kaolin paste from ceremonial sector of Huancarpón (PV31-59), Nepeña Valley.