

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE ARCHITECTURAL VESSELS OF THE
MOCHE OF PERU (C.E. 200-850):
ARCHITECTURE FOR THE AFTERLIFE

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This dissertation investigates sculpted representations of ritual architecture produced by the Moche (C.E. 200-850), a complex and socially-stratified society occupying Peru's north coast centuries before the formation of the Inca Empire. My study focuses on a single artifact type—the Moche architectural vessel—a portable fine ware ceramic container with a stirrup-shaped handle and straight spout which supports a miniature modeled building. Moche architectural vessels mimic the form of structures and features identified in full-scale Moche architecture. When discovered scientifically, these objects accompany elite burials found within or in close proximity to Moche ritual architecture, or *huacas*. For art historians and archaeologists, these portable artifacts constitute one of the most important sources of data on Moche ritual architecture and as such, permit us a more nuanced understanding of ancient ceremonial structures which have been compromised by centuries of erosion, treasure hunting, and cataclysmic events.

While Moche architectural vessels have been considered simple and somewhat generic representations of temples or temple complexes, my study suggests these objects instead relay explicit information about geographically, temporally, or ideologically specific ritual structures. In this dissertation, I propose a practical method for “decoding” these objects and demonstrate that, once deciphered, Moche architectural vessels can elucidate the original form, function, and ideological significance of Moche ceremonial architecture.

My research draws upon several disciplines including art history, anthropology, ethnography, and ethnomusicology. Important contributions include the assembly of the first Moche architectural vessel corpus (169 vessels), the creation of a detailed 10-type Moche architectural vessel typology, a new method for visualizing these objects, and the discovery that several vessels are additionally acoustic artifacts.

My study presents a new investigative model, applicable to other areas in the ancient Andes and Mesoamerica, where, for millennia, ceramic representations of architecture formed an important part of burial ritual. Moche architectural vessels also engage in a cross-cultural dialogue with architectural representations made for burial by other ancient cultures around the globe, including Han Dynasty China, Middle Kingdom Egypt, Iron Age Italy, Ancient West Mexico, and Aztec Mexico. They also illuminate the rich potential of ceremonial objects made by advanced societies without text-based histories.

THE ARCHITECTURAL VESSELS OF THE MOCHE OF PERU (C.E. 200-850):
ARCHITECTURE FOR THE AFTERLIFE

By

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Acknowledgements

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While unaware of it at the time, I was first exposed to Moche ceramics by my grandparents, George and Merle Simonds, who brought back pre-Columbian artifacts from their trips to Peru, Colombia, and Mexico and placed them within reach of curious children. Much of their collection was given to the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology at UC Berkeley, but their favorite pieces filled their Hayward home and were considered by all of us to be silent members of the family. It was not until the Rafael Larco Herrera collection traveled to the De Young Museum in 1997 that I was reintroduced to these familiar objects from my past. While the exhibition (*The Spirit of Ancient Peru*) prepared the soil, the seeds would not sprout for another few

years. First, I would spend years preparing my application for graduate school, having never studied art history as an undergraduate and returning to academia after a ten-year hiatus.

A lot of people assisted me in this important transition. I am grateful to Lynn Orr at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco for allowing me to intern under her direction and for entrusting me with such a fascinating project. Classes with Agathe Bennich at City College of San Francisco revealed how engrossing the study of art history could be. Larry Silver at University of Pennsylvania also deserves special mention for his encouragement and support at this pivotal time. I am grateful also to Michael Penwarden and Judy Closson for their optimism and encouragement on the first leg of what would be a rather long trip.

Seeking first a solid foundation in art history, I enrolled at NYU's Institute of Fine Arts. I am deeply grateful for the friends I made there -- Pamela Huckins, Maya Muratov, Eleni Drakaki, Edmund Ryder, and John Campbell. Their support, perspective, and their company during necessary moments of alcohol-induced release pulled me through an unexpectedly tumultuous two years. I also thank Colin Eisler, Heidi King, Julie Jones, Barbara Mundy, Anna Blume, and Eloise Quiñones Keber for their guidance, support, and academic training. Diana Fane I thank for advice and for an introduction to Nancy Rosoff, to whom I am grateful for the opportunity to work with the ancient American ceramics collections at the Brooklyn Museum.

It was in New York at Bobst Library, seeking a brief escape from the marketing practices of Artemisia Gentileschi (the topic of my IFA qualifying paper), that I happened upon the F3430 aisle and the book, *The Royal Tombs of Sipán*. This

book would have a profound impact on my next seven years. I sent a congratulatory email to the book's co-author, Christopher Donnan, and to my great surprise, he wrote me back! It would be another year before I officially switched my focus from Spanish Baroque painting to Moche pottery, but Chris is to credit for being the first to engage me in the wonderful world of Moche art. He has been a tremendously generous mentor from the beginning, inviting me to initiate research at the Moche Archive at UCLA and arming me with unpublished manuscripts, field reports, books, images, ideas, methodologies, data, and even *cabrito*. Much of this work, including the methodology and many of the conclusions, was shaped thanks to ongoing discussions with him.

A second person influential in my defection from the world of Western art history to that of the Moche of Peru was Jeffrey Quilter, then director of Pre-Columbian Studies at Dumbarton Oaks. In 2001, I attended my first Dumbarton Oaks symposium. At lunch, I was fortunate to share a table with the host of the show. Jeff introduced me to scholars and presented a good case for undertaking Moche research. He suggested I make a reconnaissance trip around Peru, which I did in 2002. While there, Jeff offered up north coast hospitality, some very excellent *causa*, and my first glimpse of excavation life at a Moche site. Jeff has been a source of sage professional advice ever since.

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As a Fulbright Fellow to Peru in 2007, my interest in locating images from possibly the first ever Andean architectural vessel exhibition (1976) led me to the project's photographer, Billy Hare, today one of Peru's most accomplished contemporary photographers. Despite the labor involved, he generously searched through decades of archived images and located those he had taken for the exhibition. Over a light box in his studio, we studied the thirty-year-old negatives and talked about north coast archaeology. He would become one of my dearest friends in Lima and a person with whom I would spend some of my fondest hours. Many of those hours were, to the benefit of this project, focused on Moche architectural representation in clay.

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Peruvian North Coast Chronology

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Appendix 2. Moche Architectural Types Key

Appendix 3. Moche Architectural Types by Phase

Appendix 4. Analysis of the Moche Architectural Corpus by Phase

Appendix 5. Moche Chamber Types by Phase

Appendix 6. Moche Imagery by Phase

Chapter 1: Moche Architectural Vessels. An Introduction

Introduction

Nearly two thousand years ago on the north coast of Peru, artisans from the Moche culture produced ceramic vessels depicting sculpted architecture. When discovered archaeologically, architectural vessels are found in tombs suggesting that these objects accompanied the deceased on their journey to the hereafter. Differing from architectural models produced as funerary items by other ancient cultures, the Moche's representations doubled as functional ceramic containers and even acoustic artifacts, suggesting Moche architectural vessels represented structures viewed by the Moche as ritually symbolic and potentially animate.

Since their discovery, Moche architectural vessels have been used to corroborate extant Moche architecture, structures compromised by time, treasure hunters, and cataclysmic events. I argue that Moche architectural vessels went beyond the purely mimetic, functioning as icons or symbols for ritual architecture which anchored key events in Moche religious ceremony taking place within monumental precincts.¹ Architectural structures forming part of Moche ritual ceremony would have been viewed as intimately linked to the outcome of ceremonies enacted in their presence. Moche architectural vessels, then, not only emulated the physical form of these structures but likely evoked their power and potency. The interpretations

¹ Such ceremonies, which included acts of human sacrifice, may have aimed to restore equilibrium and order to the natural world (de Bock 2003; Zighelboim 1995). Moche art suggests blood was offered in exchange for rain (Figure 5.44 a, b, and c) or perhaps the cessation of torrential rains and flooding, brought on by ENSO (El Niño-Southern Oscillation) events.

presented in this work emerged from an interdisciplinary inquiry, relying upon art historical, archaeological, acoustic, and technical information. This broad perspective permits a newly contextualized view of the role of Moche architectural vessels in Moche burials and in Moche religion. While as yet little understood, Moche religion appears to have been concerned with the veneration and appeasement of mountain deities, upon whom the Moche depended for water and agricultural sustenance.²

Building upon past scholarship, my research aims to broaden our knowledge about these objects by asking questions concerning the who, what, when, where, and why of Moche architectural vessels. My study reveals that Moche architectural vessels were not restricted to a certain sex or age group but instead were the prerogative of individuals buried either within or in close proximity to a Moche *huaca*, or ceremonial architectural complex. My research suggests that Moche architectural vessels emulated full-scale architectural structures that were intimately connected to core religious or ideological beliefs. Moche architectural vessels appear in all Moche phases and have been excavated from sites in the southern Santa Valley to the northern Jequetepeque Valley, indicating a broad area of production or distribution. Another observation resulting from this study is that architectural representations may reflect architectural forms of local or regional importance, suggesting that certain forms were associated with certain sites.

The Moche (C.E. 200-850), who predated the Inca by more than a thousand years, occupied a 600 kilometer stretch of Peru's north coast, from the Huarmey Valley in the south to Piura in the north (Map).³ The Moche are considered by

² Moche religion will be discussed in Chapter 5.

³ Dates used for the Moche in this dissertation come from Castillo and Uceda 2008:707.

scholars to be one of the most important polities during the Early Intermediate Period. While long viewed as a single unified society or cultural development, currently the Moche are interpreted as several independent polities with shared beliefs and artistic traditions that were divided into northern and southern cultural spheres by the desert barrier, the Pampa de Paiján (Castillo and Uceda 2008:715-722; Pillsbury 2001:11).

Similar to other pre-Hispanic Andean groups, the Moche did not have a text-based writing system. Instead, our knowledge of the Moche comes from other aspects of their rich culture: monumental architecture made of mud brick; elaborate burials and their grave goods; and an artistic tradition including textile, ceramic, and metallurgy. Information about the Moche results from over a century of archaeological excavation. My research looks to monumental architecture, fine-ware ceramics, elite burials, and ritual practice to illuminate the role and symbolism of Moche architectural vessels. While architecture is also conveyed in two dimensions on Moche fineline or pictorial vessels (Figure 5.1), my investigation focuses on the analysis and interpretation of Moche sculpted architectural vessels (e.g., Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.5).⁴

Moche ceramics are of two types — utilitarian vessels made for daily use and fine-ware vessels made for ceremonial ends, including tomb offerings. Architectural vessels fall under the latter category and were likely produced by large organized workshops, overseen by the ruling elite who were responsible for their distribution (Chicoine 2003). It is likely that each center or site produced ceramics in their own

⁴ Fineline depictions of architecture are, however, referenced and used in this dissertation to aid in the interpretation of sculpted architectural vessels.

ceramic style. This style was expressly created to be visually distinct from vessels of other groups (Donnan in press c).

By my estimation, Moche architectural vessels comprise about .08 percent of the total Moche ceramic fine-ware corpus, suggesting these objects were reserved for special burials.⁵ There are 169 vessels in the Moche architectural corpus.⁶ Only five of these have secure provenience, in each case discovered in funerary contexts. The majority of vessels in the corpus exhibit stylistic traits associated with the southern Moche sphere, yet two vessels with secure contexts were discovered in the northern sphere at the site of San José de Moro. A small percentage of Moche architectural vessels depict detailed architectural complexes (e.g., Figure 1.5).⁷ The majority represent small independent single-room structures (Figures 1.1 and 1.2).⁸

Statement of the Problem

In the Moche architectural corpus, both simple and complex representations of architecture exist. Simple single-room structures comprise the majority and architecturally complex vessels comprise the minority. While past research has examined the single-room structures, my investigation has revealed that single-room structures are best understood in light of the architectural complex vessels.

⁵ This is a rough estimate based on the largest collection of Moche vessels, held in the Museo Larco. Among an estimated 40,000 Moche ceramic vessels in this collection, only 30 are architectural, resulting in my estimate that .08 percent of the total Moche ceramic corpus are architectural.

⁶ Of the 169 vessels, 26 are Proto Moche; 13 are Moche I-II; 22 are Moche III; 76 are Moche IV; 28 are Moche V; and 4 are Late Moche (Appendix 1).

⁷ Architectural complex vessels occur in Proto Moche (3 vessels); Moche I-II (6 vessels); and Moche III (1 vessel).

⁸ The entire corpus is presented in Appendix 1, organized by Moche phase.

Architectural complex vessels serve as an architectural key that unite, in a single representation, architectural types and features depicted in isolation elsewhere.

Additionally, architectural complex vessels convey the precise location of independent structures within a larger architectural context. This provides valuable information about which types of structures held ritual importance and also illuminates how full-scale ceremonial space might have been experienced by the Moche.

Since the 1930s, scholars have hypothesized that Moche architectural vessels depicted temples.⁹ While a logical proposal, little excavated temple architecture was available for comparison. Only recently, with large-scale excavation projects in the Moche, Chicama, Lambayeque, and Jequetepeque valleys, has it been possible to ascertain the forms and features of Moche temple architecture and compare them, feature for feature, to architectural representation in Moche art.¹⁰ These excavations have revealed that monumental architectural mounds, initially thought to be solid stepped platform constructions, were in fact elaborate architectural complexes, replete with colorful decorative programs, large plazas, and patios connected by a series of corridors and ramps. Also found within these complexes were small independent structures. Archaeology has revealed, then, an architectural complex that bears great

⁹ Foundational studies by Donnan (1978:79-83); Pardo (1936); Uceda (2001b); and Wurster (1982) concluded that Moche architectural vessels depicted sacred rather than secular architecture.

¹⁰ In 1990, archaeological work began at the El Brujo complex, with the aim of studying and reevaluating the important pyramid complex of Huaca Cao Viejo (Mujica et al. 2007:23). The following year, another monumental excavation project was launched at Huacas de Moche. The Huacas de Moche project endeavored to understand the sequential levels of building construction and to uncover, document, and preserve the polychrome murals that had been exposed by earlier looter tunnels. Large-scale projects in other valleys, for example at Sipán in Lambayeque and Dos Cabezas in Jequetepeque, have also provided valuable information about the form and construction patterns of Moche ritual architecture. So, while unfathomable in the 1970s and 1980s, the comparison of Moche architectural vessels and Moche monumental architectural is possible today.

resemblance to the architectural complex vessels just discussed. As I will demonstrate in this dissertation, many of the architectural types and features excavated from full-scale Moche complexes are depicted on Moche architectural vessels, suggesting that all examples from the corpus refer to Moche ceremonial architecture.

My analysis of Moche architectural vessels in conjunction with recently excavated Moche architecture suggests that the small independent structures depicted in ceramic emulate the form and allude to the function of small independent structures found at critical junctures within the Moche monumental complex. It appears, furthermore, that each of these small independent structures held a specific liturgical function whose activities formed part of the larger ceremonial event enacted as a means of demonstrating elite dominance and power as well as ensuring social reproduction and agricultural fertility (Tufinio 2008:451, 456). Therefore, in addition to representing the form of small independent structures within full-scale ceremonial architecture, Moche architectural vessels also invoked the power and potency associated with these structures.

This study represents the first full-length treatment of Moche architectural vessels. Here I present these objects as a corpus and identify the various architectural types within it. With the aim of interpreting the specific full-scale structures represented, I seek architectural correspondence in full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture. Importantly in this work, I move beyond our present understanding of these vessels as non-specific representations of ritual architecture by anchoring them in the context of Moche culture, religion, and burial.

Before this study, approximately forty Moche architectural vessels had been published in different sources.¹¹ Visits to the Moche Archive at UCLA doubled this number and provided information on the whereabouts of many of the vessels in the growing corpus. Research conducted in museum and private collections in the U.S., Peru, and Europe enabled me to grow the corpus to 169 vessels. From this, I created a detailed architectural typology, which allowed me to discern which architectural types were most frequently represented. Emerging as predominant was the closed gabled form, which, while dominating the Moche IV sample, has been largely ignored. While the present corpus is by no means complete, it provides a representative sample of architectural types and motifs from all Moche phases (I-II through V, including Proto Moche and Late Moche) and quadruples the previous sample size.

Methodology of Study

My methods of analysis for this study have been art historical, archaeological, acoustic, technical, and anthropological. First, I constructed an architectural corpus. From it, I developed a 10-type architectural typology. As a result, one architectural type in particular (the closed gabled structure with central entrance) was found to predominate.

Next, I compared architectural types and features from the corpus with extant ceremonial architecture excavated at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley, Huaca

¹¹ The greatest number of architectural vessel images found in any single source is Donnan's *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication* (1978).

Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley, and Dos Cabezas in the Jequetepeque Valley. Data on excavated architecture came from the architecture itself, archaeological reports, and publications. This step revealed that closed gabled structures with central entrances are unusual forms, even in Moche ceremonial architecture. One correspondent, however, was found at Huaca de la Luna (Recinto I, Plaza 3c), a structure that appears to have held special importance within that particular Moche ceremonial complex.

Third, working with musicians and ethnomusicologists at the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología, e Historia (MNAHP), I studied the acoustic properties of Moche architectural vessels containing whistling mechanisms. Before this study, it was not known that objects of this thematic type (architecture) had whistling mechanisms. Most interesting, however, was that whistles were found consistently within vessels of the same architectural type: the closed gabled structure with central entrance, further signaling its importance in the corpus.

Fourth, using x-rays, I studied the technical construction of Moche architectural vessels with whistling mechanisms. As it turns out, architectural whistling vessels were also produced by coeval groups on Peru's north coast (Vicús and Virú-Gallinazo). By comparing the ceramic construction techniques used by these groups with the techniques used by the Moche, I was to discern evidence for shared technology between the Moche and Vicús.

Lastly, I looked to Moche burial and anthropological literature on Andean funerary traditions to illuminate the aims of burial in Moche society. These data enabled me to distinguish recurring patterns and important concepts expressed

visually on Moche architectural vessels. This approach also allowed me to hypothesize about the role of Moche architectural vessels as funerary items, objects which served to transition the dead from this world to the next.

The construction of the corpus began at the Moche Archive at UCLA, where I was able to learn about the existence and whereabouts of nearly half the vessels in the present sample. Included in the corpus are vessels from the following collections: the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Dallas Museum of Art, Douglas Dawson Gallery, the Fowler Museum, UCLA, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), Museo Amano, Museo Banco Central de la Reserva Peru (MBCRP), Museo Cassinelli, Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología, e Historia Peru (MNAAHP), Museo de Arte Lima, Museo de la Nación, Museo de Sitio Cerro Sechín, Museo de Sitio Chan Chan, the collections of Dr. Juan Julio Rosales Olano and the late architect Eugenio Nicolini, Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin, Linden-Museum Stuttgart, and the British Museum. The five Moche architectural vessels and two vessel fragments discovered through archaeological excavation have come from El Castillo, Guadalupito, Huaca de la Luna, Huaca Cao Viejo, and San José de Moro. Additional images contributing to the corpus have come from books, articles, and individuals, including Ignacio Alva, Christopher Donnan, Jorge Gamboa, Billy Hare, Doris Kurella, Donald McClelland, and Janusz Woloszyn. X-rays taken of objects at the MNAAHP in Lima and the NMAI in Washington D.C. enabled me to study the technical construction of roughly

fifty Early Intermediate Period architectural vessels (including Moche, Vicús, Virú-Gallinazo, and Salinar).

Challenges of Study

As ninety-six percent of the corpus lacks archaeological provenience, determinations about object authenticity have been based on vessel morphology, style, construction technique, and associated imagery. I also sought the opinions of Moche scholars and north coast archaeologists including Christopher Donnan, Jorge Gamboa, Jean-François Millaire, and Thomas Zoubek. Vessels of questionable attribution do not factor into chapter discussions, nor are they counted in the corpus, but do appear in Appendix 1 noted as of uncertain attribution. Information on the five architectural vessels and two vessel fragments with secure archaeological contexts will factor importantly into my discussion and interpretations. These objects have been instrumental in shedding light on the who, what, when, where, and why of Moche architectural vessels.

Past Scholarship

Architectural representations from the pre-Hispanic Andes have been of interest to explorers and scholars for the past five centuries. The earliest examples of small-scale architectural representation to be documented come from the Inca

Empire, mentioned in sixteenth-century accounts.¹² Architectural representations are mentioned in the historical narratives of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1609), Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572), Juan Diez de Betanzos (1551-1557), Cristóbal de Mena (1534), Francisco Xérez (1534), and Miguel de Estete (1534). A clay model is mentioned in a sixteenth-century court case (Justicia 413) discovered, published, and discussed by María Rostworowski (1988; Morales 2003:437-438). In these accounts, Spanish chroniclers note these objects as functioning in various capacities: as three-dimensional maps, as tools of intimidation, and as legal documents.¹³

Interest in pre-Hispanic architectural representation was renewed during the first half of the twentieth century. Luis Pardo published a pan-Andean examination of architectural representations, presenting them as architectural scale models (1936). Pardo's sample was expanded by Wolfgang Wurster, whose study included architectural representations of various media spanning two millennia of ancient Andean civilization (1982).¹⁴ Wurster, who rejected Pardo's architectural model hypothesis observing that many pre-Hispanic architectural representations were not

¹² In their work on ancient Andean architectural representation, Luis Pardo (1936), Wolfgang Wurster (1974, 1981, 1982), and Enrique Guzmán (1998) have referenced discussion of Inca architectural models mentioned in Spanish colonial period texts.

¹³ In reviewing these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources, the form and function of the Inca models discussed are quite distinct from the Moche architectural representations I address in this dissertation. For example, the chroniclers discuss Inca architectural models as objects which provide great detail about the geographic layout of the Inca Empire, including communities and important structures within it. This immediately legible degree of detail sets them apart from Moche architectural vessels, which most often convey schematically rendered examples of small independent structures. Inca models in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources are described as used by living rulers, while the only evidence we have for Moche architectural vessels suggests they accompanied the deceased in burial. A third distinction is that, in contrast to Inca architectural models, Moche architectural vessels are both containers and instruments (traits that will be elaborated upon in later chapters). For these reasons, I have removed Inca models from the present discussion.

¹⁴ Wurster's study made clear that nearly every culture in the pre-Hispanic Andes produced small-scale representations of architecture and that the act of representing architecture was not a tradition limited to the potter. Pre-Hispanic architectural representations survive in various media, including metal, textile, wood, and unfired clay.

specific enough to have served the architect or the builder, instead proposed that these objects functioned symbolically in ancient Andean societies. This symbolic interpretation prevails today, having shaped more recent scholarship, including the present study.¹⁵

Architectural vessels of the Moche, specifically, were first studied as a thematic group by Elizabeth Benson (1972) and Christopher Donnan (1978:79-83). Donnan's publication provides the most thorough typology until the present study and served as a springboard for this investigation. Moche architectural vessels individually, or in small thematic groups, have also been the focus of more detailed analyses. Some of these studies have focused on modeled or sculpted architectural vessels (Benavides 1997b; Clados 2000; de Bock 2003) while others have centered on two-dimensional representations from the fineline corpus (Benavides 1997a; Benson 1975).¹⁶ These interpretations all arrive at similar conclusions, namely that architecture, when represented by the Moche, is associated with death, burial, and human sacrifice. Moche architectural vessels have been studied by Peruvian architects who bring to the discussion new questions not considered by art historians or archaeologists, for example what influence did ancient climatic and environmental factors have on the form and function of ancient Andean architecture as it is represented in clay (Guzmán 1987; Miro-Quesada 1976; Williams 1979)?¹⁷ These foundational studies on Andean and Moche architectural representation will be discussed in greater detail in the pages that follow.

¹⁵ Stvan also discusses ancient Andean representation (2000).

¹⁶ See also Berrin (1997).

¹⁷ See also Campana (1983b).

Early Studies on Ancient Andean Architectural Representation

The first study devoted to pre-Hispanic architectural representation in the modern era was undertaken by Luis Pardo, former director of the Museo Inka in Cuzco. His article “Maquetas arquitectónicas del antiguo Perú” (1936) examines a group of ceramic and carved stone architectural representations dating to the Inca period, which Pardo interpreted as construction models used in Inca city planning. Pardo observed that some of these models mimic the forms of extant Inca structures, such as the Coricancha and Sacsayhuamán in Cuzco (1936:7-8).¹⁸ Further, Pardo viewed the architectural representations as scale models that could be divided into the following categories: 1) temples 2) military buildings or fortresses 3) palaces or private residences 4) tombs and 5) funerary monuments, for example *chulpas*, above-ground burial structures (1936:7).

As noted earlier, Pardo’s interpretation of architectural representations as scale models has since been abandoned. The prevailing view is that ancient Andean architectural representations had symbolic functions. As a result of this paradigm shift, Pardo’s contribution to the discussion of Andean architectural representation is often overlooked by contemporary authors. His work, however, is significant for several reasons. Pardo was the first to inquire about correlations between a culture’s small-scale architectural representations and their full-scale architectural structures, thereby making him the first to seek architectural corollaries in the archaeological record. Pardo was one of few scholars to show interest in the archaeological context of architectural representations. He also raised questions about the authenticity of

¹⁸ Incidentally, many of these objects are small enough to fit into the palm of one’s hand.

these objects — a topic that remains under-addressed in Andean art historical studies today.¹⁹

Research focused specifically on Moche architectural vessels has appeared in the academic literature only in the past three decades. In *The Mochica, A Culture of Peru*, Benson discusses architectural representations in a chapter entitled “Architects and Artisans” (1972). An important observation is that Moche artisans depicted architectural structures both two- and three-dimensionally (Benson 1972:98-102). Two dimensional representations (generally shown in profile, as in Figure 5.1) are depicted in fineline on Moche ceramic vessels. Three-dimensional, or sculpted, representations occur on Moche stirrup spout vessels and open-mouthed jars, or *cántaros*.²⁰

The most detailed typology of Moche architectural representation prior to my investigation appears in Donnan’s landmark volume *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication* (1978). In a chapter on Moche art and the archaeological record, Donnan offers the first typology for modeled or sculpted Moche architectural vessels. He observes that, despite the dozens of vessels known, there are a limited number of architectural types represented. Donnan finds evidence for two primary structural types: open and closed structures.²¹ Open structures have either a simple sloped or shed roof, or an overlapping gabled roof. On the roof’s crest,

¹⁹ Pardo is also the first to use sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources to inform the function of these objects in pre-Hispanic Andean society (1936:6).

²⁰ Benson interprets architecture represented in fineline as conveying more ephemeral structures (1972:102), while sculpted vessels in her view denote religious structures or houses of important individuals (1972:98). From my study, it appears that open and closed gabled structures represented in the sculpted corpus, as well as open gabled structures depicted in fineline, denote religious structures key to ceremonial activity taking place within the Moche religious complex.

²¹ Building on Donnan’s typology, I have subdivided open structures into five types and closed structures into three types. I have also added an architectural complex type, as well as a miscellaneous type for a total of ten architectural types. For these, see Appendices 2 and 3.

war club-shaped architectural embellishments are often depicted (Donnan 1978:79-81). Closed structures exhibit three possible roof types: 1) a gabled roof without designs on the crest, 2) a gabled roof with designs on the crest (either crenulated; with step-shaped roof combs; or with step-shaped roof combs and an upside down crescent, or *tumi*), or 3) a composite form consisting of a gabled roof attached to a sloping roof.²² Rather than depicting entire buildings, Donnan notes that Moche architectural vessels most often convey independent one-room structures, despite the fact that one-room structures are unusual in the archaeological record (Donnan 1978:82). He proposes this might suggest a very specific kind of Moche building — a one- or two-room structure found at the top of a stepped platform mound associated with ritual activity. Despite the dearth of excavated Moche architecture at this time, Donnan's early observations about Moche architectural vessels appear to be correct and have shaped later interpretations, including my own. Donnan's typology and observations will be expanded upon in the present work.

Symbolic Interpretations for Moche Architectural Vessels

Donnan's publication (1978) is groundbreaking in its analysis of and observations about architectural types depicted in Moche art. More common in the literature is an interest in what these objects might have symbolized for the Moche and how architectural vessels might have functioned in a social or mortuary context. Distinct from Pardo's interpretation of Inca models, Moche architectural vessels have

²² Donnan notes that gabled roofs would not have served a practical function on the coast, a place with little to no rain. He proposes that this form may have been brought from a place where rain was more frequent (1978:82).

not been considered as scale models used by architects but instead have been viewed as objects which abstractly represent or reference full-scale ritual architecture.

Benson mentions Moche architectural representations in several of her publications. She suggests that roof embellishments, such as step-shaped roof combs and ceramic war clubs (Figures 1.1. and 1.2), appearing on Moche architectural vessels, are artistic symbols denoting a structure of power and prestige (1972:102).²³ Further, Benson observes that two-dimensional depictions of architectural structures appear frequently in Moche fineline scenes related to sacrifice and funerary activity (1975:132). In a later publication, Benson notes that sculpted representations of Moche architecture (the gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs) may reference tombs or houses of the dead (Berrin 1997:94). Donnan views these slightly differently, observing that the figures most often depicted in the presence of architectural structures are prisoners who are “being killed, have been dismembered, or are being led (in procession) toward the structure” (1978:83 and figs. 59 and 137).

One of the most frequently cited contributions to our current understanding of ancient Andean architectural representation is Wolfgang Wurster’s “Modelos arquitectónicos peruanos: Ensayo de interpretación” (1982).²⁴ Wurster studies the structural form and symbolic function of Andean architectural representation spanning two thousand years, from Cupisnique to Inca.²⁵ Wurster rejects the notion that small-scale Andean architectural representations (including those made by the

²³ This is a topic explored by Antonio Benavides in his study of three vessels at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart (1997b). Following Benson, Benavides believes structures whose roofs are embellished with war clubs represent sacred ceremonial space.

²⁴ Other sources are Wurster (1974, 1981).

²⁵ Wurster also looked to the texts of Spanish chroniclers, for example Cristóbal de Mena, Francisco de Xérez, and Miguel de Estete, and consulted sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers such as Bernabé Cobo, Martín de Murúa, and Guaman Poma de Ayala (1982:256-257).

Moche) could have been architectural models because they lacked proper scale, were often abstract in design, and used materials unrelated to those employed in actual construction (1982:255).²⁶

Wurster believed that architectural embellishments (such as sculpted war clubs on roofs) did not reflect factual details about full-scale Moche constructions but instead functioned as signifiers communicating information about the status or function of the structure they decorated (e.g., Figure 1.2).²⁷ In Wurster's view, these decorative elements conveyed a certain hierarchy that transformed a simple house into a temple (1982:258-259, 264). Following Donnan, Wurster noted that rarely are entire buildings represented in ancient Andean depictions of architecture.²⁸ Instead, single structures and spatial elements were conveyed (Wurster 1982:253).²⁹ Wurster suggested that imagery appearing on vessel chambers may have functioned like pictographs, reduced to their most basic components in order to communicate information (1982:262). In many Moche architectural representations, the architectural elements are so reduced they can only be understood by referring to other examples in the corpus where more detail is provided.³⁰

Wurster is the first to underscore that many of the ancient Andean architectural representations were functional vessels. He notes, furthermore, that these

²⁶ Guzmán also rejects the scale-model hypothesis, arguing that ceramic architectural vessels have a religious, or ritual, function and convey elite architecture (1998:89).

²⁷ At the time of Wurster's publication (1982), there was much less known about Moche full-scale architecture. Excavations undertaken in the past two decades have unearthed many ceramic war clubs, which appear to have adorned ancient roofs covering religious or elite structures. See Gutiérrez for discussion of war clubs found archaeologically (1999).

²⁸ See also Donnan (1978:82).

²⁹ This observation, especially relevant for Moche architectural examples, has been discussed in the work of Santiago Uceda (2001b) and has been corroborated through excavations at Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo.

³⁰ As an example, Wurster cites a white diagonal line drawn on the vertical face of a Moche vessel (1982:fig. 21). For examples of this see Appendix 1, Moche III. It is only through other Moche examples, Wurster points out, that we understand this line indicates an access ramp (1982:262-263).

objects were likely funerary items, a fact he considers important to their interpretation (1982:253). Wurster stresses that ancient Andean architectural representations, while not created as scale models, still offer invaluable information for the re-construction of ancient Andean architectural remains. Additionally, many of the architectural vessels and representations depict figures interacting within circumscribed space, which provides additional information on how ancient Andean architectural space was used and by whom it was used. Finally, in speculating about the ancient function of these architectural representations, Wurster is the first to propose these objects may have served as emblematic houses for the hereafter, much as they had for the funerary traditions of other ancient cultures (1982:254).³¹

The function and symbolism of ancient Andean architectural representations is the subject of a Master's thesis by Jeffrey A. Stvan "Re-representing the Social. An Inquiry into Small-scale Architectural Representations and their Function in the Pre-Columbian Andes" (2000). In his survey of architectural representation, covering cultures from Cupisnique to Inca, Stvan proposes that Moche architectural representations (especially the stirrup spout vessels) functioned as status symbols or emblems of office which were used by their owners in life and, as burial offerings, served to legitimize their power and social position in the afterlife (Stvan 2000:31, 38). This is an important point which is corroborated by Moche architectural vessels with secure contexts and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Referring to the larger, less portable architectural representations, Stvan suggests they are loci for ritual activity. As an example, he cites the Inca Upper Stone

³¹ See discussion in Chapter 6.

at the site of Saihuite, which he suggests may have originally held perishable small-scale structures on its surface (Stvan 2000:27-28). Some of these open architectural spaces could have functioned much like the *curandero's mesa*, where sacred objects were “activated” through their movement around the circumscribed space by a shaman, or healer (Stvan 2000:32). Another of Stvan’s contributions is the incorporation into the discussion of physically larger architectural representations, for example, an adobe model excavated at Túcume (Stvan 2000:18) occupying an entire room.³²

Andean Architectural Representation Interpreted by Architects

Studies undertaken by Peruvian architects are frequently overlooked by archaeologists and art historians. Architects are interested in what ancient architectural representation reveals about the more pragmatic aspects of ancient full-scale architectural construction, namely the social, organizational, and climatic concerns of these ancient coastal people. The first concerted effort to study and present to a wider public pre-Hispanic ceramic architectural representation was spearheaded by Luis Miro-Quesada, then professor of architecture at the Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería in Lima, Peru. The resulting exhibition, “Arquitectura en la cerámica Precolombina,” took place in Lima in 1976 at the Galería Banco Continental (Miro-Quesada 1976). The nine-page catalog is the last remaining vestige of this exhibition and, while short in length, nonetheless contributes to the existing body of literature as it documents what may have been the first public exhibition of

³² For discussion and images of the adobe maquette at Túcume, see Heyerdahl, et al. (1995:150-153).

ancient Andean architecture vessels.³³ This exhibition, organized by Miro-Quesada and his architecture students, re-ignited the discussion of pre-Hispanic architectural representation initiated by Luis Pardo in 1936, shifting the focus to the more technical and pragmatic aspects of ancient architectural construction employed by north coast architects.³⁴

Carlos Williams, an architect who has contributed significantly to our understanding of ancient Andean architectural patterns and traditions, also addressed Moche ceramic architectural vessels in his work (1979). In Williams' view, pre-Hispanic architectural representation reflected a three-tiered society, each with its own distinct structural type: one for *campesinos* (or farmers), one for dominant elite, and a third for the *gran señores*, or lords (1979:492).³⁵ Architecture of the elite, including that of the *gran señores*, is frequently depicted in architectural vessels, whose roofs are crenulated and ornamented with step-shaped roof combs, war clubs, and small projections or nubs. Williams interprets these decorative elements as symbols of social status, class, and prestige. While of the opinion that some examples represented only abstract architectural concepts, he agrees with Pardo that most architectural vessels represented specific structures or complexes (1979:494).

³³ Architectural vessels in the exhibition catalog include examples from private collections, only a handful of which I was able to locate for purposes of this study. Black and white photographs for the catalog were taken by Billy Hare, today one of Lima's most renowned contemporary photographers. Negatives of vessels photographed for the exhibition but not included in the short catalog remain in his personal archives which he graciously made available.

³⁴ In this publication, Miro-Quesada divided Moche architectural representations into two types, (a) buildings with gabled roofs and step-shaped roof combs and (b) structures with overlapping gabled roofs. While he refers to these representations as *casas*, or houses, he suggested they more likely represent sanctuaries or shrines (1976:8).

³⁵ According to Williams, the lowest hierarchical level of housing (*campesinos*) would have had a single sloping roof covering a small room attached to a *ramada*, a three sided, open aired structure. This type, he noted, appears infrequently in ceramic representation.

Cristóbal Campana, a historian by training, has long been interested in issues of architectural construction in north coastal pre-Hispanic societies. In *La vivienda Mochica*, he explores the correlation between Moche architectural representation and the construction techniques of contemporary north coastal *campesinos* (1983b). Features found on Moche architectural vessels (e.g., split roofs and high windows) reflect logical human responses to one's environment and the basic need for ventilation and natural light (Campana 1983b:40-41).³⁶ Campana is one of the first to discuss the artistic conventions used on sculpted Moche architectural vessels. Horizontal bands of red indicate vertical space, while horizontal bands of white indicate horizontal space (e.g. Figure 1.5).³⁷ Scale in these objects he views as more symbolic than literal. For example, larger figures in a composition hold more symbolic importance than do their smaller counterparts (Campana 1983b:12).

Enrique Guzmán, an architect and professor of architecture in Lima, Peru, interprets Moche architectural representations as forms reflecting a logical human response to the need for protection from strong sun and humid breezes (1987:324). While other authors have claimed that the gabled roof is a form transplanted from elsewhere (Donnan 1978:82), Guzmán views it as a logical response to the north coastal need for ample shade and ventilation. Nonetheless, Guzmán views the gabled roof in Moche architecture (Figure 1.1) as a form that evolved from earlier architectural representation, namely the circular structures with conical roofs depicted

³⁶ An excellent source on technical construction of architecture on Peru's north coast is Campana (2000).

³⁷ This does not appear to be a hard and fast rule. In some examples, the color white conveys vertical and the color red horizontal space. It is true, however, that in any one example, what is white and horizontal will remain that consistently throughout the vessel.

in Cupisnique architectural vessels.³⁸ The notion of borrowing architectural forms from other groups is an important point that will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Guzmán cites humidity as a considerable concern, as it exacerbates both warm and cool temperatures. High windows, split level walls, and split roofs (found more often on Virú-Gallinazo or Proto Moche architectural representations, e.g., Figure 1.3), allow for cross breezes that eliminate interior humidity (Guzmán 1987:326). Solid back walls adjoining lateral walls with high windows or cut-outs near the front of the structure would protect against humid afternoon breezes entering from the southeast. The ideal north coastal pre-Hispanic architectural form, then, would be a building whose back faces southeast and whose entrance faces north or northwest (Guzmán 1987). While it is more difficult to speculate about the orientation of Moche architectural representations, many Moche monumental structures, for example Huaca de la Luna, Dos Cabezas, and Huaca Cao Viejo, face north.

Studies of Single Moche Architectural Vessels or Thematic Groups

Moche architectural vessels, either individual examples or small thematic groups, have also been the subject of more detailed analysis. Christiane Clados discusses a single Moche phase I-II architectural vessel housed at the Linden-Museum Stuttgart (2000). This vessel depicts a schematically-rendered architectural floor plan in low relief, surrounded on three sides by white capped mountain peaks

³⁸ The house forms transitioned from circular to square, which required a pyramidal roof. This was later substituted for the gabled roof (Guzmán 1987:330), the form most commonly found in Moche architectural representations.

(Figure 1.4). Comparing this architectural vessel to extant architectural remains at Huaca de la Luna and Pañamarca, Clados proposes the represented space is a ceremonial center tied to the preparation and sacrifice of captive warriors. Clados' study also provides interesting observations on Moche artistic conventions, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Clados notes that strict principles of perspective are not an important part of the Moche artistic canon. Likewise, several views of an object may be presented simultaneously in an effort to more effectively convey a large quantity of information (Clados 2000:75).

Another Moche architectural vessel which has received a good deal of attention in the literature is a Moche I-II architectural complex vessel, housed at the MNAHP in Lima (Figure 1.5). This vessel is of interest for both its abstraction and its detail, depicting a multi-tiered architectural complex with a main entrance, ramps, corridors, plazas, patios, and a number of small rooms at the top of the vessel. It is also the first Moche architectural vessel to attract the attention of Andean scholars. One of the earliest textual references for this vessel appears in Pardo's article, where he interprets the architectural vessel as a Moche sanctuary (1936:15).³⁹ This vessel was first formally described and deconstructed in an article by Général Louis Langlois (1936) and first structurally "deciphered" in an image published in the *Revista del Museo Nacional* (1936:192). This image was later reprinted in George Kubler's *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: The Mexican, Maya, and Andean Peoples* (1962:253, fig. 90).⁴⁰ Interest in the vessel's architectural

³⁹ Ricardo Morales also believes this architectural vessel represents a temple, noting it bears some resemblance to architecture excavated at Huaca de la Luna (2003:438).

⁴⁰ See Figure 1.6.

decipherment has led to the creation of several interpretive drawings and maquettes (Figures 1.7, 1.8, and 1.9), two of which remain unpublished.⁴¹

An architectural type found in the Moche architectural corpus, the step and wave motif (present in the Moche III and IV architectural samples), is examined and tied to human sacrifice and water procurement in an article by Edward de Bock entitled “*Templo de la escalera y ola y la hora de sacrificio humano*” (2003). He observes that these two iconographic motifs (the step and crested wave), commonly found together on pre-Hispanic Andean architectural vessels, formed part of an architectural design denoting “sanctified structures” (*edificios sanctificados*). Representations of these elements on ceramic vessels from the Vicús, Moche, and Chimú corpus provide evidence of a shared religious tradition that endured for perhaps two millennia. These structures, comprised of a bottom portion with step designs and a top portion with wave or abstract wave motif, de Bock refers to as Temples of the Step and Wave (*templo de la escalera y ola*). For de Bock, these ceremonial buildings are intimately related to themes of human sacrifice, an event carried out in an effort to procure rain.⁴²

⁴¹ These include a slightly different interpretation (Figure 1.9) published by Carlos Williams (1980:496, fig. 3.14), a three-dimensional maquette created by the MNAAHP in Lima to be exhibited alongside the Moche I-II vessel in the museum galleries (Figure 1.7), and an isometric drawing by Peruvian architect Javier Soto Nadal in the 1960s (Figure 1.8), housed at the Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, Lima, graciously provided by Arq. Rosario Pacheco.

⁴² This event is most closely tied to the winter solstice (December), a time when the rivers fill up. He sees the aim of sacrifice as way of provoking the turbid waters (de Bock 2003:315-316).

Terms Defined

In this study, Moche architectural vessels are discussed as representations and symbols of Moche monumental architecture. “Symbol,” which suggests multivalent significance and “inherent value separable from that which is symbolized,”⁴³ most specifically describes the role and function of these objects. While their form references full-scale ritual architecture, I believe their meaning is more closely tied to the aims of ritual activity enacted in the presence of the architecture they emulate. For example, it has been suggested that Moche rites enacted within monumental precincts served to ensure social and agricultural fertility as well as political and social order (Uceda 2000b:99). As a symbol for full-scale ritual architecture, the architectural representations on ceramic vessels would have also had intimate associations with such concerns. “Representation,” defined as the act of rendering in visible form,⁴⁴ is a broad term that will be used to discuss these objects. The term “model”⁴⁵ is not appropriate for these objects as they are not intended to be faithful scale copies of the structures they represent. “Maquette” will be used in our discussion but only to describe the three-dimensional small-scale depictions of architecture not forming part of ceramic vessels.⁴⁶

⁴³ **symbol** *n.* Something that stands for, represents, or denotes something else (not by exact resemblance, but by vague suggestion, or by some accidental or conventional relation); *esp.* a material object representing or taken to represent something immaterial or abstract, as a being, idea, quality, or condition; a representative or typical figure, sign, or token. Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989).

⁴⁴ **representation** *n.* An image, likeness, or reproduction in some manner *of* a thing. Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989).

⁴⁵ **model** *n.* A three-dimensional representation, *esp.* on a small scale, of a person or thing or of a projected or existing structure; *esp.* one showing the component parts in accurate proportion and relative disposition. Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989).

⁴⁶ **maquette** *n.* small preliminary sketch, or wax or clay model, from which a work (usually in sculpture) is elaborated. Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd ed. (1989).

Chapter Breakdown

This dissertation is presented in seven chapters. Chapters 1-6 construct a foundation for the case that Moche architectural vessels are more than mimetic representations of architecture. Instead, I contend they are objects intimately tied to Moche ideology and religious ritual and serve to illuminate the place of ceremonial architecture in Moche society. These chapters address the physical form of Moche architectural vessels, with whom these objects were buried, where geographically and when chronologically they appear in the archaeological record, the types of architectural structures they represented, and how these structures functioned ideologically in Moche society. I also present the Moche architectural vessel as an important talisman⁴⁷ in the tomb aiding the deceased as they made their transition from this world to the next.

One important part of this research lies in the paradigm shift inherent in the analysis of the corpus, which interprets the Larco five-phase sequence as stylistic rather than chronological. This study also serves to elevate the importance of Moche architectural complex vessels to a Moche architectural “key.” This, in turn, offers profound possibilities for unlocking previously unavailable information about Moche ritual architecture. As the argument unfolds for the new status of Moche architectural vessels, evidence and analysis is presented which initiates a new chapter in the study of these important artifacts.

⁴⁷ **talisman** *n.* an object held to act as a charm to avert evil and bring good fortune or something producing apparently magical or miraculous effects. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary (2010).

In this chapter, I have contextualized my own research by providing background on Moche architectural vessels and chronicling past scholarship on this topic by archaeologists, art historians, and architects. My work builds upon this valuable early scholarship and, using data from recent Moche architectural excavation, goes beyond our current knowledge of these objects. With the objectives of this study in mind, I have discussed the methods of analysis used, the size and composition of the corpus (169 vessels), and have outlined some of the challenges presented by this study.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the paradigm shift, presenting a modified method of organizing and analyzing my material. In the classification and interpretation of Moche architectural vessels, I use the Larco five-phase sequence (known as the Larco sequence) as stylistic rather than chronological. This decision is based on recent research which suggests distinct Moche spout types (or phases) may reflect stylistic units or local identities rather than the chronological evolution of a single group, resulting in the possibility that some phases are contemporary and that differences in spout type (or phase) may be attributable to geography, rather than chronology. To further support that Moche spout types or phases reflect different group styles or identities, I present calibrated radiocarbon dates from different Moche sites to show that many Moche phases are not chronologically sequential and that many phases existed in different geographical areas at different periods of time.

Chapter 2 also looks at ceramic technology used in the construction of Moche vessels, which reveals stylistic differences often reflect the types of ceramic technologies employed. Meanwhile, my research on architectural whistling vessels

provides further evidence that cultural distinctions were made through technology as well as sound. My investigation on architectural whistling vessels also suggests that, more than mimetic representations, these objects were conceived of as animate beings, suggesting the structures they emulated were also viewed as potent entities.

In Chapter 3, I present the Moche architectural typology and analyze the corpus using two distinct methods. The first is by spout type, or phase, while the second is by architectural type. These analyses corroborate what was proposed in Chapter 2: that each phase exhibits distinct stylistic traits which differentiate it from other phases, suggesting phase reflects distinct groups expressing their identity through ceramics. Additionally, it appears that Moche groups differentiated themselves through architectural types where each center may have had ritual structures that took on a uniquely local form. The Moche phase-by-phase analysis indicates which architectural types are characteristic or diagnostic of each phase and which architectural types provide us with the most detailed and valuable information about Moche ceremonial architecture.

In Chapter 4, I review archaeological contexts for architectural vessels and architectural representations, including maquettes. Besides providing evidence about with whom, where geographically, and when chronologically architectural representations occur, these secure contexts reveal that Moche architectural vessels accompanied individuals buried in close proximity to ceremonial architecture, suggesting these individuals had a connection to Moche religion. The five Moche architectural vessels with secure contexts will factor importantly into our discussion. Discussion will be augmented and hypotheses corroborated by excavated examples of

architectural vessels and maquettes from other north coastal groups. All examples serve to support the notion that local styles can be discerned from artistic styles as well as architectural forms. I also note important formal and contextual distinctions between Moche architectural vessels and architectural maquettes, proposing that architectural vessels served more symbolic functions while maquettes served more substitutional ones.

In Chapter 5, I use archaeological and art historical evidence to support my thesis that Moche architectural vessels represent small independent structures in full-scale architecture situated within the Moche ceremonial complex or precinct. In full-scale architecture, these structures (similar to the Stations of the Cross in Catholicism) appear to have been venues for specific activities forming part of a larger ritual procession, where each structure anchored a different event. My comparison of Moche architectural vessels to full-scale Moche ritual architecture additionally reveals that specific structures were represented in clay. The type with the greatest representation in the corpus — the closed gabled structure — references a ritual structure tied to acts of human sacrifice.

Finally, Chapter 6 asks why Moche architectural vessels were important and potent symbols for burial. To contextualize this, I first discuss the likely aims of Moche burial, looking to Robert Hertz's theoretical model. I next discuss the important role of Moche ceremonial architecture in Moche society (as symbols of political, social, and agricultural potency), noting that Moche architectural vessels, as miniature versions of these larger structures, would also have conveyed these powerful associations.

In an effort to understand why architectural representations were placed in Moche tombs, I look to cross-cultural examples including those from Han Dynasty China, Middle Kingdom Egypt, and Ancient West Mexico, which reveal a few universals: the architectural forms used in burial by all groups are consistently structures connected to that culture's core ideological or religious beliefs and are additionally structures which facilitate communication between the living, dead, and the ancestors. I test the validity of these hypotheses on two Moche architectural vessels from the corpus. If valid, Moche architectural vessels should embody forms and imagery that exhibit complementarity, replicate architectural types associated with regenerative power, facilitate a journey to the hereafter, and permit communication with the ancestors. Before I present my conclusions, however, evidence that will significantly alter the way we view and interpret Moche architectural vessels must be presented.

Chapter 2: A New Methodology and the Importance of Ceramic Style and Technology

Before we can discuss a comprehensive and systematic analysis of Moche architectural vessels, we must first successfully identify a valid framework for their study and interpretation. For the past five decades, the trusted framework was the Larco sequence. This sequence assigns a chronological phase to Moche fine-ware vessels according to spout type (Larco 1948). Developed by Rafael Larco, the Larco sequence was based on what Larco perceived to be evolutionary changes in Moche vessel spout types. In total, five phases were distinguished. Moche I vessels (with short lipped spouts) represented early Moche ceramic production while Moche V vessels (with tall, thin, tapering spouts) indicated chronologically later Moche ceramic output. Archaeologists used the Larco sequence to date Moche sites, as well as Moche vessels lacking archaeological contexts. For decades, the archaeological record appeared to support Larco's proposed sequence.

Recent archaeological discoveries, however, reveal that the Larco five-phase sequence can no longer be relied upon to assign dates to Moche sites and ceramics. The rethinking of the Larco sequence (which parallels the dissolution of the long-accepted model of a single Moche state) raises questions about how to best tackle new topics in Moche studies when much of the foundation is presently being disassembled. If Moche ceramic vessels no longer reflect the five-phase cultural development of a single unified culture or state, how else can these objects be understood?

Numerous lines of evidence support a paradigm shift, from chronological to stylistic, in the Larco five-phase sequence. In other words, rather than Moche phases I-V providing evidence for the chronological evolution of a single group, I present evidence to support the five Moche phases as instead reflecting stylistic units pertaining to distinct groups.⁴⁸ Later in this chapter, I will provide data from the Moche architectural vessel corpus that suggest that individual groups (sharing a similar ideology) expressed their unique identity through distinct ceramic styles.

To begin this discussion, I propose that Moche phases I-V reflect stylistic units rather than chronological ones. As such, the reconsidered Larco sequence provides a useful framework for the study of Moche ceramic vessels (Figure 2.1). I will demonstrate that within each stylistic group (or Moche phase) great homogeneity exists and that, additionally, evidence supports the existence of substyles within the different Moche phases. If we view each Moche phase as a distinct stylistic unit reflecting site or regional identity (as opposed to the development of a single unified culture), we allow for the possibility that dozens of Moche ceramic traditions co-existed on the north coast during the Early Intermediate Period.

Chronology of the Dismantling of the Larco Sequence

Before presenting evidence to support that Moche phases I-V reflect stylistic rather than chronological units, it is first necessary to review the events that led to the dismantling of the Larco sequence. Discoveries in the past two decades have revealed

⁴⁸ I am grateful to Christopher Donnan for his suggestion to pursue the analysis of the corpus using Larco's sequence as stylistic, rather than chronological.

that Moche fine-ware ceramics reflect the output of at least two distinct cultural spheres united by the same ideology, one located north of the Pampa de Paiján and the other to the south (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:176-178). Both cultural spheres contained several important sites or seats of power (Map). Additionally, each area appears to have differentiated itself through its distinctive ceramic style.

Until recently, Moche ceramics had long been viewed as the product of a unified society with a single center of cultural development located at Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley. It was believed that Moche culture and ideology were diffused northward and southward through expansive military campaigns.⁴⁹ Moche artistic development was interpreted as a five-phase evolutionary sequence where each chronological phase was reflected through a distinctive spout type (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:143-144; Castillo and Uceda 2008:710; Larco 1948).⁵⁰ Later archaeological studies, such as Donnan's or John Rowe's, corroborated the validity of Larco's sequence (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:151) and the Larco chronology became the "industry standard" for archaeologists working at Moche sites up and down Peru's north coast. It was assumed that all Moche sites would reflect the same chronological development, with Moche I vessels appearing at the bottom of the cultural sequence and Moche V at the top.

⁴⁹ Summaries are provided in Castillo and Donnan (1994a:145); and Quilter (2002).

⁵⁰ The Moche chronological sequence was based largely on stirrup spout vessels from the Chicama and Santa valleys (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:147-148). For Larco, the sequence reflected a single stylistic evolution for the Moche, homogenous in all valleys with Moche presence, from Nepeña in the south to Chicama in the north. Larco's sequence did not take into account domestic ware or vessel forms apart from stirrup spouts. Since then, excavation in other valleys revealed Larco's seriation was not representative of all Moche material as it did not factor in Moche artifacts from valleys north of the Pampa de Paiján. An excellent summary of this history and issues with the Moche ceramic sequence are found in Castillo and Donnan (1994a).

This long-accepted Moche chronological framework is currently being dismantled, and the once orderly evolution is now viewed as significantly more complex (Pillsbury 2001:12-13; Quilter 2002:153-155). Archaeological research underway since the 1980s has revealed that Moche fine-ware ceramics reflect the output of two distinct cultural spheres (further divided into smaller groups) united by the same ideology. The northern sphere covered the geographical area between Piura and the Jequetepeque Valley while the southern region extended from the Chicama Valley to the Nepeña (and perhaps Huarney) Valley. Each region maintained several important centers constructed at different moments during the Early Intermediate Period, and each site experienced distinct lengths of occupation. Some ideological tenets were likely shared throughout the greater Moche territory, but each group appears to have differentiated itself stylistically through their ceramic fine-ware.⁵¹

A handful of discoveries have forced archaeologists to rethink the utility of the Larco sequence and with it, the once-accepted association between spout type (or phase) and chronology. Data supporting two major Moche cultural spheres rather than one include the discovery that each sphere produced distinctive ceramic ware which could not be correlated with the other. Also, each Moche sphere contains several, as opposed to just one, powerful Moche centers. Additionally contributing to the notion of two separate cultural spheres is the fact that Moche phases are not always chronologically sequential. These points will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections.

⁵¹ For discussion of different regional styles and examples see Donnan (in press c; 2007) and Chapdelaine (2008).

Differences in Southern and Northern Moche Ceramics

An important discovery challenging the utility of the Larco sequence was the stylistic and cultural break evident between Moche sites from south and north of the natural desert barrier, the Pampa de Paiján (Castillo and Donnan 1994:158).

Archaeological finds from the valleys north of the Pampa de Paiján did not fit into Larco's five-phase sequence as northern spouts differed from southern ones.

Additionally, Moche IV vessels, associated with the Moche's greatest ideological and territorial expansion in the south, are rarely found at northern valley sites. Other forms found with frequency in the southern valleys but absent in the northern valleys include portrait vessels, flaring bowls, and "corn poppers," or *cancheros* (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:159). These differences in ceramic assemblages, in addition to burial patterns, indicate that northern Moche sites were distinct from southern Moche sites.⁵²

In order to assess and categorize material from these northern valleys, a new three-phase chronological framework has been developed, consisting of Early, Middle, and Late Moche (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:161), based largely on finds from the Jequetepeque Valley.⁵³ The five-phase sequence developed by Larco is still largely used to seriate Moche ceramics from south of the Pampa de Paiján, or the

⁵² For support of northern and southern Moche centers, see Bawden (1994, 2001); Castillo and Donnan (1994a); Donnan (1996); Kaulicke (1992, 1994); and Shimada 1994b. Cases that highlight the distinct nature of ceramic assemblages from northern valleys come from the sites of Pacatnamú (Ubbelohde-Doering 1983), Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2007), and San José de Moro (Castillo and Donnan 1994a). Burial patterns in the south consist of pit graves or niched chamber tombs (Donnan and Mackey 1978; Tello et al. 2003). In the north, boot-shaped tombs are found in addition to pit graves and chamber tombs (Castillo and Donnan 1994b:118-129).

⁵³ This sequence may exclude Pampa Grande whose only comparable material is found at the southern valley site of Galindo (Shimada 2001:179).

southern Moche sphere (Pillsbury 2001:12). Nonetheless, caution should be exercised when using the Larco sequence on Moche ceramics from southern sites.

Not One, but Several Moche Centers

Another factor affecting the reliability of the Larco sequence was the discovery of wealthy Moche tombs far from the proposed Moche power center (Huacas de Moche). With this discovery, it became apparent that riches and authority were widely distributed, rather than centralized at a single site. Each center appeared, additionally, to express their authority and identity through distinctive styles.

For the past five decades, evidence challenging Moche as a unified culture emanating from a single powerful center has trickled in. The first complication was the discovery in the 1960s of a new culture, the Vicús, unearthed in Piura (Matos 1965). Shards identified as stylistically Moche were mixed with shards from the newly-discovered Vicús culture. Later excavations made clear that Moche and Vicús had not only co-existed but had been involved in a long period of cultural exchange in the north. The resulting Moche ceramics did not fit neatly into Larco's five-phase sequence but instead reflected a three-phase sequence that varied in artistic quality and morphology from vessels in the southern Moche valleys (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:159-161; Castillo and Uceda 2008).

Important as the discovery of the Vicús style was, it did not create a big ripple in Moche studies until additional archaeological evidence challenging the Larco sequence had been gathered. Since then, data from sites north of the Pampa de Paiján have supported the hypothesis that several different Moche centers, each based in

distinct geographical areas, were operating simultaneously.⁵⁴ These centers evolved in distinct ways, shaped by factors of geography, climate, and climatic catastrophe, as well as through cultural contact and exchange with neighboring groups.

Further challenging the idea of a centralized Moche state with a single capital was the discovery of wealthy tombs at sites far from the proposed Moche center. Rich burials unearthed at the site of Sipán (Alva and Donnan 1993), Loma Negra (Makowski 1994), La Mina (Donnan 1990b; Narváez 1994), and Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2001a, 2003, 2007) reveal that wealth was also concentrated in areas outside of the Moche and Chicama valleys.⁵⁵ For these reasons, the Larco sequence can no longer be used to chart the evolutionary sequence for a single group, and thus it becomes necessary to create a new framework for the analysis of Moche ceramic vessels.

Chronological Considerations

The third find prompting a revision of the Larco sequence was the discovery (at Dos Cabezas in the northern Jequetepeque Valley) of vessels with Moche I spouts in stratigraphic levels with material reflecting relatively late radiocarbon dates (Donnan 2007:199), more closely aligned with Moche IV found in other valleys. This discovery, in particular, made it clear that Moche spout types could no longer be considered reliable indicators for relative dating (Donnan 2007). Additionally,

⁵⁴ Evidence for these centers are found in Alva (1999); Alva and Donnan (1993); Castillo and Donnan (1994a); Castillo and Uceda (2008); Donnan (1990b, 2001, 2003); and Narváez (1994).

⁵⁵ Moche sites in the Moche and Chicama Valleys have been subjected to looting since their abandonment in the later part of the first millennium. Nonetheless, it is believed much wealth was concentrated in these areas, a suspicion confirmed by the discovery of the rich tomb of the Señora de Cao at Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley (Mujica et al. 2007).

radiocarbon dates from different Moche sites reveal that Moche phases are not chronology sequential. Conversely the same Moche phase has been found in different geographical locations at different points in time.

Additional evidence to support Moche phases (spout types) as stylistic rather than chronological units is demonstrated by the fact that certain phases experienced very long periods of use at certain sites while, at that same site, other phases were non-existent or experienced shorter periods of use. Radiocarbon dates corroborate the proposal that Moche phase types reflect distinct stylistic units tied to local or regional styles. In an effort to make this more apparent, available radiocarbon dates have been compiled and calibrated and are presented in Chart 1a-c.⁵⁶ Chart 1a reveals that Moche phases could experience long periods of use at a single site or valley (i.e., Moche III and IV in the Santa Valley). Chart 1a also indicates that Moche III in the Santa Valley appears earlier in the archaeological record than Early Moche in the Jequetepeque Valley. In turn, Early Moche in the Jequetepeque Valley is largely coeval with Moche III in the Moche Valley.⁵⁷

In this section and throughout the remainder of this study, the terms *Early Moche*, *Middle Moche*, and *Late Moche* will be used to refer to sites north of the Pampa de Paiján while Moche phases I-V will be used to refer to vessels from southern Moche sites.⁵⁸ For Moche I and II ceramics, I will follow the convention of

⁵⁶ This chart utilizes available north coast radiocarbon dates from three different valleys. These dates have been calibrated by Abby Levine to whom I am indebted. Chart 1a presents calibrated dates for Moche phases from three valleys (Jequetepeque, Moche, and Santa) at 2-sigma. Sources for these dates are presented in Chart 1b. Chart 1c, created by Abby Levine, shows the statistical confidence for these calibrated dates (Probability Cal BC/AD) which appear in calendar years (BC/AD).

⁵⁷ For a map of settlement patterns by phase, see Shimada (1994a:fig. 11.7).

⁵⁸ In cases where this is not possible, I will refer to southern valleys as *early Moche*, *middle Moche*, and *late Moche*.

Donnan and McClelland, grouping Moche I and Moche II together as a single stylistic unit, discussed here as Moche I-II (1999:21).

In Chart 1a, we see that different Moche phases appear in different valleys at different points in time. Additionally, there is a great deal of phase overlap where Moche III and Moche IV in the Santa and Moche valleys appear to be coeval during a span of more than four hundred years. Contrary to initial proposals that Moche I-II/Early Moche occurred earlier in the archaeological sequence than other phases, Chart 1a suggests that Early Moche in the Jequetepeque Valley is coeval with Moche III and even Moche IV. Also varying is the length of each Moche phase, which is distinct for each site. For example, Moche III in the Santa Valley appears to have experienced a longer occupation than Moche III at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Chart 1a). Meanwhile, Moche IV in the Santa Valley appears to initiate slightly later but continues until much later than Moche IV in the Moche Valley. These chronological differences are also in evidence for other north coast cultures including Salinar. Salinar style ceramics appear chronologically earlier in the Jequetepeque Valley than they do in the Moche Valley. All of this evidence presents a very complex picture of Early Intermediate Period chronology and argues for phases as stylistic units reflective of local or regional identities.

Moche Phases I-II through V as Stylistic Rather Than Chronological Units

Observations presented in this section will continue to move the discussion further away from a perceivable Moche chronology. I will use Moche ceramic vessels

as evidence to support the hypothesis that Moche phases I-II through V reflect distinct stylistic units and that, furthermore, within a single Moche phase or spout type several different styles (or substyles) are in evidence.

When examining groups of vessels by spout type, it becomes evident that those of the same spout type also share other common traits (Larco 1948:28-36). This is also true for vessels in the architectural corpus. For example, architectural vessels with Moche I-II spouts are consistently small in size, dense in weight, and highly sculptural (Figures 2.2 and 2.3; Appendix 1, Moche I-II). In Moche I-II, representations of complex architecture are frequent despite their rarity in other Moche phases, revealing that complex architectural representation is one of the diagnostic traits of Moche I-II vessels. Differing from Moche I-II, Moche III architectural vessels reflect a highly experimental style that incorporates chamber forms, architectural types, and imagery from other Moche phases as well as from other north coastal groups (Appendix 1, Moche III).

In contrast, Moche IV vessels exhibit a great degree of standardization in chamber form, architectural type, and imagery, suggesting there was a cohesive ideology behind the highly controlled production of these objects (Appendix 1, Moche IV). Moche IV vessels, in contrast to Moche I-II vessels, are generally much taller than they are wide, resulting in an elongated and resultantly less stable form evident in Figure 2.3. Distinct from other phases discussed are Moche V vessels which also exhibit a high degree of standardization but in a distinct way (Appendix 1, Moche V). Vessels from this phase reveal that the entire body of the vessel (architectural structure and vessel chamber) was the product of a single mold. All

these examples corroborate the fact that spout type is not the only element that serves to differentiate a vessel of one phase from the next. Instead, vessels sharing the same spout type exhibit a suite of traits that make them distinct from vessels with other spout types.

In the Moche architectural corpus are vessels that fall outside of the traditional Moche I-II through V classification system. These include vessels that exhibit some Moche traits but are not completely Moche in style. This hybrid or transitional phase of architectural vessels will be referred to as Proto Moche (Appendix 1, Proto Moche).⁵⁹ The other group that falls outside of the traditional Moche classification system includes architectural vessels excavated from Late Moche contexts in the Jequetepeque Valley which also reflect their own distinctive vessel morphologies. Because these vessels can be anchored in space and time, we can assert that they are late in date, referring to them confidently as Late Moche, following the conventions established for the northern Moche sphere (Appendix 1, Late Moche). The Moche architectural vessel corpus does, therefore, support the hypothesis that Moche phases (from Proto Moche to Late Moche) reflect distinct stylistic units. In the next section, I will propose that these distinct styles can be attributed to geographic location, using archaeological vessels with secure contexts from the corpus to support this.

⁵⁹ Vessels assigned to Proto Moche (while not a completely satisfactory term) exhibits stylistic traits shared by Virú as well as Moche III, suggesting they were created on the earlier end of the Moche spectrum.

Distinct Styles within the Moche Architectural Corpus

Evidence for spout types reflecting distinct local or regional styles is supported by those Moche architectural vessels with secure contexts. For example, vessels found in different areas exhibit distinct stylistic traits, while vessels excavated from the same area exhibit similar stylistic traits. In support of the hypothesis that each Moche phase reflects a distinct local or regional ceramic style, I will look to the five architectural vessels in the corpus with secure archaeological contexts.

Fortuitously for this study, all of these vessels were excavated during the course of my research, providing valuable data that did not exist five years ago. These secure contexts allow us to compare the stylistic traits of excavated architectural vessels with other ceramic fine-ware from the same site. This, in turn, sheds light on whether or not these architectural examples reflect local or imported ceramic ware.

The first vessel with secure context (Figures 2.4 and 2.5) appears to reflect stylistic traits of the Jequetepeque Valley, despite its discovery in the Chicama Valley. This vessel has a chamber and whistle type similar to Virú-Gallinazo and Salinar vessels. The figure within the structure, however, exhibits traits (detailed fingers and toes, incised eyebrows, precisely rendered architecture, and a highly burnished surface) characteristic of Moche I-II vessels from Jequetepeque (La Mina substyle). While this vessel was excavated from the southern Moche site of Huaca Cao Viejo, it was found in association with Moche I-II vessels exhibiting traits of the more northern La Mina substyle. Stylistic and technical aspects of this pot, including its small size (13.5 centimeters high and 15 centimeters long), slip color (pale yellow, peach, and persimmon), and its detailed sculptural treatment are not traits

characteristic of Moche vessels excavated from Huaca Cao Viejo but instead reflect traits of fine-ware ceramics from La Mina and Dos Cabezas. The archaeological and stylistic data taken together suggest that the architectural pot depicted in Figure 2.12 reflects an imported rather than a local ceramic tradition.⁶⁰

In another example, two excavated architectural vessels from different Moche sites and executed in distinct styles nonetheless represent similar motifs (Figures 2.6 and 2.7). One of these, a Moche III stirrup spout vessel with a step motif chamber, was excavated from the Moche Valley (Figure 2.6).⁶¹ The Moche Valley vessel has a highly burnished surface, an oxidized ceramic paste (orange in color), and is decorated with geometric motifs rendered in a red-colored slip. These stylistic traits are evident in other ceramic vessels from the Uhle Platform (where the vessel was excavated) suggesting this vessel is representative of Moche III ceramic assemblages found in this area of the Huaca de la Luna.⁶² The other vessel (a wide-mouthed jar, or *cántaro*, categorized in the corpus as Moche IV) depicts a sculpted step and wave motif, excavated from the Santa Valley (Figure 2.7). The Santa Valley vessel, despite its similar motif, is visually distinct from its Moche Valley counterpart.⁶³ For one, it has a different spout type. It also appears to be mold-made, fired, and then hastily

⁶⁰ Regulo Franco sees the vessel as Virú-Gallinazo with Salinar influence (personal communication 2008) while Juan Vilela sees it as Salinar (personal communication 2008).

⁶¹ This vessel is described in Chauchat and Gutiérrez (2005) and depicted in figure 172. Of interest are comparative examples from the Museo Larco (ML012927) and the MNAHP vessel (C-03341) which have dimensions similar to the vessel excavated in the Uhle Platform. The Uhle Platform vessel is 14 centimeters high, 15 centimeters long, and 6.3 centimeters wide; ML012927 is 13.8 centimeters high, 18.4 centimeters long, 7.7 centimeters wide, and weighs 419 grams. C-03341 is 13.3 centimeters high, 19.2 centimeters long, and weighs 446 grams.

⁶² This vessel is the only one of its type excavated at Huaca de la Luna, making it difficult to assert it was produced locally (Belkys Gutiérrez, personal communication 2008).

⁶³ Data related to this discovery appears in “Contextos funerarios Moche del sitio El Castillo de Santa: Una primera aproximación” (Chapdelaine et al. 2005:24-28). The photograph of the vessel was taken and generously provided by Claude Chapdelaine.

decorated.⁶⁴ The ceramic paste of the Santa Valley vessel is coarser than the Moche Valley example and its surface is badly abraded. This vessel differs in style and manufacture from other vessels it was interred with at El Castillo, but, according to the excavators, seems nevertheless to be representative of vessels found at this site, suggesting it, too, reflects locally produced Moche fine-ware (Claude Chapdelaine, personal communication 2008).

The last two vessels to be discussed were excavated from Late Moche contexts at the site of San José de Moro in the northern Jequetepeque Valley (Figures 2.8 and 2.9). While found in different tombs, both vessels share great morphological similarity (double chamber whistling vessels with a small open gabled architectural structure supported by a false spout) yet exhibit distinctive decorative techniques. Figure 2.8 has a burnished surface with incised lines that convey geometric patterns (wave motifs and triangles) while Figure 2.9 is decorated with a now-faded polychrome slip (with figures outlined in white). Despite differences of external artistic style, both vessels have whistling mechanisms which, when engaged, hit a nearly identical frequency.⁶⁵ A vessel of similar chamber type was documented from this same site (Rucabado and Castillo 2003:23, fig. 1.2c), suggesting this chamber morphology reflects a local San José de Moro style. Further supporting a local attribution is the polychrome slip, which decorates many vessels found at this site.

Differences in external artistic style may be attributed to different artisans or

⁶⁴ The vessel measured 17 centimeters high by 10 centimeters long, making it similar in size as well as morphology to two vessels in the Museo Larco. One of these is ML002884 (17.6 centimeters high, 12 centimeters long, and 6.7 centimeters wide) and the other is ML002881 (17.4 centimeters high, 12 centimeters long, and 6.8 centimeters wide). The two sides of the vessel excavated from the Santa Valley were painted in distinct ways. The two vessels in the Museo Larco seemed to echo this idea, but through two separate vessels. Notes in pencil on the bottom of the Larco vessels read T41 Mo 4970 and T42 Mo 4971, respectively.

⁶⁵ I am grateful to Carlos Rengifo for “playing” these vessels while I recorded their sound.

workshops at the same site, or may even reflect the same artist or workshop using different skills or “tool kits” (Ramón 2007).

The stylistic and technical differences in evidence among the five architectural vessels with secure contexts we have discussed indicates Moche architectural vessels were produced at different sites and in different valleys over a long period of time. Additionally, while four of the five vessels reflect what appear to be local ceramic traditions, a fifth excavated example suggests that vessels could travel from one region to another. Based on these examples, it appears that different Moche ceramic styles reflect site-based, valley-based, or regionally-based ceramic traditions. These differentiated ceramic traditions likely served to project and promote cultural identity.

Substyles

It appears, furthermore, that within a single Moche phase, or spout type, more than one ceramic tradition existed. Differing ceramic traditions within Early Moche (Moche I-II) have been discussed by Donnan as reflecting substyles (Donnan in press c; McClelland et al. 2007:188).⁶⁶ Similar to commonalities discerned among vessels of the same spout type (Larco 1948:28-36), Donnan has found that even within vessels of the same spout type, further sub-divisions can be made. Vessels sharing the same substyle have the same spout type but are distinguished from the rest by a set of traits including vessel morphology, decorative techniques, and artistic style. Substyles, like styles, are also seen as reflecting local or regional ceramic traditions or identities.

⁶⁶ These are also discussed in Castillo and Donnan 1994a:164.

Archaeologists have identified substyles within the larger Moche corpus. For example, great differences in style have been discerned for Moche I-II vessels excavated from northern Moche sites (distinguishing them from vessels discovered at southern Moche sites) providing evidence for at least two distinct Moche I-II substyles (Donnan in press c). Similar distinctions can be found in other Moche phases, as well. Thus far, convincing arguments have been made for a La Mina substyle (Moche I-II stirrup spout vessels with incorporated chambers from La Mina, Dos Cabezas, Pacatnamú, and Masanca) and a San José de Moro substyle (Moche V stirrup spout vessels with detailed fineline painting from San José de Moro).⁶⁷ Recently, evidence has also been presented for a Santa Valley substyle, based on finds from El Castillo and Guadalupito (Chapdelaine 2008).

While vessels of a given substyle can reach other sites farther away, they tend to occur in their greatest concentration at their site of origin. The geographical origin of a particular substyle, then, would be that site where a given substyle is found in its greatest concentration over a long period of time (Santiago Uceda, personal communication 2008). While substyles do not account for all ceramic fine-ware from the site of origin, they do represent the dominant fine-ware style of the site that produced them. This is true for Moche V vessels from San José de Moro and Moche III vessels from El Castillo and Guadalupito. This is also true for Moche I-II vessels from La Mina, Dos Cabezas, Pacatnamú, and Masanca, where Moche I-II vessels of the La Mina substyle dominate ceramic assemblages. In order to demonstrate the

⁶⁷ Some of the substyles within Moche I-II are discussed by Donnan (in press c). The San José de Moro substyle is discussed in McClelland et al. (2007:188-189).

unique character of vessels from the same substyle, we will first look to examples attributed to the substyle of La Mina.

La Mina Substyle

The most detailed proposal for vessels comprising a single substyle has been developed from Moche ceramic assemblages found in the Jequetepeque Valley (Donnan in press c, 2007; McClelland et al. 2007:188). The “La Mina substyle,” (Early Moche ceramics with Moche I-II spouts from the tomb at La Mina) can be described as highly sculptural, masterfully crafted, and articulately detailed (e.g., with eyebrows, fingernails, and toenails).⁶⁸ Encrustations of cut shell or stone are frequent, as well, and are used to convey eyes, teeth, and jewelry (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:164-166). Vessel chambers of the La Mina substyle are also distinct from their southern valley counterparts. The majority have incorporated chambers. In instances where chambers are articulated, they exhibit either squat rectangular or squat somewhat cylindrical forms (Donnan 2007:figs. 5.127 and 7.24). Spherical vessel chambers are not common on vessels of the La Mina substyle. Vessels of the La Mina substyle from Dos Cabezas exhibit pronounced relief with sharp clean edges and depict zoomorphic subject matter (Donnan 2007:figs. 6.10, 7.22, and 7.23). Once fired, vessels of the La Mina substyle have either a white or reddish ceramic paste but black ware vessels are also known (Donnan 2007: fig. 5.122).⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Figure 2.10.

⁶⁹ Vessels of the La Mina substyle considered here come from the following sources: one Moche I vessel excavated from Pacatnamú (Ubbelohde-Doering 1983); seven vessels found during rescue excavations at the site of La Mina (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:163); and over a dozen Moche I vessels from Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2007). Diagnostic Early Moche vessels (of the La Mina substyle) have

In the Moche architectural corpus, none of the vessels with Moche I-II spout types have archaeological provenience, meaning none can be traced with absolute certainty to the northern or southern valleys. The only example that exhibits a spout and chamber type similar to vessels of the La Mina substyle is housed at the Museo Banco Central de la Reserva in Lima (Figure 2.11). Characteristic of the La Mina substyle, this vessel has a squat rectangular chamber and depicts a detailed representation, in this case an architectural complex.

The La Mina Substyle within the Larger Moche I-II Corpus

In the previous section, I noted that vessels of the La Mina substyle visually differ from other Moche I-II vessels. In this section, I will argue that vessels of the La Mina substyle also differ in quantitative ways from vessels with Moche I-II spouts found in the southern valleys. To demonstrate this, I will compare empirical data from La Mina substyle vessels (Jequetepeque Valley) with Moche I-II vessels reportedly from the Chicama, Moche, and Virú valleys.⁷⁰ Four main factors are considered in our analysis: the average height of the vessels, the range of vessel heights in each subgroup, the ratio of height to shortest side, and the vessel chamber type (Chart 2). All vessels considered in this discussion have the diagnostic Moche I-II spout — a short fat spout with a protruding lip.

also been reported from the site of Tolán, inland from the site of La Mina and Masanca (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:162; Donnan 2006). Vessels from these four sites share stylistic similarities which categorize them as of the La Mina substyle (Christopher Donnan, personal communication 2008). Of these sites, La Mina is viewed as possibly the most important northern site with Early Moche ceramics (Castillo and Donnan 1994a:162).

⁷⁰ The Jequetepeque sample was excavated from the site of Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2007) while vessels from Chicama, Moche, and Virú reside in the Museo Larco, classified by spout type and assigned to specific valleys in the online database (see <http://catalogomuseolarco.perucultural.org.pe/catalogue.asp>).

My analysis reveals that Moche I-II vessels from the Moche and Chicama valleys are consistently taller than (Early Moche) La Mina substyle vessels from the Jequetepeque Valley and that, additionally, vessels from the Virú Valley are consistently the shortest.⁷¹ Additionally, Moche I-II vessels from the Moche and Virú valleys are characteristically tall and thin while vessels from the Chicama Valley are more proportional and resultantly sturdier.⁷² Chamber types also appear to vary from valley to valley. Based on my analysis, incorporated chambers are a diagnostic trait of Early Moche vessels from Jequetepeque (La Mina substyle) while articulated chambers are a diagnostic trait of Moche I-II vessels from the Chicama Valley.⁷³ These data provide support for the substyle hypothesis proposed by Donnan, revealing that among a single Moche phase (I-II) several distinct sets of characteristics are in evidence. Furthermore, these differences appear to reflect geographical location, where Moche I-II vessels from the Chicama Valley are differentiated in visible ways from Moche I-II vessels from the Jequetepeque or even the Virú Valley. In the following section, I will suggest that substyles are not merely a Moche phenomenon but are discernible in ceramic vessels from other north coastal groups preceding and coeval with the Moche.

⁷¹ Vessels with Moche I-II spouts stand between 15-21 centimeters tall.

⁷² Data on width of vessels from Dos Cabezas is not published, excluding them from the ratio of height to shortest side analysis.

⁷³ Eighty-three percent of Early Moche vessels from the Jequetepeque Valley have incorporated chambers, as do 50% of the Moche Valley vessels, 41% of Virú Valley vessels, and 27% of the Chicama Valley vessel sample. The majority of Chicama vessels are articulated (73%). Within the Dos Cabezas La Mina substyle sample, three of eighteen vessels had spherical chambers. They were distinct from the Chicama and Virú vessels, however, in having high, precise, and pronounced relief and depicting subject matter which was zoomorphic in nature.

Evidence of Substyles in Ceramics from other North Coastal Cultures

With the aim of demonstrating that substyles are not purely a Moche phenomenon, I will provide evidence for substyles from other north coast cultures preceding and coeval with Moche. Evidence of substyles can be found among vessels attributed to Salinar, which have been excavated from the Jequetepeque, Chicama, Moche, and Virú Valleys.⁷⁴ From each of these areas is evidence that Salinar vessels were produced in distinct external, as well as technical, styles. Two vessels from nearby sites in the Jequetepeque Valley exhibit very similar morphologies (Figures 2.12 and 2.13). Conversely, a Salinar vessel excavated from the Moche Valley, while comprised of the same features (a spherical chamber, spout, false spout, and handle) is stylistically distinct from the Jequetepeque examples, with a slightly taller chamber, a less burnished surface, appliqué designs, and a sculpted figure in place of a false spout (Figure 2.14).

Elías Mujica noted that vessels from the Chicama, Moche, and Virú valleys are each stylistically distinct (1984), suggesting there were at least four related but independent Salinar groups. A detailed trait list for the Salinar ceramic style based on vessels in the José Cassinelli Mazzei Collection (Museo Cassinelli) in Trujillo has been developed by Ilder Cruz, Wilmer Gálvez, and Guillermo Moncada (Cruz et al. 2005). They propose eight Salinar styles and nineteen substyles (Cruz et al.

⁷⁴ Salinar is interpreted as the transition between the chronologically earlier Cupisnique and chronologically later Moche cultures (Brennan 1982:247; Larco 1944). Evidence for Salinar in the Jequetepeque Valley is discussed by Elera (1998); Hecker (1992); and Sidoroff (2005). Evidence for Salinar in the Chicama Valley is discussed by Larco (1944). Salinar in the Moche Valley is discussed in Bourget and Chapdelaine (1996); Brennan (1978, 1980, 1982); Donnan and Mackey (1978); and Zoubek and Iberico Portocarrero (2004). Salinar in the Virú Valley is discussed by Bennett (1939, 1950) and Larco (1944). Vessels of the Salinar style were referred to as Puerto Moorin by Bennett (1939, 1950) and Strong and Evans (1952).

2005:50).⁷⁵ Salinar manufacturing and firing techniques also differ from site to site and from valley to valley. Salinar ceramics from the Moche Valley are distinguished for their brittle texture. The vessels' red interiors and exteriors, and conversely dark grey cores, suggest Moche Valley vessels underwent different firing methods than ceramic wares produced in the Chicama and Virú valleys (Brennan 1978:600-605).

Additional evidence for substyles is found among vessels attributed to the chronologically later Vicús culture.⁷⁶ Some of these styles experienced longer periods of use than others, reinforcing the idea that ceramic style is closely related to cultural identity and perhaps cultural preference. Two of the three primary ceramic styles identified for Vicús (Vicús negative and Vicús white on red) saw long periods of use. Meanwhile, while Vicús negative and white on red ceramics have been excavated from early levels, both styles (and corresponding vessel morphologies) were still in use several centuries later (Disselhoff 1969:343-344, figs. 2-5).

Virú-Gallinazo style fine-ware, referred to as Gallinazo Negative, also exhibits distinct stylistic traits suggestive of substyles when stemming from different valleys.⁷⁷ In the Virú Valley, Virú-Gallinazo experienced a long period of occupation,

⁷⁵ The eight paint and slip techniques are divided into the following categories: white on red (36%), oxidized (31%), red on white (11%), white slip on red clay (7%), reduced (6%), black on white (5%), black on red (3%), and polychrome (1%) (Cruz et al. 2005:50-56). Decorative techniques include high relief, low relief, appliqué, excision, incision, punching, and painting (Cruz et al. 2005:33-35).

⁷⁶ Vicús, geographically found around the area of Piura, has been divided chronologically into three primary phases, Early, Middle, and Late Vicús with the Middle and Late phases further subdivided into Vicús A and B (Amaro 1994:31-42). The provinces of Morropón, Ayabaca, and Huancabamba have been proposed as the nexus of Vicús development with the Vicús type site at Yécala (Matos 1965:129).

⁷⁷ Ceramics of the Virú-Gallinazo style were first discovered and described by Bennett (1939, 1950) and classified by Larco (1945). Bennett referred to them as Gallinazo and Larco discussed them as Virú. Gallinazo Negative ware has been found in the valleys of Virú, Chicama, Moche, Chao, Santa, and at Huaca La Merced at Batán Grande (Uceda et al. 2006:331-332). The geographical extent of Virú-Gallinazo occupation (at one time believed to have extended from Piura to Casma valleys) is being reconsidered in light of research presented at a conference held in Peru in 2005 (Millaire, in press). Evidence of Virú-Gallinazo occupation had been documented at sites up and down the north

especially evident at the site of Huaca Santa Clara. Excavations have produced a series of radiocarbon dates that reveal a continual occupation from 60 B.C.E. to C.E. 710 (Jean-François Millaire, personal communication 2007). Especially interesting is Millaire's observation that Gallinazo Negative shards appear in both early levels (dating from C.E. 100 to 500) and late levels (dating to roughly C.E. 600, Donnan 2006), suggesting that Gallinazo Negative ceramics were in use at this site for more than six hundred years. Gallinazo Negative ceramics from Huaca Santa Clara are, additionally distinct from Gallinazo Negative found elsewhere (Figure 2.15).⁷⁸

In studying ceramic vessels from these different groups and finding within them evidence of distinct styles and even substyles, it is important to note that different external as well as internal styles result from the distinct technologies employed. The following section will discuss the differing technologies used by Moche potters. While most potters employed similar manufacturing, firing, and decorative techniques to vessels exhibiting the same style, what differentiates one style from the next is often the way in which and the degree to which these various techniques were employed.

coast based largely on the identification of a style known as Castillo Modeled and Castillo Incised, now generally interpreted to be Virú-Gallinazo domestic ware. Gallinazo Negative is now considered the only valid indicator of Virú-Gallinazo occupation. For an excellent discussion of problems in our understanding of Gallinazo, see Uceda et al. (2006) and Donnan's "The Gallinazo Illusion" (in press a).

⁷⁸ Tangible evidence for cultural contact between many of these different groups can be found in hybrid vessels. Hybrids mix stylistic traits of at least two distinct cultural groups. Evidence for hybrid vessels has been found within the Moche corpus in vessels that are categorized as Vicús-Moche, Salinar-Moche, and Gallinazo-Moche. Hybrids also exist outside the Moche corpus, found on vessels referred to as Vicús-Gallinazo, Salinar-Gallinazo, and Cupisnique-Salinar. Hybrid vessels are discussed by Elera (1997:195-197); Kaulicke (1992:883-884 and 1994:357); Larco (1944:1); and Matos (1965:129).

Ceramic Technology and Ceramic Style

Significantly, different stylistic forms result from the different technologies employed. While modeling and molding, firing techniques, decorative techniques, chamber types, spout types, design elements, and other techniques are used by all groups, it is the way that they were used by each group that created a distinct style. The stirrup spout seems to be an especially diagnostic element of each style, given the fact that much effort went into its technical construction and that, at times, it is a decorative rather than functional element of the vessel. As I examine the ceramic technology used to construct architectural vessels from differing Moche phases, I will suggest that in most instances, the technology used influenced the form produced.⁷⁹ For example, hand-modeled vessels are a diagnostic trait of Proto Moche architectural vessels, while mold-made vessels are characteristic of Moche V. Equally, black ware vessels (a result of the firing technique) are found in the Proto Moche corpus but are not known for vessels from Moche V. Considered in this discussion are modeling and molding, firing and decorative techniques, chamber forms, and stirrup spout construction.

Modeling and Molding

All Moche vessels from the architectural corpus reflect construction techniques that include hand-modeling, mold use, or a combination of the two. It is,

⁷⁹ Research on Moche ceramic technology has been published by Donnan (1965, 1992) and augmented by Lee Parsons (1962), Sergio Purin (1983, 1985), and Agnès Rohfrisch (2006). Information on ceramic technology of the pre-Hispanic Andes is presented by Shimada (1994d) and Digby (1947). An excellent source on ceramic construction is Andrew Middleton's chapter on Ceramics in *Radiography of Cultural Material* (Lang and Middleton 2005).

however, the degree to which these techniques are used in isolation or in combination that sets one style or substyle apart from the others. For example, Moche I-II vessels are often discussed as being hand-modeled. I would argue, however, that many were formed from molds.⁸⁰ These mold-made forms were then worked by the potter with tools to give definition and crispness to the vessel's form, a stylistic trait not found in other Moche phases. These technical traits make many Moche I-II vessels stylistically distinct from other Moche vessels. Moche III and Moche IV vessels exhibit mold-made chambers and hand-modeled architectural structures.⁸¹ Contrasting with this partial mold-use are Moche V vessels whose entire form (chamber and architectural structure) is often the product of a single mold (Figure 2.17). As a result of the technology employed, Moche V architectural structures are often completely enclosed (Figure 2.18), setting them stylistically apart from other architectural vessels in the corpus.

Firing Techniques

Another means of stylistically differentiating vessels is through firing technique. In the Moche architectural vessel corpus, different firing techniques are in evidence, resulting in ceramics that range in color from white to orange to black.⁸² The majority of Moche ceramic vessels were fired in an oxygen rich environment that produced orange- or red-colored ceramics (Figure 2.19a). A very small percentage of

⁸⁰ This is based on observations of contemporary potters who work from molds but, through manipulation of the clay form emerging from the mold, end up with a highly sculptural product.

⁸¹ Evidence of a mold-made Moche III chamber is seen in Figure 2.16, where the steps leading up the stepped pyramid are off-center. Vessels from Moche III and Moche IV also appear to contain figures made from molds.

⁸² The color of the pot is the direct result of the firing technique (McEwan 1997:177; Rice 1987).

the architectural corpus was fired in an oxygen reduced environment, meaning few of the vessels are dark grey, lead, or black in color (Figure 2.19b). Vessels of white colored clay, referred to as kaolin (sometimes erroneously), often resulted from three factors: clay with a high content of calcium, clay fired at high temperatures, and clay fired in an oxygen reduced environment (Rohfritsch 2006).⁸³ White clays appear most often in the Moche I-II corpus and are accordingly a characteristic of vessels of this phase.

Decorative Techniques

Decorative techniques are another element that differentiates one ceramic style (or phase) from another. Techniques ubiquitous in one phase will be completely absent in another, suggesting that even a vessel fragment containing decorative elements would be sufficient to assess vessel phase. Examples of decorative techniques found on Moche architectural vessels include colored slips, burnishing, incision, excision, high relief, low relief, and the inclusion of sculptural elements.⁸⁴ Incision, for example, is a diagnostic trait of Moche I-II and Late Moche vessels (Figure 2.8),⁸⁵ whereas detailed fineline is a characteristic of Moche IV vessels from

⁸³ I am grateful to Agnès Rohfritsch for sharing her research with me and to Chris Donnan for bringing her excellent work to my attention.

⁸⁴ Common slip colors include red, reddish brown, off-white or cream. Black post-fired paint is less common and is found on vessels excavated in the Casma Valley, suggesting a local tradition (Pozorski and Pozorski 1996:107, 116). Black post-fired paint has also been found on vessels in the Moche Valley but their small number suggests an imported rather than local style. Less than five percent of the vessels studied from Site F at Huacas de Moche had black pigment. Because of its fugitive nature, however, black pigment may have originally been applied to more vessels than is apparent today (Donnan 1965:128). Other evidence for black pigment has been found at Huaca de la Cruz (Strong and Evans 1952) and Huancaco (Bourget 2003:265; Castillo and Donnan 1994a:151).

⁸⁵ Incision is a technique also found in the Salinar and Virú-Gallinazo architectural corpus.

southern valleys and Moche V vessels from San José de Moro in the north.⁸⁶ Low relief, while found on a few Moche I-II, III, and V vessels, is especially prevalent on Moche IV architectural vessels. Sculptural elements (such as figurines, crenulation, and war clubs) are most commonly found on Moche III vessels.⁸⁷

Chamber Types

Another element that serves to differentiate one pot from the next is chamber type, which varies greatly within the Moche architectural corpus (Appendix 5). Nonetheless, certain chamber forms appear to be unique to particular Moche phases, suggesting that chamber types can also be considered identifying traits of certain phases or styles. For instance, incorporated chambers (where the architectural structure doubles as the vessel chamber, are found with frequency on Moche I-II vessels (Figure 2.2) and on motif vessels from Moche III (Figures 2.19a and b) but infrequently in other phases. Perfectly spherical chambers are found most often in the Moche IV sample (Appendix 1, Moche IV) while spiral chambers appear to be limited to the Moche IV architectural corpus (Figures 2.20 and 2.21).

Spout Types

Spout type is yet another way to visually differentiate a vessel. Of the various spout types in evidence in the Moche architectural corpus, the most commonly

⁸⁶ The artistic style of fineline, however, is distinct in Moche IV and Moche V.

⁸⁷ Crenulation is also common on vessels from the Virú-Gallinazo architectural corpus.

occurring is the stirrup spout, which may have served several functions.⁸⁸ Spouts and stirrup spouts permitted contents (most likely liquids) to be introduced into the vessel. Stirrup spouts appear, additionally, to have facilitated the production of sound. When blown into at an angle, all spout types (with the exception of the *cántaro*) produce sound. Furthermore, spouts on vessels with whistling mechanisms functioned as the mouthpiece for these acoustic artifacts. In the case of whistling vessels, blowing directly into the spout forced air into the hollow handle, which then passed into the chamber, and entered (and exited) the whistling mechanism (Figure 2.38). X-ray examination of stirrup spout vessels revealed that a fourth function may have been intended, as well: the stirrup spout as a means of displaying technical bravado for, as I will explain in the next section, an extraordinary amount of effort went into making this particular vessel component.

Construction of the Stirrup Spout Handle

Stirrup spouts, while a diagnostic feature of all Moche vessels, appear additionally to have held a special aesthetic or symbolic function for the Moche. This is suggested by the great effort that went into the construction of Moche stirrup spouts. X-rays of Moche stirrup spout vessels taken for the purposes of my research revealed that all stirrup spouts studied had been fashioned by hand, even when their corresponding vessel chambers appear to have been mold-made.⁸⁹ Radiographs also

⁸⁸ Other spout types include straight spouts with lateral handles, handles that connect a spout and false spout, and wide mouth jars (*cántaros*). These types are depicted in Figure 2.22.

⁸⁹ Radiographs for this research were taken at the MNAAHP and NMAI in 2007 and 2008.

reveal that stirrup spout construction (for all phases) posed a considerable challenge for the Moche potter.⁹⁰

The technical difficulty inherent in constructing the stirrup spout is especially evident in x-rays of vessels with Moche IV spout types, suggesting for this phase type there was something particularly important about a stirrup spout handle with a perfectly formed arc. Differing from Moche phases I-II and V, the walls of the phase IV stirrup handle are thinner, the handle tube longer, and the negative space greater. Often, the Moche IV stirrup handle is suspended from the side of the vessel, rather than arching above it. This type of construction puts tremendous pressure on the top and bottom joins where the stirrup spout attaches to the vessel.

The labor-intensive process required to create the graceful and visually balanced stirrup spout is not apparent from the vessel's exterior but is evident in x-rays. Radiographs reveal that potters had to compensate for the weight of the stirrup spout in creative ways. One apparently popular method was to attach two receptor pieces to the chamber itself. The stirrup handle was then inserted into these receptor pieces and the clay from handle and receptor elements were then smoothed together (Figure 2.23).⁹¹ A second method, at times used in conjunction with the first, was to construct the stirrup handle using several small pieces (Figure 2.24). The fact that so much effort went into the construction of a stirrup spout suggests this form held either considerable visual or symbolic significance for the Moche.

Further suggesting a symbolic function for the stirrup spout is the fact that, in some examples, the attached stirrup spout was completely non-functional. My study

⁹⁰ This conclusion was also arrived at by Donnan in his study of Moche ceramic technology (1965:122-124). Additional study using radiographs was undertaken by Purin (1983, 1985).

⁹¹ For a slightly different reading of the attachment, see Donnan (1965:123).

of radiographic plates revealed stirrup spouts attached to a vessel chamber, but only superficially. This type of surface attachment is visible in the radiograph of a Moche I-II vessel in the collection of the MNAHP in Lima (Figure 2.25). The top and bottom of the stirrup spout handle attach to a solid clay wall yet no openings permit the passage of air or liquid from the spout into the vessel chamber. Non-functional vessels such as this one suggest the stirrup spout may have been, in certain moments or in certain areas, a purely aesthetic or symbolic form.

Moche Architectural Whistling Vessels

Identity, while expressed through visual forms such as ceramic style, could also be expressed through sound. The following discussion on whistling vessels does two things: it provides further evidence that distinct cultural groups were differentiating themselves through sound (in addition to ceramic style) and also suggests that architectural vessels were more than mimetic representations. The fact that some architectural vessels could “speak” suggests they possessed the potential to be animate. This, in turn, suggests the architectural structures they emulated were viewed as potent entities. In my view, vessels that had the ability to communicate messages of identity through both visual and aural means were vessels of certain importance to the Moche and the other cultures that made them.

Before this study was undertaken, it was not known that Moche architectural vessels contained whistling mechanisms. This discovery, however, has permitted certain insights about Moche ideology in addition to Moche ceramic technology. In this section, I will suggest that Moche architectural vessels functioned as acoustic

artifacts which likely played an active role in Moche burial. I will also suggest that the incorporation of a whistle into an architectural vessel indicates the Moche saw certain architectural forms as potentially animate. As it turns out, whistles in Moche IV are limited to a particular architectural type. This architectural type, as I will later argue, appears to have held ritual importance. Lastly, the existence of Moche architectural whistling vessels suggests a shared cultural and, in some cases, shared technological tradition with other north coastal groups whose potters also crafted “vocal” architectural vessels.⁹²

Acoustic Objects Used in Moche Ritual

The fact that whistling mechanisms occur in Moche architectural vessels indicates that, in addition to serving as ritual containers and funerary items, these objects doubled as acoustic artifacts. Their inclusion in tombs (three of the five excavated examples were whistling vessels) suggests Moche architectural vessels might have had an active role in Moche burial or burial ritual. Studying these objects firsthand revealed that many of the vessels produced not one note, but several, making them rather complex acoustic objects.⁹³ Additionally, when one whistling vessel was played simultaneously with another sharing a similar frequency, a third frequency was created. The result was a penetrating, reverberating sound which (to our ears) was quite unsettling. This same observation has also been noted by José Pérez de Arce, who has suggested such sounds may possess psycho-acoustic

⁹² Figures 2.29 and 2.30 provide x-rays that label all vessel components for Virú-Gallinazo and Vicús architectural vessels, respectively.

⁹³ This research was possible thanks to the collaboration of the investigative team, *Waylla Kepa*; Milano Trejo, Carlos Mansilla, and Dimitri Manga.

properties (2004:24). The likelihood that vessels would have been played together during mortuary ritual is suggested by the discovery of two Vicús whistling vessels in the same burial context. Both had whistle spheres of similar size, suggesting that (while broken when discovered) they would have produced the same frequency. If played together, these two vessels would have created a penetrating, reverberant sound as well as a third frequency.⁹⁴

Vocal Vessels Suggest Animate Architecture

The inclusion of whistling mechanisms in Moche architectural vessels suggests, additionally, that architecture held the potential to be animate. Before I began this dissertation research, it was thought that whistling mechanisms were limited to Moche vessels depicting living things: parrots, skeletal figures, monkeys (Amaro 1994:76-78), shamanic figures, seals, and anthropomorphized bats and foxes. My research reveals that we can now add architectural vessels to the repertoire of Moche “vocal” vessels. Interestingly, what unites these disparate sculpted forms is the fact that each possesses the ability to enter realms inaccessible to most humans. Shamans, for example, serve as mediators between the living and the dead. Bats and parrots are capable of flight, allowing them access to the celestial realm. Seals are creatures which seamlessly traverse between land and sea. An animated skeletal figure also suggests a liminal state of existence. The implications of this vocality, found in architectural vessels, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

⁹⁴ Ritual functions for Vicús vessels are discussed by Amaro (1994:70-78). The possibility that Moche vessels formed part of a shaman’s *mesa* based on wear patterns on the vessel base is discussed in Mongrovejo (1996).

Whistling Mechanisms, the Prerogative of Particular Architectural Forms

A cursory examination of the architectural vessels containing whistling mechanisms reveals that not all architectural types were equal. In all phases, whistling vessels comprise the minority of the architectural sample, save for Proto Moche and Late Moche.⁹⁵ Additionally, in each Moche phase, whistling mechanisms are often limited to specific architectural types. For example, in Moche III, whistling mechanisms are found on vessels with crenulated roofs, often decorating closed back shed, front gabled roof structures whose back wall is emblazoned with a depiction of the Moon Animal (Figure 2.26). In Moche IV, whistling mechanisms occur on vessels with closed gabled roofs adorned with step-shaped roof combs (Figure 2.27). In Moche V, whistling mechanisms appear on open shed roof structures (Figure 2.28). All examples serve to suggest that each phase (or style) had its own distinct ceremonial architectural form.

Furthermore, I am inclined to think that the architectural types containing whistling mechanisms emulate full-scale structures that held particular potency, symbolism, or ritual significance to their particular group. For example, whistling mechanisms appear to be the prerogative of Moche IV architectural vessels depicting closed gabled structures with step-shaped roof combs (Figure 2.27). In a later chapter,

⁹⁵ In Proto Moche, whistles occur on vessels of the closed back shed, front half gable roof and the closed back shed, front flat roof (Figure 2.35 and Appendix 1, Proto Moche; Appendix 2, Type 7 and Type 8) and make up the majority of the sample. Interestingly, in Late Moche, whistling vessels again comprise the majority of this small sample. For Late Moche, whistling mechanisms appear in conjunction with open gabled structures (Appendix 1, Late Moche). I had access to only a small percentage of the Moche I-II corpus. Only one of the vessels studied had a whistle, but I am unsure about the vessel's authenticity.

I argue that this architectural type appears to have held special ritual importance for the Moche, as a structure tied to monumental Moche architecture, sacred mountains, sacrificial death, and perhaps even passage to the hereafter.

Similar Technical Styles and Acoustic Properties: Evidence for a Shared Cultural Tradition?

As a final point arguing for sound (in addition to ceramic technology) as an expression of identity, I suggest that the inclusion of whistles on Moche architectural vessels signals the existence of a shared cultural tradition or cultural continuum with Salinar, Vicús, and Virú-Gallinazo, other north coast cultures whose potters produced architectural vessels with whistling mechanisms. Technological style as an indicator of cultural contact and exchange was proposed over fifty years ago by Adrian Digby (1947). Using x-rays, he studied the technical construction of ceramic vessels made by ancient Andean potters. He observed that, while the study of external style is valuable to an understanding of cultural history, it is greatly enhanced by the study of structural technique or technological style. To argue his point, Digby noted that shapes of vessels and decorations “can be copied fairly readily on comparatively slender contact” but changes in technological style result only from “long and intimate contact between two peoples, or by conquest” (1947:605).⁹⁶

In order to determine whether the architectural whistling vessels produced by these different north coast groups exhibited shared technologies or a technological

⁹⁶ Other excellent work focused on technological style has been undertaken by Lechtman (1977). Repeated cultural patterns, referred to as “insistence” are discussed by Ascher and Ascher (1981:36-57).

continuum, I studied the internal or technical construction of architectural vessels made by all groups, using x-rays taken of the vessels themselves.⁹⁷ This work took place in 2007 and 2008, thanks to the cooperation and collaboration of the MNAHP in Lima and the NMAI in Washington D.C.⁹⁸ I also studied the acoustic properties of these same architectural whistling vessels with the aim of discerning similarities and differences in acoustic traits. This work was possible thanks to the collaboration of the investigative team *Waylla Kepa* at the MNAHP.⁹⁹

My study revealed that shared technologies and acoustical similarities did, in fact, exist.¹⁰⁰ Moche architectural vessels (Figures 2.31 and 2.32) shared the greatest technical and acoustical affinity with Vicús vessels (Figure 2.30) and with vessels representing a substyle of Virú-Gallinazo (Figures 2.33 and 2.34).¹⁰¹ Because there was only a single example of the Virú-Gallinazo substyle, I will focus here on technical similarities shared between Vicús and Moche vessels. Vessels from both groups had resonating chambers. Resonating chambers house or cover the whistle

⁹⁷ Andrew Middleton has been an excellent and generous source of knowledge. His publication *Radiography of Cultural Material*, co-edited with Janet Lang (2005), provides a wealth of data and images on uses of radiography in the study of ceramics. I am additionally indebted to him for the introduction to xero-radiography, a method which, while having fallen out of use, is possibly the most effective method for the study of ceramic vessel technology. A brief history of radiography, its uses in studying cultural material, and the theory behind it is discussed in Middleton and Lang (2005).

⁹⁸ Project collaborators included Dante Casareto, Maritza Pérez, Angel Ludeña, César Córdoba, Wilfredo Cordero, Carlos Murga, and Ana Flores at the MNAHP and Emily Kaplan, Ron Cunningham, Tony Williams, and Ernesto Amoroso at the NMAI. I express special thanks to Carmen Arellano, Director, MNAHP and to Ramiro Matos, Pat Nietfeld, Linda Groatorex, and, again, Emily Kaplan at the NMAI who made this research possible.

⁹⁹ As a means of quantifying the acoustic data gathered, video was taken of each whistling vessel as it was played by Milano Trejo and Dimitri Manga, musicians from the MNAHP research project *Waylla Kepa*. Later, sounds were measured and analyzed by Carlos Mansilla, project musicologist. Each sound was assigned a note (or notes), cents, and hertz. A more detailed analysis of this acoustical data is pending. *Waylla Kepa*'s own research focuses on the sound, sound systems, and technologies of pre-Hispanic instruments, specifically Nasca panpipes (Mansilla 2007).

¹⁰⁰ Results on the technical aspects of this study are discussed in detail in Wiersema (2007a, b).

¹⁰¹ The vessel depicted in Figure 2.34 was attributed by Larco as of the Virú style.

(Figure 2.30) and have the effect of producing a deeper more resonant sound.¹⁰² The resonating (or reverberating) chamber, then, presents a rather complex whistle type. This type was not encountered in any of Virú-Gallinazo or Salinar architectural vessels studied.¹⁰³ Vicús and Moche double chamber vessels (as well as the vessel of Virú-Gallinazo substyle) were also found to exhibit similar internal construction. In all instances, the separate chambers were connected to one another by a hollow connector tube (Figures 2.30, 2.31, 2.32, 2.33). This connection, or join type, permitted the passage of air (or liquid) between both vessel chambers. While my study revealed that there were at least five different methods used by ancient Andean potters to connect double chamber vessels, only one of these join types (the hollow connector tube) was found in Vicús and Moche vessels (Figures 2.30, 2.31, 2.32). Conversely, the other four join types in evidence were found on Virú-Gallinazo vessels (Figure 2.36). This suggests that Vicús and Moche potters worked in similar technical styles, while Virú-Gallinazo potters worked in distinct and varied technical styles.

It also appears that Moche whistling vessels represent a simplification of Vicús whistling vessel technology. Moche potters eliminate the outer head that serves in Vicús vessels as the resonating chamber. Moche potters enclose the architectural structure, enabling the architecture to serve as the resonating chamber (Figure 2.32).

¹⁰² Reverberating chambers are discussed by Amaro (1994:72-73); Bolaños (2001:184-185); and Pérez de Arce (2004:12-14).

¹⁰³ The exception to this was the vessel of the Virú-Gallinazo substyle just mentioned.

In Moche examples, a sculpted head inside the structure doubles as the whistling mechanism (Figure 2.32).¹⁰⁴

Also shared between Vicús and Moche architectural vessels are acoustic similarities. As a result of their resonating chambers (a feature absent in Virú-Gallinazo and Salinar vessels studied), Vicús and Moche vessels both produce resonant sound.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, architectural vessels from both groups are capable of producing two or more distinct notes that are separated by interval. This characteristic is absent in the majority of Virú-Gallinazo and Salinar vessels studied. Instead, architectural vessels from these groups consistently produce a single clear note, intensified or diminished depending upon the amount of air forced through the whistle.¹⁰⁶ These different types of sound are, of course, directly related to the technology employed. These marked acoustic differences support the argument for shared cultural traditions and common ideologies. Pérez de Arce notes that, for some cultures, timbre (the characteristic quality of a sound) is used to communicate social identity (2004:22; Garrett and Statnekov 1977).¹⁰⁷ If sound served to communicate social identity for north coast people during the Early Intermediate Period, it suggests identities for Moche and Vicús were closely intertwined.

¹⁰⁴ This is also the case for single chamber Moche vessels (Figure 2.37). In these examples, the secondary chamber is eliminated, resulting in an additional simplification.

¹⁰⁵ Resonant sound is also produced from the single example of the Virú-Gallinazo substyle.

¹⁰⁶ The sound produced is similar to that of a tea kettle when water boils. The distinct sound produced by Salinar and Virú-Gallinazo vessels is the result of a different whistle type than that found in Moche or Vicús vessels. On Salinar vessels, the whistle is small in size (about 1 centimeter in diameter) and is often housed in the handle. On Virú-Gallinazo vessels, the whistle doubles as the head of the figure within the open architectural structure and is usually larger in size, about 2-3 centimeters in diameter. Whistle types and technology are discussed in Amaro (1994, 1996); Bolaños (2001); McEwan (1997); Olsen (2002); and Pérez de Arce (2004).

¹⁰⁷ Stobart also discusses sound and its intimate connection with culture in “The Llama's Flute: Musical Misunderstandings in the Andes” (1996).

The undeniable technical and acoustical similarity found in Moche and Vicús architectural whistling vessels may be the result of early interaction in Piura over a long period of time, which would suggest a shared cultural identity reflected in the internal construction and sound produced. Additionally, vessels from both groups produce at least two distinct notes which also share similar timbres and frequencies. These shared technological and acoustical traits suggest that potters from these groups were not only engaged in technological exchange, but may also have shared similar cultural values, ideologies, or traditions.

Chapter Summary

Archaeological discoveries made in the past two decades have altered our understanding of the Moche chronological sequence proposed by Larco in 1948. As a result, Moche scholars have been forced to re-examine the significance of Moche spout morphology, previously relied upon as a chronological indicator. Because the Larco five-phase sequence divides the Moche ceramic corpus into units which are stylistically distinct, it is likely that spout forms (or phase types, initially broken into I-V, but discussed here as I-II through V), reflect local, valley, or regional ceramic styles rather than the chronological sequence of a single group.

As such, I have suggested the reinterpreted Larco sequence remains a useful framework in the analysis of the Moche architectural vessel corpus. Additionally, it appears substyles exist within each spout type or phase. Substyles, the term used by Donnan to refer to distinct styles within Moche phases or spout types, are also discernable in fine-ware ceramics made by chronologically earlier and coeval north

coastal groups, for example Salinar, Vicús, and Virú-Gallinazo. As archaeological, art historical and technological work on these cultural groups continues, the distinct styles or substyles of each will become increasingly clear. Until then, however, it seems feasible to discuss each Moche phase as a separate stylistic unit, given that vessels of the same spout type also exhibit a set of shared traits and technologies.

Moche ceramic technology was discussed as it pertains to the form and technical style of Moche architectural vessels. A discovery resulting from this research is that Moche architectural vessels contain whistling mechanisms. This find underscored the ritual and symbolic significance of certain architectural types and invited the technological and acoustic comparison of Moche architectural whistling vessels and architectural whistling vessels made by other north coastal groups.

Radiographic examination of 46 architectural vessels, from Moche, Salinar, Vicús, and Virú-Gallinazo, revealed that Moche ceramic technology was not developed in isolation but reflected contact and exchange with other groups. For example, similar construction technologies and acoustic properties were found in Moche and Vicús architectural whistling vessels.

Conversely, this study revealed that vessels attributed to Virú-Gallinazo were technologically and acoustically distinct from both Moche and Vicús. Salinar vessels are less well understood as a cultural style and therefore more difficult to correctly identify with certainty. Evidence presented in this chapter on ceramic styles, substyles, and technical styles provides substantial evidence in support of groups differentiating themselves through distinct external ceramic styles. It appears that groups also differentiated themselves through sound. Evidence for shared technology

is evident among Moche and Vicús, suggesting there was cultural exchange and contact among these groups.

Using multiple lines of evidence, a paradigm shift from chronology to stylistic sequence has been outlined for the study of Moche architectural vessels. Using the Larco sequence as stylistic, we will turn to the corpus of Moche architectural vessels, first contextualizing them within in the pre-Hispanic coastal Andean tradition of architectural vessels and then discussing formal aspects of Moche architectural vessels themselves. The next chapter will also provide results from the systematic analysis of the corpus, which was conducted both by phase (spout type or stylistic unit) as well as by architectural type.

Chapter 3. Comprehensive Background and Visual Analysis of the Moche Architectural Corpus

Having assembled and studied in detail the largest corpus to date of Moche architectural vessels, I will present a comprehensive background of the corpus, an introduction to architectural vessels in the Andes, and artistic conventions used by Moche potters, in addition to other specialized information. In this chapter, I analyze the 169 architectural vessel corpus using two distinct approaches. The first analysis is by spout type or phase and the second is by architectural type. These analyses corroborate what was proposed in Chapter 2: that each phase exhibits a set of distinct stylistic traits that suggest vessels from different phases were produced by different groups expressing their identity through ceramics. Additionally, my analysis suggests that different Moche groups differentiated themselves through types of architecture, where each center or area may have had ritual architecture that took on a uniquely local form.

The aim of this chapter is to place the architectural vessels of the Moche within a broader ancient Andean cultural context. Through the analysis of the Moche architectural corpus and the examination of other cultures' vessels, I aim to pinpoint which forms and features were pan-Andean, which forms were adopted by the Moche from other groups, and which architectural forms appear to be distinctively Moche in character.

Based on my analysis, many architectural types found in the Moche corpus have antecedents in other north coast cultures. Some of these forms appear to have

held pan-coastal Andean importance. For example, the open gabled roof appears on architectural vessels from Salinar, Vicús, Moche, and even later Lambayeque and Chimú cultures (Appendix 3). Meanwhile, other architectural types depicted on Moche vessels appear to have experienced minimal representation and were limited to certain Moche phases. Still other architectural forms reveal themselves to be distinctively Moche in character. One such form (the closed gabled structure with central entrance) appears to be an adaptation of an architectural type from Cupisnique.¹⁰⁸ The Moche appear to have adopted this form and then altered it by rotating the roof 90 degrees.

My construction and analysis of the corpus also highlights the importance of architectural complex vessels, which act as a Moche architectural key. Past discussions of Moche architectural vessels have emphasized that only part of a structure or complex (rather than the whole) was ever represented (Donnan 1978:79-82; Uceda 2001b:94; Wurster 1982:253). While this assertion holds true for vessels from the Moche III, IV, and V corpus, it is not generally the case for Moche I-II vessels. The majority of architectural representations from the Moche I-II corpus (in addition to a few vessels from Proto Moche) represent detailed architectural complexes. Within these complexes are several small, independent structures connected to plazas and platforms by ramps and corridors (e.g., Figures 3.23 and 3.31). The small, independent structures found within these architectural complex vessels are similar to independent or single-room structures depicted on Moche architectural vessels from phases III, IV, and V. In other words, Moche I-II

¹⁰⁸ Cupisnique is interpreted as a coastal manifestation of the important Early Horizon cult center of Chavín de Huantar. The closed gabled form may have had its origins in Formative Ecuador.

architectural complex vessels appear to contextualize those structures (represented independently in other phases) by locating them within an elaborate and extensive architectural compound.

The analysis of the Moche architectural corpus also corroborates observations made in Chapter 2: namely that each Moche phase exhibits artistic styles, technologies, and even architectural types that serves to differentiate it from styles and architectural types found in other Moche phases. We discussed these stylistic and technical traits as styles and substyles, where each signaled a slightly separate and possibly local artistic tradition. It is possible that architectural forms depicted on Moche vessels also represented structures that were particular to a given area or region.

Architectural Vessels in the Andes: A Lengthy Tradition

The Moche was neither the first nor the only pre-Hispanic Andean culture to produce architectural vessels of ceramic. Moche architectural vessels form part of a greater pre-Hispanic coastal Andean tradition which appears to have initiated in Ecuador during the Formative Period and continued without interruption in Peru through the Late Intermediate Period.¹⁰⁹ The first evidence for ceramic architectural vessels comes from Ecuador, assigned to the Chorrera phase in the Formative Period and from Peru, attributed to Cupisnique, a coastal culture coeval with the Initial Period/Early Horizon site of Chavín de Huantar in the highlands.¹¹⁰ Architectural

¹⁰⁹ Ancient Andean traditions of ceramic architectural representation are discussed by Wurster (1982) and Stvan (2000). Mesoamerican traditions are discussed by Schávelzon (1982, 2004).

¹¹⁰ Dates for Chorrera are roughly 1000-300 B.C.E. while dates for Chavín are roughly 900-200 B.C.E.

forms produced by these groups are important in our understanding of Moche architectural representation as they present us with the earliest depictions of the closed gabled structure with central entrance. The wide-mouthed vessel in Figure 3.1 depicts a simple oval structure with gabled roof, a central door with modeled jamb, and a central staircase.¹¹¹ A similar form is found on vessels attributed to the roughly coeval Cupisnique culture (Figure 3.2).¹¹² Common among Cupisnique architectural vessels are structures with circular floor plans covered by conical roofs and structures exhibiting rectangular floor plans with gabled roofs. Architectural details, such as doors, stairways, and roof thatch, are generally incised. Sculpted figures are rarely depicted in vessels from these chronologically early periods.

Architectural representation continues in ceramic vessels made by the Salinar.¹¹³ Salinar is the name given to a north coastal group pre-dating Moche. Evidence for Salinar has been excavated in the Virú (Strong and Evans 1952; Zoubek and Iberico Portocarrero 2004), Moche (Brennan 1978, 1980, 1982; Donnan and Mackey 1978), and Jequetepeque Valleys (Elera 1997 and 1998; Hecker 1992 and Sidoroff 2005). Many of the characteristics found in Salinar architectural vessels appear in Moche architectural vessels, for example open gabled architecture, sculpted figures, and whistling mechanisms.¹¹⁴ Salinar shows a few different artistic traditions, or substyles, each likely affiliated with a different geographical area. In the Salinar

¹¹¹ The apex of the roof is directly above the structure's entrance. In Moche representations, the roof will be rotated 90 degrees.

¹¹² While the Chorrera vessel discussed here is a jar, given its flared mouth, stirrup spout vessels are nonetheless known from Chorrera, suggesting cultural continuity between Formative Ecuador and Early Horizon Period vessels from Peru.

¹¹³ The Salinar fine-ware ceramic tradition and its chronology are as yet poorly understood. Early studies on Salinar ceramics were undertaken by Rafael Larco (1944).

¹¹⁴ On Salinar vessels, whistling mechanisms are usually located where the handle meets the spout (Figures 3.3 and 3.4).

corpus, the enclosed oval and round structures found in Chorrera and Cupisnique do not appear. Architecture “opens up,” with roofs supported by posts rather than solid walls. It is within the Salinar corpus that the open gabled roof type, found also in Moche, first appears (Figures 3.3 and 3.4).¹¹⁵

Two Salinar architectural forms in particular are important to our discussion of Moche architectural vessels: the open gabled structure and the *tablado*. Both architectural forms appear in Moche ceramic vessels and within full-scale Moche monumental architecture. A Salinar vessel depicting an open gabled structure was excavated in the Virú Valley (Strong and Evans 1952:49).¹¹⁶ Another vessel of the open gabled type supported by posts was reportedly found at Tomaval, also in Virú (Figure 3.4). Both vessels share other common characteristics, including oblate-shaped chambers, spouts, false spouts, bridge handles, and whistling mechanisms located near the vessel handle. While the structure in Figure 3.4 contains two sculpted figures and the vessel in Figure 3.3 appears to be empty, its excavators reported basal breaks within the structure, indicating it, too, originally maintained sculpted occupants. These vessels of similar style and architectural type found in the area of Virú suggest that the open gabled structure may reflect an architectural type of particular significance to Salinar groups operating in the Virú Valley.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Open gabled roofs from Salinar and Moche (and later Vicús) share the same orientation.

¹¹⁶ See Figure 3.3. Basal breaks were noted by Strong and Evans (1952:49), indicating this structure originally held a figure or figures. While reportedly housed in the collections at Columbia University, a search by Dr. Terence D’Altroy in 2006 did not turn up this vessel. I have also searched for this vessel at the MNAHP in Lima, at the NMNH in New York, and the NMAI in Washington D.C. without success.

¹¹⁷ This vessel in Figure 3.4 was kindly made available by Dr. Juan Julio Rosales Olano in Trujillo. A detail of this vessel is worth mentioning. The two figures within the structure appear to engage in sexual activity. The figure in a dorsal position rests its head on a rolled pillow, a detail that appears consistently in the Moche fineline Copulation Scene. In these scenes, sexual activity takes place within

The second set of Salinar vessels relevant to our discussion depicts a multi-room complex including an architectural form referred to as a *tablado*. A *tablado* is described as an elevated platform accessed via a perpendicular ramp (Figures 3.6 and 3.7).¹¹⁸ The *tablado* becomes increasingly prevalent in Late Moche and Late Intermediate Period small-scale architecture (Figure 3.9). The *tablado* is also a form found in full-scale architecture, beginning in the Early Intermediate Period,¹¹⁹ yet the appearance of *tablado* representations on vessels from the Salinar corpus suggests the *tablado* is an older form than previously believed. Two vessels (Figure 3.6 and Figure 3.7), unfortunately unprovenienced, exhibit similar architectural features—lens-shaped chambers, broad flat handles, and flared spouts—which suggest they were created at the same site or in the same workshop.¹²⁰ The *tablado* in these representations is found in the central architectural unit and exhibits traits characteristic of full-scale *tablados*. Access on both vessels is by way of a baffled entry that leads to a walled rectangular plaza. At the back of the plaza is the *tablado*: an elevated platform covered by a flat roof, supported by a post or posts, and accessed by a central perpendicular ramp.¹²¹ *Tablados* in full-scale Moche architecture will be discussed in Chapter 5.

an open architectural structure supported by posts (Figure 3.5) and possibly prefigures the Moche Copulation Scene.

¹¹⁸ *Tablado* forms are first identified and discussed by Garth Bawden in “Galindo and the Nature of the Middle Horizon in Northern Coastal Peru” (1977:43-56; 1982:302-304).

¹¹⁹ For example, *tablados* have been documented at Galindo, Chan Chan, and in the Jequetepeque hinterlands. At Huaca de la Luna, a *tablado* is found in *Recinto* II, Plaza 1 (Figure 3.10). These examples will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5.

¹²⁰ Because the Salinar fine-ware ceramic tradition and its chronology are poorly understood, the vessels discussed could also be contemporary with Proto Moche. Figure 3.7 is published on the cover of a small exhibition pamphlet “Arquitectura en la cerámica precolombina” written by Luis Miro-Quesada (1976), with photos by Billy Hare.

¹²¹ While details of each vessel are distinct, both exhibit similar architectural features including lattice work. Lattice work was excavated at the Gallinazo Group in the Virú Valley. The Archivo Tello 148-

Architectural vessels of the Vicús, a group dating to the Early Intermediate Period, often depict open gabled structures. This form, first identified in Salinar vessels, is also found in the Moche architectural corpus. The fact that this architectural form appears on architectural vessels from all three groups suggests the open gabled structure held significance to all three, and may provide evidence for a shared ideology anchored in ritual architecture. This open gabled form for Vicús underwent an alteration at some point in its history. In Early Vicús vessels, the crest of the roof runs front to back, which is a trait of Cupisnique closed gabled architectural vessels (Figures 3.11). In later Vicús pots, however, the gabled roof is rotated 90 degrees (Figure 3.12) conforming more closely to open gabled structures from earlier Salinar and contemporary Moche vessels. The inclusion of sculpted figures within architecture continues with Vicús. Rather than depicting small figures (including arms, legs, hands, feet, and torso), Vicús vessels often depict a large sculpted head with a fillet headdress. In addition to any role it may have served, the sculpted head within Vicús architectural vessels doubles as the resonating chamber housing the vessel's whistling mechanism.¹²² One of the other traits shared by Vicús and Moche is a complex type of whistling vessel, discussed in Chapter 2.

Architectural vessels attributed to the Virú-Gallinazo suggest a distinct architectural vessel tradition and perhaps additionally, a fairly separate cultural sphere despite also falling within the Early Intermediate Period. Common to this group are

2001 at the MNAHP contains photographs from this excavation. Units from V-59 depict several examples of lattice work (Figure 3.8).

¹²² In the case of Figure 3.12, air introduced into the spout enters the secondary chamber, is channeled through the connector tube into the primary chamber, and passes up into the vertical posts where air is then directed into a horizontal roof beam which pushes air into and out of the whistling mechanism hidden within the figure seated on the roof, resulting in the emission of sound.

shed roof structures, which most often are supported by three walls but can also be supported by a back wall and front posts. The roofs of these structures are frequently decorated with nub-like projections. Roof embellishments of this type are not found on Salinar, Vicús, or Moche architectural vessels. The examples to be discussed are especially valuable because they can be anchored in time and space (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). Both vessels were excavated from the Gallinazo Group (Bennett 1950, plate 8). Figure 3.13 shows two chambers of similar size and form while the vessel in Figure 3.14 has a rectangular primary chamber and a gourd-shaped secondary chamber with a flared ring base. While the roof of Figure 3.14 is slightly more complex than that of Figure 3.13, both vessels depict a three-wall structure with shed roof and lateral windows. Both roofs are decorated with a row of nub-like projections. These characteristics (three walls, shed roof, and side windows) coupled with this particular type of roof embellishment (nub-like projections) are diagnostic traits for many Virú-Gallinazo architectural vessels.¹²³ While the three wall shed roof type does appear in the Moche corpus, it is not (for Moche) a dominant architectural type.

The Recuay, an Early Intermediate Period culture occupying the area known as the Callejón de Huaylas in the region of Ancash, was certainly in contact with the Moche. Their architectural vessel tradition, however, reflects distinct forms and concerns. The vast majority of Recuay architectural vessels depict walled multi-storied fortresses with watch towers or large square compounds. These features are

¹²³ These vessels are further distinguished by direct-type whistles without resonating chambers and a technical construction that bears little similarity to architectural examples from the Salinar, Vicús, or Moche corpus. Technical construction of Moche, Vicús, and Virú-Gallinazo vessels are discussed in Chapter 2.

found at Recuay settlements (Lau 2002:178).¹²⁴ Recuay architectural vessels are distinct from other ancient Andean vessels discussed in that they are consistently peopled with many figures. There is, additionally, an emphasis on wall decoration not found in other pre-Hispanic Andean examples. One of the diagnostic traits for Recuay vessels is the use of kaolin. This type of clay is not in evidence for Salinar or Virú-Gallinazo vessels. Kaolin is also uncommon in Moche vessels. Another hallmark of Recuay architectural vessels is their light weight given their often large size. While, in my view, there are few similarities between Recuay and Moche architectural vessels, both make use of the iconographic symbol commonly referred to as the Moon Animal, or the *animal lunar* (Figure 3.16).¹²⁵

Our review of architectural vessels from other ancient Andean cultures which preceded and were coeval with Moche reveals that, while potters from many cultures crafted architectural vessels, these vessels were made distinct through architectural type, handle, and spout type. These traits sets worked together to communicate a specific ceramic style. Nonetheless, some of these ancient cultures' architectural forms exhibited similarities to Moche architectural vessels. One of these, the closed gabled type with central entrance appears to originate in Cupisnique, the coastal manifestation of Chavín. Rather than borrow this form wholesale, however, the Moche make important alterations to it, rotating the roof 90 degrees. This architectural type is not found on vessels of other Early Intermediate Period cultures and appears to have special significance to Moche IV. Another architectural type of

¹²⁴ See Figures 3.15 and 3.17. Recuay vessels are decorated with resist techniques as well as polychrome. The Recuay culture is discussed in Lau's "The Recuay Culture of Peru's North-Central Highlands: A Reappraisal of Chronology and Its Implications" (2002). Recuay art is discussed in "Hombres y deidades en la iconografía Recuay" (Makowski and Rucabado 2000).

¹²⁵ The Moon Animal is discussed by Mackey and Vogel (2003).

importance is the open gabled structure, which in contrast to the closed gabled structure, does appear on vessels made by other groups including Salinar and Vicús. If architectural form is tied to ritual function, it suggests all three groups shared a common ideology associated with an open gabled architectural form. In the next section, I shift the focus to Moche architectural vessel specifically, looking first to their physical form and component parts.

Visually Understanding a Moche Architectural Vessel

Before presenting an analysis of the Moche architectural vessel corpus, it is first necessary to provide a thorough description of the physical form of a Moche vessel, including its component parts and associated imagery. This approach permits us to more easily “read” these objects. First, I will identify the structural components of Moche architectural vessels (spout type, chamber, etc.). Next, I will address the variety of chamber types in evidence on vessels from the corpus. This will be followed by a glimpse at the types of imagery or iconography associated with Moche architectural vessels. As a portion of the corpus depicts elements of architecture instead of buildings, I will briefly note these other forms of representation I have identified as “architectural.” In addition to vessels with architectural superstructures (architectural types) are motifs vessels, pyramid vessels, and a form I will call Terrace Plates. All of these forms provide valuable information about the types of architecture represented and the place of ritual architecture in Moche society. Lastly, I will discuss the most important artistic conventions used by Moche potters to convey information on architectural vessels. As many different modes of representation and

perspective are in play, this section is critical to a proper reading and interpretation of vessels from the Moche architectural corpus.

Structural Components of Moche Architectural Vessels

Six elements work together on architectural vessels to create a surface on which messages are conveyed in the form of two- and three-dimensional imagery (Figures 3.18 and 3.19). Furthermore, each of these six components exhibits traits often particular to the phase or style to which it belongs. The spout is connected to the stirrup or handle and is the diagnostic element used in assigning Moche vessels to a particular phase or type.¹²⁶ The second element, the stirrup handle, connects the deck architecture to the vessel chamber, facilitating transport and serving as a conduit for air or liquids passing from the spout to the chamber. On many vessels, the construction of the stirrup handle was clearly the most complicated aspect of the vessel's construction, underscoring the importance (possibly symbolic) of this vessel component. The third component, sculpted deck architecture, can be open or closed and may depict simple or complex structures. In most Moche phases, the deck architecture was modeled by hand. In Moche architectural whistling vessels, the deck architecture doubles as the resonating chamber, housing the vessel's whistling mechanism. The fourth component, the vessel chamber, may be rectangular, square, spherical, or cylindrical in shape and is always hollow (Appendix 5). The vessel chamber is another diagnostic element that allows us to identify Moche phase. For example, spherical and spiral chambers are limited to Moche IV. Ring bases, the fifth

¹²⁶ This is discussed with the Larco sequence in Chapter 2.

component, are limited to Moche phase IV and V vessels, and may be slightly flared or straight. The sixth component (found on a subset of Moche architectural vessels) is the whistling mechanism (discussed in Chapter 2), which is housed within the deck architecture and hidden from view. In short, all of these separate elements work together to define a vessel's style and communicate information to the viewer. We will now look specifically at one of these vessel components in more detail, the vessel chamber.

Vessel Chamber Types in the Corpus

The chamber is one of six components comprising an architectural vessel. Chambers are important as they communicate information about vessel phase as well as function as a surface communicating information through two- and three-dimensional imagery. There is a great variety of chamber types evident in the Moche architectural corpus, including single and double chambers, incorporated and articulated chambers, and special forms such as step motifs and spirals. An illustrated inventory of chamber types from the Moche architectural corpus appears in Appendix 5, organized by chamber shape within each Moche phase, starting with Proto Moche and concluding with Late Moche.

Associated Imagery in the Corpus

Another important visual aspect of Moche architectural vessels is imagery, also referred to as iconography, which appears on vessels from all Moche phases. In

examining associated imagery found in each Moche phase, it is apparent that the types of imagery depicted are distinct depending upon the phase. Appendix 6 presents a detailed inventory of the imagery from the Moche architectural vessel corpus. Geometric imagery (including rhomboids, step motifs, spirals, scrolls or waves, and stylized catfish (*pez life*) is common on vessels from Proto Moche, Moche I-II, III, and V but is largely absent in Moche IV. Conversely, figural imagery (including war clubs, ceremonial jars with ties, cacti, ritual spatulas, undulating eared serpents, and short vertical lines indicating streams of blood) is characteristic of Moche IV. Complex narrative scenes, depicted in fineline, are common on vessels from Moche IV and Moche V, but are largely absent in other Moche phases. In Moche IV, fineline scenes in the architectural corpus are distinctive for their depiction of warrior combat, the procession of prisoners, and ritual offering. Conversely, Moche V fineline scenes depict dancers in procession and the presentation of the ceremonial goblet. While different imagery is used in phases IV and V, it appears that the subject matter (often related to human sacrifice) remains the same. While imagery commonly decorates the vessel chamber, it also decorates the architectural superstructure. Imagery is also found on other types of architectural representation, to be discussed next.

Forms of Architectural Representation in the Corpus

Because a subset of the corpus represents elements of architecture instead of actual buildings, it is necessary to also note other forms of representation I identify as “architectural.” The first three categories convey enclosed chambers with spouts and

handles. These include Architectural Types (10 types),¹²⁷ Architectural Motifs (4 types), and Stepped Pyramids (3 types). The fourth category, seldom mentioned in the Moche literature, will be referred to here as Terrace Plates. Terrace Plates (catalogued in Appendix 1, Terrace Plates) take one of two primary forms: walls on three sides enclose either a semi-circular or a rectangular base. The semi-circular form is the more common of the two types and tends to be smaller in size (Figures 3.82 and 3.83). Rectangular Terrace Plates are larger, heavier, and exhibit detailed fineline scenes of warrior combat (Figures 3.80 and 3.81). All these architectural categories reflect important aspects of Moche ceremonial architecture and will be discussed in more detail and contextualized in Chapter 5.

While relatively easy to identify a vessel as conveying an architectural motif or a stepped pyramid, it is not always immediately apparent how to accurately read many of the architectural types in the corpus. Information important to the reading of the structure is often presented on the vessel chamber. In order to capture all of this important data, we will now review the most common artistic conventions found in the Moche architectural corpus.

Artistic Conventions Employed in Moche Architectural Vessels

In order to interpret architectural vessels, it is important to consider not only the sculpted superstructure but also its relationship to the imagery depicted in fineline or relief on the vessel chamber. This imagery provides valuable contextual information that pinpoints the location of the structure *within* Moche ceremonial

¹²⁷ This expands upon the five types discussed by Donnan (1978:79-81).

architecture. This imagery, one understood, can also shed light on the structure's function. The paragraphs that follow list and provide examples of commonly occurring artistic conventions found on Moche architectural vessels. These include the depiction of two- and three- dimensional space on the same vessel, multiple visual perspectives, manipulation of spatial depth, and alteration of scale and proportion. Another Moche artistic convention is conflation of space, where a single architectural structure contains attributes or features referencing two or more distinct structures or areas. This convention allows multiple spaces to be referenced in a single vessel. One or all of these conventions may be in evidence on any one vessel. Additionally, Moche architectural structures and features can be pared down to their most basic or diagnostic element. These elements and details are critical to the identification of the architectural type even if, to us, their appearance seems insignificant. An example of this is the raised circle on the outside of closed gabled structures (Figures 3.22 and 3.24). This convention indicates the presence of a horizontal roof beam which "supports" the gabled roof. In the pages that follow I present examples of the most common Moche artistic conventions appearing on Moche architectural vessels.

The first artistic convention to be discussed is the depiction of two- and three- dimensional space on the same vessel. This convention enables the artist to overcome the limitations of space posed by the ceramic vessel chamber and present all information essential to the viewer. An example of this can be found in a vessel from the Moche I-II corpus (Figure 3.25). Here, the architectural structure and embellishments around it are conveyed three-dimensionally while the diagonal ramp leading to the structure is depicted two-dimensionally. Another example of three-

dimensional objects presented in two dimensions is found in Figure 3.61 where the roof is adorned with two-dimensional war clubs. These are shown as radiating outwards. The war clubs are intended, however, to be read as if they were standing upright around and perpendicular to the roof's perimeter. These examples illustrate the inclusion of important three-dimensional details on a two-dimensional surface.

A second artistic convention commonly used on architectural vessels is that of multiple visual perspectives. This is demonstrated in a fineline drawing decorating the chamber of Figure 3.26. In this two-dimensional image, different perspectives are employed. Illustrated is a building of the closed gabled type, which the artist relays by depicting the structure in profile.¹²⁸ The profile view relays to us that the structure has a pitched roof, a trait of the closed gabled structure.¹²⁹ It was additionally important that the artist communicate this closed gabled structure was adorned with step-shaped roof combs. This presented a slight challenge as the decision to depict the structure in profile left insufficient room on the roof for the standard two roof combs.

Nonetheless, a person familiar with Moche pictorial vocabulary could still easily identify this building as a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs, given the gabled roof (shown in profile) and the single roof comb. Conversely, the wall around the structure is conveyed in plan. Understanding this, we see the wall surrounds the gabled structure on three sides and is embellished with step motifs depicted in series. The end result, then, is a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs surrounded by a U-shaped perimeter wall lined with step motifs in series.

¹²⁸ In this drawing, we are looking at the side and not the front of the structure.

¹²⁹ Had this building been shown frontally, the roof would have appeared to be flat, which denotes a different structural type altogether.

This configuration is found in a sculpted example from the Moche architectural corpus (Figure 3.55).

A third frequently used artistic convention is the manipulation of spatial depth. In order to relay that a vessel sits “in front of” a structure, the vessel is depicted either below the structure or as if adorning its façade. For example, a vessel from the Museo Larco shows two vessels in relief directly beneath the façade of a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs. The structure is set within a mountain scene (Figure 3.27b). A Moche IV architectural vessel from the same museum reveals a different solution to the same artistic challenge (Figure 3.28). On a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs, a two-dimensional vessel is depicted on either side of the structure’s entrance. In both Figures 3.27b and 3.28, the Moche artist aimed to communicate that the vessels stood just in front of the closed gabled structure, on either side of the doorway.

A fourth artistic convention used by potters to convey information on Moche architectural vessels was the alteration of scale and proportion. This particular convention signals to the viewer which aspect of the whole is most significant. In Figure 3.25, the importance of the open gabled structure is indicated by size: it towers above the rest of the architectural complex. This alteration of scale results in an architectural superstructure that is as tall as the platform that supports it. Another example illustrating this is found on a vessel from the American Museum of Natural History (Figure 3.29). Here, a three-tiered stepped platform serves as the foundation for an architectural superstructure of roughly equal height. The size of the figure within the structure is also exaggerated. If standing upright, the figure would be as tall

as two of the three platform levels. In small-scale representation, the difference in size between platform and deck architecture is minimal, however these differences in full-scale architecture are vast. Façades like the one referenced in Figure 3.29 have been excavated at Dos Cabezas and stand at least ten meters tall (Donnan and Cock 2002:30-35; Figure 3.30). The architectural superstructure supported by these monumental platforms, however, could not have been more than a few feet high.¹³⁰

A fifth artistic convention employed by Moche artists was the conflation of space where, in a single architectural representation, two or more distinct areas or structures could be represented. Figure 3.33 provides an example of this. Here, the artist devised a clever way to depict two distinct activities (occurring at different moments and in separate areas of the monumental complex) on a vessel conveying a single-room structure. In Figure 3.33, a three-dimensional closed structure with a central entrance and an atypical double roof (adorned with war clubs) sits above a cylindrical chamber. Around the chamber, depicted in low relief and in profile, is a procession of warriors leading a nude captive. The earlier of the two events is depicted on the vessel chamber: the procession of three warriors leading a captive. This activity is understood to take place in the lower plaza. Captives are led, via a ramp, to an upper part of the precinct, indicated by the presence of the three-dimensional structure with war club roof embellishments. The ramp that leads from the lower plaza to the upper complex serves to connect these distinct spaces.

Many of the artistic conventions just described can be found in the same vessel. An example of this is a Moche I-II vessel which depicts architectural space

¹³⁰ The platform which likely supported a small full-scale structure measured only 175 centimeters wide (Donnan and Cock 2002:33-35).

both two- and three-dimensionally (Figure 3.31). Architectural structures at the top of the complex are depicted three-dimensionally, most likely because they are the focus of this particular representation. Meanwhile, platform levels supporting this space (and ramps leading up to it) are presented two-dimensionally through alternating horizontal registers of red and cream where red conveys vertical space and cream indicates horizontal space (Campana 1983b:12).¹³¹ In this same vessel, scale is exaggerated. Certain structures and features are larger in size while others are reduced. Decorative features (such as the step motif and double step seen at the bottom) are depicted as relatively oversized and wider than the access ramp on the left side of the vessel which is depicted vertically. When unfolded, Figure 3.31 takes the form of a stepped pyramid or platform complex. An artistic interpretation of this is presented in Figure 3.32.

Another means of communicating information on Moche vessels was to pare a structure down to its most basic or diagnostic element, as is demonstrated in an architectural motif vessel (Figure 3.34). To someone unfamiliar with Moche pictorial vocabulary, Figure 3.34 would seem an odd shape for a ceramic pot. Moche architectural complex vessels and archaeological excavation at Huaca Cao Viejo, however, reveal that this shape references a decorative element (the double step) that is found in association with important areas of the Moche monumental complex (Figures 3.23, 3.25, and 3.31). The double step motif may be significant because it references the north wall of the small decorated patio at Huaca Cao Viejo.

Conversely, the appearance of this motif on the small decorated patio and its

¹³¹ This does not appear to be a hard and fast rule, as some vessels use the color cream to convey vertical space and red to denote horizontal space. The conventions for vertical and horizontal space are, however, consistent in any given vessel.

depiction individually in clay may indicate the double step motif is a symbolic form in its own right.

Our understanding of artistic conventions used on architectural vessels is a critical factor in our ability to read the rich body of information they provide. This often means integrating two-dimensional information depicted on the chamber and three-dimensional representations found on the architectural superstructure, seeing them as two parts of a single image. It is important to realize, additionally, that no element is superfluous and that even a simply depicted step motif is intended to reference a highly charged ceremonial space.

Analysis of the Corpus by Moche Phase

At this point, the foundation has been laid for a detailed analysis of the Moche architectural corpus. Two different methods of analysis have been conducted. The first analytic method is by phase, separating vessels into groups according to spout type (e.g., Proto Moche, Moche I-II, III, IV, V, and Late Moche). With the aim of testing finds resulting from this analysis, a second method of analysis was undertaken. This method organized the corpus by architectural type (Appendix 2). Both methods corroborated that architectural types tend to be specific to Moche phase. For example, architectural complex vessels were found only in Proto Moche and Moche I-II while stepped pyramid vessels and step and wave motif vessels were found only in Moche phase IV. Additionally, these two modes of analysis helped to point to which of the ten architectural types in the corpus were most significant.

In the paragraphs to follow, I present my observations resulting from the analysis of the Moche architectural corpus by phase (or spout type). I will begin with Proto Moche and continue through the small Late Moche sample, noting those architectural types and features that are characteristic of each phase. I will also note the attributes and forms in each phase that contribute to our understanding of Moche represented architecture. Detail supporting these conclusions is presented in Appendix 4.

The Proto Moche corpus (26 vessels) is remarkable for its architectural homogeneity (Appendix 1 and Appendix 4, Proto Moche). With important exceptions, all vessels depict the same type of crenulated roof architectural structure.¹³² Crenulated roofs, therefore, are a diagnostic trait of Proto Moche architectural vessels. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this phase appears to represent a hybrid, or transitional style. Proto Moche vessel chambers are reminiscent of Virú-Gallinazo vessel chambers. Meanwhile, Proto Moche architectural types have their closest counterparts in Moche III vessels. Proto Moche vessels are more akin to Moche than Virú-Gallinazo in that they are decorated with red and white slip, a decorative style characteristic of the Moche ceramic tradition. The most frequent motifs on Proto Moche vessels are the *pez life* (catfish) and the double inverted spiral. Both motifs have been excavated on murals from the site of Huancaco in the Virú Valley (Figure 3.39),¹³³ suggesting that some vessels from the Proto Moche corpus may stem from this geographical area.

¹³² Crenulated is the term used by Donnan to describe roofs with serrated ridges (1978:79).

¹³³ Bourget (2001a, 2003). Bourget has noted that the dominant ceramic style excavated at Huancaco exhibits stylistic traits of both Moche and Virú-Gallinazo and has described the site as a “heretofore-unknown cultural development, localized and very dynamic” (in press). Catfish (*pez life*) motifs have

Illuminating our understanding of other Moche architectural representations are three Proto Moche vessels that depict architectural complexes (Appendix 1, Proto Moche). In all three examples, a closed gabled structure with mirrored step motifs is depicted within the small-scale complex. These architectural complex vessels are important because they provide architectural context (absent in other phases) for closed gabled structures with mirrored step motifs. In Moche IV, this form is consistently shown as an independent structure (Figure 3.18, 3.21). The inclusion of the gabled form with mirrored step motifs in these three Proto Moche architectural vessels suggests, however, that this architectural type is not an isolated architectural form. Instead, the closed gabled structure appears as an integral part of the Moche architectural complex, which, in full-scale architecture, is interpreted as ceremonial or religious in nature (Uceda 2001a).

Of all Moche phases to be discussed, Moche I-II vessels (13 in total) are the most architecturally detailed (Appendix 1 and Appendix 4, Moche I-II). Additionally, vessels from this phase unite architectural forms and elements that are depicted in isolation in other phases (Figures 3.20 and 3.31). As a result, architectural complex vessels from the Moche I-II corpus illuminate how different architectural forms and features interact, suggesting a possible Moche architectural hierarchy. Similar to the three examples discussed from the Proto Moche corpus, Moche I-II complex vessels act as a Moche architectural key, conveying the locations within the ceremonial complex for structures depicted independently in other Moche phases. Of final importance, imagery on Moche I-II architectural vessels has correspondence in full-

also been found at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Morales 2003:fig. 14.4), at La Mina in the Jequetepeque Valley (Narvaéz 1994:fig. 2.6); Figure 3.40, and at Huaca el Brujo in the Chicama Valley (Gálvez and Briceño 2001:fig. 17); Figure 3.41.

scale Moche architecture, most notably at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley and at Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley. This correspondence will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Moche III architectural vessels (23 in total) exhibit a cultural or stylistic affinity with vessels from the Proto Moche corpus (Appendix 1 and Appendix 4, Moche III). The architectural types found in both phases are similar and vessels from both phases depict structures with crenulated roofs.¹³⁴ Additionally, double chamber vessels (predominant in Proto Moche) appear in Moche III despite the fact that double chambers are uncommon in most other Moche phases. The Moche III architectural corpus can be characterized as artistically developmental and experimental, with great diversity in architectural and chamber types. This finding argues for little to no standardization among Moche III architectural vessels and suggests that the Moche III corpus was the product of many potters, each working in a distinct and possibly local artistic style.

Conversely, the Moche IV architectural corpus (77 vessels) shows a high degree of standardization (Appendix 1 and Appendix 4, Moche IV), containing twice the number of architectural vessels found in any other phase. In spite of this, Moche IV exhibits a limited range of architectural types (Appendix 5). The corpus is dominated by closed gabled structures, the most frequent of which is the closed gabled type with step-shaped roof combs. Imagery associated with this architectural type (war clubs, streams of blood, ritual vessels with ties, and ceremonial chisels, e.g. Figures 3.24, 3.55, 3.28, and 3.66, respectively) suggests that this structure was

¹³⁴ Crenulated roofs are a diagnostic trait of Proto Moche vessels. In Moche IV, crenulated roofs are replaced by sculpted ceramic war clubs that act as roof embellishments.

associated with bloodshed or sacrifice. This same structure is explicitly linked to the Mountain Scene of Human Sacrifice in other Moche vessels from the greater ceramic corpus (Figure 3.27). As noted in Chapter 2, this is the only architectural form in the Moche IV architectural corpus to contain a whistling mechanism, which further underscores the singularity of the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs.

Further distinguishing Moche IV from other phases is the fact that associated imagery is largely pictorial and narrative, as opposed to geometric. Additionally in Moche IV, there is an explicit connection made between architecture and warriors, offering, and pending sacrifice. While themes are limited, imagery appears to reference warriors in one of three activities: engaging in one-on-one combat, leading nude captives by a rope (Figures 3.33 and 3.43), or running around the exterior of stepped pyramid vessels, armed with clubs and spears (Figure 3.79). Warfare is also evoked through isolated iconographic elements (e.g., warrior bundles, back flaps, or war clubs) represented on Moche IV vessels. Depictions of or allusions to warriors is not present on architectural vessels from other Moche phases, indicating this theme holds special significance for Moche IV.¹³⁵

The Moche V corpus (28 vessels) contains many architectural types prevalent in Moche IV but reveals a shift in motifs and technical construction (Appendix 1 and Appendix 4, Moche V). On Moche V vessels, pictorial imagery is replaced with geometric motifs and all vessels appear to be mold-made.¹³⁶ The prevalence of closed

¹³⁵ The exceptions to this are a vessel in the Moche I-II corpus with two small warriors painted in fineline (Figure 3.23) and a vessel in Moche III depicting warriors parading a captive around a cylindrical vessel chamber (Figure 3.33).

¹³⁶ Figure 3.87 provides a noteworthy exception to this.

gabled structures in Moche V may be due in part to their ease of production. Most of the vessels appear to have been made from a single-form mold (Figure 3.85). Also, in Moche V whistles appear on vessels of open (rather than closed) architectural form, which indicates both a technological as well as aesthetic change (Figures 3.91 and 3.92).

The Late Moche corpus, while small (4 vessels), is important for its archaeological context (Appendix 1 and Appendix 4 Late Moche). Half of the vessels in this sample were excavated from the northern site of San José de Moro. A third vessel was excavated from Cerro Oreja, in the Moche Valley. One of the Late Moche vessels from San José de Moro was discovered in the same tomb as an unfired architectural maquette, revealing that these two distinct architectural forms (vessels and maquettes) were coeval. All Late Moche vessels have double chambers and exhibit open gabled structures with whistling mechanisms of the more simple direct type (Figures 3.92). While stylistically distinct from Moche I-II vessels, Late Moche vessels employ similar artistic conventions (horizontal bands to indicate platform levels) and decorative techniques (incised lines).

Analysis of the Corpus by Architectural Type

A slightly different method of analysis, focused on the architectural types represented, indicates which architectural forms were most significant, which architectural types had origins in other cultures, and which types continued to be represented on ceramic vessels from chronologically later cultures. Analysis by architectural type reveals that certain forms were particular to certain Moche phases,

while others were pan-Moche or pan-Andean. It appears that Moche architectural vessels from the corpus can be placed within one of the following three categories: architectural forms that are pan-coastal Andean; architectural forms that experience limited representation; and lastly, architectural forms that hold specific ritual or religious significance to the Moche, or perhaps one Moche phase in particular.

Pan-Coastal Andean Architectural Types

Open gabled and open shed roof structures (Appendix 2, Types 2 and 3) are the two most frequently represented architectural types in Moche fineline illustrations. These architectural types, however, are infrequent among Moche sculpted architectural vessels.¹³⁷ Given the infrequency with which open gabled and open shed roof structures appear in the Moche architectural vessel corpus and adding to this the fact that these same forms *are* common on sculpted architectural vessels from *other* cultural groups, I would argue that the open gabled and open shed roof types represent full-scale structures forming part of a pan-coastal Andean ideology or religion rather than architectural forms particular to Moche. The open gabled type occurs among vessels from the Salinar corpus and Vicús vessels from the Early Intermediate Period, as well as among vessels from the chronologically later Lambayeque and Chimú cultures (Late Intermediate Period). The open shed roof, conversely, appears frequently on Virú-Gallinazo architectural representation and is also an architectural type found on Lambayeque vessels.

¹³⁷ In Moche fineline, open and closed gabled structures are consistently depicted in conjunction with scenes and narratives interpreted as ritual in nature.

Architectural Types with Limited Representation

Five of the ten architectural types documented in Moche architectural vessels appear with frequency only within a single phase or spout type. These forms include the three wall shed roof structure (Appendix 2, Type 4); the three wall gabled roof structure (Appendix 2, Type 5); the back shed flat front roof structure (Appendix 2, Type 8); the back shed front half gabled structure (Appendix 2, Type 7); and the back shed front gabled structure (Appendix 2, Type 6). Four of these forms appear in the Proto Moche corpus and, therefore, may have had ties to the Virú Valley.¹³⁸ These same four architectural types also appear in the Moche III corpus, a phase which we have discussed as developmental or even transitional in style and a phase that also shares some affinity with Proto Moche. If each Moche phase or spout type represents a distinct cultural style (made up of diverse substyles), then it is possible that architectural forms are also diagnostic cultural features, identified or affiliated with specific peoples and polities. It may be that these four forms, which are limited to Proto Moche and Moche III, represent architectural structures closely tied to local or regional identity. It is significant that none of these four architectural types are present in the Moche IV and V samples — phases associated with the height of Moche expansion in the southern Moche valleys. This seems to indicate that a different type of architecture was sought to visually differentiate phases IV and V from architecture associated with other Moche phases.

The fifth architectural type (the back shed front gabled structure, Appendix 2, Type 6) appears twice in Moche III and twice in Moche IV. Converging/diverging

¹³⁸ These include the three wall shed roof structure (Type 4), the three wall gabled roof structure (Type 5), the back shed flat front roof structure (Type 8), and the back shed front half gabled structure (Type 7).

staircases are frequently depicted on vessel chambers associated with this architectural type. As yet, the only full-scale converging/diverging staircase known comes from Dos Cabezas in the Jequetepeque Valley on the north face of a large stepped platform mound (Donnan and Cock 2002). If the back shed front gabled structure is consistently associated with platform mounds with converging/diverging staircases, it is possible that this particular architectural form is endemic to Dos Cabezas or the Jequetepeque Valley.

Architectural Types of Special Moche Ritual or Religious Significance

The architectural types that do appear to be phase-specific and closely associated with Moche ideology at its height of power and expansion are the closed gabled roof types, namely the closed gabled roof without roof adornments (Appendix 2, Type 9); the closed gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs (Appendix 2, Type 9, version a); and the closed gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs and *tumi* (Appendix 2, Type 9, version b; Figure 3.86). These forms are most frequently found in Moche IV vessels but also appear in Moche V.

Closed gabled forms are unusual in the pan-coastal Andean tradition of architectural representation, possibly due to the fact they are not a practical form on the hot dry coasts. The exception to this, however, is architectural vessels from the Cupisnique corpus. Cupisnique, I suspect, is the origin of this prevalent and symbolic Moche architectural form which became part of Moche ritual architectural vernacular after the Moche altered the roof by rotating it 90 degrees. In adopting this form (tied to an important group associated with a popular and far-reaching religious ideology),

the Moche may have been attempting to ally themselves with Cupisnique (and Chavín) in an effort to establish their own legitimacy.

A variant of the closed gabled structure (the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs) dominates the Moche IV and V architectural corpus. This form also appears to have an antecedent in the Cupisnique corpus (see vessel in Bonavia 1994:30). In one example, the roof of a Cupisnique closed gabled structure is embellished with step motifs depicted in low relief. These forms are flush with the gabled roof making them less visually evident. Flipped outwards and given three-dimensional form, however, these embellishments would resemble Moche step-shaped roof combs.

Closed gabled structures with step-shaped roof combs appear in a few Proto Moche vessels, where they are consistently portrayed as one of several architectural structures within a miniature architectural complex, suggesting this architectural type operates within the context of a ceremonial precinct. Architectural vessels from the Moche IV corpus tie this architectural type to the procession of captives (Figure 3.43) and bloodletting (Figures 3.55, 3.66). A frontal elevation of this architectural type appears on Moche vessels depicting the Mountain Scene of Human Sacrifice (from phases III and IV).¹³⁹ The inclusion of this architectural type in the context of a one-peaked mountain and a scene of human sacrifice further suggests a relationship between the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs and human sacrifice in the context of a sacred *cerro*, or mountain. Lastly, the step-shaped roof comb motif occurs as a headdress for individuals (for example, anthropomorphized owls) who are often depicted in the act of decapitating or bleeding bound captives (Figure 3.51). The

¹³⁹ See Figure 3.27.

connection between this architectural type and human sacrifice at Huaca de la Luna will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

A variant of the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs adds a crescent-shaped *tumi* and also appears to have had ritual associations. In the Moche IV and V architectural corpus, this motif adorns closed gabled structures with central entrances. Also decorating vessels of this architectural type are undulating eared serpents, short vertical lines interpreted as streams of blood, or the ceremonial costume of the Warrior Priest. The Warrior Priest is described as a key figure in the Sacrifice Ceremony, whose attributes include a goblet, a back flap, and a conical helmet with a crescent-shaped *tumi* adornment (Donnan and McClelland 1999:131). These examples therefore indicate that vessels with the step-shaped roof comb and *tumi* motif are intimately connected to Moche religion and to themes of sacrifice. Similar to the depiction of the simpler step-shaped roof combs, the step-shaped roof comb with *tumi* is also used as a headdress adorning elite individuals, including elaborately bedecked warriors and anthropomorphized bats, felines, and owls (Figures 3.50, 3.52, 3.53). In its depiction as a headdress, the theme of human sacrifice is especially apparent.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the step-shaped roof comb with *tumi* motif appears to be a pan-Moche motif. This motif has been found on objects excavated from Nepeña Valley to the Reque Valley, including points that fall between the two (e.g., the Virú and Chicama valleys; Appendix 2, Type 9, version b). In addition to appearing on painted murals inside monumental architecture (Pañamarca, Nepeña Valley), the step-shaped

¹⁴⁰ The closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof comb and *tumi* motif appears as a headdress on vessels from the Virú-Gallinazo corpus on figures of warrior/musicians playing panpipes. Examples of these are found in the Museo Larco.

roof comb and *tumi* motif is depicted on walls of burial chambers (Cao Viejo, Chicama Valley) and on elegant copper ear spools with shell and stone inlay (Sipán, Reque Valley) suggesting this is an elite motif as well as a pan-Moche one (Appendix 2, Type 9, version b).

Observations on the Moche Architectural Vessel Corpus

Two important observations result from this analysis. The first relates to the importance of architectural complex vessels from the Moche I-II corpus and the second concerns the origin of architectural types represented in the Moche architectural vessel corpus. Visual analysis of the Moche architectural corpus confirms observations made by previous scholars: architecture depicted on ceramic vessels represents only a part rather than the whole of a structure or building. While this is largely true for Moche phases III, IV, and V, this observation is not supported for vessels from Moche I-II. Moche I-II vessels depict architectural complexes that replicate structures, features, embellishments, and modes of access in miniature. These spaces and features have been discovered archaeologically at Moche sites such as Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo, which further suggests that Moche I-II examples serve as miniature representations of Moche monumental complexes. Additionally, their architectural compositions unite architectural forms and elements that are found in isolation in other phases (e.g., independent structures represented in the Moche III, IV, and V corpus). Moche I-II architectural vessels, therefore, illuminate how different architectural forms and features (found independently in

other phases) interact and suggest for these architectural types a possible architectural hierarchy.

Secondly, the analysis has revealed that architectural forms found on Moche vessels are also in evidence on vessels from other north coastal groups. Some of these forms (i.e. the open gabled and open shed roof types) appear to represent a pan-coastal Andean tradition of ritual architecture. Interestingly, open gabled and open shed roof depictions, despite their prevalence in Moche fineline, are found rarely in the sculpted Moche architectural vessel corpus.

Of the ten architectural types identified in the Moche corpus, only one type appears to be particular to Moche culture and religion: the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs which comprises nearly forty percent of the Moche IV corpus. This type appears occasionally in architectural complex vessels from Proto Moche and Moche III, but takes on great prominence in Moche IV (the height of Moche influence and power in southern Moche) and V where it appears consistently as an independent structure. Despite the fact that this form comes to represent Moche ceremonial or religious architecture, the closed gabled structure is not an architectural type that originated with Moche. The origin of this architectural form appears to be vessels of the Cupisnique culture, a group associated with the influential religious sway of Chavín de Huantar. In adopting this architectural form for objects of ceremonial import, the Moche may have been attempting to ally themselves with this important and powerful ideology. In Chapter 5, I will discuss this architectural type and its likely correlate in full-scale Moche architecture in greater detail.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has explored the tangible and visual elements of Moche architectural vessels and included an analysis of the corpus. The discussion began by reviewing the tradition of architectural vessels in the ancient Andes, where the origins of certain Moche architectural forms were identified. I also discussed how one of these forms in particular (the closed gabled structure, originating with Cupisnique) was made to be uniquely Moche through an alteration to the structure's roof. A review of the vessel components demonstrated that all elements are crucial to identifying the vessel's phase and additionally work together to communicate information to the viewer. I also noted that, in addition to architectural types (vessels supporting sculpted representations of architecture) there are other architectural forms contributing to the corpus. All of these, from the most visually detailed to the most visually minimal, provide important information about Moche ceremonial architecture. A review of the artistic conventions used by Moche potters facilitated the reading of the often complex imagery associated with these objects and underscored the idea that even three-dimensional single-room representations include information (often two-dimensionally) that confirm they are not, in fact, to be read as isolated structures but instead buildings that form a critical part of a larger architectural complex.

My discussion of the analysis of the corpus (conducted by phase type and also by architectural type) revealed that one of the architectural forms often associated with Moche (open gabled structures) appears to be more pan-coastal Andean, while other types (the closed gabled structure with central entrance) appear to be specific to

Moche at the height of their power in the southern valleys (Moche IV). Another important observation resulting from the analysis of the architectural vessel corpus is that architectural types are often associated with particular Moche phases, suggesting architectural types, like spout type, are diagnostic features tied to or affiliated with specific peoples and polities. This is an important point that will be addressed when we examine the archaeological contexts for architectural representations, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 4. The Archaeological Contexts of Moche Architectural Vessels and Architectural Representations

Architectural vessels, when referenced in the Moche literature, are never discussed in terms of their geographical location or associated archaeological contexts. This is due to the fact that, until this study, none of the known architectural vessels had secure archaeological contexts. During the course of my research, I was able to identify five Moche vessels and two vessel fragments discovered through archaeological excavation. These objects offer us valuable information about Moche architectural vessels including with whom (males, females, adults, or children) and where geographically these objects are found. These archaeological contexts also reveal that Moche architectural vessels accompanied tombs found in close proximity to ceremonial architecture, suggesting that individuals interred with an architectural vessel had a substantive connection to local religion. The Moche architectural vessels and fragments with secure contexts provide insights important to the understanding of the entire corpus. This discussion will be augmented (and the hypothesis of Moche architectural vessels as important ritual artifacts strengthened) by architectural vessels with secure contexts from other cultural groups.

In this chapter, I will also examine archaeological contexts for two different types of architectural representation: maquettes and scepters with secure archaeological contexts. Maquettes, as they are discussed in this dissertation, refer to representations of architecture made of clay or wood. Differing from architectural vessels, they do not form part of a vessel and often represent more complex forms of architecture. In my view, architectural maquettes differ from architectural vessels in

function as well as form. Given on their occurrence in tombs, maquettes appear to act as small-scale substitutes for full-scale architecture, where their presence allows important rituals to be maintained during periods of cultural and political difficulty. Conversely, I interpret scepters as symbols of high status and power, intimating that a close connection existed between a powerful individual and an important ceremonial architectural structure.

Working from data presented in this chapter, I observe that all excavated examples of architectural representation were found in funerary contexts accompanying individuals buried within or in close proximity to Moche monumental architecture, or *huacas*, which suggest these individuals had ties to these ritual structures and by extension, Moche religion. Additionally, all examples presented in this chapter corroborate that, in addition to exhibiting local or regional artistic styles, differing architectural types represented on vessels, maquettes, and scepters reflected local or regional architectural structures. Another observation that emerges from our discussion is that architecture, as well as architectural representation, may have been considered a potent entity, therefore necessitating proper “burial” at the moment it fell into disuse. In the first section of this chapter, I present and discuss those architectural vessels with secure archaeological contexts.

Architectural Vessels found in Archaeological Contexts

In this section, I present evidence that signals an important correlation between architectural vessels and individuals with ties to ceremonial architecture. Data supporting this include the five Moche architectural vessels and two vessel

fragments with secure contexts as well as excavated architectural vessels attributed to Virú-Gallinazo and Salinar. Information on the location of the tomb, the type of tomb, and the associated offerings will be noted as will information on the sex, age, and pathologies of the tomb occupant, when available.

While Moche architectural vessels accompanied a wide demographic group and were found in tombs of distinct types located across a sizeable geographic expanse,¹⁴¹ all excavated examples found in these funerary contexts accompanied individuals buried within or in close proximity to Moche monumental architecture, or *huacas*.¹⁴² This observation is corroborated by excavated Virú-Gallinazo and Salinar architectural vessels. These contexts also suggest that individuals interred with architectural vessels occupied important roles within Moche religion or were in some way associated with the ceremonial *huaca*. Additionally, excavated architectural vessels corroborate the existence of architectural types without context in the corpus and serve to anchor these types in time and space. Evidence of the latter is provided by two architectural vessel fragments, to be discussed first.

¹⁴¹ Moche architectural vessels have been found accompanying female adults, children, adolescents, and young males. Tomb types in which these objects were found included chamber, boot-shaped, and pit tombs, interpreted as pertaining to high and middle status, respectively. Moche architectural vessels have been in the Santa Valley (1 vessel) and the northern Jequetepeque Valley (2 vessels), and valleys that fall between the two (i.e. one vessel each found in tombs from the Moche and Chicama valleys).

¹⁴² Because only five of the 169 vessels in the Moche architectural corpus were discovered by archaeologists, as opposed to treasure hunters, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions about this small sample. Nonetheless, each of these five instances will be discussed in detail and, in an effort to augment our data, archaeological contexts for other small-scale architectural representations from earlier, coeval, and later coastal pre-Hispanic Andean cultures will also be examined.

Moche Architectural Vessel Fragments, Guadalupito, Santa Valley

Two Moche architectural fragments from the site of Guadalupito in the Santa Valley are important for corroborating the existence of two architectural types found in the Moche vessel corpus.¹⁴³ The first depicts a step-shaped roof comb forming one of two roof embellishments on a closed gabled structure (Figure 4.3).¹⁴⁴ This fragment shares great similarity to the roof combs found on a vessel from the Museo Larco (Figure 3.28). Because of the predominance of this architectural type in the Moche architectural corpus, I consider it as one of exceptional importance. While we lack evidence to confirm this vessel was produced in the Santa Valley, its appearance at the site of Guadalupito corroborates the ancient existence of this architectural type.¹⁴⁵

The second fragment (Figure 4.2) formed part of a cylindrical chamber housing a roofed *tablado*: an elevated platform with a central and perpendicular ramp.¹⁴⁶ A vessel with a similar feature is housed in the Eugenio Nicolini collection in Lima (Figure 3.56). This architectural type is much less prevalent in the Moche architectural corpus than the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs. Nonetheless, its discovery in the Santa Valley is significant because, until the discovery of this fragment, *tablado* representations in Moche art had only been found in the northern Jequetepeque Valley (and specifically at the site of San José de Moro),

¹⁴³ These Moche architectural vessel fragments were discovered among hundreds of ceramic shards, the result of looted graves at the site of Guadalupito in the Santa Valley. Because they lack precise archaeological contexts, they will not factor into our larger discussion.

¹⁴⁴ This was found at Guadalupito 109, concentración 4.

¹⁴⁵ Because step-shaped roof combs are so prominent in the Moche corpus, it was necessary to corroborate that they were, in fact, archaeological artifacts and not simply modern forgeries. A few vessels of this type do appear to be modern fabrications, however. See last page of Appendix 1, Moche IV.

¹⁴⁶ For definitions of *tablad*os, see Bawden (1977:43-56; 1982:302-304). This fragment was found at Guadalupito 109, concentración 9.

suggesting that the represented *tablado* was a more northern Moche form. The discovery of this vessel fragment in the Santa Valley, however, suggests *tablado* representations were more widespread. The examples that follow present archaeological contexts for complete Moche architectural vessels including information concerning where they appear, with whom, and in which Moche phases.

Moche Architectural Motif Vessel, North Terrace, El Castillo, Santa Valley

The first piece of evidence to suggest that Moche architectural vessels were the prerogative of individuals associated with Moche religion comes from the site of El Castillo in the Santa Valley. Here the discovery of a step and wave motif vessel in a tomb containing an adult female led excavators to infer the interred female was an important person at the site. The presence of the step and wave motif vessel suggested, additionally, her connection to liturgical and ceremonial activities (Chapdelaine et al. 2005:25-28, 32, figs. 10 and 11).¹⁴⁷ The step and wave motif jar (a *cántaro*, or wide-mouthed vessel) was uncovered in Tomb 3 on the North Terrace at the site of El Castillo in the Santa Valley in 2001.¹⁴⁸ The architectural features and the quality of architectural construction in the area where this and other tombs were discovered suggests the North Terrace was an administrative and ceremonial center occupied by the elite (Chapdelaine et al. 2005:13, 19). The step and wave vessel (Figure 4.1) was one of several ceramic objects interred in a pit tomb placed in the

¹⁴⁷ Step motifs appear in scenes such as the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figure 5.47) interpreted as depicting Moche religious ritual (Donnan and McClelland 1999). The step and wave motif has been interpreted as tied to human sacrifice, also seen as an important element of Moche religion (de Bock 2003).

¹⁴⁸ El Castillo is considered the most important administrative and ceremonial center associated with Moche III artifacts.

adobe fill of the middle stratigraphic layers of the North Terrace. The primary burial was a female adult, 30-35 years of age, wrapped in a cane coffin, and accompanied by at least three individuals. All offerings were attributed to middle Moche and included decorated textiles, sculpted vessels, jars, bowls, a hollow female figurine, the chamber of a fineline stirrup spout vessel, two sculpted cactus vessels, flaring bowls, and corn-poppers (*cancheros*), in addition to the step and wave vessel.

Moche Architectural Motif Vessel, Uhle Platform, Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley

The second piece of evidence to support the proposal that architectural vessels are interred with individuals important to the *huaca* comes from a burial at Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley. A stirrup spout vessel with a step motif chamber was found in the Uhle Platform (Figure 4.4), located at the foot of the west façade of the Huaca de la Luna — an area interpreted as a venue where elite leaders carried out mortuary rituals (Gutiérrez 2008:246-248).¹⁴⁹ The appearance in Tomb 26 of a Moche III step motif vessel is significant as it corroborates the existence of this form and anchors it in geographical and temporal space. The step motif vessel pertained to a disturbed chamber tomb containing the disarticulated remains of a child, aged 3-12 (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005:120).¹⁵⁰ Accompanying the burial was a variety of

¹⁴⁹ Dozens of tombs have been excavated from the Uhle Platform, lending credence to its early interpretation as a funerary platform (Kaulicke 1998; Uhle 1913). Burials excavated by Claude Chauchat, Belkys Gutiérrez, and team have further revealed that tombs within the Uhle Platform pertained to high status individuals, given the frequency of chamber tombs in this area.

¹⁵⁰ The tomb had been reentered and resealed by the Moche themselves as well as the target of more recent looting activity. For discussion and an analysis of secondary Moche burial, see Millaire (2004).

offerings of exceptional quality and craftsmanship.¹⁵¹ Associated grave goods included two jars and five stirrup spout vessels, one of which depicted a stylized mountain scene.¹⁵² Because the burial was disturbed, it is difficult to speculate about the tomb occupant's relationship to the Uhle Platform at the base of the Huaca de la Luna. One of the interesting features of this tomb was its roof, which the excavators described as gabled (*dos aguas*), created by using large adobes placed at a roughly ninety degree angles to form an inverted "V" over the tomb (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005:120-123).¹⁵³ The significance of gabled tomb roofs will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Moche Architectural Vessel, Small Decorated Patio, Huaca Cao Viejo, Chicama Valley

The third piece of evidence to support the proposal that architectural vessels are found in association with individuals associated with Moche ceremonial architecture is provided by excavations at Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley. An architectural vessel was placed next to a sacrificed adolescent (12-13 years of age) who shared the tomb of an adult. This adult was interpreted as the most important of

¹⁵¹ Offerings included metal, shell, ceramic, and camelids. Chamber tombs are viewed as the most elite tomb form. Niches occur in tombs that are interpreted as especially high status.

¹⁵² As discussed in Chapter 3, mountain scenes have ties to ritual activity (including human sacrifice) associated with Moche monumental architecture. Grave goods were associated with Moche phase II and III and were found at the north end of the tomb. Other vessels in this tomb depicted a sculpted dwarf, a vessel decorated in an archaic Cupisnique style, and a vessel decorated with reptiles, or *cañanes* (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005:fig. 172).

¹⁵³ The gabled tomb "roof" was disturbed at the north end but intact at the south end. Authors suggest the gabled adobe roof was added after the tomb was reentered and resealed (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005:122-123).

the three burials found in association with the Señora de Cao.¹⁵⁴ The burial of the Señora de Cao (in the area known as the small decorated patio) is the most sumptuous burial yet excavated from a southern Moche site.¹⁵⁵ The adolescent (believed to have been a sacrificial offering for the tomb's adult occupant) was found at the foot of the adult burial. A rope of vegetal fiber tied around the cervical vertebrae of the adolescent (Mujica et al. 2007:215) suggests he or she had been strangled prior to interment.

The vessel itself (a double chamber vessel of the three wall shed roof type) is important for several reasons (Figure 4.5).¹⁵⁶ First, it is one of only three vessels in the corpus with archaeological context that depicts an architectural structure.¹⁵⁷ Second, despite being excavated from the Chicama Valley, this vessel is uncharacteristic of the local ceramic style. The double chamber architectural vessel is morphologically more akin to Salinar or Virú-Gallinazo style vessels.¹⁵⁸ Additionally, it exhibits traits that are characteristic of the La Mina substyle from the Jequetepeque Valley. The fact that it was found in association with Moche I-II vessels which also share similarities with the La Mina substyle, suggests that many of the associated

¹⁵⁴ Additional offerings associated with the primary adult were three ceramic vessels, two jars decorated with catfish (*pez life*) motifs, and a stirrup spout vessel depicting a human figure holding a lime pot and spatula (Mujica et al. 2007:215).

¹⁵⁵ The tomb of the Señora de Cao was one of four tombs found within the floor of the small decorated patio, contemporary in date with the tomb discussed (see Mujica et al. 2007:209-225). The tombs were associated with the fill of the first construction phase of the building (Mujica et al. 2007:209). Huaca Cao Viejo is important for its complex monumental architecture, similar in its layout and decorative program to Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley. One of the best preserved areas of Huaca Cao Viejo is the small decorated patio whose northern wall is delineated with sculpted double step motifs, discussed in Chapter 5.

¹⁵⁶ This whistling vessel is of the direct type, without a resonating chamber, which allies it more closely to vessels of the Salinar and Virú-Gallinazo styles.

¹⁵⁷ The other two examples are from San José de Moro.

¹⁵⁸ While Salinar is generally understood to be chronologically earlier than Moche, this discovery suggests these styles were more contemporary than has previously been considered (Mujica et al. 2007:209).

burial items were of foreign manufacture. Third, the discovery of this architectural vessel in such elite funerary contexts (within a ceremonial patio inside the important Huaca Cao Viejo complex) corroborates finds from the Santa and the Moche valleys, providing further evidence that architectural vessels accompanied individuals who were in some way connected to Moche monumental architecture and Moche religion.

Moche Architectural Vessels, San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley

The tomb contexts for the next two vessels to be discussed also support the hypothesis that architectural vessels served as tomb goods for individuals with close ties to Moche religion. One of the vessels to be discussed additionally suggests a connection between architectural representation and individuals who were ritually sacrificed. To better contextualize these finds, I will provide relevant background on the site of San José de Moro.

San José de Moro is considered one of the most complex of the ancient cemeteries on Peru's north coast, with origins dating to the Middle Moche Period and extending through the Late Intermediate Period (del Carpio 2008:82). It is a venue where people from the region came together to participate in ceremonial activities and bury their elite (Castillo and Uceda 2008:722). The site of San José de Moro is best known as the burial place of the Moche Priestess, a key personage in the Sacrifice Ceremony depicted on Moche fineline vessels. Since Donnan and Castillo's discovery of the first Moche Priestess in 1991, other adult females buried with

Priestess attributes (namely chalices or goblets and copper headdress ornaments) have been excavated at this site.¹⁵⁹

San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb M-U1512

At San José de Moro, a double chamber architectural whistling vessel, discovered within the sealed entrance of a Late Moche boot-shaped tomb (M-U1512), was found in association with a 15 to 20-year-old male whom excavators believe had been sacrificed and placed at the tomb entrance to act as a guardian (Rengifo et al. 2008:129-130).¹⁶⁰ The tomb's principal occupant was an adult female, placed in a rectangular coffin. The tomb was deemed singular for its large dimensions (approximately 2.5 x 1.7 meters) and for the assemblage of ceramic artifacts it contained. Many of these pieces were of foreign manufacture exhibiting styles associated with Cajamarca and Wari. Other tomb offerings included spondylus shells, metal *tupus* or straight pins, spoons of stone or ceramic or metal, and the remains of a camelid in the southern part of the chamber (Rengifo et al. 2008:129-131). All these finds suggest a principal tomb occupant of high status.

The architectural vessel was described by its excavators as the finest ceramic piece of the approximate eighty within the tomb (Rengifo et al. 2008:131). Depicted is an open gabled roof structure supported by a striped "platform" (Figure 4.6). The vessel's chamber exhibits incised and painted lines that convey volutes and triangles. The false spout supporting the architectural structure is painted in alternating reddish brown and white horizontal stripes, suggestive of platform levels seen in Moche I-II

¹⁵⁹ These additional finds confirm that the Priestess was more likely a religious official in Moche society than a mythical figure (Castillo 2005; Donnan in press b).

¹⁶⁰ The tomb was located in the north section of the *Cancha de Fútbol* at San José de Moro, in the northern Jequetepeque Valley (Rengifo et al. 2008:129-131).

architectural vessels. Within the architectural structure is a small whistling mechanism.

San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb M-U1525

The archaeological context of the second San José de Moro architectural vessel to be discussed also supports my proposal that Moche architectural vessels accompanied individuals connected to Moche religion. The architectural vessel accompanied an adult female identified as the Priestess (*Sacerdotista*) from the Moche Sacrifice Ceremony¹⁶¹ and was found in an elaborate Late Moche chamber tomb (M-U1525, 4.2 x 3.7 meters, with ten niches), located northwest of the *Cancha de Fútbol* (Mauricio and Castro 2008).¹⁶² The vessel was placed near the adult female's head on the outer east side of the coffin containing her remains. Within the larger burial chamber were seven additional individuals interred in three distinct episodes. Two of these individuals were identified as females between the ages of 24 and 34. The first individual was found close to the tomb entrance and in association with a metal chalice or cup and a headdress adornment referred to as a *penacho*.¹⁶³ The second individual was found inside a wooden coffin with a large metal mask and

¹⁶¹ Priestess burials from San José de Moro are mentioned in the context of Tomb M-U1512 discussed earlier in this section.

¹⁶² Interesting parallels can be found between the architecture of Tomb M-U1525 and some of the architectural maquettes excavated from San José de Moro. Tomb M-U1525 has a central entrance on the west side. There was evidence for a roof made of wooden *algarrobo* beams, which were covered by reed mats before the tomb was sealed. Of particular interest were the remains of two camelids found above the tomb roof. Their presence here recalls the appearance of two sculpted ceramic creatures on the tomb roof of an unfired ceramic maquette from a different tomb at this same site (M-U729; Figure 4.18).

¹⁶³ A second *penacho* was found underneath the individual (Ana Cecilia Mauricio, personal communication 2008). While the chalice and *penacho* are attributes associated with the Priestess, this particular individual had no feet, which suggests she served as a tomb guardian.

metal disks.¹⁶⁴ Tomb offerings included hundreds of *crisoles* (small wide-mouthed pinch pots, generally unfired), modeled ceramic vessels including one depicting Wrinkle Face (also known as Ai-Apaec, an important Moche deity),¹⁶⁵ and human as well as camelid remains. Also excavated from this important chamber tomb were eight unfired ceramic architectural maquettes (Mauricio and Castro 2008:76-83). Two of the maquettes were placed in niches (niches 1 and 10) and the others were found on the tomb floor.¹⁶⁶ The maquettes will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

The architectural vessel (Figure 4.7) shared morphological and technical similarities with the double chamber vessel from Tomb M-U1512, despite its poorer state of preservation.¹⁶⁷ A false spout supports the open gabled roof structure, which houses a whistling mechanism. The vessel's exterior depicts the Moche Bean and Stick Ceremony, relayed in polychrome and outlined in white.¹⁶⁸

The architectural vessels excavated from San José de Moro support my proposal that Moche architectural vessels served as tomb goods for individuals with ties to Moche religion. Both architectural vessels from San José de Moro (Tombs M-1512 and M-U1525) occur in high status burials: one is found within the tomb of an adult female identified as the Moche Priestess and the other is found near a young male who appears to have been a sacrificial victim accompanying (or guarding) the principal tomb occupant. The latter example suggests a connection between

¹⁶⁴ These metal disks depicted the Priestess figure in profile holding a chalice in one hand and a staff in the other.

¹⁶⁵ Representations of Wrinkle Face or Ai-Apaec have been found in every Priestess tomb excavated at San José de Moro (Mauricio and Castro 2008:82).

¹⁶⁶ The maquettes are believed to have been interred in the same ritual moment (Ana Cecilia Mauricio, personal communication 2008).

¹⁶⁷ The two San José de Moro architectural whistling vessels also share tonal similarities, which in addition to their technical similarities, suggests they were the product of the same hand or workshop.

¹⁶⁸ For more on this, see Donnan and McClelland (1999:114-115).

architectural representation and sacrificed individuals, a possibility also indicated by the double chamber whistling vessel from Huaca Cao Viejo. Additionally, the San José de Moro vessels provide us with important geographic and chronological information: they are the only excavated examples of Moche architectural vessels from the north of the Pampa de Paiján and also constitute our only evidence for architectural vessels from the Late Moche period.¹⁶⁹

In the next section, we examine architectural vessels with secure archaeological contexts from two different cultures, Virú-Gallinazo and Salinar. These examples provide further evidence that architectural vessels occur in close proximity to ceremonial architecture. These vessels also support the proposal that architectural types (represented on architectural vessels) reflect forms of local or regional importance.

Virú-Gallinazo Architectural Vessel, Gallinazo Group, Virú Valley

Two Virú-Gallinazo vessels excavated from the Virú Valley are important to our understanding of architectural representation because they tie a specific architectural type to a particular geographic area. These architectural vessels were found in separate tombs at the same cemetery site (V-164) at the Gallinazo Group (Bennett 1950:57-59). Both vessels had double chambers and shed roof architecture with nub-like projections on the roof, traits which are common among architectural

¹⁶⁹ Until their discovery, the only evidence for Late Moche architectural representations came from the unfired ceramic maquettes excavated at this same site.

vessels from the Virú-Gallinazo corpus.¹⁷⁰ Burial 525-9 contained the more architecturally complex of the two examples (Figure 4.8) and was deemed the most sumptuous of the twelve burials excavated.¹⁷¹ The second vessel (from Tomb 525-4) was accompanied by a collared jar with cross-hatched appliquéd strips.¹⁷² Poor preservation in both burials meant that no information on the sex, age, or pathology of the individuals was available (Bennett 1950:57-59).

While few conclusions can be made about the relationship between the interred individual and the architectural vessels excavated, these finds are significant because they anchor an architectural type (a double chamber, shed roof structure with nub-like roof decorations and a flared base) to a specific geographical area (the Virú Valley). An architectural representation of this same architectural type was excavated from the site of Huaca Santa Clara (Jean-François Millaire, personal communication 2006). This object, a carved wooden staff or scepter, will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Virú-Gallinazo Architectural Vessel, Cerro Sechín, Casma Valley

Additional support for the proposal that architectural vessels were interred with individuals associated with ceremonial architecture is provided by a Virú-

¹⁷⁰ Vessels of this stylistic type are consistently whistling vessels. The vessel available for study, however, appears to have been modified from whistling to non-whistling vessel in antiquity. An opening that would have accommodated the whistle was closed up before the vessel was fired. This observation was made and communicated to me by the conservation team at MNAHP.

¹⁷¹ This architectural vessel is housed at the MNAHP (C-54419). Accompanying objects included a face collar jar (Bennett 1950:pl. 8 I); an anthropomorphic jar with a modeled animal holding a smaller animal (Bennett 1950:pl. 8, J, today at the MNAHP [C-54421]); a spout and bridge vessel with a lizard-head (Bennett 1950:pl. 8, K); a face collar jar; a spout and bridge with an owl-head (Bennett 1950:pl. 8, L); and a large face collar jar.

¹⁷² I was unable to locate this vessel though it is believed to be housed in boxes at the MNAHP in Lima.

Gallinazo example excavated from the Casma Valley at the site of Cerro Sechín (Figure 4.9). While the vessel was found in Virú-Gallinazo levels (Early Intermediate Period), Cerro Sechín was an important ceremonial center dating to the earlier Initial Period. This double chamber vessel accompanied an older male buried on the western side of the walled temple of Cerro Sechín (Oscar López, personal communication 2007). The discovery of this vessel in such close proximity to ceremonial architecture provides additional evidence that architectural vessels served as funerary offerings for individuals either associated with or perhaps even offered to important ritual architecture. This find is additionally significant as it provides our first archaeological evidence for an architectural vessel of the Virú-Gallinazo style from the Casma Valley.

Salinar Architectural Vessel, Tomaval, Virú Valley

This next example, a single chamber Salinar vessel from the Virú Valley, is important for the type of architecture it depicts as well as for its inclusion in an adult female tomb.¹⁷³ Found in Tomb 1, cemetery V-66 at the site of Tomaval (Puerto Moorin phase), the architectural vessel depicts an open gabled structure supported by

¹⁷³ The vessel (Figure 4.10), a white-on-red double spout and bridge whistling vessel, is discussed by Strong and Evans (1952:49). The authors note that modeled bits of clay under the roof indicated the structure originally housed a small figure. A photograph and a drawing of this vessel are found on plate III, C and on p. 298, fig. 55, 11. The whereabouts of this vessel are at present unknown, at least to this author. After Strong's death, much of his material was sent to the American Museum of Natural History in New York and the Smithsonian in Washington D.C. (Terence D'Altroy, personal communication 2006). This vessel, however, has not turned up at either repository. While some of Strong's material is held at the MNAHP in Lima, a search at this institution in the winter of 2006 did not locate the vessel.

four posts (Figure 4.10).¹⁷⁴ This architectural type may reflect a style of ritual architecture important to this area.¹⁷⁵ The burial is particularly noteworthy as the cranium of the female tomb occupant showed an indentation on the left parietal “where a severe blow had been received, but had healed” (Strong and Evans 1952:49). This might suggest the individual had engaged in some type of fighting, ritual or other, at some point before her death.

Architectural Vessel Discussion

Our discussion of these archaeological contexts (Moche, Virú-Gallinazo, and Salinar) reveals that architectural vessels were not the prerogative of a particular gender or age group but instead accompanied individuals buried within or in close proximity to monumental ceremonial architecture (e.g., El Castillo, Huaca Cao Viejo, Huaca de la Luna, and Cerro Sechín). Additional evidence suggests that, for Moche, some of the individuals interred with architectural vessels occupied important roles within Moche religion. For example, at the site of San José de Moro, an architectural vessel (Figure 4.7) was found in a chamber tomb occupied by a female adult identified as a Moche Priestess (*Sacerdotista*). Donnan argues the Priestess was a principal figure in the Moche Sacrifice Ceremony (1975) and has interpreted the Sacrifice Ceremony as one of the most important elements of Moche religion (in

¹⁷⁴ Other grave goods included a small gourd container, three broken vessels, peanut shells, and corncobs.

¹⁷⁵ Another vessel, attributed to Salinar and reportedly from the Virú Valley, depicts the exact same type of architectural structure. This vessel is from the Rosales Olano collection in Trujillo.

press b).¹⁷⁶ An architectural vessel excavated from an important part of the ceremonial complex Huaca Cao Viejo (Figure 4.5) was found in association with what may have been a human sacrifice. This individual accompanied an adult buried in the same patio and at the same moment as the Señora de Cao, one of the richest Moche burials yet excavated. Meanwhile, an architectural vessel from the Moche Valley (Figure 4.4) was one of several burial offerings found in a tomb in the Uhle Platform (adjacent to the Huaca de la Luna), an area interpreted as an important funerary mound. In the southern valleys, a vessel from El Castillo (Figure 4.1) accompanied a burial also found in proximity to the site's principal Moche mound. Similar to the Moche Priestess, the female interred at El Castillo is also believed to have had a connection to Moche religion (Chapdelaine et al. 2005:25-28, 32). These excavated examples of Moche architectural vessels underscore the connection between architectural vessels as burial offerings and individuals intimately connected to Moche ceremonial architecture, suggesting that these objects were the prerogative of elite Moche individuals who served or were involved in activities tied to Moche religion.

In the next section, I will discuss archaeological contexts for a different type of architectural representation: the maquette. Maquettes appear to share some contextual similarities with architectural vessels. For example, maquettes also occur in high status burials that occur within or in close proximity to ceremonial architecture. Similar to the architectural vessels discussed, maquettes appear to

¹⁷⁶ The Sacrifice Ceremony, also known as the Presentation Theme, depicts the culminating event in Moche ritual practice: the presentation of a goblet (filled with sacrificial blood) to a Moche deity in the presence of other actors important in the event, including the figure interpreted as the Priestess (Donnan in press b; 1975).

replicate architectural forms of local ceremonial significance. I would argue, however, that maquettes are distinct from architectural vessels in important ways. These distinctions are evident through their physical form. Maquettes, for example, are neither containers nor instruments and the architecture they depict is less schematic, providing explicit details about how space is laid out and used. More importantly, I would argue, are the symbolic distinctions implied by their form and underscored by the archaeological contexts in which they are found. Maquettes appear to substitute for full-scale ceremonial architecture. Related to this possibility is the fact that several of the maquettes to be discussed were intentionally entombed by themselves, suggesting the potency of architectural representations.

Architectural Maquettes found in Archaeological Contexts

Architectural maquettes are another form of architectural representation found in ancient Andean funerary contexts.¹⁷⁷ The maquettes to be discussed here share common features: all are square or rectangular in plan, have perimeter walls that delineate exterior space, and structural walls that sub-divide interior space. In some of the examples discussed, maquettes maintain sculpted figures engaged in activities that serve to illuminate the function of the space. Maquettes accompanied tombs of relatively high status individuals (both male and female, from children through adults).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Maquettes were made from a range of media including textile, wood, volcanic stone, unfired clay, fired clay, and adobe brick and range in size from hand-held objects to “miniature” buildings that occupy entire rooms.

¹⁷⁸ Maquettes have been interpreted as scale models that were used in construction by ancient peoples (Campana 1983a, 2001); as representations of ceremonial architecture or ritual space (Castillo et al.

Similar to architectural vessels, maquettes are found in association with ceremonial architecture and often accompany individuals of high status. There are, however, a few important distinctions to be made between both forms. The first is that the architectural specificity of maquettes suggests their function was more than schematically representational. I suggest, instead, that maquettes were made to serve as substitutes for full-scale ceremonial architecture that could not be buried due to reasons of inaccessibility or political instability. Second, the structures represented in maquettes also appear to have correspondence in full-scale architecture. It has been observed, however, that some maquettes with secure contexts *do not* reflect local ritual architectural patterns but instead reference monumental architecture known from other, more distant sites. Because this is an important point which will be elucidated during our discussion of excavated maquettes, I would like to propose reasons for this possible disjunction.

There are a few explanations that may account for perceived discrepancies between the architecture reflected in excavated maquettes and local ceremonial architecture.¹⁷⁹ First, the maquettes may be symbolic replacements for architecture from elsewhere, perhaps created or imported by people from other lands with distinct forms of ceremonial architecture. Represented architecture placed in tombs would then symbolically substitute for architecture that was remote or inaccessible. Another

1997; Mauricio and Castro 2008:79; Uceda 1997a, 1999a, 1999b, 2006a); and spaces activated like a curandero's *mesa*, a divining agent used by ancient and contemporary shamen and healers (Stvan 2000:32).

¹⁷⁹ For example, the pumice maquette from Huaca El Brujo (Figure 4.14) is believed to reflect architecture from the northern Lambayeque Valley rather than local architecture at Huaca El Brujo; the wooden maquette discovered at Tomaval (Figure 4.13) is believed to share architectural features with chronologically later sites in the Moche Valley; and, the large adobe maquette found in its own architectural enclosure at the site of Túcume in the Lambayeque Valley (Figure 4.16) is interpreted as a small-scale replica of the Inca administrative center, La Centinela, in the Chíncha Valley, a thousand kilometers south of Túcume.

explanation that may account for these discrepancies is intrusive or secondary burial. In some cases, for example the pumice maquette from El Brujo or the wooden maquette from Tomaval, archaeological contexts are disturbed. In the case of Tomaval, the maquette might have been an offering for a later tomb with contents that, as a result of looting, were mixed with offerings from an earlier tomb.

A third possibility is that the depiction in miniature does, in fact, represent local full-scale ceremonial architecture, but references structures that have not yet been identified through archaeological excavation. This appears to be the case with maquettes excavated from the site of San José de Moro. Until recently, the dozens of unfired ceramic maquettes excavated from tombs at this site were thought to have had no local full-scale architectural counterparts, with the possible exception of the chamber tombs themselves (Morales 2003:440). This view, however, has changed with the recent discovery of *tablado* structures (whose floor plans are replicated in some of the unfired clay maquettes of San José de Moro). These full-scale *tablados* have been documented in the western hinterland of the Jequetepeque Valley (Rucabado and Castillo 2003:35, footnote 2; Swenson 2008:415-421).¹⁸⁰ It is likely that with time and continued excavation more maquettes will be found to have full-scale counterparts in local ceremonial architecture.

Related to the observation that maquettes replicate either remote or local ceremonial architecture is the likelihood that many of the spaces represented by maquettes reflect ritual structures devoted to mortuary rituals. This is suggested by a peopled maquette reportedly found near Cahuachi (Figure 4.11) where inside the architectural space sculpted figures process around a mummy bundle. Maquettes as

¹⁸⁰ See also Mauricio and Castro (2008:79) and Swenson (2004).

representations of funerary space are also suggested by a textile maquette attributed to the later Chancay culture (Late Intermediate Period; Figure 4.12). This example depicts figures in an architectural space playing flutes and panpipes, activity often associated with burial ritual. Additional evidence for maquettes as small-scale sites of mortuary activity is provided by the wooden Chimú maquette, to be discussed in more detail later in this chapter (Figure 4.23).¹⁸¹

The first few examples to be discussed support a possible lack of correspondence between excavated maquettes found in tombs and local ceremonial architecture. Two of these examples additionally underscore the importance of interring or entombing small-scale depictions of ceremonial architecture. After all data has been presented, the excavated maquettes will be discussed as a group and important recurring traits and contexts will be highlighted.

Wooden Maquette, Castillo de Tomaval, Virú Valley

A maquette of carved *algarrobo* (a wood indigenous to north coastal Peru) was found in a disturbed tomb on the north side of the Castillo of Tomaval in the Virú Valley sometime before 1983 (Campana 1983a, 2001). While associated finds dated the tomb to Moche IV, Cristóbal Campana did not see architectural correspondence between the wooden Tomaval maquette and full-scale coastal architecture from the same time period.¹⁸² Instead, Campana proposed the maquette depicted access

¹⁸¹ This peopled architectural representation has been interpreted as referencing not only a burial platform or mausoleum (a place that Spanish chroniclers noted as a venue for the cult of dead Chimú rulers) but also presenting important information about the accompanying funeral procession.

¹⁸² Campana suggested the maquette dates to three or four centuries later than the associated materials in the disturbed tomb (1983a:162-163).

patterns and features found at the chronologically later site of Huaca El Dragon (or Huaca Arco Iris) in the Moche Valley (1983a:169-171; 2001:102; Schaedel 1966).¹⁸³

While the Tomaval maquette (18.5 cm long by 9.4 cm wide) is of interest for its precisely circumscribed space (Figure 4.13),¹⁸⁴ it is even more noteworthy for its unusual context, “entombed” within an ovoid-shaped adobe (Campana 1983a:161, 2001:96).¹⁸⁵ Such context raises questions about the power of architectural representation. For instance, was the elaborate *algarrobo* architectural complex so particular to a person, time, or group, that it required entombment upon their death? Is the intentional burial of an architectural representation a metaphor or a substitute for the ceremonial entombment of full-scale Moche monumental complexes, or *huacas*, such as the Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley or the Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley?

Pumice Maquette, Huaca El Brujo, Chicama Valley

A second example of an entombed ceremonial architectural representation with no apparent local precedent was found in the Chicama Valley at Huaca El Brujo in 1991. Carved from pumice, the maquette depicts two truncated pyramid structures

¹⁸³ While the same features can be identified in the maquette and at Huaca El Dragon, I do not see similarities between the structures themselves.

¹⁸⁴ This space conveys two mirrored halves where each half maintains an elevated multi-level architectural complex located in opposite corners. These elevated complexes overlook a grid of equally sized spatial units, sunken and square in shape. The sunken and square units are similar to those found in *yupanas*, an ancient Andean object of wood or stone interpreted as an abacus (see examples and discussion in Radicati di Primeglio 1990). Campana notes formal similarities between the Tomaval maquette and a stone artifact excavated at the site of Pashash (Grieder 1978:fig. 96). In comparing the Pashash “maquette” with *yupanas* published in Radicati di Primeglio (1990:fig. 1, no. 2), however, I believe the Pashash object shares more similarity with *yupanas* or gaming boards (*tableros de escajes*) than with architectural maquettes such as those discussed in this chapter. For the stone artifact from Pashash as a gaming board, see Smith (1977).

¹⁸⁵ It was when Campana’s students tossed the adobe brick that it broke, releasing the wooden maquette within (Cristobal Campana, personal communication 2006).

separated by a plaza (Franco and Murga 2001, 2006).¹⁸⁶ The larger pyramid has a four-tiered platform with a long central ramp which descends to the base of the smaller, two-tiered pyramid (Franco and Murga 2001:93). Regulo Franco and Antonio Murga noted these architectural forms are not characteristic of monumental structures at El Brujo (the archaeological site where they were excavated) but instead exhibit features found elsewhere in the Chicama Valley, noting as an example the Middle Horizon site of Huaca Colorada (Franco and Murga 2001:97).¹⁸⁷

The pumice maquette, found in a looter's pit to the northwest of Montículo Paredones, had been left by grave robbers, possibly due to its cumbersome size and formidable weight (Figure 4.14). According to a witness present during the looting, the maquette was one of several offerings in a rectangular shaped tomb with niches and wooden beams supporting a roof.¹⁸⁸ The associated finds, including ceramics of Wari, coastal Cajamarca, and early Lambayeque style, date the tomb to the Transitional Period, between the Moche and Lambayeque cultures (Franco and Murga 2001:93).¹⁸⁹

The lack of information about the tomb occupant(s) and the incomplete contents of the chamber tomb in which the pumice maquette was discovered make it difficult to speculate about the tomb occupant(s)'s relationship to the large pumice maquette. The inclusion of wares of Wari, Coastal Cajamarca, and Lambayeque

¹⁸⁶ The maquette measured 65.1 centimeters long, 25.83 centimeters wide and 33 centimeters high.

¹⁸⁷ See plans for Huaca Colorada in Franco and Murga (2001:99). In my opinion, the maquette's main pyramid shares formal similarity to the drawing of Huaca de los Chinos (Figure 4.15) in the neighboring Moche Valley (Harthe-Terre 1965).

¹⁸⁸ This description conveys a chamber tomb, associated with burials of high status.

¹⁸⁹ Also reported in the same tomb were two unfired ceramic maquettes. Both represented rectangular walled enclosures with small rooms or storage areas (Franco and Murga 2001:93). These maquettes are mentioned but not published in the 2001 article. In my conversation with one of the men present when this tomb was looted, I learned that two wooden maquettes of *algarrobo* were also found in this tomb.

styles, in addition to the inclusion in the tomb of other architectural representation (ceramic and wooden maquettes, if we can rely on the informant) are instead suggestive of burial patterns from San José de Moro in the north. This information, together with the large maquette representing monumental architecture from another valley, suggests the tomb occupant was a non-local elite with ties to these represented areas. In this case, the maquette may have served as a substitute for architecture associated with, but inaccessible to, the deceased.

Large Adobe Maquette, Túcume, Lambayeque Valley

A third example of an entombed ceremonial architectural representation with no local precedent was found at the monumental site of Túcume in the Lambayeque Valley. In the southwestern part of the site and contained in its own room, a large architectural maquette made of adobe was built against the east wall of the West Mound (WM), sector V (Figure 4.16a). The model represents a trapezoidal two-tiered, stepped platform structure with a wide access ramp on the south side. A slightly smaller central ramp provides access to the uppermost structure. Scholars date the structure that the model was found in to the later Late Intermediate Period, before the Inca conquest of Túcume (Heyerdahl et al. 1995:154).¹⁹⁰ Access into the room housing the model was highly restricted and rather complicated, requiring one to pass first through a corridor (referred to as the Graffiti Corridor), and then climb three small ramps, each at right angles to one another. Once at the top of the ramp,

¹⁹⁰ The architectural structure is built on the earliest floor of the phase WM-2 building. Interestingly, the architectural forms reflected in the adobe maquette did not reflect patterns of local architecture, but instead were similar to La Centinela, an Inca administrative center in the valley of Chincha nearly 1,000 kilometers to the south (Heyerdahl et al. 1995:151).

one was forced to go around a long narrow division (serving to lengthen the trajectory to the room containing the adobe maquette) and then descend a ramp into the adjacent room housing the maquette (Heyerdahl et al. 1995:150-151).¹⁹¹

The model was constructed above what was interpreted as an earlier high status chamber tomb. At some point, the tomb had been emptied of its contents and filled in. The large adobe maquette was constructed above this former chamber tomb. Next to the maquette was a 12 to 15 year old female who was presumably sacrificed. She was wrapped in a fine decorated textile and accompanied by wooden spindles, a comb, and more than 1200 wooden beads that were part of a necklace placed around her neck. After her interment, the chamber was sealed and both the burial and the architectural model were covered by the new floor (Heyerdahl et al. 1995:149-152).

Unfired Clay Maquettes, San José de Moro, Jequetepeque Valley

The maquettes to be discussed in this section present an interesting case of interred architectural representation initially believed to have no local precedent. The recent discovery of full-scale ceremonial architecture reflecting the forms found in these maquettes, however, has altered this view and will be discussed in more detail at the end of this section. Because the unfired clay maquettes from San José de Moro present us with the most complete data set for entombed architectural representation, these objects and their associated contexts will be discussed in some detail.¹⁹²

¹⁹¹ The maquette within the structure is depicted in Figure 4.16b.

¹⁹² San José de Moro is the most important site for ceramic maquettes (Castillo 2005; Castillo et al. 1997; Castillo et al. in press; Donnan and Castillo 1994). Additionally, two ceramic maquettes were reported from a looted burial at Huaca El Brujo (Franco and Murga 2001:93) and maquette fragments have been documented from excavations at Galindo in the Moche Valley (Lockard 2001). Maquette

Maquettes of unfired ceramic were first discovered at San José de Moro in 1991 (Castillo and Donnan 1994b).¹⁹³ As of excavations in 2007, more than forty-four ceramic maquettes have been unearthed from eleven tombs, making for the largest number of unfired ceramic maquettes to date found anywhere on the north coast.¹⁹⁴ These maquettes measure approximately 40 centimeters long by 25 centimeter wide (e.g., Figure 4.17). All were found in funerary contexts, either in chamber tombs or boot-shaped shaft tombs.¹⁹⁵ Tombs housing the maquettes date to the Late Moche and Moche Transitional periods and reflect cultural contact with Wari, Nievería, and Cajamarca cultures. Many of these objects have not been thoroughly documented or analyzed due to their poor state of preservation at the time of discovery. The information presented here is based on data from the San José de Moro project including reports, field drawings, and physical objects that were generously made available by Luis Jaime Castillo and facilitated by Carlos Rengifo.

The maquettes from San José de Moro were made of clay and baked in the sun. The objects were then slipped and painted (red, ochre, black, and white). It has been observed that the maquettes were constructed and finished in much the same way a building of the period would have been (Castillo et al. 1997:127). The

fragments, excavated by George Gumerman, were found in zone QT, area 203, sub area 2, in unit 1. The maquette was assigned as artifact number 263.

¹⁹³ San José de Moro has been interpreted as a ritual center whose occupation began by at least Middle Moche and extended through the Chimú period. The site's most important phase of occupation was Late Moche. Moche traditions in the Jequetepeque Valley, including those at San José de Moro, have been noted as distinct from those in the more southern Moche valleys (Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Castillo et al. in press).

¹⁹⁴ Late Moche period tombs with ceramic maquettes are M-U30 (7 maquettes), M-U41 (5 maquettes), M-U102 (4 maquettes), M-U103 (2 maquettes), M-U314 (2 maquettes), M-U729 (1 maquette), M-U1027 (1 maquette), and M-U1525 (8 maquettes). Transitional Period tombs with maquettes are M-U1045 (11 maquettes), M-U1242 (2 maquettes) and M-U1315 (1 maquette).

¹⁹⁵ Of the three types of tombs found at San José de Moro, chamber tombs are the most elite type as they are tied to status and power (Castillo and Donnan 1994b:121). Boot tombs, which occur during the Moche occupation at San José de Moro, disappear in the Moche Transitional period and are replaced by chamber tombs.

maquettes are rectangular in plan, with perimeter walls and a single entrance located on either the long or short side. Windows are rare. The interior space is generally divided into two main sections by a wall that runs parallel to the entrance. The front area is often comprised of a patio leading to a raised platform that is covered by a sloping roof supported by vertical posts. The raised platform is accessed by a central ramp, a form identified as a *tablado*. In several cases, the central post obstructs access to the ramp, an architectural peculiarity found in full-scale Late Moche architecture, for example, at the site of Huaca Fortaleza, or Huaca Grande (Haas 1985: figs. 9 and 12). The back area is accessed via a narrow door on the far right or far left of the main area and is divided into two or three separate spaces. Some areas are roofed while others are not. None of the maquettes are “peopled,” though one maquette contained two zoomorphic figures on its roof (M-U729).¹⁹⁶ Another maquette (M-U314) was found with a small modeled clay bird, whose exact placement within the maquette is uncertain. Supposing that the front entrance faced north, the architectural spaces within the enclosure open to the north, east, and west, but rarely to the south.

Five architectural “types” can be approximated from this sample:¹⁹⁷

1. A low walled enclosure with a central entrance leading to an open portico and covered by a long sloped roof supported by many posts. Ex: M-U729 (see Figure 4.18).

¹⁹⁶ These may be representations of llamas or other camelids. Complete camelid remains were found on the tomb roof of M-U1525 (Mauricio and Castro 2008:75), suggesting this maquette referenced tombs found at the same site

¹⁹⁷ These five categories are based on my examination of maquettes held at the PUCP in addition to photographs generously provided by Luis Jaime Castillo, facilitated through Carlos Rengifo. This typology also benefited from the extensive research of Donald McClelland, which include many maquettes from private collections. His article is slated for publication in *Nawpa Pacha*.

2. A walled enclosure with a central entrance leading to a small plaza with side benches and a raised platform. The platform is accessed by a ramp and covered by a shed roof supported by vertical posts. In some cases, one of the posts impedes access to the ramp. Ex: M-U314 (see Figure 4.17), both maquettes, M-U1525.

3. A walled enclosure with a central entrance. The walled space is divided into halves by an internal wall that runs parallel to the entrance. Access to the back area is permitted via a single doorway on the far left or right side of the dividing wall. This type has two variations:

a. The front section of the dividing wall (facing the entrance) hosts a series of square niches. Access to the back is via a doorway on the left side. The back space is sub-divided into two areas, one of which is roofed. Ex. M-U041 41 (see Figure 4.19).

b. The front section hosts a raised platform, with or without a low central ramp. This platform area is covered by a sloping roof supported in the back by the dividing wall and in the front by three or four posts. Access to the back section is via a narrow doorway on either the far right or far left. This access permits entry to between one and three smaller interconnected areas that may have raised platforms covered by sloped roofs supported by two posts each. Ex. M-26N8, M-U30, niche 6, M-U30, niche 7, M-U41 TM1, M-U41 TM3, M-U41 TM4, M-U102 N2, and M-U102 N3.¹⁹⁸ The best preserved example of this type is found in a private collection (see Figure 4.20).

¹⁹⁸ For information on these, see reports submitted to the INC in 1991 and 1992. Proyecto Arqueológico San José de Moro, Temporada 1991. Informe Técnico presentado al Instituto Nacional de Cultura. Luis Jaime Castillo and Christopher B. Donnan, editores, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1991 and Proyecto Arqueológico San José de Moro, Temporada 1992. Informe Técnico presentado al Instituto Nacional de Cultura. Luis Jaime Castillo and Christopher B. Donnan, editores, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992.

4. A walled enclosure with a central entrance leading to a smaller walled enclosure with a central entrance that is partially covered by a shed roof. A wall to the left of the main entrance prohibits access to the corridor surrounding the inner structure. Movement is possible, however, to the right of the entrance. Ex. 26N7M2, today held at the Museo de Sitio Chan Chan (MU 26 SJM, see Figure 4.21).

5. A walled enclosure with an off-center entrance. The interior space is divided into four square rooms, which are interconnected. Each has a raised platform covered by a sloped roof supported by posts. This type differs from those previously described as the space is evenly divided into four. This object is also smaller in scale than those excavated from San José de Moro (15 cm by 15 cm) and has thinner walls. Additionally distinct is that this maquette had been fired. This maquette is reportedly from San José de Pacasmayo and is housed in the collection of Dr. Juan Julio Rosales Olano in Trujillo (see Figure 4.22).

The fragility of these objects, constructed of unfired clay, suggests that they were made locally, perhaps within the tomb itself during the mortuary ritual (Luis Jaime Castillo, personal communication 2007). Their physical placement in the burial varied. In chamber tombs, maquettes were often found in wall niches or on the tomb floor. In boot tombs, maquettes were placed near the primary individual, for example in close proximity to the crania or on the individual's chest (M-U729 and M-U1027, respectively). Three of the burials containing maquettes accompanied adult females who were identified as the Priestess of the Sacrifice Ceremony depicted in Moche

fineline.¹⁹⁹ While these objects are generally considered to be grave goods pertaining to the primary burial, it should be noted that, in several cases, there is a one-to-one correspondence between the number of maquettes and the number of individuals found in a tomb e.g., (M-U30 [7]; M-U41 [5]; M-U729 [1]; M-U1027 [1]; M-U1525 [8]).²⁰⁰

While three types of tombs are in evidence at San José de Moro (chamber tombs, boot tombs, and pit tombs), ceramic maquettes have, so far, been found only in boot and chamber tombs where they accompany both males and females.²⁰¹ Additionally, ceramic maquettes at San José de Moro are interred with individuals whose ages range from between 5 and 50 years. While maquettes served as burial offerings to males of a wide age range (5 to 50), it is interesting that the age range for females buried with unfired clay maquettes was limited to 26 and 50 years, suggesting that the ceremonial role of females was acquired through time and service while that of males may have been assigned much earlier.

It has been observed that some of the maquettes resemble chamber tombs found at San José de Moro. For example, Tombs M-U314 and M-U729 present architectural spaces consisting of more than one room (Rucabado and Castillo 2003:35, footnote 2). Tombs M-U41, M-U102, and M-U103 have both a chamber and an antechamber and Tomb M-U615 is described as having four distinct areas, three in

¹⁹⁹ Priestess tombs with maquettes included M-U41, M-U103, and M-U1525. For these, see Donnan and Castillo (1994); Castillo (2005); and Mauricio and Castro (2008), respectively.

²⁰⁰ This is not, however, a hard and fast rule. In Tomb M-U102, the number of maquettes (4) exceeds the number of individuals (2). In Tomb M-U103, the number of individuals (10) far exceeds the number of maquettes.

²⁰¹ These tomb types correspond to two different periods at San José de Moro, with boot tombs generally occurring in Middle and Late Moche and chamber tombs found most often in the Moche Transitional period.

the front and one in back (Rucabado 2008:363, fig. 3).²⁰² Like maquettes, chamber tombs often had roofs that were supported by four to six vertical wooden posts. Posts are frequently of a Y-shape, similar to posts illustrated on Moche fineline representations of architecture. In some cases, human and animal remains were found on tomb roofs at San José de Moro (Castillo and Donnan 1994b:126; Mauricio and Castro 2008:75). This placement recalls the maquette from Tomb M-U729 that depicts two sculpted camelids lying on the striped roof (Figure 4.18).²⁰³ The maquette most suggestive of a burial chamber was discovered in Tomb M-U41 (Figure 4.19). Its small square central entrance opens to an architectural space with a chamber and an antechamber. The antechamber wall facing the entrance houses four square niches that are similar to niches found in chamber tombs at San José de Moro and at other sites.

Architecture represented in the San José de Moro maquettes was not believed to have counterparts in full-scale local ceremonial architecture. This changed recently, however, when *tablado* forms (represented in some the San José de Moro ceramic maquettes) were identified in full-scale architecture located in the more western area of the Jequetepeque Valley (Swenson 2004; 2008:415-421).²⁰⁴ At certain sites, such as San Idelfonso, *tablado* structures comprise the most common type of ceremonial architecture (Swenson 2008:415-416). These *tablado* structures in the Jequetepeque Valley have been interpreted as scaled-down versions of the

²⁰² Floor plans for Tombs M-U41, M-U102, and M-U103 were made available by Luis Jaime Castillo and facilitated by Carlos Rengifo.

²⁰³ Earlier parallels are found in the Virú-Gallinazo ceramic vessel corpus. One vessel (MNAHP C-62023) has two dogs on the roof, while the roofs of MNAHP C-54414 and MNAHP C-64846 each maintain a single “guardian” figure.

²⁰⁴ Swenson notes that one of the San José de Moro maquettes in particular is similar to structure C at JE-1 (Portachuelo), just kilometers northwest of San José de Moro (2008:416).

massive platform mounds found at important Late Moche sites such as Galindo and Pampa Grande in the Moche Valley. The major difference is that *tablado* structures at Galindo and Pampa Grande are made of mud brick and restricted to the civic-ceremonial core. Conversely, in the Jequetepeque Valley these smaller *tablados*, built of stone, are widely distributed in accessible areas that are located apart from elite architectural contexts. Given their wide distribution across the landscape, Edward Swenson proposes that stone *tablado* structures found in the Jequetepeque hinterland may have represented “specific nodes in circuits of peregrination,” guiding pilgrims through the main precincts of the site (Swenson 2008:420). He also notes that these *tablado* structures were found in association with a high percentage of face neck jars (ritual vessels associated with the ceremonial consumption the fermented maize beverage, *chicha*), suggesting these *tablado* structures were ceremonial in nature (Swenson 2008:416-420). I will return to the San José de Moro maquettes and the full-scale *tablado* structures they emulate in the discussion of architectural maquettes.

Wooden Maquette, Chimú Burial, Huaca de la Luna, Moche Valley

The last maquette to be discussed is important for the site where it was found as well as for the full-scale structure it represents: an elite funerary platform. A carved and painted wooden maquette, dating to the Late Intermediate Period and attributed to the Chimú culture, was discovered in a controlled excavation from a high status tomb at Huaca de la Luna in 1995 (Uceda 1997a, 1999a, 1999b, 2006a).²⁰⁵ The maquette was excavated from an intrusive burial (Tomb 7) located in the architectural

²⁰⁵ This is depicted in Figure 4.23. See also Uceda (1999a, 1999b, 2006a).

fill of Platform I in the upper area of the complex. The disturbed burial contained the remains of a youth (*un jóven*) between 10 and 15 years of age. It was not clear if this individual was the principal tomb occupant or a retainer burial (Uceda 1997a:151-152). Other significant offerings (in addition to the wooden maquette and carved wooden figures that accompanied it) were complete textiles; a litter made of cane and covered in copper; a seat; feathers (perhaps from a headdress); and hundreds of shells, including 45 spondylus shells (objects of the highest value to ancient Andean peoples). From these data, it is clear the architectural representation accompanied an individual of singular status.

The maquette is important for its similarity to full-scale burial platforms at the Chimú site of Chan Chan and also for the dozens of carved wooden figures that peopled its space.²⁰⁶ The maquette conveys a large walled patio with central entrance whose walls are decorated with stylized depictions of fish — motifs that also decorate the interior walls of full-scale architectural compounds (*ciudadelas*) at Chan Chan. Low benches (*banquetas*) are found on either side of the interior plaza which extend to the back of the enclosed space where an elevated platform is located. This platform is partially covered by a tall roofed structure supported by two posts, arrived at by way of a low central ramp (*tablado*). This platform provides access to the very back of the structure, a private and enclosed rectangular space for the storage of miniature mummy bundles representing distinguished ancestors. Santiago Uceda has noted that both the decorative elements and the layout of the maquette have correspondence in the Chimú *ciudadelas* at Chan Chan, for example in the Palacio Rivero (Uceda

²⁰⁶ This maquette measures approximately 40 centimeters wide by 48 centimeters long and resides today in the Museo de Arqueología in Trujillo.

1997a:151, fig. 72). These structures are understood to have served as palaces to living kings. Upon the ruler's death these same structures were converted into their sepulchers and served as the locus for their funerary cult.²⁰⁷

Radiocarbon dates obtained from the hair of the young male found in association with this maquette are rather late, estimated between C.E. 1440 and 1665. As Uceda points out, dates for the Chimú are earlier, between C.E. 1100 and 1470. As a possible explanation, he suggests this burial and the accompanying maquette may reflect a time when royal Chimú burial at Chan Chan itself was not a viable or safe option because of Inca looting taking place at the palaces of Chan Chan. Instead, another sacred site, the abandoned Moche site of Huaca de la Luna, was sought (Uceda 1997a:152-153).

Of additional interest is the fact that, similar to the Nasca maquette mentioned earlier, the Chimú maquette is also "peopled." The placement of the miniature figures and the objects they hold suggest they comprise a funerary entourage. Included are musicians playing drums, rattles, and *quenás* (flutes), a porter of *chicha* (a fermented maize beverage), and a cup bearer (Uceda 1997a:153-159). In related scenes, comprised of similar carved wooden figures outside the architectural space, a procession depicts figures carrying *fardos*, or funerary bundles, on horizontal poles. Taken together, these figures reenact the funeral procession of a very elite individual (Uceda 1997a:161).

Uceda proposes that, rather than providing precise details about the physical space itself, the Chimú maquette likely represented important ritual activities

²⁰⁷ For discussions of similar architectural maquettes and sculpted figures dating to the Late Intermediate Period, see Donnan (1977) and Jackson (2004).

occurring within and outside the architectural space as a means of guaranteeing their permanence (Uceda 1997a:153).²⁰⁸ Furthermore, Uceda notes that the postures, accompanying objects, and the physical placement of the carved wooden figures within the maquette appear to match fragmented descriptions of funerary activity and the cult of the ancestors recorded by Spanish chroniclers (Uceda 1997a:173-175).

Architectural Maquette Discussion

In the previous sections, I reviewed the archaeological contexts in which architectural maquettes have been found. I would now like to return to two earlier and related points: the correspondence between architectural maquettes and local or remote full-scale ceremonial architecture and the important ancient Andean practice of entombing ceremonial architecture. I suggest that at least some of the maquettes discussed in this chapter may have functioned as symbolic substitutes for full-scale ritual architecture that could not itself be buried due to reasons of inaccessibility or political instability. The notion that representations possessed the ability to “spring to life” and become the very thing they were modeled after has been used to explain the presence of architectural models in high status tombs from Middle Kingdom Egypt and Han dynasty China. It is possible that Andean maquettes also functioned in this capacity, as symbolic substitutes for architecture that was intimately tied to the deceased yet was, for some reason, unavailable or inaccessible for entombment. The examples most suggestive of this are the *tablado*-type maquettes excavated from San José de Moro which appear to have full-scale ceremonial architectural counterparts in

²⁰⁸ Uceda’s view departs from past interpretations of architectural representations as scale models. See Pardo (1936) and Donnan (1977) and discussion in Chapter 1.

the Jequetepeque hinterlands as well as the Chimú maquette buried at the Moche site of Huaca de la Luna.

At San José de Moro, individuals closely tied to Moche religion (e.g., the Priestess) were buried with ceramic maquettes. These individuals are assumed to have played a role in ceremonial activities, likely taking place within ritual architectural space. The maquettes placed in the tomb appear to replicate the form of ceremonial *tablados* found in the nearby Jequetepeque hinterlands. These full-scale *tablado* structures present the best evidence yet uncovered for ritual architecture coeval with the occupation at San José de Moro. It is these forms which are often replicated in the ceramic maquettes discussed. Given this correspondence, it seems the maquettes may have served as tomb substitutes for full-scale *tablados* found in the hinterlands in the same valley. But why were these individuals not instead buried with the full-scale *tablados*?

The Late Moche Period has been identified as a time of great political instability. This contrasts with earlier Moche periods (e.g., Moche IV) where greater political stability enabled huge construction projects that required substantial material resources and labor. Much of this construction focused on the ceremonial centers, which were repeatedly re-built. Each new building incorporated the old complex and individuals associated with it into its foundation through a process of ritual entombment.

The deliberate entombment of full-scale ceremonial architecture appears to have been a central concern for the Moche and ancient Andeans more generally. Monumental complexes such as the Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo

underwent several stages of ritual entombment before their ultimate abandonment. During each episode the “deceased” architecture was completely filled in, or buried. Included in the fill, in addition to offerings, were human beings likely associated with the old building.²⁰⁹ Interring the powerful deceased within ritual architecture served to incorporate their power into the architectural structure for eternity (Uceda 1997c:185). Two of the examples discussed, the large adobe maquette from Túcume, and the small wooden maquette from Tomaval, seem clearly to follow this pattern of ritual interment.

Differing from the monumental Moche ceremonial complexes such as Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo (which show evidence of at least five stages of ritual entombment), there is no evidence to indicate the Jequetepeque *tablados* underwent this process, suggesting that ritual structures such as *tablados* continued to be used by the living rather than being ritually buried, accompanied by the deceased. The continued use of ceremonial architecture (which meant foregoing phases of ritual interment ubiquitous and continuous at earlier Moche sites) constitutes a major deviation in ancient north coastal ceremonial architectural practice. Could it be, in an effort to uphold these long-standing ritually critical traditions, small-scale substitutes replicating ritual *tablados* were created to accompany the important deceased?

Political instability may also explain the burial of a high status Chimú individual (possibly a ruler or high authority, given the associated funerary offerings) at the sacred Moche site of Huaca de la Luna instead of at the Chimú site of Chan Chan. Uceda has suggested that a desire to protect the tomb occupant and grave

²⁰⁹ This careful ritual interment served to preserve structures, features, and decorative programs that are today being discovered through excavation.

goods from likely disturbance and predation may have necessitated interment “away from home.” As the burial platforms were such an important part of the Chimú mortuary cult, the inclusion of a replica platform (replete with procession, musicians, and mourners) would have provided a way to observe proper mortuary ritual (interring the deceased together with an architectural structure they were intimately associated with) while maintaining important ritual practices.

While less reliable information is available for the pumice maquette at Huaca El Brujo, the informant’s description suggests a very rich Transitional Period tomb with grave goods of non-local manufacture. Notable were the Cajamarca and Wari-style ceramics which reflect tomb offerings more akin to those found in northern Moche valleys (San José de Moro). The large maquette depicting non-local monumental architecture may have been interred to act as a substitute for more distant ceremonial architecture intimately associated with the deceased but inaccessible or unavailable to him or her at the time of death.²¹⁰ Likewise, as important as it may have been for the deceased to be interred with ceremonial architecture, the act of entombing ritual architecture (sometimes with powerful or high ranking individuals) may have been equally critical. This need to bury “deceased” architecture may explain the entombment of the carved Tomaval maquette (encased within an adobe brick) and large adobe maquette at the site of Túcume.

²¹⁰ The tomb of the Señora de Cao serves as a precedent to this chronologically later tomb. In her tomb were metal objects and ceramics in non-local styles that share affinity instead with the northern Lambayeque and Jequetepeque valleys.

Architectural Representations as Emblems of Office

Architectural representations depicted on emblems of office appear to symbolize status and power. This section will discuss two architectural scepters excavated from two different valleys: a wooden scepter attributed to Virú-Gallinazo and a metal scepter found during rescue excavations at the site of Sipán. These examples underscore the intimate connection between important local architectural types and elite individuals.

Wooden Scepter, Huaca Santa Clara, Virú Valley

The decorative end of a carved wooden scepter was excavated by Jean-François Millaire at the Virú-Gallinazo site of Huaca Santa Clara (Virú Valley) in 2003 (Figure 4.24).²¹¹ The scepter depicted two back-to-back shed roof structures (with nub-like projections on the roof) housing a carved wooden head facing outward. This same architectural type is frequently represented on Virú-Gallinazo architectural vessels. The fact that this particular architectural form is additionally depicted on an emblem of office gives weight to this particular architectural type, suggesting shed roof structures with nub-like roof combs reference architectural spaces of elite and/or ritual import for Virú-Gallinazo. Additionally, the discovery of this scepter in the

²¹¹ The wooden staff was discovered within debris that had fallen from the structure located on top of the hill, now completely destroyed. In the same archaeological context, a number of decorative ceramic war club heads (likely decorating the roof of the structure on the hill) were also recovered (Jean-François Millaire, personal communication 2008).

Virú Valley provides further support that the shed roof structure with nub-like roof combs is an architectural form endemic to this geographical area.²¹²

Metal Scepter, Sipán, Reque Valley

During rescue excavations at the Moche site of Sipán in the Reque Valley, a heavy copper scepter was discovered in a looted royal tomb (Alva and Donnan 1993:48-49). The scepter's decorative end consisted of an elaborately decorated architectural structure of the open gabled roof type surrounded on four sides by a portico embellished with sculpted war clubs (Figure 4.27). Associated finds, including three ceramic jars representing humans (some with war clubs and shields); a shell pectoral; a copper crown; a copper mask; and two owl head beads of copper indicate the original occupant enjoyed a privileged status in life, perhaps on par with that of the Old Señor of Sipán, one of the richest Moche tombs ever unearthed (Alva 1999:26, 193).

An unusual aspect of the represented open gabled structure was its roof embellishments, which depicted miniature metal human heads bearing horn-like projections.²¹³ This type of roof embellishment is uncommon in artistic representation and not known to have a correlate in full-scale architecture. Months after the copper scepter was recovered, however, excavators found broken ceramic fragments in the

²¹² Many of these same features are shared by a vessel excavated in 1988 from Huanchaco in the Moche Valley, although this particular vessel has, in my view, undergone erroneous restoration (Figure 4.25). The Huanchaco piece, residing at the Museo de Sitio Chan Chan, has a restored spout as well as architectural features which are not original, including an X at the front. The roof decorations appear on the side of the roof, rather than at the front, where they occur in all other examples of this type. I am grateful to Elena Vega Obeso for making this and other vessels available to study. A less modified example, without archaeological context but of the same style, resides in the MNAHP (Figure 4.26).

²¹³ On the exterior of the structure's back wall was a depiction of the Moon Animal copulating with, or perhaps attacking, a female figure.

archaeological fill that represent human heads bearing horn-like projections and broken ceramic war clubs (Alva 1994:30-34).²¹⁴ These ceramic artifacts likely served as roof adornments for an elite structure that bearing great resemblance to the structure conveyed in copper on the decorative end of the scepter (Figure 4.27).

The discovery of the copper scepter in these contexts presents provocative data. Its discovery in close proximity to these full-scale roof embellishments (mimicked in the scepter itself) suggests a strong correlation between represented architecture and local architecture. The fact that an architectural structure formed the decorative element on an emblem of office placed in a royal tomb suggests that architectural representations in burial contexts had ties to the ruling elite. Lastly, the fact that full-scale ceramic war clubs and sculpted ceramic heads with horns (most plausibly roof embellishments for a full-scale structure) were found in close proximity to the royal tomb containing the decorated scepter suggests that the full-scale structure decorated with these adornments been destroyed (or at least stripped of its identifying elements) at or before the time of the deceased's interment, possibly as a means of entombing symbolic architectural elements with the person the structure was most closely identified with. This last point suggests, additionally, a connection between represented architecture and a particular individual.

The two scepters just discussed suggest architecture may have served as an elite emblem and likely reflected local architecture closely associated with specific individuals. A scepter is intimately linked to the power and rank of the person it is created for. Architectural representations on scepters, then, can be viewed as

²¹⁴ These are depicted in Figure 4.28.

intimately associated with a geographic place as well as a particular person (or role) in society.

Conclusions

Data presented in this chapter provide further evidence that represented architecture found in mortuary contexts referenced ceremonial architecture. For the Moche, maquettes appear to be a chronologically later phenomenon. As yet, we have no evidence for them until the Late Moche period. Until the recent discovery of the Late Moche architectural vessels from the site of San José de Moro, I had considered the possibility that Moche maquettes replaced Moche architectural vessels. This, however, is clearly not the case. The discovery of the double chamber architectural vessel in the same Late Moche tomb as eight unfired ceramic maquettes (M-U1525) confirms that maquettes and architectural vessels were coeval, at least during the Late Moche period in the Jequetepeque Valley.

The discovery of a Moche architectural vessel and a Moche unfired ceramic maquette in the same tomb also suggests that architectural vessels and maquettes served distinct functions in the tomb. While both maquettes and architectural vessels appear to reference local ceremonial architecture, what differentiate these two are the specific kinds of architectural structures and spaces they convey. As we have discussed, architectural maquettes are specific in their representation of either the entire *huaca* or complex, or specific areas of it that can be entered and experienced by groups of people. Conversely, Moche architectural vessels are more iconic in their

depictions of small independent structures whose full-scale counterparts would have accommodated very few.

As I have proposed, maquettes may have functioned as small-scale substitutes for full-scale ritual architecture. This full-scale architecture, despite its association with the deceased individual, was not accessible for interment due to social, political, or geographical factors. As such, maquettes may have been created to enable the living to carry out the traditional coastal Andean practice of entombing ritual architecture (with the important deceased) in spite of a challenging political climate. In contrast, Moche architectural vessels depict smaller independent structures and may have served as a symbol of the deceased's connection to the *huaca* or to Moche religion. In Chapter 5, I will argue that some of the architectural types depicted on architectural vessels appear to represent or reference small, independent structures within Moche ceremonial complexes. Rather than serving as gathering places for ritual or veneration of the deceased, however, the structures conveyed on Moche architectural vessels appear to have functioned as stations or stops along a processional route. As such, they would have been closely linked with the activity taking place in association with these structures and would concomitantly have been symbolic of the outcomes or aims of the ritual itself.

Chapter 5: Correspondence between Moche Architectural Vessels and Moche Monumental Architecture

In this chapter I will compare Moche architectural vessels with full-scale architecture. This comparison reveals three important points: 1) correlates between architectural vessels and full-scale architecture appear in Moche *ritual* architecture suggesting that these objects replicated structures important to Moche religion, 2) Moche architectural vessels appear to represent *specific* full-scale architectural structures found in the Moche ceremonial complex, or *huaca*, and 3) the architectural types in the corpus appear to reference full-scale independent structures that marked a *processional route* within the Moche architectural complex. In full-scale architecture, these independent structures served to anchor (as well as connect) ritual activities forming part of this procession. One of the most critical events in this procession was human sacrifice.

Since the 1930s, scholars have hypothesized that Moche architectural vessels depicted temples (Donnan 1978:79-83; Pardo 1936; Wurster 1982). While a reasonable proposal, little excavated temple architecture was available for comparison. Only in the past two decades, with large-scale and ongoing excavations at Huaca de la Luna, Huaca Cao Viejo, and Dos Cabezas, has it been possible to ascertain the form and features of Moche temple architecture and compare them, feature for feature, to architectural representation in Moche art.²¹⁵ This archaeological

²¹⁵ There were a handful of isolated discoveries that suggested the depictions on Moche architectural vessels represented elements of ritual architecture. These included the discovery of a mud brick throne with a footrest excavated by Gordon Willey from an isolated platform mound at V-92 in Virú (Huancaco) that he compared to Moche “throne” vessels in the Larco collection (1953:215-218, plate 60). In the 1970s, Donnan realized that oddly-shaped ceramic fragments found at Huacas de Moche

work has additionally served to illuminate the function of Moche monumental architecture, revealing these *huacas* to be venues for Moche religious activity.²¹⁶

Excavation has revealed *huacas* to be enormous ceremonial complexes housing distinctive facades, elaborate decorative programs, complex modes of entry and passage through the space, and different levels and areas of activity. Excavation has also corroborated the earlier hypothesis that architectural structures, elements, and motifs depicted on Moche architectural vessels do, in fact, have full-scale counterparts within the Moche ceremonial complex.

One of the most striking correspondences between full-scale and small-scale Moche architecture was brought to light during work at Dos Cabezas. During field work in 2001, Donnan and Guillermo Cock excavated the north face of the pyramid mound, uncovering a façade with a converging/diverging double staircase (Figure 5.3). This distinctive feature has not been found at any other Moche site and would be

formed part of sculpted war clubs that would have adorned the crest of full-scale ritual Moche architecture. He also corroborated these finds by looking to Moche architectural vessels (Donnan 1978:82-83). Since Donnan's discovery, continued excavation at this and other Moche sites has turned up hundreds of ceramic war club fragments, confirming that these roof embellishments were not merely artistic flourishes that were limited to ceramic representations of architecture (Figure 5.2); these embellishments in fact occurred in full-scale architectural structures. Sculpted ceramic war clubs have also been found at Huaca de la Luna (Armas 2002; Tello 1998:128; Uceda 2005:291) and in the Urban Sector at Huacas de Moche (Chiguala et al. 2006:142; Chiguala et al. 2007:111), the Huaca El Brujo Complex, including Huaca Cao Viejo, Huaca El Brujo, and Montículo 1 and 2 (Franco et al. 1994:163, 176; Franco 1998:104; Franco et al. 1999:18, 22; Franco et al. 2003:130, 138, 172; Franco and Gálvez 2003a; Franco and Vilela 2003:391; Gomez et al. 1997:79; Lopez et al. 1998:57; Mujica et al. 2007:75-76, respectively). Sculpted war clubs have been identified at Virú-Gallinazo sites such as Huaca Santa Clara in the Virú Valley (Jean-François Millaire, personal communication 2008) and Huancaco, a site interpreted by Steve Bourget as a later local development sharing similarities to Virú-Gallinazo but which had little to no contact with Moche. War clubs found at Huancaco are discussed by Bourget (2003:253, 259, 264). For his interpretation of the site, see Bourget (in press). A synthesis of sculpted war clubs at Moche sites and an interpretation is found in Gutiérrez (1999).

²¹⁶ Excavation at Huaca de la Luna is discussed in Uceda (2001a) and Uceda and Tufinio (2003); Excavation at Huaca Cao Viejo are discussed in Franco et al. (1994); Gálvez and Briceño (2001); Mujica et al. (2007); Sipán is discussed by Alva and Donnan (1993); Alva (1994, 2001); and excavations at Dos Cabezas is discussed in Donnan (2007) and Donnan and Cock (2002).

a complete anomaly if not for its appearance on a handful of sculpted Moche architectural vessels (Donnan and Cock 2002:31-35; Figure 5.2).²¹⁷

In this chapter, I will present as yet unpublished correlates between Moche architectural vessels and architectural features from two *huacas*, Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley and Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley. At both *huacas*, the forms and features uncovered through excavation (including the step motif, the double step motif, the warrior and captive frieze, the sunken step, the *tablado*, gabled roofs, and a small closed gabled structure with central entrance) are also found on Moche IV architectural vessels. It is during Moche IV that these features become codified in Moche ceramic art. Moche IV (in both art and architecture) reflects the pinnacle of Moche power and expansion in the southern valleys. Huaca de la Luna, for example, was at its height during this period, suggesting that in addition to religiously charged objects, Moche architectural vessels may have also been politically charged ones, as well.

One architectural type in particular — the closed gabled type — seems to reference a full-scale structure holding both religious and political significance for the

²¹⁷ Architectural forms and embellishments found on both full-scale ceremonial architecture and Moche architectural vessels (e.g., elevated thrones, sculpted war clubs, and step-shaped roof combs) have largely been interpreted as forms associated only with Moche monumental architecture. These same features, however, have more recently been excavated from more “domestic” contexts. The discovery of roof combs, sculpted war clubs, and elevated thrones in the Urban Sector at Huaca de la Luna suggests that activities taking place within these elite but more domestic areas might have replicated, on a smaller scale, ritual events that were enacted inside the larger ceremonial complexes (Jorge Gamboa, personal communication 2008). Ceramic war clubs and thrones or altars have been found in elite architecture outside of the monumental complex at both Huacas de Moche and Huaca El Brujo. At Huacas de Moche, these were found in CA 17 (Tello 1998:128, fig. 127), CA 21 (Chiguala et al. 2006:142 and Chiguala et al. 2007:111), and CA 27 (Chiguala et al 2004:118). Architectural compounds (*Conjuntos Arquitectónicos*) CA 17 and CA 21, along with CA 35, formed part of a single construction unit interpreted as an elite compound housing both gathering and production areas (Chiguala et al. 2007). At Huaca El Brujo, war club fragments and a throne feature were found in Montículo 1 (Gomez et al. 1997:79; Gutiérrez 1999:13-14; Mujica et al. 2007:75-76). War club fragments were also excavated from Montículo 2 (Gutiérrez 1999:13; Lopez et al. 1998:57; Mujica et al. 2007:75-76).

Moche. The closed gabled type mimics the form of a structure located within the Moche ceremonial complex. Imagery on vessels of this type connects the closed gabled structure to acts of human sacrifice, a context also shared by its full-scale counterpart. Furthermore, it appears the full-scale structure served to anchor events of human sacrifice, an activity forming part of a larger ritual narrative enacted within the Moche ceremonial complex. This ritual narrative is referred to as the Warrior Narrative and is discussed next.

The Warrior Narrative

A particularly useful key to understanding the connection between Moche architectural vessels and monumental architecture lies in The Warrior Narrative, a sequence of activities that precede and follow the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figure 5.47). These events are depicted in their most detailed form in Moche fineline and consist of combating warriors, the parading of defeated captives by victorious warriors, human sacrifice, and the presentation of a goblet to a priest or lord (Donnan in press b; Donnan and McClelland 1999:130-136). It appears that key events in the Warrior Narrative, when applied to full-scale ritual architecture, unfolded in the context of small independent structures inside the Moche ceremonial complex. Resultantly, representations of these independent structures (for example, in ceramic) would have symbolized the specific event as well as emblemized the potency of the larger ritual narrative, thereby transforming Moche architectural vessels from fine-ware ceramic containers to sacred objects holding transformative powers in Moche ideology. Paramount to the Warrior Narrative is the Sacrifice Ceremony (where a captive is

sacrificed or ritually bled) which is followed by the presentation of the goblet.

Donnan views the Sacrifice Ceremony as the culminating act in a larger ritual complex, one that served as the “central focus of a highly organized religious institution ...the Moche state religion” (Donnan in press b).

Moche Religion

Donnan defines Moche state religion as a force or ideology uniting distinct political and geographical areas within the southern and northern Moche spheres (in press b). As not all are in agreement about Moche as a state, I will use the more neutralized term “Moche religion” proposed by Jeffrey Quilter (in press a; in press b). These sets of religious practices comprising Moche religion were highly structured and were codified by a shared set of activities and symbols depicted in Moche art. Imagery associated with Moche religion included the weapons bundle (war club and shield), the eared serpent, and the spider decapitator (Donnan in press b).²¹⁸

The geographical extent of Moche religion reaches from Nepeña in the south to Piura in north. At the majority of sites, evidence of Moche religion is found on polychrome murals decorating the interior of monumental architecture (Donnan in press b).²¹⁹ There are four characters depicted in the Sacrifice Ceremony that play a central role in Moche religion (Figure 5.47). These include the Warrior Priest (formerly Figure A), the Bird Priest (formerly Figure B), the Priestess (formerly

²¹⁸ Curiously the spider decapitator is not depicted in Moche architectural vessels but may be alluded to through elements such as rhomboids and *tumi* knives.

²¹⁹ Donnan cites specifically Pañamarca (Nepeña), El Castillo (Santa), Huacas de Moche (Moche), Huaca Cao Viejo (Chicama), San José de Moro (Jequetepeque), and Sipán, Huaca Facho, and Pampa Grande (Lambayeque area).

Figure C), and Figure D (Donnan in press b; Donnan and McClelland 1999:131).²²⁰

While all four were once believed to be supernatural or mythical, attributes of these figures have been identified through archaeological excavation suggesting that the events they oversaw occurred in real time and space (Donnan in press b). Details from the Sacrifice Ceremony and related events in the Warrior Narrative indicate this ritual space is none other than the Moche monumental complex, to be discussed next.

The Role of Monumental Architecture in Moche Religion

The central venue for the “worship” of Moche religion was the Moche monumental complex, or *huaca*. Moche *huacas*, much like Catholic churches or Aztec temples, were consecrated spaces where priests could enter into communication with the divine. Many of the Moche *huacas* were built at the foot of *cerros*, or mountains. These natural landmarks, often associated with rain or water, were and continue to be revered as sacred living entities by ancient and contemporary Andeans. Rituals enacted within Moche monumental architecture, likely referenced by events depicted in the Warrior Narrative, included ritual combat, human sacrifice, and the presentation of the goblet. Through the performance of these ritual, the Moche elite (priests or lords) could fulfill their covenant with the Moche deities, providing human blood in exchange for water (or rain; see Figure 5.44a-c), and thereby ensuring agricultural fertility and political and social order (Uceda 2000b:99). Additionally and importantly, the *huacas* doubled as burial mounds, incorporating

²²⁰ Figure D has not yet been definitively identified although there are a few possible candidates including the individual excavated from an elite burial in the Zaña Valley by Steve Bourget in 2008, referred to as the Lord of Ucupe.

within them the potency of significant Moche deceased (Uceda 1997c). The symbolism of the *huaca* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

Features and Structures on Moche Architectural Vessels with Counterparts in Moche Full-scale Ceremonial Architecture

In this section, I will discuss a handful of architectural elements from the Moche architectural corpus which have important and relevant counterparts in full-scale Moche architecture. These elements include the step motif, the double step motif, the warrior and captive frieze, the sunken step, the *tablado*, and the gabled roof. In the paragraphs that follow, I will identify where these elements appear in the Moche architectural corpus, where they appear in full-scale architecture, and what their appearance in both media (represented and full-scale architecture) reveals about Moche ritual architecture as a potent ideological symbol for the Moche.

Step Motif

The step motif appears in three different guises, suggesting each has a distinct, albeit related, function in the architectural vessel corpus. First and least common, step motifs appear in series marking the path of access from lower to upper areas of architectural complex vessels. Second, step motifs in series are depicted on vessel chambers where they demarcate space, separating horizontal registers below from the architectural structure above. Third, step motifs appear as roof embellishments on closed gabled structures. In the following paragraphs, I provide a detailed description

for each of the three uses of the step motif on Moche architectural vessels and then identify correspondence for this motif in full-scale Moche architecture.

Step motifs lining a ramp or parapet

In examples from the Moche I-II corpus, step motifs in series occur on the tops of parapets or ramps, where they mark the path of access and direct physical movement to the upper areas of the complex. Figure 5.5 shows that these step motifs are carefully rendered. Each is painted alternately red and white with a triangle at center that is conveyed through incision and color.

At the site of Huaca de la Luna, sculpted step motifs have been discovered *in situ*, found along the top of a parapet directing movement from the main plaza below (Plaza 1) to the area above (specifically Plaza 3).²²¹ A hypothetical reconstruction of these is presented in Figure 5.8. At Huaca de la Luna, each step motif was covered in a layer of fine clay, alternately painted red and yellow, and separated by a twenty-centimeter interval (Armas et al. 2004:63). A triangle in the center of each was indicated through incised lines and color. Given the similarities of form and location, step motifs depicted on ramps and parapets in small-scale representations appear to reference important areas or paths of access and ambulation in full-scale Moche ceremonial complexes.

²²¹ These motifs are associated with building C, or the middle construction phase (Armas et al. 2004:62-63; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:fig. 20.15). Excavations in and around Plaza 3c are discussed in Armas et al. 2002; Armas et al. 2004; Montoya 1997a; and Tufinio 2004.

Step motifs separating lower and upper areas of the complex

Step motifs in series (in fineline or relief) are also found on the chambers of architectural vessels, where they demarcate space and separate registers below from the architectural structure above. On a Moche IV vessel from the American Museum of Natural History (Figure 5.6), a spherical chamber supports an architectural superstructure of the closed gabled type with central entrance and step-shaped roof combs. The chamber is decorated with red and white horizontal registers, which likely reference the platform levels of an architectural complex. Above these horizontal registers is a painted row of step motifs in series, which serve to separate areas of the upper and lower complex. Additionally, these indicate that the closed gabled structure with roof combs is situated within the larger complex, and specifically in an upper area.

At Huaca de la Luna, *in situ* sculpted step motifs found on the parapet connecting the main plaza below (Plaza 1) to the plaza above (Plaza 3c) continue along a wall that runs east-west and forms the north perimeter of the upper complex (Figure 5.8).²²² In this area, a small enclosed structure is found (Recinto I, Plaza 3c). While the roof is no longer extant, the physical characteristics of the architectural space (small, square, enclosed, with a central entrance) are similar to the closed gabled structure with central entrance in the architectural vessel corpus (Figure 5.6). These similarities will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

²²² Armas et al. 2002:27 and fig. 14; Armas et al. 2004:63-64 and fig. 60; Tufinio 2004:116, fig. 109; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:fig. 20.15.

Step motifs as roof adornments

Step motifs also appear in the architectural vessel corpus as roof adornments for closed gabled structures. Here, they flag or identify the closed gabled structure as ceremonial or ritual in nature (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Step-shaped roof combs are the most commonly occurring roof adornment in the Moche architectural vessel corpus, signaling the importance of this architectural form.²²³ In addition to their appearance as roof adornments for small-scale architecture, step-shaped roof combs also formed a type of headdress for high status individuals (Donnan 1978:80, fig. 136).²²⁴

Step-shaped roof combs have not yet been recovered *in situ* in Moche monumental architecture. This may be due to the fact that roofs are rarely preserved in the archaeological record. Additionally, these elements may be difficult to identify, being a less distinctive form than the more frequently encountered ceramic war clubs. Nonetheless, a sculpted step motif interpreted as a roof adornment was discovered in the Urban Sector at Huacas de Moche (Chiguala et al. 2007:111 and fig. 184). This important discovery signals that, with time and continued excavation, step-shaped roof combs will also be uncovered in Moche monumental complexes.²²⁵

²²³ While none of the examples from the corpus have archaeological context, a fragment from a vessel of this type was found in the Santa Valley at the site of Guadalupito, concentración 4 (Figure 5.9). The fragment bears great resemblance to the step roof combs found on a vessel from the Museo Larco (Figure 5.10).

²²⁴ Another appearance of the step-shaped roof combs as headdress appears in the Virú-Gallinazo vessel corpus (Appendix 2, Type 9, version b). Step-shaped roof combs with a crescent or *tumi* decoration are also found in the Moche architectural vessel corpus, limited to Moche IV and V. As far as I know, no correlate in the archaeological record has yet been found.

²²⁵ The step motif occurs as a motif vessel in the Moche III architectural corpus. In one example this motif references a throne or litter (Figure 5.11).

Discussion and interpretation of step motif

The step motif is referenced frequently in Moche scholarship and is viewed as a symbol expressing hierarchy, rank, status, and prestige (Williams 1979:494; Wurster 1982:264).²²⁶ David Chicoine interprets the step motif as symbolic of a temple, tying its form to Moche ceremonial architecture and Moche religion (2002; Campana 2004:90). Still others have interpreted it as a motif that references mountains (Benson 1975:119).²²⁷ It appears that step motifs on Moche architectural vessels do, in fact, reference sacred or ceremonial architecture. They appear, additionally, to be associated with mountains. Furthermore, it seems step motifs, when depicted in series on architectural vessels and on parapets in monumental architecture, mark the area of the complex leading to or associated with human sacrifice. Step motifs mark these sacred areas of the complex and identify the importance of particular structures (such as the closed gabled type) within the Moche monumental complex.

Step motifs also appear to direct movement, guiding participants along the processional route, from the lower to upper complex. Step motifs as emblems conveying movement through ritual space is suggested through artistic representations of Moche litters carrying high status individuals. Step-shaped litters appear in both the sculpted and fineline corpus. While the sculpted examples are static (Figure 5.11), fineline illustrations depict figures seated on step-shaped litters as

²²⁶Chicoine provides an in-depth examination symbolism and associations for the step motif (2002).

²²⁷ Likewise, the step motif is also common in ancient Mesoamerican architecture and architectural representations. This image is found, for example, at the Classic Period site of El Tajín in the Veracruz area, where step motifs are viewed as sacred symbols that represent water (still and moving), rain, or wind. Step motifs in Mesoamerica also seem to indicate high rank (Wilkerson 1999:124-125). While I do not suggest a cultural connection between El Tajín in Veracruz and the Moche of Peru, Mesoamerican interpretations for the step motif appear to be applicable in our discussion of these motifs as they occur in Moche architectural representation.

if in motion (Figures 5.12 and 5.13). A step motif, then (in addition to being symbolic of Moche ritual architecture and Moche religion) is also a form that conveys ambulation, generally within a charged or ritual space. This ritual movement is clearly illustrated in Figure 5.1, a scene known as the Arraignment of Prisoners, where a high status captive in a step-shaped litter is carried toward an architectural structure accessed by way of a ramp adorned with step motifs in series.

Double Step Motif

The next motif considered, the double step motif, shares similarities with the previously discussed step motif. Double step motifs on Moche architectural vessels demarcate or identify important architectural space. They are commonly found on architectural complex vessels and always in conjunction with sculpted step motifs in series (Figures 5.4 and 5.5).²²⁸ Similar to step motifs, the double step motif is painted white and red with an interior triangle indicated through color and incised line. The double step motif is also depicted in series and appears to identify important architectural space (generally landings or walled patios) within the ceremonial complex. On Moche architectural vessels, these landings or patios most often occur at the middle or uppermost section of the complex (Figures 5.4 and 5.5). In these examples, double step motifs in series appear consistently on the façade or entrance side of architectural complex vessels. In full-scale Moche monumental architecture, the front or façade consistently faces north, thereby suggesting that double step motifs in series also mark what would be the north wall of miniature architectural complexes.

²²⁸ The exception to this is a double step motif vessel from the Moche IV corpus (Figure 5.14) and others from the Moche V corpus where the double step motif appears as an isolated element.

Double step motifs *in situ* in the archaeological record

Sculpted double step motifs in series have been discovered *in situ* at Huaca Cao Viejo in the same area of the complex where the Señora de Cao was excavated (Mujica et al. 2007:126-127). At this site, the double step motifs appear on the façade that marks the northern perimeter of an area known as the northwest corner patio (or small decorated patio) located in an upper section of the complex (Figure 5.15).

Each double step motif was carefully modeled using mud brick and covered with a coat of fine clay, then painted red and yellow. A triangle-shaped window or opening (indicated in small-scale representations by incised line and color) appears at the center of each motif. At Huaca Cao Viejo, the interior side of these full-scale sculpted motifs is decorated with mirrored representations of the Moon Animal (Figure 5.16).

The significance of the double step motif can be inferred from its association with the northwest corner patio, considered one of the most important areas of the Huaca Cao Viejo complex. The south and east walls of the northwest corner patio maintain an elaborate mural program composed of diagonal bands of geometrically rendered rays, serpents, or catfish (*pez life*) which are painted in alternating rows of black/white, red/yellow, and blue/red. A small enclosed architectural structure with a lateral entrance on the east side sits within the northwest corner patio. The walls of this structure are also elaborately decorated, signaling its importance.²²⁹ The final

²²⁹ On the north wall are two registers of four squares each depicting a frontal facing deity wearing a serpent belt and tentacle headdress. The west wall depicts the Moon Animal in three horizontal registers of six squares each (Mujica et al. 2007:129). The Moon Animal in Moche art is often associated with human sacrifice (Mackey and Fogel 2003:338).

element that underscores the importance of the northwest corner patio at Huaca Cao Viejo is the contents of its floor, which contained the singular tomb of the Señora de Cao.²³⁰ The fact that this important space was marked or identified on its north side by a row of sculpted double step motifs suggests these motifs identify spaces of great import in the Moche monumental complex.

Summary of the double step motif

The contexts for the double step motif in Moche art and archaeology reveal it as an emblem indicating or marking areas in the ceremonial complex of decided significance. Small-scale examples of the double step motif are both visually and technically similar to examples excavated in large-scale Moche ceremonial complexes. Furthermore, when these motifs appear on architectural vessels, they are consistently depicted along the façade of the monumental complex.

The Warrior and Captive Frieze

The third motif to be discussed is the warrior and captive frieze. Imagery of warriors leading nude captives by a rope is a common theme in Moche fineline illustrations (Donnan and McClelland 1999:69, 130-136). This imagery also occurs on a few examples from the Moche architectural corpus (Figures 5.17 a-c and 5.18). Figures are depicted in profile and rendered in relief on the vessel chamber. While the

²³⁰ The Señora de Cao, as she is called, was laid to rest with a bevy of copper war clubs and spear throwers, ornately crafted gold and copper bead necklaces and headdresses, gold and silver nose ornaments, and richly woven textiles. Buried around her in the same patio but in separate chambers were three companion tombs. This burial was associated with the first building phase, while the northwest corner patio pertained to the second building phase (Mujica et al. 2007:209-215).

imagery may reference an actual procession, it could also reference the polychrome friezes that decorate the lower wall of the main plaza in Moche monumental architecture, for example, the friezes at Huaca de la Luna (Plaza 1) and at Huaca Cao Viejo (Ceremonial Plaza).²³¹ On Moche architectural vessels, the warrior and captive frieze serves to direct movement around represented space and provides information about the specific direction and destination of that movement.

A frieze-like register of warriors leading a nude captive decorates the chamber of a Moche III/IV vessel in the Dallas Museum of Art (Figure 5.17a). This imagery is difficult to discern in the photograph, but is quite legible in the roll out drawing made by Carol Robbins (Figure 5.17b). The cylindrical chamber supports an architectural superstructure with a central entrance and a double gabled roof adorned with war clubs. The space is occupied by a single figure wearing attributes associated with the Moche elite: a headdress, ear spools, and a collar or pectoral.

Given the shape of the chamber, it is not immediately clear where the procession begins. An examination of each warrior, however, reveals that the leader of the procession holds only a baton (Figure 5.17c).²³² His position, facing the vertical ramp (as opposed to the figure on the opposite side whose back is to the ramp) indicates that he will be the first to ascend. The figures behind the baton-wielding warrior follow in a counter-clockwise direction, also moving toward the ramp. This ramp, which is recessed slightly and depicted vertically, serves to connect the

²³¹ On these vessels, a frieze is suggested by the ground and sky lines which are raised in contrast to the recessed space in which the narrative scene is depicted.

²³² In working from the arrangement presented in Figure 5.17b, it appears the captive should have been in the middle position, flanked by two warriors on either side. The rope dangling from the captive (at left) and the rope pulling the warrior (at right), when rearranged, met perfectly indicating this was, in fact, the way the image was to be read.

procession in the “plaza” below to the architectural structure above.²³³ The ritual nature of this architectural structure is suggested by the fact that its roof is adorned with sculpted war clubs and its back wall bears a depiction of the Moon Animal (Figure 5.17b).

While only a single structure is presented, I would argue that other features on this same vessel serve to reference additional areas within the Moche ceremonial complex. These areas include the main plaza (with parading warriors and captive), the upper complex (represented by the architectural structure), and the access route connecting these two distinct spaces, indicated by a recessed ramp. In each of these distinct areas, a different part of the Warrior Narrative would have unfolded.²³⁴

A similar procession of warriors and captives is found on a Moche IV architectural vessel housed in the MNAAHP (Figure 5.18). This vessel is of the incorporated chamber type, where the architectural structure doubles as the vessel chamber. Each side depicts a warrior and captive pair in profile as if in motion. The architecture depicts a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs. Here again, I would argue this vessel conflates at least two different areas of the Moche monumental complex: warriors and captives in the lower plaza and a closed gabled structure above. Similar to the Moche III/IV vessel, just discussed, the MNAAHP

²³³ I interpret this feature as a ramp. It should be noted, however, that at the site of Chornancap, Donnan excavated a vertical cut or cleft that resembles this small-scale feature (Donnan 1984:37). It is also possible that this feature indicates a recessed ramp, also found at Huaca de la Luna in association with ritual areas of the complex (Figure 5.25).

²³⁴ While the life-sized warrior and captive friezes at both Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo are found in direct association with a small architectural structure, I surmise that the architectural structure represented in the Moche ceramic vessel just discussed references a structure higher up in the complex (and hence further along the processional route). In the Moche vessel discussed (Figure 5.17), the structure has a central entrance rather than the lateral entrance found on the majority of small structures within the monumental complex. The only small enclosed structures with central entrances at Huaca de la Luna occur in the upper area of the complex, in Plaza 3. These types of structures have not yet been reported in other Moche complexes or areas.

vessel (Figure 5.18) depicts two distinct areas of the Moche monumental complex, which in turn reference two separate activities from the Warrior Narrative.

The warrior and captive frieze in the archaeological record

In Moche monumental architecture at Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo, polychrome friezes depicting life-sized warriors and nude captives in procession are found on the south and east walls of the main plaza where they are disrupted by a small architectural structure (Figures 5.19 and 5.20).²³⁵ The fact that the captives are nude and their weapons are carried by the victorious warriors informs the viewer that the action depicted occurs post-combat and pre-sacrifice. The procession heads east, along the south wall, toward a small independent architectural structure. This structure first interrupts the two-dimensional procession and then serves to alter the course of processional movement. On the opposite side of this structure, warriors and captives head north toward ramps and access routes that lead to the upper complex.

The warrior and captive friezes and the small independent structure that connects them have been the subject of much discussion (Figure 5.23a and b and 5.24).²³⁶ Despite this interest, there has been little if any mention of how these two

²³⁵ Images of this can be found in Uceda (2001a) and Gálvez and Briceño (2001) as well as Mujica et al. (2007), respectively. These polychrome friezes form part of the elaborate decorative program in the main plaza at both sites. On the north façade of the main plaza at Huaca de la Luna is a polychrome relief mural depicting human and supernatural figures in seven distinct registers. The warriors and captives in profile are found on the lowest register. Most imagery from these registers overtly references human sacrifice. A similar decorative program is found at Huaca Cao Viejo (Gálvez and Briceño 2001). Uceda notes, however, that the motifs which occur in the final three buildings at Huaca de la Luna are only found in the final building phase at Huaca Cao Viejo (personal communication 2008).

²³⁶ For these discussions, see Franco et al. (1994); Gálvez and Briceño (2001), Quilter (2001); and Uceda (2001a). The west wall of the enclosed structure depicts four horizontal registers of warriors in one-on-one combat, one of the first elements of the Warrior Narrative in Moche fineline. This depiction interrupts the procession of warriors and captives depicted on the south and east walls of the main plaza. The east and north walls convey imagery interpreted as a Moche ceremonial calendar. In

elements (frieze and structure) function together. The processional movement depicted in relief on the south wall moves toward the architectural structure located in the southeast corner of the main plaza.²³⁷ On the east wall, the procession heads away from this structure and toward recessed ramps that lead to the upper areas of the complex. The appearance of this structure between two registers of warrior and captive registers suggests this architectural space played an important role in the parading of captives and may have been the place where captives were presented to Moche priests. The change in processional direction resulting from contact with this structure indicates this structure formed part of a larger narrative, perhaps the first stop or station along the processional route discussed here as the Warrior Narrative.

Discussion of the warrior and captive frieze

The fact that the Moche built a three-dimensional architectural structure at a point where it interrupts a two-dimensional procession seems an important point. First, and important to my argument, the warrior and captive frieze (conveying figures in motion) indicates that ritual activity taking place within the Moche monumental complex is processional in nature, moving in a specific direction and stopping (and changing direction) at designated points. These critical points appear to be marked by small independent structures, which serve to anchor activities in the ritual procession. Processional movement was temporarily halted and then redirected at these structures, thereby suggesting that small independent structures within the

Moche literature this is referred to as the complex scene or *escena compleja* (Franco 2003; Franco and Vilela 2003, 2005).

²³⁷ These spaces are referred to as Recinto I at Huaca de la Luna (Tufinio 2006d:54-56) and Recinto Esquinero at Huaca Cao Viejo (Mujica et al. 2007:163).

complex not only marked but also moved ritual procession from one area of the ceremonial complex to the next.

Processional routes in other religions

Ritual stops along a processional route are important features of Aztec and Catholic religion. For both, the procession is marked by architectural structures, which take the form of either temples or shrines. David Carrasco emphasizes the significance of procession across a ceremonial landscape in Aztec rituals tied to human sacrifice (1991). Specifically, Carrasco discusses the annual festival of Toxcatl that took place during the month of May (a month coinciding with the dry season) and celebrated the Aztec god Tezcatlipoca. Considered the god of rulers, sorcerers, and warriors (Miller and Taube 1993:164), Tezcatlipoca was a deity of such significance that he was known as the “god of gods” (Carrasco 1991:34). An important component of the larger celebration of Toxcatl was the sacrifice of the *teotl ixiptla* (human impersonator) of Tezcatlipoca, consistently a young male (a captive of a staged war) who was selected for his physiognomic perfection. According to the Spanish Franciscan friar, Bernardino de Sahagún (d. 1590), during the year of captivity preceding his sacrifice, Tezcatlipoca’s *teotl ixiptla* lived in luxury and donned fine garments reflective of his station. He was taught to play the flute, to sing, to speak, and to walk with elegance. As the human manifestation of this deity, he moved through Aztec society in the company of his entourage, gracing those in his semi-divine presence. In the 20 days preceding his inevitable sacrifice, however, Tezcatlipoca’s *teotl ixiptla* followed a designated route, making visits and presenting

offerings at Tecanman, then at Tepetzinco in the middle of the lagoon, and then at Tepepulco. The *teotl ixiptla* was then taken by boat to Acaquilpan, then to Tlalpitauhcan, and finally to the temple of Tlacoachcalco where his processional movement came to an end. His final act was to ascend the temple stairs, breaking his flutes as he went. At the temple summit, Tezcatlipoca's *teotl ixiptla* was sacrificed (Carrasco 1991:34-37).

Similar to Aztec religion, procession across a ceremonial landscape is also an important aspect of Catholic religion. The Stations of the Cross (part of the Passion of Christ or Christ's suffering) refers to Christ's movement through physical space from condemnation to crucifixion, stopping en route at various points or stations. These stations have become important symbols in Catholic religion and facilitate a structured meditation on Christ's final hours, his death, and resurrection. In churches, this procession is recreated through statues or paintings placed at designated points inside the consecrated space. Making visits to each of these symbolic points or stations, participants undertake a spiritual pilgrimage in which they meditate on key events of Christ's suffering and death. Interestingly enough, these figurative stations have physical counterparts: thirteen stations are located in the Arab or Muslim Quarter in Jerusalem. Many of these stations are marked today by small churches or shrines.

An important element in both Aztec and Catholic religion, then, is the processional movement through physical space along a designated route culminating in human sacrifice. The route meanders through a ritual landscape marked by stops where activities that are critical to the larger narrative unfold. In both the Aztec and

Catholic examples, human sacrifice forms a key component of this procession-based ritual. As noted above, Moche art suggests that ritual procession involving human sacrifice was also an important aspect of Moche religion. We will return to the topic of ritual procession within Moche ceremonial space later in this chapter. But, first, we continue our discussion of architectural forms and motifs found in both architectural vessels and full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture.

Sunken Step

The fourth motif to be discussed, the sunken step, is another feature found on Moche architectural vessels and in full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture. Similar to the appearance of other motifs depicted on architectural vessels, the sunken step signals a space that is ceremonial in nature and likely part of processional activity tied to the Moche ritual complex. Before this study, the sunken step (uncovered in full-scale architecture at Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo) was not known to have been represented on architectural vessels in the Moche corpus. The identification of this small feature signals the importance of the sunken step in Moche ceremonial architecture.

The sunken step, depicted on a Moche IV vessel with a spiral chamber (Figure 5.21), appears at first to be an insignificant detail consisting of a small rectangular depression located at the structure's threshold on the proper left side. This element marks a point of transition between the procession on the chamber (which conveys painted foxes and sculpted snails in profile) and the architectural structure above. The importance of the structure is conveyed through painted columns and a decorated seat back, as well as war clubs, depicted two-dimensionally on the roof.

Two vessels from the Moche V corpus also depict the sunken step feature, but place it in a slightly different location. The vessel chambers depict fineline figures holding hands processing toward an image of the Warrior Priest who receives the goblet (Figures 5.22a-c). Sculpted imagery inside the architectural structure depicts an earlier event: the presentation of a captive deer to an elite audience. Both Moche V vessels appear to reference three specific events in the Warrior Narrative: the presentation of captives (deer), sacrifice (implied), and the presentation of the goblet on the vessel chamber.²³⁸ The inclusion of the sunken step on a structure associated with these important activities indicates the sunken step as a feature of great ritual significance. It may have marked a liminal space between the plaza and the small architectural structure.

Sunken step in the archaeological record

Important to our discussion of the sunken step is the fact that it has been excavated at both Huaca Cao Viejo and Huaca de la Luna (Figures 5.23a and b and 5.24). These discoveries provide information about the specific location of the sunken step within the monumental complex. At both sites, the sunken step appears in association with the small independent structure in the main plaza (Recinto I) tied to ritual procession. As we have discussed, this structure sits between two registers depicting warriors leading defeated nude captives.

²³⁸ The Moche V vessels are housed in different collections but are both attributed to The Dance Painter (Donnan and McClelland 1999:262-263). The location of the sunken step on these vessels appears on the front rather than the side of the structure. The activity depicted within the architectural structure (the presentation of “captives”) and the narrative illustrated on the chamber (figures holding hands in procession and presenting a goblet to the Warrior Priest) makes explicit references to sacrifice. See Figures 22a-c for vessel, fineline illustration, and the floor plan of one of these vessels.

While its precise function is not known, at both sites the sunken step feature marks a point of transition (acting as a liminal zone) between the main plaza and the elevated platform of which it forms part, suggesting it as the place where a warrior or captive in the plaza knelt down or interacted with priests inside the elevated architectural space.²³⁹ If so, this feature would have transitioned the narrative, permitting those in the procession to engage with those fixed in physical space within the structure.

Sunken step discussion

In Moche full-scale architecture, the sunken step appears on structures within the monumental complex which appear to have served as key venues for the procession and presentation of captives. As such, the sunken step connects ritual procession with ceremonial presentation, acting as a liminal space between the two events. The fact that this small and seemingly insignificant feature is clearly indicated on Moche architectural vessels signals the importance of the feature itself as well as the activities associated with it. Its ties to procession and presentation, evident in full-scale architecture, are corroborated on Moche ceramic vessels from phases IV and V. On these vessels, the sunken step appears in the context of open architecture which acts as a venue for procession and presentation.

²³⁹ It is important to note that the sunken step is not the primary access for this structure. The main entrance to the elevated platform was by way of a ramp located on the north side (Figure 5.24).

Tablado

The next architectural type to be discussed is the *tablado*. *Tablados* are architectural structures characterized by an elevated platform that is accessed by a low perpendicular ramp. *Tablados* can be free standing or may form part of a more elaborate architectural complex and were first identified in full-scale architecture at the Moche V site of Galindo in the Moche Valley (Bawden 1977, 1982). Uncommon in domestic architecture, *tablados* are interpreted as loci of great importance. Full-scale examples from the archaeological record reveal that access into *tablados* was generally restricted (Bawden 1977:43-56; 1982:302-304).

Before the present investigation, *tablado* representations in art had been found in association with Late Moche, Transitional Moche, or Late Intermediate Period burials.²⁴⁰ Unfired ceramic *tablados* have been documented at the site of San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley while a wooden *tablado* was excavated from a Chimú burial at the Moche site of Huaca de la Luna.²⁴¹ The Moche IV architectural vessel corpus as well as two vessels from the earlier Salinar culture suggests, however, that the *tablado* was replicated in art by at least the early Early Intermediate Period. The *tablado* may therefore represent an architectural form in use on Peru's north coast by various groups for over a millennium.

²⁴⁰ For a Late Intermediate Period Chimú maquette in the form of a *tablado*, excavated in the Moche Valley, see Uceda (1997a, 1999a, 1999b, 2006a). For Late Moche and Transitional Moche *tablado* maquettes, see Castillo (2001:315 and fig. 8); Castillo et al. (1997); and Donnan and Castillo (1994). Full-scale *tablados* have been documented in the Santa Valley by David Wilson (1988) and Chapdelaine and Pimentel (Claude Chapdelaine, personal communication 2008).

²⁴¹ At the site of San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley, dozens of *tablado* maquettes made of unfired clay have been found in burial contexts (Castillo 2001; Castillo et al. 1997; Donnan and Castillo 1994). In a Chimú burial at the site of Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley, a spectacular wooden maquette of *tablado* form was excavated from a tomb of a high status individual (Uceda 1997a, 1999a, 1999b, 2006a). Models in the form of *tablados* are also discussed in Donnan (1977) and McClelland (in press).

Tablados in the architectural vessel corpus

There is limited, yet important, evidence for the *tablado* in the Moche IV architectural corpus. The best preserved example comes from the Eugenio Nicolini Collection in Lima (Figure 5.26). Atop a tiered cylindrical chamber, an open gabled structure houses a slightly elevated platform that is accessed by a low perpendicular ramp. These characteristics classify the architectural form as a roofed *tablado*.

Additional evidence for the *tablado* in the Moche IV corpus comes from the Santa Valley where, at the site of Guadalupito, a *tablado* fragment was found (Figure 5.27).²⁴² Based on its similarity to the Nicolini vessel, this fragment can be attributed to Moche IV and appears to have formed part of a vessel with a cylindrical chamber. This fragment is important for both the geographical and chronological information it proffers, providing the only evidence for a represented *tablado* south of the Moche Valley. It is also the only represented *tablado* with archaeological context that pre-dates the Late Moche finds at San José de Moro.

The most detailed examples of ceramic vessel *tablados* appear to stem from the Salinar corpus (Figures 5.28a and 5.29), suggesting the *tablado* is an older form than previously thought.²⁴³ In two different ceramic vessels, the *tablado* forms part of a larger architectural complex supported by an oblate-shaped single chamber vessel

²⁴² Depicted is a low ramp permitting access to an elevated platform. Basal breaks from once extant vertical posts are visible on either side of the ramp. This fragment was graciously shared by Claude Chapdelaine and comes from Guadalupito 109, concentración 9.

²⁴³ Neither of these two vessels have archaeological context and may instead be Proto Moche based on decorative elements such as latticework, excavated at Moche sites (Pozorski and Pozorski 2003:133, fig. 4.4). Latticework was also excavated by Bennett at the Gallinazo Group at V-59 (1950:32, fig. 9a and plate 2). While less is known about Salinar as a culture, it has long been accepted to pre-date Moche (Elera 1997, 1998; Larco 1944). Archaeological finds at Huaca Cao Viejo present the first archaeological evidence that Salinar may have been contemporary with Moche, at least in the Chicama Valley (Mujica et al. 2007:209).

with a broad, flat handle. While Figure 5.29 is more structurally elaborate than Figure 5.28, both vessels share traits that characterize the central structure as a *tablado*. In both vessels, a rectangular patio (delineated by low perimeter walls) is accessed by a baffled central entrance which leads to an elevated roofed platform reached by a perpendicular ramp. If these vessels can be attributed to Salinar, they then provide the first evidence of a represented ceramic *tablado* form prior to Moche IV.

Before my investigation, all *tablado* representations in art were associated with Late Moche, Transitional Moche, or Late Intermediate Period sites and groups. Evidence from Moche IV and Salinar vessels suggest, however, the *tablado* was represented in clay by at least the early Early Intermediate Period. In addition to expanding evidence of the *tablados*' temporal use, the discovery of the *tablado* fragment at the site of Guadalupito in the Santa Valley expands the geographical extent of this represented architectural form another one hundred kilometers to the south.

***Tablados* in Moche monumental architecture**

Tablados in full-scale architecture are most often associated with Late Moche and Late Intermediate Period sites in or north of the Moche Valley. *Tablados* have been excavated at Galindo in the Moche Valley (Bawden 1977:43-56), in the Jequetepeque Valley hinterlands (Swenson 2004:438-439; 2008), at Chotuna in the Lambayeque Valley (Donnan 1990), and within *ciudadelas* at the Chimú site of Chan Chan in the Moche Valley (Klymyshyn 1982). *Tablados*, however, have also been documented chronologically earlier and further south, for example in the Santa

Valley. Santa Valley sites with *tablados* may date to Late Virú-Gallinazo or middle Moche (Claude Chapdelaine, personal communication 2008; Wilson 1988:184-189).²⁴⁴

One of the best documented examples of a full-scale *tablado* was excavated at Huaca de la Luna. This find confirms that full-scale *tablados* were in use in the Moche Valley by at least Moche IV and that they formed part of the Moche monumental complex, at least at this site.²⁴⁵ At Huaca de la Luna, the *tablado* is located in the northeast section of the main plaza inside a rectangular room enclosed by low perimeter walls (the structure itself is referred to as Recinto II; Figure 5.30).²⁴⁶ Similar to depictions in ceramic, the central entrance is indirect or baffled. A short wall permits visible, but hampers physical, access into the space. The *tablado* itself consists of an elevated platform accessed by a perpendicular ramp. A pillar on the east side and a wall section on the west would have supported an ancient roof. Recinto II and the *tablado* within it have been interpreted as representing the division between public and private areas of the Moche monumental complex. In contrast to the very public ceremonies taking place in the main plaza, this small and restricted space is believed to have been used for private solemn gatherings possibly between elite visitors and high-ranking individuals from the Huaca de la Luna. Recinto II may

²⁴⁴ Two full-scale *tablado* structures were identified by Wilson in the Santa Valley, SVP-LSUCH-121 and SVP-LSUCH-153 (1988:184-189, figs. 88 and 89). Others have been found in the Santa Valley during survey and excavation undertaken by Chapdelaine and Pimentel. Based on pending C14 dates, SVP-LSUCH-121 may date to Late Virú-Gallinazo or Moche. Another *tablado* is located on top of Huaca Tembladera, the largest Moche *huaca* at Guadalupito (Claude Chapdelaine, personal communication 2008).

²⁴⁵ Moche IV at Huaca de la Luna represents the later phase of Moche occupation. Calibrated radiocarbon dates corresponding to this phase (based on finds from Tomb II) date to C.E. 419-610 (Uceda 2001a:61).

²⁴⁶ For a description and isometric drawing of the *tablado*, see Armas et al. (2004:82, fig. 85). This *tablado* structure measures 9 by 13 meters and was in use during building B, the penultimate phase of Moche occupation at the site (Armas et al. 2004:91, 84-85). Authors note it as the immediate antecedent of *tablados* mentioned by Bawden (Armas et al. 2004:95; Gamboa 2005:168, 174-175).

have been a venue for the presentation of luxury goods, similar to depictions in Moche fineline illustrations (Gamboa 2005:174-175; personal communication 2008).²⁴⁷

***Tablado* discussion**

Examples presented in this section suggest the *tablado* was an architectural form of symbolic or ritual importance for several pre-Hispanic cultures on Peru's north coast and an architectural form in use for over a millennium. The longevity of the *tablado* contrasts with other architectural types in the Moche corpus, for example the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs — a form intimately tied to the Moche's height of power and limited to ceramic phases IV and V. Moreover, while perhaps a peripheral architectural form in terms of its physical location at the Huaca de la Luna, the *tablado* sees a definite resurgence among later groups such as the Chimú, who adopt this form as one of the most important for their ancestor cult. It has been convincingly argued that represented Chimú *tablado* forms (made of painted wood and peopled with carved wooden figures) reference high status funerary platforms with full-scale counterparts at the site of Chan Chan (Uceda 1997a, 1999a, 1999b, 2006a).²⁴⁸ Whether *tablados* served as high status funerary platforms prior to the Late Intermediate Period remains to be confirmed.

²⁴⁷ For fineline illustrations, see Donnan (1978:66, fig. 104). For more on this *tablado* at Huaca de la Luna, see Armas et al. (2004:94, 96).

²⁴⁸ See also Klymyshyn (1982).

Gabled Roofs

The final architectural feature to be discussed is the gabled roof. Gabled roofs are the most common roof type in the Moche architectural vessel corpus, appearing most frequently on closed structures with central entrances. In the Moche ceramic corpus, architectural elements depicted on gabled roof structures include vertical posts and horizontal roof beams. Horizontal beams appear consistently under the apex of the roof and on occasion under the front eave. Roof beams and Y-shaped vertical posts are clearly visible on open structures (Figures 5.4 and 5.26). On closed structures, roof beams are hidden from view but are indicated by raised circles on the exterior of the ceramic building (Figures 5.7 and 5.18). That Moche artists chose to emphasize roof beams and posts in ceramic architectural representations suggests these architectural elements held symbolic, in addition to structural, value.²⁴⁹

Gabled roofs and the north coast

Given the minimal amount of precipitation on Peru's dry north coast, the gabled roof form (which allows rain to slide off rather than collecting), is a curious choice (Donnan 1978:82). Traditional houses in this area today have flat or shed roofs that permit the entrance of light and ventilation (Campana 1983a; Gillin 1947). It has been suggested that the gabled roof form (so prevalent in the Moche architectural corpus) was brought from elsewhere (Donnan 1978:82). As discussed in Chapter 3,

²⁴⁹ Roof beams and posts are structurally critical elements in maintaining full-scale gabled roofs. Beams are of *algarrobo*, a shrub-like tree indigenous to the north coast of Peru. When found archaeologically, *algarrobo* beams and posts occur in association with important structures (Strong and Evans 1952:109-110). *Algarrobo* beams and posts are also found in elite chamber tombs (Castillo and Donnan 1994b:126; Donnan 2007:71) where they may have been recycled from ritual structures no longer in use.

the chronologically earliest appearance of a gabled roof on Andean ceramic architectural vessels dates to Chorrera, from the Formative period in Ecuador (Lathrap 1975:fig. 346), a period of time roughly contemporary with the site of Chavín de Huantar (900-200 B.C.E.).

Closed gabled structures are especially prevalent on architectural vessels attributed to Cupisnique. Cupisnique is considered a coastal manifestation of a style originating at Chavín de Huantar, a site where heavy precipitation would necessitate such a roof type.²⁵⁰ Chavín was an important and influential early religious center united by a strong ideology disseminated through distinctive imagery on pottery and textiles (Burger 1995). As a way of lending antiquity and legitimacy to activities (including sacrifice) that comprised the basis of their religion, the Moche may have elected to co-opt this form from this earlier and influential Andean religious center.²⁵¹

Gabled roofs in the archaeological record

Roofs themselves are not preserved in full-scale monumental Moche architecture. This is likely due to being constructed of organic materials (perhaps cane and thatching) and supported by wooden beams which have decomposed. There is, nonetheless, evidence for both open and closed gabled roof structures within the Moche monumental complex which is found in the supporting wall or walls (Figure 5.31). At Huaca de la Luna, gabled roofs would have covered small independent

²⁵⁰ The Moche made alterations to this earlier roof type, rotating it ninety degrees. The notion of borrowing from Cupisnique, interpreted as coastal Chavín (Quilter and Castillo in press) is not unprecedented in Moche art. On a middle register of the *frontis norte* in the main plaza at Huaca de la Luna are depictions of Cupisnique-like spiders wielding ceremonial knives and decapitated heads. Elizabeth Benson has also argued that the Chavín style was one of the components of the Moche artistic style (1972:15).

²⁵¹ The possible influence of Chavín style on Moche architectural vessels is discussed in Chapter 3.

structures located in areas within the monumental complex where important ritual activities occurred. In Moche art, activities associated with gabled structures include the presentation of captives, the sacrifice of captives, and the presentation of the goblet to the Warrior Priest. All these activities appear in the Warrior Narrative and as such were tied to Moche religion (Figure 5.1).²⁵²

Open gabled roof, Plaza 1

The best evidence for an open gabled roof in the Moche monumental complex is found in the main plaza (Plaza 1) at Huaca de la Luna. The pentagonal-shaped east wall of Recinto I maintains semi-circular depressions left from horizontal *algarrobo* beams supporting a gabled roof (Tufinio 2006d:54-56; Uceda 1997c:177).²⁵³ As previously noted, this structure is located between registers of friezes that depict the procession of warriors and captives, suggesting that this space was associated with the presentation of defeated captives to Moche elites.

Open gabled roof, Platform I

Another open gabled structure is located on Platform I in the uppermost area of the monumental complex (Uceda and Tufinio 2003:209-210). Evidence for a gabled roof is suggested in a reconstruction, based on the four post holes in the floor of this elevated altar or podium (Uceda and Tufinio 2003, lam. 20.4b). Given its similarity to fineline depictions of open gabled structures (Figure 5.1) and its location

²⁵² The venue for the presentation of the goblet has been proposed as an open gabled structure at the top of the complex on Platform I (Tufinio 2008; Uceda 2001b; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:220-224).

²⁵³ The entrance of the structure would have been on the north side, where the ramp is located. See Figure 5.31.

in the uppermost area of the complex, Santiago Uceda associates this structure with the presentation of the goblet — the culminating activity in the Warrior Narrative and an event following the sacrifice of captives.

Closed gabled roof, Plaza 3

Evidence for closed structures with gabled roofs is found in Plaza 3 at Huaca de la Luna. One of these (Recinto I, Plaza 3b) maintains a pentagonally-shaped west wall, indicating this structure supported a gabled roof in antiquity.²⁵⁴ The second closed structure (square in plan with a central entrance) is located in the adjacent Plaza 3c (Figures 5.33 and 5.34). The upper portions of this structure's walls do not survive, but excavators have suggested it originally supported a gabled roof (Tufinio 2004:103; 2008:fig. 8). Here, the remains of bound, sacrificed, individuals were found in the context of this plaza, revealing an area dedicated to periodic acts of human sacrifice.²⁵⁵ The small closed structure with central entrance (Recinto I) is believed to have been the venue in front of which human captives were ritually dispatched (Tufinio 2008:458-460), suggesting this area (Plaza 3) and this structure (Recinto I) also played a key role in the Warrior Narrative. Spatially, Plaza 3c is located between the main plaza below and Platform I above, meaning that, in terms of

²⁵⁴ For excavations in Plaza 3b, see Montoya (1997a); Gamonal (1998); and Tufinio (2002b). For a synthesis of Plaza 3b within the Huaca de la Luna, see Uceda and Tufinio 2003. Chronologically later, in the next successive building phase, a second closed structure, referred to as Recinto II, was built adjacent to Recinto I (Gamonal 1998:80). The upper walls of Recinto II do not survive, but it has been suggested this roof also originally had a gabled form (Santiago Uceda, personal communication 2008).

²⁵⁵ At one time both Recinto I, Plaza 3b and Recinto I, Plaza 3c formed part of the same architectural and perhaps ritual unit (Tufinio 2004:117). For excavations in Plaza 3c, see Orbegoso (1998); Tufinio (2001c, 2002c, 2004, and 2006c). For a summary of these excavations, see Uceda and Tufinio (2003) and Tufinio (2008).

the Warrior Narrative, it is the area reached after the presentation of captives and before the presentation of the goblet (Figure 5.39).

Gabled roofs, Moche chamber tombs

Further evidence for gabled roofs in Moche monumental architecture comes from Moche chamber tombs made of mud brick buried within the Moche ceremonial complex. Chamber tombs are the tomb type most frequently associated with the elite (Donnan 1995:136-142). In chamber tombs, gabled roofs (*falsa bóveda*) are formed from large, flat adobe bricks placed to create an upside down “V” or gabled form (Figure 5.35). These bricks are larger in size than adobe bricks used for most architectural construction and appear to have been specially manufactured for tomb use (Enrique Zavaleta, personal communication 2007). Gabled tomb roofs have a different orientation than do gabled roofs on Moche architectural vessels or those from full-scale Moche architecture. Specifically, they are turned 90 degrees in a manner similar to gabled roofs found in Formative Ecuador and Cupisnique architectural vessels.

Tombs with gabled roofs have been found within the architectural fill at Huaca de la Luna in several areas, including Plaza 3c (Tufinio 2001c:53; 2006c:61).²⁵⁶ It seems significant that gabled roofs are associated with high status tombs buried within the *huaca* as well as on key ritual structures within the Moche monumental complex. The appearance of a gabled roof in a high status tomb suggests that this roof type may have been prerogative of Moche ruling elite.

²⁵⁶ Chamber tombs with gabled roofs have also been found in the patio with reliefs, Tomb II (Uceda et al. 1994:280-290), Plaza 2b, Tomb 32 (Tufinio 2001a:36, fig. 27; 2006b:42, fig. 27), and in the Uhle Platform, Tombs 4 and 33 (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2006a:131-132; 2006b:121).

Discussion and summary of gabled roofs

In this section, I have presented evidence to suggest that small structures with gabled roofs occupied a very special place in Moche religious architecture. Based on their appearance in artistic representation and in full-scale Moche architecture, gabled roofs (especially closed types) were the form most closely associated with Moche religion at Huaca de la Luna, a place representing the apogee of Moche political and religious power in the southern Moche valleys.

In full-scale Moche architecture, gabled roofs are found within the monumental complex consistently associated with independent architectural structures located at critical points along the processional route. These gabled structures likely functioned as focal points for different activities comprising the Warrior Narrative. For example, an open gabled structure is associated with the presentation of captives in Plaza 1. Further along the processional route, a closed (likely gabled) structure with central entrance is located in Plaza 3, a venue for the sacrifice of captives. The open gabled structure on Platform I is interpreted as the venue for the presentation of the ceremonial goblet. In addition to the fact that all these structures have gabled roofs, we have an interesting pattern of open gabled–closed gabled–open gabled, where open structures are associated with presentation (e.g., prisoners, goblet) and closed structures are associated with sacrifice and death. Gabled roofs, albeit of a slightly different nature and orientation, are also found in elite chamber tombs of individuals buried within the Moche ceremonial complex.

The ubiquitous presence of gabled structures in Moche ceremonial contexts (including mortuary contexts) within the *huaca*, coupled with the fact that there is no environmental need for this roof type, suggests gabled structures held a symbolic role for the Moche. In the greater tradition of ancient Andean architectural vessels, closed gabled structures date back to Cupisnique, a culture considered a coastal manifestation of Chavín. The Moche may have adopted the gabled form from this earlier and influential Andean religious tradition as a means of lending legitimacy and antiquity to their own religion.

The Closed Gabled Structure: A Key Form in Moche Religion

The closed gabled type appears to be an important form in Moche ritual architecture. In Moche IV, the closed gabled type makes up the majority of the architectural vessel corpus, suggesting this architectural type held ideological importance for the Moche during this politically and religiously critical period. Data from the art historical and archaeological record suggest this architectural type is associated with acts of human sacrifice.

Diagnostic Features of the Closed Gabled Type

The closed gabled structure is enclosed, square in plan, and has a gabled roof. The roof is often embellished with step-shaped roof combs, and the structure's façade is decorated with imagery that consistently flanks the entrance. Another important feature of this type is its central entrance (Figure 5.10). Enclosed structures with

central entrances are extremely rare in Moche full-scale architecture, identified thus far only at Huaca de la Luna in Plaza 3c.

Imagery Associated with the Closed Gabled Type

An examination of the imagery depicted on closed gabled architectural vessels sheds light on the possible function of this architectural type. Frequently depicted are war clubs (Figure 5.7), streams of blood²⁵⁷ (Figure 5.6), chisels or scalpels (Figure 3.66), ritual jars with ties (Figure 5.10), and eared serpents (Figure 5.10). Many of these motifs, for example, war clubs and eared serpents, appear in scenes of ritual combat between warriors.²⁵⁸ The eared serpent is a motif Donnan views as central to Moche religion (Donnan in press b) and can be taken as a visual cue of sacred or ceremonial activity.

Ritual jars and eared serpents also appear in scenes of dismemberment and have representation in the lower register of the fineline scene known as the Arraignment of Prisoners, where sacrificed individuals are depicted in the company of jars with ties and a large eared serpent (Figure 5.1).²⁵⁹ Streams of blood, war clubs (forming part of weapons bundles), and an eared serpent are also featured in Moche fineline depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figure 5.47).²⁶⁰ Included in this scene is a ceremonial chisel or scalpel, an iconographic element also in evidence in the lower register of the Sacrifice Ceremony. All imagery considered together suggests

²⁵⁷ This interpretation follows that of Donnan and McClelland (1999:62).

²⁵⁸ War clubs often administer the final blow, resulting in streams of blood represented by short vertical lines (Donnan 1978:49, fig. 68).

²⁵⁹ Jars with neck ties are found in scenes related to offering and burial and allude to human captives (Benson 1975:106-108).

²⁶⁰ The eared serpent is also found within the Moche monumental complex, at Huaca de la Luna (located on an upper register of the north façade, or *frontis norte*) and on the Moche murals at Pañamarca depicting the Sacrifice Ceremony (Bonavia 1985:59-71; Schaedel 1951).

closed gabled structures had strong associations with ritual blood shed and acts of human sacrifice.²⁶¹

The Closed Gabled Type in Moche Architectural Contexts

Our review of the diagnostic structural features and the associated iconography of closed gabled structures suggest this architectural type was somehow connected to acts of human sacrifice. The fact that eared serpents appear on architectural vessels of the closed gabled type additionally suggests this structure is tied to Moche religion. One question remains: Could this architectural type (consistently represented as an independent, single-room structure absent of greater architectural associations) have formed an integral component of the Moche ceremonial complex? With the aim of situating the closed gabled type within the greater Moche architectural complex, we will consider contextual information provided by Moche architectural vessels.

Architectural complex vessels help to situate structures and features depicted in isolation elsewhere, shedding light on the location of certain architectural types and permitting us to see how different architectural structures and features interacted within a larger space. Figure 5.36 depicts an architectural complex with three separate yet connected structures. Two of the structures have open shed roofs while the structure in the complex's back left corner represents a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs. Besides being the tallest element, the closed gabled structure is located in a more restricted area of the complex.

²⁶¹ Chisels have been found in tombs and may have been used as weapons or tools used in bloodshed, suggested by the short vertical lines drawn around them.

Another Moche architectural complex vessel exhibiting several distinct architectural structures is depicted in Figure 5.48. In the back left corner (similar to the vessel just discussed) is a closed gabled structure with central entrance and step-shaped roof combs. In both architectural complex vessels discussed, the closed gabled type forms part of the Moche architectural precinct, consistently located in a restricted area at the back left of ritual space. It appears this larger architectural context is also communicated, albeit more abstractly, on single-room vessels depicting closed gabled structures.

Figures 5.6 and 5.7 depict Moche IV single-room closed gabled structures with step-shaped roof combs. Another trait found on both vessels is step motifs in series, painted on the vessel chamber below the closed gabled structure. Importantly, these motifs occur below the structure and above platform levels, which are indicated by graduating tiers and painted horizontal bands. These platform levels communicate to the viewer that the closed gabled structure is situated in an upper area of the Moche complex while step motifs in series suggest the structure sits in a sacred area of the Moche precinct. As discussed in an earlier section of this chapter, step motifs in series in Moche full-scale architecture lead to the upper reaches of the ceremonial complex and additionally serve to delimit important ritual areas. At Huaca de la Luna, for example, step motifs in series mark off the ritual area known as Plaza 3c, located near the foot of Cerro Blanco.

The Closed Gabled Type and its Correspondent in Full-scale Moche

Architecture

Having verified that the closed gabled type forms part of the Moche architectural complex, we will now seek a counterpart for this architectural type in Moche full-scale architecture. While central entrances are common features in Moche architectural vessels, they are rare in the archaeological record.²⁶² As of yet, structures with central entrances have only been documented at Huaca de la Luna in Plaza 3, in close proximity to a one-peaked mountain.²⁶³ Recinto I, Plaza 3c is perfectly square (measuring 5.8 x 5.8 meters) and is situated in an upper part of the ceremonial complex near the sacred mountain, Cerro Blanco (Figure 5.33).²⁶⁴ While its roof is no longer extant, excavators believe it supported a gabled roof in antiquity (Tufinio 2004:103). And, while the decorative program on the structure's exterior is not well preserved, it nonetheless depicts motifs of some interest. On the façade of the structure (facing north and depicted in relief) are felines attacking human figures who don the short hairstyle worn by captives.²⁶⁵ A closer look at Recinto I, Plaza 3c in

²⁶² In Moche monumental architecture, structures more commonly have lateral or off-center entrances and are rectangular rather than square in plan. Examples can be found at Huaca Cao Viejo (Corner Room, Ceremonial Plaza and the Corner Room, Ceremonial Patio, Corner Room, Decorated Patio) and at Huaca de la Luna (Recinto 1, Plaza 1).

²⁶³ Archeologists at Huaca Cao Viejo, Chicama Valley, and at Guadalupito, Santa Valley, have confirmed that, as yet, no square structures with central entrances have been found at either site (Antonio Murga, personal communication 2008 and Victor Pimentel, personal communication 2009, respectively).

²⁶⁴ Recinto I, Plaza 3c is discussed in Tufinio (2001c; 2002c; 2004; 2006c). Uceda has noted that Recinto I and II in Plaza 3b are similar in plan to Recinto I in Plaza 3c, indicating that either of them could provide a full-scale counterpart for the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs (personal communication 2008). Because of its perfectly square plan, clearly central entrance, and associated imagery, I have decided to focus on Recinto I, Plaza 3c.

²⁶⁵ The structure's façade is decorated in relief while the sides and back are painted. This small structure underwent three major decorative renovations. In the earliest phase, imagery consisted of stylized catfish (*pez life*) motifs (Tufinio 2004:113 and figs. 110 and 111; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:192-195; lam. 20.2a and 20.2b). The stylized catfish is a motif associated with the rainy season and is common on Proto Moche architectural vessels. If the building's function remains the same over

plan provides additional information (Figure 5.33). The small structure sits within a U-shaped wall. Just in front of its entrance is a small ramp or altar. While few remain *in situ*, the outer northern perimeter and part of the western perimeter maintain painted adobe step motifs in series.²⁶⁶

Importantly, all of these features are found on a Moche IV vessel supporting a closed gabled structure (Figure 5.6). When the ceramic structure and its painted imagery are conveyed in plan, these features are especially salient (compare Figures 5.32 and 5.33). At center is the closed gabled structure with central entrance housed within a U-shaped wall. Just in front of the structure's entrance is a small ramp or altar. Surrounding the structure, the ramp, and the U-shaped wall is a perimeter wall adorned with painted step motifs in series.

If we compare the plans of Recinto I, Plaza 3c and the vessel depicted in Figure 5.6, the similarities are difficult to dismiss (Figures 5.32 and 5.33). In addition to suggesting the closed gabled type represents Recinto I, Plaza 3c or a structure like it, this comparison also indicates that decorative details on Moche architectural vessels communicate important information that, once deciphered, enables us to identify corresponding structures in the archaeological record. Thus far, we have identified strong structural similarities between the closed gabled structure and Recinto I, Plaza 3c. If we look to the archaeological contexts of Recinto I, Plaza 3c,

time, it may indicate that these different images, stylized catfish and felines attacking human figures, are linked or perhaps equivalent.

²⁶⁶ While the full-scale structure does not appear to be surrounded by step motifs in series, it is important to note that preservation in this area of the complex is poor due to heavy rains and wind (Montoya 1997a:64).

will they support the allusions to sacrifice depicted on Moche architectural vessels of the closed gabled type, suggesting the function of both structures were also similar?

Archaeological Contexts for Recinto I, Plaza 3c, Huaca de la Luna

To identify additional correspondence between the closed gabled structure and Recinto I, Plaza 3c, we look to the archaeological record at Huaca de la Luna. Plaza 3c lies adjacent to Plaza 3a, which sits at the foot of the one-peaked mountain, Cerro Blanco. In Plaza 3a, Steve Bourget found extensive evidence of human sacrifice located in proximity to a rocky outcrop enclosed within the walls of the complex (Bourget 2001b).

Sacrificed individuals were also found in front of Recinto 1 in Plaza 3c.²⁶⁷ Several of these individuals had been decapitated (Uceda and Tufinio 2003:222) and appear to have had their flesh intentionally removed, perhaps with the aid of

²⁶⁷ Archaeologists have divided Plaza 3 into three areas, 3a, 3b, and 3c. In all of these areas evidence of human sacrifice has been uncovered. Plaza 3c dates to the earlier building C (Tufinio 2002c:57; 2006c:62) while Plaza 3a dates to building A, the final phase of construction at the site, associated with Moche IV (Bourget 2001b:96; Bourget and Millaire 2000:60). Both Plaza 3b and Plaza 3c at one time formed a single unit (Tufinio 2004:117). Plaza 3c was interred during building B, before Plaza 3a was in use (Tufinio 2004:117; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:196). Tufinio notes heavy rains as the apparent cause for abandonment (Tufinio 2004:117). In the Moche literature, discoveries of human sacrifice in Plaza 3c is often eclipsed by evidence of sacrifice found in the adjacent Plaza 3a where the largest number of human sacrificial victims to date was uncovered (Bourget 1997, 1998, 2001b; Bourget and Millaire 2000). Over 70 males between the ages of 15 and 39 were found in various stages of dismemberment. It is believed these individuals were captured warriors who were eventually sacrificed (Bourget 2001b:90-92). It has been observed that sacrificial activity found in Plaza 3a differs from that found in Plaza 3c, the location of Recinto I. For one, events in these respective plazas pertained to sacrificial events occurring at different moments in time (Uceda 2005:313; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:192-195). Activity in Plaza 3c occurred during the use of earlier Building C while activity in Plaza 3a took place during the chronologically later Building A. Furthermore, the different types of trauma inflicted on skeletons found in both plazas suggest the type of ritual activity occurring in each was distinct (Uceda 2005:313). Skeletons in Plaza 3a bear evidence of torture, including dismemberment, decapitation, etc. The skeletons in Plaza 3c, conversely, are complete save for the fact they have been decapitated (Uceda and Tufinio 2003:222).

chisels.²⁶⁸ Painted representations of chisels (with bat heads) appear in the Moche architectural corpus, flanking the entrance of a closed gabled structure (Figure 3.66). In addition to skeletal remains, unfired ceramic vessels were discovered in close proximity to Recinto I (Tufinio 2002c:57). Ceramic vessels with ties appear flanking the entrance of closed gabled structures also appear in the Moche vessel corpus (Figure 5.10). All of these discoveries led archaeologists to conclude that Recinto I in Plaza 3c was the locus for human sacrifice (Tufinio 2006c:59), a ritual act undertaken in the shadow of a one-peaked mountain, Cerro Blanco.

The Closed Gabled Type in the Context of Mountain Sacrifice

If, based on our examination, we can surmise that the closed gabled type depicted on Moche architectural vessels was intended to reference Recinto 1 in Plaza 3c or a structure like it, we should expect to find evidence in Moche art linking the closed gabled structure to acts of human sacrifice occurring in the context of a one-peaked mountain. For this, we turn to a thematic group of vessels known as the Mountain Scene of Human Sacrifice. Sixty-eight vessels of this type have been analyzed by Ari Zighelboim (1995).²⁶⁹ All vessels in this thematic group share three key elements: the mountain (with between one and seven peaks); a figure draped over

²⁶⁸ Chisels, excavated at Huaca de la Luna, are noted in Esquerre et al. (2000:151, fig. 144); and Uceda (1997c:179, photo 35). Uceda has suggested these chisels were used to remove flesh from bone (personal communication 2008). The interior of Recinto I may have been where Moche priests undertook the task of removing flesh from bone (Uceda, personal communication 2008). Evidence for a bench within this structure, removed during earlier periods of looting, provides a possible venue for such an activity (Verano et al. 2007:229).

²⁶⁹ Bourget has also discussed these vessels in connection with Cerro Blanco, Huaca de la Luna, and human sacrifice (1994). Zighelboim proposes that the one-peaked depictions specifically reference Huaca de la Luna and Cerro Blanco (1995:157). The connection between mountains and Moche sacrifice is also discussed in Donnan (1978:144-148).

the central peak known as Bent Person; and a figure lying at the base of the mountain who appears to be dead, referred to as Dead Person. In a five-peaked depiction, Bent Person is connected to a sacrificed Dead Person by a stream of blood (Figure 5.37).

Within this thematic group is a subset of vessels depicting a one-peaked mountain. In these, Bent Person is draped over the single peak while Dead Person lies decapitated at the base of the mountain. In the middle of the mountain is a familiar form which appears to be a frontal elevation of the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs (Figures 5.38 a-c).²⁷⁰ Just below the structure are two jars depicted in relief which flank the entrance (Figure 5.38b). Ritual jars with ties are also found flanking the entrance of a closed gabled vessel from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera (Figure 5.10).

At least five one-peaked Mountain Scenes of Human Sacrifice are known. All depict a frontal view of the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs, two jars flanking the structure's entrance, and a decapitated figure below the structure. These vessels provide evidence that the closed gabled structure was found in association with ritual jars and decapitated individuals and in close proximity to a one-peaked mountain.²⁷¹ As we have discussed, these contexts are matched by the archaeological record in Plaza 3c at Huaca de la Luna (Tufinio 2002c; Uceda and Tufinio 2003).

²⁷⁰ This is described as “terraces flanked on the top with two half pyramids facing each other...” (Zighelboim 1995:164 and 181, fig. 2b).

²⁷¹ Acts of human sacrifice in the context of a sacred mountain were likely undertaken in an effort to venerate and appease mountain deities, forces which the Moche depended upon for water and agricultural sustenance. For more on this, see Donnan (1978:148) and Hocquenghem's discussion in Zighelboim (1995:171).

Summary of the Closed Gabled Type

In this section, I have argued that the closed gabled structure in the Moche architectural corpus does in fact have correspondence in the archaeological record, specifically at Huaca de la Luna in Plaza 3c. Huaca de la Luna was at its height of power during Moche IV, the phase in which these architectural types emerge in force in the art historical record. Plaza 3c is located in an upper, more restricted zone of the complex and is associated with acts of human sacrifice, a critical component of Moche religion and a central event in the Warrior Narrative. While this full-scale structure and its specific and significant place within the larger Moche *huaca* have largely been overlooked, the ubiquity of the closed gabled structure in the Moche architectural vessel corpus signals the central role of this structure to Moche religion and its importance in Moche ideology.

The Warrior Narrative as a Ritual Procession within the Moche

Monumental Complex and the Role of Small Independent Structures

In this section, the Warrior Narrative (described earlier in this chapter) is discussed as a sequential series of ritual events enacted within Moche full-scale architecture, where each separate rite is anchored by a small independent structure. It is in this context that we must consider Moche architectural vessels, as representations of architectural structures forming key components of Moche ritual space.

The events comprising the Warrior Narrative have been applied to ritual space at the Huaca de la Luna (Uceda and Tufinio 2003:220-224). The proposed trajectory is depicted in Figure 5.39.²⁷² The first activity in the sequence (warrior combat) is hypothesized to have occurred in Plaza 2 (Figure 5.40), a space connected to the main plaza by a series of ramps and likely visible to those in the northern part of the main plaza, or Plaza 1 (Santiago Uceda, personal communication 2008).²⁷³ The most appropriate ceramic analog for Plaza 2 is Moche Terrace Plates.²⁷⁴ Similar to Plaza 2, Moche Terrace Plates are rectangular in plan with a back wall and stepped sides (Figures 5.41 and 5.42a). A central path of access is indicated by a white band on the ceramic objects (Figure 5.42a) and by an elevated platform with central entrance in Plaza 2 (Figure 5.40). Imagery decorating Terrace Plates (weapons bundles or warriors engaged in one-on-one combat) mirrors the activity proposed for Plaza 2 by Uceda and Tufinio (Figures 5.41 and 5.42b and c).

The next activity in the Warrior Narrative (the parading and presentation of nude captives by dressed warriors) is interpreted to have taken place in Plaza 1. Here processional activity depicted on the north and east walls is interrupted by a small architectural structure (Recinto I, Plaza 1), indicating that Recinto I and its associated platform acted as the venue for the presentation of captives.²⁷⁵ It is within this platform that we find the sunken step, a feature which appears to be associated with the parading and presentation of captives (Figure 5.24). Three vessels from the

²⁷² This gradual ascension through space is conveyed in Moche fineline vessels where combat takes place on lower registers, the presentation of captives occurs slightly further up the chamber, the depiction of sacrifice appears just above that, and the presentation of the goblet follows on the vessel spout (Donnan and McClelland 1999:134, fig. 4.106).

²⁷³ Plaza 2 is shown in Figure 5.40 and the complex of Huaca de la Luna is illustrated in Figure 5.39.

²⁷⁴ Terrace Plates are discussed in Chapter 3 and are presented in Appendix 1, Terrace Plates.

²⁷⁵ The architectural superstructures on these vessels seem, however, to reference a different structure, not Recinto I.

Moche architectural corpus depict this sunken step feature (Figures 5.21 and 5.22).²⁷⁶

All three are decorated with imagery that ties them to processional activity including the presentation of a captive.

The next activity in the Warrior Narrative (human sacrifice) took place in Plaza 3, located in the upper complex in close proximity to Cerro Blanco (Figures 5.34 and 5.39).²⁷⁷ While evidence of human sacrifice has been unearthed in all areas of Plaza 3, this activity appears to have been anchored at a one-room structure (Recinto I) in Plaza 3c. This structure has a central entrance and is decorated with imagery referencing sacrifice (Figures 5.33). As I have argued, the best ceramic analog for Recinto I, Plaza 3c is the closed gabled structure (Figures 5.6, 5.7, 5.10, and 5.18).

The culminating activity in the Warrior Narrative (the presentation of the goblet) is depicted in Moche fineline as situated above a row of step motifs in series. As we have discussed, step motifs in series indicate important ritual space usually high up in the Moche monumental complex (Figure 5.47). At Huaca de la Luna, step motifs in series were excavated on the eastern side of the complex, lining the parapet leading to the area of sacrifice (Plaza 3c).²⁷⁸ Step motifs in series were also found along a parapet on the north wall directly below Platform I, the venue that has been proposed for the presentation of the goblet (Uceda and Tufinio 2003:224).²⁷⁹ On Platform I, we find another small independent structure which would have been

²⁷⁶ Two of these vessels are nearly identical. Only one is pictured here. For the third, see Appendix 1, Moche V.

²⁷⁷ Plaza 3c was connected to both the main plaza below and Platform I above by way of a ramp (Armas et al. 2002:26, 32; Tufinio 2004:99; Uceda and Tufinio 2003: fig. 20.15).

²⁷⁸ See Figure 5.8.

²⁷⁹ See Figure 5.8.

visible to participants in the main plaza below.²⁸⁰ The ceramic vessel from the Moche architectural corpus that best references this structure and its associated activity is a small gabled Moche V structure supported by an oblate-shaped chamber, decorated with a fineline depiction of a raptorial bird drinking from a cup or bowl (Figure 5.43a-b). It has been suggested this image references the drinking of captives' blood from a goblet (Donnan and McClelland 1999:136), an event equated to the presentation of the goblet itself.²⁸¹

In this section, the events in the Warrior Narrative have been applied to ceremonial space at Huaca de la Luna. The trajectory through physical space, while approximate, is taken from cues provided by the complex itself. Processional movement in a specific direction is suggested by the warrior and captive frieze in the main plaza;²⁸² the step motifs in series that line the parapets; the ramps that connect distinct areas along the processional route; and the existence of small independent architectural structures that anchor different aspects of the ritual procession unfolding within the Moche ceremonial complex. Based on the evidence presented, the closed gabled structure appears to have held an especially emblematic place in Moche art and ritual, tied to acts of sacrifice which were an important component of Moche religion. Therefore, I propose that this architectural type in particular came to emblemize Moche religion during Moche IV.

²⁸⁰ This structure, a raised platform with four steps, likely supported a gabled roof, as suggested by four deteriorated vertical posts. Steps were decorated with stylized undulating eared serpents and the east wall maintained an elaborate decorative program. For excavation in this area, see Armas et al. (2002:fig. 16); Morales (2003); Tufinio (2006a, 2006d); and Uceda and Tufinio (2003). The stepped podium or altar is associated with building C and the later building B (Morales 2003:fig. 14.13).

²⁸¹ While this vessel lacks archaeological context, a vessel fragment with similar imagery was found at the Moche V site of Galindo (Lockard 2008:fig. 6). This subject matter also appears in Moche IV (Donnan and McClelland 1999:136).

²⁸² This procession moves first east, then north, toward a ramp that provides access to upper areas of the complex.

Temple Models as Potent Symbols in Aztec Art

I have argued that the Moche closed gabled type (and its full-scale counterpart) was closely connected to acts of human sacrifice. As such, I would argue this structure was functionally and ideologically similar to temple models (and their full-scale counterparts) in Aztec religion. Aztec temples were loci for ritually sanctioned acts of human sacrifice. Small-scale representations of Aztec temples replicated these full-scale forms and would have served to evoke concepts of sacrifice, while also referencing the greater ritual procession of which sacrifice formed a part. I would like to suggest that specific religious structures in Moche thought (similar to temples in Aztec thought) came to symbolize not only death and sacrifice but also the regenerative outcomes of this ritually sanctioned act.

In Aztec art, steep-stair temples are venues for human sacrifice and bloodshed, a key component of Aztec religion. In the Florentine Codex (a post-conquest pictorial document painted by native scribes under the direction of friar Bernardino de Sahagún), a series of panel illustrations convey the feast of Tezcatlipoca, mentioned earlier in this chapter. Included are scenes of the *teotl ixiptla* dressed as the deity moving through the Aztec landscape playing his flutes (Figure 5.45). The final illustration depicts Tezcatlipoca's sacrifice on a temple summit (Figure 5.45, bottom left). This scene underscores the connection between procession, Aztec temples, and human sacrifice.

Aztec temples were depicted in miniature and made of modeled clay (Figure 5.46). Juliana Novic has convincingly argued that one temple model type in particular

came to be particularly emblematic of Aztec religion: the twin stair temple model.²⁸³ Full-scale twin stair temples were built in important Aztec ceremonial precincts, the most famous of which was Tenochtitlan, the Aztec imperial capital (Novic n.d.). This particular temple type, she notes, served the two most important Aztec gods, Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc.²⁸⁴ Novic explains both gods played key roles in the political and religious strategies of the Aztecs. Together, these deities came to symbolize war, whose ultimate objective was procuring victims for public sacrifice at important religious festivals. Aztec rulers, by sponsoring human sacrifice, publicly presented themselves as upholding their covenant with the gods, and thereby ensured cosmological harmony and social order.²⁸⁵ Twin stair temple models, then, in addition to holding political and religious symbolism, conveyed messages about cosmological harmony and order. Given this example, it is possible that Moche architectural vessels (particularly the closed gabled structure) held a similarly complex place in Moche ideology, as objects expressing the political might of Moche rulers, the potency of Moche gods, the ritual act that bridged the two, as well as its regenerative outcomes?

²⁸³ Novic's study was based on her analysis of 66 ceramic Aztec temple models. Many of these have been found in burial caches, indicating their ritual significance.

²⁸⁴ Huitzilopochtli was the principal Aztec deity, brought by the Aztecs when they arrived as interlopers to settle at Lake Texcoco. As such, Huitzilopochtli was associated with Aztec imperial expansion. Tlaloc, conversely, was an older Mesoamerican deity, often associated with rain and fertility. The Aztec adoption of Tlaloc, a local and long-venerated god, may have served to legitimate Aztec rule and elevate the status of their own god, Huitzilopochtli (Novic n.d.).

²⁸⁵ As ruler, an Aztec king was responsible for keeping the sun from collapsing on the earth, an event that would bring about cataclysmic destruction and the end of the world. Human sacrifice was a means of feeding and appeasing the gods (by providing them a precious commodity) which would in turn serve to delay the end of days.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have presented evidence to suggest that Moche architectural vessels represented specific structures and features found within the Moche monumental complex, or *huaca*. While depicted as independent in the Moche architectural vessel corpus, comparison with excavated Moche architecture at Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo reveals these structures and features were not isolated but were positioned at pivotal points within the ceremonial complex. Small independent structures in full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture served to anchor specific events comprising part of the ritual procession unfolding within the complex, discussed as the Warrior Narrative. Additionally, a close examination of the iconography on Moche architectural vessels reveals these images were not arbitrary but instead relayed detailed information about the full-scale architectural structure represented, its whereabouts, and even its function within the Moche ritual precinct.

One structure in particular — the closed gabled structure — emerges as particularly significant. Despite its prevalence in the Moche architectural corpus, this architectural type has, until now, been largely overlooked. Its form and associated imagery appears to reference Recinto I, Plaza 3c in Huaca de la Luna. Recinto I, Plaza 3c was intimately tied to human sacrifice which appears to have comprised a key component of Moche religion.

Several of the architectural types in the Moche ceramic corpus (including Terrace Plates) can be equated to areas and structures within the Moche ceremonial complex. These areas and structures likely reference events in the Warrior Narrative

(e.g., presentation of captives, sacrifice, and presentation of the goblet) suggesting Moche architectural vessels functioned as symbols for Moche religion.

Chapter 6. The Role of Moche Architectural Vessels in Moche Burial

In earlier chapters, the complexity of Moche architectural vessels as well as their connection to full-scale Moche monumental architecture has been established. In addition, the vessels' sacred tie to pivotal aspects of Moche religious life and ritual has also been presented. In this chapter, my goal is to illuminate the role of Moche architectural vessels as funerary items. To do this, we must first examine the aims of Moche burial, recognize the important place of Moche ceremonial architecture in Moche religion and society, and consider the function of architectural representation in burial for other ancient cultures including ancient Egypt, China, and West Mexico. These different sources will provide insights about why architecture (or representations of it) was deemed an appropriate mortuary offering for the Moche.

The Role of Burial in Moche Society

As the Moche left no written record and had disappeared centuries before the Spanish began recording aspects of pre-Hispanic Andean life in the sixteenth century, other sources must inform our investigation of the aims of Moche burial. Sources include anthropological studies and ethno-historic accounts of traditional Andean burial as well as data provided from excavated Moche burials. To frame the discussion, I will use Robert Hertz's theoretical model of the role of burial in traditional societies.

Hertz's Theory on the Objectives of Burial

Hertz's theory on the objectives of burial will provide a framework for our discussion of Moche burial. In his seminal paper from 1907 "A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death," Hertz views burial ritual as meeting three main objectives, two of these are geared toward the deceased while the last directly benefits the surviving family and community members (Hertz in Robben 2004:197-211). The first objective of mortuary ritual is to give burial to the remains of the deceased (a restoration of order). The second is to ensure that the deceased is granted peace and passage to the land of the dead. The third is to free the living from the obligation of mourning. These motivations, especially the first two, will be relevant as we consider the aims of burial ritual in the ancient Andes.

Applying Hertz's Theory to Andean Burial generally and Moche Burial specifically

The first objective discussed by Hertz, giving burial to the remains of the deceased, can be interpreted as a restoration of order or equilibrium. In *Celebrations of Death*, Richard Huntington and Peter Metcalf discuss death for some societies as an "overdose of order" that upsets life's balance (1979:99). Funeral ritual attempts to correct this imbalance. To demonstrate this, they cite the Bara society in Madagascar whose funerary rites are designed to symbolically increase vitality through the pairing of opposites — male/female, father/mother, dying/birth, tomb/womb, etc. (1979:99-100).

Restoring equilibrium at death through the pairing of opposites appears also to be a critical element in contemporary traditional Andean funerary ritual. For example, the Laymi of Bolivia believe that a person is incomplete if they die before taking a spouse. To right this imbalance, the unmarried deceased is accompanied in death by a domestic fowl: a hen for males and a cock for females (Harris 1982:63). A similar concern was documented in the sixteenth century through the oral history transcribed in the Huarochirí Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991). George Urioste's study of the document reveals that wellness was re-established by first determining what was missing and then addressing and complementing that lack. For ancient Andeans, death did not result from a physiological illness but rather from the breach of custom which jeopardized not only the afflicted but also the economic and social well-being of the entire community (Urioste 1981:12-15). The only means of righting the imbalance (and thereby ensuring the well-being of both the dead and the living) was to restore equilibrium through ritual and ritual objects.

A concern with restoring balance and equilibrium at death is also in evidence in Moche burial. One of the most compelling cases has been put forth by Donnan, who excavated a suite of three tombs at the site of Dos Cabezas. Each tomb pertained to an unusually tall young male between the ages of 18-22.²⁸⁶ These "giants" would have been quite an anomaly in Moche society where most men stood 20 centimeters shorter. As a means of righting the imbalance offset by their height and their death, each giant's tomb was paired with a smaller compartment, or miniature tomb, containing a small hollow copper figurine that was itself accompanied by small-scale

²⁸⁶ While the average height of Moche males is 1.58 meters, these three males ranged between 1.75 and 1.80 meters tall (Donnan 2003:75).

burial offerings. The type and number of burial offerings placed in the miniature tombs corresponded exactly to the number of burial items from the larger tombs (Donnan 2003:77). The notion of pairing opposites in the tomb is also accomplished through the inclusion of ritual vessels. In one cited example, two vessels made from the same mold were differentiated (or made to be complementary) through external surface treatment. One vessel exhibited careful burnishing while the other was rougher and inferior in quality (Donnan 1995:143, footnote 8).²⁸⁷

The Moche's concern for equilibrium, or complementarity, in ritual is expressed through fine-ware ceramics (including architectural vessels) which are characteristically red and white in color.²⁸⁸ Objects with two complementary colors such as red and white have been discussed by Jorge Flores Ochoa as possessing special ritual symbolism referred to in Quechua as *missa* (1997). This symbolism, he notes, conveys concepts of good fortune or supernatural protection (Flores Ochoa 1997:722).²⁸⁹ It may be that complementarity paved the way for supernatural protection. If, in fact, objects exhibiting complementarity ensured supernatural protection, then such objects would have been especially appropriate mortuary offerings for the deceased.

²⁸⁷ Some vessels from the Moche architectural corpus also reflect this pairing. Two Moche V vessels from the Museo Larco, which appear to be made from the same mold, are painted in opposite amounts of red and white. This is also true for two spiral chamber throne pots, one housed at the MNAHP and the other at the Museo Larco.

²⁸⁸ Figures 6.10 and 6.12. Huntington and Metcalf have noted that red and white are cross-culturally important in burial (1979:45).

²⁸⁹ This special designation, *missa*, could apply to llamas, woven tunics, an ear of maize, or ceramic vessels that exhibited a pattern of complementarity. In many cases it was not imperative that the division of color be exactly equal, for in Andean spatial conception certain colors "weigh" more than others and visibly occupy a greater amount of space (Flores Ochoa 1997:724, my translation). Using Gonzales Holguín as his source, Flores Ochoa listed additional words with *missa* including *missani missacuni*—to win at the game, win a bet; *missapayani*—to always win in the everyday; *missarcarini*—to beat out everyone or to win a lot; *missapayak, o samiyoc*—the lucky one in the game (my translation).

The second reason for performing burial ritual as explained by Hertz is to grant the deceased peace and allow him or her passage to the world beyond. Antonio de la Calancha states that proper burial ritual was undertaken as a way to keep ancient Andean souls from wandering the earth hungry, thirsty, and tired. The dead were appeased in the tomb through the inclusion of food, drink, and clothing (Calancha 1974-1982 [1638]:855).²⁹⁰ Divinations were often performed to ensure that the deceased was pleased with the offerings made. If the deceased was perceived to be dissatisfied, additional offerings were made (Doyle 1988:204-205).²⁹¹ The deceased in Moche society were also interred with food, clothing, and items including utilitarian wares and ritual ceramics. The quality of the grave goods (which in more elite tombs included masterpieces of metallurgy, shell bead work, and textiles) suggests this desire to please the dead.²⁹²

As important as it was to grant peace to the deceased, it was equally critical to assure their passage to the world beyond. Passage involved a journey through the underworld that culminated in a reunion with the ancestors (Steele and Allen 2004:151-154).²⁹³ The journey (which could take one to three years) began once the deceased was safely sealed within the tomb.²⁹⁴ The act of provisioning the tomb and

²⁹⁰ Urioste also notes the dead must be fed to keep them happy (1981:17)

²⁹¹ There was also a concern among the living that the dead might return (Urioste 1981:17). Given the uncertainty that threatened both the living and the dead members of a community, burial and the elaborate ritual that accompanied it was of interest to all parties.

²⁹² Peter Kaulicke describes the role of burial ritual as turning a loss into a gain; through the transformation of a dead member of society into a powerful ancestor. The role of ancestor is one reserved for members of the community deemed socially relevant (2000:87, 289).

²⁹³ The land beyond is discussed in the Huarochirí Manuscript as Paria Caca, and was known as Upaymarca for the pre-Hispanic inhabitants of Peru's central coast (Doyle 1988:235-237). The land of the ancestors in contemporary traditional highland communities of Bolivia is known as Uma Pacha (Bastien 1995).

²⁹⁴ Doyle 1988:230. In the Huarochirí Manuscript, the burial ritual itself is discussed as a period of five days (Salomon and Urioste 1991:130-131). For those in Kaata, the journey takes three years (Bastien 1995:363).

preparing the deceased for this journey forms part of the burial ritual in the contemporary Bolivian highland community of Kaata. In a ritual described by Joseph Bastien, the body of the deceased was turned toward the mountain summit (home to the ancestors), given a candle, dressed in clothes customary of long trips, and provided with enough coca and food for a long day's expedition. Parting words to the deceased as the tomb was sealed were *buen viaje!* or "have a good trip!" (Bastien 1995:361-364).²⁹⁵ A need to provision the Moche dead in preparation for a journey can be inferred from the burial items mentioned in the previous paragraph. Additionally, a copper bead, fragment, or ingot was frequently placed in the hand or mouth of the deceased, possibly as a means of payment to those guarding passage to the underworld.²⁹⁶

One of the most provocative sources on Moche burial comes from Moche art: the fineline narrative known as the Burial Theme (Donnan and McClelland 1979). This painted narrative is broken into several sections with the burial itself occupying half of the composition.²⁹⁷ While this narrative illustrates aspects of the burial ritual (depicting an elaborate funerary procession and a tomb filled with high status grave goods including strombus and spondylus shells in addition to camelids), it does not relay the intended outcome of the ritual. Of interest, however, is the depiction of an open gabled structure in the opposite half of the composition. The fact that this structure is adorned with step motifs and war clubs (features depicted on architectural

²⁹⁵ The arrival of the deceased to the land beyond is celebrated in Kaata three years later during the annual commemorative ritual, Feast with the Dead, which marks the transition made by the deceased from "dead" to ancestor (Bastien 1995:363).

²⁹⁶ The inclusion of this copper bead or fragment is reminiscent of the Roman burial custom which places a coin in the mouth of the deceased as a fee for the ferryman Charon.

²⁹⁷ Recently Bourget has proposed this narrative depicts rites of secondary burial, specifically the moment when the body is exhumed (2006:194-196).

vessels and found in full-scale Moche ritual architecture) suggests this burial takes place within the Moche ceremonial precinct, providing visual support for what will be addressed in the next section: the Moche monumental complex as a locus for elite burial ritual as well as a burial mound containing important Moche dead.

The Role of Ritual Architecture in Moche Society

Moche architectural representations cannot be accurately interpreted without first considering the central role that Moche ritual architecture held in Moche society.²⁹⁸ The Moche *huaca*, or ceremonial complex, was visible from a great distance. Additionally, the construction of this imposing structure required a significant amount of organized labor (Hastings and Moseley 1975). Both of these aspects would have underscored to the Moche populace the *huaca*'s important place in society. The symbolic nature of Moche ceremonial architecture is also inferred by the physical form it takes — that of a man-made mountain. In addition to mimicking the form of a mountain, *huacas* were often built at the foot of *cerros* or mountains, an act which served to incorporate the mountain into the *huaca*'s very foundation and appropriate not only its shape but also its power.

The ceremonial complex also served as a symbol of consolidated Moche power, containing within it the corporeal remains of important Moche dead (Uceda 1997c). During the Spanish conquest and the centuries that followed, it was a well known fact that ancient coastal *huacas* were burial mounds for the ancient elite.

²⁹⁸ David Chicoine's M.Sc. thesis details the important role of *huacas* in Moche society. See for example his definition of temples (2003:48-49).

Father Bernabé Cobo referred to monumental coastal architectural structures as sepulchers, noting their resemblance to mountains and stating that the quantity of interred dead within them was so great that “...*espanta la infinidad de cuerpos muertos de que están llenas (las sepulturas)*... (it frightens one to consider the infinite number of dead bodies that fill [the sepulchers]).”²⁹⁹ Cobo’s seventeenth-century observation has been corroborated by recent archaeological excavation. At Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo, dozens of high status burials have been discovered within the fill of the *huaca* itself.

Incorporating the powerful deceased into ceremonial architecture as a means of augmenting the structure’s potency has been discussed by Santiago Uceda as well as José Canziani as part of the renewal of power, or *renovación del poder* (Uceda and Canziani 1998; Uceda et al. 1994). The renewal of power refers to the intentional entombment of earlier ritual architecture. This entombment of architecture occurred in conjunction with the burial of important Moche individuals within this architecture. The latter aspect seems, furthermore, to have parallels in rites of endocannibalism described by Hertz.³⁰⁰ If the Moche *huaca* can be seen as a living entity, then the interment of powerful human dead within it can be equated to acts of endocannibalism where the living *huaca* ingests and thereby incorporates the vitality and potent properties residing in the bodies of the powerful deceased.³⁰¹ The regenerative properties associated with this are equated by Uceda to the planting of

²⁹⁹ Cobo 1890-93, vol. IV, cap. XVIII:234.

³⁰⁰ Endocannibalism is described for the Binbinga. “By this rite, the living incorporate into their own being the vitality and the special qualities residing in the flesh of the deceased...” (Hertz 2004 [1907]).

³⁰¹ The belief that *huacas* eat people continues today on the north coast. In the town of Morrope, legend has it that a group of seven *brujos* (ritual specialists) were sent to the nearby Huaca Cufufana to “turn the mouth of the *huaca*” away from the town so as to not lose more townspeople to its insatiable hunger.

seeds in the earth (1997c:185). A contemporary parallel is provided by the inhabitants of Kaata, who bury their dead deep within the earth as a means of securing the deceased's claim to the land itself (Bastien 1995:363).

If, as I have suggested earlier, Moche architectural vessels referenced small structures located within the larger complex which anchored key ritual events, and if these events were undertaken with the aim of appeasing mountain deities who would, in exchange for human blood provided water, ensuring agricultural and thereby social fertility, these structures would have evoked concepts of or the promise of fertility, growth, and renewal. As such, these objects would have been potent symbols.

In this section, using Hertz's theory as a model, we have identified some of the possible motivations for Moche burial. Concepts important in Moche burial appear to have been complementarity (evident through the pairing of opposites and the righting of imbalances) and assistance in passage to the world of the ancestors (evident through elaborate burial offerings that served to provision the important dead for this journey). We have also discussed the important place of Moche ceremonial architecture in Moche society. The *huaca* was a visual manifestation of a potent entity critical in sustaining fertility (agricultural, social, and political) and also a structure which facilitated communication with the supernatural. If, as I have proposed, Moche architectural vessels represent small structures within the *huaca* which were critical to ritual activity, then these small-scale architectural representations would also have evoked these same concepts of potency and equilibrium in the tomb.

The Role of Architectural Representation in Burial from Other Ancient Cultures

A discussion of architectural tomb models from other ancient cultures helps to elucidate the important role that small-scale architecture played in the tomb. In this section, I will examine small-scale architectural representations used as mortuary offerings for three different ancient cultures: Egypt, China, and West Mexico. For all three cultures, past scholarship provides us with detailed information on the types of architecture represented, the ideological significance these particular forms held for these ancient societies, and why certain structures were deemed especially appropriate items in death.³⁰² In the discussion that follows, we will see that the architectural types functioning as tomb offerings were distinct for each group. Nonetheless, in all cultures discussed, the architectural types found in burials consistently replicated structures that were in some way related to that culture's core religious or ideological beliefs. Additionally, small-scale tomb architecture specifically replicated architectural forms that bridged a connection between the living, the deceased, and greater cosmological forces. This suggests that, within these diverse cultures, shared characteristics of miniature tomb architecture can be discerned. As I will argue in a later section of this chapter, these same universals are also in evidence for Moche architectural vessels.

³⁰² This information comes from contemporary texts, archaeological excavation, or both. Architectural models from each of these cultures have been the focus of a detailed doctoral dissertation. Ancient Egyptian tomb models were studied by Angela M. J. Tooley (1989), while Han dynasty models were researched by Candace J. Lewis (1999) and ancient West Mexican house models were the focus of investigation by Kristi Butterwick (1998a).

Ancient Egyptian Soul-Houses and Wooden Tomb Models

Two types of architectural models are known from ancient Egypt.³⁰³ The first is the “soul-house” made of clay, which dates from the later half of the First Intermediate Period and extends into the early Middle Kingdom (Dynasties IX through XII). The second type is the carved wooden model which proliferates during the first two dynasties (XI and XII) of the Middle Kingdom (Tooley 1989:16, 1996:17). While both model types have been found in funerary contexts, soul-houses are associated with the laboring and lower classes and frequently occur above tombs (Bard 1999:255; Petrie 1907a, 1907b; Tooley 1996:19). Painted wooden models, however, comprise funerary equipment for the titled classes of Egyptian society and are placed inside tombs, usually in close proximity to the coffin itself (Firth and Gunn 1926; Garstang 1907; Petrie and Brunton 1924; Tooley 1989:77-83, 1996:19; Winlock 1942:19).³⁰⁴

Soul-houses were generally found above common pit graves where they served the dual function of burial marker and offering table (see Figure 6.1).³⁰⁵ The soul-house, as well as the earlier offering tray, functioned as a conduit for the transfer of food and drink from the land of the living to the world of the departed — a ritual that would have been enacted on a daily basis to ensure the needs of the deceased were met (Tooley 1996:58).³⁰⁶ It has been suggested that soul-houses mimicked the

³⁰³ There is possibly a third more problematic type, made of carved limestone. For this see *Egypt's Golden Age; The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558-1085 B.C.*, figs. 1, 2, and 3.

³⁰⁴ Sir Flinders Petrie conducted an extensive analysis of ceramic soul-houses based on his work at Rifeh (1907a). Tooley has, more recently, conducted an exhaustive study of Middle Kingdom wooden tomb models. In this work she includes updated information on ceramic soul-houses (1989, 1996).

³⁰⁵ Tooley's research reveals that some soul-houses were located in the burial chamber rather than above the tomb (1989:301).

³⁰⁶ Petrie interpreted soul-houses as an eternal home for the spirit of the deceased (1907b:113-114). In Egyptian religion, the soul was conceived of as having several parts. One of these parts, the *ka*, was

form of rock hewn mortuary shrines or funerary chapels connected to the tombs of Egyptian kings, such as the Nomarch's tombs at Beni Hasan (north of Amarna in Middle Egypt) or Rifeh.³⁰⁷ Similar to ceramic soul-houses, shrines provided a locus from which the family could honor the dead and offer libations to the cult of the deceased. The clay soul-houses, which blended the function of tomb chapel and offering table, served as a symbolic surrogate for those who could not afford a cult place (Bard 1999:256; Taylor 2001:106-107).

Egyptian wooden models are first found in royal tombs from the Old Kingdom. It is, however, in non-royal tombs during the Middle Kingdom (2040-1640 B.C.E.) that these objects see their greatest increase in number, type, and geographic distribution (Tooley 1989:31, 59).³⁰⁸ Wooden models are hand carved and painted and they depict figures engaged in activities that cater to the daily afterlife needs of the ancient Egyptian elite: beer brewing, bread making, linen textile production, leather working, and the counting, binding, and slaughtering of oxen. These models reflect two major preoccupations with regard to the hereafter: the need for a continuous supply of goods and the importance of bodies to carry out the work. Of all these various funerary models, boats, offering bearers, and granaries comprise the

considered the vital force of the individual. The *ka* lived apart from the body in life, but was reunited with it in death. Essential to the survival of the *ka* was a physical body which would house the *ka* in the afterlife. This function was ideally carried out by the mummy, but fear that the mummy might become damaged led to the custom of including a *ka* statue, or spare body, in the tomb (Romano 1990:3-5). Scholarship has since moved away from the belief that soul-houses served as a resting place for the spirit (Bard 1999:255).

³⁰⁷ It has also been suggested that soul-houses replicate the form of stone altars placed in the superstructure of a tomb onto which libations for the cult of the deceased were poured (Tooley 1989:249).

³⁰⁸ The greatest quantity of wooden models is found in the Middle Kingdom cemeteries of Saqqara, Abuser, and Sedment (Tooley 1989:16).

“core set” for the Middle Kingdom (Figure 6.2).³⁰⁹ Boats served as a mode of transport to the afterworld, and offering bearers ensured an abundant supply of luxury goods. Grain was an especially critical part of Egyptian society as, once milled and processed, it could be converted into bread and beer, which were the staples of the ancient Egyptian diet (Tooley 1989:4). This fact made granaries an appropriate and important tomb offering, as they ensured the deceased an abundant supply of food and drink.

Egyptian wooden models have been excavated from tombs at all major sites, from Aswan to Abusir (Tooley 1989:59).³¹⁰ Models appear in tombs of all types: rock cut, shaft and chamber, *mastaba*, and occasionally even pit tombs (Tooley 1989:77, 374). Interestingly, in all instances, models are limited to the tombs of people who were closely associated with the crown: kings, courtiers, and other titled classes of Egyptian society (Tooley 1989:374, 1996:19; Winlock 1942:19). This appears to have resonance with Moche architectural vessels. All excavated examples were found within burials located in close proximity to Moche ceremonial architecture, suggesting the deceased’s connection to the Moche elite.

In contrast to the ceramic soul-houses, which may have served as substitutes for full-scale ritual architecture, wooden tomb models were surrogates for full-scale objects needed in the afterlife, for example, a granary. The modeled figures within them were surrogates for human laborers. These figures comprise the “magical workforce” of the tomb dweller, ensuring endless days of leisure in the hereafter.

³⁰⁹ Model granaries first occur in the VIII and IX dynasties (early and middle First Intermediate Period) in the Nomarch’s tombs at Gebelein and Qubbet el-Hawa (Tooley 1989:17-18).

³¹⁰ Some of the most famous are those from Middle Egypt found at the necropolis of Beni Hasan (Garstang 1907), Deir el Bahri (Winlock 1942), and el Bershe (Terrace 1967).

With the proper incantations, these static figures would have sprung to life to serve the needs of the deceased: hauling grain, baking bread, or binding oxen (Budge 1925:223; Taylor 2001:99).

It is important to note that many of the activities depicted in the tomb models reference the production of goods enjoyed by only the wealthy nobility.³¹¹ The models, therefore, do more than address basic afterlife needs. They also document the elevated status of the deceased, ensuring they will enjoy the same level of privilege and comfort in the underworld (Tooley 1996:19). Egyptian wooden tomb models can, accordingly, be seen as symbolic substitutes, emblems of status, and the privilege of the Egyptian elite.

Han Dynasty China Granaries, Manor Houses, and Pottery Towers

Hundreds of architectural models made of ceramic date to the Han dynasty in (206 B.C.E.–C.E. 220).³¹² The majority of these are documented from the Eastern Han period (C.E. 25–220). During the Han dynasty, economic prosperity and political stability brought about the emergence of a wealthy land-owning class that began to mimic burial customs that had formerly been the prerogative of emperors.

Architecture, such as the manor house with gate tower, granary, main hall, kitchen, and lavatory (constructed full-scale in royal burials) were replicated in miniature in

³¹¹ Meat (beef and duck) was generally restricted to the upper classes (Tooley 1989:5). Only gods and people of elevated status wore sandals that were produced by leather workers. Further, Egyptian model granaries depict the flat-roof type associated with large scale estate production, rather than the domed-roof type linked to domestic production (Tooley 1996:41).

³¹² The nomenclature for these objects include *pottery tower*, *house*, *pottery house*, *pottery courtyard compound*, *house model*, *pavilion*, and *granary tower* while still others have geographically-specific names (Lewis 1999:11-12).

the tombs of the middle elite (Lewis 1999:134). These structures, particularly granaries and water towers, would come to have important practical and ideological significance in the later Han dynasty (Lewis 1999:155-190).³¹³

In order to better understand the place of architectural models in Han period tombs, a brief mention of Chinese views of the afterlife from this period is necessary. A passage attributed to Confucius in the Book of Rites (*Li ji*) stresses that items used in life were unsuitable for death, therefore special objects should be created to accompany the deceased to their eternal home (Lewis 1999:157-158). Such items, made expressly for burial as substitutes for objects used in life, are called *mingqi*, or numinous objects (Dien 1987:14; Lewis 1990a:18). Pottery models, as a type of *mingqi*, functioned as substitutes for the architecture they emulated.³¹⁴

Han dynasty pottery models depicting architecture consist of three primary types: manor houses, granaries, and tall towers (Figures 6.3, 6.4, and 6.5). There was a veritable explosion of pottery models made for burial in the later Eastern Han (James 1996:35; Lewis 1990a:21). Four stylistic groups have been distinguished from

³¹³ Due to excellent archaeological contexts, the availability of contemporary literature, tomb inscriptions, and pictorial narratives found in burials, much is known about what Han dynasty pottery models represented and why they accompanied the deceased in burial (Lewis 1990a, 1990b, 1999). This wealth of data has been compiled and analyzed by Lewis in her doctoral thesis, "Pottery Towers of Han Dynasty China" (1999).

³¹⁴ The inclusion of architectural representation in burials addressed the needs of the *po*, one of the two living souls the Chinese believed accompanied the physical body to its subterranean abode. The *po* was the force that animated the body and would eventually return to earth (Dien 1987:3). The *po* was also the element that would remain in or near the tomb, directly benefiting from the material goods and foodstuffs interred with the departed. The other living soul, the *hun*, was considered the spark of life and the more heavenly aspect that would, after death, ascend to the heavens where it would become an ancestral spirit (Ebrey 1996:71; James 1985:283, 1996:4). Early Western Han dynasty burial ritual centered on the well-being and care of the *hun* (James 1996:35). According to Yu and Wang, rituals and tomb imagery (in the form of banners and tomb paintings) served to assist the *hun* in its safe arrival to the celestial realm (James 1996:5). Later, however, during the late Western and Eastern Han dynasties, the previous concern with immortality (or concern for the *hun*) was replaced with more material desires which centered on the care of the *po* (James 1996:36-37; Lewis 1990a:21). This shift in ideology resulted in a proliferation of grave goods placed in tombs of the Eastern Han period (James 1996:35). Of these, the largest and most elaborately rendered were the architecture pottery models (Lewis 1999:21).

this period, each stemming from a different geographical area and reflecting the distinct beliefs of that region (Lewis 1999:22-49, 91). Of the various model types surviving from the Eastern Han period, those of the greatest size and most elaborate technical manufacture depict granaries and pottery towers (Lewis 1999:21). These objects, popular with the land-owning elite during the Western Han period, were adopted as substitutes for full-scale architecture constructed in royal burials. As the result of political and economic crises in the Eastern Han period, however, pottery models began to be commissioned by the high aristocracy as well. In response to government restrictions on sumptuous tomb furnishings, pottery replicas were found in tombs of district magistrates, ducal ministers, and even princes (Lewis 1999:134-144).³¹⁵

While the pottery manor house, the granary, and the tall tower are frequently recurring forms, Candace Lewis reminds us that these structures reflect only a small subset of the total architectural environment during this period. These specific structures were deemed appropriate tomb furnishings because they represented objects and ideas that were closely tied to popular belief and economic prosperity during the Han period (Lewis 1999). For the Moche, architectural vessels also reflect a limited subset of the total architectural environment. Supporting this is the fact that approximately sixty vessels in the corpus depict a small structure with central entrance for which there are, as yet, only two full-scale architectural counterparts, both of which occur in the same Moche monumental structure.

³¹⁵ Because the models also adhere to the proscriptions of Confucian modesty, models were also interred in the tombs of Confucian scholars (Dien 1987:14; Lewis 1990a:21, 1999:152-53).

Modeled manor houses, granaries, and tall towers had full-scale counterparts. Ceramic manor houses replicated architecture from elite tombs, which in turn, mimicked the homes and estates of the living (Thorp 1987:18).³¹⁶ This suggests manor house pottery models served as a surrogate home for the spirit of the deceased. Granary models found in burials have been identified through inscriptions that name them as such (Lewis 1999:171).³¹⁷ Model granaries, additionally, appear to have held various levels of meaning. Similar to ancient Egyptian granary models, their earthly wooden counterparts were a means of ensuring prosperity. As such, the image of a granary in a Han period tomb conveyed the hope of eternal abundance for the deceased (Lewis 1999:175). Ceramic granary models also functioned as status symbols by relaying the elevated position of their owners.³¹⁸

Pottery towers also conveyed multiple levels of meaning in the tomb. From a pragmatic standpoint, a tower provided water — another critical ingredient for prolonged life. Additionally, a tower allowed a commanding view of one's terrain, suggesting that (like the manor house and granary) it functioned as a symbol of privileged status. Moreover, the pottery tower appears to have taken on a very specific connotation, the most conceptually complex of all the pottery model examples discussed (Lewis 1990a:18). Pottery towers have been interpreted as representing the Bright Hall, or Hall of Enlightenment (*mingtang*), a structure mimicking the layout of the cosmos.

³¹⁶ James 1996:3 and Lewis 1999:7.

³¹⁷ The character for granary, incidentally, shares great formal similarity to the ceramic granary model (Lewis 1999:10-11).

³¹⁸ During the Han period, officials' ranks were calculated in units of measurement of grain, called *shi*. The highest officials were ranked at 10,000 *shi*, while high ministers and chancellors were set at 2,000. Mid-level bureaucrats were valued at 600 *shi* and local clerks at 100 (Lewis 1999:121-122).

Remains of ceremonial structures identified as Halls of Enlightenment have been found in the archaeological record at Chang'an (modern Xi'an), capital of the Western Han dynasty, and at the Eastern Han capital, Ancient Luoyang (Lewis 1999:162-171). Bright Halls are described at length in ancient Chinese literature and have been found on pictorial reliefs inside tombs (Lewis 1999:64-65, 162-171). In the Han period, the Bright Hall was the venue from which the ruler maintained contact with the supreme power above, by whose authority he had been permitted to lead. The tower was, accordingly, viewed as a symbol of peace between ruler and subject and served as a metaphor for cosmological harmony (Lewis 1999:163-175). The notion of a ceramic representation made for burial that mimics a full-scale structure which mirrors the cosmos (and additionally enables communication between elite humans and the divine) is also suggested in tomb models from ancient West Mexico, to be discussed next.

Ancient West Mexican House Models and Dioramas

Ceramic architectural models dating to the Late Formative Period (200 B.C.E.-300 C.E.) also survive from ancient West Mexico.³¹⁹ These models depict one and two-story houses as well as dioramas or village scenes (Figures 6.6 and 6.7). Differing from the ancient Egyptian and Chinese examples just discussed, none of the approximate one hundred ceramic models from ancient West Mexico have secure

³¹⁹ Like the Andes, ancient Mesoamerica has a long tradition of architectural representation, beginning with Tlatilco in the Pre Classic and extending through the Aztec Empire. While most Mesoamerican models depict architecture in isolation, examples from ancient West Mexico are distinct for illustrating human activity within space. For a survey of architectural representation from Mesoamerica, see Schávelzon (1982, 2004).

archaeological contexts.³²⁰ Nevertheless, these objects are interpreted as burial offerings that accompanied the deceased in shaft tombs. Shaft tombs themselves are believed to have functioned as burial crypts which housed the physical remains of powerful kin groups (López and Ramos 1998:58-60).³²¹ Given the absence of archaeological or historical data on these objects, scholars have turned to archaeology, ethnography, and the objects themselves to better understand the types of full-scale architecture that are represented by these models and why these forms were deemed appropriate offerings for the deceased.

Before extensive archaeological work on ancient West Mexican ceremonial architecture was undertaken, Peter Furst theorized that ancient West Mexican ceramic house models represented house–tomb complexes (1975:60-62).³²² These miniature one- and two-story structures are peopled with ceramic figures which, in contrast to the laboring figures portrayed in Egyptian models, appear to be eating, playing music, or sleeping. In two-story models, the upper floor is open with high ceilings while the lower floor is enclosed and cave-like. For Furst, these structures represented the physical cohabitation of living descendants (who occupied the terrestrial house above) and their deceased ancestors (who resided in the subterranean shaft tomb below). These two groups were united through shared activities (ceremonial feasting

³²⁰ On stylistic grounds alone, ancient West Mexican house models have been attributed to Ixtlán del Rio, in the southeastern region of Nayarit (Gifford 1950). House model fragments have been discovered in shaft tombs in both Nayarit and Jalisco (Furst 1966:85 and Weigand, personal communication 2006, respectively), corroborating the Nayarit attribution and broadening the spatial distribution slightly.

³²¹ Osteological study of skeletons found in shaft tombs at Huitzilapa, Jalisco, revealed that five of six individuals in two separate tombs were genetically related (López and Ramos 1998:58-59).

³²² This hypothesis stemmed from Furst's ethnographic work with the Huichol and Cora, some of the oldest surviving groups of pre-Hispanic origin living in the Sierra Madre of northwestern Mexico (1975).

and drinking) and by way of a staircase that connected the architecture above with the enclosure below.³²³

The most detailed of the ceramic model types are the village scenes or dioramas (Figure 6.7). On a circular clay slab or base, rectangular house structures are placed at cardinal points and positioned around a plaza that has at its center a podium or altar. Myriad figures rendered in clay crowd the space. The architectural structures represented in the dioramas share similarities with the free-standing house models, suggesting that dioramas provide a more detailed context for the ceramic house models depicted in isolation (Beekman 2003; Weigand 1999:44). Dioramas, then, are similar to Moche architectural complex vessels which suggest the locations within ceremonial space of architectural elements and structures depicted in isolation elsewhere.

Archaeological work in Jalisco, focused on ancient surface architecture, has revealed formal similarities between ancient West Mexican ceramic dioramas and Late Formative Period ceremonial architecture (Weigand and Beekman 1998).³²⁴ Similar to the dioramas, ancient West Mexican ceremonial architecture also consists of an elevated circular mound with rectangular platforms that are set at cardinal points around an open plaza that has at its center an altar or podium (Weigand and Beekman 1998:38-39).³²⁵ This concentric circular architectural pattern, called a *guachimontón* (Figure 6.8), became standardized in the Late Formative Period and is interpreted as ceremonial in nature. It has been interpreted as a sacred space oriented

³²³ For more on ritual feasting and house models, see Butterwick (1998a, 1998b).

³²⁴ These similarities are based on the discovery of stone foundations, located at prominent areas of Late Formative Period sites. These platforms are believed to have been the foundations for perishable structures, presumably temples or elite residences (Beekman 2000:395).

³²⁵ See Figure 6.8.

toward large audiences (Beekman 2000:395-396). These concentric circular architectural patterns, furthermore, have been found in close association with Late Formative Period shaft tombs, lending support to Furst's theory that two-story ceramic house models depict a one-story temple or lineage house that is connected by a shaft to an ancestral tomb.³²⁶

The ceramic tomb models of ancient West Mexico, similar to Moche architectural vessels, reflect a very potent architectural form. This architectural pattern is consistently located in the most elevated area of the site, often in close proximity to a ritual ball court, a structure understood to host games of a sacred and ceremonial nature. On one level, these ceramic models replicate in miniature full-scale ceremonial architecture, explicitly depicting temples or lineage houses, the tombs of ancestors, and a central altar or podium. On another level, these forms have been interpreted as reflecting a three-tiered model of the cosmos where the central patio equates to the earthly realm, the rectangular architectural structures mark the cardinal points, the tomb represents the underworld, and the central altar serves as an axis mundi connecting tomb, house, and the celestial sphere (Beekman 2000:395-396, 2003). Models replicating the form of a sacred ritual center or *guachimontón*, then, would have underscored the interdependence of the living, the dead, and the deities and, as such, would have functioned as a potent offering in the tomb.

³²⁶ Shaft tombs have been found underneath platforms of *guachimontones* at sites in Jalisco and Zacatecas (Cabrero 1989:86, 1994:65-66; Long 1966; López Cruz and Cabrero 1994:298; Weigand 1993a:24, 35). Nearly one-fourth of the known shaft tombs from central Jalisco are directly associated with public ceremonial architecture (Beekman 2000:390; Weigand and Beekman 1998:39).

Discussion

In all three ancient cultures discussed, architectural tomb models interred with the deceased mimicked full-scale architectural structures of particular religious or ideological significance to that culture. For example, the pottery towers from the Han period represented structures (Halls of Enlightenment) that mimicked the layout of the cosmos and as such were seen as symbols for peace and cosmological harmony. The dioramas from ancient West Mexico replicated a completely different architectural type yet one that, for ancient West Mexico, also conveyed messages about cosmological harmony. Model granaries comprised tomb furniture for both Han dynasty China and Middle Kingdom Egypt. While the forms of each were distinct and their meaning particular to the needs and ideologies of the cultures that created them, both nonetheless validated the deceased's status and expressed the hope for sustenance in the world beyond.

The observation made by Lewis that these structures reflected a small subset of the total architectural environment is also important. For example, *guachimontones* are found with frequency at important sites, but are always limited to the ceremonial center. Pottery towers of the Han are ubiquitous in the ceramic architectural corpus but are infrequent in the archaeological record. That represented architecture reflects only a small percentage of the total architectural environment is also true for Moche architectural vessels. For example, closed gabled structures with central entrances are the predominant forms in the architectural corpus while their full-scale counterpart

has thus far only been identified at a single Moche site. For Moche, this may suggest that this architectural type is particular to this site, Huaca de la Luna.³²⁷

Another observation resulting from our cross-cultural analysis is that a single object could at once convey several different levels of meanings. A Han dynasty pottery tower could serve the pragmatic function of providing water or a view of one's terrain, which also revealed the elevated status of the occupant. It could simultaneously convey messages about peace and cosmological harmony. In the case of ceramic dioramas from ancient West Mexico, the model replicated the form of ceremonial space where the living could engage with the ancestors through ritual ceremony and feasting. At the same time, the diorama reflected a view of their cosmos, with the earth, cardinal points, sky, and underworld all in their proper place. For all these reasons, these particular architectural representations were potent forms and were accordingly presented as funerary offerings in the tomb.

The differing architectural types in evidence for each of these cultures may also reveal information about distinct cultural traditions, identities, or centers of production. In examples where archaeological and textual information is available (as it is for the Han period in China) it becomes clear that some of the differences in architectural form and style can be attributed to distinct geographical areas where these objects are produced. For example, research by Yoshio Kawamura reveals that Chinese pottery forms tended to initiate at a specific center or area and were later distributed to other centers or areas. The granary, he notes, started in Xi'an, and spread to Guangzhou. A ceramic well form that was introduced in Guangzhou spread

³²⁷ Only with further excavation we will gain a better sense of this form's frequency in full-scale Moche architecture.

to Xi'an and Luoyang. This distribution of architectural forms for burial occurred despite the distance that separated Xi'an and Guangzhou.³²⁸

For the Moche, differing architectural vessel types may also suggest different centers of ceramic production as well as reflect local forms, ideologies, or ritual practices particular to that site or area. For example, two similar forms of the step motif appear at two different Moche sites which suggest a shared ideology at both centers.³²⁹ Their distinct technical styles, however, indicate they were produced in different areas or at least in different workshops. The dissemination or distribution of an architectural form or vessel (a phenomenon in evidence for Han dynasty model granaries) seems plausible for Moche vessels. Distribution may explain why a vessel fragment belonging to a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs (Figure 4.3) was found in the Santa Valley despite the fact that there is, to date, no evidence of this structural type in full-scale local architecture (Victor Pimentel, personal communication 2009).³³⁰ To date, the only evidence for this structural type in full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture occurs at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Figure 5.33), a site identified as a major hub for the production of ceramic fine-ware (Bernier 2008). It is possible that the fragment found in the Santa Valley belonged to a vessel produced in the Moche Valley that, through gift or barter, found its way further south.

³²⁸ This dissemination was discussed in a talk by Kawamura entitled "The Spread of Pottery Miniatures of Domestic Structures in China," presented in 2007 at the Fourth Forbes Symposium, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

³²⁹ A step and wave motif vessel was excavated from the Santa Valley while a step motif vessel was discovered at the Huaca de la Luna. These vessels are depicted in Figures 4.1 and 4.4.

³³⁰ Pimentel notes that, at least at the site of Guadalupito, excavators have not yet uncovered a structure of this form.

Application of Cross-Cultural Explanations to Moche Architectural Vessels

Our examination of architectural representations from ancient Egypt, China, and West Mexico has revealed that the architectural forms most frequently included in tombs reflect full-scale architectural structures which are intimately tied to core beliefs of that particular group. If we integrate this idea into what we have identified as the principal objectives of Moche burial, we should expect to find the following elements in evidence among architectural vessels of the Moche: a concern for complementarity and equilibrium; an allusion to a sacred journey that transitions the deceased human to a potent ancestor; and an architectural structure reflective of Moche ceremonial architecture tied to Moche religion.

To test this hypothesis, we will look to two examples from the Moche architectural corpus. Both are Moche IV vessels, yet each depicts a distinct architectural type, chamber type, and associated imagery. Drawing from the cross-cultural examples discussed, we can anticipate that these two distinct architectural types will each convey slightly different meanings or messages while still reflecting core Moche beliefs about death and the journey to the afterlife.

Vessel One: Closed Gabled Structure with Central Entrance and Roof Combs

The closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs is the most frequently represented architectural type in the Moche IV corpus, suggesting the

importance of the full-scale structure it emulates. An example of this type is depicted in Figure 6.12.³³¹ Supporting the closed gabled structure with roof combs is a spherical chamber which is slipped half red and half white, elements we have discussed as conveying complementarity.³³² Complementarity is also conveyed through symmetrical motifs found on either side of the structure's entrance. In this example, the imagery may resemble smeared blood. On other vessels of this architectural type, paired motifs flanking the entrance include streams of blood, ritual vessels, chisels, and guardian figures.³³³ In addition to complementarity, these motifs allude to sacrifice and bloodshed, elements critical to Moche religion and perhaps also to elite burial. The large void created by the hollow spherical chamber suggests something boundless, perhaps the world beyond. This void serves as the foundation for this structure, suggesting that the architecture above it acts as a portal or point of transition between this world and the next.

The next important point is that the architectural type depicted references a full-scale structure intimately associated with key aspects of Moche religion. As we discussed in Chapter 5, the closed gabled type with central entrance has a full-scale counterpart at Huaca de la Luna in an area dedicated to human sacrifice (Figure

³³¹ A vessel of the same architectural type, housed at the Museo Larco, has been interpreted by Benson as a possibly a tomb or a place for sacrifice (1997:94) and by Bourget as a specialized structure dedicated to mortuary activities, perhaps places where the bodies of priests were kept (2006:199).

³³² In other Moche examples, spherical chambers are consistently decorated in equal proportions of red and white, either half red, half white, as in Figure 6.12, or in alternating horizontal registers of red and white. Spherical chambers are unusual in other phases but are frequent in Moche IV, where they most often occur in association with the closed gabled structure with central entrance.

³³³ Also found on the roofs or chambers of these vessels are undulating eared serpents, ritual architecture, or ritual costume; images which reference Moche religion (Donnan in press b).

5.34).³³⁴ Human sacrifice is viewed as a ritual tied to the exercise of power (Uceda 2000b:99) as well as a means of perpetuating the sacred bond between man and deities (Tufinio 2008:461). If the vessel depicted in Figure 6.12 references Recinto I, the small independent structure with central entrance located in Plaza 3c, then it suggests that vessels of this architectural type functioned as symbols of potent ritual architecture.

I would also like to suggest that the full-scale structure represented by this architectural type may have acted as a “bridge” connecting the world of the living and the realm of the ancestors. Some of the skeletal remains of individuals sacrificed in close proximity to Recinto I, Plaza 3c reveal their flesh had been intentionally removed (Tufinio 2008:460; Uceda and Tufinio 2003:195). The discovery of a dismantled bench within Recinto I prompted Uceda to suggest this room as a place facilitating an important transformation (Uceda, personal communication 2008).³³⁵ As such, a sacrificed individual would have entered the structure in one state and emerged in another, suggesting the closed gabled structure as a transformative space or a bridge connecting the world of the living and the world of the ancestors.

The existence in the ancient Andes of structures tied to important transitions is discussed in Spanish colonial period accounts where such structures (called *machays*, or houses for revered ancestors) were intimately associated with burial ritual and the transition from deceased to ancestor. *Machays*, the home of *malquis* or potent ancestors, are discussed by Mary Eileen Doyle in “The Ancestor Cult and Burial

³³⁴ As I have noted in other chapters, structures with central entrances are extremely rare in Moche full-scale architecture indicating that they convey a structure reflecting only a small-subset of the total Moche architectural environment.

³³⁵ In Moche art, the other world is populated by humans in skeletal form, suggesting skeletons are synonymous with active dead.

Ritual in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Peru.”³³⁶ According to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century descriptions, *machays* were small and cave-like with a very small doorway, like an oven (*horno*). A testimony dating to 1656 from Cajamarquilla further notes their entrances were often smeared with blood (Doyle 1988:4, 110).³³⁷

If we consider this description in light of the architectural vessel pictured in Figure 6.12, there are some interesting parallels. Similar to the seventeenth-century description of a *machay*, the closed gabled structure in Figure 6.12 could be considered “cave-like” and its small door “oven-like.” I have suggested the swaths of red pigment on either side of the entrance as denoting shed blood. Could the closed gabled structure with central entrance be a schematic representation of a coastal precursor to a much later pre-Hispanic Andean *machay*? Using Spanish colonial period sources to interpret data from the Early Intermediate Period is without doubt precarious. If, however, we can hypothesize that the vessel in Figure 6.12 represents Recinto I in Plaza 3c, then this designation (a Moche *machay*) helps to explain why these important sacrifices were conducted in the immediate presence of this structure. If Recinto I in Plaza 3c did act in some capacity as a Moche *machay* (a structure for revered ancestors and one intimately associated with the transition from deceased to ancestor), it would explain the close proximity of Recinto I to the sacred mountain, Cerro Blanco. In contemporary traditional Andean highland communities, or *ayllus*, it is believed that ancestors descend from *huacas*, which in turn descend from sacred mountains (Salomon 1995:320-323). Recinto I located within Huaca de la Luna (built

³³⁶ For the Inca, *malquis* are often mummified.

³³⁷ “*Causa seguida contra varios indios de Cajamarquilla por idolatria y hechiceros.*” AAL, IV-18: 11r-11v (Doyle 1988:225).

upon the foot of Cerro Blanco) would represent the connection (via the *huaca*, via the mountain) to the sacred ancestors.

The last significant aspect of the vessel depicted in Figure 6.12 is the fact that it is a whistling vessel. The whistling mechanism is housed within the architectural structure. Sound resonates within the closed gabled structure first before escaping through the central doorway and crescent-shaped windows. Of the six whistling vessels in the Moche IV corpus, all are found in association with closed gabled structures adorned with step-shaped roof combs.³³⁸ It seems plausible that sound produced by these vessels (emerging from the void and emanating from these symbolically charged architectural forms) embodied the potency of the supernatural force within it, a force that served to both animate the ancestors and assure others of their presence.

In the Andes, the important role of sound (music) and its connection to the dead has been greatly illuminated by the work of Henry Stobart in the contemporary Bolivian highland community of Kalankira. Stobart has noted that *animu* (life force) is expressed as sound which is synonymous with the energy and its potential (2006:27, 32). Music can serve as an expression of contact with other realms and can also facilitate this communication (Stobart 2002:91, 102). Music and dance are used to harness the power of the recently deceased, forces which are critical to agricultural

³³⁸ Additionally, all of these whistling vessels (with one exception) are supported by spherical chambers.

cycles.³³⁹ Flute music (*wayñu*), often played to call rain and assist the crops in growing, is also associated with the souls of the dead (Stobart 2006:206-208).

Sounds can be divided into two main categories: *tara* and *q'iwa*, where *tara* is hoarse and vibrant, associated with the release of energy, and with ideas of complementarity, harmony, balance, and equilibrium. *Q'iwa*, conversely, is a thin, clear, and relatively weak sound, associated with the accumulation of reproductive potential and regenerative power (Stobart 2006: 215, 228).³⁴⁰ The role of flutes (which, like whistling vessels, are aerophones) in contemporary traditional societies help underscore the potent nature of Moche whistling vessels. This acoustic component, coupled with its symbolically charged architectural form and associated imagery, suggests this vessel as a formidable ally to the deceased in the tomb.

The fact that this architectural type is tied to key aspects of Moche ritual (human sacrifice) and appears on vessels from a phase coinciding with and reflecting the height of Moche influence in the southern valleys, suggests the closed gabled form held particular significance to Moche politico-religious ideology. The closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs appears to emblemize the potential of the *huaca*, which represented a connection to the ancestors. As Doyle notes in her discussion of ancient burial practices and beliefs about the hereafter, the other world itself was not much discussed. What was frequently referenced, however, was the *machay* which, in her words, “effectively became the other world on a symbolic level” (Doyle 1988:236-237). This may also have been the case for Recinto I,

³³⁹ Stobart found that it was impossible to speak of music without quickly arriving to the subject of agricultural production, underscoring the important connection between music and fecundity (1994:35-36).

³⁴⁰ A different type of flute music, produced by *pinkillu* flutes, is believed to evoke the souls of the dead and allows the world of the living to merge with the world of the ancestors (Stobart 1996:476).

represented in miniature by the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs. As a miniature version of this potent architectural type, the closed gabled structure became a symbol for life force, a connection to the ancestors, and possibly synonymous with the hereafter.

Vessel Two: Open Shed Roof Structure with Spherical Chamber

Another Moche IV architectural vessel presents a slightly different set of traits, yet traits equally important to Moche burial. In the vessel to be discussed (Figure 6.10), I argue that, while exhibiting both a concern for complementarity and reflecting a type closely associated with Moche religion and ideology, this particular vessel places special emphasis on the journey and on aspects of ritual that contribute to agricultural fertility.

Figure 6.10 depicts an open shed roof structure supported by a visually dominant spiral chamber. The architecture, the vessel's "composition," and its decorative patterns all exhibit a concern for balance and harmony. For example, the front posts supporting the shed roof are painted in opposing degrees of red and white, the post on the left has larger bands of red, while the post on the right has wider bands of white. The seat back or short wall is also decorated in a way that evokes an ordered universe (Figure 6.9), with two schematically rendered bird heads on the top register (occupying the realm of the sky) and two felines (inhabiting the earth) on the lower register. On the chamber, sculpted snails visually complement painted foxes in profile, serving to define the ascending rungs of the spiral.

In this particular example, the chamber (as opposed to the architectural structure) is the element most laden with symbolism. Its form, a spiral, has associations with regeneration and the transition of life force (Bastien 1995:367; Hocquenghem 2008:29).³⁴¹ Ancient ritual wells (associated with precious ground water) take the form of a spiral, including the well excavated at the Moche site of Huaca El Brujo (Franco and Gálvez 2003b). The motifs decorating the spiral chamber (snails and foxes) depict creatures invoking fertility associated with the change of seasons (Bourget 2006:208). Foxes are also associated with transition and are credited in Andean mythology as bringing food stuffs to earth (Steele and Allen 2004:151; Urton 1985:261-262).³⁴²

For contemporary Andeans living in traditional communities, snails and spirals represent intimately connected forms that are symbolic of death and the world beyond. Snails are seen as creatures that transcend all spheres. They are found “underneath the earth, on its surface, and above in trees.” The snail emerges from a “logarithmic spiral and returns to it, resembling the regenerative properties of plants, animals, people, and *ayllu* [community]” (Bastien 1995:367). As such, the spiral becomes an especially potent metaphor for death, regeneration, and the hereafter. All of these elements working together (complementarity; creatures associated with water, food, transition, and distinct cosmological levels; and the spiral form which

³⁴¹ Mario Polia notes, additionally, that intertwining spirals served to impede the dead from finding their way back to the earthly dimension, keeping them safely in the land of the ancestors (1999:123).

³⁴² For the contemporary community of Pacaritambo, foxes are omens for rain and good crops. If a fox ascends a mountain at a time of plenty, it signals there will be a good harvest at higher elevations. In contrast, if a fox descends, it signals a good harvest in the valley. Foxes are also believed to carry cultivated plants between ecological zones (Urton 1985:261-262).

metaphorically evokes regeneration) suggest this particular architectural vessel as a powerful object which would aid the deceased in their journey to the world beyond.

Another possible yet related reading of this vessel is suggested by imagery appearing in Moche art. Snails, when depicted in fineline scenes, are illustrated as the objective of a hunt, plucked from trees by human figures, while in other fineline illustrations, foxes appear as hunters. It is plausible that, in addition to serving as metaphors for fertility, foxes and snails reference hunter and hunted, evoking the ritual battles forming the first part of the Warrior Narrative. As we will recall, ritual battle is followed by the parading and presentation of warriors and captives. This imagery is depicted in miniature on architectural vessel chambers and in full-scale representation inside the main plaza of Moche monumental complexes. In this way, the Moche created a pictorial double entendre where snails and foxes reference the hunter–hunted complex (resulting in sacrifice) while also invoking its intended outcomes, rain and agricultural abundance. This imagery underscores sacrifice as synonymous with fertility and regeneration.

One final feature that merits discussion is the sunken step found on the floor (proper left side) of Figure 6.10. In Chapter 5, I identified this as an important feature found in ritual architectural within the Moche monumental complex. Specifically, the sunken step was found on the small independent structure located between two registers of the warrior captive frieze in the main plaza, one of three important structures I tied to the Warrior Narrative. While Figure 6.10 depicts an open shed roof rather than an open gabled roof, this vessel nonetheless seems to reference aspects of the small independent structure found in Plaza 1 at Huaca de la Luna, namely the

representation of processional activity tied to the hunter–hunted complex where foxes substitute for victorious warriors and snails for defeated captives. Similar to Figure 6.12, this vessel alludes to several aspects in the Warrior Narrative: procession in the plaza; the presentation of captives at the structure with the sunken step; and also the transformative journey to the land of the ancestors.

These two examples from the Moche architectural vessel corpus illustrate some of the universals distilled from architectural representation made for burial in other ancient societies. Similar to architectural models from ancient Egypt, China, and West Mexico, Moche architectural representation used in burial also replicated full-scale structures connected to core religious or ideological beliefs. Additionally, these small-scale structures emulate Moche ceremonial architecture which may have functioned as a transformative point or bridge connecting the world of the living, the deceased, and the world of the ancestors. Associated imagery on both vessels discussed exhibits a concern for complementarity and equilibrium while the structures themselves evoke the forms and convey the potency of small independent structures within Moche ritual architecture. Finally, where one vessel emphasized aspects of the journey and concepts of agricultural fertility (Figure 6.10), the other served as a symbol for life force (*animu*) and underscored a connection to the ancestors and the world beyond.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have attempted to elevate Moche architectural vessels from a simple to a sacred artifact tied to key concepts in Moche religion. To better

understand the role architectural vessels likely played in Moche burial, we looked first at the likely motivations behind Moche burial as well as the important role of ritual architecture in Moche society. I suggested that burial ritual was critical in reestablishing the equilibrium disrupted by the death of an important Moche individual. Burial ritual also likely facilitated the journey from deceased to ancestor. Archaeological excavation has revealed that Moche ritual architecture was a venue for ritual activities (including human sacrifice) tied to agricultural, social, and political regeneration, as well as a place intimately connected to ancestors and ancestral power. Moche monumental architecture, then, can be viewed as a symbol for regeneration, as well as a form embodying the potency of the ancestors buried within these *huacas*.

The Moche architectural corpus provides evidence of tomb model universals; concerns with complementarity addressed in Moche burial; and the symbolic nature of Moche ceremonial architecture. A closer examination of two Moche IV architectural vessels revealed architectural types with full-scale counterparts in Moche ceremonial complexes. Imagery on these vessels conveyed a concern for equilibrium and balance and alluded to a symbolic transition or journey. As objects which depict potent and ritually symbolic forms and additionally reference the very concerns addressed in Moche burial ritual, Moche architectural vessels would have functioned as a potent talisman in the tomb, facilitating the deceased in their passage to the hereafter. Further study of the corpus will likely corroborate these findings as well as enrich our understanding of the complex role of architectural vessels and the structures they emulated.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

In this dissertation, the decision to use the Larco five-phase sequence in support of a stylistic rather than chronological reading of Moche spout types permitted a completely novel set of findings about the relevance and importance of Moche architectural vessels. With this new application of the Larco sequence, a new way of interpreting Moche architectural vessels emerged. The Moche phases represented in the corpus (long considered to reflect chronological stages of development) appear instead to convey stylistic units, where different Moche groups produced distinctive ceramic styles to reflect their local or regional identities.

Once this paradigm shift was established, a comprehensive visual analysis of the Moche corpus was provided. In addition to quadrupling the size of the previous corpus, my study examined and analyzed Moche architectural vessels with secure archaeological context. Those five vessels and two vessel fragments supported the Larco sequence paradigm shift, underscoring the likelihood that spout type (or phase) reflects local or regional ceramic styles. Vessels found in different valleys each exhibited distinct stylistic traits (including decoration, spout type, and vessel morphology) with the exception of the two Late Moche vessels excavated from the Jequetepeque Valley. These vessels, in contrast to the others, exhibited similar spout types, vessel morphologies, and even acoustic properties, indicating both were the product of the same local ceramic style. As additional Moche architectural vessels are discovered through archaeological investigation, we can continue to test the validity of this valuable classification of style reflective of local diversity, rather than of evolutionary period.

Once successfully testing Moche spout types as evidence of stylistic rather than chronological units, I provided a comprehensive visual analysis of the Moche architectural corpus. Through this analysis, an architectural type — the closed gabled structure with central entrance — which had previously received little scholarly attention emerged as centrally important. Focusing on this particular architectural type, I sought a correlate in the archaeological record, which turned up a small and eroded structure with central entrance (an uncommon form in extant Moche architecture). This structure was located in an important area of the Moche monumental complex and appears to have played a critical role in Moche religion and ritual processions, specifically tied to acts of human sacrifice undertaken in proximity to a sacred mountain. Corroborating the form, imagery, and context provided by Moche ceramic vessels with the form, imagery, and context offered by the archaeological record further expanded our understanding of this architectural type and its place — and the place of other architectural vessels — in Moche ideology. Furthermore, Moche art and archaeology suggests that this was one of at least three structures forming part of a processional route within the monumental complex. This route was marked by small independent structures and included acts of human sacrifice, an activity comprising a key element of Moche religion.

Having established this correspondence between Moche architectural vessels and Moche ritual architecture, I used cross-cultural examples from ancient Egypt, China, and West Mexico to inform the role Moche architectural representations played in Moche tombs. In considering Moche architectural vessels as mortuary offerings, I examined three relevant and related factors: the aims of Moche burial

ritual, the role of Moche ceremonial architecture in Moche society, and the place of architectural representation in burial for other ancient cultures. Concurrent with cross-cultural examples of architectural tomb models, Moche architectural vessels replicate architectural structures that reflect core religious or ideological beliefs. As miniature versions of Moche ceremonial architecture (a venue for religious ritual and a repository for important Moche dead), architectural vessels became symbols for regeneration, as well as forms that embodied the potency of the ancestors buried within deep within these *huacas*. As such, a Moche architectural vessel would have functioned as a potent talisman in Moche burial. Additionally, some of the architectural vessels discussed appear to mimic architectural forms that bridge a connection between the living, the deceased, and the realm of the ancestors.

The importance of the Moche architectural vessel corpus should not be overlooked: these examples reveal that far beyond mimetic representations, these ancient ceramic containers (and acoustic artifacts) were emblematic of the power and potential of the *huaca* itself. Using architectural vessels as a type of architectural key (in conjunction with other vessels from the corpus, Moche fineline, and archaeological data) allows us to greatly illuminate aspects of central concern to Moche, including ritual, human sacrifice, burial, regeneration, and the hope of transformation to ancestor.

Our knowledge of Moche architectural vessels will be greatly enhanced by continued archaeological excavation which, with luck, will bring to light additional architectural vessels with secure contexts. Continued excavations focused on monumental and domestic architecture will also likely turn up additional

correspondence to architectural types in the corpus. Future research on this topic will be profoundly important to a richer understanding of Moche culture, afterlife beliefs and ritual.

Map of North Coast of Peru



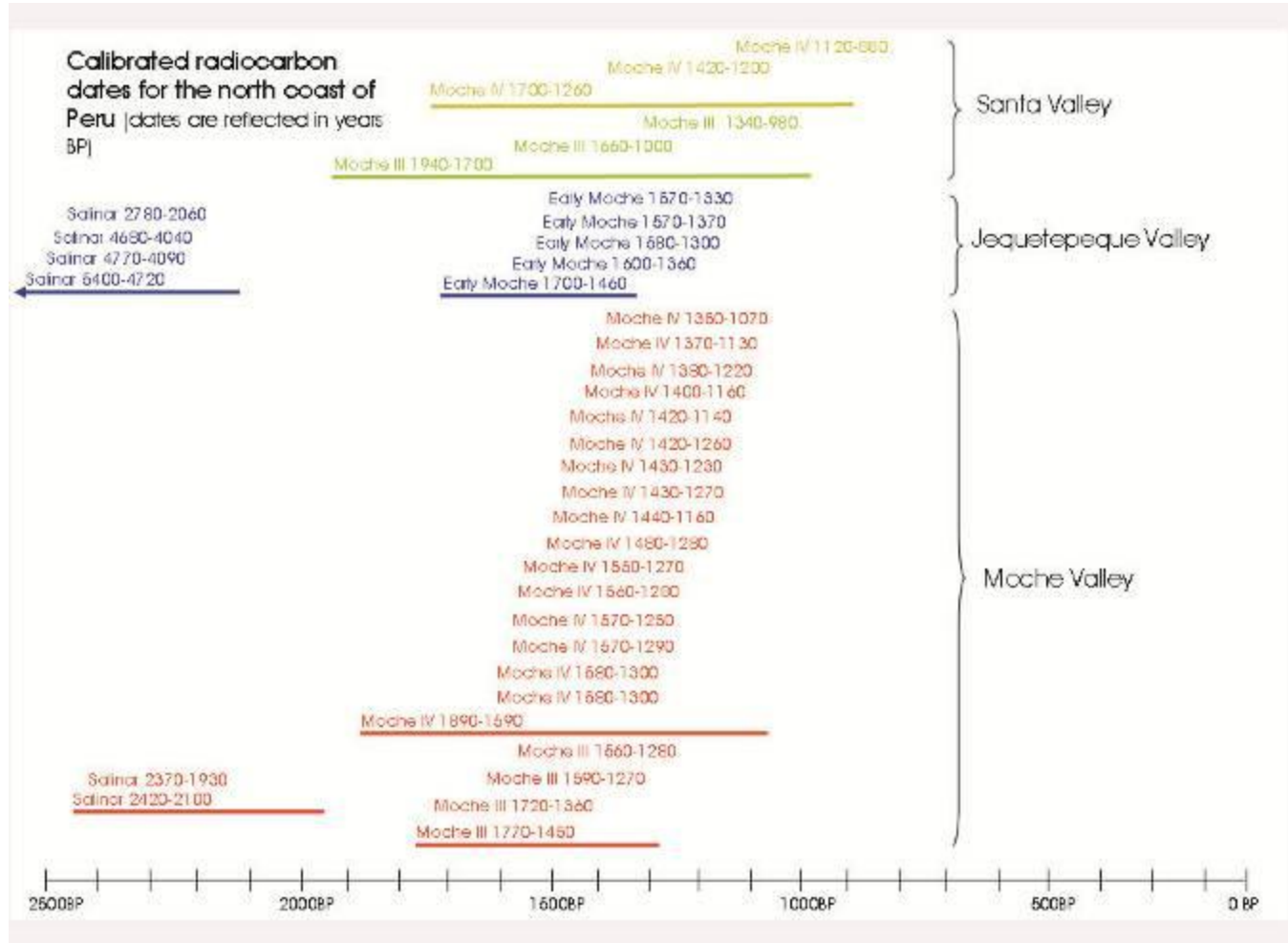
Map of Peru showing river valleys and important Moche sites, after Castillo and Donnan (1994b)

Peruvian North Coast Chronology

Time Scale	Periods/Horizons	Cultures North Coast	Cultures Central Coast	Cultures South Coast	Cultures North Highlands	Cultures Central Highlands	Cultures South Highlands
1,400- 1532 A.D.	Late Horizon	Inca	Inca	Inca	Inca	Inca	Inca
1,000- 1,400 A.D.	Late Intermediate Period	Chimú Lambayeque	Chancay	Ica			
550- 1,000 A.D.	Middle Horizon		Wari			Wari	Wari
50 B.C.- 550 A.D.	Early Intermediate Period	Moche Vicús Gallinazo		Nasca	Recuay		
750-50 B.C.	Early Horizon	Salinar Cupisnique		Paracas	Chavín		
2,000- 750 B.C.	Initial Period	Cerro Sechín					
4,000- 2,000 B.C.	Cotton Pre-Ceramic	Huaca Prieta					
10,000-6,000 B.C.	Lithic Period						

(chart for cultures in Peru, after Stone-Miller 2002)

Chart 1a. Calibrated Radiocarbon Dates from Peru's North Coast



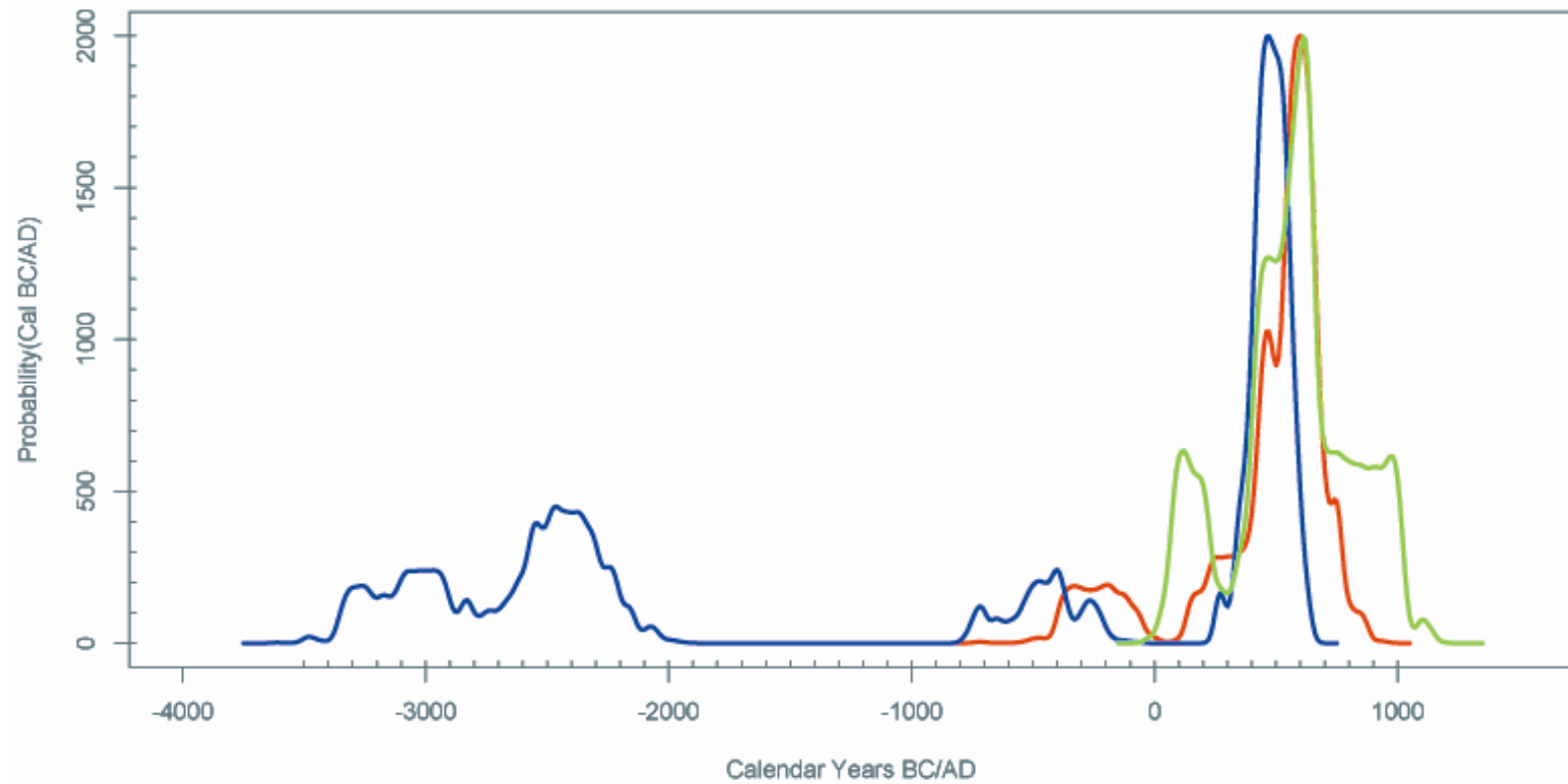
Dates were generously calibrated by Abigail Levine.

Chart 1b. Calibrated Radiocarbon Dates from Peru's North Coast

Culture/Site/Valley	Lab Number	Radiocarbon Age	Stard Dev.	Source	Calibrated dates BP
Moché III, Santa Valley, charcoal	2001-80-3 TO-8943	1480	30	Chapdelaine 2008:135	1490 - 1290 calBP
Moché III, Santa Valley, maize	2001-80-2 TO-8943	1600	30	Chapdelaine 2008:135	1620 - 1330 calBP
Moché III, Santa Valley, maize	2001-80-3 TO-8944	1420	30	Chapdelaine 2008:135	1430 - 1270 calBP
Moché III, Santa Valley	UCLA-1834	1450	40	Donnan 1993:201	1680 - 1100 calBP
Moché III, Santa Valley	UCLA-1835	1370	30	Donnan 1993:201	1940 - 1700 calBP
Moché III, Santa Valley	UCLA-1836	1250	30	Donnan 1993:201	1340 - 980 calBP
Moché IV, Santa Valley	UCLA-1838	1060	40	Donnan 1993:201	1120 - 880 calBP
Moché IV, Santa Valley	UCLA-1839	1500	110	Donnan 1993:201	1700 - 1260 calBP
Moché IV, Santa Valley	UCLA-1838	1500	40	Donnan 1993:201	1420 - 1220 calBP
Salinar, Huamap, Jequetepeque Valley, charcoal from hearth	1-17, 027	2340	60	Elera 1996, appendix 8 463	2790 - 2040 calBP
Salinar, Huamap, Jequetepeque Valley, mat/funerary covering	1-17, 028	4400	110	Elera 1996, appendix 8 463	5420 - 4720 calBP
Salinar, Huamap, Jequetepeque Valley, cotton fiber in box	1-17, 029	3920	110	Elera 1996, appendix 8 466	4680 - 4040 calBP
Salinar, Huamap, Jequetepeque Valley, mat/funerary covering	1-17, 030	3960	110	Elera 1996, appendix 8 466	4770 - 4090 calBP
Early Moché, Dos Caberas, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb A (Early Period) textile	Beta-219770	1570	40	Donnan 2007:197	1570 - 1370 calBP
Early Moché, Dos Caberas, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb A (Early Period) textile	Beta-219771	1660	40	Donnan 2007:197	1700 - 1480 calBP
Early Moché, Dos Caberas, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb B (Early Period) burned textile	Beta-96390	1540	30	Donnan 2007:197	1570 - 1330 calBP
Early Moché, Dos Caberas, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb 2 (Late Period) decorated brain	Beta-129542	1530	60	Donnan 2007:198, Donnan 2003:76	1580 - 1300 calBP
Early Moché, Dos Caberas, Jequetepeque Valley, Tomb 2 (Late Period) textile	Beta-129543	1580	50	Donnan 2007:198, Donnan 2003:76	1620 - 1360 calBP
Salinar, Cerro Blanco, Moche Valley	Beta-96252	2130	60	Bourget and Chapdelaine 1998:94	2370 - 1940 calBP
Salinar, Cerro Blanco, Moche Valley	Beta-96256	2270	70	Bourget and Chapdelaine 1998:95	2420 - 2120 calBP
Moché II, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-321762	1880	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1770 - 1450 calBP
Moché II, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-321763	1800	70	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1590 - 1270 calBP
Moché II, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-321764	1450	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1560 - 1280 calBP
Moché II, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-321764	1820	70	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1720 - 1380 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96031	1800	70	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1440 - 1160 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, wood	Beta-96031	1470	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1570 - 1250 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96027	1280	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1350 - 1070 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96026	1450	50	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1430 - 1270 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96030	1300	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1550 - 1300 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96029	1400	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1430 - 1230 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96030	1480	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1510 - 1270 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96031	1450	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1560 - 1280 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96032	1460	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1450 - 1280 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-96030	1520	50	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1580 - 1300 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-94845	1410	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1420 - 1260 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-94844	1370	30	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1350 - 1220 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-94846	1500	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1560 - 1280 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-308279	1380	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1370 - 1140 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-308280	1310	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1570 - 1250 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-308281	1750	40	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1870 - 1590 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-111544	1360	60	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1420 - 1140 calBP
Moché IV, Huaca de Moche, Moche Valley, charcoal	Beta-111545	1360	70	Chapdelaine 2002:79	1420 - 1140 calBP

Dates were generously calibrated by Abigail Levine.

Chart 1c. Calibrated Radiocarbon Dates from Peru's North Coast



This chart was created by Abigail Levine, based on dates she kindly calibrated.

Chart 2. Vessel Trait Comparison of Early Moche/Moche I-II Spout Types from Dos Cabezas, and the Chicama, Moche, Virú Valleys

Site or Valley	Total sample	Height range	Mean height	Height: shortest side	Incorporated Chamber	Articulated Chamber	Deck Figures	Portrait
Jequetepeque *	18	16-21 cm	17-18 (50%)	No data	83%	17% , (spherical, cylindrical, rectangular)	11%	0
Chicama+	15	16-20, 25 cm	18-19 (53%)	1:3 (67%) 1:6 (33%)	27%	73% (spherical, elliptical, cylindrical)	7%	7%
Moche+	4	16-19 cm	18 (75%)	1:3 (0%) 1:6 (100%)	50%	50%	0	0
Viru+	17	15-21 cm	16-17 (47%)	1:3 (59%) 1:6 (41%)	41%	59% (spherical, elliptical, cylindrical, trapezoidal)	0	12%

* data from Donnan 2007

+ data from Museo Larco online database (<http://catalogomuseolarco.perucultural.org.pe/catalogue.asp>), as per valley attributions assigned

Chapter Figures

Appendix 2. Moche Architectural Types Key

Architectural Forms (10 types)



or



, etc.

1. Architectural Complex



2) Open Gabled Roof (4 posts)



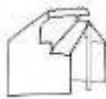
3) Open Shed Roof (2 or 4 posts)



4) Three Walls, Shed Roof



5) Three Walls, Gabled Roof



or



6) Three Walls, Back Shed Roof with Front Gabled Roof (with or without central post)

** some of these structures have crenulated roofs, while others have sculpted war clubs

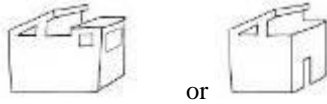


or



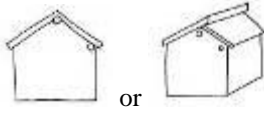
7) Closed Back Shed Roof with Front Half Gable or Full Gable Roof

** some of these structures have crenulated roofs



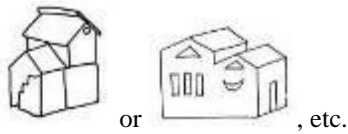
8) Closed Back Shed Roof with Front Flat Roof or Back Shed Roof

** some of the Closed Back Shed Roof with Front Flat Roof structures have crenulated roofs



9) Closed Gabled Roof (including overlapping examples)

** some of these structures have roof combs (version a) or roof combs with a crescent-shaped *tumi* (version b)



10) Miscellaneous

Architectural Motifs (4 types)



1) Step and Wave Motif



2) Step Motif



3) Double Step Motif



4) Triangle Motif

Stepped Pyramids (3 types)



1) Spiral
































2) Stepped Square































3) Stepped Cylinder

Appendix 3. Moche Architectural Types by Phase - Open Structures

Cupisnique								
Salinar								
Virú-Gallinazo			 or 					
Vicús								
Proto Moche	Total			 1	 1		 3	MISC/ UNK 3/3
Moche I-II	Total		 1	 1			 6	
Moche III	Total		 1		 4	 2	 1	
Moche IV	Total	 5	 3			 3		
Moche V	Total		 5					
Late Moche	Total	 4						
Lambayeque								
Chimú							maquettes	

Appendix 3. Moche Architectural Types by Phase - Closed Structures









Chorrera (Ecuador)								*	
Cupisnique								*	
Salinar									
Virú- Gallinazo									+
Vicús									
Proto Moche 15/26	Total								
	26		11	4		(3)			
Moche I-II 3/13	Total								+
	13	1		1	1				
Moche III 9/22	Total								
	22		3	1	1	1	2		1
Moche IV 39/76	Total								
	76					28	7	4	
Moche V 14/28	Total								
	28					7	5	2	
Late Moche 0/4	Total								
	4								
Chimú									

() type found within architectural complex from this phase

* roof rotated 90 degrees

+ motif depicted as headdress on vessels outside Moche corpus

Appendix 3. Moche Architectural Types by Phase – Motifs and Pyramids

Moche I-II										
Moche III 5/22		 5								
Moche IV 26/76	 10		 1	 1	 8	 6				
Moche V 9/28			 2				 7			

Appendix 4. The Moche Corpus Phase by Phase

This appendix provides an expanded examination of the Moche architectural vessel corpus. Architectural types, chamber forms, and associated imagery will be discussed by phase. Proto Moche and Late Moche will be briefly addressed, with more analysis devoted to Moche I-II-V. The designated phases, I-II through V, are conventions within the discipline (Donnan and McClelland 1999:21). While phases I-II through V were once viewed as chronological, where Moche I-II was earliest and Moche V was latest, this chronology is presently being reconsidered (see Chapter 2). For the sake of convenience, Moche I-II is discussed first, but with time and further study Moche I-II may reveal itself to be the product of a chronologically later period in time. Moche IV will be discussed in the greatest detail due to the size of the corpus and the detailed imagery found on vessels within it.

Proto Moche

There are twenty-six (26) architectural vessels in the Proto Moche corpus (see Appendix 1, Proto Moche).³⁴³ All of these are double chamber vessels. Those studied firsthand were whistling vessels. Characteristic of this group are cylindrical- or bowl-shaped primary chambers, gourd-shaped secondary chambers, and spouts both with and without a lip or rim. The most frequently occurring architectural type in this group is the closed back shed, front half gable (Appendix 2, Type 7). While chamber shapes and architectural types are limited, there is a wide variety of surface treatments and firing techniques in evidence in the Proto Moche group. Some vessels are slipped white and decorated in red, while others use white slip to decorate a reddish base. Still others are not slipped at all but are highly

³⁴³ Early Moche is used to refer to chronologically early Moche vessels from north of the Pampa de Paiján (see Castillo and Uceda 2008). In an effort to avoid confusion, I use the term Proto Moche for a group of vessels which appear early in date but have no geographical context. Despite the lack of archaeological context for vessels in the Proto Moche category, many exhibit traits akin to vessels found south of the Pampa de Paiján.

burnished. Some vessels were fired in an oxygen rich environment while others were fired in an oxygen reduced environment resulting in black ware vessels. Decorative motifs include catfish (*pez life*), concentric triangles and rectangles, and rhomboids. These motifs are most often painted but can also be incised. Consistent in all Proto Moche architectural vessels is a single sculpted figure within the architectural space.

Moche I-II

There are thirteen (13) architectural vessels in the Moche I-II corpus, including one motif vessel in the form of a step-shaped throne (Appendix 1, Moche I-II).³⁴⁴ None of the vessels examined firsthand were whistling vessels.³⁴⁵ Vessels from the Moche I-II corpus represent the sculptural high point of Moche architectural vessels and represent the most architecturally specific Moche ceramic architectural representations until the appearance of unfired ceramic maquettes from the Late Moche and Moche Transitional phases.

Moche I-II Architectural Types

The majority of Moche I-II architectural vessels depict complex multi-room and multi-storied buildings. Additionally, Moche I-II vessels bring together architectural types and elements depicted in isolation in other phases (see Appendix 1, Moche I-II). For this reason, architectural complex vessels are especially important to our understanding of represented Moche architecture for they illustrate how different architectural types and elements interact. Architecture on Moche I-II vessels is comprised of open, partially open, and enclosed spaces. Two of the closed structural types in Moche I-II bear resemblance to

³⁴⁴ While not included in this analysis, there were four Moche I-II war club motifs (*porras*) found during the course of this research. Two are housed at the MBCRP (ACE 649 and ACE 647). One was excavated from Cerro Oreja and is housed in the Museo de Sitio Chan Chan. Another is located at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (5051-1). Three of the vessels in this corpus are of uncertain attribution, based on iconographic details and style. One is housed at the MNAHP (C-54619), another at the Museo Larco (ML002897), and the third in the Cassinelli collection, Trujillo.

³⁴⁵ It was not possible to locate all Moche I-II vessels in this corpus. Based on visual analysis alone, it appears that some of the Moche I-II architectural vessels are whistling vessels.

architectural forms from the Proto Moche corpus, namely the closed shed roof and closed back shed, flat front roof structures (see Appendix 2, Type 8). There are also open and partially open architectural types in evidence. Two of these, the open shed roof structure and the three wall, shed roof structure, are also found on Virú-Gallinazo architectural pots (see Appendix 2, Types 3 and 4). A long flat roof supported by multiple posts (depicted on the Sipán copper scepter) is yet another architectural type depicted on Moche I-II vessels. Because this form (the long flat roof) is never depicted as an independent structure on sculpted architectural vessels, it is considered here as a secondary architectural form. The gabled roof is also in evidence in Moche I-II, but with an important modification from gabled roofs found in the Chorrera and Cupisnique corpus: the Moche gabled roof is rotated ninety-degrees and supported by front posts and a solid back wall. A similar roof configuration is found on earlier Salinar and later Vicús vessels. Lastly, In Moche I-II, platforms are painted rather than sculpted, conveyed through alternating red and white wide horizontal bands.³⁴⁶

Moche I-II Chamber Types

Moche I-II architectural vessels have single chambers and are either of the articulated or incorporated chamber type. Articulated chambers (where the chamber is separate from the architectural deck structure it supports) are more prevalent than incorporated chambers and can be cylindrical, oblate or spherical, or rectangular (Appendix 5).³⁴⁷ In Moche I-II, incorporated vessel chambers commonly depict architectural complexes.

Moche I-II Associated Imagery

Compared with other Moche phases, imagery on Moche I-II architectural vessels is relatively scarce. Fineline is present on one example (Figure 3.23). Other imagery includes

³⁴⁶ In Moche phases III, IV, and V, these platform levels are sculpted (see for example Figures 3.35 and 3.36).

³⁴⁷ Interestingly, the two Moche I-II pots in the corpus with cylindrical chambers (a chamber type common on Virú-Gallinazo double chamber vessels) support back shed, flat front roof architectural types, a type common to the Virú-Gallinazo corpus (see Appendix 1, Moche I-II).

painted and incised rhomboids and sculpted single and double step motifs which function as perimeter markers, delimiting the most sacred areas of the miniature ceremonial complex. Painted horizontal bands indicate tiers or platform levels and striped posts support roofs on open gabled, shed, and flat roof structures (Appendix 6, Moche I-II). Sculpted cylindrical thrones are also in evidence. These appear within architectural complex vessels, housed in the uppermost area (Appendix 1, Moche I-II). Step-shaped roof combs occur in two Moche I-II examples.³⁴⁸ War clubs, which frequently adorn the roofs of Moche III and IV architectural vessels, do not appear as roof ornamentation in Moche I-II. Another iconographic motif (seen in only one example) is the Moon Animal (Appendix 1, Moche I-II and also Appendix 6, Moche I-II). This motif also occurs in a few examples from the Moche III and IV corpus.

There is correspondence between Moche I-II vessels (often depicting architectural complexes) and full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture. Moche I-II is the only Moche phase to depict detailed architectural complexes.³⁴⁹ Representations from this corpus, additionally, are much less schematic than those from other Moche phases.

Moche III

There are twenty-two (22) vessels in the Moche III architectural corpus, eight of which are motif vessels (Appendix 1, Moche III). Four fundamental differences are apparent when comparing Moche I-II and Moche III architectural vessels. The first is the relative absence of architectural complex vessels.³⁵⁰ The second is the utilization of the chamber to significantly elevate the architectural structure it supports. The third is the use of both painted imagery and sculpted roof decoration to aid in the identification of the structure represented. The fourth is the addition of a figure seated within the structure. These sculpted figures are

³⁴⁸ Imagery and aspects of one of these vessels is problematic.

³⁴⁹ Less detailed architectural complexes are found in Proto Moche and Moche III.

³⁵⁰ In Moche III only one vessel is categorized as an architectural complex.

often adorned with ear spools, a collar, and headdress. While common in Proto Moche, they are less prevalent in Moche I-II.

Many architectural types are in evidence in Moche III, more than in any other phase. There is also great variety in chamber types, including single, double, incorporated, and articulated chambers. Crenulated roofs, found on architectural vessels from the Proto Moche corpus (and a sub-set of the Virú-Gallinazo corpus), are in evidence in a small percentage of Moche III vessels. Other roof embellishments, such as step-shaped roof combs and war clubs, appear in Moche III architectural vessels, but infrequently. All of these factors suggest Moche III is a phase of artistic development and experimentation, an observation which concurs with developments in Moche III fineline (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999:39).

In Moche III, are double and single chamber whistling vessels including examples of the resonating chamber type. The single chamber whistling vessel represents an important technical shift, or advance, in both the way the vessel is made (eliminating the back chamber) and the way the vessel is “played.” In double chamber vessels, water can be employed to displace air which is forced through the whistling mechanism, producing sound. While adding water to a single chamber vessel somewhat alters the timbre of the sound produced, water alone cannot produce sound in a single chamber vessel. In order to extract sound, air must be introduced into the chamber by blowing directly into the vessel spout.

Moche III Architectural Types

In the Moche III architectural vessel corpus, there are many architectural types in evidence (Appendix 3, Moche III). In fact, Moche III exhibits the greatest diversity in architectural form of any of the Moche phases. In Moche III, single-room structures are favored over the multi-room complexes more common in Moche I-II. Moche III architectural types include open, partially open, and closed structures. Nearly all of these forms provide some means of visual access to the sculpted figure housed within the structure. Similar to the

architecture represented in Moche III, the ceramic figure within the structure also appears to be in a state of transition. On Moche III double chamber examples, the figure is depicted without ear spools, headdress, and collar, accouterments which are standard in Moche III single chamber vessels. On single chamber examples, the figure wearing these attributes is not fanged, suggesting a more secular and less supernatural role for figures associated with ritual architecture in Moche III.³⁵¹

Moche III Chamber Types

Great variety is also visible in Moche III vessel chambers (Appendix 5, Moche III). The cylinder, present in the Moche I-II corpus, is found in Moche III, with interesting modifications. Tiers, indicated by painted horizontal bands in Moche I-II, are represented as sculpted platform levels in Moche III. The vessel chamber becomes the elevated foundation or platform supporting the deck architecture. Additionally, the overall size and height of Moche III architectural vessels is greater than Moche I-II. On some vessel chambers, paths of access are conveyed. These include zig-zag ramps or converging/diverging staircases (a series of steps rendered in relief which ascend inwards toward a central point then diverge upward before returning to ascend inwards, Figure 3.36). The third type of access depicted on Moche III vessel chambers is a spiral ramp (Figure 3.37), limited to just one example from Moche III. Spiral chambers are, however, quite prevalent in Moche IV.

There are two vessels of particular interest in the Moche III corpus. Both exhibit similar deck architecture (Figures 3.35 and 3.36), but have different roof embellishments and distinct types of access. One of these vessels (Figure 3.35) has a zig-zag ramp while the other (Figure 3.36) depicts a converging/diverging staircase. Figure 3.35 has sculpted war clubs adorning the roof's crest, while Figure 3.36 has a crenulated roof. Distinct architectural details appearing on similar architectural structures may suggest these elements (ramps and

³⁵¹ In the Moche IV corpus, figures within architectural structures are sometimes fanged.

stairs, war clubs, and crenulated roofs) are interchangeable or that they reflect the same architectural structure at different ritual moments. These differences might also be specific to certain sites or valleys, where crenulated roofs and converging/diverging staircases were architectural characteristics of one area, while zig-zag ramps with sculpted war clubs were characteristic of another.

In the Moche III corpus, motif pots are limited to the step motif (Appendix 1, Moche III). One such vessel (with a stirrup spout) was excavated from the Uhle Platform at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley. Another (a jar or *cántaro*), depicting a step and wave motif, was excavated from El Castillo in the Santa Valley. Step motifs, when found on Moche architectural complex vessels from Moche I-II, function as perimeter markers, visually separating upper from lower areas of the architectural complex. Sculpted step motifs have also been found *in situ* in full-scale monumental architecture (Huaca de la Luna) where they line parapets and ramps leading to upper areas of the ceremonial complex. The step motif may also reference a seat of power, suggested by a vessel from the Moche I-II corpus and another from Moche III. In both examples, the step motif is surmounted by a seated individual with headdress and ear spoons (Figure 3.38).³⁵² In fineline illustrations, litters of step form are used to transport elite individuals (Figures 5.1, 5.12, and 5.13).

Moche III Associated Imagery

Decorative motifs and architectural embellishments are found with relative frequency in the Moche III corpus. Decorative motifs include the double inverted wave, the continuous scroll, the double inverted spiral, and variations of the catfish (*pez life*) (Appendix 6, Moche III). Roof adornments on Moche III architectural vessels include war clubs and in one

³⁵² The step motif with seated figure is also found in the Moche I-II corpus, published in Makowski et al. 1994, fig. 76. The step motif may also have had associations with power and prestige, for example mountains or an inverted panpipe (Benson 1975:119).

instance step-shaped roof combs. Crenulated roofs, however, are the predominant roof type in Moche III.

Two of the painted motifs found on Moche III vessels have correlates in full-scale Moche architecture. The double inverted wave motif was found decorating a wall at the site of Huancaco in the Virú Valley (Bourget 2003, lam. 8.1). This placement differs from Moche III architectural vessels, where the double inverted wave decorates gabled roofs. The catfish (*pez life*) motif, also found at the site of Huancaco (Figure 3.39), has been uncovered at Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Morales 2003, fig.14.4), at La Mina in the Jequetepeque Valley (Narváez 1994, fig. 2.6; Figure 3.40), and at Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley (Gálvez and Briceño 2001, fig. 17; Franco et al. 2001, Figure 3.41). On architectural vessels and in full-scale Moche architecture, this motif is employed as wall decoration.

The most frequently depicted roof embellishment in Moche III is a crenulated roof. The next most frequent type is sculpted war clubs. Crenulated roofs appear on structures which bear great similarity to vessels in the Proto Moche corpus. The frequent occurrence of crenulated roofs in the artistic record is at odds with its absence in the architectural record. This may be due to the fact that roofs, and therefore roof decoration, rarely survive in the archaeological record. It is interesting to note that sculpted war clubs appear on the same architectural types that, in other examples, have crenulated roofs, suggesting war clubs substitute for or eventually replace crenulated roofs. Full-scale sculpted war clubs have been found with frequency in the archaeological record at the Moche sites of Huaca de la Luna, Huaca Cao Viejo, and Huancaco, usually associated with ceremonial architecture (Tello 1998; Franco 1998; Franco et al. 1999; Bourget 2003, respectively).³⁵³ Sculpted war clubs

³⁵³ Ceramic war clubs found at Huaca Cao Viejo have been seriated (see Franco et al. 1999). For a longer list of sites where ceramic war clubs have been found and an interpretation of them, see Gutiérrez 1999.

have also been found at Huaca Santa Clara in the Virú Valley (Millaire, personal communication 2008) and at the site of Urricape, Salinar occupation (Elera 1997:197).

In about half the examples from Moche III, access routes are emphasized. These include zig-zag ramps and converging/diverging staircases. The convention of using sculpted single and double step motifs to demarcate sacred or restricted space is less common in Moche III than it is in Moche I-II (Appendix 1, Moche III). Step motifs, which demarcate access to sacred or restricted space in Moche I-II, appear to *identify* restricted space in Moche III. Sculpted step-shaped roof combs appear as roof embellishments on a single example: a closed structure atop a four-tiered stepped platform with a converging/diverging staircase (Figure 3.42).³⁵⁴

Moche IV

There are seventy-six (76) vessels in the Moche IV architectural corpus (Appendix 1, Moche IV).³⁵⁵ Approximately a third of these are motif vessels. While the Moche IV corpus contains more vessels than any other Moche phase, there is a limited number of architectural types in evidence. Conversely, there is great variety of chamber types. The predominant architectural type for Moche IV is the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs, represented in over a third of the corpus. This architectural type first appears as one of several structures within Moche architectural complex vessels (from the Proto Moche and Moche III corpus). In Moche IV, however, the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs is depicted as an independent structure. This architectural type continues in Moche V, but with less frequency, and is absent in the very small Late Moche sample. The most frequently occurring chamber type in Moche IV is spherical, a form infrequent in other Moche phases.

³⁵⁴ This Moche III pot is unusual for its four tiers and black paint, as well as for being the only vessel in the Moche III corpus with step-shaped roof combs.

³⁵⁵ A small percentage of the Moche IV sample is of questionable attribution. See Appendix 1, Moche IV for specific pieces.

Resultantly, the most commonly occurring vessel type in the Moche IV architectural corpus is a closed gabled roof structure with step-shaped roof combs supported by a spherical chamber (Appendix 1, Moche IV).

In Moche IV, an explicit connection is made between architectural structures and warriors, offerings, and bloodshed or sacrifice. Additionally, in Moche IV, hybrid creatures (undulating eared serpents, for example) and individuals with fangs appear for the first time and with some frequency. Fineline drawing and low relief are regularly employed to relay pictorial narrative on Moche IV architectural vessel chambers. While the majority of Moche IV architectural vessels bear pictorial imagery, themes and motifs are limited (Appendix 6, Moche IV).

Moche IV Architectural Types

If we categorize the Moche III architectural corpus as experimental in nature, Moche IV can be described, conversely, as highly standardized. Despite the large sample size, there are only six architectural types in evidence in the Moche IV corpus (Appendix 3, Moche IV). Among these, closed structures predominate. One form in particular, the closed gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs (Appendix 2, Type 9, version a), comprises over one-third of the sample (Appendix 1, Moche IV). The second most frequently occurring architectural type, the overlapping gabled roof without roof embellishments (Appendix 2, Type 9), may be a simplification of the former. The third most frequent architectural type is the open gabled structure (Appendix 2, Type 2). Architectural vessels from the Moche IV corpus provide a great deal of detail which contributes to our understanding of Moche architectural representation. As such, Moche IV vessels will be discussed in more detail than vessels from other Moche phases.

The most common architectural type in the Moche IV corpus is the gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs, comprising more than one-third of the Moche IV corpus. A common

feature of this architectural type is paired painted or modeled motifs flanking the entrance of the structure. These include ceremonial jars, cacti, short vertical lines, war clubs, ceremonial chisels, rattle poles, or sculpted figures with flayed faces (Appendix 6, Moche IV). Short vertical lines are believed to represent blood (Donnan and McClelland 1999:62). War clubs and chisels are usually depicted with short vertical lines, suggesting they relate to warfare or bloodshed.³⁵⁶ Ceremonial jars, rattle poles, and figures with flayed or diseased faces have been associated with mortuary activity (Benson 1975).

The gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs appears to have ties to themes of pending sacrifice. The vessel shown in Figure 3.43 is decorated in low relief with warriors leading bound captives. On each of the four sides, a nude captive with a rope around his neck runs just before a dressed warrior carrying a weapon bundle over his shoulder. This imagery seems to reference the interior walls of the main plaza in full-scale Moche architectural complexes, for example at Huaca Cao Viejo and Huaca de la Luna (Figures 3.45 and 3.46). Undulating eared serpents, often depicted in fineline scenes of human sacrifice, are frequently found on architectural vessels of the closed gabled type with step-shaped roof combs. In one unusual example, the head of an iguana (or lizard) emerges from the structure (Figure 3.44). On either side of the door, rattle poles are depicted. While accompanying iconography is difficult to interpret, the appearance of the iguana and rattle poles recalls fineline scenes of the Burial Theme, where Iguana and the character known as Wrinkle Face stand on opposite sides of the tomb, rattle poles in hand (Donnan and McClelland 1979).

Another interesting feature of the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs is its association with whistling mechanisms. In Moche IV architectural vessels, whistling mechanisms are found only in conjunction with architectural structures of this type. One practical explanation for this is that the closed gabled form functions as a resonating or

³⁵⁶ Bourget has noted that chisels found archaeologically would be effective tools for human sacrifice (2006:18).

reverberating chamber for the whistling mechanism (hidden inside the structure). On a more symbolic level, the fact that this particular architectural type has the ability to produce sound suggests it is an especially potent architectural form, perhaps one that marks or enables transition or passage from the world of the living to the world of the ancestors. This idea is addressed in Chapter 6.

A variation of the gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs is the gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs and *tumi*. Imagery found in association with this architectural type links it to human sacrifice. On the spherical chamber of a Moche IV vessel housed at the Museo Cassinelli in Trujillo (Figure 3.47) is an elaborate fineline depiction of a conical headdress with feathers and *tumi* adornment, a tunic with step pattern, and a cape with step pattern decorated with metal disks. This type of headdress is found in fineline depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figure 3.48) and the Arraignment of Prisoners (Figure 3.49, see structure on far right), each time worn by a figure who holds a large goblet. The goblet is generally believed to contain blood, shed as part of the ritual of human sacrifice.

On Moche vessels outside the architectural corpus, the step-shaped roof comb with *tumi* are used as a headdress, often adorning figures in the act of decapitating human victims. The Moche IV vessel in Figure 3.50 depicts the Masked Owl Warrior seated on a tiered cylindrical platform wearing a step-shaped roof comb and *tumi* headdress. He wields a ceremonial knife which threatens the throat of the captive before him. This same subject, executed in a more provincial style, appears on another Moche vessel held in the Rosales Olano collection in Trujillo (Figure 3.51).³⁵⁷ On this vessel, the Masked Owl Warrior with step-shaped roof comb headdress sits on a step-shaped throne holding the hair of the captive before him with one hand while wielding a knife in the other. These vessels, which share similar subject matter, suggest the step motif with and without *tumi* may be interchangeable.

³⁵⁷ This pot is reportedly from Tanguche (or Laredo) and was generously made available by Dr. Juan Julio Rosales Olano, Trujillo.

Two other Moche vessels link the mirrored step and *tumi* motif to acts of human sacrifice. The first is an articulated Moche IV vessel with a spherical chamber whose fineline imagery depicts dressed warriors in combat (Figure 3.52a). The deck sculpture includes a large Masked Owl Warrior with shield and crescent or *tumi* headdress. This figure towers above an anthropomorphic feline figure who threatens a bound captive with a knife (detail, Figure 4.52b). The feline figure wears the step-shaped roof comb and *tumi* headdress. In another Moche IV vessel, this same headdress is worn by an anthropomorphic bat that carries a small human under his left arm (Figure 3.54).

The second most prevalent architectural type in the Moche IV corpus is the closed overlapping gabled structure without roof decoration (Appendix 2, Type 9). This form may represent a pared down version of the gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs, just discussed. One example, from the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) in New York, has a spherical chamber with alternating bands of red and white (Figure 3.54). On the front of the vessel chamber, just below the deck architecture, is a small shelf or ramp that projects from the chamber's surface. These features (a striped spherical chamber and a projecting shelf or ramp) are found on a Moche IV vessel of the closed gabled type with step-shaped roof combs, also housed at the AMNH (Figure 3.55). On either side of the entrance, short vertical lines are depicted. A ceremonial jar appears in relief to the right of the shelf or ramp. Painted step motifs serve to demarcate the lower registers from the architectural space above. While iconographic differences can be discerned between these two vessels, one of the primary architectural differences between Figures 3.54 and 3.55 is the appearance of step-shaped roof combs on the roof. The similarity of these architectural types suggests that the overlapping gabled roof and the gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs refer to the same structure, possibly at different times of the year or corresponding to different ritual events.

Of the open structural types, the four-post gabled roof structure is the most common (Figure 3.56). This type appears in architectural vessels from Moche I-II and III but in rare

instances. In Moche I-II examples, structures of the open gabled roof type are depicted as part of architectural complexes (Appendix 1, Moche I-II), usually found in conjunction with a flat roofed structure and a walled plaza. In Moche IV, architectural contexts are not provided, suggesting the significance and function of this architectural structure was well understood. In three of the four Moche IV examples, the structure is empty. In the most elaborate version of this architectural type, however, the architectural space is occupied by the Masked Owl Warrior and figures wearing crescent or *tumi*-shaped headdresses. The focus of the sculpted tableau is a bound captive who is about to be sacrificed (Figure 3.57).³⁵⁸

Another architectural type of interest in Moche IV is the partially open back shed and front gabled roof structure (Appendix 2, Type 6), which appears in just two examples. The earliest manifestation of this form appears in the Proto Moche corpus (Appendix 2, Type 7). In Moche III, this form is altered, gaining a full front gable (Appendix 2, Type 7), a form that co-exists in Moche III with an open version of this type (Appendix 2, Type 6), whose roof is crenulated or decorated with sculpted war clubs. In Moche IV, this architectural type sees its final alteration (where front wall and post are removed) and then disappears from the artistic record completely. In Moche IV examples, the front of the structure is open, allowing an unencumbered view of the structure's occupant (Figures 3.58 and 3.59). The seated figure within this space wears ear spools and a collar. The back wall of the structure depicts the Moon Animal within a crescent shape, rendered in low relief. In examples from Moche IV, the roof of the back shed, front gable structure is decorated with sculpted war clubs, and in

³⁵⁸ This image is reproduced and discussed at length in de Bock 2003.

both cases, access up the pyramid is via a converging/diverging double staircase.³⁵⁹ The similarities of these two vessels suggest they were made by the same potter or workshop.³⁶⁰

The last architectural type to be discussed is the open shed roof structure (Appendix 2, Type 3; Figures 3.60 and 3.61). In both Moche IV examples, the architectural structure is supported by a spiral chamber. On the chamber are sculpted snails and painted four-legged creatures in profile (felines and foxes, respectively). These creatures ascend a spiral ramp headed toward the architectural structure. In the vessel housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the architectural structure is occupied by a fanged figure wearing a conical headdress, collar, and ear spools and wielding a war club (Figure 3.60). In the other vessel, housed at the MNAAHP in Lima, the architectural space is empty. Nonetheless, this particular vessel provides an architectural detail of certain import. A shallow depression or sunken step appears on the proper left side of the structure (Figure 3.61). This same feature has been found *in situ* within full-scale Moche monumental architecture at Huaca de la Luna and at Huaca Cao Viejo, in each instance located on the platform of an independent structure in the main plaza (Figures 3.62 and 3.63). While a relatively small detail, its appearance within Moche ceremonial architecture at two different sites in addition to its explicit depiction on a Moche IV vessel suggests it is an important architectural feature.³⁶¹

Moche IV Chamber Types

The limited number of Moche IV architectural types exists in marked contrast to the variety in chamber types during this phase. There are nine chamber types in Moche IV in addition to three motif vessel types and two types of stepped or tiered platforms (Appendix 5,

³⁵⁹ While sculpted ceramic war clubs and pictorial representations of the Moon Animal have been found in association with architecture at the Moche sites of Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo, the converging/diverging staircase has only been discovered at the northern site of Dos Cabezas in the Jequetepeque Valley (Donnan and Cock 2002).

³⁶⁰ One of these vessels resides at the AMNH in New York while another is held in the collection of Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino in Santiago de Chile. I am grateful to Pilar Allende for providing photos of vessels from this collection.

³⁶¹ The sunken step feature is discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

Moche IV). With the exception of one double chamber vessel, all vessels in the Moche IV corpus have single chambers. In the paragraphs that follow, the most frequently recurring Moche IV chamber types will be reviewed.

The spherical chamber is the most commonly occurring chamber type in the Moche IV corpus. In all instances, vessels with spherical chambers support deck architecture of the closed, gabled roof and step-shaped roof comb type. In some cases the spherical chamber functions as a blank canvas for fineline scenes or illustrations, including representations of architecture itself. One of the most detailed examples (Figure 3.64) relates a scene which may be funerary in nature, based on the appearance of female figures and ceremonial jars (Benson 1975:108-109). It is also possible that this scene relates to ritual activity occurring in conjunction with the structure above it, which may relate to ritually enacted human sacrifice. In other examples from Moche IV, spherical chambers are painted half red and half white (Figures 3.18 and 3.65; Appendix 1, Moche IV), suggesting platform levels as well as a concern for complementarity. Another significant aspect of architectural pots with spherical chambers is that many are whistling vessels of the resonating chamber type. In fact, all the whistling vessels in the Moche IV corpus, with one exception, have spherical chambers and are associated with architectural superstructures of the closed gabled type with step-shaped roof combs.³⁶²

In Moche IV, incorporated chamber vessels have a greatly simplified form. All examples depict the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs (Appendix 1, Moche IV). In a vessel discussed earlier (Figure 3.43), warrior and captive pairs are rendered in relief on all sides of the chamber. In another example (Figure 3.66), a bat with forked

³⁶² The exception to this is a vessel from Museo Larco whose chamber has a flared-bowl shape.

tongue depicted in relief emerges from the central doorway or opening. Flanking the entrance are short vertical lines and ritual spatulas with bat (?) heads.³⁶³

The tiered, or stepped, cylinder is infrequent in the Moche IV corpus. When it does appear, it is consistently the foundation for the front gabled, back shed roof structure, discussed earlier (Appendix 2, Type 6). Tiered chamber forms appear in association with the converging/diverging staircase, the Moon Animal, and a single figure with collar and ear spools (Figures 3.58 and 3.59).

A new chamber type found in Moche IV is the flared bowl. The flared bowl occurs in four Moche IV examples, always in conjunction with the closed gabled roof structure with step-shaped roof combs (Figure 3.67). This chamber type is found in the Proto Moche and Virú-Gallinazo corpus on double chamber architectural vessels.

In Moche IV, three different types of motif vessels are in evidence. The step and wave is the most frequent, with eight examples in the Moche IV corpus (Appendix 1, Moche IV). Most of these vessels lack additional imagery, save for a triangle painted on the exterior of the chamber. One example, however, suggests this simple form is short hand for the Mountain Scene of Human Sacrifice. In this example, a figure with long streaming hair is depicted face down on the wave's crest while a sacrificed figure is splayed on the steps below (Figure 3.68).³⁶⁴ Wrinkle Face is depicted in high relief on one side of the vessel and Iguana is found on the other. Both these figures are present on one-peak representations of the Mountain Scene of Human Sacrifice (see Figure 5.38).

Two additional motif pots are found in the Moche IV corpus, each represented by a single example (Figures 3.69 and 3.71). One takes the form of a sculpted isosceles triangle, widest at its base (Figure 3.69). This chamber shape is very similar to the form of Cerro

³⁶³ A spatula of similar form, but with a sculpted human head, was found at Huaca de la Luna in CA-18, tomb 1 (Esquerre et al. 2000:151, fig. 144).

³⁶⁴ These same characters occur frequently in scenes of the Mountain Scene of Human Sacrifice, where the figure on the wave's crest is referred to as the Bent Person and the person below on the steps is referred to as Dead Person (Zighelboim 1995).

Blanco in the Moche Valley (Figure 3.70). The other motif pot represents a double step (Figure 3.71), a form used as a perimeter marker in Moche I-II architectural complex vessels. The elite status of the double step motif is suggested by its appearance in other contexts. It has been found *in situ* at Huaca Cao Viejo (Chicama Valley) serving as a perimeter marker on the north wall of the monumental structure, marking the patio where an elite female was buried (Figure 3.72; Mujica et al. 2007:127). The double step motif is found on a collar made of shell inlay, likely an offering in an elite burial.³⁶⁵ A version of this motif (double step and wave motif) appears chronologically later at the site of Tambo Colorado in the Ica Valley (Figure 3.73).

Spiral chambers are frequent in the Moche IV corpus (Appendix 1, Moche IV). In all eight examples, a spiral ramp leads to a throne or seat found at the vessel's summit. In two structurally identical examples (one slipped primarily red, the other primarily white), the throne is depicted as an elevated cylinder with small ramp (Figure 3.74 and Appendix 1, Moche IV). A similar cylindrical throne was found archaeologically in the Virú Valley at the site of Huancaco (Willey 1953; Figure 3.78).³⁶⁶ The majority of the spiral chamber "throne" vessels are minimally descriptive (Figures 3.74 and 3.75). A more detailed example of this type, however, depicts a fanged personage with headdress who sits on a step-shaped throne with footrest (Figure 3.76). Beside him, the Masked Owl Warrior stands holding a long tie in his left hand. A fineline scene (Figure 3.77) illuminates this otherwise enigmatic sculptural vessel, possibly providing the narrative leading up to or following the installation of the figure on the throne. Small-scale thrones are found on architectural complex vessels from Moche I-II, consistently located in the uppermost part of the ceremonial complex.

Appearing in the Moche IV corpus with frequency is the stepped pyramid chamber, found in six examples (Appendix 1, Moche IV). This form appears to be limited to the Moche

³⁶⁵ An image of this object is housed at the Moche Archive, UCLA.

³⁶⁶ From V-92 (Willey 1953:fig. 46 and plate 29).

IV corpus, found in association with stirrup spout vessels and jars (*cántaros*). The stepped pyramid chamber is distinct from all architectural types in that it is never a foundation for deck architecture but is consistently a complete structure in its own right. In other words, rather than depicting an aspect of the architectural complex, the stepped pyramid chamber appears to depict the entire platform mound. In most examples, recessed areas appear in one corner. The recesses have steps cut into them, which on full-scale architecture would serve the practical purpose of permitting access from one level to the next. It has been suggested that these recesses held retractable ladders, used in times of siege or conflict (Uceda, personal communication 2007). Cut out corners have been found on monumental architecture at Dos Cabezas (Donnan and Cock 2002:39, fig. 20).³⁶⁷ It should be stressed that this mode of access is functional while other types of access depicted on Moche architectural vessels (zig-zag and spiral ramps or converging/diverging staircases) are processional or ceremonial. Two stepped pyramid vessels from Moche IV depict fineline figures in profile carrying shields, slings, and war clubs while sculpted figures hurl stones (Figure 3.79).³⁶⁸

Moche IV Associated Imagery

In Moche IV, imagery is pictorial and narrative in nature, contrasting with the more geometric motifs found in Proto Moche, Moche I-II, and Moche III (Appendix 6, Moche IV). The catfish (*pez life*) motif disappears completely, not found on any Moche IV (or V) architectural vessels. Crenulated roofs, found on Proto Moche and Moche III vessels, also disappear, replaced by sculpted war clubs. In addition to war clubs, step-shaped roof combs

³⁶⁷ Cut out corners may also be referenced by Strong and Evans in their discussion of Tomaval (1952:109).

³⁶⁸ This is one of the few contexts known to the author where stone throwing using slings appears on architectural pottery. Rather than the ritual combat frequently illustrated on Moche vessels and discussed in the literature, the fineline on this particular vessel appears to represent something closer to fending off a siege. Bourget notes that the throwing of stones is an act related to sacrificial activities (2006:182). At Huaca de la Luna, part of the frieze on the east wall of the main plaza depicts a warrior hurling a stone at a large iguana.

are frequently employed as roof decoration in the Moche IV corpus, as are step-shaped roof combs with *tumis*. In Moche IV, figures within structures are much less common, largely due to the increase in closed structures, which deny visible access to the interior space. In the few examples where sculpted figures do occur, they are often fanged, marking the first time in any of the Moche phases or other cultures discussed (including Salinar, Virú-Gallinazo, and Vicús) that the figure within the structure or atop the pyramid exhibits supernatural traits.

In Moche IV, there is an increase in both zoomorphic and figural representation conveyed through fineline and sculpted elements. The vessel chamber becomes a canvas for much of this imagery. In some instances, it appears that pictorial representation on spherical chambers conveys activity occurring directly outside of and surrounding the deck architecture. Subject matter on Moche IV vessels includes outfitted warriors, ceremonial costumes, the procession of warriors and captives, undulating eared serpents, foxes, pumas, snails, fork-tongued bats, raptorial birds, iguanas or lizards, the Moon Animal, figures with flayed faces, and ritual architectural structures including racks. Figures hurling rocks and using slings are illustrated on stepped pyramid vessels, while ritual one-on-one combat with clubs and shields appears on Terrace Plates.

Warriors in the Moche IV corpus are depicted in one-on-one combat, leading nude captives by a rope consistently in association with an enclosed structure, or on the exterior of stepped pyramid vessels (Appendix 6, Moche IV). Imagery associated with warriors is also frequent on Moche IV vessels, for example weapon bundles, back flaps, and war clubs. The fact that warriors and references to warriors is not present on architectural vessels from other Moche phases suggests that this theme holds special significance for Moche IV.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ The exception to this is a vessel in the Moche I-II corpus with two small warriors painted in fineline (Figure 3.20).

The Moon Animal (depicted on a single vessel from Moche I-II and III) appears on two Moche IV architectural vessels (Figures 3.58 and 3.59).³⁷⁰ In all phases, the Moon Animal is consistently conveyed in low relief and found on the back wall of a single-room structure atop a stepped or elevated platform. The Moche III vessel (Figure 3.33) provides the most detailed context for its appearance. Here the Moon Animal is found on the back wall of an enclosed structure housing an elite figure who appears to await the arrival of captives, paraded by warriors on the vessel's chamber. This vessel explicitly connects the Moon Animal with captured prisoners and an enclosed architectural space, a topic which is discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Paired iconographic motifs are also common in Moche IV despite their absence on architectural vessels from other phases (Proto Moche, Moche I-II, or Moche III). The reason for this seems to be that paired motifs are limited to closed gabled structures with step-shaped roof combs, an architectural type particular to Moche IV. Motifs that flank the central door include war clubs, rattle poles, streams of blood, ceremonial jars with ties, spatulas, and cacti (see Appendix 6, Moche IV). The motifs themselves, in addition to imagery found in association with them (undulating eared serpents, bats with serpent tongues, or iguanas) suggests ties to human sacrifice or burial.

Terrace Plates

Terrace Plates, while not vessels with chambers, are nonetheless functional ceramic containers which exhibit aspects of Moche architectural representation. Their associated imagery (combating warriors) places Terrace Plates squarely within the Moche IV artistic tradition (Appendix 1, Terrace Plates). A handful of these objects have come to light during

³⁷⁰ The Moon Animal motif is frequently associated with the Recuay culture, appearing on ceramic as well as stone representations of architecture (Grieder 1978:fig. 96). It is possible that the Moon Animal originated with Recuay and was then adopted by the Moche, where it appears in a slightly different form, often placed within a crescent moon, usually on all fours rather than resting on its back haunches, and often depicted individually rather than mirrored.

the course of this investigation. They are not, to my knowledge, often discussed in the Moche literature.³⁷¹ Common Terrace Plate characteristics are a rectangular or semi-circular base delimited by a low wall on three sides (Figures 3.80-3.83). In all examples, the side walls are stepped and may maintain small circular depressions, possibly insertion points for miniature standards or roof posts (Figures 3.81 and 3.83). Painted on the floor of Terrace Plates is a wide white band which may indicate a path of access into the space (Figures 3.80-3.83). In one of the more detailed examples, the wide band leads to a seat or throne occupied by a figure holding a cup with both hands (Figure 3.82). Other features found on Terrace Plates are miniature receptacles and perched owls (Figures 3.81 and 3.82). The floor plan of Terrace Plates is similar to that of Plaza 2 at Huaca de la Luna (Figure 3.84), a rectangular space wider than it is deep, stepped sides, and a central entrance accessed by a path or ramp.

All of the Terrace Plates in the sample exhibit imagery associated with warriors and warfare. One of the most minimally descriptive examples depicts two horizontal registers of weapon bundles (Figure 3.83). The most detailed example, rectangular rather than semi-circular in plan, depicts elaborately dressed warriors in fineline engaged in one-on-one combat (Figures 3.80 and 3.81, for drawings see Figures 5.42 b and c and Appendix 1, Moche Terrace Plates).³⁷² The size and weight of these two pieces would make their transport cumbersome, suggesting they may have served as offering trays.³⁷³ None of the Terrace Plates in this sample have archaeological provenience. One Terrace Plate, however, was reportedly discovered in the agricultural fields near the archaeological site of Huacas de Moche (Figure 3.81).

³⁷¹ The Terrace Plate from Museo Cassinelli is published in Uceda 2000a:100.

³⁷² The unusual iconography and artistic style in evidence on the Museo Cassinelli Terrace Plate makes the authenticity of this piece problematic.

³⁷³ Offering trays are discussed by Bastien as used in the Bolivian highland community of Kaata in the ceremony called Feast with the Dead where the living prepare a banquet for the deceased with the hope the dead will reciprocate with fruitful harvests (1995:374).

Moche V

There are twenty-eight (28) architectural vessels in the Moche V corpus. All of these vessels exhibit a high degree of standardization (Appendix 1, Moche V). Architectural and chamber types in Moche V are limited. Closed gabled structures and stepped cylindrical chambers are the most commonly represented forms. While mold use is in evidence in other phases, in Moche V both the architectural structure and the vessel chamber appear to be made from a single mold. Distinct from Moche IV, fineline imagery in Moche V is largely geometric and abstract. Whistling mechanisms occur in a few Moche V examples. Interestingly, these are found in association with vessels that host open architectural structures, in contrast to Moche IV where all whistling mechanisms were found on vessels with closed architectural structures. This difference represents a technical change in addition to an aesthetic one. The Moche V whistle is of the external type and lacks a resonating chamber meaning the tonalities of Moche V whistling vessels are distinct (and less resonant) than those from the Moche IV corpus (Chapter 2).

Moche V Architectural Types

In the Moche V corpus, closed architectural structures predominate (Appendix 3, Moche V). Of these, the gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs is the most frequently occurring (Appendix 2, Type 9, version a; Figure 3.85). Decorating the structures and the chambers are two-dimensional motifs including war clubs, mirrored inverted step motifs, *tumi* or crescent shapes, scroll motifs, and short vertical lines (representing blood), suggesting Moche V closed gabled structures are also associated with warriors, death, and sacrifice. The second most frequent architectural type in Moche V is the closed gabled roof without step-shaped roof combs (Appendix 2, Type 9), also associated with streams of blood and geometric motifs. The gabled roof with step-shaped roof combs and *tumi* represents the fourth most commonly represented architectural type in the Moche V corpus (Figure 3.86).

Examples from the Moche V corpus have tiered square chambers, one of these maintains a sculpted representation of the undulating eared serpent (Figure 3.86). The only open architectural type found in the Moche V corpus is the shed roof, represented in four examples.

Moche V Chamber Types

Five chamber types are in evidence in the Moche V corpus (Appendix 5, Moche V). The majority of these are stepped or tiered with between two and five articulated levels. Two additional chamber forms, the beer stein and the oblate chamber, are associated with open shed roof structures. Neither the beer stein nor oblate chamber is found in other phases of the Moche architectural corpus (Figure 3.87). While more schematically architectural, the spiral or tiered cylinder represents an important form in the Moche V corpus (see Appendix 1, Moche V, as well as Figure 3.88). Chambers of this type are decorated with registers of geometric imagery, including the continuous scroll motif, *tumi* or crescent shapes, and mirrored and inverted step or triangle motifs. These chamber forms and corresponding imagery are particular to the Moche V corpus. Similar geometric registers are depicted in Moche V fineline painting decorating stepped platform structures forming part of the Bean and Stick Game. Here, Wrinkle Face and Iguana lie prone on the stepped platforms decorated with horizontal bands of geometric motifs, surrounded by floating lima beans, holding sticks in their hands (Figure 3.89). The last chamber type to be mentioned is the double step motif, found on two vessels from Moche V (Figure 3.90). This motif was also in evidence in Moche IV, where its form closely resembled double step motifs marking the perimeter of architectural complexes on vessels as well as on full-scale Moche ceremonial architecture.

Moche V Associated Imagery

Imagery found on Moche V architectural vessels, with a few noteworthy exceptions, is largely geometric (Appendix 6, Moche V). Nonetheless, the types of imagery depicted (*tumi* knives or crescent shapes, step motifs, and undulating eared serpents) suggest that, despite this abstraction, the message remains centered on themes of sacrifice. Short vertical lines flanking the entrances of structures (also present in the Moche IV corpus) are frequently depicted on Moche V architectural vessels, especially given the small size of the corpus.³⁷⁴ The noteworthy exceptions are three Moche V vessels with detailed fineline illustrations (see Appendix 1, Moche V). Two of these vessels were likely produced by the same hand or workshop, given their iconographic and morphological similarities (Figure 3.87).³⁷⁵ On the chamber of both vessels is a procession of dancers painted in fineline (Figure 3.87). These figures hold hands as they make their way to the architectural structure above.³⁷⁶ Arriving to the entrance of the open shed roof structure, a detail from the Sacrifice Ceremony is depicted: a figure presents a goblet to the Warrior Priest (Figure 5.22c). Sacrifice is further alluded to through the activity taking place within the sculpted structure. Here, an anthropomorphized deer is presented to an elaborately dressed figure (possibly Wrinkle Face or the Warrior Priest) that stands in the company of his companions Dog, Iguana, and Fox (Figure 5.22b). The other Moche V vessel with fineline illustration depicts a raptorial bird (drawn on either side of the lentil-shaped vessel chamber) that drinks from a curved bowl (Figure 3.91). This depiction is likely a metaphor for the narrative scene just described, where the Warrior Priest receives and drinks (blood) from the ceremonial goblet. These three fineline examples reveal

³⁷⁴ This is at variance with the fineline corpus analyzed by Donnan and McClelland who found that in Moche V there were no short lines to indicate blood and that depictions of warrior combat were also scarce (1999:177).

³⁷⁵ Donnan and McClelland refer to this artist as the Dance Painter (1999:262-263). One of these vessels resides at the British Museum and the other in a private collection. The tableau scene described is found on the vessel in the private collection.

³⁷⁶ Benson notes that hand holding scenes on fineline vessels frequently reference the afterlife (1975:116).

that, while Moche V imagery is more abstract, themes of sacrifice continue to have importance.

Lastly, I would like to note that on architectural vessels from the Moche V corpus, individuals playing instruments appear for the first time. In the vessels just mentioned, a drum is played by an anthropomorphized deer. In another two vessels, skeletal figures flanking the entry of a closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs are depicted playing panpipes (Figure 3.85).³⁷⁷ Benson has observed that the appearance of musicians indicates scenes of the afterlife (Benson 1975:116). If musicians are, indeed, associated with afterlife scenes, this vessel further underscores a connection between the closed gabled structure with step-shaped roof combs and death and transition to the world beyond, discussed in chapter 6. The representation of instruments further hints at the role music surely played in ceremonial rites relating to death and burial.

Late Moche

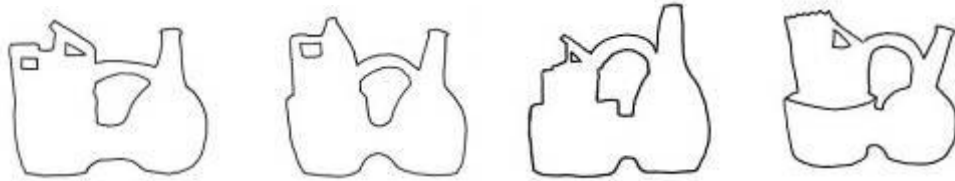
There are four (4) vessels in the Late Moche corpus (see Appendix 1, Late Moche). All are double chamber whistling vessels of the direct type. Three of the four examples have archaeological provenience, which makes this group important for its documented contexts. Two of the Late Moche vessels were excavated at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley (Figure 3.92) and another was excavated from Cerro Oreja in the Moche Valley. The other (housed at the Museo de la Nación in Lima) lacks archaeological provenience but is morphologically similar to the other three. Characteristics shared among the small Late Moche sample are identically shaped primary and secondary chambers (usually oblate or spherical), wide mouthed spouts and false spouts, short wide connectors between chambers, and relatively small architectural structures which, in all instances, sit above the false spout and are of the open gabled type. The false spout on the most elaborate example (Figure 3.92)

³⁷⁷ These two vessels appear to have been produced from the same mold.

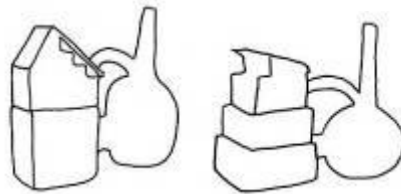
is decorated with alternating horizontal bands of red and white, indicating platform levels. Design motifs vary from vessel to vessel. Figure 3.92 bears incised scroll motifs while the other Jequetepeque Valley vessel depicts (in polychrome characteristic of San José de Moro) the fineline scene known as the Bean and Stick Game (Figure 3.89). The other two Late Moche examples are without incised or painted decoration.

Appendix 5. Moche Chamber Types by Phase

Proto Moche



double chamber with cylindrical or flared bowl primary chamber



double chamber with rectangular or tiered square primary chamber

Moche I-II

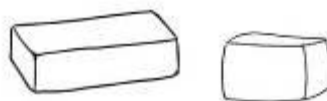


architectural complexes with incorporated chamber



oblate

cylindrical

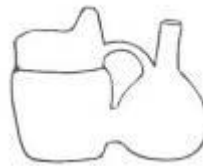


rectangular

Moche III



incorporated



double chamber with cylindrical primary chamber



cylindrical



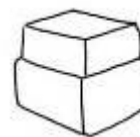
tiered cylindrical



spherical



square

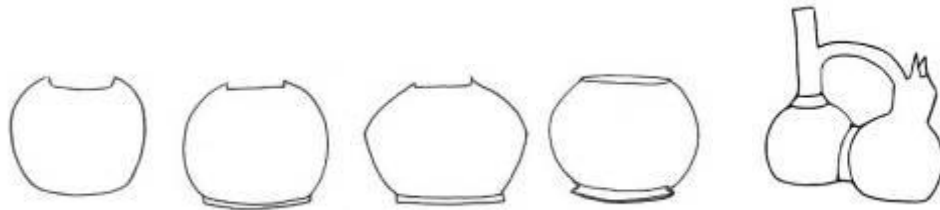


tiered square



step motif

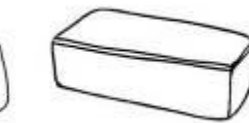
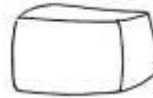
Moche IV



spherical single and double chambers



flared bowl



rectangular



tiered cylinder



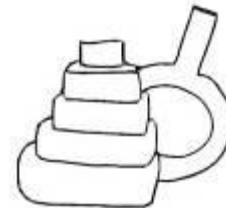
incorporated



spiral



tiered square



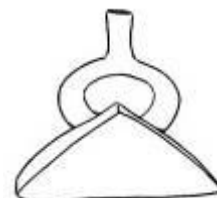
stepped pyramid



step and wave

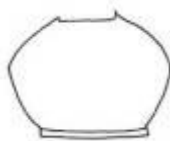


double step



triangle

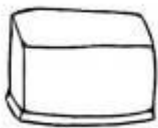
Moche V



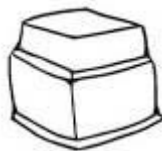
oblate with base



tiered cylindrical



square with base



stepped square with base

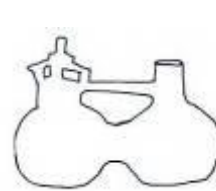
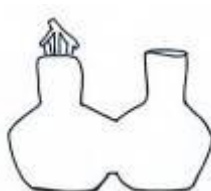


beer stein



double step

Late Moche

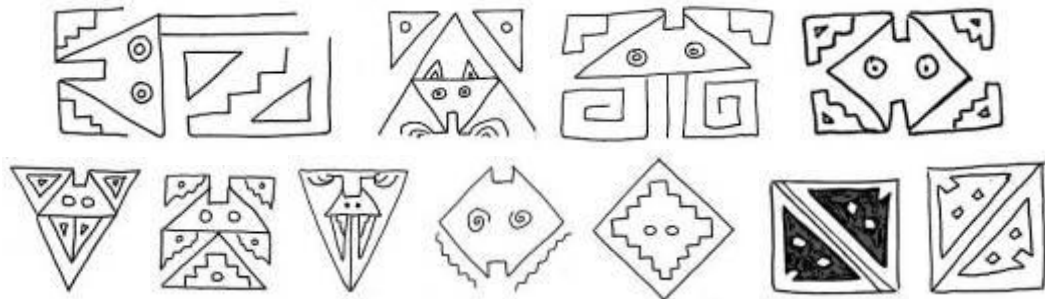


double chamber vessels with oblate and spherical chambers

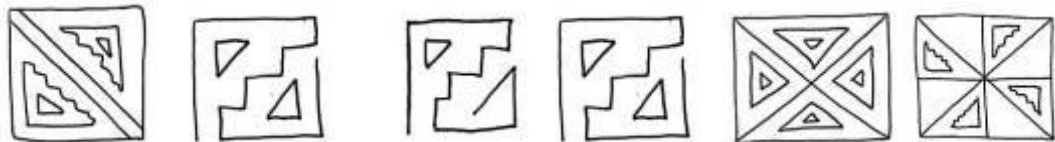
Appendix 6. Moche Imagery by Phase

Proto Moche

Painted



catfish, or *pez life*, variations



double inverted stepped triangles

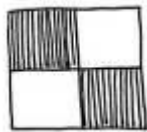
inverted, alternate triangles



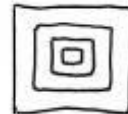
rhomboids



geometric spirals



alternate red, white square grid



concentric square

Sculpted



step-shaped roof combs



crenulation

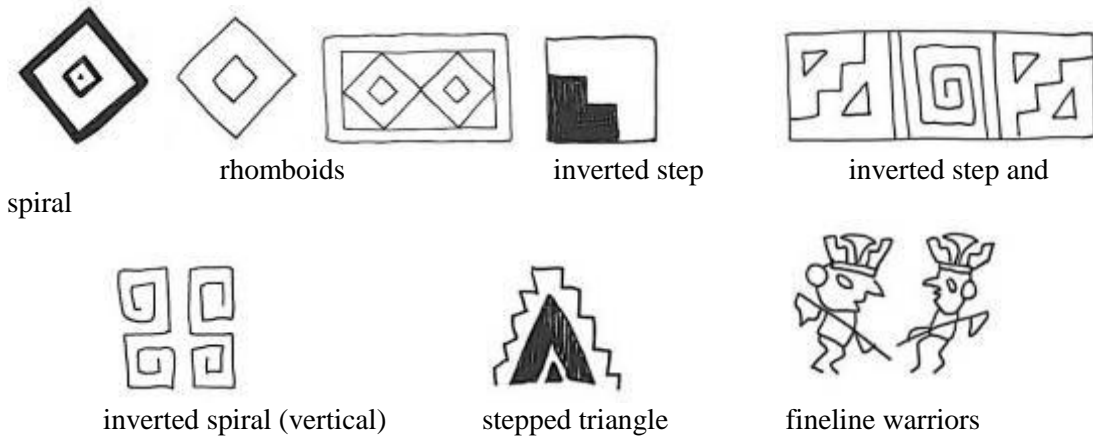
Cut out



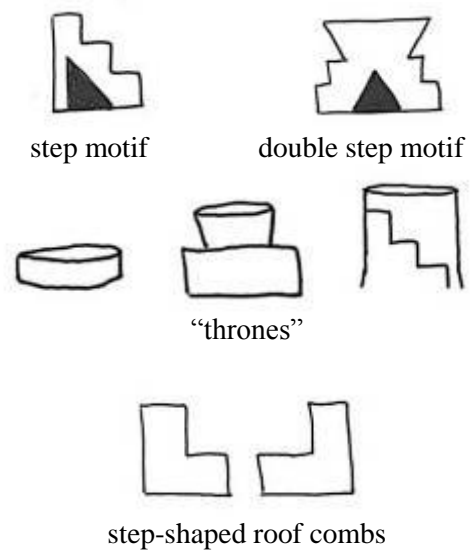
triangle

Moche I-II

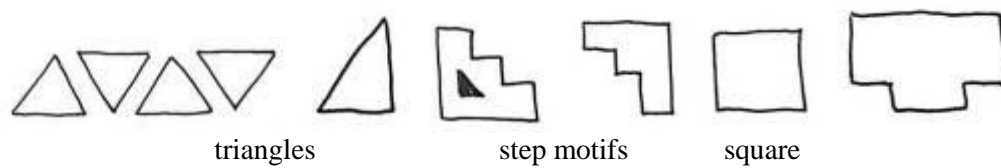
Painted



Sculpted



Cut out



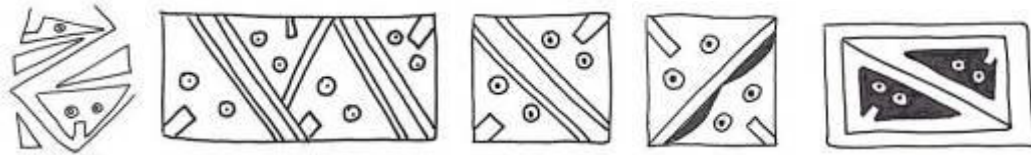
Relief



Moon Animal

Moche III

Painted



variations of catfish, or *pez life*



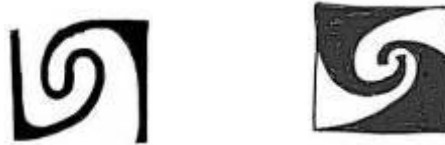
inverted triangles

step motif

double inverted spirals



continuous scroll motif



variations of double inverted wave

Sculpted



step-shaped roof combs

war club

crenulated roof embellishment

Cut Out



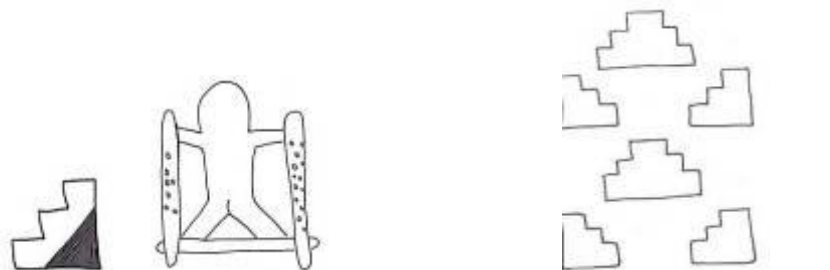
crescent

vertical slats

square

triangle

Relief



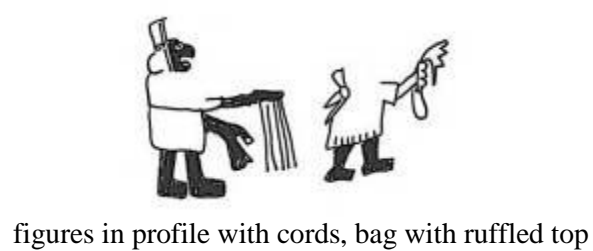
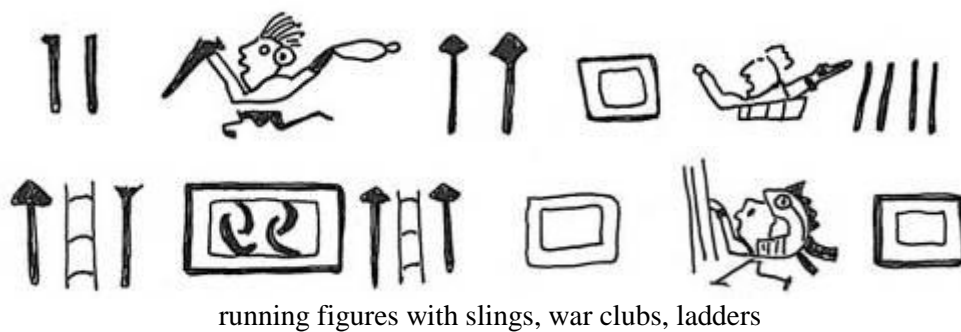
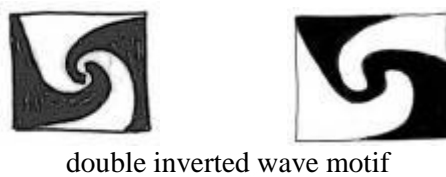
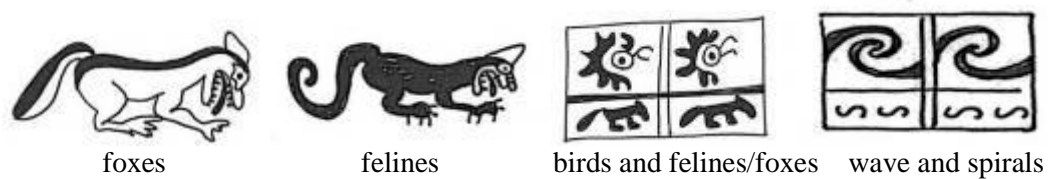
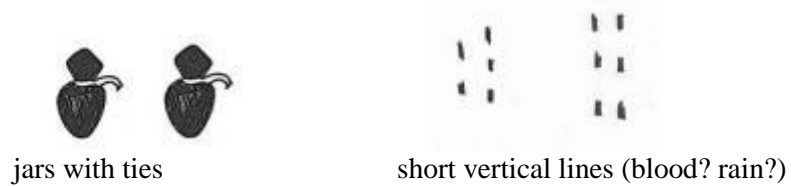
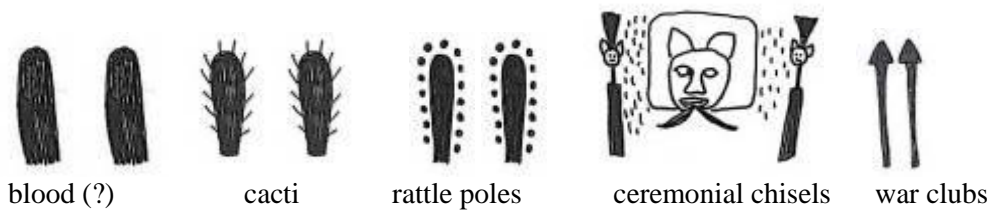
step motif

figure on rack

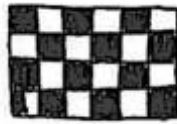
converging/diverging staircase

MOCHE IV

Painted



MOCHE IV Painted (continued)



checkerboard pattern



undulating eared serpents



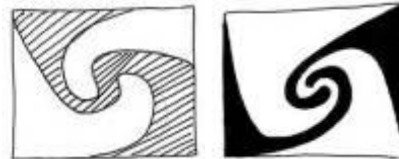
war clubs



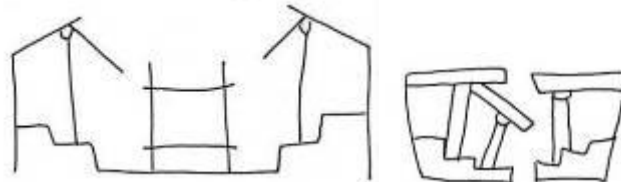
anemone motif



step motif



inverted spiral



fineline depicting open gabled structures, racks



continuous scroll motif

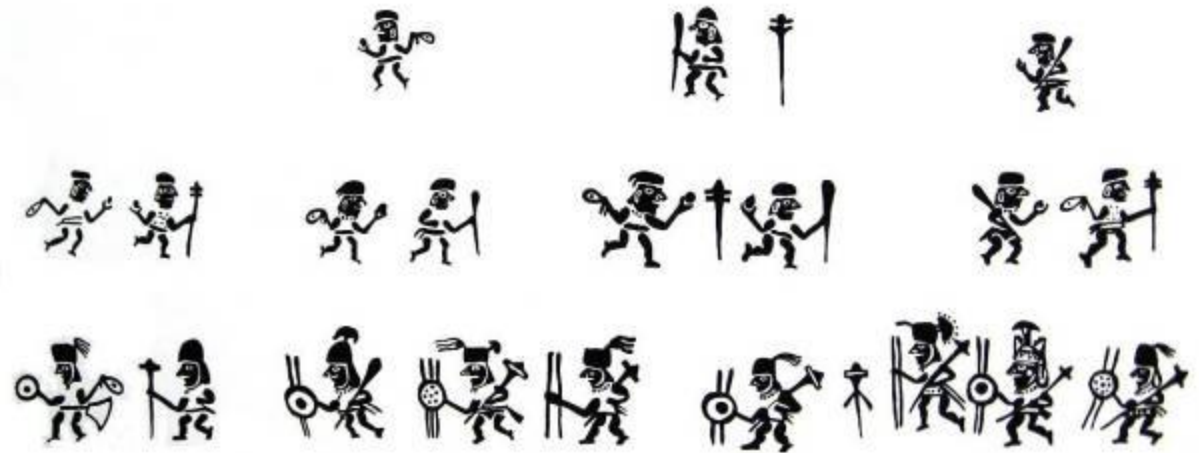


warrior costume (helmet, tunic, cape or loincloth)

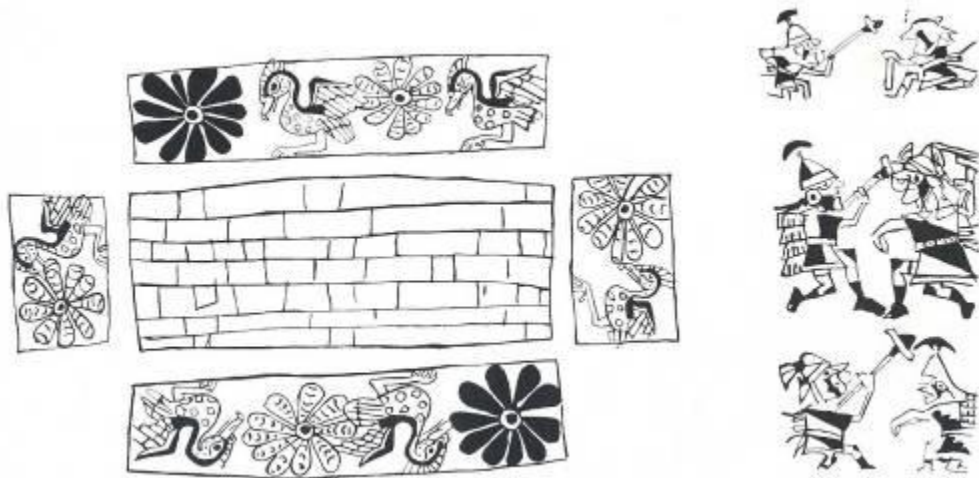


fineline narrative of architecture and ritual activity

MOCHE IV Painted (continued)



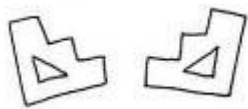
running warriors with clubs, shields, and spears



avian figures and flowers

one-on-one warrior combat

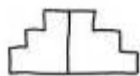
Sculpted



step-shaped roof combs



step-shaped roof combs with *tumi*



double step motif



war club



eared serpent



snail

MOCHE IV Sculpted (continued)



guardian figures

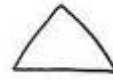
Cut out



crescent moon



vertical slats



triangles

Relief



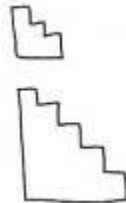
Moon Animal



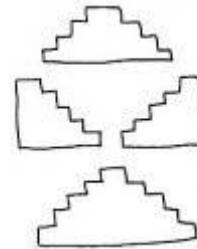
jar with tie



war clubs



staircase



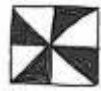
converging/diverging staircase



warriors leading nude captives

MOCHE V

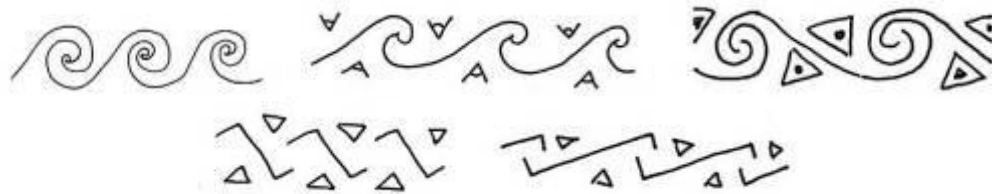
Painted



maltese cross



inverted triangle/step motifs



variations of continuous scroll



inverted triangle motifs



bean and sun motifs



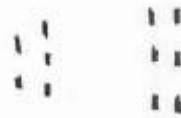
tumi



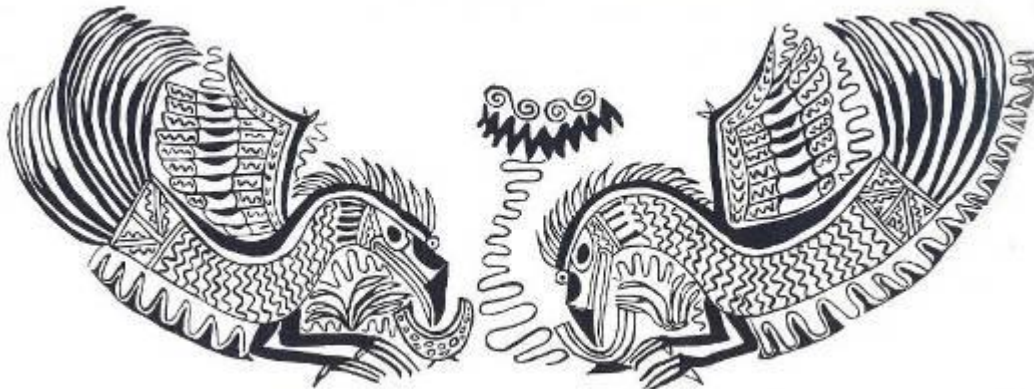
anemone motif



undulating eared serpent



short vertical lines (blood? rain?)



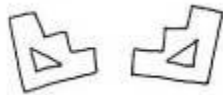
avian drinking from bowl (presentation of goblet?)

MOCHE V Painted (continued)



fineline depiction of procession and presentation of goblet

Sculpted



step-shaped roof combs



step-shaped roof combs with *tumi*

Relief



skeletal panpipe players

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