Naymlap and Company

The Northern Dynasties. Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor. MICHAEL E. MOSELEY and ALANA CORDY-COLLINS, Eds. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, DC, 1990. x, 548 pp., illus. $40. From a symposium, Washington, DC, Oct. 1985.

Of all the pristine states, only the Andean civilizations did not develop a form of writing. Our knowledge of the Pre-Columbian societies of this region thus depends on the archeological record, Spanish chronicles of conquest, and a variety of ethnohistorical documents. Among the ethnohistorical information conserved are two oral legends pertaining to the dynastic history of the great Kingdom of Chimor on the North Coast of Peru and two origin myths about the Naymlap dynasty in the Lambayeque Valley, just north of Chimor's heartland.

The Chimor dynastic history begins with Taycanamo arriving in the Moche Valley by a balsa raft from some place over the sea. His son, Guacricaur, consolidated Chimu control of the lower valley. Taycanamo's grandson, Ñançenpinco, conquered the upper valley and initiated expansion into the valleys to the north and south of Moche. Then five to seven unnamed rulers are mentioned. Minchançaman extended the empire to its greatest extent before being conquered by the Incas (around A.D. 1470).

The Naymlap story describes a flotilla of balsas arriving on the Lambayeque coast bearing Naymlap, his wife, and an entourage of 40 officials. Naymlap established his court at Chot and was followed by a succession of 12 rulers culminating with Fempellec, whose reign was brought to an end by 30 days of disastrous rains and floods. After an interregnum of unspecified length, Lambayeque was conquered by Chimor.

Andean scholars for years have debated the historical veracity and archeological utility of these accounts. In 1985 Maria Rostworowski, one of Peru's leading ethnohistorians, and Michael Moseley, a renowned archeologist, brought together ten archeologists with many years of fieldwork on the North Coast (Geoffrey Conrad, Alana Cordy-Collins, Christopher Donnan, Ulana Klymyshn, Alan Kolata, Carol Mackey, John Topic, Theresa Topic, Izumi Shimada, and Moseley), an art historian (Donna McClelland), an architect (William Conklin), and four ethnohistorians (Patricia Netherly, Tom Zuidema, Susan Ramírez, and Rostworowski) specifically to test the now abundant archeological data and the information preserved in the North Coast dynastic traditions and other ethnohistoric materials against each other. A paper by archeologist James Richardson and his team was added for the publication.

Moseley's excellent comprehensive introduction explains the two positions, literalism and structuralism, that underlie various of the contributions. Zuidema's long-standing contention that Andean history was fundamentally concerned with spatial and temporal organization and structural relationships among individuals and groups of individuals rather than with lineal causality is clearly the dominant viewpoint among the contributors. It is ironic, then, that Zuidema strikes the most doubting note of the entire volume, arguing that the preserved text of the Naymlap legend is "a myth from beginning to end" and that it cannot be connected to a particular historical or natural event.

Other authors disagree, and herein lies the excitement of the book. Various aspects of the legends have been corroborated by the contributors. McClelland superbly documents a Moche V shift to maritime iconography, thereby establishing an early cultural basis for the occurrence of balsa-riding culture heroes. Donnan cautiously tests the widely accepted identification of Chot with the archeological site of Chotuna and concludes that the chronological sequence is compatible with the ethnohistorical accounts of Naymlap. In a perfect synthesis of art-historical, ethnohistorical, and archeological data Cordy-Collins shows that a minor character in the Naymlap story had a long functional history on the North Coast in a highly structured trade in Ecuadorean *Spondylus* shell. Moseley, Shimada, and Donnan judiciously evaluate the archeological evidence as to whether a major El Niño event around A.D. 1100 could be the Fempellec flood and show that dramatic natural and profound cultural events occurred on the North Coast at this time. Conrad convincingly demonstrates that the site of Farfan in the Jequetepeque Valley is the administrative center of the Chimu military leader Pacatnamu. Through a regional approach Theresa Topic proves that Chimu conquests and empire formation proceeded in the stages described in the Chimor legends, though not necessarily through the agency of the single individuals named in them. Similarly, Mackey and Klymyshn plausibly argue that the conquests attributed to Minchançaman occurred over the rules of several monarchs.

With regard to conquest events and rulers Conrad asks and brilliantly answers one of the most important questions posed in the volume: Why did the Chimu alter their account of dynastic succession through compression? He shows that the accounts correspond perfectly to current definitions

"Textile model of a Chancay house with figures." Textiles and ceramics from the Chimu dynasty often portray architecture. "One-way, lean-to structures are usually interpreted as domestic, and are seen in many house models from Chancay, a local culture whose art, textiles, and technology show strong Chimu influence." [From Conklin's paper in *The Northern Dynasties*; after Conklin and Benson, *Museums of the Andes* (1981)]

"Modeled boatmen straddle a tule boat on top of a Lambayeque-Chimu bottle. Another tule boat is rendered in low relief under an arch of interconnecting anthropomorphized waves." [From McClelland's paper in *The Northern Dynasties*; Museo Bruning de Lambayeque; photograph by Donald McClelland]

of political propaganda. Conrad thus addresses issues broader than the culture history of the North Coast and presents a dynamic model of statecraft that should generate much interest among colleagues working with complex societies elsewhere.

Further insight into the way the Chimu viewed their political landscape is provided by Theresa Topic, who argues, following Zuidema, that the stages of conquest visible in the accounts represent categories of social identity rather than individual military campaigns. She also suggests that since the coastal dynastic histories do not mention the highlands the Chimu regarded that area as very different from their own in terms of climate and economic and social organization. This is an important point, since other contributors contend that the coast and highlands were characterized by a shared, deep-seated, and long-lived Andean cultural pattern ("*lo andino*"). This is particularly evident in the contributions of the four ethnohistorians, Moseley's essay, Kolata's provocative analysis of Chan Chan's urban concept, and Cordy-Collins's and Richardson *et al.*'s papers, which specifically address the issue from the perspective of Central Andean–North Andean interaction.

The book is also striking for various revisions of previously widely accepted positions, one of them a major reversal of the conclusions reached by the Chan Chan–Moche Valley Project, a large-scale archeological investigation carried out between 1969 and 1974 and directed by Moseley and Mackey with the participation of various of the authors in the present volume and others. Paradoxically, Moseley and Kolata overthrow what was considered one of the best fits between archeology and the dynastic histories: the number of ciudadelas (royal palaces) and Chimu kings. They now call into doubt the sequential ordering of the ciudadelas (and rulers) at Chan Chan, the sprawling capital city of the Chimu, and argue instead that the ciudadelas were paired—a reflection of the structural duality they hold to characterize Chimor (see also Rostworowski and Netherly). Until there is an unambiguous chronology for the capital, however, the newly proposed pairing as well as the ciudadela sequence will remain debatable.

With its increased database (most notably Shimada's tour-de-force discussion of Sicán and radiocarbon dates, Donnan's masterful comparative analysis of the Chotuna and Dragón friezes and Chotuna and Chornancap excavations, and Richardson *et al.*'s new data from the far North Coast) and pioneering integration of ethnohistory, archeology, and the Andeanist structural perspective, *The Northern Dynasties* is a valuable contribution to Andean archeology and to the comparative study of ancient statecraft.

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The Ordering of a City

New York City Neighborhoods. The 18th Century. NAN A. ROTHSCHILD. Academic Press, San Diego, CA, 1990. xvi, 264 pp., illus. $44.50.

One of the motivations for this portrait, by a historical archeologist, of 18th-century New York is a fascination with the modern city and the processes that created it. Origin questions are appealing at many levels, no less when the temporal scale is one of mere centuries and the spatial scale is that of a city and its neighborhoods.

Rothschild's aim is to consider the interplay of ethnicity and economics in the formation and persistence of neighborhoods, especially as New York was "rationalized" through the 18th century. The historical and archeological methodology is meant to examine the large and complex city by analyzing its subunits; that is, by focusing on the way city-dwellers themselves experienced the city. The author claims many audiences for her analysis of urban structure: urban planners, cultural geographers, historians, and cognitive psychologists. Though she does not explicitly target anthropologists or historical archeologists, they will also find useful data in the book.

There are some interesting findings that come out of the detailed and painstaking documentary research. Changing ethnic strategies are apparent in the spatial analyses: Those for whom ethnicity became less economically useful tended to abandon it as a means of self-identification, at least as a determinant of residential location. Newcomers and those upon whom ethnicity was imposed, particularly Jews and free African-Americans, continued to live in residential clusters defined by ethnicity. As ethnicity at least partly gave way to economic considerations, occupation rather than wealth tended to be reflected in residential clusters. Higher-class (merchant) segregation indicates exclusionary residential choice, whereas spatially similar segregation of semiskilled workers would seem to result from a different process, as much of the residential clustering came about as a result of church leases. Occupational segmentation became increasingly important through the 18th century but began to give way to the class structure that would dominate in the 19th century. As in other cities, massive economic changes occurred as wealth became more concentrated through the 18th century.

Unfortunately, the weakest part of the book is the integration of the archeological data. Faunal remains (of meals) are examined because documentary record on food choice is "almost nonexistent." Availability seems to be the most important factor affecting the composition of these remains; they can be correlated in a statistically significant way with neither ethnicity nor class. One unexpected conclusion of the analysis of food cost is that 18th-century meals were private affairs, unconnected to public status displays. Because historical and archeological data in other colonial cities indicate that dining was socially particularly important in the 18th century, such a suggestion demands further comparisons between data sources both within sites and between cities.

There are some frustrating aspects of the book. It is careless in places; for example, although city wards are an essential part of the descriptions, it is difficult to find a map on which the wards are identified by name. It is clear that the book is not written primarily for an archeological audience, yet archeologists will expect some data that are not available and non-archeologists will find some of the data description confusing. It is