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The Place of Dual Organization in Early Andean Ceremonialism: A Comparative Review

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Over the last half century, archaeologists have had the opportunity to investigate numerous Prehispanic public centers in the Andes where religious ceremonies were carried out. Even with the admittedly limited vision available of the cosmologies and ritual activities of these complexes, there is already an enormous amount of diversity evident in the archaeological record, even for a single time period. Can we presume that there is something corresponding to "Andean Ceremonialism," and if so, how deep are its roots? Do they go back to Chavin culture, as Tello argued, or can they be traced back into pre-Chavin times? These questions are at the core of this Symposium. In this paper, we will focus on "dynamic dualism" or "dual opposition," a cosmological principle that was basic to Inca ceremonialism (Rostworowski 1983; Silverblatt 1987; Zuidema 1982) and continues to play a important role today in native belief and ritual organization in the highlands of the Central Andes (e.g., Allen 1988; B. J. Isbell 1978; Platt 1986). We will argue that "dynamic dualism" was already characteristic of Chavin ceremonialism during the first millennium B.C., and that it can be traced into the second and even third millennia B.C. in both the highlands and coast. The great antiquity of dualism in Andean ritual and religious architecture has been recognized by many archaeologists (e.g., Cordy-Collins 1979; Dillehay and Netherly 1986; W. Isbell 1976; Roe 1982, n.d.) and in this paper we will build upon their insights as well as adding some original observations of our own. For comparative purposes, we will focus primarily on three cases: the late Initial Period and Early Horizon highland center of Chavin de Huantar, the late Initial Period center of Cardal and the Late Preceramic eastern slope center of Kotosh.

Before considering the archaeological data, a brief summary of what anthropologists describe as "complementary opposition," "dual opposition" or "dynamic dualism" characteristic of the Andes is in order. In its most basic sense, reality is conceived as being composed of opposing but complementary forces; these forces are not equivalent (i.e., they are different or asymmetric) but both are necessary for completion and/or balance. In contemporary Quechua communities, this overarching vision pervades cosmology, religious ritual and social organization.

It is not the only organizing principle, a coexisting tripartite principle has also been identified in some instances. Nevertheless, the impact of duality is so profound and pervasive in contemporary ethnographic descriptions that there is the danger of succumbing to the "tyranny of the ethnographic record" when contemplating the distant prehistoric past. Cognizant of this everpresent temptation, let us consider the evidence from Chavin de Huantar as a test case for identifying and exploring "dual opposition" as an organizing principle of Formative ceremonialism.

Approximately 900 B.C., the temple of Chavin de Huantar was established in the Mosna drainage at 3,150 meters above sea level. During the next seven centuries, the area of habitation around the temple grew to over 30 hectares, but the core of the site remained devoted to ceremonial architecture. In the archaeological record from Chavin de Huantar we can find not only evidence that a fundamental principle of "dual opposition" existed, but that it was used to structure the very basic notions of cosmology, and, as a consequence, it pervaded multiple levels of Chavin religious worship, including ceremonial organization and religious ritual. The notion of dual opposition not only characterized how they thought about their deities and the workings of the universe, but also how they worshipped them.

The original cult object of the Chavin de Huantar remains *in situ* within a subterranean gallery in the oldest portion of the temple. This carved 4.53 m granite shaft, known as the Lanzon, is the oldest known representation of Chavin's supreme deity (Fig. 1). The position of this supernatural expresses graphically the principle of "dual opposition." His clawed right arm is lifted up while his left arm hangs at his side, as if balancing the opposing forces of the cosmos. To further underline this point, the right hand is shown with the palm open, while only the back of the left hand is visible. Thus the body position of the Lanzon opposes right with left, up with down, and front with back. In modern Quechua thought, the right hand and the concept of up or, geographically, the puna, is associated with male forces while the left hand and the concept of low is associated with female forces (e.g., apus or mountain deities vs. the Pachamama). The supreme deity of Chavin de Huantar can be interpreted as the mediator of the opposing forces symbolized and as guarantor of cosmic harmony.

Four or five centuries later (ca. 400 B.C.), this supreme deity was represented once again as part of the decoration of the recently completed temple extension, known as the New Temple (Fig. 2). In this carving, as Alana Cordy-Collins (1979) pointed out, the deity holds a Strombus shell in his right hand and a Spondylus shell in his left. While both shells are native to the warm waters of Ecuador, the Strombus is a gastropod and the Spondylus is a bivalve. Consequently, this imagery juxtaposes representatives of the two main classes of mollusks, albeit exotic ones. But a broader meaning probably has to do with the gastropod's male connotations and the bivalve's female associations. The physical characteristics of these mollusks make them "natural symbols" for sexual duality and they continue to be used in this way by indigenous peoples in some parts of the Andes (cf. Reichel-Dolmatoff 1974:298, 299). As in the Lanzon, a sense of balance is achieved not through exact

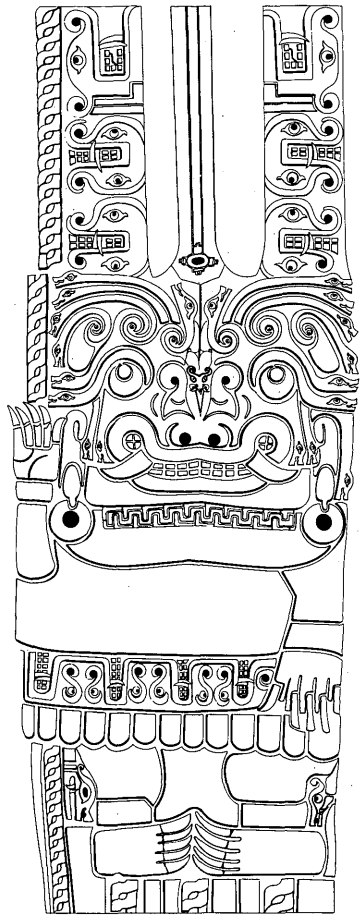

Fig. 1 Rollout of the Lanzon, Chavin de Huantar (drawing by R. Burger and L. Caballero).

symmetry, but by the balancing of opposing forces. It is striking how closely such images parallel later Colonial and modern highland Quechua concepts described by ethnohistorians and ethnographers.

The conceptualization of the supernatural realm in terms of dual opposition was not limited to the characteristics and concerns of the supreme deity. Other deities or mythical figures, like the Great Cayman of the Tello Obelisk, also embody these principles. As John Rowe (1962:18) observed, after the supreme deity the supernatural with cayman attributes is the most important figure in the Chavin pantheon. In his classic paper, *Wirakocha,* Julio C. Tello recognized that the two monstrous images on the stela represented opposing forces —for Tello (1923), Supernatural A was associated with the forces of the dry season, while Supernatural B was linked to the forces of the rainy season. Subsequently, Donald Lathrap (1973) elaborated on this insight and demonstrated how the two monstrous super-

Fig. 2 Rubbing of the supreme deity that once decorated the New Temple.

naturals with cayman attributes represented the realms of the sky and the watery underworld. They were also associated with contrasting sets of crops: Cayman A with underground vegetative cultivars and Cayman B with the above ground seed crops. Supernatural A was recognized as being shown with a kenning of male genitalia, and it was presumed by Lyon (1978) and others, to contrast with the more stylized female supernatural cayman. Thus the pair of supernatural cayman on the Tello Obelisk display multiple examples of dual opposition; although they differ radically from the Lanzon in subject, they embody the same fundamental concept.

This same principle of dual opposition was operative at a still lower level in the hierarchy of Chavin supernaturals. Supernaturals with avian attributes appear to have had a position as guardians or attendants of the supreme deity. The most impressive sculptural depiction of these supernaturals, and one of the few cases in which the original position of these sculptures can be inferred, occurs on the columns that flanked the portal of the Chavin de Huantar's New Temple. On the viewer's right, the supernatural shown is a hawk (with its characteristic eye-line), while the avian supernatural on the left is the Crested or Harpy Eagle (Rowe 1962:18; cf. Lathrap 1971:76, 77); thus, sculped columns embody the opposition between the highlands, the habitat of the hawk, and the montane forest and tropical lowlands, the habitat of the crested and harpy eagle. The supernatural with hawk attributes is shown as male with a central fang representing the penis and flared nostrils representing the testicles. The supernatural with harpy eagle attributes is shown as female, using the convention of the *vagina dentata*, in which the female genitals are shown as a vertically oriented gaping toothed mouth (see Lyon 1978; Roe 1982 for discussions). Finally, both supernaturals carry staffs, but the staff of the male supernatural with hawk attributes is adorned with the face of a feline, while fish drop from the staff of the female supernatural with eagle attributes.

In summary, the Chavin sculptures described above provide unambiguous

evidence for the centrality of the concept of dual opposition. It links the basic male:female dyad with other realms of experience —the opposition of highlands and lowlands, up and down, wild animals and domesticated plants, seed crops and root crops, sky and water, right and left, and a host of others. The sculptures referred to leave no doubt that notion of dual opposition and complementarity was present during the Early Horizon and that it was used to model the workings of the cosmos and its supernatural forces.

Many of the formal stylistic conventions that Chavin sculptors utilized to create reified images of their beliefs in stone resonated with their dualistic vision of the cosmos. Consider for example, the "double-profile" convention in which two independent faces shown in profile can together be read as a single frontal face, or the convention of anatropic organization in which a single sculpture can be read as two different images depending on its orientation; in both instances, the underlying principle is that lying beneath the surface of the unitary image are two interlocking or opposed forces that in conjunction produce the whole.

Even the geographic placement of the Chavin de Huantar temple may have responded to this ideology of dual opposition. Investigations at Chavin de Huantar have not produced evidence of a local settlement prior to Old Temple and it would appear that the site was founded for this purpose (Burger 1984). Many scholars have pointed to the economic advantages of Chavin de Huantar's location at the juncture of two natural routes of communication across the glaciated Cordillera Blanca. Yet Chavin de Huantar's location at the junction of the upper Mosna River and its tributary, the Huachecsa, can also be visualized as a place where two different water courses join together to form a single river; similarly, it is located at a crossroads, where two trails join together to form a single road. In Inca times, these places of natural or cultural encounters were thought to be propitious places from a religious perspective. Indeed, they were the geographical embodiment of the dual opposition already considered for the supernatural realm. For example, the Inca disposed of the residues of their offerings in a yearly ritual at the meeting of the Huatanay and Tullumayo Rivers (Burger 1992a:274, 275; Cobo 1964[1653]: 213; Molina 1943[1575]:65).

Studies of ceremonial architecture throughout the world have discovered that the layout of religious architecture often represents an image of the cosmos, while at the same time serving as a stage for ceremonial activity (e.g., Wheatley 1971). These two aspects, which on the surface appear quite different, can be seen as compatible since participants in religious rituals are generally conceived as reenacting primordial mythical events with the context of sacred space and time (Eliade 1959). Since these myths also provide the charter for the societal values and organization, the structural principles embedded in the ceremonial architecture have ramifications that reach far beyond the temple walls.

In a pioneering article, William Isbell (1976) argued that the popularity of U-shaped architecture, like that of the pyramid platforms of Chavin de Huantar, expressed concepts of dual organization. For example, the two arms of the bracket

or U would represent opposing and complementary forces, while the apex of the U would correspond to the mediation of these oppositions. It is consistent with this reasoning that the center's most sacred cult figure, the Lanzon, would be located in the middle of the central mediating structure. The public equivalent of the hidden galleries of the Old Temple's central wing would be the circular plaza. Unfortunately, it is not known what, if anything, was located in the center of the plaza, but there is information that the light-colored paved floor of the plaza was bisected along its central axis by a line of black stone. Thus the dual organization of sacred space embodied in the U-shaped layout of the platforms was reflected in the organization of the plaza as well.

This same pattern of dual divisions of sacred space appears in the temple enlargement during the Janabarriu phase. A new ceremonial axis was created with the addition of the New Temple and its central portal, but the U-shape was reiterated along this access by adding two low lateral platforms on either side of the newly built sunken rectangular plaza (Rowe 1962). It is significant that the so-called Old Temple and its circular plaza continued to function, judging from the lack of overlying Janabarriu refuse or buildings in this northern sector of the ceremonial core. Judging from the information currently available, it could be argued that the ceremonial complex had two parallel and complementary axes functioning during Janabarriu times, a northern one and a southern one. As the Pozorskis have suggested, Rowe's argument that the axis was displaced to the south seems unjustified (T. Pozorski and S. Pozorski 1987). In fact, the northern ceremonial axis may have remained the more sacred of the dual axes.

The southern axis of Chavin de Huantar eloquently encodes the dual division of sacred space into the built environment through its use of construction materials. The portal of the New Temple represents a symbolic entrance or access to the pyramid-platform, and it is placed at the center of the southern site axis. Black limestone was used for the northern half of the short stairway and the adjacent entryway jambs and ashlars (Fig. 3). The corresponding southern half of the portal architecture was constructed of white granite. Both of these stones are exotic to the immediate vicinity of the temple and their incorporation was a symbolic expression of the dual division of cosmic and ceremonial space. In addition to the obvious tonal contrasts, the soft matte quality of the limestone could not be more dissimilar from the hard lustrous character of the cut and polished granite. This message was further reinforced by the 10 meter long sculpted cornice that apparently decorated the portal; the northern half was made of black limestone, the southern half of white granite. The dual oppositions embodied in the iconography of the columns that flanked the New Temple's portal have already been discussed, but by their placement on either side of the central axis, they likewise implied the dual division of this zone of sacred space.

A massive cut stone stairway was built leading from the area of the sunken plaza up to the small patio fronting the portal just described. This stairway is similarly divided in two between black limestone on the north and white granite

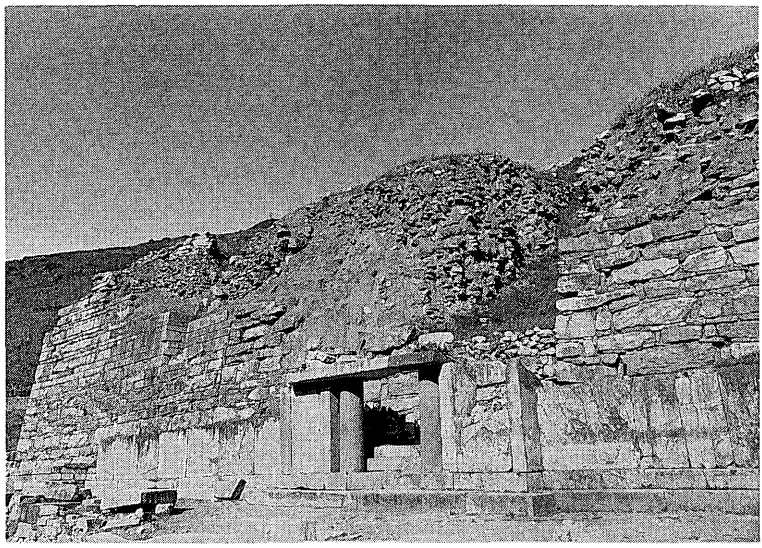

Fig. 3 Photograph of the black-and-white portal of the New Temple.

on the south, thereby symbolically extending the dual division along the axis. The so-called the Black and White Stairway was flanked by free standing cylindrical columns, but these differed from those of the portal in being substantially larger and in being made of contrasting materials: white granite and black limestone. More over, the complex imagery on the limestone column features water imagery (including fish vertebrae like that shown on the Yauya stela) while the complementary granite column shows celestial imagery, most notably avian tail feathers. In summary, it can be inferred that during late Chavin times, the temple was dually divided between the Old and New Temples, and that each of these was in turn divided in contrasting and complementary halves through both architectural and iconographic symbols.

These dual divisions must have played a important role in movement of worshippers and ritual specialists during the ceremonial activity itself. Such behavior is difficult to cull from the archaeological record, but the built ceremonial environment clearly serves, among other things, to structure ceremonial choreography. From the point of the worshippers, the interior galleries would have been unseen and, for most, inaccessible, but there the balcony-like openings facing the plazas in the eastern face of the New Temple and the flat-topped summit of the pyramid-platform both would have constituted environments easily viewed by the worshipper in the plazas below. This is particularly true for the balcony-like openings from which religious specialists could appear mysteriously in full regalia from the gallery complexes behind them. Significantly, there are two of these architectural features arranged symmetrically on either side of the axis of the New Temple. Similarly, there are two buildings of cut stone on the summit of the New Temple located synmetrically in relation to the same axis. The fact that these highly visible architectural elements were built in matching pairs suggests a dual organization of the public

rituals performed by the religious specialists during Early Horizon in the New Temple sector of the center.

A different source of information on the dual organization of ritual activity comes from the sculptures themselves, particularly the stone frieze decorating the Old Temple's circular plaza (Fig. 4). The 1972 excavations of Luis Lumbreras (1989) determined the original position of most of the 22 carvings recovered. These carvings represent a two row procession around the perimeter of the plaza; the upper row consists of anthropormorphic mythical figures in elaborate costumes carrying distinctive elements of ceremonial paraphernalia like the staff (or macana) and the conch shell trumpet (or *pututu*). While these figures could represent priest impersonators, we interpret them as the mythical ancestors that provided the divine charter for the religious specialists at the temple and we believe that the procession depicted on the plaze walls was the representation of a mythical event that served as the model for the rituals conducted at Chavin de Huantar. This reflective relationship between ceremonial art and ritual is common throughout the world for reasons expounded by Eliade and others. It is observable today in many Christian, Jewish and Hindu places of worship, and Walter Alva's discoveries at Sipan on Peru's north coast have illustrated a prehistoric Andean example of this phenomenon (Alva 1988).

Beneath the anthropomorphic figures of the circular plaza is a second row showing a parallel procession of jaguars. It is possible that each of these jaguars corresponds to a mythical figure above, thereby representing the dual nature of mythical ancestors (i.e., human-jaguar) and by extension, that of Chavin's religious

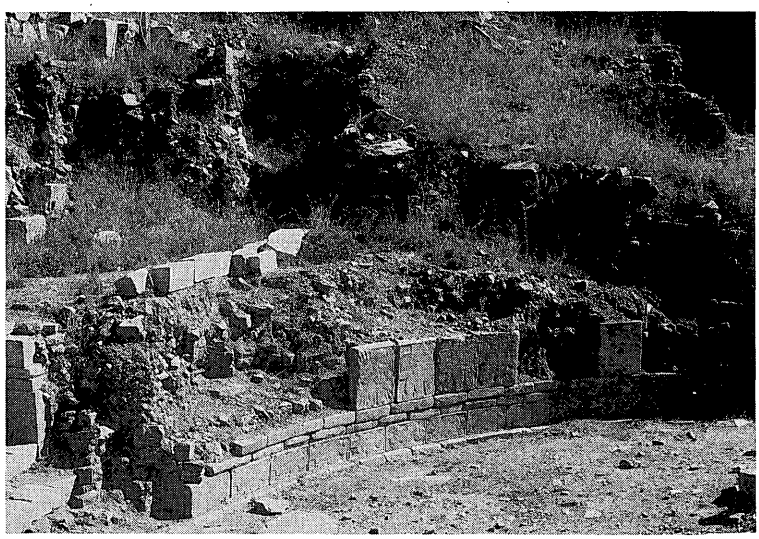

Fig. 4 Photograph of the Circular Plaza of the Old Temple with paired mythical figures and paired jaguars in procession towards the staircase leading up to the main platform.

specialists. Indeed the ability of priests to transform themselves into jaguars or raptorial birds with the help of hallucinogenic drugs in order to mediate with the supernatural sphere appears to have been basic to Chavin ideology and ritual. The transformative nature of religious specialists can be seen as still another aspect of dynamic dualism during the Early Horizon.

The preceding discussion provides the basis for interpreting the circular plaza's stone frieze as a model of one of the ceremonies conducted there during the late Initial Period and Early Horizon. The mythical figures and jaguar counterparts are divided into the two columns, one moving counterclockwise, the other clockwise around the sides of the plaza, with the two opposing lines converging at the central staircase that provided access to the pyramid summit and/or galleries. The position of the legs and feet of the anthropomorphic figures suggests that they are striding or marching rather than standing, and the figures with trumpets raised to their lips likewise adds to the dynamic quality of the scene. The mythical figures (and jaguars) are carved in identical pairs and a matching set of each pair was positioned symmetrically on the opposite side of the central axis. This organization of the mythical ceremonial scene clearly reflects the same principle of dual organization that appears encoded into the architecture and the iconography of individual sculptures. The role of dualism in structuring the rituals themselves should come as no surprise given the pervasive and perhaps dominant force of this particular element of cosmology in Chavin de Huantar. In traditional late 20th century Quechua communities where this principle remains important, the choreography of ritual dances follows this same pattern. For example, Catherine Allen (1988:192) observed that during the religious festivities of Qoyllur Rit'i in Cuzco, "the dancers, the choreography and the musical phrases are all structured in opposed yet mutually supportive pairs."

Given the central importance of dualism in the religious thought of ancient Chavin, it would seem probable that their social organization was likewise characterized by dual divisions or moieties, like those common in later Prehispanic times. Indeed, some might argue that the cosmology and ceremonial activities had an important role in naturalizing and reproducing this particular form of social organization. In later times, communities were dually divided into lower and upper sections sometimes known as hanan and hurin; these sometimes, although not always, corresponded to geographical divisions in the community. During the time of the temple, the ancient Chavin community was divided in two by the Huachecsa River and this natural division was linked by a stone bridge known as the rumichaka (Burger 1984; Tello 1960). One wonders whether this natural division may have also served to mark a social division within the ancient settlement. Clearly, much more investigation will be needed before this idea can be evaluated.

The ideological or cultural component that informs technological choices largely has been ignored by archaeologists (Lechtman 1984). Nevertheless, it seems likely that the concept of dual opposition and complementarity might have helped to shape aspects of Chavin's material culture. Lechtman has already illustrated the

interplay of religious ideology and metallurgical technology in her analysis of Prehispanic metallurgy in the Central Andes (Lechtman 1980, 1984), but one additional observation can be made in light of the argument presented here is that the development of silverworking by Chavin metallurgists may have been spurred by the conceptual need for a precious material that could comprise an opposing but complementary pair with gold. The oldest known working of silver is a bimetallic gold and silver ceremonial snuff spoon said to have been discovered at Chavin de Huantar (Lothrop 1951; Lechtman 1980). In later times gold and silver were frequently place in symbolic opposition, as in the case of the gold and silver peanuts in the Sipan tomb excavated by Walter Alva (Alva 1988). It is interesting that although copper foil has been found in late Initial Period contexts at Mina Perdida and in Early Horizon contexts in Kuntur Wasi, unlike silver it was apparently never used in a dyadic relation to gold, nor were copper, silver and gold combined to produce trimetallic objects during the Early Horizon. We would argue that the reason for this has more to do with the dual ideology underlying technological style than with technological constraints.

The ideological underpinnings of ceramic technology may be no less important than for metallurgy. The popularity of the stirrup spouted bottle, for example, may ultimately be explained by its resonance with a dual model of cosmology. In a sense, these ceramic bottles are a built environment that takes undifferentiated liquid in a central chamber, channels it through opposing but complementary cylindrical tubes, and then brings the liquid (probably chicha) together in a single spout from which it is served. The liquid may be conceptualized as recapitulating the pattern of the mythical figures in the circular plaza. It is worth noting that if one side of the bottle's stirrup is eliminated, the vessel pours much less effectively. This fact, of course, can be touted as a functional explanation of the Andean preference for the stirrup spouted bottle, but it can also be seen as a metaphorical confirmation of the validity of a dual perception of the universe.

The concept of dual opposition may have informed pottery decoration as well as form. For example, the local ceramic assemblage from Chavin de Huantar is dominated by two contrasting groups of pottery —red slipped vessels and superficially reduced dark gray vessels. The local decorated pottery likewise shows a propensity for dual contrasts; matte red slipped pottery has lustrous silver-gray graphite paint in incisions, polished black pottery has incisions filled with matte red post-fire paints, and dark monochrome pottery is often decorated by creating heavily textured matte surfaces that contrast with undecorated highly polished zones. Like the form of the stirrup-spouted bottles, these seemingly different decorative modes may consciously or unconsciously express the same underlying principle of dual opposition.

It is our hope that the preceding exploration of dyadic opposition and complementarity at Chavin de Huantar has demonstrated that there ample evidence to infer the centrality of dualism in Andean thought and behavior some 2,500 years before the Incas. Its persistence constitutes a rather clear example of the vigor and

resilience of some aspects of religious cosmology in the face of changing socio-economic conditions. We will return to this theme at the end of this paper.

By focusing on Chavin de Huantar, we did not intend to imply that this site or culture introduced dualism to the Andes or even that dualism was more important at Chavin de Huantar than at other coeval or older religious centers. The role of dual opposition and complementarity in the cultures of the Formative and still earlier times remains largely unknown. However, there is evidence that such concepts were widespread in both the highlands and the coast long before the Chavin de Huantar center was founded. In most respects, the religious architecture and iconography of the Chavin de Huantar temple differs from earlier highland ceremonial centers of the Kotosh Religious Tradition. Nevertheless, the presence of complementary opposition in Chavin religious ideology and ceremonialism was one of the features already present in the older local religious tradition, as exemplified by sites like Kotosh and La Galgada.

The site of Kotosh in the Upper Huallaga offers particularly vivid example of dual opposition and complementarity in a ceremonial context during the Late Preceramic. For the most part, the scarcity of iconography on the public architecture inhibits analyses like those offered for Chavin de Huantar. Nevertheless, the clay wall sculptures of the famous Temple of the Crossed Hands express the principle of dual complementarity in a simple but elegant fashion. The two sets of crossed hands can be considered as a single clay frieze decorating the rear wall in the interior of a chamber designed for burning ritual offerings. The wall which they decorate features a large central niche placed along the central axis of the building and pairs of smaller niches on either side (Fig. 5). The unbaked clay sculptures of crossed hands are symmetrically located underneath the pair of small niches that flank the central niche. In terms of their location, they are comparable to the columns of the black and white portal. The arrangement of the crossed hands beneath the niches converts the niches into metaphorical heads or mouths into which ritual objects or offerings could be placed. As Seiichi Izumi astutely observed some three decades ago, the two pairs of crossed hands are not identifical. The sculpture to the right of the central niche was the larger of the two, and it showed the right arm crossed over the left (Fig. 6-1). The sculpture to the left of the central niche was significantly smaller and it displayed the left arm on top of the right (Fig. 6-2). Izumi (1971) suggested that the size difference between the pair may symbolize a male:female opposition. The contrasting positions of the arms and their placement on opposite sides of the buildings axis suggests that the frieze expresses the general concept of dualism or complementary opposition rather than just the male-female dyad.

As at Chavin de Huantar, there are expressions of this principle in the Kotosh's religious architecture. At the level of site layout, there appear to have been two major pyramid platforms that currently appear as eroded mounds KT and KM. Both were used during the Late Preceramic and their apparent contemporaneity suggests a dual focus of ritual activity. Even more suggestive are the ritual structures at Kotosh which consist of paired or twin chambers (Fig. 7). Each chamber has its own

Fig. 5 Temple of the Crossed Hands, Kotosh.

Fig. 6-1, 2 The two sets of crossed hands.

entrance, niches, benches, and central firepit, yet they share a common wall. Each chamber is structurally interdependent and functionally capable of independent ritual activity, yet the two are inextricably joined. In the cases excavated at Kotosh (ER-24 and ER-20; ER-28 and ER-27), the paired chambers differ slightly from each other in size and architectural detail (Izumi and Terada 1972:figs. 92, 93). As in the

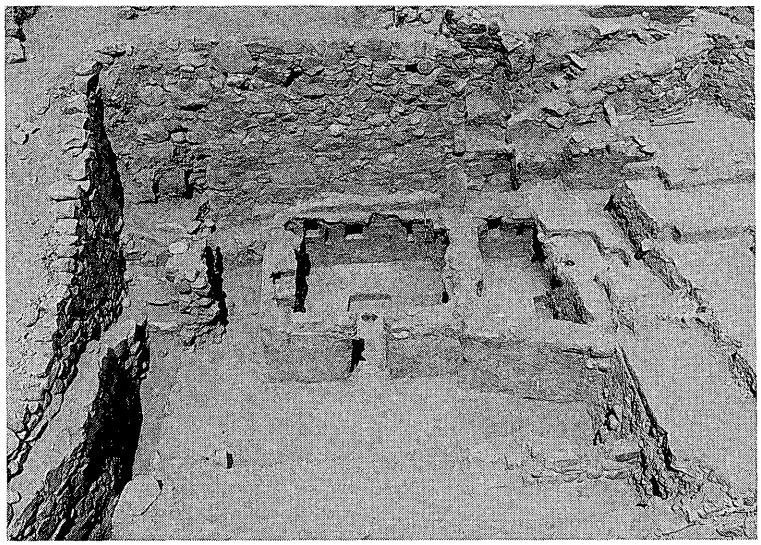

Fig. 7 Example of "twin" ritual chambers from Mito Period at Kotosh.

frieze of the crossed hands, the architectual differences between paired chambers suggests the dynamic nature of the dual conception —one which features opposition and/or complementarity rather than symmetric and therefore static matching sets. In terms of ritual behavior, the dual chambers would have permitted the division of worshippers along moiety or other dyadic lines during the ceremonies. A final suggestion of dualism in the religious architecture of Kotosh is found in the orientation of the buildings. Although all of the ceremonial buildings at Kotosh were laid out according to the cardinal directions; those on the lower terrace of KT face north while those on the second terrace are oriented to due south.

Each of these dual patterns at Kotosh is represented by relatively few instances and it is reasonable to question whether a real or spurious pattern of dualism is being revealed. However, the sharing of these features with other centers of Kotosh Religious Tradition lend weight to their interpretation as conscious expressions of cosmology and social structure. La Galgada, like Kotosh, featured a pair of coeval pyramid platforms and it can be suggested that the double mound pattern has a relationship to the concept of dualism analogous to that of the U-shaped pyramid complex. It also is significant that the architectural pattern of paired ritual chambers was present at La Galgada and Huaricoto (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1985; Grieder et al. 1988), and that two coexisting ritual orientations existed at La Galgada as well as Kotosh, although in the former case, the cardinal directions favored for the ritual chambers were towards the north and west rather than north and south.

As we noted at the outset of this paper, the concept of dual opposition and complementarity was probably as characteristic of the pre-Chavin cultures of the coast as it was of their contemporaries in the highlands. If it is somewhat less evident along the central coast, the reason is probably the paucity of archaeological

research rather than its absence or lack of importance. If one accepts the interpretation of U-shaped pyramid's layout as a cosmogram that expresses the mediation of opposing but complementary forces, then the central concept of dualism for structuring ceremonial behavior on the central coast must go back at least to the beginning of the Initial Period (or Lower Formative) at approximately 1800 B.C., when the U-shaped complexes of La Florida in the Rimac Valley and Mina Perdida in the Lurin Valley both appear to have been established (Burger 1992b:60–63; Patterson 1985). Antecedents for the U-shaped building traditions are found several centuries earlier in the Chillon Valley at El Paraiso, which features two long parallel platform mounds flanking an open plaza (Quilter 1985; Williams 1980), and thus on the coast, as in the highlands, the concept of dualism appears to go at least as far back as the Late Preceramic.

Cardal in the Lurin Valley is one of the few U-shaped pyramid complexes that has been investigated in any depth. Evidence of the dual organization of ceremonialism was encountered both in the open areas enclosed by the U and in the enclosed sacred environments on the temple's summit. Mapping and partial clearing of the site revealed that architecture was laid out in relation to a central axis that bisected the site and the central platform mound (Fig. 8). Originally, public ceremonies and other activities were concentrated in a 3 hectare central plaza at the foot of the pyramid platform. Later in the site's history (ca. 1000 B.C.), the lateral arms of U were extended and a new open plaza sector was created. Significantly, a pair of small sunken circular plazas were built in this sector flanking the central axis. In the final episode of construction, the people of Cardal built a third sector for public activities in the open in the northern extreme of the site. This sector was supposed to feature a pair of massive rectangular causewayed plazas on either side of the axis, but they had yet to be completed around 800 B.C. when the site was abandoned. The layout of these public areas suggest that the worshippers at the Cardal temple moved through three adjacent built environments during ceremonies at the center and in two of these, they would have been divided into contrasting groups along moiety or other lines. Only in the final stage of public worship were these dual divisions brought together as a single entity in the massive elevated central plaza. The dual organization of the central and northern sectors of Cardal can be seen as analogous to the division of Chavin's plazas, but physically delineated environments rather than symbolic color coding were used to express this principle.

On the summit of main mound, a small enclosed building atop a low platform yielded additional evidence of the dualism (Burger and Salazar-Burger 1991:280, 281). The heart of the structure were two central rooms, each with its own three-stepped altar. The two matching altars would not have been visible to each other, but they shared a common wall and were structurally linked (Fig. 9). While the two altars are very similar, they are not identical. For example, the northern altar has barely visible religious motifs carved in graffiti-like fashion around the altar, while the southern altar does not. On the purely structural level, the linked and repetitive character of these small functionally independent ritual environments is reminiscent

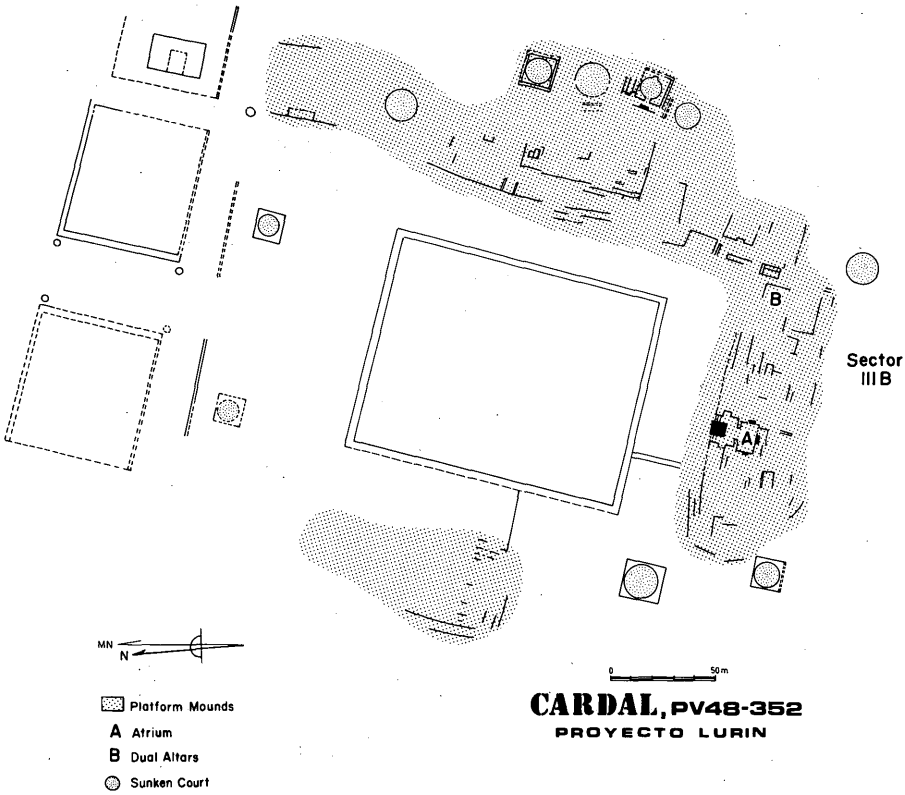

Fig. 8 Ground plan of Cardal, Lurin Valley showing dual rectangular and circular plazas along the site's central axis.

of the paired ritual chambers at Kotosh and related highland sites. The architecture of this summit building demonstrates that the dual organization of worship was not limited to the public areas of the U-shaped complexes.

Further excavation on the lateral arms at Cardal and other similar complexes should shed much more light on the history and character of dual organization on the central coast. In a few cases, such as Mina Perdida and Parka, the U-shaped complexes are built so close to each other that one wonders whether they were not constructed a complementary pairs. Indeed, Dillehay and Netherly (1986) argued that a similar pattern in the Zaña Valley did reflect dual organization, and Williams and Pineda (1983) have made an analogous argument for the Cajamarca basin.

Discussion

The foregoing comments suggest that the concept of dual opposition and complementarity has structured Andean ceremonialism for over 4,000 years. Its presence among the prehistoric cultures of the coast and highlands and its continued importance among the indigenous tropical forest groups suggests that a cosmology based on dual opposition may have been part of the cultural baggage

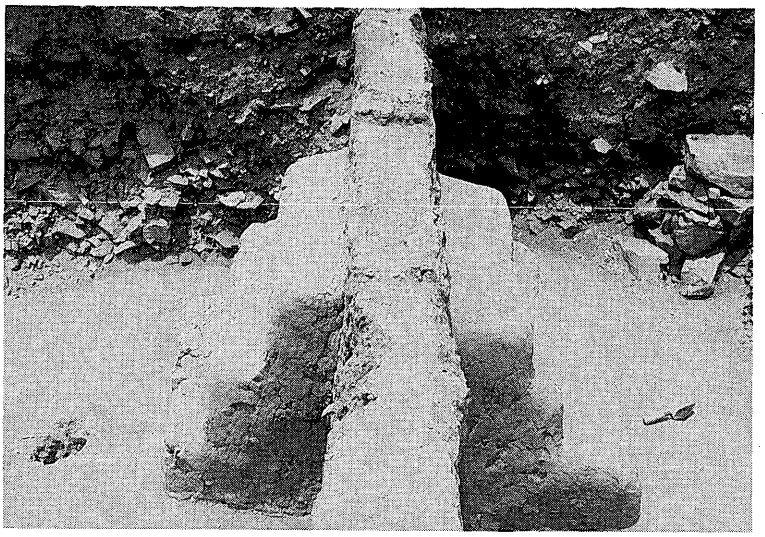

Fig. 9 The dual altars found in the sector IIIA of Cardal.

brought by the Asian settlers of the South American continent (Moseley 1992:81, 82). This historic explanation, however, does not help us understand why this concept remained viable for such a long period of time. Ethnohistoric and ethnographic information suggests that the concept of dual opposition and complementarity survived because it was a powerful analytical tool in forging a meaningful understanding of mundane reality and in influencing the workings of the larger cosmos through religious ritual. When applied the organization of society, it provided the basis for dynamic competition between sub-groups which, in turn, helped societies to survive and prosper.

As this review has shown, the archaeological expression of the concept of dualism is widespread and can be observed at many different levels of analysis and in a variety of media. Its pervasiveness as a central structuring principle at so many levels of religious thought and experience would have reinforced the idea that it was the natural or inevitable way of organizing society. Ethnographers have observed that collective rituals are one of the main ways of reproducing the values behind the moiety system, and we suggest that by staging repeated public ceremonies featuring the division of society (or its representatives) into dual subdivisions for ceremonial purposes whether at Late Preceramic Kotosh, Initial Period Cardal, Early Horizon Chavin de Huantar or, for that matter, contemporary Qoyllur Rit'i a powerfull tool was being employed for the strengthening and reproduction of the dual organization of Andean society. While it may be useful for heuristic purposes to distinguish between ideological and sociological dualism (Urton this volume), it is also evident that the two must heve been inextricably linked with each other for this system of organizing society to have survived for over four thousand years. Of course, abstract notions of this kind are not always expressed in a form that is accessible to

even the most diligent archaeologists. For example, dual organization of public worship probably existed at Cardal from the site's inception, but the builders only decided to express this in the form of paired courts and plazas after a century of ceremonialism.

One of the limitations of focusing on underlying structural principles like dualism is the loss of a sense of process and change. General principles of this kind are intrinsically flexible, and they can be transformed and reinterpreted so that are compatible with almost any reality, no matter how dissimilar. Despite Christianity's roots in the rural pre-capitalist world of the ancient Near East, this much more specific theology has been used effectively in 20th century South America both as a legitimizing tool for status quo oligarchs and as a subversive philosophy by revolutionaries. It would be ingenuous to think that the ideological heritage of native Andeans was any less flexible. This is not to say, however, that ceremonialism is impervious to socioeconomic change or that insights into these changes might not be acquired through study of the subtle transformations in ritual and ceremonial architecture.

While dualism helped to structure Andean ceremonialism during the Late Preceramic, Initial Period and Early Horizon, we know from other sources that during this two or three millennia period, society was becoming increasing complex and stratified, and that hierarchical economic and political relations emerged as important organizing principles in daily life (Burger 1992b). This changing reality may be expressed in the nature of access to religious architecture over this time span. The threshold separating sacred and profane space is always a point of great symbolic importance and the cross-cultural elaboration of the entryways of ceremonial architecture bears testimony to this. As the area of specialized ritual became associated with pyramid summits, a stairway became the symbolic and real link between the sacred and the profane. At Late Preceramic sites like La Galgada, Kotosh or El Paraiso, fully functional staircases provided the necessary connection, but on the coast by the late Initial Period, ceremonial architecture began to feature steep and poorly built central stairways to the summit. These seem to be more of a symbolic expression of the connection between the public and the supernatural realm rather a practical form of contact between them. The final step in this short evolutionary sketch occurs during the Early Horizon at the Chavin de Huantar's New Temple, where an elaborately constructed portal signals the point of access to the summit, but no stairway is provided. The message would appear to be that only through superhuman powers of shamanic or priestly transformation can one ascend to the temple summit and communicate with the supernatural realm. It is tempting to see this final change as being intimately connected with the emergence of a socioeconomic and political elite that has set themselves apart from the general population.

It is interesting, in this light, to return to the representations of dual complementarity and opposition in Chavin art. If we compare the Early Horizon depiction of the supreme deity from the New Temple (i.e., the "Medusa"), with that of the

Old Temple (i.e., the Lanzon), it is probably noteworthy that the principle in the former is expressed by objects rather than body position and that the objects used to symbolize the opposing forces of the universe are exotic materials not available to the worshippers without the intervention of the religious specialists and local elite. Thus, this particular image expressed the already ancient idea of dual opposition and complementarity, but in a way that indirectly reinforced the legitimacy of the religious leader's socioeconomic position, since only they were able to acquire the exotic mollusks that were preferred by the supreme deity and were necessary components of religious rituals (along dual lines, of course) in order to maintain balance and harmony of the cosmos.

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