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Interaction and Imitation:
Chimú Art after the Conquest by the Inka Empire, 1460-1534

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Doctor of Philosophy

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By

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An abstract of
A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the
James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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2015

Abstract

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By Jennifer E. Siegler

Between 1428 and 1534 CE the Inka conquered the world's largest territory controlled by a single state (5,500 km). The conquest of their main rivals, the Chimú, c. 1460 brought 1,300 km of coastline into the Inka empire. This dissertation provides the first in-depth analysis of Chimú-Inka ceramics. I frame Chimú-Inka ceramics in a comparative approach with Chimú and Inka precedents, tracking these changes in four specific forms: double-to-single spout vessels, *urpus*, *urpu*-like vessels, and *coquero* vessels. Through a comparative analysis of the technological, proportional, and iconographical elements of Chimú-Inka vessels, I argue that the unique blend that emerged from ceramic artists working creatively to balance their North Coast tradition with that of their highland conquerors during this tumultuous period. The distinguishing features of this period were created as a mutually beneficial compromise between the local lords of the North Coast and the Inka regime.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Between 1428 and 1534 CE the Inka conquered the world's largest territory controlled by a single state (5,500 km). The conquest of their main rivals, the Chimú, c. 1460 brought 1,300 km of coastline into the Inka empire.[1] In order to successfully manage the far reaches of their empire, the Inka employed a flexible strategy of administration, allowing local leaders, belief systems, and even elements of artistic practice to remain in place.[2] In the case of the Chimú artists, after their state was conquered by the Inka they were taken to the capital city of Cuzco and made to work in a new blended style. Ceramics of this Chimú-Inka style, specifically double-to-single spouts, *urpu*, *urpu*-like vessels, and *coqueros*, contain characteristics from both the Chimú and Inka artistic traditions, yet move beyond this dichotomy to realize a style that is new to both traditions. My dissertation reveals the unique blend that emerged from ceramic artists working creatively to balance their North Coast tradition with that of their highland conquerors during this tumultuous period.

The Chimú Empire, the most powerful kingdom along the North Coast between the 10th and 15th centuries CE, was located in a desert region periodically watered by rivers, which the Chimú harnessed in massive irrigation projects.[3] In addition, the cold Humboldt Current in the Pacific Ocean provided the North Coast with the Western

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[1] Rebecca R. Stone, *Art of the Andes from Chavín to Inca*, Thames & Hudson World of Art (New York, NY: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 163.
[2] Terence N. D'Altroy and Ronald L. Bishop, "The Provincial Organization of Inka Ceramic Production," *American Antiquity* 55, no. 1 (1990): 120.
[3] Frances M. Hayashida, "The Pampa De Chaparrí: Water, Land, and Politics on the North Coast of Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 17, no. 3 (2006); Patricia Joan Netherly, "Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru" (Cornell University, 1977).

Hemisphere's richest marine biomass.[4] By dominating the coast, which contains nearly two thirds of all arable land in the Andes, the Chimú rulers positioned themselves to generate and control vast amounts of surplus agricultural products. They also controlled the trade of maritime products, both foodstuffs and high-status items, particularly the *Spondylus* shell, the highly valued spiny oyster that exists in the warmer waters in the Pacific Ocean further north. All of these strategies gave them considerable resources with which to demand tribute in luxury goods and to employ thousands of state artists.[5]

In Chan Chan, the Chimú capital, the nobles controlled the production of prestige goods made by an estimated 12,000 artists.[6] The Chimú organized their artists in workshops that operated in close proximity to one another, allowing multiple media and techniques to be easily included in a given piece, such as cotton textiles incorporating feathers and sheet metal plaques (Figure 1.1). This innovative approach to workshop organization was unprecedented on the North Coast and may well have been one of the factors that earned the envy of the Inka. Chimú art often readily displays the multiple hands and materials used in its creation, referencing the state-level power, control, and organization necessary for its construction.

This new, additive approach is even visible in ceramics, which were made with molds. One of the innovations of Chimú ceramic production was the creation of the two-piece mold that allowed for a complete vessel to be formed from single slabs of clay laid

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[4] Michael Edward Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*, Rev. ed. (London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2001).
[5] Joanne Pillsbury, "The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered Spondylus Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 7, no. 4 (1996).
[6] John R. Topic, "Craft Production in the Kingdom of Chimor," in *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor*, ed. Michael E. Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990).

in each side of the mold.[7] Previous to the Chimú, the Moche culture used separate molds for each part of the vessel (base, body, and spout). While the Chimú method eliminated the need for a specialist to join these parts, skill was still necessary to apply the clay with a similar thickness along the mold in order to ensure even firing. While many scholars have used the mass-produced process of Chimú ceramics as an argument for a decline in quality of the North Coast ceramic tradition,[8] the Inka appropriation of Chimú ceramics artists speaks to the skill and high status associated with Chimú ceramic production in its time. Chimú blackware vessels were anything but quotidian objects, and have been found along the Central and Southern Coast of Peru as luxury trade goods.

Nevertheless, other more precious materials and intricate creative processes were particularly preferred by the Chimú nobles, such as brocade textiles, featherwork, and sheet-metal objects. Ceramics, the subject of this dissertation, were not inherently as high in status as these other media. However, blackware may have been the preferred surface finish because it mimicked that of silver vessels and their oxidized patina. The visual effect of highly burnished blackware surfaces, and their low-relief designs would be emphasized in a sunny outdoor environment, such as the North Coast, producing contrast between the muted relief and the otherwise shiny surface. The mold seams of ceramic vessels typically run perpendicular to the base, yet some ceramic vessels will include a "false" mold seam parallel to the ground as a reference to the creation process of higher-

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[7] Christopher B. Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru* (Los Angeles, CA: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1992). Donnan 1992: 96.

[8] Ibid; Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica Del Norte Del Perú* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Geográfica Americana, 1948); Maria-Louise Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru" (Union Institute and University, 2005); Hartmut Tschauner, "Socioeconomic and Political Organization in the Late Prehispanic Lambayeque Sphere, Northern North Coast of Peru" (Harvard University, 2001).

status metal vessels.[9] The blackware firing technique was not typical in the Andes, but rather a specific technique developed on the North Coast. This technique required specialized knowledge and the resulting black finish was difficult to accomplish. Chimú blackware vessels were anything but quotidian objects, and have been found along the Central and Southern Coast of Peru as luxury trade goods. Thus, through the methods and techniques a vessel could communicate the precise social status of its owner. Blackware firing was so characteristic of the North Coast that it holds many keys to understanding the interaction of the conquering Inka in this area; the complex interaction of Chimú and Inka features can be traced in various vessel types made in blackware, the subject of this study.

The visual effect of highly burnished blackware surfaces covered with textural low-relief designs would be striking in a sunny coastal desert environment such as the North Coast. Blackware vessels would not only stand out strongly from the environment, but subtly contrast dark, shiny expanses with intricate but shadowy patterning. Yet these vessels reflect the political, as well as artistic, situation at the time of the Inka conquest of the North Coast. Chimú control of the area ended in 1461, when the Inka ruler, Sapa Inka Pachacuti sent his brother, Capac Yupanqui, on an expedition to central Peru. Against Pachacuti's orders, Capac Yupanqui attacked the Chimú's ally, the Cajamarca kingdom (located in the highlands along the North Coast), causing the Chimú king, Minchançaman to send troops to their aid. This initial confrontation resulted in victory for Capac Yupanqui, the death of the Cajamarca king, and the placement of the Inka army on the border of the Chimú Empire. However, Capac Yupanqui's victory was short-lived, as his

[9] Kathryn M. and Izumi Shimada Clelan, "Sican Bottles: Marking Time in the Peruvian Bronze Age-- a Five-Part Typology and Seriation," *Andeadn Past* 3(1992).

brother Pachacuti had him put to death for disobedience during his victory march back to Cuzco. Pachacuti was forced to decide between a direct confrontation with his largest and most powerful enemy, the Chimú, or a retreat from Cajamarca. Forced to continue on the path of conquest, Pachacuti sent troops to finish the conquest of the North Coast. These reinforcements not only defended Inka interests in Cajamarca, but successfully attacked the Chimú capital of Chan Chan. Inka troops continued to occupy and raid Chimú territory between other military campaigns in the highlands and further north. Ultimately, Minchançaman was sent to the Inka capital of Cuzco as a royal hostage.[10]

By also kidnapping the Chimú artists, the Inka evidenced their practice of strong control over artistic production within their empire. Archaeological excavation of Chan Chan's workshops indicates that the exodus of the artists was so quick that many tools and half-finished objects were left behind and dropped along the way. The Inka appropriation of Chan Chan's artists after the conquest of the North Coast actually followed state forced relocation of artists (and other colonists known as *mitimae*) on a grand scale. From among the many subjects of the Inka throughout their huge empire, girls who possessed expert weaving skills were periodically selected from the provinces and forcibly moved to Inka administrative centers in order to weave excusilvely for the state as *acllakona*.

This was one way in which standardization was enforced throughout the Inka empire, typically through the shapes or forms of art. A prime example is the diagnostic Inka ceramic vessels called *urpu*. A long necked vessel with a bulbous body, low strap handles, and conical base, the *urpu* was replicated throughout the empire, but with

[10] John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, 1946): 42-45.

various local interpretations allowed (see Chapters 3 and 4). This and other items of feasting ware, plates and incense burners, were used at state sponsored events where the Inka hosted subject peoples in return for their labor and agricultural goods. *Urpus* were critical to these events, as they were used to store, contain, and distribute *aqha*, or corn beer, to the participants.[11] It is likewise a critical form in tracing the interaction of the Chimú and the Inka; as such, two chapters have been dedicated to unpacking the creation of *urpu* and *urpu*-like vessels on the North Coast.

Despite these strong political, economic, and artistic links between the Chimú and Inka, the Spanish chroniclers barely mention the important Inka conquest of the Chimú, perhaps because the Inka were trying to bolster their own importance in the eyes of the Spanish newcomers by suppressing information about other powerful political units. Considering the power and spread of the Chimú, they were no doubt one of the Inka's most challenging areas to control, aside from perhaps Ecuador.[12] This makes their artistic interactions all the more fraught with meaning. Even without documents to consider, art has a key symbolic role to play in such a situation, uniquely able to reify and proclaim Inka power to modify Chimú aesthetics. Yet, the ceramic record demonstrates the many ways in which the power statements flower in both directions. The Chimú form of the double-to-single spout continues relatively unchanged, as does the North Coast traditional blackware technique in all of the vessel forms, for example. Since the documents are silent on the Chimú conquest, works of art constitute the primary

[11] Andean literature frequently uses the Caribbean term "*chicha*" when referring to corn beer, as this was the term first encountered by the Spanish. *Aqha* is a Quechua term, and is more appropriate to the Andean region.
[12] Tamara L. Bray, "Archaeological Survey in Northern Highland Ecuador: Inca Imperialism and the País Caranqui," *World Archaeology* 24, no. 2 (1992); Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest:" 206.

documents of the Chimú and Inka interaction and prove capable of nuancing the political and aesthetic dynamics admirably.

In terms of what is known about Inka statecraft strategies, the context for the vessels' production and use, conflicting accounts exist regarding Inka administrative procedures. Some sources describe them as flexible, others as brutal (and they were likely both).[13] Several methods and forms of evidence have been invoked in an attempt to better understand the Inka administrative strategy. Early Spanish chroniclers focused on learning Quechua, the administrative language imposed by the Inka throughout their empire. Along the North Coast, Yunga[14] was the autochthonous language, rather than Quechua, further inhibiting communication with the Spanish. It was only in the 17th century that Fray Antonio de la Calancha finally incorporated the indigenous voice of the North Coast in his chronicle of the pre-Hispanic period.[15] While his is a useful source, it was written almost 200 years after the Inka conquest of the Chimú. Further contributing to the lack of understanding of the North Coast was the decimation of the population due to smallpox and other European-introduced dieseases. The large and dense population centers of the North Coast, in comparison to the smaller villages and towns in the rest of the Andes, allowed for repeated plagues to quickly ravage the population. Since the North Coast was also the entry point for European conquerors, and was in closer proximity to areas previously conquered by Europeans, smallpox reached the North Coast before spreading into the rest of the Andes. The inability to communicate effectively plus

[13] Sonia and Michael A. Malpass Alconini, "Toward a Better Understanding of Inka Provincialism," in *Distnat Provinces in the Inka Empire*, ed. Michael A. and Sonia Alconini Malpass (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010).
[14] The same language is also referred to as Muchik or Mochica in the literature. Rowe describes it as Quingnam, related to the Mochica language. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest:" 191.
[15] Antonio de la Calancha, *Crónicas Agustinianas Del Perú*, ed. Manuel Merino, vol. 17, Missionalia Hispanica (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1972).

the significant, rapid erosion of the North Coast population certainly meant that the Spanish did not necessarily grasp the political situation on the North Coast immediately prior to the Spanish arrival.

Archaeological evidence provides another source of information on the Chimú-Inka interaction. Over the past fifteen years, there has been an increase in the number and scope of archaeological projects on the North Coast of Peru under the Inka, although this is primarily limited to two scholars: Francis Hayashida, beginning with her dissertation and continuing into the present, and Carole Mackey.[16] Both of their works are concerned with settlement planning, workshop production, and administrative organization of the Inka on the North coast. Their findings are roughly parallel, as both agree that Inka presence on the North Coast is more physically apparent than had previously been acknowledged, but that local traditions nevertheless continued during the Inka period. For Hayashida, the two cultural strains are likewise present from the evidence from two ceramic workshops on the North Coast, Tambo Real and La Viña, where Inka vessel forms were made with North Coast ceramic technologies. Mackey likewise concludes that Inka presence on the North Coast was more pervasive than previously thought, due to the building up of the administrative center at Farfán in a unique architectural style that was previously unknown in either the Inka heartland or the North Coast. Mackey terms

[16] Frances Mariko Hayashida, "State Pottery Production in the Inka Provinces" (University of Michigan, 1995); Frances M. Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 10, no. 4 (1999); Carol Mackey, "Elite Residences at Farfán: A Comparison of the Chimú and Inka Occupation," in *Palaces and Power in the Americas*, ed. Jessica Joyce Christie and Patricia Joan Sarro (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006); "The Socioeconomic and Ideological Transformation of Farfan under Inka Rule," in *Distant Provinces in the Inka Empire: Toward a Deeper Understanding of Inka Imperialism*, ed. Michael A. and Sonia Alconini Malpass (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010).

this style as "conciliatory or diplomatic" architecture that seeks to negotiate the power-sharing that was necessary to administer the area.[17]

Some archaeological studies venture into the organization of artists and workshops, but the focus remains on deciphering the economic organization of the period through a study of the physical structures and presence of objects, rather than on the artistic products themselves.[18] Archaeological excavations and studies in the ancient Americas traditionally omit complex analysis of the visual arts; artistic production is still often treated as either "craft" or analyzed solely for its economic role.[19]

Archaeology is not the only additional source of material from this period, as linguistics can provide a lens for understanding, or complicating, the Inka in the North Coast. The arrival of Francisco Pizarro on the coast of Peru marked the interaction of several languages: Quechua, the *lingua franca* of the Inka Empire; Yunga, the native language of the North Coast; and Spanish, imposed by the overseas conquerors. A modern dictionary of Yunga was compiled in Hans Brüning from 1906 to 1910, based on the language spoken in Eten, a village in Chiclayo province.[20] While the area in which Yunga was spoken significantly decreased in 400 years, its existence at all attests to the cultural strength of the North Coast to not only withstand the Inka, but the Spanish conquest as well.

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[17] "The Socioeconomic and Ideological Transformation of Farfan under Inka Rule:" 225.
[18] Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru."
[19] Christopher B. Donnan, "A Chimú-Inka Ceramic-Manufacturing Center from the North Coast of Peru," ibid.8, no. 1 (1997); Frances M. Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru," ibid.10, no. 4 (1999); Mackey, "The Socioeconomic and Ideological Transformation of Farfan under Inka Rule; Tschauner, "Socioeconomic and Political Organization in the Late Prehispanic Lambayeque Sphere, Northern North Coast of Peru."
[20] José Antonio Salas García, "Introducción " in *Mochica Wörterbuch/ Diccionario Mochica*, ed. José Antonio Salas García (Lima: Universidad de San Martin de Porres, 2004): viii.

In terms of which languages to use in naming the vessels under consideration here, the Inka will take precedence. In other words, Quechua words are used for descriptive purposes throughout the dissertation, particularly in examples where there is no equivalent English word. In Quechua, the plural form of nouns is indicated with the suffix "*–kuna*." For legibility purposes, I have opted to use the English indication of plural, "-s," despite the awkward bilingualism this creates.[21] In terms of the orthography of Quechua, I am using the more recent spelling system that operates without reliance on the particulars of Spanish pronunciation (Inka instead of Inca). When quoting outside material, I maintain the spelling convention used in the original source. Latin terms for flora and fauna are incorporated where possible in the iconographic analysis sections. Obviously these terms where not the native Andean terms. They are used in order to provide clarity and specificity to the flora and fauna depicted.

Whereas all these other sources of information are useful to varying degrees, the art produced in the Chimú-Inka style avoids the distortions inherent in using later documents that inevitably have the foreign, invading culture's point of view. Translation of the Inka's accounts of their previous conquests into Spanish has the disadvantage of multiple cultural overlays, whereas objects of a hybrid style combine the relevant cultures within a larger cultural tradition, the Andes. Spanish understanding of the Andean cultures they encountered was spotty at best, and they held the assumption that it was only one, Inka, culture with which they were interacting. The voice of ceramic artists, masters of creative techniques present on the North Coast for thousands of years, is best

[21] Carolyn Dean makes note of this awkward designation and combination of English and Quechua. Rather than opting for only using the singular form of nouns (Dean's solution), I am opting for easy legibility for an audience not necessarily familiar with Quechua terms and grammar. Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectievs on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

attested to by what they made directly. The products reveal much about their own production, leading us back out to the possible administrative practices that surrounded art. By shifting the focus from the organizational structures of empire to the artistic manifestations, my dissertation will provide the first art historical analysis of this corpus of material. No previous scholarship has taken place on the *coquero* vessels (chapter 5), for example, that suggest the influences of broader Andean artistic practices, rather than just the Chimú and Inka.

This study not only adds to our understanding of art made during Inka hegemony, but also more broadly addresses artistic production in light of a colonial encounter, here the Inka colonizing the Chimú. As such, post-colonial theory terminology has been considered as one of the ways of approaching the materials from this period. The work of Carolyn Dean and Dana Liebsohn, art historians whose works focus on the Inka/early colonial Peru and Aztec/early colonial Mexico respectively, is useful as they evaluate the efficacy of the term "hybridity" in 16th century Spanish American. They recognize that "in every society certain mixtures become naturalized over time… while others continue to be marked as such. The latter apparently disclose signs of their disparate origins; they stand out from the norm and seem to require acknowledgement, if not also explanation. They also require naming."[22] Art produced during the Chimú-Inka period still discloses its disparate origins; analyzing these pieces as hybrid creations is one way in which to name them and to explain their creation.

[22] Carolyn Dean, and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003).

Yet recent trends in studying colonial encounters have moved away from terminology such as hybridity,[23] and new terms are being brought in to describe this process that move beyond a dichotomous framework. Harry Garuba suggests that "co-articulation" may be a more useful term, as it "signals the co-presence of different norms within the same social space."[24] The longstanding cultural distinctions between the highland Inka conquerors and the coastal Chimú raises the possibility that within the same articulated administrative space, different norms and ideologies would have been perceived and could then be targeted in the creation of material culture.

Previous frameworks have identified the ability of ceramics to communicate ideology, [25] with ideology defined as "meanings, expressed through symbolic forms, that are mobilized in the service of dominant individuals and groups, … to establish and sustain structured social relations from which some individuals and groups benefit more than others, and which some individuals and groups have an interest in preserving while others may seek to contest."[26] In this case, the Inka are the dominant group establishing a new set of social relations with the former Chimú Empire. The Inka, as elsewhere in their vast empire, often allowed the previously Chimú appointed local lords to continue governing, as long as they professed loyalty to the Inka and met the labor service

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[23] Mixing and creolization are also terms that are being reevaluated. Ibid.

[24] While this still operates within a dichotomous framework, co-articulation and co-presence remove the sense of the Other and is more open to recognizing polysemic layers. Harry Garuba, "Power and the African Subject: Modernity, Colonialism and Normalisation," in *African Studies Seminar* (Emory University, Atlanta, GA2012).

[25] Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo, and Timothy Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 1 (1996): 3.

[26] John B. Thompson, *Ideology and Modern Culture: Critical Social Theory in the Era of Mass Communication* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990): 73, as summarized in DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies:" 33.

demands placed upon them.[27] In some respects, both the Inka *and* the local lords had a vested interest in preserving some of their own artistic conventions, while also contesting the expressed forms of power created by the other.

In this study, I argue that a mutually beneficial set of traits provides the foundation of the Chimú-Inka style. For the Inka, maintaining the iconographic themes and forms that were familiar to the local lords communicated that Inka rule would continue the stability, prosperity, and social structures of the Chimú era. Yet at the same time, incorporating Inka motifs contested Chimú power and was thus advantageous to the conquering Inka, as it reminded Chimú subjects of the replacement of the highest level of the Chimú social order with Inka officials. By the same token, the local lords' interests were met by maintaining elements of Chimú style, since the familiar iconography led to legibility for their people and the continuation of clearly understood symbolic forms with which elites had long represented their power. However, maintaining unchanged Chimú artistic traditions would have directly contested Inka political control, so under the new regime the local lords of the North Coast, in order to keep what power remained with them, gained from integrating Chimú stylistic trends with those of the Inka. This co-articulated style of the Chimú-Inka vessels can thus be seen as a mutually beneficial compromise between the local lords of the North Coast and the Inka regime. A characteristically Andean flexible approach to style allows for potential polysemic interpretations of Chimú-Inka form and iconography, as both the Chimú local lords and Inka overlords could interpret the hybrid style as an administrative victory that spoke to their own group's power and influence in the region.

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[27] Netherly, "Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru:" 2. Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru:" 338.

Study Methodology

Selection Criteria

First, museums in the United States, Europe, and Peru with significant holdings in Chimú-Inka materials were selected. This was determined by previewing items in published catalogs, on-line catalogs, and references in publications. Initially, objects were chosen that were identified as "Chimú-Inka;" or designated as Chimú but had a flared rim, a diagnostically Inka trait; or called as Inka but were blackware, a diagnostically Chimú trait. These were the primary characteristics previously identified in the literature as diagnostic of Chimú-Inka production. When possible, the collections were also examined in person to identify Chimú-Inka vessels that had not been previously cataloged as such, or had not been published, or were not previously accessible.

From the fifteen institutions included in the study, 748 vessels were analyzed in person. From this larger corpus of Chimú-Inka ceramic vessels 201 double-to-singles pouts, *urpu*, *urpu*-like vessels, and *coqueros* were chosen to include in a more in-depth analysis. This winnowing to 201 pieces was due to two main factors. First, the sample sizes of each type of vessel are large enough to suggest generalizable trends in Chimú-Inka production. Second, the history, origins and influences of these vessel forms are well understood, allowing for a more comprehensive understanding of their production during the Chimú-Inka period.

Comparative pieces were then chosen in order to better understand the difference between a solely Chimú and a Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessel, and a Cuzco-Inka and a Chimú-Inka *urpu*. These materials are included in Appendix A, not the catalog

because the latter is reserved for only Chimú-Inka vessels. These "control" vessels were important in understanding all facets of distinction between the original, be it Chimú or Inka, and the Chimú-Inka version of the vessel. A third sample of Chimú double-to-single spout vessels was compiled from museum catalogs and online collections in order to increase the Chimú and Chimú-Inka samples in order to better understand trends in the type of iconography incorporated in this form. This sample is referred to as the "expanded" sample throughout the study. Technology, proportions, and iconography were all considered.

It is important to note that most of the objects to be discussed in this project lack archaeological provenance, i.e., they have been non-scientifically removed from the archaeological and historical contexts in which they were placed originally. An exception is the group of objects excavated from Túcume (catalog numbers 111-115, 124, 180-181, and 214-216). Most of the objects in this corpus therefore have no information regarding their collection, and those that do hardly clarify the situation. The Chimú-Inka technological choice of mold-made production created a large group of ceramic objects from this period, a vast corpus that has been disseminated in museum collections throughout the world. Without context these objects must be understood in other than archaeological ways.

Measurement

The formal analysis of the vessels was designed as a quantitative comparison of Chimú-Inka vessel forms with the preceding, or originating, form. So, Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels were compared to Chimú double-to-single spout vessels and Chimú-Inka *urpus* compared to Inka *urpus*. *Urpu*-like vessels were compared both to

Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* in order to assess to which sample they more closely related. Since the Chimú-Inka *coqueros* were newly developed (not present in either the Chimú or the Inka traditions), no comparative material existed; however, the measurements provide a quantitative description of this group of vessels. All of the vessels were measured according to the metric system in order to generate a database in FileMaker Pro (Version 10). The form of the vessel determined the specific dimensions measured, with a measuring tape, ruler, calipers, and scale utilized to perform the measurements. All measurements were taken to the nearest millimeter.

Statistics

The statistical analyses were carried out within each vessel type, and described as such in the individual chapters. A brief synopsis of the general features of Chimú-Inka vessels across all the vessel types is included in the conclusion. The author designed the statistical analysis, and oversaw implementation, then a statistical consultant advised, performed, and implemented the analysis in STATA 13.[28] We conducted a two sided *t*-test, with an alpha of .05, which is standard in the field, to compare means across several different height measurements of vessels, including total height, neck height, etc. The graphs were also generated in STATA 13.

Iconography

Much as the formal analysis was designed along a comparative framework, the first manner in which the objects are approached is through comparison. Despite the fact that most Chimú-Inka ceramics lack provenance, nevertheless they can be compared to

[28] Aaron Siegler, served as statistical consultant. He is a faculty member at Rollins School of Public Health, Emory University, in the Department of Epidemiology.

Chimú and Inka objects that influenced their creation.[29] During the process of writing, it became clear that better terminology was necessary to distinguish Inka sub-styles. The style favored in the capital city of, and heartland around, Cuzco, form the standard for ceramic production under Inka rule, are thus termed 'Cuzco-Inka'. Since 'Chimú-Inka' is the other dual This comparative framework provides a basic way to understand similarities and differences; it is a staple of art historical method as well.

The next layer of understanding is derived from exploring the objects' iconography. As these objects are devoid of physical contextual information, a Prownian material culture approach, in which the "broader methodologies not be brought into play until evidence of the artifact itself has been plumbed."[30] In other words, Prown advocates for emphasizing the information gleaned from the object itself before other contextual information is incorporated into an analysis. Prown's three-step methodology, Description (beginning with a substantial analysis, then content, and finally a formal analysis), Deduction, and then Speculation, have been employed throughout the research phases, ultimately leading to the primary conclusions of this project.

While analysis of Chimú-Inka ceramics proceeded in Prown's order,[31] the presentation of the results begins with formal analysis and technological style. Heather Lechtman defines technological style as manifestation of emic (internal to the culture in

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[29] There are likewise large quantities of Chimú vessels without provenance in museums. This is due to the ability to produce large quantities of ceramics with molds. Many Chimú vessels are attributed this label due to similarities with archaeologically excavated vessels.

[30] Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc.* 17, no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 133.

[31] According to Prown's method, objects are analyzed first with deduction (composed of three stages of analysis: substantial, content, and formal), then deduction (composed of three stages of engagement: sensorial, intellectual, and emotional), and finally speculation (composed of two stages: theories and hypotheses, and creating a research plan).

question) behaviors learned or practiced in a culturally specific environment.[32] Next, information from the substantial analysis, the measurements and proportional analysis follow.

Finally, the content is explored in the iconography section with which each analysis concludes. Seven iconographic categories span the two styles ranging from simple to complex: plain, geometric, flora, fauna, human, marine, and macehead. These categories are not only explored for their representation in the vessels, but a quantitative comparison of the frequency of the category is included in each chapter.

Description of Chapters

This dissertation is divided into four chapters, according to the four most pervasive forms of Chimú-Inka ceramics found during data collection. The chapters are organized according to the degree of Chimú versus Inka influence on the form with the most Chimú influence (double-to-single spout), then the most Inka influence (*urpus* and *urpu*-like), and finally the most co-articulated (*coqueros*). All of the chapters include a discussion of three main issues. First, I will describe the history of the form up to the Chimú-Inka period, if it existed. Then, I present a proportional analysis comparing the Chimú-Inka version of the form with previous versions of the form. Finally, I divide the sample of vessels into iconographic categories in order to provide an in-depth analysis of the subject matter of Chimú-Inka ceramics.

The second chapter explores the production of double-to-single spout vessels during the Chimú-Inka period. This vessel form was present on the North Coast from 1500 BCE until the early Spanish Colonial period, though its best-known pre-Chimú high points were Chavín and Moche creations. The terminology for the vessel described in

[32] Lechtman, 1977.

Chapter 2 requires a brief explanation. The term "stirrup-spout" previously has been applied to this vessel type. The term, however, is somewhat anachronistic and ethnocentric, as horses and stirrups were not present in the Andes until the arrival of the Spanish in the 16th Century. Furthermore, stirrups used on horses have a flat base to place the rider's foot, whereas there are many shapes of bases to which this spout type is attached, making the application of the stirrup term to this vessel even less inappropriate. As such, since the spout begins as two that converge to one, the term "double-to-single" is applied to this vessel shape. In comparing Chimú to Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels, it appears as though the Chimú, in *their* iconic or diagnostic form, imposed more control in terms of form and iconography than the latter Inka.

The third chapter concerns the iconic Inka *urpu*, often referred to as an *aryballo*.[33] The repetition of the *urpu* form throughout the Inka Empire and the dominance of the form as a proportion of all Inka ceramic forms have been frequently discussed in the scholarly literature.[34] Contemporarily, this vessel form is known in Quechua as *p'uyño*. Early colonial documents referring to this vessel shape use the Quechua term *urpu*. However, early colonial documents referring to this vessel shape use the Quechua term

[33] The vessel shape has frequently been compared to Greek vessels, Meyers compares them to amphora, a storage vessel, while most others compare them to aryballus, globular shaped flasks. These comparisons introduced Greek terminology to the naming conventions of this vessel. The terminology surrounding the aryballus designation includes several variations, including aríbala (Bray, 2000), aryballoid (Moseley, 2001; Sidoroff, 2005). This confusion is also found at institutions holding Inka ceramic collections, with some referring to the vessel shape as arybalo (Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History), aríbalo (Museo Larco and Madrid's Museo de Américas), aryballus (Harvard Peabody Museum), aryballos (Leiden, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde), aryballoid (American Museum of Natural History), and aryballo (Brooklyn Museum of Art), just to name a few of the institutions with collections used for this project. Some of this confusion can be accounted for by translation, as the Greek term is aryballus, while the Spanish term is aryballo.

[34] Tamara L. Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 38, no. Autumn (2000); Catherine J. Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca," *Ñawpa Pacha* 25-27(2004); Albert Meyers, "Algunos Problemas En La Classificación Del Estilo Incacio," *Pumapunku* 8(1975); George R. Miller, "An Investigation of Cuzco-Inca Ceramics; Canons of Form, Proportion, and Size," *Ñawpa Pacha* 25(2004).

urpu. As this study is situated temporally and geographically appropriately to the Inka, the colonial term will be maintained throughout this analysis. This form was developed by the Inka and many scholars equate the presence of *urpus* in the archaeological record with Inka presence. Not surprisingly, *urpus* were present in the Chimú material record after their conquest by the Inka; however, while many adhere to classic Cuzco-Inka conventions, there are several ways in which these vessels are unique to Chimú-Inka production. Chimú iconographic preferences were also incorporated into the otherwise Inka form. The potential implications, and possibly subversive messages, of the continuation of Chimú iconography during the Inka period are explored.

As discussed in chapter 4, a number of vessels in museum collections incorporated many, but not all, of the traits of the classic Cuzco-Inka *urpu*. Rather than incorporating them into the *urpu* corpus of material, they are treated as their own sub-sample. The iconography of these vessels tends to be more repetitive, indicating a more controlled or systematic production system. While the forms of these vessels are unique, in contrast, the iconography is more proscribed. Some of the changes present in the Chimú-Inka urpu-like sample are present, or may be present, in the Inka assemblage, suggesting that more research is needed on the Cuzco-Inka assemblage, as well as the assemblage from other provinces. The changes to the *urpu* form also suggest an area where the Inka allowed provincial artists to innovate, thus questioning the elements of the standard *urpu* form, such as function and manner of display.

Chapter 5 considers a final form that is unique to Chimú-Inka production, *coqueros* or "coca-chewers" (male). These vessels depict the head of a man wearing a fairly standardized hat, and chewing a lump of coca in his right cheek, identifiable by a

round protrusion next to the mouth.[35] Despite the originality of this form and iconography, there are aspects that betray both coastal and highland influences. The implications of a uniquely Chimú-Inka form are discussed, as is the importance of the coca plant itself, a an-Andean phenomenon. The coast and foothills locations of coca, however, have been largely ignored in the field such that the Chimú grew this crop within the confines of their territory, at least during the Inka hegemony. The possibility that these *coquero* vessels indicate that local Chimú lords serves as coca administrators is postulated.

[35] While the term *coquero* is not original to this research, the use of it to describe this group of Chimú-Inka vessels is new.

Chapter 2

Double-to-single Spout Vessels:

The Continuation of a Chimú Form

In order to begin to assess the levels and types of artistic control imposed upon the Chimú by the Inka, this chapter analyzes the continuation of a specifically Chimú ceramic form, the blackware double-to-single spout vessel, in the Chimú-Inka style. Twelve Chimú and twenty-five Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels from collections in the United States, Peru, and Europe were analyzed to determine the extent to which Chimú traditions continued and were influenced by the Inka presence. The antiquity and persistence of this vessel form in the North Coast most obviously indicates continued Chimú traditions. While many of the double-to-single spout's iconographic motifs also seemingly maintain Chimú proclivities for depicting the natural world in a realistic style, the possibility of interpreting these motifs from a more Inka perspective is also explored. The technological style, proportions, and iconography of the Chimú-Inka vessels will be discussed, as these perspectives emphasize innovative adaptations by Chimú-Inka ceramicists. I will argue that they maintain certain key elements of their own traditions, while incorporating elements of their new overlords. Finally, this chapter explores how the continuation or absence of Chimú technological style and iconography furthers our understanding of the interactions between the Inka and the former Chimú Empire.

Description of the Sample

Initially, double-to-single vessels that incorporated overtly Inka ceramic elements were selected from museums for inclusion in the study. The most obvious Inka ceramic

element is the flared rim that is associated with ceramic production from the Cuzco area during the Inka Empire. According to Albert Meyers' categorization of Inka vessels, five of the seven types feature a flared rim.[36]

During the process of the study, however, it became clear that both straight-rim and flared-rim double-to-single spouts were made during the Inka occupation of the North Coast. The clearest evidence of this is a published burial from the site of Túcume that includes double-to-single spout vessels with straight and flared rims (Figure 2.1). The distinction between double-to-single spouts with straight rims created by the Chimú as opposed to the Inka is not clear. As such, this chapter assesses the characteristics of Chimú-Inka, flared rim double-to-single spout vessels. The twenty-five Chimú-Inka vessels were found in eight institutions: the American Museum of Natural History, the Museo Bruning, the Museo de America de Madrid, the Nationalmuseet of Denmark, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, the Quai Branly, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich.

In order to compare the Chimú-Inka vessels to the form produced by the Chimú, a sample of Chimú double-to-single spout vessels was also assessed. The twelve vessels were found in four institutions: the Nationalmuseet of Denmark, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, the Quai Branly, and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden.

[36] Meyers, "Algunos Problemas En La Classificación Del Estilo Incacio."

Development of the Double-to-single Spout Form

The vessels termed "double-to-single-spout vessels," frequently called "stirrup-spout vessels" in contemporary literature, are defined by having a single vertical cylindrical spout that intersects with an arched, cylindrical double spout. Together, they roughly approximate the form of a stirrup for a horse.[37] Typically, the ends of the arched cylinder join the vessel body on the top of the vessel body. Mostly they lie on the same plane as each other (Figure 2.2), although sometimes one end of the arch is placed lower on the vessel, so that the double-spout ends lie on different vertical planes (Figure 2.3).

The double-to-single-spout form is an ancient one, associated with cultures on the North Coast from 1500 BCE until the early Spanish colonial period. From 1500 to 1000 BCE in the Chicama Valley, the art style known as Cupisnique often featured double-to-single spout vessels (Figure 2.4).[38] Usually fired in a reduced oxygen atmosphere to create blackware, and featuring either incised lines or sculptural representations of local flora and fauna, these double-to-single-spout vessels were found all along the North Coast.[39] During the Early Horizon, the double-to-single form was introduced to areas beyond the Chicama Valley to include coastal and highland Peru, spreading to the areas influenced by the Chavín culture. While the double-to-single spout form diffused throughout coastal and highland Peru, it never achieved the popularity elsewhere that it attained on the North Coast.

However, local North Coast traditions continuously incorporated the double-to-single spout form into their ceramic assemblages. Under the Moche state, in power from

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[37] See introduction, page 19.
[38] Richard L. Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992): 90.
[39] Izumi Shimada, *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1994): 62.

1 to 850 CE, that the form gained its preeminence, and many would argue, its renaissance.[40] A wide variety of subjects were depicted in Moche double-to-single-spout vessels, either sculpted in three dimensions or painted in detailed fineline (Figure 2.5). The use of molds in ceramic production helped to assure a high level of standardization of form in the Moche assemblage, while individually painted surfaces gave variety as well. Realistic portraits and depictions of narrative scenes, some of which have been confirmed archaeologically to have happened in reality, have likewise drawn attention to the information to be gleaned from Moche double-to-single spout vessels.[41] Archaeological excavations initiated a general sequencing of Moche vessels, based in large part on changes to the upright single-spout in height, circumference, and shape over time. Based on stratigraphic data from excavated gravelots, Rafael Larco Hoyle's first relative chronology remains in place, although several scholars have provided further refinement (Figure 2.6).[42]

Double-to-single spout vessels continued to be made following the collapse of the Moche. Around 750 CE, a culture now termed Sicán gained preeminence in the northern area of the North Coast, its capital located in the Lambayeque Valley. Sicán culture thrived until 1375 when they were conquered by the Chimú. Sicán ceramic production focused more intensely on single-spout vessels, with a diagnostically long tapering spout.[43] Some Sicán vessels, including double-to-single spout ones, have rims that flare outward (Figure 2.7). While the formal properties of the flare are quite distinct from Inka

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[40] Ibid.: 71.
[41] Walter Alva, and Christopher Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán* (Los Angeles, CA: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1993).
[42] Christopher B. Donnan, "Moche Ceramic Technology," *Ñawpa Pacha* 3, no. 4 (1965); Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica Del Norte Del Perú*.
[43] Clelan, "Sican Bottles: Marking Time in the Peruvian Bronze Age-- a Five-Part Typology and Seriation:" 200.

ones analyzed in depth below, the presence of vessels with flared rims in Chimú controlled areas suggests that the Chimú were exposed to this rim-type before the Inka imposition of the their form. The most common iconographic theme found in Sicán ceramics is of the "Sicán Lord," a mask-like figure with "comma" eyes, a pointed nose, often compared to an avian beak, and large ear-spools. This theme is also found on double-to-single-spout vessels from the Lambayeque area (Figure 2.8). Other features found in Sicán ceramics that are relevant to the continuity of the double-to-single-spout form into the Chimú era include the preference for blackware firing, mold-made construction, and the addition of an inverted base (Figure 2.9) starting in Sicán III (900-1100 CE). Incision was a primary means of depicting iconography, a method that addresses dimensionality rather than polychromy, as slip painting cannot be added to blackware vessels. Post-firing, Sicán vessels were often rubbed with cinnabar in order to add an element of color, the incised lines capturing the powder, and creating a contrast between the red lines and the black vessel surface. A relationship between ceramics and metallurgy is present among Sicán art, not only have ceramics been found *in situ* with remains of metal plates covering the ceramic surface, but also the median point of some ceramic vessels display incised horizontal lines, which are thought to imitate either the horizontal seams left from casting metal bottles or the joining of two sheets of metal.[44]

The Chimú ceramic assemblage draws from the long rich history of the North Coast cultures, from the Cupisnique to the Moche and Sicán, adopting both the technological style of blackware ceramics and the decorative techniques of incised lines and sculptural representations of their predecessors (Figure 2.10). While the naturalism

[44] Ibid.: 199.

associated with the human form during the Moche is absent from the Chimú style (Figure 2.11), flora and fauna continued to be depicted fairly realistically (Figure 2.12). In these human depictions, the Moche vessel depicts a man with clearly individualized facial features; his fleshy eyelids, drooping eyes, pointed nose, thin moustache, and pursed mouth are those of a specific man rather than a generic one (Figure 2.11). By comparison, the Chimú vessel depicts a generic figure with wide-open almond-shaped eyes, pointed nose, and a static mouth, and an oversized body in relation to his thin arms and legs. The Moche and Chimú double-to-single spout vessels depicting Strombus shells share many more characteristics, such as the combination of three-dimensional and surface details. The distinctions that are visible between the Moche and Chimú Strombus vessels are due to different species of Strombus being depicted (the Moche vessel likely depicts a *Strombus gigas* based on the inclusion of the striations on the flared rim, while the lack of a flared rim does not specifically identify a species depicted in the Chimú example). Several Moche themes persist in Chimú ceramics. Burger identifies four themes that Chimú artists either imitated from Moche ceramics, or more likely, were still relevant on the North Coast at the time of the Chimú: a fishing scene, a warrior with a crab, a warrior with a fish, and a geometric motif.[45] There are also a few examples of Chimú effigy vessels made from the molds of Moche originals.[46] The expression of these iconographic themes, and even the form of the double-to-single-spout vessels, were adopted from the Moche and earlier cultures. Distinctions between the Moche and Chimú aesthetics are obvious when comparing the vessels in Figure 2.12. Despite the similarity in iconography, the artist has added elements indicating Chimú preferences. The two most

[45] Richard L. Burger, "The Moche Sources of Archaism in Chimu Ceramics," *Ñawpa Pacha* 14, no. 7 (1976).
[46] Shimada, *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture*: 255.

obvious additive elements are the *adorno*, the sculptural elements placed at the intersection of the double and single spouts, and the inverted pedestal. Blackware, originally so popular among the Cupisnique, was present but rare among the Moche corpus (Figure 2.13). It again characterizes the majority of Chimú vessels in which long upright spouts with tapered rims emerge from the double spouts. The chambers of double-to-single-spout vessels are often raised on a pedestal, a convention probably adopted from the Sicán. The additive approach is basic to the North Coast aesthetic,[47]in a diachronic sense, and the Chimú in particular. Ceramics produced in this additive approach display a contradiction of the visible mold seams, suggesting the ability to create multiple vessels quickly, and the separate parts, suggesting the labor intensive forming method. In other media, the individual compositions add different parts (multiple pieces of sheet metal) or materials (feathers and sheet metal) when looked at synchronically. Until this study, the manifestation of additional parts in the Chimú ceramic assemblage has not been sufficiently recognized in the literature. Chimú ceramics can be seen as a culmination of thousands of years of this labor intensive artistic practice on the North Coast, in some sense the result of picking and choosing from among the diagnostic elements of the more ancient people. Then, when the Inka conquered them in the 1460s, new characteristics likewise were added to this palimpsest.

The most obvious characteristic that distinguishes Chimú-Inka ceramics from their North Coast predecessors is the incorporation of the Inka flared rim. The difference between Sicán flared rims and Chimú-Inka rims is obvious. Inka rims flare with overhanging lip at the top (Figure 2.14), while the Sicán vessels gradually flare from the

[47] Stone, *Art of the Andes from Chavín to Inca*: 163.

neck to the rim, i.e., the entire spout flares (Figure 2.15). Specific to double-to-single spouts, Sicán vessels tend to have a bulbous section at the intersection of the double spout and the neck. On the other hand, Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels, however, maintain a smooth line between the neck and the double spout.

The straight rims that were characteristic of the Chimú style continued to be made following the Inka conquest of the Chimú state; however, as the focus of this project is on the blending of Chimú and Inka artistic traditions, double-to-single spout vessels with flared rims form the primary topic. Both straight and flared rimmed vessels were found in Inka period archaeologically excavated burials at Túcume in the far North Coast Lambayeque Valley.[48] These burials, dated based on stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates, place them during the Inka Empire.[49] Inka burials at Túcume also contained Sicán-style ceramics,[50] indicating that much earlier North Coast styles persisted as important during the Inka Empire, as they had during the Chimú Empire. Presumably, these heirlooms of previous North Coast cultures tied the Inka to a North Coast serial conquests: the foreign Ñaymlap dynastic lineage conquered Sicán and then the Chimú conquered Sicán, then the Inka conquered the Chimú and by association, Sicán.

Technological Style

The technologies and tools used in the creation of objects reveal more than simply how they were manufactured. Technologies effectively utilize information on cultural

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[48] Thor Heyerdahl, Daniel H. Sandweiss, and Alfredo Narváez, *Pyramids of Túcume: The Quest for Peru's Forgotten City* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995): 70-71.
[49] Burials from Túcume span from approximately 10th-16th centuries. Alfredo Narváez, "Death in Ancient Túcume," in *The Pyramids of Túcume: The Quest for Peru's Forgotton City*, ed. Thor Heyerdal, Daniel H. Sandweiss, and Alfredo Narváez (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995): 171.
[50] Heyerdahl, *Pyramids of Túcume: The Quest for Peru's Forgotten City*: 70-71.

values and decisions, as Heather Lechtman has explored over the past forty years.[51] According to Frances Hayashida, "pottery making, like all technologies, is a series of choices or decisions that are learned and practiced in a culturally specific environment (Lechtman, 1977). Relocated potters were subject to state directives but still retained their knowledge and practices. Thus, their work would reflect the hand of the state but also the hands of the potter."

With the technological styles of both the Chimú and the Inka at their disposal, Chimú-Inka artists had many options available. Chimú ceramic technology typically relied on mold made production and reduced oxygen firing, resulting in blackware vessels with three-dimensional iconographic elements. By contrast, Inka technological style typically relied on coil-made vessel production and oxidized firing, resulting in polychrome vessels with painted, two-dimensional iconographic elements. Again, the Inka tendency to seamlessly over-finish art, almost denying any traces of the hand of the artist or the production process, contrasts with the previous North Coast artistic traditions.

Chimú-Inka ceramics artists could choose from blackware or polychromy, three-dimensional and/or two-dimensional iconography. In assessing the technological style of Chimú-Inka double-to-single-spout vessels it is possible to see both the guiding hand of Inka state administrators and the reflexive hand of the potters continuing familiar techniques. Chimú-Inka ceramicists combined these four broad categories of technological style in novel arrangements.

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[51] Heather Lechtman, "Style in Technology: Some Early Thoughts," in *The Anthropology of Art: A Reader*, ed. Howard Morphy and Morgan Perkins (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

Manufacture

Molds

Mold-made double-to-single spout vessel are a long-standing tradition on the North Coast of Peru, dating to at least the Salinar.[52] The Moche continued the use of molds in ceramic production, with the two-piece mold serving as the most common form of double-to-single spout production.[53] For the Moche, added directly modeled, coiled, and stamped elements to their complex finished objects. Molds were used primarily to create the body, whereas the spout and base were made with coils and modeling.[54] In the finishing of Moche vessels, mold seams were smoothed in order to prepare the surface for the fine-line painting that frequently was added.

Chimú ceramic artists created large quantities of blackware ceramics by following, but also elaborating on, previous North Coast mold-making technology. One of the innovations of Chimú ceramic production was the creation of a more complete two-piece mold that allowed for the entire double-to-single spout to formed from a single slab of clay pressed into each of the two molds.[55] This eliminated the need for a specialist to join the parts (base, body, and spout); however, skill was still necessary as the clay had to be of a similar thickness throughout the vessel in order to ensure even firing. While many scholars have used the mass-produced process of Chimú ceramics as an argument

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[52] According to Burger (1997:72) it is possible, but not proven that Cupisnique ceramics were mold made. Richard L. Burger, "Life and Afterlife in Pre-Hispanic Peru and Catalog Entries," in *The Spirit of Ancient Peru: Treasures from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera*, ed. Kathleen Berrin (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997). Rafael Larco Hoyle (1948) attests that Salinar ceramics were mold made, based on analysis of the vessels, and not the presence of molds in the archaeological record. Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica Del Norte Del Perú*.

[53] According to Donnan, one-piece molds were also used. Donnan, "Moche Ceramic Technology:" 118-119.

[54] Ibid; *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*.

[55] *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*: 96.

for the decline of the North Coast ceramic tradition,[56] the Inka capture and removal to Cuzco of Chimú ceramic artists speaks to the skill and high status associated with Chimú ceramic production at the time. If these artists had not been perceived as skilled, high status workers, it seems unlikely that the Inka would have had them transplanted to Cuzco and other royal estates to work in the new blended styles.[57]

The site of Farfán, in the Jequetepeque Valley, offers the opportunity to examine a locus of ceramic production for the Chimú-Inka style. The site was a provincial administrative center to both the Chimú and the Inka, where a variety of ceramic forms, including the double-to-single spout vessel, were produced. Approximately 600 completed ceramic vessels were excavated from the site, and most were made with two-piece molds that included the *adorno* in the mold.[58] This indicates a one-step process for forming the vessel, with the vessel's body, spout, and *adorno* formed in a single mold.

On the other hand, a complete separate spout mold at the Quai Branly problematizes the generalizability of the Farfán process (Figure 2.16). This mold includes the Inka-style flared rim and a face-neck, a common Inka and Chimú-Inka convention that places the features of a face along the neck of a vessel, as the name implies. The implications of separate molds for the body and neck are particularly tantalizing for

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[56] Ibid; Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica Del Norte Del Perú*; Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru; Hartmut Tschauner, "Socioeconomic and Political Organization in the Late Prehispanic Lambayeque Sphere, Northern North Coast of Peru" (Harvard University, 2001) ibid.

[57] Lucy C. Salazar, "Machu Picchu's Silent Majority: A Consideration of the Inka Cemeteries," in *Variation in the Expression of Inka Power*, ed. Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007).

[58] Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru." Mackey personal communication: 101. *Adornos* are small trinkets placed at the intersection of the double spout with the neck. Future study of *adornos* is ripe with potential, as there is seemingly little known about them. Anecdotally, Mackey ascribes all monkey *adornos* to the Chimú style and circular or monkey *adornos* to the Chimú-Inka style. However, this does not account for stepped fret *adornos* identified in this study.

double-to-single spout vessels, since the straight and flared rim vessels were contemporaneous, allowing for molds for the vessel body to be used with either a straight or flared rim.

Mold seams are present on several Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout examples (Figure 2.17).[59] The vestiges of Moche mold seams tended to be removed, in order to prepare the surface for fine-line painting. However, Chimú vessels tend to show their mold seams, perhaps as a means of emphasizing the piecemeal, additive process of their creation. Chimú-Inka stirrup spout vessels likewise tend to expose their mold seams, thus referencing the previous North Coast creative processes. Larger samples of Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels were compiled in order to sufficiently assess the degree to which mold seams were consistently present or absent.

Pedestal

The inclusion of pedestal bases is seemingly North Coast in origin. Izumi Shimada has provided a detailed chronology of the North Coast transitions from Moche to Sicán to Chimú.[60] Shimada based his chronology on archaeologically excavated ceramics from the Batan Grande region of the Lambayeque Valley, on the far North Coast. According to Shimada, Sicán emerged after Moche V, in approximately 750 CE. One of the main elements added to ceramic forms of this period was a pedestal base. A small base was added at the end of the Early Sicán, but over time the pedestal base

[59] Particularly catalog numbers 3 and 4.
[60] Clelan, "Sican Bottles: Marking Time in the Peruvian Bronze Age-- a Five-Part Typology and Seriation; Izumi Shimada, and Jorge Montenegro, *Cultura Sicán: Dios, Riqueza Y Poder En La Costa Norte Del Peru* (Lima, Peru: Fundación del Banco Continental para el Fomento de la Educación y la Cultura, Edubanco, 1995); Izumi Shimada, *The Evolution of Andean Diversity: Regional Formations (500 BCE-CE 600)* (1999).

became taller, more inverted, and eventually decorated.[61] When the Chimú conquered the Sicán around 1370 CE, only a century before the Chimú were themselves conquered by the Inka, it seems that pedestal base began to be included in Chimú ceramics throughout their territory. There is still general confusion in the literature regarding distinctions between Sicán, Lambayeque, and Chimú styles;[62] continued archaeological and art historical studies of the North Coast, including this one, will further clarify the distinctions between these styles.

A distinction between the shapes of the pedestals can be observed in the sample of double-to-single spout vessels with pedestals. In the Chimú sample, four of the five (80%) are inverted pedestals, in which the base diameter is larger than the diameter at the intersection of the pedestal and the body.[63] The remaining vessel had a parallel-sided base, in which the base diameters are roughly equivalent at the base and at the intersection with the body. The opposite is true for the Chimú-Inka sample, where three of the four (75%) pedestals are parallel sided. Only one vessel in the sample (catalog number 9) has an inverted pedestal.

Given the smaller number and percentage of pedestals in the Chimú-Inka assemblage, there are fewer opportunities for overlap between the samples in this trait. However, Appendix A number 03 in the Chimú style, and catalog number 12 in the Chimú-Inka style, both depict a six-pointed object on a pedestal (see discussion below on this vessel's iconography). The pedestals are very similar: on both vessels the diameters are roughly equivalent at the base and intersection of the body. The actual diameter

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[61] Clelan, "Sican Bottles: Marking Time in the Peruvian Bronze Age-- a Five-Part Typology and Seriation; Shimada, *Cultura Sicán: Dios, Riqueza Y Poder En La Costa Norte Del Peru*; Shimada, *The Evolution of Andean Diversity: Regional Formations (500 BCE-CE 600)*.
[62] Clelan, "Sican Bottles: Marking Time in the Peruvian Bronze Age-- a Five-Part Typology and Seriation."
[63] From the Nationalmuseet in Denmark: ODI.c.71, ODI.c.104. ODI.c.121, ODIc.122

measurements are even very similar: the Chimú vessels' pedestal diameter is 6.6 cm, while the Chimú-Inka vessel's is 5.9 cm. The main distinction between the vessel's pedestals is in height. The Chimú vessel's pedestal height is 2.0 cm while the Chimú-Inka vessels pedestal height is 1.0 cm. However, a larger sample of vessels with measurements is necessary before this trend can be reliably assigned to either style.

Wherever its true origin, one of the trademark elements of Chimú ceramics is the pedestal base. Since Inka vessels do not include a pedestal base, there is no comparative material to the Chimú-Inka sample. In the Chimú sample, five of the twelve vessels (42%) have pedestal bases.[64] By contrast, the Chimú-Inka sample included pedestals in only four of the twenty-four instances (17%).[65]

Surface Treatment

The technology used for creating the characteristic Chimú blackware was continued during the Chimú-Inka style. In this sample, twenty-one of the twenty-five Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels were made with blackware firing techniques.[66] This finish is achieved by firing the vessels in large, shallow pits and then introducing an organic agent in the final stage of firing. The organic agent, often guinea pig or llama excrement, caused smoke to molecularly bond to the open pores of the clay, creating a surface finish on a continuum from grey to black. Experiments aimed at further understanding the firing methodologies present on the North Coast suggest that the addition of certain waxy leaves with the main organic material aided in the production of

[64] From the Nationalmuseet in Denmark, ODI.c.71, ODI.c.72, ODI.c.104, ODI.c.121, ODI.c.122.
[65] Catalog numbers 3, 9, 12, and 25.
[66] The four vessels made in polychrome are catalog numbers 8, 9, 10, and 20.

the particularly shiny surface often found on North Coast vessels.[67] Pre-fire burnishing of the clay also achieves this effect and the two methods can be combined to even greater effect (Figure 2.18).

The remaining four polychrome vessels were made with the more common (outside of the North Coast) type of firing in an oxygenated environment. Polychrome vessels resulted from oxidized firing, in which oxygen freely flowed around the vessels at a consistent temperature for a sustained period of time. Monitoring of the temperature to maintain consistency, as well as the ability to fire at high temperatures required specialists familiar with the materiality of the clay and the slip. This technique was known on the North Coast previously, and reintroduced following the Inka conquest of the Chimú.[68] Purple, white/cream, red, and black are the slip colors associated with Cuzco-Inka ceramics.[69] Evidence from two ceramic workshops on the North Coast indicates that firing of polychromes occurred in the same pits as blackware firing.[70] A pottery workshop with a firing pit at La Viña indicates continued use during the transition from Chimú to Inka rule. While firing pits have been documented for Chimú pottery sites, no autochthonous Inka workshops have been excavated in the highlands near

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[67] Izumi Shimada, Jo Ann Griffin and Adon Gordus, "The Technology, Iconography and Social Significance of Metals: A Multi-Dimensional Analysis of Middle Sicán Objects," in *Precolumbian Gold: Technology, Style and Iconography*, ed. Colin McEwan (London: British Museum Press, 2000). 46-
[68] Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru."
[69] Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca."
[70] Donnan, "A Chimú-Inka Ceramic-Manufacturing Center from the North Coast of Peru; Frances M. Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru," ibid.10, no. 4 (1999): 344.

Cuzco, it is possible that the same pit technology was used by the Inka, but it was probably independent of Chimú methods.[71]

Stamped Elements

Blackware vessels required manipulation of the surface that did not involve the application of color, as the reduced-oxygen firing environment would obscure with smoke any painted applications. Instead, Chimú and then the Chimú-Inka ceramic artists decorated the surface of blackware vessels with reliefs. Paddle stamps with designs carved into them have been found at the Chimú-Inka pottery production site of Tambo Real and La Viña.[72] These stamps were used to create simple geometric motifs, such as parallel lines and cross-hatching. For example, it is possible that the parallel lines on the wing of the bird in catalog number 13 and the geometric motifs on the double-to-single of catalog number 7 are likely made by a stamp. It is often difficult to distinguish stamped motifs from mold-made motifs as they leave similar marks on the surface.[73] These two vessels have been identified as possibly having stamped iconography based on the repetitive designs, use of pairs of parallel lines, and high degree of symmetry throughout the motif, the characteristics typically used for identifying the use of stamps.

Proportional Analysis

General Size

The general sizes of Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels are very similar, although Chimú-Inka vessels are slightly smaller overall. Given the natural

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[71] Sarah Lunt, "The Manufacture of the Inca Aryballus," *BAR International Series* 421, no. ii (1988)., in analyzing Inka ceramics for presumed firing temperatures suggests that Inka ceramics are consistent with temperatures achieved with pit firing.
[72] Hayashida, "Style, Technology, and State Production: Inka Pottery Manufacture in the Leche Valley, Peru:" 344.
[73] Ibid.

shrinkage of the clay, this could account for the slightly smaller size of Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels. The basic size similarity is not surprising from a technological perspective: the same mold for straight-rimmed Chimú vessels could be used for flared-rim Chimú-Inka vessels by merely substituting a different mold for the spout/rim. However, the molds from Farfán suggest that the spouts and *adornos* were included in a single mold with the vessel's body. In order for the same vessel bodies to be combined with a flared rim spout, new molds would have had to have been made. It is possible that Chimú-Inka molds were made from Chimú "masters" to which a flared rim spout mold was then affixed. Despite adapting the Inka flared rim, this process maintains the traditional Chimú-style piecemeal approach.

Rim Diameter

The flared rim with an overhanging lip is the most overt characteristic specific to Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels. Therefore, it is to be expected that the greatest proportional difference between the two styles of double-to-single-spout vessels is found in the rim diameters. Almost without exception, straight-rimmed Chimú vessels' single spouts are slightly inverted, as can be seen by comparing the difference between the mean measurements of the single spout diameter and the rim diameter. All of the Chimú vessels, except one (Appendix A number 04), have slightly smaller rims than upright spouts in terms of diameter. The mean single spout diameter for Chimú vessels is 2.7 cm, and the mean rim diameter is 2.37 cm. In comparison, the means of these same measurements of Chimú-Inka vessels show that not only are the rims proportionately wider than the necks, but the necks are physically smaller than the Chimú vessels, further emphasizing the flare of the rim. The average for the Chimú-Inka neck diameter is 2.45

cm, and the average rim diameter is 3.52 cm. This exaggerated attention to an exaggerated rim emphasizes an Inka stylistic element in an otherwise continuation of North Coast form.

It is not clear as to why flared rims were so strongly associated with Inka presence throughout the Andean regions. Not all Inka vessel types have flared rims; however, *urpus* (see Chapter 3) do have flared rims and were the quintessentially Inka vessel used during ceremonial feasts hosted by the state in exchange for labor. *Urpus* are vessels with a long neck, a high shoulder, flared rim, and a conical base used for the storing and distributing *aqha*, the fermented maize beverage consumed during feasts. Complete *urpus*, and more commonly fragments thereof, have been found from northern Ecuador to central Chile, indicating Inka imperial presence from one end of their vast empire to the other.[74] Thus, the *urpu* form would unquestionably have been familiar to the recently conquered Chimú populace. Both Cuzco-style and Chimú-Inka *urpus* have been found at sites on the North Coast associated with Inka hegemony and were certainly one of the more pervasive and recognizable signs of Inka presence and rule during their reign in the Andes.[75] It appears that the characteristically Inka flared rim, associated with Inka control of production and distribution, was added to the otherwise Chimú double-to-single spout form in order to ally Chimú ceramics clearly with Inka power.

Double-to-Single Spout

Initial observations of the Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout samples (Appendix A, 01-12 and Catalog numbers 1-25) suggested that the length of the double

[74] Tamara L. Bray, "The Role of Chicha in Inca State Expansion: A Distributional Study of Inca Aríbalos," in *Drink, Power, and Society in the Andes*, ed. Justin Jennings, and Brenda J. Bowser (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008).
[75] Geoffrey W. Conrad, "Chiquitoy Viejo: An Inca Administrative Center in the Chicama Valley, Peru," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4, no. 1 (1977): 13-14.

spout is greater while the single spout shorter in the Chimú-Inka sample, giving an overall wider and squatter appearance to the vessel as a whole. This was tested by measuring and comparing the longest part of the double spout (Figure 2.19, measurements A to B) and the top of the rim to the apex of the double spout, i.e., the height of the single spout (Figure 2.19, measurements C to D). The ratios of the means of these measurements confirmed this observation. On average, and consistently throughout the sample, Chimú double pout length is 1.66 times the height of the single spout. Seventy percent of the Chimú sample is within plus or minus 0.1 of the median ratio (a ratio of 1.66 for the length of the double spout: single spout height). On average, the ratio of Chimú-Inka double spout length is 1.91 times the height, confirming the greater double spout length compared to single spout height. This ratio is not nearly as consistent throughout the Chimú-Inka samples, as only 18% of the vessels are within 0.1 of the median ratio (1.91). The Chimú-Inka double-to-single length-to-height ratio has over twice as much variation (.38) as Chimú vessels (.18) in this measure, confirming a greater variability among the Chimú-Inka vessels. This relationship indicates a standardization of the double-to-single spout proportions among Chimú vessels that is not present in the Chimú-Inka sample.

This distinction is visually apparent in comparing the 10^{th} and 90^{th} percentile vessels from each of the samples (Figure 2.20; Table 2.1). The Chimú vessels have a similar double spout length and single spout height, and the ratios are therefore quite similar; in contrast, the ratios of double spout length to single spout height of the Chimú-Inka vessels are quite different. The double spout lengths of the two vessels are actually

quite similar, 10.1 cm and 10.05 cm respectively; however, the bottom right vessel's single spout height is almost half as high (8.0 cm compared to 4.35 cm).

It is possible that this variance can be explained by differences in ceramic production under the respective Chimú and Inka direction. However, although there is archaeological evidence of the manufacture and distribution of metalwork, weaving, spinning, woodwork, and shell-inlay in Chan Chan during the Chimú hegemony, there is so far no evidence of ceramic production within the city or nearby *barrios*.[76] Thus, while it would be convenient to point to highly controlled ceramic production at Chan Chan creating more regulated and standardized double-to-single spout vessels, this does not seem to be the case. The few archaeological excavations of Chimú ceramic workshops have uncovered production of mostly domestic rather than elite wares.[77] While Tschauner's study at Pampa de Burros includes a limited number of double-to-single spout vessels and other high status ceramics, it also reveals a system with limited elite control over ceramic production. Therefore, to date archaeology cannot help shed light on the large numbers of similar elite Chimú wares present in museum and private collections around the world. It is hoped that separate workshops focused on regulated elite production will surface in future archaeological studies; a wider range of ceramic workshops would certainly further our understanding of ceramic production in the Chimú Empire.

The few archaeological excavations of ceramic workshops during the Inka occupation of the North Coast, such as those of Hayashida, have similarly concluded that

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[76] Topic, "Craft Production in the Kingdom of Chimor:" 164-65.
[77] Donnan, "A Chimú-Inka Ceramic-Manufacturing Center from the North Coast of Peru; Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru; Hartmut Tschauner, "Socioeconomic and Political Organization in the Late Prehispanic Lambayeque Sphere, Northern North Coast of Peru" (Harvard University, 2001) ibid.

ceramics produced under Inka supervision indicated "much greater variability in production organization and in the kinds of goods produced than would be predicted by a 'sponsor-centric' approach."[78] In other words, the Inka policy of reorganizing and relocating, laborers (*mitimae*) actually lead to greater variance, probably because the individuals supervising ceramic production shared neither the local nor a single Cuzco-Inka vision of how ceramics should appear. This quantitative analysis indicates that ceramic production under the Chimú was more standardized than after they were conquered by the Inka. It may be argued that this constitutes an interesting commentary on the political situation of the later North Coast and may counter our preconceptions of authoritative or "blanket" Inka control over their provincial subjects.

Iconographic Analysis

To amply study the iconographic trends of Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels, an additional sample was compiled using published images of museum pieces for which measurements were not germane and the photographs gave sufficient visual detail. A total in this "composite" sample of 310 Chimú and 107 Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels were identified and categorized according to iconography. There are six iconographic categories represented in both expanded samples, the proportions of the motifs were different in the Chimú versus the Chimú-Inka expanded samples. In the Chimú expanded sample, fauna for 33% and plain vessels for 27% account for almost 2/3 of the pieces (Table 2.1). The categories of flora (17%), marine (16%), human (6%), and macehead (1%) are less pervasive in the Chimú expanded sample. By contrast, the iconographic motifs in the Chimú-Inka expanded

[78] Frances Mariko Hayashida, "State Pottery Production in the Inka Provinces" (University of Michigan, 1995): 267.

sample are much more evenly represented, with only fauna (27%) receiving slightly more representations than the other categories: marine (19%), flora (17%), geometric (14%), plain (12%), human (11%), and macehead (>1%) (Table 2.2). Similar to the results of the proportional analysis, the Chimú-Inka corpus includes more iconographic variety, suggesting that Inka imperial management was more *laissaz faire* than their Chimú predecessors, allowing greater freedom in the iconographic themes included in artistic production. It is also worth noting that while I have separated humans from the fauna category, this distinction might have been less relevant to the Chimú or Inka themselves. There is significant overlapping in all of these categories, and I have allowed for iconography to be counted for all relevant categories; for example, if a vessel has birds and humans depicted, it will appear in the discussion of both fauna and human iconography.

The ceramic tradition of the Chimú had a predominantly figural tradition as compared to the Inka overall preference for geometric motifs. The broader Inka artistic tradition incorporated some representations of animals, usually carved in stone or *Spondylus* shell, or made from metals, however, fauna rarely appear in the ceramic assemblage except for minor elements such as *urpu* lugs and plate handles. Inka *urpus* typically include a lug, a protruding element on the shoulder of the vessel, over which a tump-line would pass (Figure 2.21). The lug often displays the abbreviated markings of a face: two vertical lines for eyes and a horizontal line for a mouth. This particularly minimalistic figuration is characteristic of the Inka abstract style in general, as epitomized by their stonework (Figure 2.22).[79] Inka plates are found in large quantities in

[79] Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

areas associated with feasts. These plates include a handle that is often sculpted as a bird or feline head and neck (Figure 2.23). Both the lug and plate handles protrude from the main vessel, functioning in a subsidiary role to the main composition. Despite these Inka forays into figuration, the Chimú-Inka continuation of representational reproduction of flora and fauna primarily harkens back to traditional Chimú iconography. This again, represents the flexible Inka approach of accommodating subjects' previous artistic traditions.

Fauna Motif Vessels

Five Chimú-Inka vessels incorporate fauna motifs into the vessel's iconographic program. This is slightly more often than fauna motifs are represented in the Chimú sample (see Table 2.1 and 2.2). Many of the animals depicted in the fauna category were present in both the highland Inka and the coastal Chimú environments; however, sea-life, as opposed to lake-life, specifically reference the Chimú's coastal environment and will be discussed in the marine motif section below.

The North Coast's environment was very different from the highland one to which the Inka were accustomed, yet many of the fauna were present in or familiar to both zones due to trade routes that had operated between the two areas since at least the Early Horizon. The Moche and Chimú drew upon the North Coast's great environmental diversity as a source for artistic inspiration. The Inka seemingly did not alter this natural preference for coastal subject matter or force the incorporation of overtly highland fauna, such as condors, more familiar to the Inka themselves.

The five vessels in this iconographic category of animals includes the most images of camelids, which were found in both environments, the next most depicts are

hairless dogs, a purely North Coast creature, and the fewest vessels depict felines, a widespread artistic subject in nearly every environment in the Andes.

Camelids

Camelid herding is typically associated with highland pastoralism, and the importance of llamas as a food product and pack animal, and alpacas as a source of fiber for making high-status textiles, cannot be underestimated. Yet the domesticated species of llamas and alpacas were also present on the coast. Archaeological evidence indicates that camelid breeding and herding has been present on the North Coast since 600 CE and perhaps earlier.[80] The importance of llamas and alpacas in the highlands as a food product and pack animal, and alpacas as a source for making high status textiles cannot be underestimated.[81] On the North Coast, ceramic depictions of camelids were first present in the Moche corpus. Moche ceramic depictions were typically sculptural representations, either of the head alone or of the entire animals, often with bags attached on either side of its back to show it as a pack animal. Actual camelids were often buried in high-status human graves on the North Coast; as Sipán the tombs of the Warrior Priest and the Bird Priest both contained sacrificed llamas.[82] The llama buried in the Bird Priest tomb was decapitated, lying on its left side, and had its feet bound together.[83] The presence of these themes in the Moche tradition likewise influence Chimú depictions

Chimú depictions of camelids in double-to-single spout vessels include four main motifs: the bound camelid, double-headed camelids, a single camelid head, and a full

[80] Melody Shimada, and Izumi Shimada, "Prehistoric Llama Breeding and Herding on the North Coast of Peru," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 1 (1985).
[81] Rebecca Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun: Ancienct Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, MA: Thames and Hudson, 1994).
[82] Alva, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*.
[83] Ibid.: 161.

bodied, unbound camelid (Figure 2.24).[84] The bound camelid, is the only type also present in the Chimú-Inka repertoire, features a camelid lying on its side with its front and back legs bound together with rope. The double-headed camelides feature a camelid head at the bottom of each double spout, while the single camelid head features the ends of the double spout emerging from the top of one's head. The unbound camelid depictions are a little more varied than the other types, but typically feature a camelid with its feet pulled underneath the animal in a seated posture.

For the other side of the equation, Inka culture and art heavily emphasized camelids. Many rituals incorporated camelid sacrifice, as described by Friar Cobo.[85] Most of these ceremonies involve walking the llama to a certain place, or parading it about before being sacrificing it with a knife, famously a white llama was killed everyday in Cuzco and offered to the sun. A llama had to kick over a *qero* of *aqha* to symbolically bring on and later to stop the rainy season as well. There are quite a few Inka stone, shell, and metal camelids preserved, and *tumi* (crescent bladed) knives with llama on or as their handles (Figure 2.25).

Given the presence of camelid imagery in both the Chimú and Inka traditions, it is not surprising that Chimú-Inka ceramics would incorporate camelid iconography into double-to-single spout vessels. Yet in the present sample more camelid imagery occurs among the Chimú pieces than the Chimú-Inka ones. This suggests that camelid iconography was actually deemphasized following the Inka conquest of Chimú territory.

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[84] Chimú style double-to-single spout vessels depicting double headed camelids were found at the Nationalmuseet, Denmark: ODI.c.134; Peabody Museum, Harvard: 968-14-30/8537; the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden: RMV 3277-30; and the Museo de Americas, Madrid: 10170, 10703. Chimú style double-to-single spout vessels depicting a single camelid head were present at the Museo de Americas, Madrid: 10163, 10164, 10165, 10166, 10168, 10700. Chimú style double-to-single spout vessels depicting a full bodied, unbound camelid were present at the Museo de Americas, Madrid: 10358, 10360.

[85] Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. Roland Hamilton, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

This might seem surprising given the highland associations of the animal, the Inka widespread use of them to transport goods ad for ritual purposes, perhaps the Inka wanted to remove a high-status burial good from the North Coast area.

Two vessels in the Chimú-Inka corpus include representations of camelids. A shorthand version of a llama (catalog number 4) depicts the diagnostic two-toed fee with their prominent nails. The double spout rises from the tops of the feet and a circular *adorno* is included at the intersection of the single neck with the double spout (see *adorno* section). The artists has zeroed in on the unique anatomy of the split and padded foot that allows llamas to securely move through the treacherous highland terrain, and also to tread gently upon grassy *puna* without destroying precious plants that are difficult to sustain in high altitudes. While these traits are certainly valued in the highland environment, their emphasis in North Coast Chimú-Inka imagery is not as clear in motivation. This manner of representing a camelid in extreme shorthand seems to be unique to the Chimú-Inka style, as it was not produced in earlier Chimú-style ceramics. This is yet another example of Chimú-Ink artists innovating based on their Chimú mimetic tendencies and Inka reductive ones.

The other Chimú-Inka camelid motif on a double-to-single spout vessel (catalog number 14) is a llama with a rope around its neck and its four legs similarly bound. The animal is depicted on its left side, craning its neck and head, with its feet and legs projecting from the front of the vessel. The double spout rises from the back of the camelid, with the bound feet centered in the negative space of the double-to-single spout.

This composition of a bound camelid is a continuation of a theme found in Chimú double-to-single spout vessels.[86]

For unknown reasons, the more typical camelid depictions of the Chimú style were no longer incorporated in the Chimú-Inka assemblage. However, one composition (catalog number 14) features a llama in a remarkably similar pose to those sacrificed and interred at Sipán, except the animal's head is shown still in tact in the vessel. Given the literal nature of Moche ceramics, and the continuation of the camelid depictions during the Chimú and Chimú-Inka, it seems possible that the llama depicted in this piece is in the process of being prepared for sacrifice. The sacrifice of camelids may or may not represent shared values between the Inka conquerors and their North Coast subjects; however, both are Andeans so some common worldview may be assumed and if so, sacrifice is typically made an as offering to the ancestors and divinities. The mutual veneration of these animals may account for their continued presence in the ceramic record.

Hairless dogs

Representations of dogs have appeared in the iconography of North Coast ceramics since at least 750 CE.[87] Moche representations appear in both fineline narrative programs and modeled sculptural vessels. There seems to be a distinction in Moche depictions, between small dogs with black and white spots on their coat, and the larger hairless dogs.[88] There is archaeological evidence for both species of dogs' presence on the North Coast since approximately 500 CE. It is possible to distinguish the osteological

[86] Chimú style double-to-single spout vessels depicting camelids with bound feet were also found at the Nationalmusset, Denmark: ODI.c.238; and the Museo de Americas, Madrid: 10743, 10744.
[87] Alana Cordy-Collins, "An Unshaggy Dog Story," *Natural History* 103, no. 2 (1994).
[88] Marion Schwartz, *A History of Dogs in the Early Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

remains of both species, as the gene for hairlessness also causes an absence of premolars.[89] These remains are typically found in burials rather than middens, indicating a ritual significance to their disposal rather than disposing of food refuse (although there is some evidence, such as butcher marks on bones, for subsistence consumption of dogs on the North Coast).[90] Given this predominantly ritual context and evidence of change in consumption over time, the depictions found on double-to-single spout vessels can be analyzed as more than the depiction of a food product. Even in this light, there is seemingly an inverse relationship between agricultural production and the presence of dog bones with butchery marks, indicating that as societies developed beyond subsistence agriculture, dogs were removed from the human food chain.

Hairless dogs were, and continue to be, primarily a *coastal* phenomenon, as the highland altitude and extremes in temperatures do not provide suitable living conditions for them. It appears that hairless dogs arrived relatively late to coastal Peru; scholars believe that they were brought from western Mexico by the Salangone kingdom of Ecuador, who engaged in maritime trade between Mexico and the West Coast of South America.[91] Boats laden with trade goods arrived from the north, much like the dynastic founding tale that describes the first king of Chimor as arriving by sea from the north. According to the 1604 *Anonymous History of Trujillo* Tacaynamo arrived in the Moche Valley in a balsa boat, explaining he was sent from over the sea to govern the land.[92] Tacaynamo is the founding ancestor of the Chimú dynasty, and his progeny conquered

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[89] Cordy-Collins, "An Unshaggy Dog Story:" 39
[90] Ibid; Schwartz, *A History of Dogs in the Early Americas*; V.F. Vásquez-Sánchez, T. E. Rosales-Tham, and G. Dorado, "Morfotipos Y Razas De Perros (Canis Lupus Familiaris L.) En La Época Moche," *Archaeobios* 3, no. 1 (2009).
[91] Cordy-Collins, "An Unshaggy Dog Story:" 37.
[92] published by Vargas Ugarte 1936: 232-233 in Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest:" 29-30

first the valley, and then the surrounding territories that form the Chimú Empire. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that these dogs, sent from the north and arrived via the sea, were linked to the Tacaynamo dynasty and thus were central to Chimú identity and propaganda.

In contrast to the Chimú, an account from Garcilaso de la Vega identifies a connection between dogs and the moon in Inka traditions.[93] According to Garcilaso:

> When a lunar eclipse began, they were seized with fear and sounded trumpets, bugles, horns, drums, and all the instruments they could find for making a noise. They tied up their dogs, large and small, and beat them with many blows and made them howl and call the moon back, for according to a certain fable they told, they thought that the moon was fond of dogs in return for a service they had done her, and that if she heard them cry she would be sorry for them and awake from the sleep that caused her sickness.[94]

The moon played a more dominant role in the Chimú religious complex than the sun, which was favored by the Inka.[95] It is interesting that the Inka would have allowed for iconography so closely associated with the previous regime's religious system to remain in use. There is no evidence for dogs as associated with the moon in Chimú beliefs or iconography. In this light, it would seem that the iconographic interpretations of the hairless dog were different between the Chimú and the Inka, and that the presence of dogs in the iconography could have been interpreted differently by the Chimú lords remaining in power than by their Inka overseers.

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[93] Schwartz, *A History of Dogs in the Early Americas*: 116-117.
[94] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, trans. Harold V. Livermore, II vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966): 118.
[95] Ann Pollard Rowe, and John Howland Rowe, "Inca Tunics," in *Andean Art at Dumbarton Oaks*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1996): 24.

The depictions of dogs in Chimú-Inka double-to-single spouts are uniformly hairless.[96] Both vessels from the Chimú-Inka sample (catalog numbers 10 and 16) share many similarities in representation. On both objects the double-to-single spout is attached to the dog's back, and is oriented lengthwise along the dog's spine. The faces of the dogs are also similar: with rounded ears, protruding eyes, upturned snout, and a jagged line of exposed teeth. In fact, both vessels also include the realistic detail of the dog's tongue poking through the teeth and licking its own mouth and nostril. Yet, the positioning of the front and back legs differentiate the depictions, as one (catalog number 16) has its front paw placed on its face and the right leg and paw curled into its chest. By contrast, the other (catalog number 10) has both paws clasped together in front of the chest. The hind legs of the dogs also differ, and while both give the impression of the dog lying on its side, they are represented distinctly. The first depicts the dog with its back legs curved to the side, whereas the dog's body in catalog number 10 is more curved and the legs are on the side.

The hairless dog may serve as an example of continued loyalty to a specifically North Coast identity. The Chimú, unbeknownst to the Inka, could have favored the iconographic specificity of the hairless dog as a covert referent to their own dynastic foundation and possibly also to northward maritime trade in general. The Inka, on the other hand, may have allowed generic dog imagery to continue as a perceived reference to the moon and lunar eclipses. Apparently, the Inka often let their conquered territories maintain their own religious traditions, as long as Inka religion was also adopted. Given the connection between the moon and the sea in Chimú ideology, and the connection

[96] The black and white spotted dogs depicted in Moche ceramics were incorporated into the visual narration of rituals. It is unclear if the absence of spotted dogs is due to the Inka terminating these rituals, or if the practices had previously ceased to exist.

between the moon and dogs in Inka ideology, the Inka may have perceived the reverence for the dog as part of Chimú veneration for the moon. In this way, the Chimú may have let the Inka think they valued dogs for the same reasons.

Felines

Feline imagery is present throughout the ancient Americas, including the Chimú and the Inka independently. Since both cultures included feline iconography in their artistic traditions, the continuation of the theme is not surprising. However, the Chimú and Inka represented felines quite differently.

In the expanded sample of Chimú double-to-single spout vessels, there are several repeated motifs including feline iconography in Chimú ceramics, but they are not a particularly common theme.[97] Seven compositions of feline imagery on Chimú double-to-single spouts were observed in the Museo Larco's collection. Five showed the entire body, of which three spaced the spout along the animal's spine. While most three-dimensional cats are shown lying down, other poses including sitting on its back legs or on a platform, and taking a pouncing position are also present. In two cases the felines were included as raised relief images, by themselves or in combination with birds.

Inka feline imagery is present at the Inka provincial center of Huanuco Pampa, that imitates the precisely cut and fitted masonry of Cuzco (Figure 2.26). Here, high relief, sculpted pumas on stone lintels are present in the main plaza.[98] The stylized nature of these sculptures, even though they are from a provincial center, is in-line with broader Inka trends of abstraction.

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[97] A simple search on the Museo Larco's online catalogue resulted in 39 out of 1,525 Chimú double-to-single spout vessels representing a feline. http://museolarco.org/catalogo

[98] Craig Morris, and Donald E. Thompson, *Hunanuco Pampa, and Inca City and Its Hinterland* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985): 59.

Feline imagery continued in the Chimú-Inka style with seven known vessels employing three compositions. The first category of four pieces continues a primarily Chimú idiom of representation: a single register around a round vessel, usually with a stippled background and profile images of felines (Figure 2.27).[99] While there are many Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels with a stippled register as the background for humans, animals, or plants, this group of four contains the only examples that include felines. The second category is a sculptural representation of a feline's head, from which the double-to-single spout emanates across (Figure 2.28).[100] In this type, the partial animal is shown in shorthand, an approach rooted in Chimú ceramics before the Inka conquest, as seen previously in the llama foot vessl. Chapter 5 will explore human heads as vessels in this reductive manner.

A unique Chimú-Inka vessel (catalog number 15) may represent a true blending of Chimú and Inka culture. The sculptural form, double-to-single spout, and highly burnished blackware are obvious indications of Chimú influence. The style of representing the feline can be linked to Chimú modes of representation; however, the broader narrative found within the iconography may be Inka in its nature. Two elements of Inka mythology link pumas with the moon. In one account, a puma is killed and torn apart into crescent-shaped pieces. Another version explaining lunar eclipses (see above section on hairless dogs) begins with a puma eating the moon, rather than the moon becoming ill. In catalog number 15, a feline is sitting on its hind legs, while its front paws bring a spherical object to its mouth, perhaps an overt reference to eating the moon. Given the importance of the moon in Chimú culture, perhaps the Inka myths gained

[99] See also ML023187, ML027131, ML023173, ML023185.
[100] See also ML027015, ML027016.

popularity, either purposefully spread by the Inka trying to persuade coastal people of their religion or from internal coastal forces, prompting this image. Regardless, rather than a case of mistaken identity, this vessel brings together various non-competing cultural associations from both the Chimú and Inka that creates a more nuanced and layered image, even suggesting that the puma, associated with the Inka, is in the midst of consuming, literally, the Chimú.

Feline iconography is characteristically Andean, thus its presence in the Chimú-Inka corpus of double-to-single spout vessels is not surprising. These vessels confirm the previously held notion of the Inka allowing local religious traditions to co-exist with Inka traditions. The Inka explanation of lunar eclipses may even here be depicted in a more narrative, and North Coast, manner, suggesting the co-articulation of both Chimú and Inka styles.

Maritime Motif Vessels

Many of the iconographic themes here defined as maritime also could have been included in the fauna category; however, due to the coastal nature of the subjects, they were separated out in order to assess if flora and fauna that were geographically linked with the Chimú kingdom were treated differently during the Chimú-Inka style. Non-faunal iconography (such as waves) are also closely linked to the coast, as opposed to the Inka mountain homeland, and are included in this iconographic category as well. The Andean highlands, however, also had aquatic environments, primarily lakes and rivers. The bird and fish species native to the highland habitats are quite different than those in the coastal ones, due to the high elevation, cooler temperatures, and availability of fresh

water.[101] Thus, identifying particular maritime versus highland imagery will help establish the mutual interaction of Chimú and Inka elements in the Chimú-Inka sample.

Fish

The Chimú occupied slightly more than 800 miles of coastline, and maritime resources were a large part of their diet and economy. In addition to the coastline, the coastal land is ribbed with rivers that cut across the area in nearly parallel lines. As many of these rivers are fed from mountainous sources, the fish species of these rivers are found in both mountain and coastal waters. Thus, the Chimú had access to both the maritime and river fish species.

In many cases, generalized depictions of aquatic life defy classification based on physical appearance and read only as generic "fish." However, some genera and species are more specificallyrecognizable, but often complicate matters because they are present in both coastal and highland waters. There are three genera that include species that are present in the mountains and the North Coast or its coastal islands; however, these three are more plentiful in the mountains, suggesting the privileging of iconography familiar to the Inka.[102]

The only three fish genera native to the Inka homeland are pupfish (*Orestias)* and two kinds of catfish (*Astroblepus* and *Trichomycterus)*.[103] These three highland fish species are physically distinct from each other, and their presence in artistic depictions can be identified with certainty. The specific attributes of these species are described

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[101] While both areas experience drought, the manner in which El Niño events are experienced on the coast compared to the highlands is quite different.
[102] Scott A. Schaefer, Francisco Provenzano, Mario de Pinna, and Jonathan N. Baskin, "New and Noteworthy Venezuelan Glanapterygine Catfishes (Siluriformes, Trichomycteridae), with Discussion of Their Biogeography and Psammophily," *American Museum Novitates*, no. 3496 (2005): 3.
[103] Lynne R. Parenti, "A Taxonomic Revision of the Andean Killifish Genus Orestias (Cyprinodontiformes, Cyprinodontidae)," *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 178(1984): 110.

below.

The *Orestias* genus is composed of species of egg-laying killifish, specifically pupfish. The majority of highland pupfish species inhabit the Lake Titicaca basin, which is a closed system that does not lead to the ocean. Other species have been found in the lakes and streams of the highlands of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile.[104] The primary physical features that identify *Orestias* are the absence of pelvic fins, a rounded caudal fin, and a unique squamation (arrangement of scales), and head pore patterns.[105] These fish feature a ridge of large, thick scales from the top of the head to the base of the dorsal fin in a straight line, and a head that is irregularly covered with scales, and no scales are present at all on some parts of the body.[106]

Two genera of catfish are indigenous to the lakes and streams of the Andean highlands: *Astroblepus* and *Trichomycterus*. The physical characteristics of *Astroblepus* and *Trichomycterus* are easily distinguishable from each other. *Astroblepus* have a sucker mouth and maxillary and nasal barbels (chin and nose whiskers).[107] *Trichomycterus* likewise have two sets of barbels, maxillary and nasal, but lack chin barbels. They also lack the adipose (located between the dorsal and tail fins) and pelvic fins.[108] Obviously, the sucker mouth and barbels are the most obvious physical characteristics of these two genera. Both of these genera can inhabit high elevations where few other species of fish

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[104] Ibid.: Fig. 1
[105] Ibid.: 113, 122. According to Parenti there are seven characteristics that distinguish orestia from other fish: (1) the absence of pelvic fins and fin girdles; (2) the absence of vomers; (3) cartilaginous middle anal and middle dorsal dorsal fin radials; (4) the separation of bony anterior and posterior ceratohyal by a large gap filled with cartilage; (5) absence of the first postcleithrum; (6) the anguloarticular lacks a ventral extension parallel to the retroarticular; and (7) the unique squamation and head pore pattern characterized by a lyre-shaped arrangement and a prominent median dorsal ridge of scales from the top of the head to the dorsal fin.
[106] Ibid.: 124.
[107] Joseph S. Nelson, *Fishes of the World* (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sones, 2006).
[108] "Http://En.Wikipedia.Org/Wiki/Trichomycterus." Retrieved August 12, 2012.

can survive. Catish from both of these genera can live in the rivers on the North Coast, due to the shared drainage of mountain streams, however they are much less prevalent. Catfish from both genera can also live in the rivers on the North Coast as well, due to the shared drainage of mountain streams; however, they are much less prevalent.

In Chimú depictions of fish in ceramics, the surfaces of fish are generally shown as smooth and so do not delineate scaly patterns (whether or not the fish being represented had them). Therefore, since the squamation pattern cannot be used to identify *Orestias*, anatomy must be used. The absence of the pelvic fin is the most obvious reference to *Orestias*, and is quite particular to this species of fish, since most fish have pelvic fins to provide stability in swimming. Most fish have rounded caudal fins located at the tail, which allows them to make quick movements; these fins are therefore particularly common among predatory fish, which the *Orestias* are not, as they subsist on plankton. Therefore, the presence of a pelvic fin or a non-rounded (i.e. forked) caudal fin indicates without doubt that a fish is *not* an *Orestias*, and is not a representation of a fish that could only originate from the highlands.

A polychrome plate with a handle (Figure 2.29) suggests that fish were present in Inka artistic depictions, even if on a limited scale. As can be expected given the type of fish present in highland environments, the plate features catfish. The barbels are clearly depicted, but lack the specificity to determine if the fish belongs to the *Astroblepus* or *Trichomycterus* genera. Also included on the plate are *aji*, or small hot peppers, and a small seed-like image. According to Eduardo Estrella, catfish from local lakes formed part of the highland diet.[109] Cobo confirms this practice, indicating that fish often

[109] Eduardo Estrella, *El Pan De América*, Alimentos Aborigenes Del Ecuador (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1988): 332-338.

replaced meat in stews.[110] The function of these shallow bowls or plates was likely to hold solid and semi-solid foods, such as meat, fish, or a thick stew of either or both. This plate then is illustrated with the foods it may contain: a stew of fish with *aji*, or prepared fish with an *aji* salsa, another common preparation that is appropriate to this vessel type.[111]

Only one representation of a fish (catalog number 25) is present in the Chimú-Inka sample of double-to-single spout vessels. It is definitively not a species autochthonous to the highlands since the fish represented clearly has a forked caudal fin. The flat base of the object cuts off the lower part of the fish, obscuring the presence or absence of a pelvic fin; having chosen this format, the artist may have deemed this detail redundant given the forked tail. Additionally, there is no anal fin depicted on catalog number 25. Clearly, a fish from the *Orestias* genus was *not* the model for this vessel, and given the absence of barbels of any sort, neither were *Astroblepus* or *Trichomycterus*. While the exact species of fish cannot be determines, it must be coastal or at least generically "non-Inka" and therefore it can be hazarded that Inka content was played down in the lone Chimú-Inka piece with fish imagery.

Birds

There are many birds along the North Coast, due to the unusually fertile ocean supporting an extensive number of marine species, making a certain identification more challenging.

Two vessels in the main corpus of Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels incorporate birds in the main iconographic program. One piece (catalog number 13)

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[110]Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*: Book 14, Ch. 5.
[111] Tamara L. Bray, "Inka Pottery as Culinary Equipment: Food, Feasting and Gender in Imperial State Design," *Latin American Antiquity* 12, no. 1 (2003): 118.

includes some features that can characterize the family of bird as toucan. The wide curved beak, in particular, seems to indicate a bird in the toucan family. The almond-shaped eye is probably more indicative of markings around a circular eye, but a singular identification has yet to be made. The stripes on wing and short tail feathers are characteristic of toucans. It seems unlikely that the artist created simply a generic "bird" as there are too many specific qualities included in the depiction. The toucan family habitat is in either a coastal or jungle environment, which could include the Chimú North Coast; neither Chimú nor Inka empires controlled the jungle though they both traded with the people there for the precious feathers and other products. However, toucans are definitely not indigenous to the Andean highland, the Inka heartland. As such, the reference to the toucan harkens to the rich biodiversity of the coast, or jungle, an area in which the Chimú fully exploited for food and trade. The double-to-single spout form likewise refers to North Coast ceramic traditions. Only the flared rim and the circular *adorno* seem to indicate Inka influence. The *adorno*, however, is an element associated primarily with Chimú ceramics. The use of the circular form blends the Inka tradition of circular lugs underneath the rims of *urpus* with the sculptural decoration of the *adorno*.

A Chimú-Inka vessel (catalog number 5) depicts elements of the Muscovy duck, an often-represented bird in North Coast ceramics, beginning with the Moche. The composition of the vessel is arranged in two registers that encircle the vessel. The top register contains a row of figures facing right proper on a stippled background. These figures wear crescent-shaped headdresses, but otherwise match earlier Moche depictions of Muscovy ducks (Figure 2.30). The wide flattened bill, outstretch legs, and flattened tail feathers are consistent with Moche modes of representation, even if the duck is

wearing a headdress. The Crescent headdress is associated with the North Coast tradition as is found in both the Moche and Chimú artistic assemblages. These representations have been linked to either humans appearing as their animal selves and/or the social hierarchy as a mirror of a natural one. The bottom register has five geometric motifs repeated across a stippled background. These motifs will be further discussed in the geometric motif section below.

Spondylus

Throughout the Andes, *Spondylus princeps* was a prestige material. *Spondylus* has been found in diverse archaeologically contexts, suggesting its use in rituals, as a high-status grave good, and as a material for hand-held carvings. Found in the warm waters north of the Santa Elena Peninsula, off of the coast of Ecuador, the control of the trade of *Spondylus* brought power, prestige, and wealth to the Chimú rulers, perhaps as a foundational element of their political economy.[112] Images of the acquisition of *Spondylus* appear in murals at Chan Chan, as well as on metal earspools[113] and wood sculptures.

Both the Chimú and Chimú-Inka samples have examples of *Spondylus*. The Chimú vessels, Appendix A numbers 10 and 11, are remarkably similar.[114] Both vessels elevate the *Spondylus* on an inverted platform. The spiny texture of the oyster is also included in both objects, but Appendix A number 11 is depicted with greater relief than number 10. Also different is the presence of a bird *adorno* on Appendix A number 11, while there is no *adorno* present on number 10. In this instance, it seems as if the *adorno*

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[112] Joanne Pillsbury, "The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered Spondylus Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru," ibid.7, no. 4 (1996).
[113] Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas* (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2002).
[114] Both vessels were purchased in Lima in 1847 during the Galathea Expedition that circumnavigated the world from 1845-1847.

adds status to the vessel, or at least identifies a more experienced hand of the ceramicist, as adornos, even though they were included in the mold, often broke off in the drying process. The surface decoration of Appendix A number 11 divided into segments, while number 10 is in straight rows.

Both the Chimú-Inka *Spondylus* double-to-single spout vessel samples include images of *Spondylus*. The Chimú vessels (Appendix A, number 10 and 11) are remarkably similar. Both vessels elevate the *Spondylus* on an inverted platform. The spiny texture of the oyster is also included in both objects, but the one in number 11 is depicted in higher relief than that in number 10. Also different is the presence of a bird *adorno* on number 11, while there is no *adorno* present on number 10. In this instance, it seems as if the *adorno* adds status to the vessel, or at least identifies a more experienced hand of the ceramicist: *adornos*, even though they were included in the mold, often broke off in the drying process. The surface decoration of number 11 is divided into radiating segments from the base of the shell, while number 10 is organized in straight rows.

In the single Chimú-Inka Spondylus double-to-single spout vessel (catalog number 17) the bumpy texture of the oyster is played down with minimal lines and a ridged outer edge. Rather than the entire body of the vessel as a *Spondylus* shell, the vessel is decorated with several *Spondylus* on the surface and as handle-like protrusions. The Chimú-Inka vessel is very highly burnished, giving almost a reflective quality to the surface, which perhaps reference the shiny exterior of the *Spondylus* when the points are smoothed down. An *adorno* is also included on the Chimú-Inka example, but it is a decidedly Inka motif of a stepped-fret, rather than the more figural Chimú *adornos*.

Furthermore, the Chimú-Inka example does not have a pedestal, which sends it in the Inka artistic direction as well.

The continued inclusion of *Spondylus* imagery in Chimú-Inka ceramics is somewhat puzzling, as the trade of *Spondylus* was one of the most important underpinnings of the Chimú economy.[115] The Inka were obviously aware of this importance, as following the Inka conquest of the North Coast, the headquarters for *Spondylus* trade was moved to Chincha, a place closer to Cuzco than Chan Chan and historically loyal to the Inka.[116] So while the Inka removed the actual*Spondylus* trade nexus away from the North Coast, the reproduction of the image remained possible there. Perhaps the depictions in ceramic resulted from a decrease in *Spondylus*, requiring using another material for its creation. Catalog number 17 likewise has a more minimally represented *Spondylus*, rather than the composition being formed entirely of a *Spondylus*. In this light, the Chimú-Inka depictions of *Spondylus* both represents the scarcity of the material as a result of the Inka removal of the Chimú trading ties, and the Chimú interest in representations of *Spondylus* as a status marker. Stone-Miller has suggested that the stippled background of Chimú ceramics is a reference to the shell when the spines have been removed but not smoothed down. If this is the case, then references to Spondylus permeate the Chimú-Inka corpus, perhaps unbeknownst to the Inka. Admittedly, not many overt images of the former glory of the Chimú fill the Chimú-Inka corpus, which bespeaks the new situation under Inka control.

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[115] Pillsbury, "The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered Spondylus Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru."
[116] Dorothy Menzel, "The Inca Occupation of the South Coast of Peru," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (1959).

Wave themes

Rows of stylized waves have appeared on North Coast ceramics dating back to the Moche (Figure 2.31). These fineline depictions of waves were usually part of a larger scene that included boats (see below). The many Chimú representations of waves (Figure 2.32) likely served not only to announce their coastal context but also as a shorthand reference to the long-distance maritime trade that was crucial to maintaining their political and economic power. The waves provide a sense of the movement of the ocean, the movement that would propel boats and the Chimú economy.

A Chimú-Inka representation of stylized waves (catalog number 19), continuing many elements of Chimú style, particularly the graphic layout of registers with stippled backgrounds. The rounded body of the vessel is divided in half, with the bottom portion smooth and filled with waves and the upper is divided into two registers, both covered in evenly spaced rows of raised dots. The stippled background has been linked to *Spondylus*, certainly one of the most important trade items controlled by the Chimú.[117] As such, the wave motif that encircles the lower register and the stipples reference the source of Chimú economic and political power. Evidence of Inka presence is also included in this vessel, however, as the stepped-fret *adorno* and flared rim indicate Inka influence.

Boats

Boat depictions were a primary marine theme during the Moche and Chimú, yet they are absent from the Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout corpus. Two types of boats were depicted by both the Moche and Chimú: the single-occupant boats used for fishing

[117] Pillsbury, "The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered Spondylus Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru; Judith Davidson, "Ecology, Art, and Myth: A Natural Approach to Symbolism," in *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings*, ed. Alana Cordy-Collins (1982): 313.

and larger boats that could carry several occupants and cargo (Figure 2.33). Donna McClelland traces the progression of the Tule Boat Theme from Moche to Chimú ceramic traditions, noting that the later stages of Moche ceramic production increasingly focused on maritime themes in general, increasing from 2% to 20% of her sample.[118]

The Tule Boat Theme developed from the standard depiction of a single man, standing on a fishing boat catching a fish on a long line, to the larger boat carrying cargo and/or transporting people on a lower deck. While the early depiction is often shown in identical fashion on both sides of the vessel, the later depiction features two different individuals on the different vessel sides. In these later depictions, one boatman wears a short shirt and loincloth while he paddles in a kneeling position, encircled with war clubs and shields (Figure 2.34). The other boatman wears a long shirt and elaborate headdress, is surrounding by rays, and sits in a boat without paddling. The elaborate clothing and paraphernalia of these two figures removes them from associations with actual fishermen, at least placing them in a higher social stratum and perhaps signifying their status as ocean deities. McClelland associates this increase with a shift in perception of the ocean from the Moche to Chimú regarding the ocean: "Whereas the ocean was associated with ritual fishing in earlier phases, it now presents an avenue of trade and commerce."[119] The increased role of trade in the society caused a parallel shift in the importance of deities associated with the ocean, increasing the frequency with which they were incorporated into iconographic programs.

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[118] Donna McClelland, "A Maritime Passage from Moche to Chimu," in *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor*, ed. Michael E. and Alana Cordy-Collins Moseley (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 1990): 77.
[119] Ibid.: 103.

While Chimú iconography eschews the narrative quality of their Moche predecessors, it has been suggested that Chimú motifs are somewhat reductive in nature.[120] Thus, only one element of a larger narrative may be included in any given piece, but serves to stand for the entire scene or gestalt, an effect called *pars pro toto*. We have already seen this in practice with the llama foot vessel (catalog number 4). The larger narrative would be known to the Chimú population, and by seeing one element of the narrative, the entirety would be understood.[121] The implication here is that the Tule Boat Theme that gained popularity during the final phase of Moche is being continued by the Chimú. Certainly both boats continued to be used for fishing and trade during the Chimú reign, and examples of both types are present in the Chimú ceramic assemblage, but the differences in the attributes of the figures are missing (Figure 2.35). The figures are here shown wearing the same conical headdress, short tunic, and loincloth. The purpose of the smaller boats is also referenced by the image of a fish on the boat's prow. The larger boat on the left is shown with plenty of cargo space, even though the image lacks the specificity of the Moche examples. It is possible that the Chimú did not find it necessary to include the specific details of their trade, as they were renowned for their control of the *Spondylus* trade.

The Inca did not independently possess seafaring vessels. Certainly there was a highland boat tradition for navigating the high altitude lakes, such as Lake Titicaca, but these vessels were not suitable for the constant pounding of the ocean. The Inka would certainly have been interested in maintaining the trade networks along the coast, thus necessitating the maintenance of balsa boat construction. However, either to remove the

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[120] Burger, "The Moche Sources of Archaism in Chimu Ceramics."
[121] Ibid; Margaret A. Jackson, "The Chimú Sculptures of Huacas Taycanamo and El Dragon, Moche Valley, Perú," *Latin American Antiquity* 15, no. 3 (2004): 305.

vestiges of economic power from their former enemy, or for the closer proximity, Chincha became the maritime trading center under Inka control.[122] This seemingly indicates an interest in physically distancing trade away from the former Chimú capital, and could possibly account for the lack of boat imagery in Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels. This suppression of depicted boats would indirectly be an Inka imposition on artistic as well as cultural expression.

Another Chimú association with boats provides a further reason for the Inka to inhibit its inclusion in the artistic record. According to the 1604 *Anonymous History of Trujillo* Taycanamo arrived in the Moche Valley in a balsa boat, saying he was sent from over the sea to govern the land.[123] Taycanamo is the founding ancestor of the Chimú dynasty, and his progeny conquered first the valley, and then the surrounding territories that form the Chimú Empire. If Chimú double-to-single spout vessels with depictions of boats are referents --direct or indirect--for the dynastic founding of Chimú, the Inka would obviously not allow the continuation of this iconography.

Flora Motif Vessels

Four varieties of flora were prominently incorporated into the iconographic program of Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels: squash, maize, *pepinos*, and *pacae* (or *Anadenanthera*). There is a surprising degree of continuity in the flora iconography in the Chimú and Chimú-Inka souble-to-single spout samples. Flora motifs in both the Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout samples comprise 17% of the iconographic depictions (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2). The four types of flora depicted in the Chimú-Inka sample were incorporated previously into the Chimú. All of the flora motifs

[122] Heyerdahl, *Pyramids of Túcume: The Quest for Peru's Forgotten City*: 28.
[123] published by Vargas Ugarte 1936:232-233; translated in Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest:" 29-30

depicted in the Chimú-Inka sample are coastal products that were trade items with the highland regions.

Squash

Certain flora, such as squash, were depicted in the double-to-single spout assemblage and were local to the North Coast. Warty squash, a variety of *Cucurbita moschata*, have been found in archaeological settings along the coast of Peru from the Nazca to Chicama valleys. Since they can only be cultivated under 1,000 m above sea level,[124] there is limited evidence of squash cultivation of any variety in the Andean highlands, where they are not well suited to high altitude conditions.[125] The warty variety was never as widely distributed, and remained a primarily coastal product. However, the smoother-skinned varieties were indispensible as containers, bowls, fishing net floats, among other uses.[126] Floating gourds were used with fishing nets along the North Coast, their presence documented at Huaca Prieta as early as 2500 BCE.[127] Regardless of variety, both the coastal and highland populations esteemed the properties of the hard-skinned squash, which could be consumed as a fresh food, while also having a long shelf life in their mature form. Other valued aspects of hard-skinned squash, including the ability for the flesh to be dried in the sun for even longer-term storage, and protein-rich seeds only further attest to the value of this plant food.

Representations of squash are present in the North Coast ceramic assemblages of the Moche and Chimú. Moche double-to-single spout vessels depictions of squash

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[124] Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*: 33.
[125] Thomas W. Whitaker, "Cucurbits in Andean Prehistory," *American Antiquity* 48, no. 3 (1983): 581.
[126] Thomas W. Whitaker, and Hugh C. Cutler, "Cucurbits and Cultures in the Americas," *Economic Botany* 19, no. 4 (1965): 344.
[127] Thomas W. Whitaker, and Junius B. Bird, "Identification and Significance of the Cucurbit Materials from Huaca Prieta, Peru," *American Museum Novitates*, no. 1426 (1949).

include both warty and smooth skin varieties. The round, smooth skinned squash could be any number of varieties (Figure 2.36), but the warty can be identified as the *loche* in Spanish or *Cucurbitae moschata* Duchesne squash (Figure 2.37). In the ceramic depictions the ridges of the round squash vessels alternate between red and cream slips, and the double-to-single spouts are either red or cream. The peduncle (where the stem affixes to the squash) is typically placed underneath the double-to-single spout. The depictions of *loche* squash typically include a cream-colored fruit, although the actual fruit is green to black in color, and the double-to-single spout is red. The tapered ends of the fruit are typically placed on either end of the double-to-single spout. This variety of squash, even though contemporarily present on the North Coast, was never again reproduced in the ceramic record.[128]

Chimú double-to-single spout vessel depictions of squashes included three varieties: a warty crookneck variety (Figure 2.38) a smooth crookneck (Figure 2.39), and a round, ridged variety much like that shown by the Moche (Figure 2.40). All three vessels were fired in a reduced oxygen environment to produce blackware vessels. Both varieties of crookneck squash were typically depicted with the tapered end and peduncle oriented alongside, or parallel, to the double-to-single spout. The round, ridged variety was depicted much like Moche versions, with the exception of the blackware surface treatment instead of polychrome.

There are currently no identified Inka depictions of *Cucurbita moschata* or the warty variety in any medium. This is not surprising, for while the hard-skinned squash was an important trade item both as a raw material for human consumption and the

[128] Many Chimú vessels depicting squashes are still designated as loche squashes, however, I have not found any that have the characteristic tapering at both ends that is indicative of the loche squash.

acquisition of additional raw materials as a fishing material, neither their consumption nor fishing use was pivotal to the Inka economy. Unlike maize, a foundational crop in the Inka economy, the distribution of squash was more limited, and probably had neither the prestige nor the familiarity of maize through the empire.

An analysis of the incorporation of *Cucurbita moschata*, and its varieties in the Chimú-Inka corpus thus provides a unique opportunity to assess the incorporation of a coastal Chimú product during the Inka occupation. Catalog number 23 depicts a curved-neck squash with seven ridges running from the base of the squash to the peduncle, the place where the stem affixes to the squash. Between these ridges are the bumps that distinguish the warty surface texture from the smooth-skinned squash variety. The double-to-single spout is flattened on the sides, giving a ridge to the otherwise curvilinear form. The rim characteristically flares beyond the diameter of the short neck. Another vessel (Appendix A, number 717) depicts the same type of warty squash; however, in this example the rim is damaged (Figure 2.41). The remaining neck and partial rim do not seem to be flared, but the pieces are otherwise identical. The measurements of the squashes in the two vessels are very similar, so much so that it is possible that they were created from the same mold. If made from slightly different clay (each clay shrinks to a specific degree) an/or allowed different time to dry before firing, these factors would account for the 1 cm difference between the two. Shrinkage from the mold-making process is generally less than 10%,[129] and the 1 cm difference between these two vessels falls within this range. If this is true, these two pieces represent the repeated use of molds

[129] Mary W. Eubanks, *Corn in Clay: Maize Paleoethnobotany in Pre-Columbian Art* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999): 14.

in the Chimú-Inka style, and/or the use of molds with different double-to-single spout styles. This would be the first documented case of this phenomenon.

The smooth skin variety of *Cucurbita moschata* is depicted in Chimú-Inka ceramics as well (catalog number 20). In this example, the neck of the squash is so curved that the peduncle touches the side of the double-to-single spout, creating repetition between the negative spaces of the double-to-single spout itself and the squash as it joins the spout. While the warty squash vessels described above are blackware vessels, the smooth-skin variety depicted here is redware, produced by the oxygen-rich firing technique preferred by the Inka. It seems then that the variety of squash favored for trade with the highlands was also created with a technique favored by the Inka.

Maize

The increased cultivation of maize, *Zea mays L.* as a subsistence base allowed for the development of increasingly larger populations in the Central Andes since the pre-Ceramic period. The interaction between increased agriculture, specifically maize, and increased population has been documented repeatedly.[130] Thus to find artistic image of maize in Andean art is far from surprising. One of the particular benefits to the mold-made ceramic process popular on the North Coast of Peru; however, is the possibility of direct molding from the referent object itself. In this case the use of ears of maize to make molds for ceramics[131] originated with the Moche, but remained in practice in the Chimú-Inka style. Many other ways of depicting maize were also in place.

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[130] Ibid; Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*: 104-106; Stone, *Art of the Andes from Chavín to Inca*.

[131] Mary Eubanks Dunn, "Ceramic Depictions of Maize: A Basis for Classification of Prehistoric Races," *American Antiquity* 44, no. 4 (1979); Eubanks, *Corn in Clay: Maize Paleoethnobotany in Pre-Columbian Art*: 195.

Maize was the most commonly replicated plant on Moche ceramics, and was most frequently illustrated on a double-to-single spout vessel.[132] Moche depictions of maize, more so than other flora motifs, often incorporated additional iconographic elements, either with the addition of human features to ears of maize, the incorporation of rats or birds nibbling maize, or the depictions of multiple ears of maize in a basket (sometimes with fish swimming in the basket as well) (Figure 2.42). The quantity of vessels produced that include maize iconography, the warning as to rodents' possible depredation of the crop, and perhaps spiritual combining of maize and human iconography indicates a broad preoccupation with the successful harvest of bountiful amounts of maize.

Chimú political policies likewise underscore a similar preoccupation with increased agricultural yields. Harnessing labor tribute from conquered areas, the Chimú embarked on massive irrigation projects to unite the river valleys of the North Coast.[133] The Chimú ceramic record also indicates a focus on maize. Chimú depictions of maize follow the pattern established by the Moche, in which maize is shown as part of an iconographic program in combination with other elements. A figure with maize ion, in, or *as* his body and headdress is a frequent image in the Chimú ceramic assemblage (Figure 2.43). Interestingly, and without any apparent reason, there are few depictions of maize in combination with the double-to-single spout form.

While the Chimú were more balanced in their iconography, the Inka tradition seems to have emphasized flora and fauna imagery proportionately more. Arguably, the

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[132] *Corn in Clay: Maize Paleoethnobotany in Pre-Columbian Art*.: In a study of 72 vessels depicting corn, 28 were made in combination with a double-to-single spout.

[133] Patricia Netherly, "The Management of Late Andean Irrigation Systems on the North Coast of Peru," *American Antiquity* 49, no. 2 (1984); Thomas Pozorski, "Changing Priorities within the Chimu State: The Role of Irrigation Agriculture," in *The Origins and Development of the Andean State*, ed. Jonathan Haas, Shelia Pozorski, and Thomas Pozorski, *New Directions in Archaeology* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987): 118.

most important agricultural product under the Inka was maize.[134] Maize was used not only as a staple food crop, but also for *aqha*, the fermented beverage that was used during Inka religious ceremonies and state-held feasts in exchange for labor.[135] Inka artistic practices also incorporated sculpted maize. At the Qorikancha, the main temple in Cuzco, there was a sculpture garden made of gold and silver plants, including maize (Figure 2.44). Garcilaso de la Vega describes these gardens in detail, "they made fields of maize, with their leaves, cobs, canes, roots and flowers all exactly imitated. The beard of the cob was gold, and all the rest of silver…"[136] Ethnographic material from the 16th century also indicates that there were several agricultural ceremonies focused on securing a successful yield of maize. According to Cobo, maize was a frequent sacrifice offered during Inti Rayni rituals,[137] cakes made of a mixture of maize and llama blood were eaten at the conclusion of Inti Rayni,[138] the rituals associated with the fifth month were dedicated to making maize seed develop,[139] the rituals associated with the sixth months were dedicated to making the maize last a long time,[140] and the rituals associated with the tenth month were concluded by eating cakes made of a mixture of maize and llama blood.[141]

Despite the strong presence of maize iconography in both the Chimú and Inka traditions, it does not figure prominently in the iconography of Chimú-Inka double-to-single-spout vessels. My sample includes only one vessel (catalog number 3) that includes sculpted ears of maize protruding from the sides of the vessel's body. The main body of the vessel is organized into three registers of geometric motifs. The combination

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[134] John V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State* (Greenwich, CT: Jai Press, 1980).
[135] Bray, "The Role of Chicha in Inca State Expansion: A Distributional Study of Inca Aríbalos."
[136] Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*.
[137] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*: Book 1, Chapter 25: 128.
[138] Ibid.: Book 1, Chapter 25, 133.
[139] Ibid.: Book 1, Chapter 27, 139.
[140] Ibid.: Book 1, Chapter 27, 139.
[141] Ibid.: Book 2 Chapter 29, 148

of geometric motifs and a culturally important agricultural product in one vessel depicts iconography of high status to both Chimú and Inka observers. The maize cobs may initially seem to fit with the more overtly figural Chimú artistic tradition**;** however, the aforementioned Inka sculptures of flora indicate that it was a shared feature between the two styles. The Chimú-Inka piece depicts relatively small ears, with regularly spaced kernels. The ears are too small to have been molded from a mold fashioned from a real cob, and thus references maize more generally rather than a specific species of corn. The blackware surface does seem to allude to "maize morada," or purple corn, that can range in color from cherry red to black and grows most prolifically in the valleys around Cuzco.[142]

Pepinos

Pepinos, (*Solanum muricatum*), or *cachum* in Quechua, are indigenous to the Andes and can grow between nearly sea level and 3500m.[143] While they can grow, and even thrive, in a variety of environments (different altitudes, soil conditions, and water availability), the fruit is quite sensitive to being in its indigenous environment, as it does not produce a fruit as sweet to the taste or smell if grown outside this area. This, in conjunction with the linguistic evidence indicating the Quechua origins of the term at the time of the conquest, points to an ideal habitat for the *pepino* located between 2000-3500m.[144] Cuzco is located at 3,399m, almost within this range; however, basically the plant grows in the highlands, give or take a few hundred feet of altitude. Clearly the fruit

[142] Alexander Grobman, Wilfredo Salhuana and Ricardo Sevilla, *Races of Maize in Peru: Their Origins, Evolutions and Classification*, vol. 915 (Washington, D.C.: National Academy of Sciences- National Research Council, 1961).
[143] Jaime Prohens, Juan J. Ruiz, and Fernando Nuez, "The Pepin (Solanum Muricatum, Solanaceae): A "New" Crop with a History," *Economic Botany* 50, no. 4 (1996).
[144] Ibid.

was familiar to the coastal populations as well, due to its representation in ceramic vessels from the Moche onward (Figure 2.45). As such, the *pepino* would have reminded the Inka of a highland product that was prized throughout the Inka empire for its sweet flavor and scent. The flavor and scent were commented upon in several ethnohistoric sources; for example, Cieza de Leon describes *pepinos* as "one of the most exceptional fruits I have ever seen… with a very good flavor and very good fragrance."[145]

It is important to note that in a depiction the absence of a defined tip could move the identification toward *aji*, or chili peppers, another popular coastal foodstuff. Here, however, the fruits on the vessel can be identified as *pepinos* based on the oblong shape with a rounded tip and the peduncle, and by comparing the vessel to Moche and Chimú vessels that incorporate more specifically *pepino* characteristics.

Moche polychrome vessels, in particular, incorporate the striations typically found on *pepinos*, which are typically yellow-bodied with purple stripes. In Moche versions usually the body is cream and the striations are red (Figure 2.45). *Pepinos* are typically yellow-bodied with purple stripes, but the Moche translation of this color scheme to their ceramic palette is still legible. *Pepino* depictions tend to be sculptural, the fruits arrayed in pairs or groups of four, although there are a few depictions of a single, larger *pepino*, or large quantities of small *pepinos*. As would be expected, Chimú depictions of *pepinos* are in blackware, and thus lack the capacity to include stripes (Figure 2.46). Otherwise, the Moche compositions are maintained by the Chimú. Perhaps the familiarity of the form, due to their persistence on the North Coast, made the two-dimensional, painted characteristics unnecessary for legibility in the Chimú context.

[145] Pedro de Cieza de León, The Travels of Pedro De Cieza De León, A.D. 1532-50: Contained in the First Part of His Chronicle of Peru Volume 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 234

One vessel in the Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout sample incorporates *pepinos* in its iconography. Catalog number 2 depicts two fruits shown in the round, hanging down from either end of the double-to-single spout, resting on the sides of a rectangular-shaped body. The fruits are hanging from a peduncle and are oblong in shape. This piece (catalog number 2) is a blackware vessel, and as such, there are no two-dimensional surface treatments available, except incising which would not be true to the naturally smooth surface of the *pepino*. One Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessel depicts two *pepinos* on a polychrome vessel (Figure 2.47). Polychromy was reintroduced on the North Coast following the Inka conquest; this in combination with the flared rim denotes the Inka influences on this vessel. The depiction of the *pepinos*, while similar in form to Moche and Chimú predecessors, differs in the color scheme. Rather than a cream body with red striations, the Chimú-Inka pepinos have a red body with purple striations. Purple was one of the main colors in the Inka ceramic palette, and was not typically found in the North Coast palette until the Inka conquest.[146] The three dimensional, sculptural depictions of the *pepinos* are reminiscent of strong North Coast preference for sculptural representations in ceramics. In this light, the polychrome vessel incorporates traditional North Coast elements, sculptural depictions, two *pepinos* in the composition, and the ubiquitous double-to-single spout form with Inka design principles of polychromy, specifically purple (Figure 2.47). Like so many other vessels with their unique combinations of features, it represents the creativity of this co-articulated style.

[146] Purple lines were part of the Vicús tradition though. Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, and Santiago Uceda Castillo, "The Mochicas," in *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, ed. Helaine Silverman, and William H. Isbell (New York: Springer, 2007).

Pacae/Anadenanthera

A long pod is frequently depicted in Moche, Chimú, and Chimú-Inka ceramics. Two plant species fit these depictions, but which is identified has major implications for the interpretation of the compositions.

These pods could be depictions of a coastal fruit known equally as *pacae/pacay* and *guama/guaba/guana*, (*Inga edulis*), that grow on trees (up to 30 meters tall and 60 cm in diameter). The seed pods contain both a white, fluffy pulp that can be eaten raw and protein-rich seeds that can be roasted and eaten. The pods themselves have a rich green color. The timber harvested from the trees must have also been a valued substance in an environment with few trees. These trees were probably purposefully planted to condition the soil, as their root nodules fix nitrogen, thus increasing fertility levels of the soil.[147] On the North Coast where the intense sun can be damaging rather than sustaining to agriculture, the shade these trees also provide were/are highly valued. These trees, however, are more tolerant of heat rather than cold, as they are fine in temperatures as high as 30 degrees Celsius (86 degrees Fahrenheit), but are easily damaged by cool temperatures. They are usually grown along riverbanks that offer a constant water supply. As such, they are perfectly suited to the riverbanks and irrigation canals of the North Coast, whereas the cooler temperatures of the highlands are not suitable.

The first historical reference to *pacae* is from Pedro Pizarro's *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru (1571)*, when Atahualpa sent a basket of them to Hernando Pizarro via a spy. In this scenario, Atahualpa disguises an Inka *orejon* (the Spanish name of "big ears" that was used for Inka nobles, whose enlarged earlobes resulted from wearing huge earspools) in local or *yunga* clothing (the Spanish

[147] "Http://En.Wikipedia.Org/Wiki/Inga_Feuilleei." Retrieved December 14, 2013.

name for the North Coast population). It seems likely that Atahualpa included the basket of *pacae* not only for its sweetness and high local value, but also for its association with coastal agriculture, a prop that would further disguise the Inka noble. Viewed in this manner, representations of *pacae* can be linked not only to general fertility, but also to a specifically locally significant North Coast foodstuff.

On the other hand, in art long seed pods could also be those from the *Anadenanthera* tree. These trees grow at slightly higher altitudes than *pacae*, from 315-2200m, indicating that they are neither autochthonous to the North Coast, which is below 315 m, nor the Cuzco Valley, which is higher than 2200m. The pods are green to brown in color, depending on how dry the pods are, and contain seeds that produce visions when ground (a powder the Inka called *vilca*) and either inhaled or ingested. Bernabé Cobo, the 16th Century Jesuit who carefully observed the behaviors of the indigenous populations where he preached, informs us of the Inka practice of mixing *aqha* with *vilca*.[148] This will be relevant to several discussion of other Chimú-Inka vessels; decorations (see chapter 3 and 4).

While it is difficult to distinguish between these two pods, there are examples in the Moche, Chimú, and Inka cultures in which a positive identification of the exact species is possible. In both cases, supplementary information is necessary, as the pods do not contain sufficient distinguishing characteristics on their own. A revealing Moche vessel combines two and three dimensions as modeled lizards climb a painted *Anadenanthera* tree on a double-to-single spout vessel (Figure 2.48). In this case, the leaves of the *Anadenanthera* tree, and the lizards that frequent their branches, provide the

[148] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*.

necessary contextual information for its identification. Moche double-to-single spout vessels depicting pods often include two pods, with each pod having an end of the double spout emerging from the top (Figure 2.49). The vessels are typically orangewares with the pods painted in a cream slip. If the pods are depicting *pacae*, this may be a reference to the white interior that surrounds the seeds; *Anadenanthera* pods do not include anything other than the seeds themselves.

The Chimú seemingly favored representations of pods without distinguishable differences. As such, it cannot currently be determined which pod, *pacae* or *Anadenanthera*, is being depicted. Chimú double-to-single spout vessels depicting pods. As may be expected, these compositions are blackware vessels, and are elevated on pedestals (Figure 2.50). In this example, these compositions, as in other Chimú pod depictions, only one pod is included, with the double-to-single spout running along the intersection of the carpels (the two sides of the pod). While it is tempting to conclude that this is a depiction of a native *pacae* fruit, the presence of *Anadenanthera* and the associated *vilca* seeds on the North Coast cannot be dismissed as a possibility. Without further information, such as the testing of the interior for *vilca* residue, a definitive identification of the pod is not possible.

One of the most common Inka *urpu* motifs incorporates the abstracted leaf pattern of the *Anadenanthera* tree (Figure 2.51). This motif has previously been linked to maize, ferns, or *khipus*,[149] but in comparing the fern-like nature of the Inka design with the Moche depiction of the *Anadenanthera* tree, it is clear that the same object is being depicted in two different styles. Each representation is true to the broader stylistic

[149] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes."

qualities of their artistic traditions: the Moche vessel shows the tree naturalistically, with all elements present (the tree trunk, leaves, and seed pods), while Inka depictions isolate the leaves and then geometricize the motif.

Two Chimú-Inka vessels from the "composite" sample include representations of pods (Figure 2.52 and 2.53). While the compositions of both vessels are quite similar, with the double-to-single spout oriented along vertical length of the pod, Figure 2.52 focuses on the exterior of the pod, while Figure 2.53 provides an "x-ray" view of the interior seeds and pulp. This interior view illustrates the most prized elements of the pods, the seeds. Whether these seeds are the protein rich seeds of the *pacae* or the vision inducing *vilca* seeds is indeterminable. If in these cases the pods belong to a pleasant fruit originally from the highlands that is one thing, if to a powerful entheogen, that leads to a completely different reading. Perhaps furture research will allow us to differentiate the two.

In sum, the plant species included in the Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessel sample include ones that singularly grow in either a North Coast (squash and *pacae*) or highland (*pepino*) environment, as well as species that were present in both locations (maize), or trade items brought into both environments (*Anadenanthera*). The depictions on double-to-single spout vessels follows a range from those with sufficient detail to identify specific varieties within the species to a lack of the specificity to even identify the species. Common throughout these depictions is a focus on the sculptural properties provided by mold-making ceramics. All the vessels overall forms were wrought from molds, creating three-dimensional replications of the flora species they depicted. The details of firing method and surface detail provide subtle clues regarding

the complex associations, status, and role of these species in the during the Inka control of the North Coast.

Geometric Motif Vessels

While the popularity of plain vessels seemingly decreased from the Chimú to Chimú-Inka, a new category of geometric designs was created in the Chimú-Inka style. Five Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels incorporate geometric motifs into their iconography. Given the preponderance of geometric motifs in Inka ceramics and textiles, the sudden inclusion in the Chimú-Inka ceramic style must be attributable to Inka influence. This can be interpreted either as a conciliation to Inka stylistic conventions or as Chimú artists creatively incorporating new iconography due to the less centralized scrutiny of artistic production than was present under Chimú control. Contrary to the Inka tradition of slip painting geometric motifs, the Chimú-Inka interpretation is expressed in the primarily Chimú technological style choice of blackware and its possible surface treatments.

While the Chimú artistic tradition was typically figural, there were also geometric influences, particularly in the mural programs. Matching vessels (catalog numbers 5 and 24) feature two registers, the bottom of which contains a geometric motif divided into four quarters.[150] This same geometric motif appears in Chimú murals from the Huaca Esmeralda (Figure 2.54); however, in the mural the interior section contains a bird. The similarity of this motif to the Quechua name for the Inka Empire, Tahuantinsuyu (Land of the Four Quarters), cannot be overlooked, There is a dot in each quadrant as well. These incised dots create a tension to the surface of the vessel, contrasting with the raised stippled background upon which the motif lies.

[150] The top register of catalog number 005 is discussed in the marine motif section of this chapter.

Registers are also one of the primary compositional elements of catalog number 18. It is tempting to assign an Inka influence to this formal arrangement, as this is one of the main decorative principles used for *urpus*; however, dividing space into registers was also a popular convention in North Coast ceramics and mural programs,[151] so this was a basic shared design concept among the Chimú, Inka, and Chimú-Inka. In catalog number 18 the registers alternate between containing repeated concentric rectangles, on the one hand, and a stepped fret alternating with a circle or a concentric rectangle on the other.

Another piece (catalog number 7) is one of the most minimally decorated vessels analyzed in the Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout sample. The vessel only has two elements of decoration: a double-lined zigzag line along the double-to-single spout and two monkey *adornos* perched on either side of the neck. This minimalism may be a nod to Inka artistic preferences.

The final double-to-single spout vessel with geometric motifs to be discussed was made with polychrome surface decoration on the body and double-to-single spout of the vessel, catalog number 8. The double-to-single spout serves to divide the vessel into two equal parts, and each side has three sections delineated by five lines radiating from the center of the vessel. These lines effectively create nearly trapezoidal shapes, a shape strongly associated with Inka architectural principles.[152] The use of multiple lines to breakup space is also incorporated into Inka *urpu* decoration, likewise used to divide the front of *urpus* into three sections. The parallel lines decorating the double-to-single spout are also reminiscent of Inka decorations on the back of *urpus* (see chapter 3). The use of polychrome, however, may be the most overt Inka stylistic detail of the vessel, one that

[151] The Burr frieze at Chan Chan is composed of 99 vertical registers.
[152] Stone, *Art of the Andes from Chavín to Inca*.

would have been more obvious when the vessel was viewed from a distance. Thus, this example tend strongly towards the Inka in the continuum, understandable given the emphasis on pure geometry in Inka art as a whole.

Plain Vessels

Chimú double-to-single spout vessels with plain bodies formed over a quarter (27%) of the sample. After fauna, this is the most often represented category of iconography, yet, due to the multitude of different specific motifs within the fauna category, plain vessels represent the most consistently repeated artistic choice.

The corpus of Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels did not include any vessels with a plain body, however, the "composite" corpus included twelve plain ones out of the 107 vessels. All of the vessels in the sample are blackware with no incised or painted decoration. The designation of plain is only in reference to the lack of iconography on the body of the vessel, as every vessel in this category has an *adorno* (see *adorno* section below).

Across the Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout sample, there are three primary distinctions found in the form of plain bodies. Most plain vessels are round in shape with a flattened base (Figure 2.55, top left), but some have a distinctive ridge that give the body a more angular appearance (Figure 2.55, top right). A final plain category has a rounded body elevated on a pedestal (Figure 2.55, bottom). The pedestal is a Chimú stylistic convention, probably incorporated once the Chimú conquered the Sicán culture, that continues during the Chimú-Inka style on several different ceramic forms. The main characteristic differentiating Chimú-Inka from Chimú plain double-to-single spout vessels is again the presence of a flared rim.

Human Motif Vessels

Chimú-Inka style double-to-single spout vessels continued the tradition of depicting frontal human figures from the Moche and Chimú ceramic traditions. While the Moche artistic tradition includes too many unique depictions of the human form to generalize, the Chimú tradition frequently replicates a similar human form. Repeated in adobe reliefs, textiles, ceramics, metal repoussé, and wood sculptures is a frontal male figure with arms splayed to either side, wearing a short tunic and one of a handful of headdress styles (Figure 2.56). The style of headdress is often used to distinguish different Chimú styles, such as what are referred to as the Toothed Crescent Style or Plain Crescent Style.[153]

Human iconography was not frequently incorporated into the Inka artistic tradition. One exception to this is the representation of a face found on the necks of some Inka ceramics. The facial features are not shown on representation of a head; rather, the features are placed on the neck of the vessel. This motif is further explored in Chapter 3.

Four Chimú-Inka vessels (catalog numbers 1, 11, 21 and 22) share many characteristics inherited from the Chimú tradition in the depiction of the human form. Catalog numbers 21 and 22, nearly identical vessels, in addition to the overt inclusion of the double-to-single spout, continue two-dimensional renditions of human figures by the Chimú. The pedestal, so often included on late Chimú vessels, has been omitted, and the body of the Chimú-Inka vessel has a flattened bottom to allow it to stand straight. The characteristic flattened, flared rim is present in the Chimú-Inka version. The stippled background upon which the figure is depicted is a convention used across Chimú ceramic

[153] Ann P. Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast* (Washington, D.C.: Textile Museum, 1984).

forms, with different iconographic motifs (see chapters 3 and 4, sections of bird) and is directly borrowed for the Chimú-Inka vessel. The demarcation of the scene with two parallel lines remains, but it has been slightly altered, with a larger space present between the figures than in Chimú versions. There are four panels of figures in both vessels. All the figures hold their arms up and their bodies are truncated with the feet splayed out to the sides. They are shown wearing a headdress and elaborate ear spools as well. Headdresses are often used to create a chronology of Chimú artistic styles. Chimú textiles are categorized according to four styles. In textiles these are, in chronological order: Bird Lot Style, Toothed Crescent Style, Pelican Style and Plain Crescent Headdress Style.[154] The headdresses worn by both figures in the vessel corresponds to the Plain Crescent style; however, the Chimú figure has a double crescent headdress and the Chimú-Inka figure a single crescent. Textiles with depictions of figures wearing single crescent headdresses have been found in Inka related burials,[155] perhaps suggesting a link between this specific headdress and the Inka occupation of the North Coast.

The Chimú-Inka figure is depicted holding a staff. Depending on the side of the vessel, the staff is held in either the right or left hand. Andean notions of reciprocity and status were linked with notions of the left and right. Tom Cummins, in analyzing the role and function of *keros* in Inka political ideology, highlights sections from Garcilaso de la Vega's account of the Inka, particularly Book 6, chapters 23.[156] According to Garcilaso:

> Whoever extended the invitation to drink carried the two vessels in his hands, and if his guest was of lower rank, he offered the vessel in his left hand; if of higher or

[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Thomas B.F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002): 109-115.

> equal rank, the one in his right, exhibiting greater or less ceremony according to the degree of equality of each.[157]

If these notions of left and right, lower and higher rank were extended beyond merely toasting, then the hand in which the staff is carried could also hold significance. Since the figures on the front and back of the Chimú-Inka vessel differ, someone presenting the vessel would see the figure with the staff in one hand while the recipient of the vessel would see it in the other. The act of exchange, a result of a power dynamic, was thus also illustrated in the vessel being exchanged. The composition and depiction of these figures, so in debt to the Chimú artistic tradition can thus be viewed as incorporating Inka concepts into this piece.

Mace Heads Vessels

Mace heads were depicted three-dimensionally as the base of double-to-single spout vessels. There are two known Chimú mace head double-to-single spout vessels, and two known Chimú-Inka macehead double-to-single spout vessels (catalog number 12).[158]

While there are depictions of clubs and mace heads in two-dimensions in the Moche ceramic tradition, the three-dimensional form seems to originate with the Chimú. It is possible that there are additional vessels of this type, as they are frequently associated with the carambola fruit (*Averrhoa carambola*). However, *carambolas* were not introduced to South America until 1817, when Paul Germain brought them to Pernambuco, Brazil.[159] Additionally, the *carambola* fruit has five protrusions, while the known Chimú and Chimú-Inka depictions have six. For these reasons, the identification

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[157] Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*: Part I, Book 6, Chapter 23, 364.
[158] One of the Chimú mace head double-to-single spout vessels is categorized as a Chimú-Inka vessel, but it is unclear as to why this categorization was designated. A more accurate dichotomy between the four vessels may be between straight-rimmed mace head double-to-single spout vessels and flared-rimmed mace head double-to-single spout vessels.
[159] Orlando Tello, Ricardo Garcia, Oscar Vásquez, "Conservación De Averrhoa Carambola "Carambola" Por Azucar Y Calor," *Revista Amazónica de Investigación* 2, no. 1 (2002): 50.

of these vessels as *carambola* fruits needs to be revised. This has not previously been discussed in the literature.

The most likely object to be depicted is in fact a mace head. A Chimú-Inka vessel provides further information contextualizing the identification of the six-sided object as a mace head. Catalog number 11 depicts a man with large earspools, a pillbox hat, and a staff with five-sided mace head. This vessel thus provides contextual information not just for the function of the six-sided object on the top of a staff, but the social context in which such an object would function. Earspools, and even enlarged ear lobes, are often used as a diagnostic for high status on the North Coast.[160] While the exact role of the figure may not be discerned from the associated attributes (see discussion in Human section), it can be reasonably assumed that the figure held some position of status, even possibly within the Inka administrative system. It would seem, based on the context of the figure in catalog number 11, that the function of the mace head,as a weapon was not necessarily its only function. Here, the mace head seems to function more as a staff denoting an office or rank, than that the figure is engaged in warfare; it has gained symbolic aspects of domination and power if not overt violence.

This emblem was likewise made as the base of a double-to-single spout vessel with a straight rim (Appendix A number 42). This could indicate either that the emblem functioned as a symbol for office in the Chimú bureaucracy (and was thus made by the Chimú), or that the emblem originated in the Chimú-Inka style (and was thus made following the Inka occupation of the North Coast).

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[160] Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004): 113-140.

A similar, but slightly smaller vessel with a six-sided mace head (catalog number 12) has the typical Inka flared rim. This Chimú-Inka vessel, whether in continuing a previous Chimú form or creating a new form, nonetheless continues a North Coast tradition of *pars pro toto*, where a part of a larger iconographic element, in this case a staff, is depicted in place of the entire element. Here, not only does the staff serve to symbolize the office, but the staff is further minimized to include only the staff head (see chapter 2, section on camelids)

Adornos

The final iconographic component of double-to-single spout vessels is the *adornos* the small, sculptural adornment placed, in the case of double-to-single spout vessels, at the intersection of the neck and the double-to-single. Vessels in all iconographic categories included *adornos*. *Adornos* become increasingly incorporated into Moche ceramics,[161] and their presence is continued in the Chimú and Chimú-Inka styles. The expanded samples of Chimú and Chimú-Inka ceramics were analyzed in terms of the type of *adorno* (Table 1.3 and 1.4). In the Chimú sample, 73% (227 out of 310) of the vessels included an *adorno*, while in the Chimú-Inka sample *adornos* were included in 63% (67 out of 107). Many *adornos* in both groups are no longer intact, as it is harder to dry the clay prior to firing without it breaking, so these numbers must be understood to represent the minimum of vessels that originally had *adornos*. For vessels where vestiges of an *adorno* are visible, the vessel was included in the total number of vessels with *adornos*, but the specific iconography was categorized as unidentified.[162]

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[161] Shimada, *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture*.
[162] Sixty-four vessels (28%) in the Chimú sample were categorized as unidentified, while eleven vessels (16%) in the Chimú-Inka sample were categorized as unidentified.

The most commonly seen *adornos* in the Chimú style are birds and monkeys (Figure 2.57). Birds and monkeys dominate the *adorno* iconography of Chimú vessels, cumulatively accounting for over 90% of the sample. The *adornos* in the Chimú-Inka style are typically birds, monkeys, circles, and stepped-triangles, expanding upon the repertoire of the previous style (Figure 2.58). Birds and monkey *adornos* only account for two-thirds of the Chimú-Inka sample. While these two categories are still the majority of the *adornos* on Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels, circle and stepped-triangle *adornos* are represented in a greater proportion than they were previously. The distribution of *adorno*-type can be seen as a continuation of the trend in greater variability among Chimú-Inka vessels. Under the watchful eye of Chimú lords, artists practicing in Chan Chan seemingly had a stricter set of guidelines to follow.

Another possible interpretation of the varied distribution of *adorno*-types relates to the broader stylistic trends of the Inka. As previously mentioned, the Inka tended towards geometric decoration rather than the more figural tradition of the Chimú. *Adorno* decoration seems to likewise continue this trend, as the pierced circle and stepped fret *adorno*-types are found in much greater number in the Chimú-Inka style. Since the sample of Chimú vessels is based on style rather than chronology, it is possible that the few examples of pierced circles (two examples) and stepped frets (eight examples) from the Chimú-style vessels were actually made by the Inka. Further evidence needs to be collected in order to substantiate this claim, until then, it is an exciting possibility that Inka influence was also incorporated into more overtly Chimú ceramics with straight spouts.

Conclusion

Findings from technological style, proportional, and iconographic analyses of the important and well-represented double-to-single spout vessel indicate that there was greater variability in the Chimú-Inka ceramic assemblage compared to the Chimú. The incorporation of polychrome firing methods re-introduced color to the North Coast assemblage and diversified from the predominantly blackware Chimú tradition. The forming of the double-to-single spout likewise indicated greater similarity in the double-to-single proportions during Chimú administration when compared to Inka administration. Likewise, most ceramic iconography under the Chimú was either plain or of fauna. Chimú-Inka iconography was more evenly distributed among fauna, marine, flora, geometric, plain, and human categories. Double-to-single spout vessels, then, despite continuing a pervasive North Coast tradition, experienced a period of innovation under the Inka due to a more flexible approach to how this vessel form could be created. Perhaps this was due to the Inka not previously having a set program for this form. The Inka approach to their own, autochthonous vessel form, the *urpu*, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Urpus:

the Introduction of an Inka Form on the North Coast

The *urpu* form has been deemed "the best known and most characteristic of the imperial Inka assemblage."[163] This chapter explores this Inka ceramic form and the ways in which its Chimú-Inka production blends the artistic traits of the expansionistic Inka with those of their former rival, the Chimú. The *urpu* is a vessel with a round shoulder, tall neck with a flared rim, a pointed base, handles low on the body, a lug on the front of the body, and circular lugs underneath the rim. The side of the vessel with the lug is here considered the front, as this would be the visible side while it was carried with a tump-line. This form has no North Coast precedents, nor was it present in the highlands prior to the Inka, i.e., it originated with the Inka artistic assemblage. This form is considered to be diagnostically Inka, in that it was developed exclusively by the Inka and was only produced by the Inka and by their subjects at Inka behest. Despite the imposition of the *urpu* vessel, a symbol of Inka control, Chimú artists both overtly and covertly included elements of their own ceramic tradition. Comparative proportional and iconographic analyses of 50 Inka and 90 Chimú-Inka *urpus* demonstrate the distinctions and continuities between the pure Inka and the hybrid Chimú-Inka vessel forms.

Description of the Samples

For the present analysis, a sample was needed of Inka *urpus* that would be archaeologically documented as originating from the Cuzco-area, here designated as Cuzco-Inka. Therefore the objects came largely from the extensively documented Field

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[163] Tamara L. Bray, "To Dine Splendidly: Imperial Pottery, Commensal Politics, and the Inca State," in *Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (2003): 111.

Museum of Natural History collection. By contrast, Chimú-Inka pieces are more scattered and generally not archaeologically documented; the sample of these objects therefore comes from many collections, only one of which has provenance information (the site museum at Túcume).[164] For the pieces housed in certain museums that were built specifically to house materials from the North Coast and curated by experts in the field, such as the Museo Brüning, all of the examples that I deemed authentic are included here, even without provenance information. For present purposes, Chimú-Inka *urpus* were determined to be authentic if they were blackware (a trademark of Chimú ceramic style), had overtly Chimú iconography (e.g., frontal figures or maritime birds), or had obviously Chimú formal design features (e.g., correspondence in size or proportions to other types of Chimú ceramics).

The present study focuses on *urpus* in the size range of 9.5-26 cm. In terms of size, George Miller has identified two clusters of Inka *urpu* sizes (based on a study of Cuzco-Inka *urpus* from the site of Sacsawaman above Cuzco): a group of large vessels, probably used for storage, between 80-97 cm high; and a group of small vessels, probably used for burial offerings, between 15-22 cm high.[165] In my analysis of Chimú-Inka *urpus*, I have focused on the smaller vessels for several reasons. First, the larger vessels are much less common – they probably do not survive as readily due to their fragility-- and therefore are not as well represented in museum collections. Perhaps as a result, I have found no Chimú-Inka *urpus* of the larger size, and in an effort to compare vessels with

[164] The Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample pulls from nearly every museum visited as part of the broader study: the American Museum of Natural History, the Brooklyn Museum, the Field Museum, the Museo Bruning, the Museo de America de Madrid, the Museo Larco, the National Museum of Denmark, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, the Quai Branly, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich, the Peabody Museum at Yale, and the site museum at Túcume.

[165] Miller, "An Investigation of Cuzco-Inca Ceramics; Canons of Form, Proportion, and Size:" 129.

the Inka pieces that could serves as models, *urpus* in or around the 15-22 cm range therefore became the focus of this study. However, 18 of the 90 vessels (20%) fall outside this stated size range. According to Miller's categorization, there is a gap in the sizing of *urpus* between 22 cm and 80 cm. So, while 12 *urpus* are slightly larger than 22 cm, none are larger than 26 mm, and are therefore still considered as part of the medium-sized category. This may indicate a more flexible approach to ceramic production in the provinces than in the heartland. Catherine Julien also includes miniature *urpus* as a third size category of the vessel, but does not provide a range of sizes.[166] There are 6 *urpus* smaller than 15 cm in the sample, but the progression in decreasing size is gradual, and, again, does not indicate the gap Miller suggested.

Development of the Form

The *urpu* form appears to be a wholly unique Inka invention; it was without precedent in highland cultural development and moreover was not adopted by non-highland neighbors or subjects until the Inka introduction of the form throughout the Andean region. The Killke ceramic tradition, which preceded the rise of the Inka, included many of the vessel forms and decorative principles of the later Inka;[167] however, the *urpu* form was not one of them. Even individual components of Killke ceramics did not seem to influence the *urpu* shape, as vessels in the Killke tradition had flat bases, one or no handles, and, at most, only a slightly flaring rim. Other features of *urpus*, such as the typically zoomorphic lug on the center of the body or the circular lugs underneath the rim, are likewise absent from the Killke tradition. Killke influence, however, is visible in

[166] Catherine J. Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca," ibid.: 25-27.
[167] Brian S. Bauer, "The Early Ceramics of the Inca Heartland," *Fieldiana* 31(1999); Brian S. and Charles Stanish Bauer, "Killke and Kille-Related Pottery from Cuzco, Peru, in the Field Museum of Natural Histor," ibid.15 (1990).

the decorative motifs and other vessel forms of the Classical Cuzco Inka ceramic tradition, as will be discussed later.

Technological Style Analysis

Distinct technological styles, including the use of two-part molds for the entire (or majority of the) vessel and blackware firing techniques, identify Chimú artistic traditions. The Inka in turn favored coil-built ceramics and polychromy. Because there is no Chimú antecedent; the Chimú-Inka *urpu* did not develop or continue North Coast traditions, as in the double-to-single spout form. Thus, the Inka approach to the *urpu* form will be described first, followed by the Chimú-Inka modifications which imply the role of the Chimú in determining how they differ from Cuzco-Inka practices. There was inevitably overlap in production techniques between the Inka and the Chimú-Inka regarding the handles, lugs, and other supplemental elements that were not present in the previous Chimú ceramic assemblage. However, a primary distinction between Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpu* manufacture is in the technique used to form the vessel body. Coil-made versus mold-made. Therefore the vessel body construction will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of the surface treatment, another primary distinction.

Manufacture

Coil Method

Cuzco-style Inka *urpus* were built section-by-section by coiling fillets of clay into spirals and smoothing the interior and exterior surfaces to erase the rounded edges of each coil.[168] The coils were smoothed using diagonal strokes, as vertical and horizontal strokes would tend to push the coils apart, weakening the integrity of the vessel.[169] In

[168] Lunt, "The Manufacture of the Inca Aryballus:" 493
[169] Ibid.: 494.

typical Inka artistic fashion, when the object is finalized these strokes are no longer perceptible, smoothed to the point of nullifying the artist's hand.

The combination of thin walls, high-quality smoothing, and undulating profile make an Inka *urpu* more of a virtuoso form than it might first appear. After allowing each section to dry out partially-- only dry enough to hold up the next portion without collapsing-- more coils were added to the vessel to build up its challenging outward- and inward-flaring shape. Since Inka ceramics overall do have incredibly thin walls, coiling was apparently preferred for the quick drying time between sections it allows. On the other hand, thin walls are harder to make since there is less clay to smooth and one must be very precise. Thin-walls also tend to collapse more easily, especially in a "cantilevered" form such as the *urpu* in which a narrow base flares out to a wide "waist" and back in again plus a tall neck sits on top and again flares out into space.[170] The coiling method and thin walls require the handles to be placed low on the body so that the weight of the handles when applied does not cause the body to sag inward during production.[171]

At least some Chimú-Inka *urpus* were made with the coiling method (e.g., Catalog Number 079, in which the completely smooth interior offers clear evidence that this Chimú-Inka *urpu* was handmade without molds. To achieve this degree of smoothness, inside and out, the thin walls of the body were more likely built up with the Inka technological style of coiling. By studying it in person I was able to ascertain that catalog number 079 was indeed coiled, yet it is not always possible to determine the method of manufacture without this opportunity, and even then, it cannot always be

[170] Ibid.: 495
[171] Ibid.: 496.

determined with 100% certainty. Thus, there are many objects in the overall Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample in which the manufacture process unfortunately remains indeterminate.

Mold Method

As discussed in chapter 2, mold making of double-to-single spout vessels was a long-standing tradition on the North Coast of Peru, dating to at least the time of the Salinar culture.[172] The Moche primarily used a two-piece mold primarily to create the body, whereas the spout and base were made with coils and modeling .[173] They also used some direct modeling, coiling, and stamping. Chimú ceramic production expanded on the use of molds. One of their innovations was the creation of the entire double-to-single spout from a two-piece mold, although they also used neckless molds that required separate hand modeling to finish the vessel.[174] By leaving mold seams visible, the Chimú ceramics readily portray the hand of the artist, a trait that runs counter to the values of most other Andean cultures concerning artistic production. In an obvious continuation of the Chimú technological style, mold seams are visible on many Chimú-Inka examples as well.[175] Since they are widespread, such intentionally visible indications of the mold process were apparently still acceptable after the Inka conquest of the Chimú. Perhaps visible seams even represented a subversive statement, as a reminder of the labor given to the *Chimú* state by the many artists stolen by the Inka. In either case, the seams drew

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[172] According to Burger it is possible, but not proven that Cupisnique ceramics were mold made. Burger, "Life and Afterlife in Pre-Hispanic Peru and Catalog Entries."Rafael Larco Hoyle attests that Salinar ceramics were mold made, based on analysis of the vessels, and not the presence of molds in the archaeological record. Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica Del Norte Del Perú*.
[173] According to Donnan one-piece molds were also used. Donnan, "Moche Ceramic Technology:" 118-119
[174] Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru; Hartmut Tschauner, "Socioeconomic and Political Organization in the Late Prehispanic Lambayeque Sphere, Northern North Coast of Peru" (Harvard University, 2001) ibid.: 91
[175] The mold seams are visible in Catalog Numbers: 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 65, 66, 67, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 81, 91, 96, 97.

attention to the enormous scale of mass-production controlled by the elites, whether native to the North Coast or to their new highland overlords.

Since the Inka did not use molds to fashion their ceramics, Chimú-Inka *urpus* created using two-part molding techniques inherited this tradition from the preceding North Coast cultures. Like Inka *urpus*, North Coast vessels were also built in sections; however, rather than using coils, individual parts were made as slabs of clay pressed into molds and the large smooth sections of the front and back of the vessel joined together at the side seams. While again this may seem like an easy proposition, and molds are typically chosen for their efficient production of multiple vessels, a hand-built original or mast preceded an reproduction thereof, and each slab would have to be made of similarly thick elements in order to ensure even firing. Joining the slabs along long seams could be tricky; they could split as they dried or during firing if not completely joined, or air bubbles could be accidentally trapped in the middle of the seam where the two parts come together and explode the pot during firing.

Like the preceding Chimú vessels, Chimu-Inka *urpus* were most frequently made with a single mold for the base, body, and shoulders, while the necks were made with a separate mold. In most examples, the conical base and body were formed using one mold. For the present analysis, this was verified visually from the interior of broken vessels, and from touching the outer surface of many vessels to find the joins using tactile engagement. The necks of Chimú-Inka vessels were typically made from separate molds. A preserved two-part neck mold (Figure 2.16) exemplifies the type of separate mold used for making Chimú-Inka ceramics. This example is for a ‘face-neck’ vessel; the facial

features are visible on the viewer's left. This mold would have been combined with other molds for the vessel's body in order to make the complete vessel.

Clearly the more molds at play for a single object, the more skill was needed to ensure even layers of clay in each mold, and the more chance that multiple joins could malfunction and ruin the piece. In addition, there was also skill involved in the successful appliquéing of the handles and lugs to the body of the vessel, as protruding parts tend to dry more quickly and can break off even before firing as a result. As such, Chimú-Inka ceramics demonstrate virtuosity through the many parts and techniques successfully combined to form a single, unified composition. This additive technological approach, found in all the Chimú arts, is less a short-cut than actually a longer, more involved process; this counters those scholars that still view the ceramics as simply "mass-produced" and lower in quality as a result.

Hand Modeling

Both Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* include elements that were hand modeled and then appliquéd to the main body of the vessel: two small handles on opposite sides of the body, a lug in the center of the body, and two lugs on the underside of the flared rim. In order to be carried on a human back, a long, continuous loop of rope, called a tump line, went from across the carrier's forehead down through one strap handle, up over the body lug, through the other handle, and back to the wearer's forehead (Figure 2.21).[176] Not only does the vessel shape ergonomically fit the curve of a human back, the *urpu's* narrow neck limits the evaporation of liquid. Both of these aspects facilitate the transportation of liquids, one of the *urpu's* main purposes. Of course, once the *urpu* had

[176] Frederico Kauffmann Doig, *Historia General De Los Peruanos 1* (Lima, Peru: PEISA, 1980): 540 and 726.

transported a liquid to its intended location, the handles were also instrumental in fulfilling the second primary function: pouring liquid at feasts and ceremonies.

The handles were modeled by hand then attached to the sides of the vessel body while the clay was still wet enough to adhere well. Because they were hand made, handles on the same vessel tend to have slight variance in length, width, and curvature, both within a given vessel and between different ones. Additionally, the vertical placement of handles on the vessel varies, as does the distance between the handles across either the front or back of the body. Since the seams on Chimú-Inka vessels tend to remain visible, and run beneath the location of the handles, the seams could have served as guidelines for the placement of the handles. Yet the handles of Chimú-Inka *urpus* in the sample are systematically shifted slightly forward of the visible seams, closer to the side with the central lug which is being considered the front. This front-oriented handle placements indicates a specific aesthetic choice made only by Chimú-Inka artists; it is another subtle yet seemingly purposeful way in which to disengage Chimú-Inka *urpu* production from Cuzco-Inka *urpus* models. This also may be yet another way of drawing attention to the seam, a tradition inherited form the North Coast.

Like the handles, all the lugs on Chimú-Inka *urpus* were modeled by hand and added to the still wet clay. It is only in the form and decoration that the handles, rim lugs, and body lugs differ from one to another, not in their manufacture (see Figure 3.1). Although the Chimú *adorno* (see Chapter 2) could be seen as a general precedent, Chimú-Inka body lugs are placed as far from the intersection of the neck and rim as possible. Thus, they cannot be too closely related to Chimú *adornos,* always placed at the intersection of double-to-single spouts and vessel bodies (see Chapter 2). This type of

decorative element may still have appealed to Chimú-Inka artists as the additive process used for *adornos* and body lugs were similar, with the exception of the location shifting from the intersection of the body and neck to the front of the body.

Plain body lugs were modeled into circular forms and attached to the still-wet surface of the vessel. Many of these lugs display additional ornamentation, usually a highly stylized face delineated by two short vertical incised markings for the eyes and a horizontal line for the mouth. The body lugs often feature incised, abstracted faces, much like the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* examples. For instance, catalog number 037, an otherwise plain Chimú-Inka *urpu*, has a trapezoidal lug protruding from the body with two incised dots and an incised, horizontal line that delineate an abstracted face (Figure 3.2). A few Chimú-Inka vessels display lugs on the vessel body that are more representational and elaborate in subject matter: sculpted ears of corn, conch shells, or cacti, to name a few (Figure 3.3). This obviously represents the Chimú predilection for depicting the natural world, yet I would questions this binary description of Chimú art as representative and Inka as abstract, as there are many examples of Inka naturalism, such as camelid *conopas* (stone sculpted miniatures used in rituals to ensure the protection of the living equivalent of the image, i.e., a miniature llama would be used in rituals to protect the llama flock), human and camelid figurines, and the silver and gold agricultural sculpture garden in Cuzco (Figure 2.44). However, the origins of naturalism in Inka art may well stem from Chimú artists, as Chan Chan, the Chimú capital populated with artists, was depopulated when the Inka forcefully moved them to Cuzco to produce for their empire.[177] This is just

[177] Hamilton, personal communication via Stone personal communication, February 11, 2015.

one of many areas needing future research to clarify Inka style throughout their vast empire.[178]

By contrast, throughout the entire Chimú-Inka sample, the lugs on the underside of the flared rim remained geometric, appearing as small rings attached at the outer edge of the rim. This location makes them vulnerable to damage, and many vessels displayed broken edges that evidenced that there were once lugs in this location (Figure 3.4). As such, the common absence of lugs underneath the rim for these vessels is not indicative of their original absence. Since rim lugs are conspicuously absent in Chimú ceramics, these must be seen as a purely Inka imposition.

While mold making of the vessel body is most common, examination of broken Chimú-Inka vessels from several collections revealed that many Chimú-Inka *urpus* were only *partially* made with molds, much like the now-familiar Chimú creation process. Because of their fragmentary condition, vessels such as catalog number 056 (Figure 3.5) provide necessary information on this practice. Similar to the manufacturing process of Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels, in which the top element is hand made, the seams of Chimú-Inka *urpu* vessel bodies do not always continue along the neck. This indicates that either the seams along the neck were more thoroughly smoothed or that the necks were made by hand and added separately. It is not clear under what circumstances the Chimú-Inka artists used two-piece vertical molds for the entire vessel or used molds for the vessel body and hand modeled the neck. It was not always possible to determine if the seams for the neck had been smoothed or if they were made separately. Only in

[178] Cummins begins to question this reliance on characterizing the Inka as abstract. Tom Cummins, "Queros, Aquillas, Uncus and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2007).

incomplete vessels, where a break was present near the neck, was this possible to determine with certainty.

It is a notable incongruity that the Inka, touted for their high regard for standardization and efficiency, allowed the continuation of a Chimú-based system of using multiple molds, one that took great time and skill to execute. This is another way in which careful study of the Chimú-Inka ceramic assemblage informs our understanding of Inka administration of their former, and arguably still somewhat powerful enemy. The Chimú-Inka artists continued the use of familiar Chimú technological styles, perhaps to offset their visible capitulation evident by producing the diagnostically Inka *urpu* form itself.

Surface Treatment

Chimú and Inka artists treated the surfaces of ceramics quite differently. These distinctions provide key information identifying the dominant artistic tradition with which a given vessel can be associated.

Historically on the North Coast slip painting and oxygen-firing techniques that produce polychrome surfaces were present during the Salinar culture of approximately 200 BCE, and perfected during the Moche, but petered out during the Chimú reign. The Moche ceramics corpus consists mostly of polychromes, with only limited numbers of blackwares. However, Chimú ceramics were almost entirely made with blackware technologies. The Cuzco-Inka ceramic assemblage was without exception polychromatic, yet in the Inka provincial administration of former Chimú territories, both blackware and polychrome ceramics were created. The surface techniques of the Inka and Chimú-Inka

are explored in greater depth below to illuminate the technological interface between cultures.

Inka surface techniques

The primary manner of surface decoration among Inka ceramic vessels was the application of slips and firing in an oxygen-rich environment. Multiple colores were achieved as surface decoration by mixing minerals with clay in a suspension of water and applying it before firing the vessel. As previously discussed, the circulation of oxygen during firing allowed the colors to remain, as opposed to the lack thereof causing the vessels to become entirely black all over. Julien identifies purple, white/cream, red, and black as the slip colors in Cuzco Inka ceramics.[179] I would add that because the color of the clay past making up the body also remained visible in some cases, we should consider the Cuzco-Inka color palette to include orange and red as well. Inka slip painting generally occurred on the front of vessels and on the narrow, arched band around the back shoulders of the vessel, leaving the majority of the back and sides of the vessel for the paste to be revealed.

Incision was applied to the body lugs of Inka *urpus*. Minimal lines were incised into the small face that comprised the body lug, an abstracted head, as in the Chimú-Inka pieces as well. This was apparently a requirement imposed by the Inka overlords, an integral part of the *urpu* form

Chimú-Inka surface techniques

The majority of Chimú-Inka *urpus* (73/90 or 81%) were fired in the same manner as Chimú and Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels (see Chapter 2), following the North Coast ceramic tradition of reduced-oxygen firing. The reduced-oxygen atmosphere

[179] Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca."

of the kilns resulted in the clay turning grey to black during heating. In many cases, blackware *urpus* displayed an even shinier surface than simple reduction firing could produce, indicating that they were highly burnished while the clay was nearly dry. In some vessels, designs were made from alternating burnished and un-burnished areas (Figure 3.6).[180] As represented in this vessel, alternating burnished designs were typically found on the neck of Chimú-Inka *urpus*, which was also the area where the Inka were apt to slip paint in a similar alternating manner.

A subset (17/90 or 19%) of the Chimú-Inka *urpus* in the sample were polychromes. These Chimú-Inka artists incorporated a palette of colors similar, but slightly more limited than, to that of Inka polychromes: orange/red, white/cream, and black. As in Inka examples, areas of the clay paste were likewise left visible, providing orange or red backgrounds and completing the four colors of the Chimú-Inka palette. Although there are comparatively few of these items in the sample (19%), archaeological evidence supports their inclusion as part of the Chimú-Inka corpus. Ceramics archaeologically excavated at the Chimú-Inka site of Farfán confirm that oxidized-firing techniques, necessary for producing Inka style polychromatic vessels, were reintroduced to the North Coast following the Inka conquest of the Chimú. [181]

Purple, which was included in Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, was not observed in any of the Chimú-Inka *urpus* in this sample. It is not clear if the 'purple' slip was a prestige element only to be used in Cuzco-Inka ceramics, if the slip were harder to produce, or if a combination of these elements prevented its inclusion in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* assemblage. If textiles are any indication of the high-status associated with purple in Inka

[180] Catalog number 31.
[181] Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru:" 245.

art, Mary Frame suggests that the "black" seen in the Dumbarton Oaks royal tunic (Figure 3.7) is actually purple.[182]

Many of the Chimú-Inka polychrome ceramics display fire clouding (uneven dark areas that irregularly interrupt areas of polychromy) resulting from uneven oxygen flow during firing, such as catalog number 089 (Figure 3.8). This suggests that this reintroduced and imposed technique was not mastered to the same extent as reduced oxygen firing. Clearly, however, there are many fine polychrome examples from the Chimú-Inka style, such as catalog numbers 57 and 62 (Figure 3.9). Therefore, North Coast polychrome firing techniques either improved during the seventy-year Inka occupation of the North Coast, as might be expected, or different degrees of artistic talents were in operation throughout; we do not yet have fine temporal distinctions within the Chimú-Inka style to determine whether one of these scenarios, or both, apply.

As previously discussed, incision was frequently used on Chimú-Inka blackwares, perhaps because it provided a means to include more "sculptural" detail on the ceramic's surface, as favored in the Chimú ceramic tradition. Aside from the body lugs, Cuzco-Inka *urpus* and Chimú-Inka polychrome *urpus* do not use incision as a method of decoration; they are more predominantly 'Inka' in character. Chimú-Inka blackware *urpus*, however, typically employ incision on both the body lugs and the body surface.

Besides the abstract face body lugs mentioned above, entire compositions were also incised directly onto the clay body surface of many vessels, such as catalog number 56 (Figure 3.5), in which incised lines divide the body into quadrants on both the obverse

[182] Rebecca R. Stone, ""And All Theirs Different from His": The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2007).

and reverse. Within these quadrants, concentric rectangles were also incised, completing the decoration of the vessel. This large-scale incision far outstrips that of either the Inka or Chimú-Inka face lugs.

In the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample, there are a few examples of extra elements being added to Chimú-Inka *urpus* in order to make them more like Chimú objects, such as the addition of San Pedro cactus stalks in catalog number 73 (Figure 3.3), or the addition of the caiman between the neck and the body in catalog number 35 (Figure 3.10), These remain exceptions to the more common Chimú-Inka decorative practices described above, but are notable for the extent to which they underscore the Chimú tendency toward sculptural expression.

Proportional Analysis

A series of statistical analyses were conducted comparing the proportions of *urpus* in the Inka and Chimú-Inka samples. In most cases visual observations of the overall differences between the two samples were confirmed. What emerged from these assessments is a picture of two generally similar samples that nevertheless maintain systematically different proportions; thus, proportions consistently serve to distinguish the Inka from the Chimú-Inka pieces. This supports the double-to-single spout vessel findings in which the Chimú vessels were consistently taller, larger in circumference, and had longer spouts as compared to the Chimú-Inka ones.

General Size

The overall heights of the vessels are similar in some ways, yet the heights of specific components (neck, body, handles) differ. It was expected that the overall heights of both Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* would be similar, as Inka *urpus* tend to cluster into

two size groups and the Chimú-Inka corpus correspond to the smaller Inka size cluster. However, when the total height is viewed as a composite of the relative heights of the conical base, body, and neck, a different picture emerges. In the Inka sample, the necks are proportionately longer than in the Chimú-Inka ones. In contrast, the conical bases are taller among the Chimú-Inka sample. These trends become visible when comparing a typical Inka with a characteristic Chimú-Inka *urpu* (Figure 3.11). The Inka vessel clearly has a longer neck and a shorter base in relation to the total height of the vessel. In this piece, the neck is over twice as tall as the base (6.7 and 3.0 cm respectively) and comprises almost a third of the total vessel height. The base comprises only 13% of the total height. In comparison, the Chimú-Inka vessel has a squat neck (less than one-fifth of the total height) and the base is actually taller than the neck (4.55 and 3.7 cm respectively), comprising almost a quarter of the total height. The total heights of these vessels are only 3 cm apart, yet the neck, body, and base combine in clearly different proportions within the total vessel. This is a very representative comparison, one which could have applied to almost any pair of *urpus* in the corpus.

Adding to the differences, Chimú-Inka *urpus* are squatter than their Inka counterparts. This was tested by comparing the body diameters of Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus*. When controlling for the height of the vessel, the total body diameter of Chimú-Inka vessels was on average 2 cm (approximately 20%) greater than the body diameter of Inka vessels. This phenomenon can also be seen in the comparison of the typical vessels (Figure 3.11). Despite the Inka *urpu* being taller (22.9 cm), the diameter of the body is smaller than that of the Chimú-Inka vessel (14.7 cm as compared to 15.9 cm). In turn, the neck diameters of these two examples reverse this trend: the neck diameter of the Inka

urpu (3.65 cm) is greater than that of the Chimú-Inka (3.1 cm). In effect, this only further enhances the narrow appearance of the Inka *urpu* in comparison to the Chimú-Inka *urpu*. It also makes the Chimú-Inka body look even rounder, since the difference between the body diameter and neck diameter is greater.

Rim Diameter

The differences between Inka and Chimú-Inka necks also extend to the rims of the vessels. Although the diameters of rims from both samples were similar, the degree to which the rims flare-- measured as the difference between the diameter of the rim and the diameter of the neck-- is consistently greater in the Inka sample. Among the Chimú-Inka vessels the average flare of the rim is 1.7 times greater than the neck, while the average Inka rim flare is 2.1 times greater than the neck. Chimú artists adeptly incorporated the flared rim of the Inka into the newly introduced *urpu*, but did not do so in the same proportion to the diameter of the necks in the versions they were creating. It may be argued that they downplayed the new formal element, one that had no strong North Coast precedent. This underscores how an outside influence is incorporated into the existing artistic structure in a colonized people; it is similar to the continued loyalty on the part of the occupied Chimú to the blackware technology as well.

Miller noted high correlations between rim diameter and total vessel height in a sample of Inka objects from Sacsawaman, the temple-fortress just above Cuzco.[183] I found a similarly high correlation (r^2= 0.91) among the Inka sample (Table 3.1), and that the relationship was not nearly as strong (r^2= 0.46) in Chimú-Inka objects (Table 3.2). As the graph displays, the Inka vessels follow a highly standardized practice of the total

[183] Miller, "An Investigation of Cuzco-Inca Ceramics; Canons of Form, Proportion, and Size."

vessel height determining the rim diameter. There is no structural, or practical, reason for this relationship to exist; it seems purely aesthetic. The Chimú-Inka sample, as the graph displays, does not have the same kind of deterministic relationship, with only a moderate correlation between diameter and height. This can be interpreted as reflecting that naturally larger objects will have measurably larger necks, but does not explain the exact proportion between neck diameter and vessel height that is displayed in the Inka vessel sample.

Thus, apparently the Inka implemented a strong, linear rule guiding the relative relationship of total vessel height and rim diameter in their own *urpus*, whereas this relationship either was not enforced or was altered in the former Chimú territory. As vessels used for storage, it makes sense that the Inka would want to standardize the vessel. Bray has repeatedly noted that *urpus* are the most prevalent of all Inka vessel forms throughout the territory controlled by the Inka, and are even found in higher quantities outside of the capital than inside it.[184] However, the exact proportions and even the function of these vessels might have differed outside of Cuzco proper, as the strict standardization found in the capital was not replicated on the North Coast. Other studies will have to determine if similar choices were made elsewhere in the empire, but a quick perusal of published examples, such as those found buried at Machu Picchu, indicates proportions are one of the main ways in which provincial urpus differ from those of the capital region.[185]

Interestingly, despite the non-standardized relationship between the rim diameter and height of the Chimú-Inka *urpus*, there is a more standardized (narrower) range of

[184] Bray, "To Dine Splendidly: Imperial Pottery, Commensal Politics, and the Inca State:" 124.
[185] Lucy C. and Richard L. Burger Salazar, "Catalogue," in *Machu Picchu: Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas*, ed. Richard L. Burger and Lucy C. Salazar (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

heights employed in Chimú-Inka *urpus,* a trend visible in Table 3.2. The Chimú-Inka *urpus* ranged in height from approximately 15 to 30 cm, while the Inka *urpus* ranged in height from 10 to 38 cm. It would seem that within the heartland of the empire the Inka more strictly regulated the relationship between rim diameter and total height, but did not place similar restrictions on total vessel height.

All of the previous analyses indicate that although Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* shared many similarities, they were also systematically different. Again, the Inka seemingly allowed for Chimú-Inka artists to deviate from the Cuzco-Inka models as long as the general form was adopted in a recognizable format.

Iconographic Analysis

The artistic practices of both the Chimú and the Inka are well documented, making it possible to identify the predominant culture of influence in Chimú-Inka iconography., or how the two interact in a given piece. Catherine Julien identified the standardized decoration of Cuzco-Inka ceramics, classifying them into seven main compositions.[186] These compositions are represented in the Cuzco-Inka comparison sample, with a few subcategories needing clarification from Julien's system. The main categories in Julien's system are: monochrome (purple or white/cream, Figure 3.12), vertical bands (with either purple and black polychromy or white and cream polychromy, Figure 3.13), and horizontal bands (where bands are either level with the handles or covering the entire front of the body, Figure 3.14). Examples of each of these color schemes and formal arrangements are present in the compiled Inka sample.

[186] Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca:" 11.

However, while Julien's system simply characterizes the primary modes of Inka decoration, her efforts were focused on the decoration of the front of the bodies, ignoring the rest of the piece. Furthermore, they do not account for the particular details of Cuzco-Inka *urpus* specifically. In turn, Tamara Bray identifies the primary zones of decoration as the vessel's neck, upper shoulder of the 'back' side, and a front panel, but does not include the specific motifs used in these areas.[187] Bray's work also ignores a formal element: a line that is often found on the underside of the *urpu* front. Therefore, I will attempt to create a diagnostic system that incorporates the decoration on the front and back of the bodies, the neck, and the base. First, I will characterize the key features of Inka *urpus*.

The reverses of the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* bodies of Cuzco-Inka tend to have a horizontal band of decoration that curves around the shoulder of the vessel, i.e., placed at the intersection of the body and the neck (Figure 3.15). The band is only about an inch tall and is highly standardized, similar to the decorative motifs on the front of the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* bodies. The band is outlined on all sides by between two and five concentric lines. Inside the band, there is a series of undulating lines-- again, usually between two and five-- radiating from the neck towards the body. These undulating lines are arranged in such a way that diamonds are often formed between the curves of the lines (Figure 3.15). The groups of lines are spaced around the band, usually with four groups per band. However, there are a few other ways to fill this shoulder strip: a similar net-like motif; zigzagging lines (Figure 3.16); or single, double, or triple parallel horizontal lines (Figure 3.17).

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[187] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes."

The necks of many Cuzco-Inka *urpus* also display decorative elements. The neck may simply be painted a different color from the vessel body.[188] The most common combination of body and neck colors is a cream body with a red neck; however, often red bodies with black necks are also present. Alternatively, one of two motifs may be added: stripes encircling the neck,[189] or bands of diamonds.[190] A simple pattern of stripes encircling the neck can be found on several Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, such as Appendix A number 27 (Figure 3.18). An additional level of decoration was sometimes added to the striping pattern, effectively making the stripes into bands that were each filled with a repeated diamond pattern, such as Appendix A number 51 (Figure 3.20). Both the striping and bands of diamonds are also found as the fine-line geometric motifs on the bodies of Cuzco-Inka *urpus*.

As noted earlier, along the underside of the conical base, many Cuzco-Inka *urpus* have a stripe marking the intersection of the body and the base (Figure 3.21). The conical base was a design feature meant to facilitate the placement of the *urpu* in a hole in a storage room, to help fit it in the small of a person's back while using a tump-line to carry the *urpu*,[191] and/or to assist with pouring of the liquid contents by making tipping of a heavy jar easier. When placed in a hole for storage (or even for display), the stripe would not have been visible; however, if the vessel were being carried on someone's back, the stripe would have been apparent. While more research needs to be conducted to further understand this decorative element, at this preliminary stage, since it would be most

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[188] Field Museum: 1893.6.2664; 1893.6.2673; 1893.6.2657; 1893.6.2659; 1893.6.2669; 1893.6.2707; 1893.6.2713; 1893.6.2714; 1893.6.2716; 1893.6.2717; 1893.6.2719; 1893.6.2721; 1893.6.2723; 1893.6.2724; 1893.6.2726
[189] Field Museum: 1926.1694.171565; 1918.1303.103509; 1893.6.2752; 1893.6.2680; 1893.6.1661
[190] Field Museum: 1893.6.2651; 1893.6.2671; 1893.6.2688; 1893.6.3005
[191] Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas*: 252.

visible during the carrying of the vessel, it would seem to draw attention to the arduous carrying of the vessel and its contents for distribution throughout the empire. It is also possible that it had a practical use, indicating the depth of hole that had to be dug in the earth, or referencing that positioning.

As this discussion makes clear, many Cuzco-Inka *urpus* have some sort of decoration in addition to the front of the body, in contrast to previous typological schema mentioned above. In fact, since previous scholarship privileges the decoration on the front of the vessel's body, certain vessels that were previously considered to be monochromes may have to be re-categorized since they have a decorated strip near the back shoulder or a painted line along the underside of the base, either of which would effectively make these vessels technically polychromes. On the other hand, bi-chrome *urpus* do not tend to have any additional decoration on the back, neck, or underside. In the compiled sample, monochrome *urpus* are not well represented, and only one of the two "monochrome" vessels has a band in back; indicating that a larger sample may provide interesting results regarding areas of decorations identified in this study. As such, it seems as though Cuzco-Inka *urpus* with either horizontal or vertical bands presented the most artistic opportunity for varying decorative panels and their motifs.

Inka Iconography

Of the six iconographic themes examined in this study (plain, geometric, human, marine, fauna, and flora), only three categories are present in the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* examples: geometric (64%), flora (19%), and plain (17%) (Table 3.3). In the Cuzco-Inka sample, there are 27 geometric vessels, 8 flora vessels, and 7 plain vessels. While one iconic branching Cuzco-Inka motif may have been sometimes included with "geometric"

by other scholars, I have identified it as a flora motif (Figure 3.14).[192] This motif also previously has been described alternatively as a stylized maize plant,[193]a fern,[194] or as representing a *khipu*,[195] the Inka system of writing based on knots; however, I will identify it as the tree known as *Anadenanthera,* as discussed below.

Inka Plain Vessels

According to Julien's classification of the standard Cuzco-Inka decorative schemes, monochromatic or plain vessels typically were completely painted purple or cream/white. Since the clay sources near Cuzco yield an orange-red paste, therefore in order to achieve the purple or cream/white. Since the clay sources near Cuzco yield an orange-red paste, in order to achieve purple or cream/white, an additional slip must have been added to the vessel's surface before firing. In this analysis, plain vessels are considered to be those with no decoration on the surface of the front of the body. In other words, plain vessels have no coloration distinctions but can still have a figurative lug applied to the front of the body or circular lugs underneath the rim as three-dimensional components of the *urpu* form itself.

The sample of Cuzco-Inka *urpus* used in this analysis (Appendix A) contains ten plain vessels. Given the relatively small sample, it is not surprising that not all of Julien's decorative categories were represented. However, this sample did include formal compositions that were not described by Julien, further casting doubts upon the reliability and completeness of her system. There were no all-purple vessels in the sample, a type

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[192] Andrea McKenzie, "Here's to the Visionary Experience! Shamanic Iconography on Andea Drinking Vessels," Art History (Emory University, 2010).
[193] Gordon Francis McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives*, Understanding Ancient Civilizations (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2006).
[194] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes."
[195] Philip Ainsworth Means, "A Survey of Ancient Peruvian Art," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 21 (1917).

Julien includes, but I have already suggested that purple may have held a significant status, and its rarity may account of the lack of this color scheme in the present small sample.

There were two all-black vessels (Appendix A, numbers 32 and 36); i.e., orangeware vessels with a black slip, a type that was not described by Julien. This is interesting in relation to the blackware *urpus* produced by the Chimú-Inka; both exteriors are black, yet the Inka vessels were due to slip paint, whereas the Chimú-Inka vessels as a result of reduced-oxygen firing. Thus, the Inka tendency to paint on surface color, mostly polychromatically, also applies to monochromes. Plain red vessels were also present in the sample, another type not described in Julien's system.[196] These vessels have no slip applied to them, letting the local area orange-red color of the clay paste suffice as to coloration.

Inka Geometric Vessels

The most common patterning for Inka *urpus* in the sample is geometric motifs arranged in either horizontal or vertical bands. Specific geometric motifs are particular to the horizontal or vertical orientation of the bands, so the two formats will be discussed separately. Only one vessel (Appendix A, number 29) included a geometric motif independent of the context of a band. In this lone example, four dots of white slip were painted on the shoulder of the vessel, fairly evenly spaced around the neck.

In a transition to the geometric category are two groups of vessels that have plain color blocks: red and white (Appendix A numbers 28 and 530, or black and white (Appendix A numbers 17 and 26). These could potentially be classified as horizontal

[196] Appendix A numbers 15, 33, 35, and 41.

bands; however, Cuzco-Inka *urpus* decorated with horizontal bands tend to outline them, as discussed below. These vessels could also be classified as geometric, but based on the lack of additional decoration on top of the plain background, they could be considered as plain vessels.

Horizontal Bands

Within the subset of geometric motif vessels with horizontal bands, the number of bands varies. In the study sample, eight vessels have a single horizontal band, while three pieces have multiple bands. The layout of a single horizontal band aligns with the layout of certain Inka Bray has suggested that this association supports the broader identification of Inka *urpu* as representative of the body of the Zapa Inka.[197] This idea is particularly relevant in reference to provincial *urpus*, especially when considering *urpus'* more pragmatic functions of either distributing *aqha* to individual recipients during states feasts or of the *urpu* itself being given away as a gift or reward during state functions. If the *urpu* were being used to pour *aqha* during a state-sponsored feast as payment for labor and repayment of tribute, then the liquid was conceptually flowing from the Zapa Inka's body via his administrators to his provincial subjects. If the *urpu* itself were distributed, then the recipient was given power, authority, or gratitude in the form of the presence of the state 'body' and that of the Zapa Inka as represented in the vessel and its contents, thus increasing the status of the vessel, or tapestry tunics. As Bray has argued, this is one of the ways in which *urpus* were associated with not only the human body generally, but the Zapa Inka's body specifically.[198]

[197] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes:" 173.
[198] Ibid.

Inka geometric motifs were not only incorporated into ceramics, but also into textiles. *Tokapus*, square units filled with abstracted geometric patterns, are typically found on Inka *unku* and have also been identified on Cuzco-Inka ceramic vessels.[199] In these examples, the *tokapu* are placed as a waistband, so *tokapu* are shared in various media, with placement evoking a tunic. The *tokapu*-band *urpu* in the Cuzco-Inka sample all feature one "waistband," appropriately in the lower center of the vessel body in the same relative position as in a tunic.[200] One of the most common geometric motifs is a row of concentric diamonds (e.g., Appendix A, number 18). In this example, the background of the vessel has been slip painted dark red, and the horizontal band's border includes a band with a white, zigzag line. The outer diamonds are white, while the inner ones are black.

The diamond motif (also referred to wrongly as rhomboid in the literature)[201] is also present in waistband bands on actual Inka *unkus* (Figure 3.22). Anita Cook has suggested that this motif functioned as an insignia of royal status or high rank.[202] However, J. Rowe reports an *unku* which included a diamond waistband tunic with a relatively middle-level ceramic effigy of a man wearing one, plus a checkerboard tunic that is well-documented to have been a military costume, belying the royal connection.[203] With this latter situation in mind, it seems safer to suggest that somewhat high status was conferred to local lords serving as administrators for the Inka via the use of a diamond waistband pattern in ceramics. It is possible that these vessels simultaneously designated

[199] Ibid; Cummins, "Queros, Aquillas, Uncus and Chulpas: The Composition of Inka Artistic Expression and Power; Joanne Pillsbury, "Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7(2002).
[200] Appendix A numbers 18, 21, 34, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, and 54
[201] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes."
[202] Anita G. Cook, "The Emperor's New Clothes: Symbols of Royalty, Hierarchy and Identity," *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 24, no. 1 and 2 (1996): 95-99
[203] Rowe, "Inca Tunics."

the source of new power, if the *urpu* abstractly represents the Zapa Inka's body, related to a middle-level power symbol.[204]

The other examples of geometric motifs in horizontal bands include zigzag[205] or stepped lines in the 'waistband' area.[206] Two vessels (Appendix A, number 21 and 39) have a pattern that bears a resemblance to half of a leaf from the *Anadenanthera* tree (see discussion below). Since the composition suggests the horizontal band of an *unku* waistband, this vessel is considered in both the horizontal geometric and flora analyses.

All of the *unku*-like examples in the Cuzco-Inka sample have an embellished band outline. Actual, textile *unku* do not have these outlines. The embellishments on the ceramics occur as either multiple-outlines around the band (Appendix A, number 21, 39, and 42) or the inclusion of a zigzag inside the outlines of the band (Appendix A, number 18). These details not only serve to distinguish differences between otherwise similar patterns (appendix A, number 21 and 39), but also to draw attention to the area in and around the band.

Instances of multiple bands containing geometric motifs are rare, with only two examples in the Cuzco-Inka sample.[207] In one (Appendix A, number 23) a thin central band is subdivided between two larger bands with a crosshatch design. The second piece (Appendix A number 55) has seven horizontal bands containing two alternating motifs: a black background with red trapezoids covered in cream dots; and a black background with red, interconnected, alternating rectilinear double-humped mounds. Both these

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[204] Rowe identified a ceramic effigy of a man wearing the diamond motif along with a checkerboard tunic (associated with the Inka military) and an Inka key. The presence of combined *tokapu* motifs outside of the royal tunic is not well-understood, but an area ripe for future research. Ibid.
[205] Appendix A number 40.
[206] Appendix A number 42 and 45.
[207] Appendix A numbers 23 and 55.

pieces are very visually dynamic, covered in contrasting bands that fill most or all of the vessel body. Given the close visual relationship between Inka *unku* waistband *tokapu*, and *tokapu*-based *urpus*, it would seem that the all-over placement of *tokapu* on a ceramic evokes royal *unku* (Figure 3.8).[208] Stone has argued that the all-over *tokapu unku* expressed of the Zapa Inka's ability to encounter the chaotic unknown and conquer it, as reified by the continuousness and arrangement of *tokapu*.[24] Such a wide-ranging use of *tokapu* seen in a select few Inka vessels would suggest they might have been used in the most elite of settings and broadcast a similar message. Yet the patterning is more regular, leaving the full story of the royal role to his dress, attached to his actual body.[209]

Vertical Bands

The twelve Cuzco-Inka *urpu* vessels with vertical bands containing geometric motifs are more standardized in the number and layout of the bands than those with horizontal bands.[210] In some cases (Appendix A, number 13), the same motif seen in a horizontal band is incorporated into a vertical band; this overlap includes the aforementioned diamond motif, one of the most common Cuzco-Inka motifs.[211] The vertical bands tend to array a wide panel on either side of a narrow central band. The central band can also be further subdivided into horizontal or vertical segments. In this subdivision of space, the two side panels consistently depict the same motif, while the center band consistently displays motifs different from those of the side ones.

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[208] The images from Guaman Poma are used to contextualize the surviving tunics as well as more broadly understand tunics that no longer survive. Guaman Poma shows *tokapu* waistbands. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, " Http://Www.Kb.Dk/Permalink/2006/Poma/Info/En/Frontpage.Htm.," Royal Library of Denmark.
[209] Stone, ""And All Theirs Different from His": The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context."
[210] Appendix A numbers 13, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, 27, 30, 48, 49
[211] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes."

Inka Flora Vessels

I argue, following Andrea McKenzie, that *Anadenanthera* trees, also known as *algarroba* in Peru, depicted in a somewhat abstract or stylized manner,[212] are one of the most popular Inka iconographic themes for *urpus* (Figure 3.14).[213] In this example the vessel body has a design of three vertical bands, as often seen in the geometric category. However, the two side-panels contain a pattern that features a vertical line (or two parallel lines) off of which branch spaced diagonal lines with circles on the ends. Prior identification of this motif maize maize can be discounted, as maize has no ball-like elements even if its leaves are diagonal to the shaft. Likewise, in *khipus* the pendant cords hang vertically down from a main cord, not alternately on either side of it, though the balls may visually remind of the knots at the ends of the string to prevent unraveling.[214] A proper iconographic identification must account for as much of the motif's appearance as possible, rather than pick and choose among its various attributes. To wit, the fern-like nature of the Inka design, the third previous identification is the most apt since *Anadenanthera* is in the acacia family and a Moche depiction of the *Anadenanthera* tree (Figure 3.24), makes it is clear that *Anadenanthera's* many parallel long leaves are represented in the earlier and the later styles, despite the naturalism of the Moche rendition in contrast to the extreme abstraction of the Inka one.

Anadenanthera trees grow up to altitudes of 2700 m,[215] far below the 3,400 m elevation of Cuzco, the Inka capital. *Anadenanthera* trees also prefer river banks or dry

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[212] McKenzie, "Here's to the Visionary Experience! Shamanic Iconography on Andea Drinking Vessels."
[213]Bray recognizes this as the most popular Inka iconographic motif, but does not associate the motif with *Anadenanthera*. Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes."
[214] Ibid.
[215] Constantino M. Torres, and David B. Repke, *Anadenanthera: Visionary Plant of Ancient South America* (London: Routledge, 2014).

slopes, making the North Coast an ideal environment of land interspersed with rivers. The pods hanging from the tree contain seeds that can be ground into a powder, a substance the Inka called *vilca* and either inhaled or added to *aqha* to produce visions.[216] Bernabé Cobo unequivocally confirms the Inka practice of mixing *aqha* with *vilca* towards these ends.[217]

> Other times they went into a room; closing it from the inside, they used certain ointments and got so drunk they lost consciousness. One day later they answered the questions asked of them. For these consultations and conversations with the devil, they performed countless ceremonies and sacrifices. The most important one was to get drunk on *chicha* which had the juice of a certain plant called *vilca* added to it."[218]

Since *urpus* are for containing *aqha*, this motif clearly relates to documented Inka practices and it would seem very lkely that vilca was introduced to the vessels marked with the Anadenanthera pattern. Thus, such vessels would be clearly indicated as special and ritually elevated. The relative commonness of the motif suggests that adding *vilca* was fairly widespread.[219] The Carlos Museum is currently planning on testing a *paccha* in their collection with this motif for the presence of *Anadenanthera* residue.

In the Cuzco-Inka sample, seven vessels incorporate the *Anadenanthera* motif.[220] Of particular note in this regard is one piece (Appendix A number 43) that includes a lug in the shape of a lizard. As will be further discussed below, on the north coast, cañanes lizards (*Dichrodon sp*.) frequent the branches and shaded ground of the *Anadenanthera* tree. Since the lizards also eat the leaves and pods of the *Anadenanthera* plant, human consumption of the lizards results in the same visionary experience as inhaling or

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[216] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*: 169
[217] Ibid.: 169
[218] Ibid.: 169.
[219] Rebecca R. Stone, "Shamanic Roles, Practices, and Beliefs During the Inca Empire According to Friar Bernabe Cobo's Inca Religion and Customs," Art History (Emory University, 2010): 32
[220] Appendix A numbers 14, 31, 37, 38, 43, 46, and 47.

consuming the seeds; the animals act as "bio-mediators."[221] Moche ceramics also linked lizards and the *Anadenanthera* tree as exemplified in a double-to-single spout vessel where modeled lizards inhabit a fine-line painted *Anadenanthera* tree.[222] Viewed in this light, the piece in question provides an example of a Cuzco-Inka *urpu* that also directly links lizard and *Anadenanthera* imagery, like Moche antecedents. This example underscores how a single piece can give important cultural as well as artistic information.

Chimú-Inka Iconography

Many vessels in the Chimú-Inka sample directly replicate the compositions from the Inka decorative corpus. Even so, there are distinctions amongst these vessels that distance them from their Inka predecessors and enable them to be identified as Chimú-Inka. Many iconographic themes from the Chimú were incorporated into Chimú-Inka *urpus*. Over half of the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample (54%) is comprised of either plain (33 vessels) or geometric (17 vessels) motifs (Graph 3.1). Yet the Chimú double-to-single spout iconography incorporated flora, fauna, or marine motifs in over two thirds (69%) of the sample, emphasizing more complex subject matter. Thus, the Inka preference for plain and geometric motifs clearly influenced the more limited iconography that Chimú-Inka artists incorporated into the blended style of *urpus* produced under Inka supervision. The Inka ability to influence their subjects' range of imagery is clear in this case, as part of their overall attempt at control.

All six iconographic categories-- plain, geometric, human, marine, fauna, and flora-- are present in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* samples and will be discussed in order of the largest iconographic category (plain) to the smallest (flora).

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[221] Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas*. Moche lizard entry.
[222] Ibid. Moche lizard entry

Chimú-Inka Plain Vessels

The Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample features a large group of 33 monochromatic vessels, i.e., having no decoration on the vessel bodies. They are all blackware, (e.g., catalog number 109), an inherently Chimú technique. In contrast to the Inka-style slip-painted black *urpus* previously discussed, the black color of the vessel was achieved through the reduced-oxygen firing process, not through the addition of a slip or post-fired painting. The continued practice of blackware, especially in a supremely Inka form such as the *urpu*, speaks to the apparent need for the former Chimú territories to make the new imposed status objects in a familiar North Coast technological process. Even though the Inka introduced the *urpu* form itself, by firing the vessels in the traditional Chimú method, the form was infused with local Chimú undertones.

Chimú-Inka Geometric Vessels

Despite the long history of blackware, typically Inka geometric motifs were also incorporated into a number of pieces in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample. In other words, despite a greater preponderance of polychromy in the Cuzco-Inka geometric sample, Chimú-Inka artists also innovatively adapted the Cuzco-Inka motifs in order to depict geometric themes in the more North Coast idiom of blackware. The Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample contained nineteen vessels with geometric motifs, twelve executed in polychrome and seven in blackware. Again, these had horizontal and vertical bands, as seen in the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* sample.

Horizontal Bands

Three polychrome Chimú-Inka *urpus* arrayed geometric motifs in horizontal bands across the vessel body fronts.[223] These bands, placed in the lower section of the body, again echo the waistbands that are included on middle-to high status Inka *unkus*. Bray's suggestion that the presence of *unku* motifs on urpu supports the identification of *urpus* as the body of the Zapa Inka is again useful in considering these objects.

One of the most common motifs in Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, the diamond motif occurs on two vessels from the Chimú-Inka sample (catalog numbers 57 and 62).[224] One example (catalog number 57) particularly further supports the notion that the Zapa Inka's body was represented by the *urpu* form: the neck of the vessel features a generic face (see discussion below), and two arms rest upon the vessel/body's swelling "chest." This emphasis on the chest is found in Andean highlanders' bodies and it repeatedly influenced their art.[225] Because humans experience anoxia at the high altitudes of the Andes—the lack of oxygen modifying the human metabolism, and increasing red blood cell counts, blood circulations, and ventilation—the physical result is a large chest to hold enlarged lungs.[226] Thus, the enlarged, rounded nature of a highlander's chest born under these conditions may be referenced in the shape of this vessel, which is particularly rotund at the top of the vessel's body.[227]

While the polychrome and diamond patterning patently reference Inka traditions, several decorative decisions equally reference Chimú traditions. Since textiles,

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[223] Catalog numbers 49, 59, and 62.
[224] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes:" 174.
[225] For instance, the pre-Inka Wari tunic similarly emphasizes the torso. Rebecca Rollins Stone, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artisti, A.D. 500-800" (Yale University, 1987).
[226] Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*: 27.
[227] Stone makes the same argument in reference to Wari tunics. Stone, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artisti, A.D. 500-800."

specifically tunics, are closely allied to *urpus*, it is possible to see the vertical lines running along the body of catalog number 57 as visually suggesting the warp, the series of parallel, taut, structural threads that are then crossed by the colorful threads in weaving tapestry, the preferred Inka method for making *unku*. The vertical orientation of the warps in the final product is the Chimú textile predilection versus the horizontally presented warps of Inka tapestries.[228] Warps must be oriented vertically during weaving, but Inka tunics were turned sideways to wear so that the warps ran sideways rather than up and down. In the limited number of Chimú-Inka textiles that have been studied (Figure 3.25),[229] Chimú-Inka textile artists continued weaving in the tradition of the North Coast in which the warps were oriented vertically in the final product. In this way, despite the more overt Inka motifs, the artist has perhaps concealed Chimú technological style in plain sight. The warp-lines continued on the back of the vessel, leaving no room for a panel on the back of the vessel's shoulder, and again privileged Chimú technological style over the inclusion of a more overtly Inka element.

One final formal element that distinguishes this vessel from traditional Cuzco-Inka representations is the band wrapping the entire vessel's body, front and back in the Chimú-Inka pieces. In the Cuzco-Inka vessels included in the sample the horizontal 'waistband' panels associated with *unkus* only appear on the front of the vessel. Actual Inka *unkus* feature the waistband on both sides of the garment; the Chimú-Inka *urpu* more directly mimics the features of *unku* than does the Cuzco-Inka *urpu*. This continues the North Coast preference for naturalism in ceramics in contrast to Inka abstraction and

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[228] Cathy L. Costin, "Textiles and Chimu Identity under Inka Hegemony on the North Coast of Peru," in *Textile Economies: Power and Value from the Local to the Transnational*, ed. W. Little and T. McAnany (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2011): 107.
[229] Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast*; Rowe, "Inca Tunics."

shorthand in their formal choices. The inclusion of these elements, the vertically oriented 'warps', the privileging of the warp motif on the back of the vessel over the band near the shoulder, and the inclusion of the horizontal band on the front and back, indicate that despite the more overtly Inka formal and technological elements, this vessel reflects both Chimú and Inka styles in almost equal measure.

On the other hand, the other vessel including the diamond motif (catalog number 62) does not refer to the Chimú artistic tradition overtly; however, there are many elements that distinguish it from the traditional Cuzco-Inka representation of this motif. Whereas the Cuzco-Inka diamond motif is usually isolated on the front of the vessel, in this piece there is another band directly above the diamond motif band. This top band includes the motifs usually included on a panel on the reverse of the shoulder, but this panel with these same motifs has here been moved to the front of the vessel. The central lug also departs from Cuzco-Inka conventions; rather than depicting a stylized face it is simply a pointed, upturned lug without any further decoration. Finally, neither the Cuzco-Inka line along the underside of the front of the body nor the outline along the rim of the vessel are included in this vessel. These details, and the relatively hasty application of the undulating lines emanating from the neck in the top band and the concentric diamonds in the bottom band, suggest that this vessel simply incorporated the imposed motifs, but not their proper placement.

There is a final vessel in the Chimú-Inka sample that includes patterning related to *unkus* (catalog number 49). This orangeware vessel includes a noticeably wide, single band on the obverse, containing a horizontally oriented zigzag motif that spans its entire height and width. The band is outlined in a single cream-colored line, while the four

zigzag lines alternate cream, red, cream, red. In addition to the band's extreme width, the use of a single line instead of a double line to outline the band, and cream zigzag lines instead of black ones distinguish this piece from the traditional Cuzco-Inka *unku*. The neck is striped, a common Cuzco-Inka feature, and the body lug has a more Inkaic shape and incised facial decoration. Inka vessels often include slip-painted, multiple-lined zigzag motifs, but more often these occur in the thin vertical bands that divide the larger spaces containing the more prominent geometric motifs. Despite the general similarities with tunics, the specific Inka diamond waistband *unku* is not as strongly referenced as in catalog numbers 57 and 62.

Moving away from the polychromes, Chimú-Inka artists incorporated some of the general Inka design choices in blackware *urpus* as well. One *urpu* from the Chimú-Inka sample (catalog number 67) includes two horizontal bands and illustrates Chimú artists' ability both to incorporate Inka themes and to innovatively combine Chimú and Inka practices. This vessel departs from typical Inka subject matter to incorporate a more overtly North Coast design by dividing the front of the vessel into two horizontal bands with alternating geometric motifs and abstracted bird motifs that are themselves highly geometricized. The geometric motif features a recessed triangle with a series of stepped sides, resembling a multi-tiered structure. Indeed, the stepped structure was a type of building characteristic of North Coast architecture since the Moche era. Stylized birds are common on both Chimú and Chimú-Inka ceramics. In this instance, the birds are depicted as a "V" shape with triangles coming off of the "V." This seems to be an interpretation of a bird in flight, probably a marine bird with a long neck. Both compositions incorporate triangles, which brings a sense of rhythm and movement to the bands. On one level, the

artist incorporates a re-interpreted Inka chevron motif, an often represented motif in which the outside bands of a three vertical-band *urpu* have repeated chevrons,[230] but the addition of ridged details is reminiscent of Chimú depictions of abstracted birds. In this way, the decorative motif successfully blends elements of both traditions: Chimú iconography and Inka composition.

In blackware vessels in general, Chimú-Inka artists used incision to replicate motifs that the Inka executed in polychrome slip painting. While certain Inka vessels incorporated rows of horizontal bands along the entire front of the body, incision was the preferred method of translating this to a more Chimú idiom in 22 pieces (25%).[231] One piece (catalog number 104) achieves this in three bands featuring rows of connected double-lined diamonds. The complexity often found in the Inka polychrome examples is achieved by further dividing the diamonds in half, and placing nested squares both inside and between the diamonds. This motif directly incorporates design elements from the diamond motif found on Inka *unku* with diamond waistbands (Figure 3.22). The bands also decrease in size from the bottom to the top of the body, making the further divisions and nested squares tighter in formation towards the spouts. Even so, the bands from this example are much larger than typically cover the obverse of Inka vessel bodies.

The smaller height of Inka bands is more closely replicated in catalog number 28, even though it incorporates more overtly Chimú motifs. The five bands alternate between geometric and figurative motifs, seeming acknowledging both artistic traditions. The two

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[230] Appendix A numbers 19, 20, and 52 depict the chevron motif described above, but other examples include chevrons in other capacities, such as Appendix A number 18 where a chevron motif forms the outline for the horizontal decorative band.

[231] Catalog numbers 28, 49, 57, 62, 67, 104, and 114 follow more traditional representations of Inka horizontal bands. It can be argued, that a more typical Chimú presentation of a horizontal band divided into four sections, typically with birds or human figures, also follows this graphic display: catalog numbers 29, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40, 65, 66, 74, 75, 76, 77, 88, 91, and 97.

bands of birds use two different, stylized manners of representation common on the North Coast. In the second band from the top, the head and long beak comprise the majority of the bird, with a simple arch forming the bird's body, seemingly showing the bird in flight. On the bottom band, the head and body are more evenly depicted, with the feet indicating that the body may be shown standing upright. The other three bands contain stepped-fret motifs. While this is a geometric motif, indicating a nod to Inka iconography, the stepped fret is a prevalent design throughout the Andes, including the North Coast. This motif would have been familiar to both the Inka and the Chimú-Inka, so while accommodations may have been made to address Inka proclivities in this vessel-- primarily the *urpu* form and the multiple horizontal bands-- the blackware surface treatment is unambiguously from the North Coast tradition. Even the apparent nods to geometric designs, normally viewed as Inka influence, were incorporated in ambiguous manners that suggest North Coast or pan-Andean themes.

Vertical Bands

The Chimú-Inka sample includes four polychrome vessels with vertical bands;[232] however, only one of them has been filled in with geometric motifs (catalog number 115). Empty bands are never represented in the Inka sample, so the Chimú artists leaving them blank was an apparent choice; perhaps this was a way in which they only nominally adopted their overlords' designs. Chimú artists reproduced the standard Inka tripartite vertical bands but by not adopting a seemingly universal Inka practice of always decorating the vertical bands, they exclude a finer detail. Another of these four pieces (catalog number 90) includes rim lugs, a body lug, and striping on the neck and underside

[232] Catalog number 83, 90, 113, and 115.

of the rim. The body lug is more figurative than Inka lugs tend to be, as the face includes an open mouth rather than either a flat line or a slightly protruding jaw. The third vessel (catalog number 113) has bands that are somewhat difficult to read due to fire clouding, but they are more evenly spaced than typical Cuzco-Inka bands.

One example (catalog number 115) incorporates geometric motifs into the vertical panel on a distinctive version of the *urpu* vessel shape. The body is quite horizontal (i.e., parallel to the ground), rather than gently curving and this same angularity characterizes the flare of the neck and rim. While the geometric motifs depicted in the vertical bands are consistent with Cuzco-Inka motifs in terms of the patterns, they are produced on markedly larger scale than the more fine-line decoration of Cuzco-Inka vessels. Finally, the face depicted on the neck is formed of closely spaced features, like the other Chimú-Inka face-neck *urpus*; however, the face-neck features are slip painted rather than modeled which is unique in both the Inka and Chimú-Inka samples.

Urpus with polychromatic geometric motifs tend to copy Inka motifs more directly, probably because they have wholeheartedly adopted Inka technological style of polychromy in the first place. There are certainly elements in these vessels that distinguish them from traditional Cuzco-Inka examples, but these can be identified based on differences *from* the Cuzco-Inka versions, rather than correspondences *to* Chimú traits. It is in the more familiar technological style of blackware in which the presence of Chimú traditions can be more readily and obviously observed.

For instance, one piece (catalog number 55) is a blackware *urpu* with a central, vertical band flanked on either side by a series of incised rectilinear spirals. Concentric

diamonds are often painted on Inka *urpus* (Figure 3.26).[233] The central band contains two diamonds outlined with a zigzag design on the sides and triangles at the corners. Yet these Chimú-Inka diamonds float on a stippled background of the type that was often stamped on Chimú ceramics. Bray comments that the diamond motif is also displayed vertically in Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, but does not provide more on the other formal attributes of this motif in its Inka format to allow for a more specific comparison here.[234] Furthermore the sample of Cuzco-Inka *urpus* for this study does not contain a sufficient number of diamond-motif *urpus* to explore the various interpretations of this motif. However, the persistent depiction of diamonds suggests the importance of this shape.

Chimú-Inka Human Vessels

Face-neck

Despite their reputation for focusing on a geometric design repertoire, the Inka did incorporate human features in their ceramics, just not in *urpus*. Similar Inka forms that are flat-based and have strap handles plus a flared rim often included a face in traditional Cuzco-Inka vessels (Figure 3.27).[235] One of the distinguishing features of the faces depicted on the necks are the inclusion of panels to the sides of the neck. The eyes and mouth are both slits (foremerly called 'coffee bean' shaped), protruding and level ovals with a horizontal line across the center. The nose is formed by a thin, flat plane protruding perpendicularly from the center of the face. The facial features are spread along the neck, with substantial spaces between them, an effect that serves to elongate the

[233] Appendix A number 13, 14, 18, 20, 37, 44, 51, and 52.
[234] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes:" 173.
[235] According the Meyers this is form 3. Meyers, "Algunos Problemas En La Classificación Del Estilo Incacio." Julien identifies this as Form 1c. Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca."

face. These generic qualities disallow identification of a particular individual's face or even the possibility of physiognomic portraiture in Inka face-neck ceramics.

Five Chimú-Inka *urpus*, all of which were fired in the Chimú reduced-oxygen atmosphere, incorporate elements from the Inka face-neck vessels.[236] Two of the five blackware Chimú-Inka face-neck vessels have side panels featuring twisted or braided hair,[237] and the facial features differ from the Inka ones in several ways. One of the five vessels includes eyebrows (catalog number 30), a feature not present in Inka versions. Chimú-Inka eyes are more circular than the Inka ones. The nose also differs in its triangular protrusion and flat underside with incised holes indicating nostrils, whereas the Inka version presented a thin rectangular protrusion (the same width along the entire length of the nose) and includes no indication of nostrils. The central lug in this piece is also highly influenced by the Chimú figurative tradition, as the Inka circular central lug with an abstracted face has morphed into a naturalistic feline head and even the cat's body modeled in low relief. These features, in addition to the overtly Chimú blackware technological style, identify this vessel as almost equally with both Chimú and Inka in character.

In another example (catalog number 79) the modeled arms and hands appliquéd to the body of the vessel link it to the group of Chimú-Inka face-neck *urpus*. These additional body parts recall the suggestion that the *urpu* was a surrogate for the Zapa Inka's own body. The blackware surface of the North Coast technological style, in combination with the embellishments that emphasize the concept of the Zapa Inka's body

[236] Catalog numbers 30, 42, 102, 107, and 108.
[237] Catalog numbers 30 and 107.

as the *urpu*, underscore the new imposed idea that the Zapa Inka was the new ruler of the North Coast after the conquest of the Chimú.

While catalog number 079 is fragmentary in nature, it provides the opportunity to study the creative process of this vessel. Interestingly, there are no mold seams inside the vessel. This vessel's adherence to Inka form and iconography might explain why a more traditionally Inka technological style of polychromy was also employed.

Another face-neck composition, catalog number 107, closely reproduces the face-neck motif in the Cuzco-Inka tradition, aside from the obvious decision to make the vessel in blackware. No eyebrows are included in the face and the eyes are almond shaped, even though they appear to be more open than those of the Inka examples. The central lug is also reminiscent of Inka central lugs: spherical in nature with the incised markings of an abstracted, minimalist face. It is important to remember that even though the face-neck motif was a Chimú-Inka response to a Cuzco-Inka motif, the specific conflation of face and the *urpu* form was a North Coast innovation.

Three Chimú-Inka face-neck vessels modify the Inka motif through the elimination of the side panels and the addition of prominent ears with earspools.[238] The sumptuary laws governing who could wear earspools on the North Coast and Inka Empire are well documented.[239] Therefore it is not surprising that the figures would be depicted with these objects of status. The facial features --almond-shaped eyes, a triangular nose, and a flat mouth-- are otherwise similar to the group of Chimú-Inka face-neck vessels.

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[238] Catalog numbers 42, 102, and 108.

[239] Patricia Netherly recalls the origin myths that separated the noble from the common born and male from female, while early colonial sources identify the Inka nobles as *orejones* due to their special privilege allowing them to wear large ear spools. Netherly, "Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru."

There are also face-neck *urpus* that deviate from the Cuzco-Inka motif while still including a face on the neck of the vessel. Three vessels include facial features that are similar to the Cuzco-Inka representations, but the nose, eyes and mouth are placed more closely together and the outline of the head is more delineated than in the Cuzco-Inka examples.[240] In particular, catalog number 34 has a delineated neck and jaw line, in addition to a ridge framing the face, allowing the open rim to read perhaps as a hat. Another piece (catalog number 116) likewise morphs the otherwise flared neck into the rounded form of a human head, with a ridge encircling the top of the head so that the remaining neck and rim resemble a little pillbox hat atop the head. The body of this vessel is much boxier than other Chimú-Inka vessels, with a particularly bulging chest and square shoulder.[241] As previously mentioned, the high altitude of the Andes mountain range causes anoxia, a condition resulting in a barrel-chested body type.[242] Thus, the enlarged, rounded nature of a highlander's chest born under these conditions may be referenced in the shape of this vessel, which is particularly rotund toward the top of the vessel's body.[243] The specific details of the form further support the link between the Zapa Inka, a highlander, and the vessel itself.

Full figures

The Chimú tradition's preference for figurative iconography often lead to depiction of the human form in their pre-Inka art. Prior to the Inka conquest in 1470, humans were depicted in adobe reliefs, wood sculpture, textiles, ceramics, and goldwork

[240] Catalog numbers 34, 116, and 137.
[241] The bulging chest could be indicative of rickets, a disease typically resulting from Vitamin D deficiency. Since Vitamin D can be absorbed through the sun, and 35 minutes daily near the equator is sufficient sun exposure to prevent rickets, this seems less likely than a depiction of the genetic adaptation to high altitude. There is a small proportion of rickets that results from a genetic mutation.
[242] Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*: 27.
[243] Stone makes the same argument in reference to Wari tunics. Stone, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: The Andean Artisti, A.D. 500-800."

(Figure 3.28). There are a few extant North Coast textiles from after the Inka conquest that include images of humans (Figure 3.25);[244] however, the human figure is rare in the ceramic assemblage under Inka rule. Five vessels in the Chimú-Inka sample show the full human form.[245] While there are minor differences between these five compositions, they are remarkably similar. All of the images show a carefully delineated multiple platform building, illustrative of the North Coast architectural style since the Moche. On top of (or within) these buildings, three figures are depicted facing outward, their feet splayed out to the sides and their arms held out to the sides. The space has been flattened, making a more specific understanding of the depiction of space in the composition difficult to determine the exact placement or location of the figures. In some of the vessels the adjacent figures seem to be touching hand to hand.

A particularly fine example includes details such as figures' spiky hair or perhaps a headdress seemingly fashioned to mimic the spiny thorns of the *Spondylus* oyster, the prized trade good controlled by the Chimú. Given the economic, not to mention the ritual, importance of *Spondylus*, these figures seemingly represent high-status individuals in the Chimú Empire. While their presence on specifically Inka form such as the *urpu* seems out of place, one vessel hints at why the Inka might have wanted such images on their vessels, as a warning.[246]

The iconographic motif of catalog number 047 is nearly identical to that of the others: a multiple platform building, stippled background, three figures with splayed feet, and outstretched arms; however, in this case the figures are headless. According to early colonial accounts, the Chimú king, Minchançaman was taken to Cuzco as a royal

[244] Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast.*
[245] Catalog numbers 26, 46, 47, 93, and 100.
[246] Catalog number 47.

hostage,[247] so it does not seem that this is a representation of the fate of the royal lineage. And yet, the rapid expansion of the Inka Empire necessitated that loyal local lords became Inka administrators,[248] so this would not likely represent he fate of local lords at the hands of the Inka. While the Inka were forced to utilize local lords for their own administrative needs, they did not employ the uppermost level of the Chimú hierarchy,[249] a group that would undoubtedly be the most loyal to the recently deposed royal Chimú family. Instead, the Inka called upon the lower levels of the Chimú hierarchy, who would then be loyal to the Zapa Inka as the imparter of increased prestige and the accompanying wealth of the new, elevated position. After the initial defeat of the Chimú, the Inka army consolidated their control over the North Coast over the course of several years. It must have been during these continued military engagements that the uppermost ranks of Chimú society were dispensed. Both archaeological and ethnographic accounts are silent on the fate of the upper levels of the Chimú hierarchy. No mass graves with decapitated victims have been found, and while the Inka acknowledged the forcible relocation of Chimú artists from Chan Chan, no similar statement concerning the upper levels of the Chimú hierarchy are known. Is it possible that they were beheaded?

One Chimú-Inka *urpu* depicts more overtly Chimú figures.[250] The other depictions are somewhat generically dressed, and no genitalia are depicted, and it even seems possible that the clothes are specifically downplayed to the point of non-existence; however, the four figures in catalog number 046 are show with tunics with distinct bands on the bottom, large earspools and large headdresses- all the accouterments of Chimú

[247] John H. Rowe, "The Kingdom of Chimor," *Acta Americana* 6, no. 1-2 (1948): 42-45.
[248] Netherly, "Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru."
[249] Costin, "Textiles and Chimu Identity under Inka Hegemony on the North Coast of Peru."
[250] Catalog number 46.

prestige. Only the earspools are a shared prestige item between the two cultures, otherwise the tunics and headdress also indicate non-Inka affiliation. While the exact context of this, and the other vessels depicting the full human form, cannot be reclaimed by examining the group of objects, a more ominous undertone is suggested.

Chimú-Inka Marine Vessels

The full range of marine themes explored in Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout vessels (see Chapter 2) is not present in the sample of Chimú-Inka *urpus*. Only one marine theme, birds, appears in the *urpu* form. There are many birds along the North Coast, due to the unusually fertile ocean supporting an extensive number of marine species. Generic birda, i.e. those unidentifiable as to species, are often featured in Chimú art. Chimú ceramics abound with three-dimensional as well as relief depiction of birds on a variety of ceramic forms. Of special relevance to the depictions of birds on *urpus* are the relief images (Figure 3.29), which were typically arranged in bands and on stippled backgrounds throughout the Chimú corpus.

Fourteen vessels (16%) depict representations of birds on the body of the vessel.[251] In all but one of the examples (catalog number 36) a single horizontal band located above the handles is divided into four quadrants, each with stippled backgrounds, and a profile bird is alternatively shown with the tail up or the tail and feet down. Despite the similarities among the fourteen examples, the direction that the birds face foes vary. The most common arrangement, occurring in seven vessels, is all birds facing proper right. However, four of the vessels depict all of the birds facing proper left. Two of the vessels have birds facing inward towards each other. The individual positions of the birds

[251] Catalog numbers 28, 32, 33, 36, 40, 65, 66, 74, 75, 76, 77, 88, 91, and 97.

differ as well. The two most common positions are either, a hunched back, tail feathers down, and feet outstretched, or a "V"-shaped body, tail feathers up and the profile head thrown back. This second posture seemingly combines two different perspectives of a bird in flight, with the head in profile, while the body is shown frontally, with the wings open.

The final distinction is the possible inclusion of a fish in some of the birds' beaks. In ten of the vessels, birds with tail feathers down hold a fish in their beak. This position suggests a hunting bird swooping down and plucking fish from the sea. The presence of a fish obviously indicates that the hunt was successful.

The composition of catalog number 36 includes the same single band located above the handles, containing a stippled background, and divided into four quadrants; however, all of the birds are not depicted in profile, but rather from above with both wings visible. The only perspective that this would be possible from is above the bird in flight. This perspective is also chosen when depicting birds in murals at the Chimú-Inka construction phase at Túcume (Figure 3.30). In the *urpu*, as before, the birds still alternate between two flight positions, in this case either their wings stretched out or their wings pulled back (Figure 3.31).

The depictions of the birds in both modes of representation are fairly generic, and do not allow for the identification of a specific species. The stippled background indicates that the iconographic theme is rooted in Chimú, rather than Inka, tradition. Stone-Miller has suggested that the stipples are related to the spines of the thorny oyster, Spondylus, the trade of which was controlled by the Chimú prior to the Inka conquest. For local lords serving as Inka administrators, the choice of a single band with four quadrants was

familiar; prior to the Inka a number of types of Chimú vessels (double-to-single spout, jars with strap handle, etc.) thusly divided iconographic themes such as human figures and monkeys. The transplantation of this Chimú predilection onto the Inka *urpu* form provided the local lords and population with familiar indications of coastal fauna (*Spondylus*), while simultaneously introducing them to Inka form.

Chimú-Inka Fauna Vessels

There are no examples of Inka *urpus* incorporating fauna motifs, with the possible exception of the abstracted face often depicted on the central lug (see Human section). The inclusion of animals on *urpus* was truly a Chimú-Inka innovation and seemingly did not happen in the other Inka provinces.[252] Seven vessels from the Chimú-Inka sample incorporate (non-avian) fauna motifs as the primary iconography of the vessel. While the Chimú-Inka double-to-single spout sample includes a wide range of animals (camelids, hairless dogs, felines, fish, and birds), the kinds of animals depicted on *urpus* are both different from these and more limited. In contrast to the preference for mammals on stirrup spout vessels, all of the animals depicted on *urpus* are reptiles: snakes, lizards, and caiman.

Snakes

Snake iconography existed in both the North Coast and Inka artistic traditions. Some of the earliest ceramics from the North Coast, the Cupisnique style, often incorporated snakes into their imagery (Figure 3.32). This tradition continued during the Moche reign (Figure 3.33), throughout the Chimú (Figure 3.34), and after the Inka

[252] An exhaustive study of other provincial Inka ceramics is not available, but Dorothy Menzel's comprehensive study of Inka ceramics on the South Coast does not include any *urpus* with faunal motifs. Dorothy Menzel, *Pottery Style and Society in Ancient Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

conquest of the region, as three vessels attest.[253] All three are blackwares, and have other similarities as well as differences. One vessel (catalog number 64) minimalistically depicts a snake in high relief slithering vertically down the center of the body. The snake's body is shown undulating down the vessel, emphasizing the snake's natural motion. The tip of the tail, located on the neck of the vessel, features an obvious protrusion, a clue as to the species involved. Because rattlesnakes are only autochthonous to southeastern Peru and the Amazonian regions,[254] but pit vipers whose tails end in a rounded spine are found in the far north of Peru, [255] the protrusion probably signals the latter snake is being references. The head is emphasized in a higher relief a few centimeters above the edge of the base, as if the snake has raised its head to strike. The two eyes are incised. Despite the mouth being open, no fangs are visible, but this may be an illustration of pit vipers' behavior that keep their fangs hinged back in their mouths until penetrating their victims.[256]

Another piece (catalog number 110) is very similar to this vessel, except that the tail of the snake is wrapped twice around the neck of the vessel. The head, also in a higher relief than the rest of the body, has a circular incised mouth rather than the open, fangless mouth.

The final *urpu* to include a depiction of a snake is catalog number 31. This vessel shows the greatest distinction from the previous two vessels, but nevertheless features a snake vertically down the center of the vessel. This snake is formed in low relief throughout its body and no mouth is visible. The snake's body is contained entirely

[253] Catalog numbers 64, 110, and 031.
[254] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crotalus_durissus. December 9, 2012.
[255] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bothriopsis_punctata. December 9, 2012.
[256] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pit_viper. December 9, 2012

within that of the vessel; no part of it traverses the neck. Additionally, there is a stippled band that runs from just below the neck to just above the handles. While there is one continuous band across the center of the entire vessel, it is interrupted slightly by the mold seams that run along the sides of the vessel. The sections of this band that appears on the vessel front features a vertical central large snake that crosses the horizonatal boundaries of the band, as well as four smaller snakes that run vertically within its boundaries. The triangular heads of all of the snakes are depicted in slightly higher relief than the rest of the bodies, and the small circles representing the eyess are lightly incised. The back band has two snakes depicted horizontally but forming a continuous loop, as they were either emerging from or being eaten by each other.

Initially, this more unusual vessel seems to pull entirely from the Chimú iconographic tradition; however, the vessel neck features a Chimú version of Inka artistic choices. Vertical lines resulting from the alternation of highly burnished areas and un-burnished ones allude to the Cuzco-Inka practice of decorating the neck with geometric designs. Apparently, since polychromatic slip was not possible in combination with the blackware firing process, the artist used available technologies to pattern on the surface, with the contrast of shiny and matte areas instead. Despite the Inka-style attention paid to the neck, the mold seams have not been smoothed over, as if to emphasize the Chimú-style technology used to shape the vessel. Therefore, this *urpu* represents nearly all available techniques to modify the surface of a blackware: the band and snakes were either part of the mold or appliquéd, the stippled background was stamped into the surface of the moist clay, the snakes' eyes were incised, and the stripes on the neck were created by highly burnishing the surface while the clay was leather hard. By combining

these techniques with the overtly Inka-style form, this vessel addresses both artistic traditions.

The snake imagery found on *urpus* thus suggests the influence of both Inka and Chimú-style artistic conventions. The iconography is not standardized throughout the small sample of only three vessels, suggesting a space for artists to innovatively incorporate this snake imagery. The probably specific reference to the northern area's pit viper makes a creative but chauvinistic point as well.

Lizards

Lizards were a persistent part of the iconography of North Coast arts since at least the Moche. Christopher Donnan observed that they are often depicted with the seeds of the acacia[257] or, more specifically, the *Anadenanthera* tree (the significance of this theme is explored in the Flora section below). For example, a Moche vessel from the Carlos Museum combines two and three-dimensional imagery as modeled lizards climb a painted tree on a double-to-single spout vessel (Figure 3.8). This image links these lizards specifically to the broader practice of using vision-inducing plants in conjunction with shamanic rituals. These lizards have been identified as *Dicodron holmbergi*, though they are known as *cañanes* contemporarily.[258] They live and feed on the algarroba tree, whose pods are full of seed that humans have long ground into a powder –the Inka called it *vilca*—and either inhaled or added to drinks to produce visions. Since these lizards consume the entheogenic seeds of the *Anadenathera* tree, consuming the lizards likewise results in the eater having a visionary experience; the lizards are biomediators for the

[257] Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1978): 39.
[258] Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas*: 234.

vilca.[259] On this Moche vessel the lizards are dressed as warriors, suggesting the bellicose effects people experience while under the influence of *vilca*.[260] While this vessel provides the pre-Chimú connection between lizard and *Anadenanthera* imagery, it was not an overly common theme in Moche art, suggesting it held an elevated status.

Lizards were also depicted on Chimú ceramics, but even less frequently. A Chimú vessel seemingly continues the relationship between depictions of lizards and the *Anadenanthera* tree (Figure 3.35). This strap handle vessel depicts lizards situated amongst the evenly placed thorns of the *Anadenanthera* tree (Figure 3.36). Not only does the depiction of the thorns of the Anadenanthera suggest the environment of the lizard, but they also evoke the typical stippled background that is frequently included in Chimú ceramics. The composition of this Chimú vessel focuses more on the thorns of the tree compared to the relatively small depiction of the lizard, again, suggesting the importance of the tree and its product --the vilca seeds-- over the animal. Despite the ongoing relative rarity of this theme, the association between lizards and the *Anadenanthera* tree remained.

The Inka did not overtly incorporate lizards into their broader iconography, let alone their specific iconography for *urpus*; however, very anstracted renditions of *Anadenanthera* trees were was one of the most popular Inka iconographic themes for *urpus* (see Flora section below) (Figure 3.14).[261] As previously mentioned, this motif was linked to maize, ferns, *khipus*, and Inka dynastic genealogy, but in comparing the fern-like nature of the Inka design with the Moche and Chimú depiction of the *Anadenanthera*

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[259] https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/blackjaguar/anadenanthera/. December 17, 2012.
[260] Richard Evans Schultres, Albert Hofmann, and Christian Rätsch, *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing, and Hallucinogenic Powers* (Rochester, VT: Healing Arts Press, 2001).
[261] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes; McKenzie, "Here's to the Visionary Experience! Shamanic Iconography on Andea Drinking Vessels."

tree, it is clear that the same object is being depicted in different styles. Each representation is true to the broader stylistic qualities of their artistic traditions: the Moche vessel shows the tree naturalistically and in detail, with all elements present (the tree trunk, leaves, and seed pods) while Inka vessels isolate the leaves and circular seed pods at the ends of the branches (that turn into the flowers, that in turn have circular seed pods at the ends) and then reduce the motif to a series of lines with balls. The Chimú-Inka depiction more closely harkens back to Moche naturalism, in deference to the North Coast artistic tradition and within the overall parameters of the Chimú style, but on an otherwise Inka form of the *urpu*.

Despite the popularity of the *Anadenanthera* design on Cuzco-Inka *urpus* there are only three depictions of this motif in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample.[262] There are, however, separate depictions of the lizards that frequent these trees and may well stand for the entire iconography complex. Two vessels in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample depict lizards (catalog number 39 and 89). The first vessel (catalog number 39) is a redware *urpu* archaeologically excavated from Túcume (in 1926 during the Marshall Field Second Archaeological Expedition to Peru). This Lambayeque Valley site pre-dates both the Chimú and Inka empires' conquests of the area, but later included a substantial Inka presence.[263] This secure North Coast provenance is particularly important for the initial diagnosis of the Chimú role in the artistic choices made in this vessel, as the more obvious Chimú influence of blackware is absent. Along the front of the vessel a low-relief lizard is positioned with its head near the neck and its tail reaching the bottom of

[262] Catalog number 61, 87, and 101.
[263] Alfredo Narváez, "The Pyramids of Túcume: The Monumental Sector," in *Pyramids of Túcume: The Quest for Peru's Forgotten City*, ed. Thor Heyerdal, Daniel H. Sandweiss, and Alfredo Narváez (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995).

the vessel's body. The elongated head, diagnostic of a lizard, has incised, circular eyes and projects in higher relief than the rest, ingeniously becoming the central lug. Five front digits and four back ones are clearly depicted. And yet, despite the detail in the face and appendages, there is no decoration or texture applied to the body of the lizard; it is plain and unadorned.

The second vessel (catalog number 089) is also identified as being from the territory of the former Chimú Empire: from Mansiche in the Moche Valley. As in catalog number 39, this polychrome vessel depicts a lizard vertically along the center of the vessel's body; however, here the lizard's body is slip painted. The head of the lizard also serves as the central lug of the vessel, but the shape of the lug follows that of other circular Inka body lugs, rather than taking the more naturalistic shape seen in catalog number 39. The circular eyes are incised on the lug, but there is no elongated mouth in this rendition. This vessel from Mansiche also incorporates the more traditionally Cuzco-Inka design principle of decorating the back of the vessel shoulder with a slip-painted band. However, the similarities with this Cuzco-Inka decorative element end there: the band has been left blank in the Chimú-Inka example, devoid of the expected series of undulating lines radiating from the neck. These blank bands are particularly suggestive of an artist who followed the letter of the Inka law, but not its spirit. Other scholars may see this an another example of the sloppy or inept Chimú artist, but in the context of this larger study, it appears to be a conscious act of omission that betrays the tensions in this cultural, political, and artistic situation.

These lizard/*Anadenanthera* vessels combine in other meaningful ways elements from both the Chimú and Inka artistic traditions. While the Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka

modes of representation differ, the relationship between the Cuzco-Inka *Anadenanthera* motif and the Chimú-Inka lizard motif specifically played out in the *urpu* form is highly suggestive that *vilca* and its animal bio-mediators depicted on the vessels signal the contents of the vessel: *vilca* almost certainly mixed with maize beer. As Cobo clearly discusses, important Inka rituals involved the consumption of *aqha* combined with *vilca*.[264] The lizards can be consumed with similar effects as the ingestion or inhalation of the ground seeds, but the lizards' bodies would not have been mixed with the *aqha*. Instead, the ability of the lizards to produce the same effect as the seeds is being referenced when the lizards alone are depicted.

It is also possible to interpret the lizard iconography in conjunction with the *urpu* form in another manner. Modern ethnographic literature documents the practice of hunting lizards in order to eat them during feasts that also involve consuming *aqha* separately.[265] The Inka were known to hold state sponsored feasts as retribution for *m'ita* labor tribute. This suggests that the combination of the lizard on the front of the vessel and the *aqha* inside the vessel were two of the products that were being offered in exchange for labor during these feasts. While Cobo does not reference a *specific* ritual involving the drinking of *aqha* combined with *vilca*, he does refer to the practice in association with the most important rituals. This nonetheless was a special ritual, and these vessels depicted thus combined local, North Coast traditions with Inka state practices.

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[264] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*: 169.

[265] Allan R. Holmberg, *Lizard Hunts on the North Coast of Peru*, Chicago Natural History Museum Publication (Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1957). Cañanes are still eaten in large quantities today in this part of Peru.

Caiman

There is a long history of depictions of caimans in Andean art, but not typically on the North Coast,[266] as neither the black or brown caiman are autochthonous to Peru's north coast. Yet the animal depicted on the single *urpu* with caiman imagery (catalog number 35) is probably a caiman rather than a lizard. The elongated snout of a lizard usually tapers and remains flat, whereas the snout of the caiman is upturned, as seen on this vessel. Additionally, the protruding rectangular scutes, bony plates covering the skin, depicted on the head, back, and tail seem to indicate a caiman, rather than the diagnostically flat scales of a lizard. It is tempting to suggest that the blackware firing process was chosen to capture the dark-colored skin of the black caiman specifically. There are several territories within the Inka empire that would have been home to black caiman (Figure 3.36).[267] As such, 'Inka' caimans and the *urpu* form combine with Chimú blackware technology and a relatively naturalistic depiction of the animal in this piece. It is possible to suggest that the Inka, when introducing new iconography, allowed artists to appeal to the local administrators used to naturalistic depictions. This represents another of the many ways that the two styles accommodate each other. It also shows how in Andean art as a whole animals from one eco-niche are often transferred to the art of another region for symbolic purposes (a tradition begun with the north highland Chavín de Huantar who pulled from Amazonian sources).

[266] Caiman are the only member of the Crocodilia order to be present in the Andes. In the Americas, alligators are only present in the United States. Crocodiles are present in Central America, Colombia, and Venezuela, but not as far south as Peru.
[267] The black caiman inhabits the Amazon River basin while the spectacled caiman inhabits much of Central and South America.

Chimú-Inka Flora Vessels

Anadenanthera

The Inka representation of the *Anadenanthera* tree, just discussed, was one of the most common motifs painted on Cuzco-Inka *urpus* (Figure 3.14). The typical representation of this theme consists of three vertical bands, with the central band containing alternating double-lined "X" markings in alteration with sets of horizontal lines, and the two flanking bands containing either one or two shafts with protruding leaves that terminate in balls. This focus on the branches --that turn into the flowers that turn into the balls at the end of radiating stalks—draws attention to the seed-producing elements of the plant that yield the product, *vilca*, that was so valued by the Inka. There are other areas of Cuzco-Inka *algorroba*-theme *urpus* that typically are decorated: the band at the back of the vessel's shoulder, the neck, the rim, and the base. The band on the back of the vessel's shoulder typically includes either sets of vertical lines, undulating lines, or net-patterns. The neck is typically encircled with horizontal lines. The base typically features a stripe on the front half of the vessel. The central lug, is likewise fairly standardized, with either the usual oval-shaped cylinder with two vertical incised lines standing for eyes and a horizontal incised line standing for a mouth, or 'V'-shaped prism with incisions on the protruding areas demarking an abstracted face.

There are three Chimú-Inka *urpus* with this theme as well, although there are minor variations between the *Anadenanthera* motifs in Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus*.[268] Likewise, the Chimú-Inka *urpus* include unique details that distinguish them from each other, suggesting a less-than-strict adherence to the Cuzco-Inka stylistic motif.

[268] Catalog numbers 61, 87, and 101.

Since the motif is the same, differences between the Chimú-Inka and Cuzco-Inka vessels' interpretations seemingly reflect the two artistic traditions. Each Chimú-Inka vessel has three familiar vertical bands on the front of the vessel's body: the central one and the flanking ones featuring the *Anadenanthera* motif. This plant motif is consistently portrayed in the Chimú-Inka *urpus* as a black line for the stem and three diagonal parallel lines portraying the fern-like leaves, terminating in circles that stand for the flower buds.

One Chimú-Inka piece (catalog number 87) is the most distinct from the Cuzco-Inka *urpus* with this same motif. The most obvious difference is in the form of the vessel, more so than the painted decoration. The rim is flared in a different style than is typical of Cuzco-Inka vessels, whose rims usually have a flattened area at the top. While the neck circumference is similar to other Chimú-Inka necks, the rim itself does not flare as much as usual, due to the absence of the flat rim. Other expected formal elements are absent. The central band on the front of the body is left blank, once again suggesting that the Chimú-Inka artist followed the letter of the Inka law without following the spirit. The band on the back of the vessel's shoulder shows the natural color of the clay, which is lighter than the red-slip painted back, but includes neither an outline nor any motif. While the neck is encircled with horizontal lines, a typical Cuzco-Inka convention, they are wobbly and seem clumsy in their application. The stripe along the front of the base, which would not typically be visible, is present, it is uneven in its rendition. Finally, the central lug, appropriately the same size and shape as Cuzco-Inka lugs, includes vertical incisions but is missing the expected horizontal mouth incision. These differences distinguish this vessel from the Cuzco-Inka original. The apparent difference in quality seen in this case causes many scholars to term the North Coast ceramics after the Inka

conquest as "provincial," a value judgment that distinguishes the Chimú-Inka artists interpretation of the newly acquired iconographic program from the practiced hand of Inka artists. The vast majority of pieces in this study are certainly not as haphazardly decorated, and since polychromy was a foreign imposition, it is more likely to in the non-blackwares.

Other Chimú-Inka versions of this motif likewise do include many of the finer details from the Cuzco-Inka pieces, however. The rim of catalog number 101 is outlined in red, much like many Cuzco-Inka *urpus* featuring a variety of motifs (Figure 3.37). In line with the handles on the underside of the rim are two ring-shaped lugs. This addition is not consistently found on Chimú-Inka vessels, but it is difficult to know if this is due to breakage or if they were never attached originally. The central lug deviates from the typical shape and markings of Cuzco-Inka lugs: it has a deeply incised hole in the middle, which in many ways mimics the shape of the lugs underneath the rim, only on a larger scale. The horizontal lines encircling the neck of the vessel are somewhat uneven and thicker than the Cuzco-Inka decoration of the same area. The central vertical band on the front of the body incorporates a pattern used in many Cuzco-Inka *urpus*. The band is divided into three smaller columns with the outer strips including three parallel zigzag lines on a painted cream background. The alternation of dark and light backgrounds successfully imitates the design principles present in Cuzco-Inka *urpus*. The choice of using the three zigzags also is similar to the three diagonal *Anadenanthera* leaves, resulting in a balanced repetitive composition. The dark red strips that frame each of the vertical bands create discrete areas that contain each of the motifs, yet the varying widths of the areas, the large panels on the outside with the *Anadenanthera* leaves, and the small

panels on the interior panels with the zigzag lines give a sense of movement and symmetry to the composition. The red lines of the framing strips continue along the front of the base.

The Inka-style interpretation of the *Anadenanthera* motif is fully realized in catalog number 61; however, in the details of the vessel's proportions a relationship to Chimú aesthetics becomes clear. All the usual Cuzco-Inka elements are present: the flattened flared rim painted black and then outlined in black, two ring-shaped lugs on the underside of the rim, the underside of the rim decorated with alternating light and dark triangles, the neck painted with black rhombuses against a light background, the back shoulder panel outlined with a double black line and containing sets of horizontal lines radiating from the neck, and the central band on the panel containing two main vertical panels that alternate sets of horizontal lines and double-lined 'X's. Even the framing panels have been made more intricate with the addition of two additional panels of a light background with five parallel zigzag lines. All of these spatial divisions that contrast dark and light backgrounds and outline discrete sections, plus the general geometry of the motif itself are in line with fine Cuzco-Inka ceramics. The one detail that deviates is the central lug with an unprecedented 'U'-shaped incision. The proportions of the vessel are also more similar to Chimú-Inka *urpus*: the base is higher, the body wider, and the rim flares less than the typical Inka *urpu*. This high-quality Chimú-Inka vessel thus replicates the design motif of a traditional Cuzco-Inka *urpu*, yet honors its North Coast creation. The full range of accommodations, from almost slavish imitation to barely recognizable diversion, can be seen in the Chimú-Inka treatment of the *Anadenanthera* motif. When considered in conjunction with the Chimú-Inka lizard urpus, it would seem that the

Chimú-Inka artists paid greater care to the creation of the North Coast referent to *vilca* (lizards) than to the Inka version.

Squash

There were several varieties of squash grown on the North Coast, and they not only served as nutritious vegetable, but the seeds were a valuable source of protein. Squashes were often traded into the highland areas where they could not withstand the temperature extremes. In this way, these Chimú-Inka squash *urpus* apparently reference a specifically North Coast agricultural product. The North Coast is cut across with rivers that easily irrigate fields to either side and both Moche and Chimú polities oversaw creation of vast systems of canals;[269] as such, the North Coast has often been termed the "bread basket" of the Andes. By incorporating an important agricultural product into the body of a storage vessel, the Chimú artist may have been addressing their own important staple which continued to play an important role in the Inka food production system.

Neither Cuzco-Inka *urpus* or their ceramic assemblage more broadly incorporates squash into the iconography. The incorporation of squash and the Inka form receives its first treatment by Chimú-Inka artists. Chimú-Inka *urpus* including squash motifs more markedly diverge from other Cuzco-Inka *urpu* conventions, despite several concsesions. Two Chimú-Inka *urpus* (catalog number 78 and 85) employ clearly sculptural techniques, incorporating the undulating ridging of a squash as the surface of the vessel; in other words, the three-dimensional squash *is* the vessel body. Here, the Chimú-Inka artist seemingly abandoned all reference to Inka decorative preferences. Other Inka decorative elements outside of the body have been abandoned, such as the lugs on the rim, the

[269] Netherly, "The Management of Late Andean Irrigation Systems on the North Coast of Peru."

decorating of the neck, and the line on the base. The fluted surface in imitation of a squash's surface was the main decorative principle.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a new assessment of the difference between Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus*. The main differences in form are most apparent in the proportions of the neck and base in relation to overall height, the greater diameters of the neck and body of Chimú-Inka vessels, the more flared rims of Inka vessels, and the lack of a relationship between the size of the rim and the height of the vessel of Chimú-Inka vessels as opposed to the h ighly standardized Inka *urpus*. Distinctions between the technological style of Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* include technical decisions to either paint or continue firing ceramics in a North Coast tradition of reduced oxygen atmosphere. Incised and fully sculptural elements retained in most Chimú-Inka *urpus* reflect how Chimú artists had been decorating ceramics long before the Inka conquest. Ultimately, it can be argued that the Inka provided a starting point for Chimú artists' creativity, allowing Chimú-Inka *urpus* to be almost universally less derivative and more innovative than their models.

Chapter 4:

Urpu-like Vessels: Adapting an Inka Form

This chapter continues the exploration of *urpu*s, looking at vessels that closely resemble *urpu*s yet deviate from the classic Cuzco-Inka ceramic form. Four main sub-groups have been identified as being related to the group of classic Cuzco-Inka *urpu* form, in order from most numerous to least in the present sample: elongated *urpus*, *urpu-pacchas*, flat-bottomed *urpus*, and *urpus* with variations in handles. Each of these groups will be assessed for technological style, proportional analyses, and iconography, as in the previous chapters. There are 30 vessels in this category of vessels that are related to *urpus*, with ten elongated *urpus*, nine *urpu-pacchas*, seven flat-bottomed *urpus*, and four *urpus* with handle variations. These sample sizes are significantly smaller than those in the previous chapters. However, it is not only necessary to discuss these vessels as informative objects that combine Chimú and Inka elements, but to discuss them *separately* from the other Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample: the forms deviate so greatly from those of the classic Cuzco-Inka that the distinctions must either be due to intention or a profound lack of understanding of the original form. Since we know that classic Cuzco-Inka *urpus* also were present on the North Coast, and that the classic form was replicated more closely in other examples, it is hard to believe that the differences were due to a lack of understanding. (Misunderstanding is rarely a satisfying explanation for artistic variation, as it denigrates the entire aesthetic process. Furthermore, in the Andes the idea of intentional deviation from the norm has a positive name in Quechua, *q'iwa*.)[270] These

[270] Henry Stobart, "Tara and Q'iwa: Worlds of Sound and Meaning," in *Music and Cosmology in the Andes*, ed. Max Peter Baumann (Madrid: Biblioteca Iberamericana, 1996).

outside-the-norm vessels can then be viewed more productively as creative innovations on the classic Inka form. While three of the four types can be seen as variations on the *urpu* itself, one type includes another vessel type, the *paccha*, a ritual device structured to move liquid, that will be further elaborated on in the *urpu-paccha* section.

Elongated *Urpus*

Description of the Sample

Twelve vessels exhibit the characteristics of *urpus*, with the exception that the body of the vessel is markedly elongated compared to the Cuzco-Inka sample. These vessels were found in five collections in Peru, the United States, and Europe: the site museum at Túcume, the Museo Brüning, the American Museum of Natural History, the Museo de América de Madrid, and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden.

Development of the Form

Elongating the body of the vessel not only changed the proportions of the vessel, but also led to a series of other artistic decisions. The elongated *urpu* form is very circumscribed and even the iconography is less varied than in other Chimú-Inka forms. The elongated vessels tend to have rounded or flattened bases, as opposed to the pointed bases found in typical Cuzco-Inka *urpus*. There is also an overlap of the elongated example with the *urpus* with handle-variations, as none of the vessels have handles on the sides of the body either. Despite these variations being present in the other sub-samples, the elongated form is distinct and should be recognized and explored separately in order to fully understand and appreciate the specificity of its form and iconography. In addition, all of the vessels in this sub-category have lugs at the intersection of the neck

and the body, whereas no other lugs --neither underneath the flared rim or on the front of the vessel-- are present.

Technological Style Analysis

Manufacture

The sample of vessels uniformly was created with Chimú mold-making technology. The mold seams are clearly visible on all of the vessels, typically running down the entire side of the vessels from the base to the rim. There are no indications thatf the necks and rims were made from separate molds, as has been suggested in previous analyses.

Surface Treatment

All of the vessels were fired in a reduced oxygen environment, resulting in the iconic Chimú blackware. This process has been described previously.All of the vessels, except one that is plain (catalog number 160), include relief decoration that was imbedded in the surface of the vessel from the mold: snakes, reptiles, and potato eyes. The stippled backgrounds and inclusion of birds and fish in the backgrounds were added by stamping the still wet surface of the clay. Both of these methods stem from traditional North Coast ceramic traditions.

Proportional Analysis

The elongated bodies of these vessels obviously account for a greater proportion of the total vessel height than in either the Cuzco-Inka or Chimú-Inka *urpu* vessels. Yet, even within this sample of elongated *urpu* vessels there is a spectrum from more Cuzco-Inka proportions to greater elongation. Certain vessels (such as catalog numbers 169,

171, and 189) more closely ally to Cuzco-Inka or Chimú-Inka proportions compared to those with more pronounced elongation (such as catalog numbers 158, 163, and 172).

Iconographic Analysis

The twelve vessels in this subcategory are remarkably similar in iconography, more so than any other formal grouping of vessels in this study. Nine of the twelve vessels incorporate reptile iconography. The most typical configuration is of a connected lizard and snake, in which the two figures encircle the vessel, each emerging from the other's mouth. This focus on reptiles does not occlude other iconographic motifs discussed in other categories; geometric motifs, birds, and fish are depicted alongside the lizard and snake motif on the elongated *urpu* form. The three vessels that do not incorporate reptile iconography are different in iconography from all the others: two vessels incorporate floral motifs, potatoes and maize respectively, and the other vessel is plain. The iconographic motifs found on elongated-*urpu* vessels will be discussed according to frequency of vessels in the category, from most to least.

Fauna

All of the identified Chimú-Inka *urpus* with reptile motifs feature the animal(s) oriented vertically on the body of the vessel. By contrast, in the Chimú-Inka elongated piecesthe snake and lizard encircle the vessel horizontally. In the most basic iteration (e.g., catalog number 171), the snake and lizard emerge from each other's mouths are shown on a stippled background a large band dominates the vessel's body, the snake's head is in the middle of the "front" band, the snake and lizard's circular eyes are prominent on top of their heads, and the lizard has four digits clearly articulated on the front and back.

The lizard-and-snake motif is also shown in combination with other imagery, most commonly with fish and birds in the background. This creates a four-leveled surface: the shallowest space of the plain receding background, then the stipples, then birds and/or fish, and finally the lizard and snake that protrude the most from the vessel's surface. These iconographic layers are shown in various combinations: stipples, birds, and fish; birds and fish without stipples; birds with or without stipples; and fish with or without stipples.

One example (catalog number 169) initially appears to be the basic lizard-and-snake motif on the stippled background without any other additional motifs; however, upon close inspection of the mold seam on the left proper side, there are four small fish scattered amongst the stipples. In contrast to the other vessels with fish and/or birds in the background, the four fish are shown in various orientations (one horizontally, one head down and the other two at angles). Otherwise, this vessel adheres to the typical lizard-and-snake formal arrangement: a large band dominates the vessel's body, the snake's head is in the middle of the "front" band, the snake and lizard's circular eyes are prominent on top of their heads, and the lizard has four digits clearly articulated on the front and back.

Combining the typical lizard-and-snake motif with other iconography, catalog number 168 has a stippled background with abstracted images of fish at regular intervals. They are arranged in two bands, one above and the other below the snake and lizard. The eye of the fish is the most visible feature, but an open mouth, dorsal fin, and tail fin are also present (Figure 4.1). This abstracted but recognizable interpretation would seem to

have appeal to both Chimú and Inka aesthetics that tend to include, respectively, naturalism and abstraction.

Another example (catalog number 170) depicts the lizard and snake motif on a background of interspersed stipples and fish. In four bands that wrap horizontally around the body of the vessel, fish are oriented with their heads towards the top of the vessel, providing a formal regularity to the background. The stipples are randomly placed on the surface, optically effecting the apparent depth of the two background items. The fish are also shown in slightly higher relief, lending to a subtle distinction in depth. The fish have enlarged eyes and three rows of triangles represent the fins and tail. Perhaps the greatest distinction found in catalog number 170 is the size of the snake and lizard motif, which is noticeably larger than the other representations.

Another of the many possible background combinations of stipples, fish, and birds, catalog number 182 has the background adorned with four bands of birds but no stipples. The birds are oriented both vertically and horizontally by register. Two bands of vertical birds are positioned at the top and bottom of the larger decorative band. Two bands of horizontal birds are positioned immediately above and below the bodies of the lizard and snake. In the vertical representations, the bird is facing upwards toward the rim of the vessel, with a long, pointed beak, wings, and tail feathers clearly visible. It even appears as if the bird is shown somewhat three-dimensionally: its two wings are both shown below the bird's body, suggesting that the bird is flying and even that it is at the lowermost point of flapping its wings. The horizontal birds show both wings above the body, as if at the apex of flapping its wings. This subtle distinction between the two depictions of birds gives the composition a sense of movement. This movement is also

echoed in the highly salient, sinuous body of the snake. The larger snake's movement is more easily seen from a distance, whereas the fine details of the birds' wings would only be seen by those in close proximity to the vessel. Without the stippled background found amongst many versions of the snake and lizard motif, the composition seems less busy, also allowing for the fine details of the birds to be more visually perceptible.

The last combination of the snake and reptile with background motifs, catalog number 158 is a vessel with stipples and fish in the background. Four bands of fish are included: a top and one at the bottom band of horizontal fish facing right proper; and two inner bands, immediately above and below the reptile/snake motif, of vertical fish facing upwards. The fish are depicted in multiple perspectives that emphasize the most identifiable elements of the fish. The eyes and tail fin are shown profile, while the body and head are opened out, showing both sides; the image remains legible even in composite view.

Despite the presence of several of these iconographic features, catalog number 163 differs substantially from the other examples found in this sub-sample. The lizard is not included and the snake is shown vertically, but with the head towards the base of the vessel. This imagery resembles the vertically oriented snakes found in the Chimú-Inka standard *urpu* sample. Additionally, while there is a stippled background, the stipples are contained within vertical bands, creating neat rows of stipples rather than the typical irregular composition. Finally, rather than Inka-style circular lugs at the intersection of the neck and the body, Chimú-style bird *adornos* are present. However, there is a nod to Inka convention in these *adornos*, as Chimú ones are typically only located on one side, whereas catalog number 163 has a bird on each side of the vessel. The heads and eyes of

the birds also visually mimic the circular quality of Inka lugs, perhaps as an attempt to incorporate elements from both artistic traditions.

The form of catalog number 163 also deviates from the other vessels in this subcategory. While the rim is clearly flared, a characteristic typically associated with Inka influence, the rim is not flattened like other Inka and Chimú-Inka ones. Instead, it gradually flares. This trait suggest that the vessel is more strongly influenced by the Lambayeque tradition than the Chimú, a possibility that requires further research and understanding of the distinctions in cultures and ceramic, styles found throughout the North Coast prior to the Inka occupation.

Another example (catalog number 181) also departs from the more typical snake motif. A single band comprises the majority of the vessel. This band is broken into four sections (two on each vessel side) with alternating snake and geometric motifs. The snake motif features four undulating snakes vertically oriented on a stippled background. The geometric motif includes eleven diagonal lines, oriented from the bottom left to the top right of the section, with repeating triangles. Both of these motifs were formed as part of the mold. Importantly, this object was archaeologically excavated from the South cemetery (Sur-IB-107) at Túcume, therefore the contextual information exists to further our understanding. The burials found in Sur IB are typically from the Chimú occupation, but this pieces is later in its stylistic affinities to the Inka. Catalog number 181 is not the only object excavated in this area with a later date; however, a redware plate with fugitive black geometric motifs along the rim was also excavated from the South Cemetery, section IB (Figure 4.2). Both the form of the plate and the geometric patterning is associated with the Inka style. Unfortunately, the exact locations of these vessels are

unclear, as the registration of the materials from Túcume does not include the burial number. While it is possible to determine the area and section from which the piece was excavated from, it is not possible to determine the burial plot and associated goods. However, there was either a singular Inka burial in Sur IB or the area may have been filled in later with Inka-era materials.[271] Either situation accounts for a small number of later, Inka-style ceramics to be present in the Sur 1B area of the cemetery.

Most of the elongated *urpu* vessels depict the snake and reptile motifs horizontally; however, catalog number 162 features different orientations, one vertical and one horizontal, on the front and back of the vessel.[272] A band with a stippled background horizontally encircles the vessel, only interrupted by the mold seams on both sides, which create the boundaries of the two sides of the composition. The front of the vessel presents typically Chimú-Inka vertically oriented figures, from proper right to left:, a human, a lizard, and a snake. The heads of all three figures are positioned towards the top of the vessel, and the limbs of the human and lizard are splayed out to the sides, with the lizard's tail curving towards the left proper side of the vessel. The two sides of the vessel differ markedly: the reverse of the vessel includes two horizontally oriented snakes; the heads of both are located at the proper left side of the vessel.

Elongated *urpu*s with snakes and reptiles seemingly further strengthen the relationship between snake imagery and the *urpu* form in all its variations. This association continues with the *urpu-paccha* sample discussed below. While it is not clear

[271] The registration of the materials from Túcume does not include the burial number. While it is possible to determine the area and section the piece was excavated from, it is not possible to determine the burial plot and associated goods.
[272] Without a lug on the body it is not currently possible to identify which side is the front or back, for ease of understanding, the side with the vertical lizards and snake will be referred to as the front.

in what context these vessels were used, there was seemingly a need for vessels made in the *urpu* form with snake imagery, perhaps suggesting a ritual context.

Flora

Two floral motifs were incorporated into flat-bottomed *urpus*, potatoes and maize. Both are edible plants—one from the highlands (potato) and one that is more coastal, but the Inka grew in artificially high-altitude situations on mountain terraces (maize).

Potatoes

The formal qualities of the potato vessel (catalog number 172) still align with the other vessels in this subcategory in its elongated proportions. A single band displays decoration. Yet randomly placed within this band are low-relief almond-shapes that contain an inner oval shape with vertical hash marks --these look like potato eyes. Bourget has also identified these markings as potato eyes in earlier Moche compositions.[273] Potato eyes as multiple human eyes on these Moche head vessels have been discussed by Stone as referencing shamanic logic, specifically synesthesia (Figure 4.3).[274] In the broader corpus of Andean ceramics depicting potatoes, there are a few variations of this motif, often with the inner oval containing between two and four vertical lines. Another variation replaces the inner oval with a more circular shape. Ceramics with these motifs tend to be from the North Coast, and are present from the Moche until the arrival of the Spanish.[275]

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[273] Steve Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006).

[274] Rebecca R. Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2011): 199-200.

[275] The Museo Larco has several Chimú-Inka vessels in a variety of forms with the potato eye motif: ML027394, ML027647, ML027648, ML027649, ML027650, ML027651, ML027652, ML027653, ML027696, ML027777, ML027778, ML027854, ML027865, ML027918, ML027939, ML027940, ML027941, ML027942, ML027943, ML027945, ML027946, ML027947, ML027948, ML027949, ML028030, ML028031, and ML028032.

It is significant that these ceramics depicting potatoes were present before Inka presence on the coast. There has always been interaction between the coast and highlands that would have resulted in bringing the most diagnostically highland foodstuff to the coast, where potatoes are not suitable for growing. Potatoes can easily grow mold while in storage, unless they are "freeze-dried" using the highland technique of repeatedly leaving potatoes outside to allow them to freeze at night and thaw by day repeatedly, thereby losing water and shrinking.[276] Since the potato is freeze-dried, and not just dried out, the final product --called *chuño* in Quechua-- does not necessarily markedly appear different from a fresh potato. Therefore it is not possible to determine if the potato was meant to de depicted as fresh or freeze-dried in catalog number 172. However, transporting *chuño* from the highlands to the coast was the preferred method, given its lightweight and thus more portable nature.[277] Referencing chuñoa would have a stronger Inka valence, it could be argued.

Archaeological excavations in the Moche Valley have not found potatoes to be a significant food staple either during the Chimú or Inka occupations of the North Coast.[278] Potatoes were likewise absent from the floral remains found at Túcume.[279] The reproduction of potato imagery indicates the presence of potatoes on the coast since at least the Moche, but in what capacity besides as valued trade items that show significant coast-highland interactions is not currently well understood. The quantities must have

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[276] Morris, *Hunanuco Pampa, and Inca City and Its Hinterland*: 104.
[277] Ibid. 104: chuño can only be produced in the Andean altiplano (above 3,750 m), where the cool nights and warm days enable the appropriate temperature extremes.
[278] Shelia G. Pozorski, "Prehistoric Diet and Subsistence of the Moche Valley, Peru," *World Archaeology* 11, no. 2 (1979). In an analysis of Chan Chan, Caracoles, Cerro la Virgen, and Choroval from the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon, potatoes were not found to be part of the diet (177-180).
[279] Daniel H. Sandweiss, "Life in Ancient Túcume," in *Pyramics of Tucume*, ed. Thor Heyerdal, Daniel H. Sandweiss, and Alfredo Narváez (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995): 160.

been somewhat limited in order to not appear in the archaeological records, suggesting potatoes were not a high-status food product or vanishingly rare.

The role of potatoes in the Inka diet is much better documented. Several early colonial sources mention rituals incorporating potatoes, where potatoes were grown, the different type of potatoes, the months that particular potatoes were available for eating, and even the social class of the local subject population eating different types of potato in relation to Inka culture.[280] Given the ubiquity with which the potato was found in the highlands, and the relative scarcity with which it was found on the coast, it seems likely that occasions upon which potatoes were present on the coast would have been significant.

The blackware manufacturing process used in the making of catalog number 172 was uniquely situated to capture the qualities of certain potatoes. Contemporarily, there are over 200 species and 5,000 varieties of potatoes,[281] and many have skin that ranges in color from dark blue to purple to almost black. The darker-hued potato varieties could thus be naturalistically depicted in blackware, appealing to the Chimú aesthetic, while also depicting a purely highland crop that was probably distributed by the Inka. The Cuzco-area was also known for its black maize.

Maize

While potatoes were not a major food product for the North Coast, maize was. Four vertically oriented ears of maize, or *sara* in Quechua, protrude from the surface of

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[280] Cieza de León, *The Travels of Pedro De Cieza De León, A.D. 1532-50: Contained in the First Part of His Chronicle of Peru Volume 1*; Bernabé Cobo and Roland Hamilton, *History of the Inca Empire : An Account of the Indians' Customs and Their Origin, Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions*, The Texas Pan American Series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Martín de Murúa, *Historia De Origen Y Genealogía Real De Los Reyes Incas Del Perú* (Madrid: consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1946 [1548]).

[281] Fernando Cabieses, "A Timeless Story," in *The Potato, Treasure of the Andes*, ed. Christine Graves (LIma: International Potato Center, 2001): 67.

the vessel body of catalog number 165. They are equally spaced around the body. Along the left and right proper sides, mold seams for the entire vessel are visible: on the body, along the *sara*, and on the neck and rim.

The fragmentary condition of this vessel allows for a better understanding of the creation process. Despite the North Coasts artists' proclivities and experience with mold-making, it does not appear that separate molds were used to make the ears of maize for this vessel (whereas this was the method of making a provincial Inka paccha from the Central Coast: using an actual ear of proto-Chancayano maize to make a mold to re-create the three0dimensional ear of maize [Figure 4.4]). There are no mold seams visible on the inside of the vessel either. In addition, the rows of kernels and the kernels themselves are so evenly spaced to suggest that these are idealized versions of maize. By contrast, *sara* on the Central Coast *paccha* feature irregular spacing of kernels (Figure 4.4). Even spacing of rows or kernels is not necessarily an indication that a mold was not used, as some varieties of maize are more regular in this regard than others.[282] Since only part of the ear is visible, the number of rows (or pairs of rows) is not calculable, making it hard to determine the strain of maize with certainty.[283] However, cob length is another characteristic used for identifying maize strain, with the cobs opposite each other the same size as each other. One of the pairs is slightly longer than the other. While there is cob-length in different maize varieties, it would seem that the artist is alluding to maize ears more generally and not a specific strain.

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[282] Grobman, *Races of Maize in Peru: Their Origins, Evolutions and Classification*: 915.

[283] According to Dunn, 1979, straight rows are formed by an even number of paired rows, and a spiral pattern is generally produced by an odd number of paired rows. "These characteristics, along with size and shape of ears and kernels, makes mold-made specimens clearly distinguishable from stylized ones." Dunn, "Ceramic Depictions of Maize: A Basis for Classification of Prehistoric Races."

Yet the blackware surface does seem to allude in general to *maiz morada*, or purple maize, that actually ranges in color from cherry red to black. If darker varieties of maize are compared to the cobs on catalog number 165 it seems possible to narrow down the specific referent. Of the three main autochthonous varieties of purple maize, Cuzco Morado most closely resembles the ears of maize in catalog number 165. Significantly, Cuzco Morado is a subspecies of Cuzco Gigante, that grows most prolifically in the valleys around Cuzco. The ears of Cuzco Morado average 22.4 cm long and 22.4 cm diameter of 22.4 cm.[284] The total height of the body is 16.8 cm, somewhat smaller than an average ear of Cuzco Morado, but not outside of the possible range. Not being molded from actual cobs means that a certain artistic license was possible, especially if the artist wanted to create a vessel within the typical height conventions of Inka *urpus*, as noted by Miller.[285] While Chimú-Inka *urpus* deviate from this slightly, allowing for greater flexibility in the height of the vessel, catalog number 165 fits within the Inka mean for the height of the vessel. If the ears of maize had been shown at the actual size of approximately 20.2 cm, and then the same neck of 5.6 cm has been added, the vessel would have been much taller than typical vessels produced during this period. Not using a mold allowed the artist to adjust the length of the maize ears to produce a vessel more in line with conventional vessel heights of this period.

The patterning of the kernels also aligns with Cuzco Morado conventions. Since only half of each ear is depicted on catalog number 165, it is not possible to ascertain with complete certainty the number of paired rows of kernels, but if we assume that half

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[284] Grobman, *Races of Maize in Peru: Their Origins, Evolutions and Classification*: 301-302.

[285] Miller has identified two clusters of Inka *urpu* sizes (based on a study of Cuzco-Inka *urpus* from the site of Sacsawaman above Cuzco): a group of large vessels, probably used for storage, between 80-97 cm high, and a group of small vessels, probably used for burial offerings, between 15-22 cm high. Miller, "An Investigation of Cuzco-Inca Ceramics; Canons of Form, Proportion, and Size:" 129.

of the paired rows are visible, then there would be a total of eight paired rows of alternating kernels. *Cuzco Morado has the same number and alternating arrangement of kernels.* It is significant that the artist includes these specific references to maize from Cuzco, as the North Coast, with irrigations projects begun by the Moche and continued by the Chimú, was some of the most agriculturally productive land in the Andes, including for maize.[286] Rather than referencing the agricultural abundance of the North Coast, it would seem that the artist's specifc reference to black maize are an indication of the Chimú bowing to the Inka in the type of maize included here. The previously mentioned *paccha* likewise incorporate a strain of black maize originally from Cuzco, and Stone-Miller suggested that this inclusion yields a political message of Inka control, where maize from Cuzco was brought to the coast, planted, grown, harvest, and then returns to Cuzco as a tribute item.

While the flora sample of elongated vessels is small, the inclusion of potatoes and maize in these vessels is significant. Potatoes and maize were the agricultural foundation of the Inka empire, and their depiction on Chimú-Inka vessels suggests both the presence of highland crops on the coast, in terms of potatoes and perhaps purple maize, directly exported from the Cuzco region.

Plain

The body of catalog number 160 clearly is plain, lacking any type of incision, mold-made adornment, or modeling. The surface has been regularly burnished to provide a glimmering exterior that would be resplendent in the North Coast sun and in stark contrast to the sandy earth. However, the artist has subtly incorporated another Chimú artistic convention. Rather than the Cuzco-Inka type circular lugs found through most of

[286] Moseley, *The Incas and Their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*.

the vessels in this subcategory the artist has included abstracted birds as *adornos*. The birds' beak and feet connect to the neck and body respectively, creating a negative circle that is reminiscent of the Inka circular rim lugs. The delineation of the birds' profiles is subtle, with only two small peaks forming the head, body, and tail of the bird. Finally, while most Chimú *adornos* feature clearly incised details, in this piece there is only a minimal, circular indentation for the eyes and two shallow marks for the tail feathers (Figure 4.5). It would seem that the artist downplayed the figurative and naturalist details typically included on Chimú-style *adornos,* resulting in a sculptural element that merges the Chimú bird *adorno* and Inka circular lug.

The elongated *urpu* sample is strikingly uniform in terms of the manufacturing process (eleven out of twelve are mold made), firing technique (twelve out of twelve are blackware), and iconography (nine out of twelve feature reptiles). However, this uniformity does not equate with complete standardization, as each vessel displays unique interpretations of the form. The explorations of a new iconographic motif and form suggest a certain degree of freedom to adjust the *urpu* form, include different backgrounds, and recombine iconography. While the elongated body is the most visually striking of the changes to the Cuzco-Inka form, other deviations are present. Two of these deviations are found elsewhere in this chapter, flat-bottomed *urpus* and *urpus* with handle variations.

Urpu-Pacchas

Description of the Sample

Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas* were found primarily: the Museo Brüning, the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología e Historia de Perú, the Field Museum of Natural

History, and the Musée du Quai Branly.[287] This limited number of institutions is likely due to the small sample size.[288]

Development of the Form

The *urpu-paccha* form appropriately combines classic Cuzco-Inka urpu formal elements with the notable addition of a spout, which transforms the vessel from an *urpu* into a *paccha*, a device for moving rather simply containing liquid. Despite the general adherence to Cuzco-Inka norms, there are several ways in which the vessels in this subcategory deviate from each other, as will be discussed below.

Pacchas are a relatively rare form of ceramic vessel, the origins of which are unclear. Paccha means "waterfall" in Quechua. The type of object was first documented during the 18th Century in Talcahuano, Chile, a provincial area occupied by the Inka.[289] Amédée François Fréier's account includes an illustration of an object consisting of a narrow, flat board with a handle, a wide-mouthed, circular bowl, and a zigzag spout terminating in a snakehead. The accompanying text described it as a paquecha, or "cup with a spout" (Figure 4.6).[290] Neither the material nor the term is delineated further; however, objects similar to this one in both wood and ceramic can be found in various museum collections (Figure 4.7). Most *pacchas* in museum collections lack provenance;

[287] Most of the Museo Brüning's collection is from the North Coast, helping attribute a Chimú designation, while the physical characteristics, usually a flared rim or *urpu* form, reflect Inka influence.
[288] The Chimú-Inka sample of *urpu-pacchas* pulls from a smaller range of institutions than the previous samples. This is partially due to the smaller sample size, as data was collected at fourteen institutions and there are only nine vessels in this sample.
[289] Amédée Françios Frézier, A Voyage to the South-Sea, and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714. ... By Monsieur Frezier, ... Illustrated with 37 Copper-Cutts ... Printed from the Author's Original Plates Inserted in the Paris Edition. With a Postscript by Dr. Edmund Halley, ... And an Account of the Settlement, Commerce, and Riches of the Jesuites in Paraguay, (London1717), http://galenet.galegroup.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/servlet/ECCO.
[290] The accompanying text labeling the illustration states: "Paquecha ou tasse a bec". Ibid.

however, most of those with known provenience are from the North Coast of Peru.[291] A general provenance of the aforementioned *paccha* in the Michael C. Carlos Museum has been identified as the Central Coast Chancay Valley, based on the scientific identification of the type of maize cob present as proto-Chancayano, a Central Coast strain of *Zea Maize* that derived from a Cuzco strain, as weall as matching sand in residue trapped inside it to that from this same valley, and other lines of evidence (Figure 4.4).[292] The wooden *paccha* comes from Chile and a ceramic one in a private collection is clearly Southern Colombian,[293] indicating that *pacchas* were used throughout the Inka empire and the Andean region as a whole; they were not solely products of Chimú and Inka artistry.

Perhaps due to the rarity of these vessels, there has been relatively little scholarly attention devoted to their study. Those publications that focus on *pacchas* often do not agree even on their definition and purported function. Thomas A. Joyce first applied the term *paccha* in a 1922 article, in which he describes a group of unusual objects that allow water to flow through several compartments. In 1956, Samuel Lothrop characterized *pacchas* as having two characteristics: first, an outlet for drinking at the base; and second "complex combinations of different elements and materials, held together by pitch, glue, or lashings."[294] This can only apply to wooden versions, but some ceramic versions *depict* lashings as a referent to the wood ones. Rebecca Carrion-Cachot has provided an extensive survey of *pacchas* in an investigation focusing on water cults in the Andes. She

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[291] S. K. Lothrop, "Peruvian Pacchas and Keros," *American Antiquity* 21, no. 3 (1956).
[292] Rebecca Stone-Miller, "Mimesis as Participation: Imagery, Style and Function of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Paccha, an Inka Ritual Watering Device," in *Kay Pacha: Cultivating Earth and Water in the Andes*, ed. Penelope Dransart, *Bar International Series* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006): 218.
[293] MCCM loan number: L2012.11.3
[294] Lothrop, "Peruvian Pacchas and Keros."

defined them as "sacred recipients that were filled with either *chicha* or water, which was then poured out at the feet of an idol or the earth, to infuse the earth with the power of the product."[295] More recently, Stone-Miller described the Carlos Museum *paccha* as "a ritual watering device."[296] This coincides with a broader move by some archaeologists to apply the term to any object created for making offerings with liquid.[297] From this broader definition, one might suggest that the early Lanzón at Chavín de Huantar, created between 900-600 BCE, acted much like a *paccha*, with channels carved to move liquids down the carved relief of the sculpture (Figure 4.8). The most basic defining characteristic of a *paccha* is that is must have a place for liquid to enter and exit.

Besides wood and ceramic, *pacchas* can be carved into stone. Using the basic definition of moving liquid in and out, in the Cuzco area and environs several Inka sacred rocks were modified to specifically channel the flow of liquids. These channels usually zigzag and/or one channel splits into two, such as the Saywite and Qenqo monoliths (Figure 4.9) As the definition of *paccha* broadens to include sculpture, smaller Inka stone sculptures will need to be reassessed in this vein as well.[298]

Technological Style Analysis

Manufacture

Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas* were made with both Chimú and Inka ceramic manufacture processes. Of the nine vessels in the sample, three were likely made with the coil process due to the absence of visible mold seams,[299] while on four they clearly are

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[295] Rebeca Carrion Cachot, "El Culto Al Agua En El Antiguo Peru," *Revista del Museo Nacional de Antropologia y Arqueologia* II, no. 2 (1955), translation by author.
[296] Stone-Miller, "Mimesis as Participation: Imagery, Style and Function of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Paccha, an Inka Ritual Watering Device."
[297] Salazar, "Catalogue."
[298] Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, is a study that begins this reassessment.
[299] Catalog numbers 150, 155, and 156.

present.[300] Like Chimú-Inka *urpus*, the necks were probably made with a separate mold.[301] In either coiled or mold-made pieces, hand molded cylindrical spouts were added to the vessel, typically on the lower portion of the body or on the conical base. The sample contains five examples with the spout on the body and four with it on the base. The spout penetrates the wall of the *urpu's* body, so that liquid from the vessel would flow from the spout; a hole would have been cut in the finished vessel to allow this. Since the spout is never placed at the lowest point of the vessel, unless the *urpus* were tipped, some of liquid would remain in the conical base.

Surface Treatment

In the previous chapters, blackware vessels dominated the sample. *Urpu-pacchas* deviate from this trend: there are slightly more polychrome examples (five) than blackware (four). In comparison, amongst the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample, there are 72 blackware *urpus* compared to 19 polychrome ones, which only further emphasizes the unusual situation in which polychrome vessels equal or slightly outnumber blackwares in the *urpu-paccha* sample.

The blackware Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas* were fired in the same manner as other Chimú-Inka vessels already discussed (see Chapters 2 and 3), following the North Coast ceramic tradition of reduced-oxygen firing which resulted in the clay turning grey to black in color. Blackware *urpu-pacchas* display a particularly shiny surface due to their

[300] Catalog numbers 148, 149, 152, and 154. The technological manufacturing process of the remaining two vessels (Brüning 12591 and 943) was not recorded.
[301] Without any broken *urpu-pacchas*, the exact construction process is somewhat speculative. It is also possible that *urpu* vessels with a fragmented front, in which the construction process is visible, could have originally had a spout, and were thus *urpu-pacchas*. There is no known reason to assume that Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas* were made with a different technological process than Chimú-Inka *urpus*.

being highly burnished while the clay was leather hard, the marks from which are sometimes still visible (Figure 3.x).

Urpu-pacchas made with the Cuzco coil method are more likely to have painted or incised surface treatment. These vessels also tend to include more geometric motifs, a motif more common amongst Cuzco-Inka ceramics than the Chimú-Inka ones.

Proportional Analysis

Due to the small sample size and the unique attributes of each vessel, the proportional analysis of this subcategory of *urpu*-like vessels will be addressed individually within the iconographic analysis sections. The main distinctions in the proportions between Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* to be discussed are: the degree of the rim flare; the composition of the total height of the vessel in relation to the heights of the neck, body, and base; and the visual squatness of the vessel as determined by comparing the diameter of the neck and body.

Iconographic Analysis

The areas of decoration on *urpu-pacchas* are significantly smaller on Chimú-Inka *urpus*. Four iconographic categories are present in the sample: geometric, flora, fauna, and human. The categories will be discussed in order of the most examples (geometric with four) to the least examples (human with two). The fauna and flora categories contain three and two examples, respectively.

Geometric Vessels

As discussed in the previous chapter, according to Julien, typical Cuzco-Inka ceramic decoration is classified into seven compositions.[302] The orientation of bands,

[302] Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca." 12. Color is also used to differentiate the seven categories.

either horizontal or vertical, is one of the main characteristics used for differentiating Inka decorative schemes.[303] Four *urpu-pacchas* incorporated geometric motifs into bands.[304] It is possible to categorize these vessels according to Julien's system, but her inclusion of color does not transfer as seamlessly to the Chimú-Inka materials. In the Chimú-Inka *urpu-paccha* sample with geometric motifs, there is a fairly muted palette in the polychrome examples, and, obviously, the blackware example is monochrome.

Horizontal Bands

A poorly preserved polychrome *urpu-paccha* (catalog number 153) displays the most intricate geometric patterns with horizontal bands. The areas of loss prevent a full understanding of the vessel; however, stripes, a common decorative choice in Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, are visible in the remaining areas of the neck. The front of the vessel features three horizontal bands covering the entire body: the bottom two are nearly identical, while the top one features a checkerboard of white and black squares. The lower two bands alternate concentric triangles and two interconnected double-lined triangles, each of which is made up of two concentric triangles. The lines of these triangles are arranged such that the pattern is somewhat obscure (Figure 4.10).

This visual overlapping of geometric motifs is common to neither Chimú nor Cuzco traditions, but represents an innovative Chimú-Inka impulse. There are several other elements that are nevertheless steeped in the Cuzco approach to decoration, specifically the striping on the neck and the use of polychromy rather than blackware. This vessel includes four different colors, the orangeware background with red, black,

[303] Ibid.: 11. Five colors are present in Inka ceramic decoration: purple, white, black, red, and cream.
[304] Catalog numbers 149, 150, 153, and 155.

and white polychrome decoration. As such, it is more technically allied to Cuzco-Inka polychromy than is usual for a Chimú-Inka piece.

Another example (catalog number 155) likewise incorporates a horizontal band; however, in this piece's unique interpretation the lug and the spout are on opposite sides of the vessel from each other, unlike other Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas*. On the same side as the spout a white band outlined with a thick black line delineates the horizontal band. While the poor condition of the vessel prevents complete identification of the motifs, the shadowy outline of a diamond or rhomboid pattern is visible within the band; this tentatively associates the piece with Inka schema. However, the poorly preserved state of the vessel prevents further understanding of this vessel.

Vertical Bands

Perhaps the most simply decorated polychrome, geometric *urpu-paccha* (catalog number 149), features eight vertical pained lines along the front of the vessel's body. The artist has minimally applied purple and white lines to this redware vessel thus deviating from the typical Cuzco-Inka color combinations, which do not include purple and white together according to Julien.[305] The sequence of lines from the viewer's left to right is: two thick purple lines, a thin white line, three thick purple lines (in the center), a thin white line, and finally two more thick purple lines. The lug and the spout are aligned with the center-most purple line, which serves as the axis of this bilaterally symmetrical composition. While the lug is geometric, it does not feature the abstracted face that often appears on both Chimú-Inka and Cuzco-Inka *urpu* lugs, rather it is 'U'-shaped, with an incised 'U' that mimics the shape of the lug. The spout, while aligned along the center

[305] Style A incorporates purple decoration while Style B incorporates white decoration. Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca:" 11.

axis of the vessel, is located on the base, rather than on the body; therefore it does not interrupt the striped pattern.

While the surface treatment of the vessel most closely aligns with Cuzco-Inka conventions, the proportions of the *urpu* more closely align with those produced in the territory formerly controlled by the Chimú. The short neck comprises only 16% of the total height of the vessel, as in typical Chimú proportions.[306] The degree to which the rim flares is also similar to other Chimú-Inka examples, as the ratio of the rim diameter to neck diameter is 1.625, compared to the average Chimú-Inka ratio of 1.7, and the average Inka ratio of 2.1. The vessel also has the squatter appearance of Chimú-Inka *urpus*, as the diameter is 75% of the total height. While this vessel has taken many visual cues from Inka *urpus*, the interpretation of the form links this vessel to Chimú-Inka production.

The only example of a blackware *urpu-paccha* with geometric motifs (catalog number 150) includes a vertical band along the central axis of the vessel front. All decorative elements are sculptural: the lug protrudes from the surface and the other markings are incised into the surface.[307] The central band is divided by double lines into three square sections. A face lug, with two rounded eyes and an incised opened mouth, is placed above the top section. The top and bottom sections contain the same decoration: four arched lines interspersed with vertical hatch marks, and triangles in the top corners of each square. The middle section has three main design elements. In the center of the square is an inverted triangle inscribed within a large upright triangle, effectively creating three smaller triangles and one inverted one within the outer upright triangle. Around these triangles is a triangular stepped-fringe with an inverted triangle at the top. Like the

[306] The height of the base and body were not collected, and therefore cannot be included in the analysis.
[307] Since polychromy cannot be included on a blackware vessel, a comparison to Julien's decorative categorization is not relevant.

top and bottom sections, the top corners contain triangles, but the orientation is different: the top edge of the triangle is roughly parallel to the top edge of the square. The four parts of the front of the vessel, the lug and the three-part band, create a sense of repetition and movement from top to bottom. The triangles in the top corners of the band sections echo the round, modeled eyes on the lug. The spout of the vessel, the element that identifies it as an *urpu-paccha* rather than simply an *urpu*, is located on the conical base, just to the viewer's left of center.

Flora

Two vessels in the *urpu-paccha* sample (catalog numbers 154 and 156) incorporate plant imagery, depicting squash and *Anadenanthera*. These flora motifs were also they only flora motifs found in the *urpu* Chimú-Inka sample, with each of these motifs previously found solely in either the Chimú (squash) or the Inka tradition (Anadenanthera) (see discussion in Chapter 3).

Squash

As with Chimú-Inka *urpus*, the *urpu-paccha* depiction of a squash (catalog number 154) employs sculptural techniques. In relation to the *urpu* depictions of squash (catalog numbers 78 and 85), this *urpu-paccha* more fully co-articulates Inka and Chimú artistic traditions more fully. Cuzco-Inka *urpu* elements are present, as a lug was added to the front of the vessel's body whereas it was not included on the Chimú-Inka *urpu* depictions of squash. Cuzco-Inka polychromy is blended with Chimú sculptural treatment, as the vessel is redware with painted white stripes highlighting the ridges of the fluted body. However, the artist was using Chimú technological techniques, as mold seams are visible along both sides of the vessel. The incorporation of squash into an

urpu-paccha reinforces the importance of this important product to North Coast and highland trade and nutrition (see Chapter 3).

Anadenanthera

As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the most common Cuzco-Inka *urpu* designs incorporated a geometricized *Anadenanthera* motif. Recalling that the Inka added *vilca* to their *aqha*, and since *urpus* commonly contained *aqha*, it is not surprising that this motif permeates Cuzco-Inka *urpus* and *urpu-pacchas* as well.[308]

One *urpu-paccha* (catalog number 156) includes the Cuzco-Inka *Anadenanthera* motif. Even had this piece not been archaeologically excavated by Alfred Kroeber outside of Chiclayo in 1926, it contains evidence that supports assigning it a North Coast provenance.[309] The *urpu* form more closely aligns with the trends observed in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample, as the total height is more like that of Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, yet the proportions are more Chimú-Inka (Figure 3.11). The typical Cuzco-Inka vessel has a total height of 22.9 cm, yet the neck, body, and base comprise 29.2%, 57.7%, and 13.1% of the total vessel height, respectively. When compared to the Chimú-Inka *urpu-paccha* with a total height of 17.5 cm, the neck, body, and base, in turn comprise 20.6%, 57.7%, and 21.7%. This more closely aligns with Chimú-Inka *urpu* proportions. Interestingly, the bodies comprise the same proportion of the total vessel height, emphasizing that the distinction between Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpu* forms is mainly visible in the neck and base portions.

The Chimú-Inka *urpu-paccha* also follows the Chimú-Inka *urpu* form of squatter proportions. Again, this was tested by comparing the diameters of the bodies and the

[308] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*.
[309] According to records at the Field Museum, this piece was excavated by Kroeber during the Captain Marshall Field 2nd Archaeological Expedition to Peru.

necks of the vessels. Despite the Chimú-Inka being almost 5.5 cm shorter than the Cuzco-Inka vessel, the neck diameters are almost the same (catalog number 156's neck diameter is 3.6 cm and the average Cuzco-Inka *urpu* is 3.65 cm) and the body diameter of the Chimú-Inka vessel is greater than the Cuzco-Inka vessel (16.2 cm and 14.7 cm, respectively).

Even though the formal principles of Chimú-Inka *urpus* were more closely followed than Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, the inclusion of the *Anadenanthera* motif, and other characteristics of Cuzco-Inka surface decoration were included. The neck is decorated with three stripes encircling it, one of the most common Cuzco-Inka neck treatments. A band of decoration curves around the shoulder of the vessel at the intersection of the body and the neck, as is typical for Cuzco-Inka *urpus*. However, rather than outlining the band in black, as in the Cuzco-Inka samples cream and red lines were utilized. Instead of the groups of undulating lines radiating from the neck towards the body, a row of five circles curves around the center of the band. Despite the inclusion of painted neck decoration, the line along the front of the underside of the base is not included on this vessel. The Chimú-Inka artist has thus included many of the elements of typical Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, yet taken certain liberties to deviate from the more standardized motifs frequently found in these areas.

Fauna

Three Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas* incorporate fauna; however, only one animal is represented, the snake. Whereas the *urpu* sample includes snakes, lizards, and caiman, only snakes are found in both samples.

Three vessels, all of which are blackware, include snakes in their iconography. Despite their differences, as a group they represent the most unified iconographic theme amongst the *urpu-pacchas*. The visible mold seams on two of the three examples indicate that these vessels were created with molds. Since molds ideally allowed for multiple vessels to be made in the same form, it seems likely that there are more *urpu-pacchas* that would match these; however, that are yet unknown. Snake imagery was present in the first published *paccha* (Figure 4.6), so it is not surprising to find snakes incorporated in the *urpu-pacchas*.[310] The associated iconography of the vessels helps to understand some of the broader associations of snake iconography with the *paccha* form. This again shows the importance of this animal in relation to *urpus*, in probably continued and more emphatic reference to the pouting in and out of movement of the liquid through the *urpu-paccha*.

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Two of the vessels with snakes are also face-neck vessels. The face-neck *urpu* type has already been described in the previous chapter, and the face itself will be

[310] Fréziér illustrates a cup with a horizontal base that also acts as a spout. Along the base, the image of a snake is carved out, along which liquid would flow to the spout. Frézier, *A Voyage to the South-Sea, and Along the Coasts of Chili and Peru, in the Years 1712, 1713, and 1714. ... By Monsieur Frezier, ... Illustrated with 37 Copper-Cutts ... Printed from the Author's Original Plates Inserted in the Paris Edition. With a Postscript by Dr. Edmund Halley, ... And an Account of the Settlement, Commerce, and Riches of the Jesuites in Paraguay*.

discussed in the section on humans below. However, it is important to note the iconographic pairing of face-neck and snake though, as it is unusual to have this level of consistency in such a small sample size. A single snake slithers down the front of catalog number 148, with the snake's head elevated off of the vessel surface, becoming the spout for the vessel. The undulating snake's body serves as a reminder of the snake's quick slithering abilities, and of the movement of liquids through the vessel. The snakes on these two vessels are treated quite differently from each other; the spout on catalog number 148 is the protruding snake's head, while the spout on catalog number 151 is not only *not* incorporated into the snake iconography, but it is not on the body of the vessel. Rather the spout has been placed on the conical base, eliding any relationship between the snake and the spout. This in turn downplays the visual saliency of the snake, as does the inclusion of another iconographic element, the face-neck; in other words, the snake's presence on catalog number 151 is somewhat de-emphasized in comparison to the salient face on the neck. While these details make the snake on this piece less noticeable, other decisions tie the snake into the general composition of the vessel. Even though the snake's head is still rendered in the same circular shape as the spout. This round mouth makes sense as a virtual spout, but does not incorporate the more hinged features of a snake's mouth. The face on the neck also has a rounded mouth. Rather than depicting the more treacherous elements of the snake, the quick slithering movements, the forked tongue, and the sharp teeth, this snake better unifies the composition by echoing the round spout and the round mouth of the face-neck.

The final vessel depicting snakes (catalog number 152) seems to betray more overt Chimú influence than the other *urpu-pacchas* with snake motifs. The central

snake's body runs vertically down the vessel front and was formed with the same amount of projection from the vessel surface, though in this case the head juts forward to become the *paccha's* spout. The body of the snake is incised with spots, the visual opposite of the stippled background in which dots are elevated off of a recessed background. The stippled background creates a band from just below the neck to halfway down the body of the vessel. While the front and back of the vessel have bands of the same height in the same place, they are divided by the mold seams that run along the sides of the vessel. These mold seams were wiped smooth rather than having added stipples to blend the two sides of the vessel, an act that emphasizes the presence of the mold seams. This is a Chimú traditional approach, as it emphasized the use of molds and thus its piecemeal creation.

The front band, in addition to the central large snake that vertically crosses the horizontal boundary of the band, has four smaller snakes that run vertically from the top to the bottom of the band. The triangular heads of each of the snakes is depicted in slightly higher relief than the rest of the body, and the small circles representing the eyes are lightly incised. On the back, five vertical snakes are like those on the front. An *urpu* with similar iconography (catalog number 31) has similar iconography, but rather has two snakes depicted horizontally across the width of the band.

The incised spots found on the main snake's body may link this imagery to iconography found on the North Coast since early Cupisnique-era ceramics. Composite feline-snakes are present in several North Coast cultures' ceramics. The spots found on catalog number 152 could in fact represent feline spots, perhaps even more specifically black jaguar spots since the blackware provides a black-on-black background like that of

the melanistic animal itself.[311] These could also indicate snake markings, especially boa constrictors.

This vessel strongly emphasizes the Chimú artistic tradition, with the inclusion of the stippled background, the emphasized mold seams, and the blackware firing technique. So too, catalog number 31, shares many decorative elements with this *urpu-paccha* and is likewise strongly influenced by the Chimú, rather than the Inka artistic tradition. The main distinction between these otherwise identical vessels is the spout on catalog number 152. It would seem then, that the spout enhances the iconographic link between snakes and liquid offerings, in line with the earlier suggestion.

According to Joseph Bastien, the Qollahuaya of Bolivia conceive of the human body as a hydraulic system that circulates and distills liquids and semi-liquids. Illness, in turn, is the disruption of the system that leads to the permanent separation of the wet and dry elements, i.e., death, of the body.[312] Given the relationship between *urpus* and the Zapa Inka's body, it seems that *urpu-pacchas* suggest the successful circulation of liquid through the Zapa Inka's body, ensuring his health.

Common to all three examples is the absence of a lug on the front of the vessels. In partial explanation for this absence, some scholars have described the incised lines found on many Cuzco-Inka lugs as an abstracted snakehead. Thus, the presence of an entire snake, especially with a spout formed from its head, would be a more literal and naturalistic interpretation of a snake, perhaps making the lug superfluous and thus unnecessary.

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[311] Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*: 214, note 4.
[312] Jospeh Bastien, *Healers of the Andes* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1987): 46, 69, 72.

As discussed in the previous chapter, snakes were found throughout both Chimú and Inka artistic traditions and can be viewed as a mutually legible icon.

Human

As mentioned in the previous chapter, despite the reputation for having a geometric design repertoire, the Inka did incorporate human features into their ceramics, just not into *urpus*. Flat-bottomed, strap-handled vessels with a flared rim often included a face in traditional Cuzco-Inka vessels.[313] Two previously mentioned vessels in the *urpu-paccha* sample also include human faces on the neck of the vessel (catalog numbers 148 and 151) and will be reconsidered here.

Face-neck

The general qualities of face-neck *urpus* from the Cuzco-Inka and the Chimú-Inka traditions are not fully realized on either of the *urpu-paccha* vessels with face-necks. The face on catalog number 148 is contained within a small, receded space, with the brow of the face protruding from the rounded surface of the neck. All of the facial features-- eyes, nose, and mouth-- are supplementary to the mold, i.e. appliquéd after the vessel was created. The eyes are wide open, and perfectly circular without any trace of eyelids, giving them a popped-out appearance. The nose is reasonably proportional to the rest of the face and somewhat generic. The mouth features the familiar pulled-back lips exposing the set of teeth, while the facial features are outlined with the form of a head, with a prominent chin. These features more closely align with other Chimú-Inka, rather than Cuzco-Inka, face-neck characteristics. Whereas Chimú-Inka face-neck vessels usually feature almond-shaped eyes, and the Cuzco-Inka face-neck vessels feature slitted

[313] According to Meyers (1975), this is form 3. Meyers, "Algunos Problemas En La Classificación Del Estilo Incacio." Julien identifies this as Form 1c. Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca."

eyes; the intense, round eyes on this vessel are seemingly a purposeful and desired departure from either versions. The receding lips and exposed teeth can be found in the Chimú-Inka corpus, and hint at the decomposition of flesh that could be due to either Leishmaniasis or death, or a visionary grimace induced by entheogenic substances. [314]

Subtle elements of this vessel also align with Chimú-Inka trends. As discussed in the previous chapter, the amount to which the rim flares in relation to the diameter of the neck is greater in the Inka *urpu* sample (2.1 times) compared to the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample (1.7 times). When the diameter of the rim of catalog number 148 is compared to the diameter of the neck, it is 1.6 times greater, almost exactly the same proportions as found throughout the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample.

Despite the many elements of this vessel that seemingly represent the intersection of Chimú and Inka cultures, the mold seams visible along the sides of the vessel and the burnished blackware surface are clearly Chimú in impulse. Aside from the general *urpu* form of the pointed base, round body, flared rim, and handles on the side, there are no overtly Cuzco-Inka elements on this vessel. The iconography and proportions of the form show the greatest alignment with other vessels produced in the Chimú-Inka style.

The other vessel in the *urpu-paccha* sample that includes a human face on the neck (catalog number 151) similarly favors the Chimú-Inka face-neck aesthetic. Again, the face is inset in a section of the vessel's neck, and has almond-shaped eyes, a reasonably proportioned and generic nose, a wide-open mouth, and a prominent chin. The eyes are outlined, which makes them look more like the typical Inka slitted eyes, despite the almond shape; in effect, these eyes evenly blend the two styles. One of the most

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[314] Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture*; Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*.

noticeable features of the face is the coca-quid in the right proper cheek. As will be further discussed in Chapter 5, a new Chimú-Inka vessel type developed that features a man chewing coca (*coquero*); this face-neck vessel seems to reference this type of figure. As will be discussed, the territory formerly under Chimú control provided high quality coca for the Inka empire. Figures represented with coca quids may represent an Inka administrative position with ties to coca procurement and/or transportation. Given the importance of coca in rituals documented in early colonial sources (see Chapter 5) this administrative official would have been a person of status.

Deviating from most other Cuzco-Inka or Chimú-Inka interpretations of the *urpu* form, the back of catalog number 151 has a khyphotic spine, an element previously unpublished in either Chimú or Inka art.[315] Stone has suggested that the physical anomaly visible in individuals with kyphosis may have suggested shamanic powers through the logic of the "wounded healer."[316] Again, Bastien's explanation of the Andean worldview that associates illness with the inability of the body to circulate water seems relevant.[317] By depicting a healer, someone who can rectify the body's abilities to circulate liquids, in a vessel that was specifically created to have the ability to circulate liquid specifically, the iconography emphasizes the potentially healing function of these vessels.

The vessel proportions are aligned with the Chimú-Inka interpretation of the *urpu* form. The amount in which the rim flares in relation to the neck, like the previous example, is in proportion of 1.6 (1.7 is the average for Chimú-Inka *urpus* compared to Cuzco-Inka *urpus* average of 2.1). The vessel also appears to be squatter than the Cuzco-

[315] Khyphosis, what has historically been termed a "hunchback" is typically the symptom or result of one of several diseases tuberculosis, rickets, osteomalacia, scoliosis, degenerative diseases, endocrine diseases, etc.

[316] Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*: 105.
[317] Bastien, *Healers of the Andes*: 72.

Inka *urpu* form, which is supported by comparing the total height to the diameter of the vessel.

There is clearly a relationship between *urpu-pacchas*, face-neck figures, and snakes, since all three characteristics are found on both vessels. Many of the features of these vessels are unique to the Chimú-Inka style and provenience, yet, the most basic elements of the vessels, the *urpu* form and the blackware firing technique and formation with molds, are staples of the respective Inka and Chimú artistic traditions, respectively.

In sum, Chimú-Inka *urpu-pacchas* incorporate elements from both Chimú and Inka artistic traditions, balancing the two traditions in these co-articulated vessels. The Chimú features may be more subtly incorporated (visible in the proportions of the vessel) than those of the Inka (such as polychromy). There also seems to be more rigid iconographic rules governing this vessel type, as there is greater regularity of and overlap between the depicted motifs. As the function of the *paccha* suggests ritual use, the rigid iconographic system may well relate to the demands of ritual and the controlled movement of liquids.

Urpus with Handle Variations

Description of the Sample

Five vessels exhibit the characteristics of standar *urpus*, with the exception that they incorporate variations in the hand-modeled handles on the vessel sides. The specific variation varies from vessel to vessel, but include the addition of a strap handle, i.e., one that runs horizontally on the vessel shoulder, or the absence of any handles. These vessels were found in three museum collections: the Museo Brüning, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, and the Museo de América de Madrid.

Development of the Form

In varying the handles, the Chimú artists are changing the way in which the traditional Cuzco-Inka *urpu* form was created to function. Inka-style ceramics show that the handles were meant through which to thread a tump-line for the carrying of *urpus* across mountainous terrain.[318] By removing or changing the handles, the artists more clearly compromise such a primary use. The other stated use for handles is to make pouring *aqha* (or other liquids) easier at state-sponsored feasts. Again, removing the handles would inhibit its use. Some vessels, such as catalog numbers 166 and 183, include larger-than-usual lugs, and while these can stand-in visually for handles, they could not replace their function. As such, it would seem that the artist has effectively removed, or definitely compromised, the functional elements of the *urpu* form. This leads to the hypothesis that these particular vessels were meant more for display rather than function.

Technological Style Analysis

Manufacture

Chimú and Inka manufacturing process were both incorporated into the creation of vessels with handle variations. Three of the vessels (catalog numbers 166, 174, and 183) followed Chimú production traditions and were made with molds. In turn, two of the vessels (catalog number 175 and 182) were made with the coil method, the Inka production technique.

There are a few different treatments of handles in this sample, the most common being the removal of all handles (catalog numbers 166, 174, and 182). Another variation (catalog numbers 166 and 183) includes hand-modeled lugs near the intersection of the

[318] National Museum of the American Indian, accession number 20/6477.

body and the neck, rather than on the underside of the flared rim as in Cuzco-Inka vessels (Figures 4.11 and 4.12). While it would seem that placing the lugs closer to the body is unique to these two vessels, other forms of Chimú-Inka vessels (such as double-to-single spout vessels; see Chapter 2) include *adornos* at the intersection of the neck and body (or at the intersection of the double and single spouts). Chimú *adornos* frequently depict a bird or monkey, but there are many examples of circular ones in the Chimú-Inka sample. In both of the Chimú-Inka handle-variation *urpus*, the lugs are much larger than the Cuzco-Inka prototype; they are more on the scale of Chimú and Chimú-Inka *adornos*. It is impossible to assess whether the Chimú-Inka artists intended these as lugs or *adornos*, and, in fact, both of these terms are from contemporary scholarship and are not indigenous to Quechua language or other pre-Conquest languages. However, whatever they are called, their inclusion in other ceramic forms provides precedence for their placement and size.

One of the vessels in this sub-category has the addition of a hand-modeled strap handle (catalog number 175) arching horizontally with both ends connected to the body near the shoulder. The typical handles on the side are not included on this vessel.

Surface Treatment

Three of the four vessels in this sub-category were fired in a reduced-oxygen environment resulting in blackware. One vessel is redware, but has substantial fire clouding on its surface, resulting in the front maintaining an orange-red surface, while the back has a grey-black appearance, more like blackware. This does not seem to have been intentional and could have resulted form the Chimú-Inka artist not being as familiar with polychrome firing.

As described in previous chapters, two vessels in this subcategory (catalog numbers 166 and 183) include the stippled background embedded in the mold. The stippled background that is frequently depicted in Chimú ceramics is included in both of these examples. The final surface decorating technique in this subcategory is the supplementation of the surface with modeled elements.

Proportional Analysis

Due to the small sample size and the unique attributes of each vessel, the proportional analysis of this subcategory of vessels will be addressed within the iconographic analysis section. Since the main distinctions in the proportions between Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* are present in the amount of the rim flare, the composition of the total height of the vessel in relation to the heights of the neck, body, and base, and the visual squatness of the vessel as determined by comparing the diameter of the neck and body, these will be the areas discussed below.

Iconographic Analysis

The iconographic categories for this small subcategory are likewise more limited in scope. The four vessels include three types of iconography: plain, human, and bird.

Plain

A highly burnished, plain *urpu*-like vessel (catalog number 175) has no decoration aside from the highly burnished blackware surface. This reflective surface still bears the marks from the burnishing process, although these are only visible upon close examination. Vestiges of the ends of a hand-modeled strap handle that would have attached near the shoulder of the vessel are visible. While it is possible that the handle in its completed form may have had a decorative element, it does not seem likely, as these

elements were typically placed at the intersection of the handle and the body. Conjecturally, the handle may have traced an arc similar to that of a double-to-single spout; such a handle forms a visual link between these two vessel forms and thus can be considered a Chimú-Inka features.

In addition to the absence of the typical Cuzco-Inka handle, there is no lug on the front of this vessel. Due to the fragmented condition of the handle, it cannot be ascertained whether the strap handle were made to visually stand in as the lug or if it was meant as a handle for the back of the vessel. If so, when the handle was held the plain side of the vessel would be considered the front. The creative process of the vessel is also unclear, but since no mold seems are detectable it seems likely that the vessel was coil made.

This vessel has both Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpu* proportions. The flare of the rim is more in line with Chimú-Inka conventions, as the rim is 1.5 times greater than the neck. Both Chimú-Inka and Cuzco-Inka rims flare to a greater degree than this, with Chimú-Inka rims flaring on average 1.7 times more than the neck and Cuzco-Inka rims flaring 2.1 times. Despite the rim aligning more with Chimú-Inka values, the long, thin neck of this vessel is reminiscent of Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, which feature longer necks in proportion to the body and base of the vessel. Much like a Cuzco-Inka *urpu*, the neck on catalog number 175 comprises 32% of the total height of the vessel. Again, when compared to a typical Cuzco-Inka vessel (Figure 3.11), the similarities are more obvious. The neck on the typical Cuzco-Inka vessel in Figure 3.11 comprises 29.2% of the total vessel height (6.7 cm), while the typical Chimú-Inka neck in Figure 3.11 is only 18.7% of the total height (3.7 cm). Most Chimú-Inka *urpus* tend to have a squatter appearance, due

to the relationship between the diameters of the neck and body being greater than the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* counterparts; however, the long neck of catalog number 175 does not follow this convention.

Human

As discussed in the previous chapter, Inka vessels with flat bottoms, strap handles, and a long neck often included a face on the neck of the vessel. Likewise Chimú-Inka artists incorporated this face in the making of *urpu* vessels that more closely followed the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* form, those with a pointed base, handles on the side of the body, and lugs on the front of the vessel and under the flared rim.[319] However, the vessel shape and the facial features of catalog number 174 pull from both Inka and Chimú-Inka face-neck vessel types.[320]

The form of catalog number 174 is somewhat unique, and yet the origin of these unique characteristics is clear when viewed alongside the Inka and Chimú-Inka face neck prototypes. While the form is clearly influenced by the classic Cuzco-Inka *urpu*, specifically the angled base, rounded body and flared rim, there are several departures from this form. The flattened base seems to also be a nod to the flat-based Cuzco-Inka ceramics of typical face-necks. However, Cuzco-Inka face-neck vessels usually have a long neck with an elongated face extending nearly from the intersection of the neck and body to the rim, whereas catalog number 174 has a more compact face that comprises about half the height of the neck. The rest of the flared neck resembles a hat sitting atop the head of the figure.

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[319] Catalog number 30, 42, 102, 107, and 108.

[320] Catalog number 174 could be categorized as either a flat bottomed *urpu* or an *urpu* with handle variations. It was decided to categorize it as an *urpu* with handle variations as this was more prominent.

The proportions of catalog number 174 fall outside of both Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka conventions, although overall the visual squat, short-necked look of Chimú-Inka vessels is apparent. The important distinction between Chimú-Inka *urpu* conventions and catalog number 174 is that the latter achieves the Chimú-Inka appearance without actually adhering to the canon. For example, the neck of catalog number 174 appears to be similar to the Chimú-Inka *urpu* proportions in which the neck is measurably shorter; however, the neck at 5.4 cm high nevertheless comprises 32% of the total height of the vessel, which is more in line with Cuzco-Inka proportions. The artist mitigates the visual effects of the longer neck by increasing the diameter of the vessel. Once more the artist seemingly has a certain degree of flexibility to play with the composite elements of the *urpu* form, including the absence of handles, height of the neck, and roundness of the vessel relative to its height.

The handle-less version of this vessel type shares many similarities with the Chimú-Inka face-neck *urpus*, specifically the facial features.[321] The Cuzco-Inka qualities of slitted eyes and mouth are replaced with the more Chimú-Inka qualities of wide-open, outlined eyes, and a more naturalistic mouth. The nose is more triangular, following Chimú-Inka conventions as opposed to the thin plane of Cuzco-Inka noses. The panels on the side of the neck of catalog number 174 blend the ears and the flanges typically found on the Cuzco-Inka face-neck vessels, and the side panels extend the full height of the face. While the panels on catalog number 174 are similar to Inka ones, they do not extend the full length of the neck. The modeled arms on catalog number 174 are an addition like

[321] The Chimú-Inka face-neck *urpus* discussed in the previous chapter are catalog numbers 30, 42, 102, 107, and 108. Catalog number 79 is also discussed with this group despite the vessel's incomplete status, including the now missing neck. It is included in the analysis based on the arms present on the body of the vessel, and face-neck *urpus* are the only vessel type discovered with this feature.

those seen in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample, of which five of the six vessels included this unique feature. It seems likely that the addition of somewhat naturalistic arms and hands is a carry-over of Chimú artistic practices that favored figurative iconography.

Another *urpu*-like vessel with a handle variation (catalog number 166) incorporates a human figure in its iconography, which fits with the depictions of full-bodied figures in the *urpu* sample.[322] However, two main distinctions are: the lack of handles, a rounded base (whereas the Inka vessels have pointed bases), and some other details.

As with the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample, three full-figure humans are depicted within (or on top) of a multi-platformed building, the hallmark of North Coast building programs since the Moche era. The area within the building is distinguished with a stippled background. The figures vary in size, with a larger figure in the middle and two smaller figures on the sides. All of the figures are wearing crescent headdresses.

This unassuming vessel (catalog number 166) closely allies ceramic iconography with imagery found on textiles in the Chimú-Inka style. Ann Rowe has previous described a figure often found on Chimú-Inka era textiles, specifically two figures found on textiles archaeologically excavated from the site of Olivar in the Pativilca Valley on the north-central coast (Figure 4.13).[323] As A. Rowe explains on the South and Central coast, there is a complete absence of Chimú textiles and ceramics until the Inka occupation, at which point elite graves began to include Chimú, Chimú-Inka, and Inka

[322] The Chimú-Inka *urpus* with full human figures discussed in the previous chapter are catalog numbers 26, 46, 47, 93, and 100.
[323] Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast*: 121-123, and 142, note 1-3. Menzel, *Pottery Style and Society in Ancient Peru*.

objects, this indicate the considerable prestige that Chimú related materials maintained, or even gained, following the Inka conquest of the North Coast.[324]

The headdresses from catalog number 166 and the tapestry tunics found in Olivar, as well as seen on other non-provenanced textile fragments, are nearly identical. The three headdresses on the figures in catalog number 166 feature a crescent elevated off of the head by a triangular shaped shaft, presumably the pin used to affix the headdress into the hair or headband. The rounded nature of both the shaft and crescent are interpreted more rectilinearly on the tunics, due to the nature of tapestry weaving.

The clothing on the figures in catalog number 166 is specific enough to determine cultural association. Before the Inka conquest, Chimú tunics were sleeved, waist-length, and worn with a large, decorated loincloth. Inka fashion varied from their coastal enemies, with longer sleeveless tunics that hung to the knees, obscuring the loincloth.[325] The three figures on catalog number 166 clearly are wearing short tunics with sleeves and visible loincloths, i.e., Chimú dress. The easily identifiable clothing on these figures is one of the distinctions between this vessel and the other full figure depictions in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample, as in only one of the five vessels in this set can be the type of clothing determined. It appears as if the figures in the other examples are shown without specified clothing. In the previous chapter I argue that the lack of clothing is meant to express the removal of power from the upper-most level of Chimú lords. Since these figures are shown wearing clothing and headdresses that harken back to pre-Inka times on the north coast, it would seem that these choices are deliberate and intentional to show fully Chimú-style clothed elites in their power.

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[324] Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor: Textiles from Peru's North Coast*: 124.
[325] According to A. Rowe, Inka loincloths functioned more as underwear, and images of them are rarely published or exhibited. Ibid.: 125, and note 14.

All three figures in catalog number 166 are shown with a gap between their heads and their bodies. Additionally, outlining the bottom of the head, the larger figure in the middle has a long, 'U'-shaped object decorated with triangles. The figures on the tunic excavated from Olivar, and others like it, can again provide further insight. According to A. Rowe, on figures in Chimú-Inka textiles, "there is often a dotted U-shaped band around the lower part of the face."[326] She does not speculate on what this band represents. The ceramic depiction of this band actually informs the textile depictions, and A. Rowe's account of them. Rowe describes the circles emanating from the band as the ears of the figure. The ceramic depiction includes two rounded triangles at the apex of the band on either side of the head. These are clearly not ears or earspools (earspools are round), although it is not exactly clear as to what they are. It would seem possible that the 'U'-shaped element depicts a strap of sorts for the tall headdresses of the figures, but the figures flanking the central figure in catalog number 166 do not have these bands, nor do all images of figures with tall headdresses from this period. More research is necessary to determine the function of these bands, which could be for the highest elites.

Another aspect in which catalog number 166 deviates from the Chimú-Inka *urpus* with human figure depictions is in the representation of the arms and hands. In all of the other examples, the hands are shown either joined to or immediately next to the adjacent figure. Here, the arms and hands are depicted as two, serpentine lines connecting the torsos of the bodies. The side figures appear almost as extensions of the main figure. While all three figures are wearing crescent headdresses, the central figure has his elevated the crescent above his head on a base. This would seemingly suggest that the central figure is of a higher status than the flanking figures.

[326] Ibid.:122

Bird

The bird motif found in the Chimú-Inka *urpu* sample is also present in two *urpus* without handles. The differences between the birds shown in these two vessels emphasize the distinctions that can be present in this specific motif. While the vessel forms of catalog numbers 159 and 183 are quite similar to each other, the bands are markedly different. The vessels are shaped like an *urpu*, with the exception of the enlarged lugs/*adornos* and the removal of the handles. Each of the two front and back bands is subdivided, with each containing a bird on a stippled background. This treatment is found on many Chimú-Inka *urpus*.[327] A subdivided band with a stippled background and a repeated animal is likewise common to Chimú and Chimú-Inka ceramics in many forms, from double-bodied bridge vessels (Figure 4.14) to double-to-single spout vessels (Figure 4.15). While the bird motif is fairly standardized, there are variations in the depictions of the bird (head up or down, feet tucked up or lowered, and tail feathers up or down), the directions the birds are facing (one direction or alternating directions), and how many styles of birds are shown (all one style bird or birds with different characteristics in each cell).

The bird motif on catalog number 183 is unique when compared to the standard *urpu* sample incorporating the same motif. This is the only example in either sample to include the bird motif on a redware vessel, immediately linking it to the Cuzco-Inka ceramic tradition. Yet, the clearly visible mold seams along the sides link it to the creative process to the Chimú. All of the birds on catalog number 183 are facing proper left. In the Chimú-Inka standard *urpu* sample, only 4/14 vessels are oriented in this direction, whereas 8/14 face proper right, and in one example the birds face inward.

[327] Catalog numbers 28, 32, 33, 36, 40, 65, 66, 74 75, 76, 77, 88, 91, and 97.

The birds on catalog number 183 are depicted in alternating perspectives. On the front of the vessel, the proper right band cell includes a depiction of a profile bird with the head arched back as if the bird is taking flight.[328] The left proper band cell includes a depiction of a flying bird with outstretched wings and tail feathers down, most likely a bird swooping down to pluck a fish from the water. Despite the presence of the hunting position on this vessel, there is no fish in the bird's mouth. In the *urpu* sample, 10/14 of the vessels include birds in this position with fish in their mouths. If the absence of this detail were obvious to an observer of this vessel, not only is there a narrative quality to this vessel --a bird takes flight and then participates in an unsuccessful hunt-- but also perhaps there is a subversive element to the iconography of this vessel. Perhaps the artist asked to create a vessel that could be interpreted as the Inka being unsuccessful in the hunting of territories previously held by the Chimú. It is a tempting reading, given the power dynamics between the Inka and their former formidable enemy.

The composition of the birds on catalog number 159 is also unique. It is the only example in either the standard *urpu* or handle-variation corpus in which the birds are facing outwards. The band is also depicted in a much higher relief than most other versions, thus providing the artist with more depth in which to depict the birds with greater detail. The proper right bird is shown with wings outstretched and the head thrown back, and the proper left bird is shown with the feet down and the tail and wings tucked together tightly with a fish in the mouth, after a successful hunt. This continues the slight narrative in which one bird is shown in flight and another shown after the hunt.

[328] As there is no lug on the vessel, the front and back are not clearly indicated, however, due to the clouding from the firing process there is an orange-red façade and a grey-black façade.

There is a difference between the two birds in how they are depicted. The proper right bird is depicted in a somewhat stylized manner, with geometricized features. The proper left bird is more naturalistically rendered, and the individual tail feathers and claws of the feet can be discerned. This is another way in which the artist has pulled from the variety of choices available within this motif to create a unique composition.

While these two vessels are similar in size, their shapes are also visually quite different. Catalog number 183 has a more slowly sloping shape of the body when compared to catalog number 159, which makes the latter look rounder. The roundness of catalog number 159 is enhanced by the placement and size of the band, which comprises over half of the height of the body. The band on catalog number 183 is much shorter, and is located higher on the vessel, making it more difficult to see, and emphasizing the height of the vessel rather than its roundness. The necks of both of these vessels are longer than most Chimú-Inka *urpus*, yet they are still somewhat smaller than most Cuzco-Inka ones. Despite this deviation from the smaller Chimú-Inka neck, the convention of a longer base is upheld in catalog number 183 and the neck and base are roughly equivalent (4.5 cm and 4.6 cm).

Flat-Bottomed *Urpus*

Description of the Sample

Three vessels exhibit the characteristics of *urpus* with the exception that the bases are flat rather than pointed. This vessel type has an angled base, like a typical *urpu*, but the tip is flattened rather than pointed. These vessels were found in three museum collections: the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, the site museum at Túcume, and the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich.

Development of the Form

Julien categorizes two forms that relate to *urpus* with flat bottoms. The first is obviously the *urpu* form with the long neck, curved body, and lugs under the rim, and the other is the flat-based bottle.[329] A distinction within this subsection is that the vessels have the beginnings of the pointed base, but the actual point is lopped off, whereas Julien's categorical distinction does take into consideration features on the bottom of the body of the vessel. It would seem that this subcategory of *urpu*-like vessels incorporates features from both the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* form and the subcategory of flat-based vessels. It is unclear as to whether Cuzco-Inka vessels, intermediate between the bottle and the *urpu*, also exist; if so, they would form a corpus of material that the Chimú-Inka vessels are more directly emulating. Further study of the Inka materials is warranted to better explore this possibility.

In making the base of the vessel flat, the Chimú-Inka artist has removed some of the functionality of the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* form. Descriptions of *urpus'* uses include carrying goods over large distances, and a narrow pointed base would fit more comfortably between the shoulder blades of the individual carrying the vessel with a tump line (Figure 4.16).[330] It should also be noted that in the mountainous terrain of the Inka heartland, flat-bottomed vessels might have been less desirable, since pointed bases could make use of rocks and holes in the hard soil to stand upright especially during earthquakes (and like the construction of mortar-less walls) be able to shift rather than break during the earth's movement.[331] Vessels with flat bases are more suited to the coastal, sandy environment found in the North Coast territory because they could be

[329] Forms 1a (Cuzco-bottle) and 1b. Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca:" 7-8.
[330] Guaman Poma de Ayala, " Http://Www.Kb.Dk/Permalink/2006/Poma/Info/En/Frontpage.Htm.".
[331] Stone, *Art of the Andes from Chavín to Inca*: 238.

lowered onto sandy soil, a substance that does not sustain holes and where rocks are rare. Thus, adjusting the form of the *urpu* to be more suitable to the North Coast environment appears to privilege the needs of the coastal Chimú-Inka administrators over those of the highland Inka.

If there is a stronger presence of vessels with flat bases in the Inka ceramic tradition than has previously been emphasized, it is also possible that the Chimú are negotiating between Cuzco-Inka forms in order to find vessels that more readily meet their needs. As such, *urpu*-like vessels with flat bases would band with the Inka as a blending of two Inka ceramic forms, while Chimú-Inka administrators would perceive the form as a vessel more suited to their needs rather than those of the highland invaders.

Technological Style Analysis

Manufacture

Chimú and Inka manufacturing processes were both used in the creation of *urpus* with flattened bases. Three vessels had visible mold seams along the side of the vessel, upon which handles were placed.[332] Mold seams were not visible on two of the vessels thus apparently these vessels were created by the Inka coiling method.[333]

Surface Treatment

All of the vessels in this sub-category were fired in a reduced-oxygen environment resulting in blackware. This process has been described previously. As described in previous chapters, the molds used to manufacture vessels did not just determine the form and contours of the vessel, but also related to the choices of surface decoration. The blackware firing method encourages patterning by recessed or elevated

[332] Catalog numbers 159, 177, and 180.
[333] Catalog numbers 164 and 179.

elements, as polychromy was not an option. All the pieces in this subcategory are decorated with incised designs.

Proportional Analysis

Due to the small sample size and the unique attributes of each vessel, the proportional analysis of this subcategory of *urpu*-like vessels will be addressed individually within the iconographic analysis section. Since the main distinctions in the proportions between Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* is present in the amount of the rim flare, the composition of the total height of the vessel in relation to the heights of the neck, body, and base, and the visual squatness of the vessel as determined by comparing the diameter of the neck and body, these will be the areas discussed below.

Iconographic Analysis

Plain

An archaeologically excavated undecorated blackware vessel from Túcume (catalog number 180) exemplifies the vessel form of an *urpu* with a base tapered down to a small flat base. The vessel also departs from typical Cuzco-Inka conventions in that the handles are placed very high on the vessel, near the intersection of the neck and body, and are almost in the area where an Inka lug would be located. Another departure is the absence of a lug on the front of the body. Despite these deviations from the typical Cuzco-Inka *urpu* form, the flared rim, lugs underneath the rim, and round body fully evoke the classic Inka ceramic form. This vessel, found in the South Cemetery, area 1D at Túcume, was excavated from an area with several Inka-style burials. Some of the materials excavated from this area of the cemetery were purely Chimú in style, and yet

were deposited in conjunction with Inka vessels. The presence of Inka materials, however, associates the burial with the Inka occupation.

Geometric

Chimú artists incorporated some of the broader design features of the Inka *urpu* into this subcategory. The horizontal bands of Inka *urpus* were incorporated into several different formats on typical Chimú-Inka *urpus* (see Chapter 3). An *urpu* with a flattened base from the Chimú-Inka sample (catalog number 164) includes two horizontal bands and illustrates Chimú artists' ability both to incorporate Inka themes and to innovatively combine Chimú and Inka practices. Interestingly, this vessel does not have any mold seams or other indicators of mold-made creation, making it probable that the Cuzco-Inka coil method was combined with the North Coast reduced-oxygen firing techniques to create this hybrid vessel. It displays two bands in line with the handles, is typical of Inka compositions, and its alternating triangles are like the common Inka chevron designs (Figure 4.17). The triangles were probably stamped onto the surface of the still-wet clay, a common technique on the North Coast. Thus, without the use of polychrome, the Chimú-Inka artist has reproduced an Inka decorative convention in a Chimú artistic idiom.

One design motif found on Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* (see Chapter 3) is the replication of designs similar to those found on high-status Inka men's tunics, *unku*; this motif is likewise found on flat-bottomed *urpus*. As is typical of this configuration on Inka or Chimú-Inka *urpus*, a small band (or bands) is located low on the body, near the handles on the front of the vessel, in imitation of the waistband found on *unku*. On catalog number 164, the two bands are so wide as to nearly cover the entire vessel body.

While an Inka *unku* featuring registers with only triangles is known to date, the Dumbarton Oaks royal tunic (Figure 3.22) and two early colonial examples from the Cleveland Museum and the American Museum of Natural History (Figures 4.18 and 4.19) include individual *tokapu* featuring alternating triangles. In the Dumbarton Oaks example, the *tokapu* with alternating triangles are oriented vertically rather than horizontally, but the colonial examples do include horizontal rows. Following Stone's interpretation of the Dumbarton Oaks tunic as a statement of the Zapa Inka's ability to impose order amongst chaos, showing a *tokapu* in a rotated orientation would only further speak to the Zapa Inka's ability to control an even more chaotic element.[334] As discussed in the previous chapter, if the rows of *tokapu* can associate the vessel with the representation of the Zapa Inka,[335] then this vessel would likely give its owner particularly high status. When used to pour *aqha*, for example at a state-sponsored feast, the vessel would stand-in for the body of the Zapa Inka, and *aqha* would literally be flowing from the Zapa Inka.

The proportions of catalog number 164 reinforce Chimú proclivities. The flare of the rim is slight, even when compared to Chimú-Inka rims that flare less than Inka rims. The proportions of the base, body, and neck are also distinct from either the Chimú-Inka or Cuzco-Inka *urpu* samples. Whereas Chimú-Inka *urpus* tend to have a base that is taller than the neck, and Cuzco-Inka *urpus* tend to have a neck that is taller than the base, catalog number 164 has a base and a neck that are roughly equivalent (3.0 cm and 3.6 cm) in height.[336]

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[334] Stone, ""And All Theirs Different from His," The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context."
[335] Bray, "Inca Iconography: The Art of Empire in the Andes:" 173.
[336] 0.6 cm, the difference in height between the base and the neck accounts for 4% of the total height.

Thus, catalog number 164 is a rather intriguing piece. The technological style belies Chimú blackware firing methodology and Inka traditions of coil vessel formation. The alternating triangle design is a known Inka ceramic motif, and is also found as a *tokapu* motif on Inka *unku*. The measurements of the vessel indicate an artist that was so evenly balanced between the two artistic traditions, that he or she created a vessel unique in its attributes.

Human

A face-neck vessel (catalog number 177) emphasizes many of the differences that Chimú-Inka artists subtly incorporated into ceramics with Inka forms. The blackware surface treatment of the vessel immediately links its production to the North Coast, while the other aspects of this *urpu* form links the vessel to the Inka ceramic tradition.

As previously discussed, most Chimú-Inka vessels have a degree of rim flare of 1.7 times the diameter of the neck, and Inka vessels have a rim flare of 2.1 times. Catalog number 177 far exceeds the typical Inka flare, with a rim that is 2.6 times greater than the diameter of the neck. The proportions of catalog number 177 also more closely align with Inka conventions. When compared to the typical Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* compared in Figure 3.11, these distinctions are clear. The Chimú-Inka *urpu* with a flat base is composed of the neck 26.4% (5.1 cm), body 66.3% (12.8 cm), and base 7.3% (1.4 cm). This is more strongly associated with the Inka proportions of neck 29.2%, body 57.7%, and base 13.1%. The truncated nature of the base in catalog number 177 seems likely to account for the differences in the base proportions. Compared to the Chimú-Inka typical *urpu*, with a neck of 18.7%, body of 58.3%, and base of 30%, the varying size of the elements of the total height is clear. The typical Chimú-Inka and Inka *urpus* have similar

proportions for the body height, with the main distinction visible in the neck and base heights. This trend continues with catalog number 177 in which the height of the neck (5.1 cm) is greater than twice that of the base (1.4 cm), a trend more often found in Cuzco-Inka *urpu* vessels than those from the North Coast. The degree of the rim flare and the proportions of the three main elements of the vessel underscore the Inka form of the vessel.

Despite all of these inclusions from the Inka tradition, catalog number 177 was clearly created in the North Coast tradition. Besides blackware surface treatment, along the sides of the vessel are visible mold seams. Beyond these technological elements, the iconography of the face on the neck follows the features of other Chimú-Inka face-neck vessels and so deviates from Cuzco-Inka representations. As discussed in the previous chapter, Inka vessels with flat bottoms, strap handles, and a long neck often include a face on the neck of the vessel. Chimú-Inka artists incorporated this face in the making of *urpu* vessels that more closely followed the Cuzco-Inka *urpu* shape.[337]

The characteristics found on the Cuzco-Inka faces include: panels on the sides of the vessel's neck; slitted eyes and mouth; a thin, pinched nose; and an elongated face with the features spread along the neck. The characteristics of the Chimú-Inka faces are more varied, but tend to include round ears on the sides of the vessel's neck, almond-shaped eyes, articulated eyebrows, a triangular nose, and a naturalistic mouth. The facial features are typically contained within a smaller section of the vessel's neck, closer together than the Inka examples. While the Chimú-Inka face-neck traits are too generalized to be identified as portraits, they are nevertheless more naturalistic than the highly abstracted Cuzco-Inka examples. The Chimú-Inka face is receded from the surface

[337] Catalog numbers 30, 42, 102, 107, and 108.

of the vessel's neck, providing a set space for the face to be depicted, with the raised areas around the facial features forming the outline of a head with a projecting chin. The ears on the side of the vessel's neck are shown with empty holes for earspools. The eyes are almond shaped and framed by eyebrows. The nose is triangular in shape and, in a nod to naturalism, even depicts nostrils. The flat, thin mouth has both lips delineated.

In sum, Chimú-Inka flat-bottomed *urpus* continue many of the trends visible in the Chimú-Inka typical *urpu* sample. This may be due to how similar they are except for the base and the possibility that Cuzco-Inka flat-based vessels have gone unnoticed.

Conclusion

The iconographic themes included on *urpu*-like vessels are present elsewhere in the Chimú-Inka corpus of ceramics. The distinctions, and the purpose of discussing these vessels separately from the standard *urpu* sample, emphasize the importance of form over iconography. The subtle incorporation of Chimú features into *urpu-pacchas* alongside the more overt Inka features suggests a certain freedom to explore new forms; however, in the sample of *urpu-pacchas*, the iconography was more limited. While the Inka may have permitted certain creative license, they also required state rituals to be performed that may have required specific ceramics with specific iconography. Understanding the areas in which the Inka allowed conquered artists to innovate also informs highlights areas of the Inka ceramic assemblage that are still unknown, such as flat-bottomed Cuzco-Inka *urpus*. Other changes to the *urpu* form bring to question functional qualities of Cuzco-Inka *urpus*, such as portage, or ease of pouring, and thus support the idea that they may have been display vessels perhaps for more personal than state use. Other changes seem to reflect an aesthetic preference, such as the elongation of the body, that more directly

represents the merging of Chimú and Inka ceramic traditions to produce uniquely Chimú-Inka forms that were previously unexplored in either culture on its own.

Coquero Vessels:

The Revival of a Form

The previous chapters have explored ceramics that related primarily to either the Chimú (double-to-single spout vessels) or the Inka (*urpu* and *urpu*-like) ceramic traditions, and yet included elements from the other culture and/or developed new ones as a synthesis of the two. This chapter offers an in-depth exploration of a revivalist vessel that depicts the head of a male with a quid of coca (*Erythroxylum coca*) in his cheek, usually referred to in the literature as a *coquero* (Spanish for "coca chewer"). This iconographic type, previously unmentioned in the scholarly literature on the Chimú-Inka, is found in my sample as a substantial subset of 51 Chimú-Inka ceramics. *Coquero* vessels were present on the North Coast from at least 500 BCE,[338] and characterize the pre-Chimú cultures of the Cupisnique and the Moche, as well as the Chimú, the Inka, and Chimú-Inka styles. By analyzing the relationship between the Chimú-Inka depiction of *coqueros* and previous versions, as well as the relationship between the Chimú-Inka version and more overtly Inka depictions of *coqueros*, some of the trademark elements of a Chimú-Inka stylistic canon are revealed. Chimú ceramic traditions are referenced in the form, particularly in the pedestal base common to most vessels in the assemblage. However, the Chimú-Inka *coquero* form related closely to Inka *urpus*, sharing their flared rim, square shoulder, and elongated body. The ears of the *coquero* are found where *urpus* have strap handles.

[338] Julie Jones includes a vessel found in a burial in the Jequetepeque valley at Tembladera, dating from 500 BCE (Catalogue Number 1, pg 3-4). Julie Jones, *Rituals of Euphoria: Coca in South America* (New York: Museum of Primitive Art, 1974).

Description of the Sample

The *coquero* vessel type was found in nearly every museum visited as part of the broader study (catalog numbers 167-213).[339] Most museums contained between one and three examples of this form, except for the Museo Larco, which housed 23 examples.[340] All of the museums, excepting Túcume, lack provenance information for the vessels; however, the similarity between the vessels with provenance and those without provenance clearly links them iconographically. The three vessels found in the archeologically excavated site of Túcume will be assessed separately.

The 51 vessels in the *coquero* sample were analyzed according to iconographic and formal elements. The similarities, visually obvious when this set of objects is looked at as a group, also are presented statistically.

Iconographic Identification

The seemingly small detail of the quid of coca in the figure's cheek constitutes the most informative element as to the possible role of the depicted figure and the function of the vessel. In order to understand why including a coca-wad was an important Chimú-Inka iconographic element, a section on the plant *Erythroxylum coca* and its varieties is in order. It is necessary to understand coca's important role in ritual life and the economy of the Andes from pre-Ceramic times to the Late Horizon during which the procurement and distribution of coca throughout the Inka Empire was essential to its inclusion in economic and ritual life.

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[339] Collections with *coqueros* are: the American Museum of Natural History, the Brooklyn Museum, the Field Museum of Natural History, the Museo Bruning, the Museo de America de Madrid, the Museo Larco, the National Museum of Denmark, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard, the Quai Branly, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich, and the Peabody Museum at Yale.

[340] The Museo Larco actually houses closer to 50 examples, but only fully in-tact examples were included in the study. Incomplete vessels were assessed to help in determining the technological style of this form, see section below.

Coca Use in the Andes

The presence and use of coca leaves in Andean rituals is documented in many ways: archaeologically; ethnohistorically in documents from the 16th century; and artistically in objects created since at least 2500 BCE.[341] Coca plants belong to the genus *Erythroxylum*, which contains over 250 species, many of which grow wild; however, only the cultivated species contain enough alkaloid in the leaves to cause a noticeable effect upon chewing.[342] Three varieties are and were cultivated in the Andes. First, *Erythroxylum coca* cv. 'Lamark,' colloquially known as Huánuco or Bolivian coca and known as *mamox* in Quechua, grows in the montaña from altitudes of 500-1500 m. Second, *Erythroxylum coca* var. *ipadú* cv 'Plowman' grows in the Amazonian basin as low as altitudes of 250 m. Third, *Erythroxylum novogranatense* var. *truxillense*, colloquially known as Trujillo coca and known as *tupa* in Quechua, grows from 200-1200 m in altitude.[343]

The three varieties differ greatly, in terms of use (*mamox* and *tupa* coca leaves were chewed while Amazonian coca was made into a powder), potency (in decreasing order of alkaloid content: *tupa*, *mamox*, then Amazonian coca), and prestige (*tupa* coca was referred to as "royal coca").[344] *Tupa* coca is also distinct from the other varieties in terms of cultivation (despite its drought resistance, it requires irrigation), taste (wintergreen oil is present, producing a mint-like flavor), and appearance (the leaves are

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[341] Joyce Marcus, and Jorge E. Silva, "The Chillon Valley Coca Lands: Archaeological Background and Ecological Context," *Conflicts over Coca Fields in XVIth-Century Peru, Memoirs 21* 21(1988). 7-8.
[342] Warwick Bray, Colin Dollery, Gene Barnett, Ralph Bolton, Florian Deltgen, Darna Reátegui, Andew Fuchs Sillen, Linda Patia Spear, Teresa Valiente, and T.G. Vitti, "Coca Chewing and High-Altitude Stress: A Spurious Correlation " *Current Anthropology* 24, no. 3 (1983): 269.
[343] Ibid.: 269-270.
[344] Ibid.: 269-270; Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Plantaciones Pre-Hispanicas De Coca En Als Vertientes Del Pacifico " *Revista del Museo Nacional de Antropologia y Arqueologia* 39 (1973).

smaller and more delicate).[345] I contest that this is the variety that seems to relate to the vessel in question.

Most archaeological coca specimens have been found in the arid Central and Southern coasts, not in the highland or northern coastal environments in which the plants were actually cultivated. This archaeological context can also be attributed to early archaeologists not distinguishing between the different types of coca native to the Peruvian Andes. According to Plowman, all of the archaeological coca specimens he examined were *tupa* coca, not *mamox* coca as had previously identified in literature.[346] However, since the distinction in coca species has become more widely recognized in the literature, archaeologists have specifically identified *tupa* coca in several archaeological excavations from the coast, including Vista Alegre in the Rímac Valley on the Central Coast, Nazca in the Taruga Valley on the South Coast, and Monte Grande in the Ica Valley on the South Coast.[347]

Ethnographic sources from the 16th and 17th centuries are useful in assessing the extent to which coca was used in the broader Andean region, as well as who might have had permission to use coca, and how it was used; however, these accounts favor the Inka over other local perspectives and so obscure potentially complex local or regional pre-Inka practices as well as those that might have coexisted under Inka rule. Chroniclers also convey the prestige associated with coca by the vocabulary with which they describe it.

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[345] Bray, "Coca Chewing and High-Altitude Stress: A Spurious Correlation:" 270. Patricia Netherly, "From Event to Process: The Recovery of Late Andean Organization Structure by Means of Spanish Colonial Written Record," in *Perúvian Pre-History*, ed. Richard W. Keatinge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 264. Marcus, "The Chillon Valley Coca Lands: Archaeological Background and Ecological Context.: 7.

[346] Timothy Plowman, "The Identity of Amazonian and Trujillo Coca," *Botanical Museum Leaflets* 27 (1979); "The Ethnobotany of Coca (*Erythroxylum* Spp., Erythroxylaceae)," *Advances in Economic Botany* 1 (1984).

[347] Marcus, "The Chillon Valley Coca Lands: Archaeological Background and Ecological Context:" 8.

Cobo, in a passage describing the great pains Inka Tupa Yupanqui took to cultivate coca in a region in which it would not readily grow, describes coca as "among the most highly esteemed offering that they had."[348] Garcilaso refers to "coca, which they so much esteem" as "the herb they value so highly."[349]

Accounts from Fray Bernabé Cobo, Garcilaso de la Vega, Fray Mártin de Murua, and Guaman Poma de Ayala focus on how coca was used in Inka sacrifices. Cobo, for example, describes the coca sacrifices that occurred at *huacas* and shrines along the *ceques* radiating out from Cuzco, far from the North Coast.[350] Cobo and Garcilaso de la Vega both describe the practice of offering a chewed quid of coca upon summiting an *apachita*, or high mountain, indicating a ritual that would have happened throughout the highlands where high mountains abound.[351] Both authors frame this coca quid offerings as some of the most visible acts of Inka religious observance.

Guaman Poma included the types of sacrifices practiced by specific population areas. For example, he states that the principal men of Pachacamac, an important religious site and administrative center built during the Wari Empire that continued in importance under the Inka, sacrificed five-year old animals, cotton, fruit, *aqha*, and *tupa* coca. However, he reported on events that occurred almost one hundred years earlier, and Pachacamac, had been under Inka control for almost seventy years before that. While this does not deny the possibility that the principal men of Pachacamac did offer these sacrifices independently of the Inka, Guaman Poma makes no effort to distinguish the

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[348] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*: 94.
[349] Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*: 34-35; 78.
[350] Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*: 64, 65.
[351] Ibid.: 119. Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*: 78. According to de la Vega the appropriate term is *apachecta*.

influence of the Inka from previous local traditions. Given these references from the early colonial ethnographic sources, coca was obviously a pan-Andean ritual item.

According to Murúa, coca was too prestigious to be enjoyed by the general Andean population until the Spanish conquest, which effectively removed the restrictions that were put in place by the Inka.[352] This is not surprising, as the Inka controlled many elements of everyday life, a series of sumptuary laws restricting the wearing of textile designs, types of precious metals, earspools, and the Inka *borla* fringe.[353] The continued preciousness of coca into the Colonial era is also indicated by Garcilaso, who identifies textiles and coca as the chief articles carried by merchants.[354] Garcilaso's comment is informative as regards several aspects of coca's production, value, and prestige. First, he reported that the area around Cuzco was unable to produce sufficient quantities of coca for ritual use, so traders had to transport it from across the empire to the capital city. Second, he underscores how the distribution of coca was important to the Inka economy, perhaps due to the pervasive presence of coca in Inka rituals. And finally, by listing coca alongside of textiles, perhaps the most esteemed medium in Andean society,[355] Murúa grants coca a similarly high level of prestige.

Colonial documents are also useful in distinguishing the environmental zones in which *tupa* coca could be grown. According to Patricia Netherly, *tupa* coca could be grown in the irrigated fields on the North Coast. The *chaupiyunga*, a 16th century term designating "the region characterized by a warm, sunny climate with little variation, lying

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[352] Murúa, *Historia De Origen Y Genealogía Real De Los Reyes Incas Del Perú*: 172. It seems that Spanish removal of these restrictions was less of an official decree and more of a removal of the social customs that were in place by the Inka.
[353] Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999).
[354] Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*: 515.
[355] Stone-Miller, *To Weave for the Sun: Ancienct Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts*.

above the coast and below the lower sierra zone," was a supplemental region of greater productivity.[356] The great fertility of this zone between the coast and the western cordillera of the Andes prompted disagreement between coastal and highland peoples its control, tensions that ultimately led to litigation during the colonial era.[357] The most significant for present purposes, the Chimú Empire extended from the coast to the western cordillera, occupying the desert coast and the *chuapiyunga* where *tupa* coca grows.

Images of coca taking paraphernalia and of ritual coca may serve as our most relevant information on the Chimú-Inka *coquero* depictions. Artistic depictions of coca and related paraphernalia were created beginning from at least 500 BCE and continuing until the Spanish conquest.[358] Several of the cultures on the North Coast incorporated coca imagery into their artistic traditions, and I argue that the Chimú-Inka *coquero* vessel is the culmination of these autochthonous traditions, even as it reflects the hidden values of their overlords as well. The following sections trace chronologically the traditions that most visibly influenced the existence, iconography, and formal choices of the Chimú-Inka *coquero* vessels.

As will be shown, despite the reputation as a highland product (due to coca's properties to alleviate altitude sickness) coca was historically prominent in the coastal regions of the Andes. In the coastal environment, coca's other abilities to "calm the stomach, dampen hunger and thirst, and give energy "[359] would have been beneficial.

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[356] Netherly, "From Event to Process: The Recovery of Late Andean Organization Structure by Means of Spanish Colonial Written Record:" 264-265.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Jones, *Rituals of Euphoria: Coca in South America*.
[359] Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas*: 175.

Moche Coca Iconography

Included amongst the identified and published themes in Moche iconography is the Offering and Consumption of Coca (Figure 5.1).[360] Several scholars have suggested that the practice of consuming coca developed from an individual action to a more elaborate and ritualized ceremony over the course of the Moche culture.[361] While the specifics of the Offering and Consumption of Coca scene are still being debated,[362] there is general agreement that the scene involves two groups of people: those who take coca and those addressing them. In one scene, those who take coca are shown wearing tunics that include the same stepped triangle motif that can be found on many of the headbands of the Chimú-Inka *coquero* heads.[363] On the Moche depiction of the tunic, the stepped-triangle with circles motif alternates with rectilinear spirals, forming a checkerboard tunic composition (Figure 5.1). In recent times, other depictions in Moche ceramics have turned out to represent reality, most famously with the archaeological excavations at Sipán, Pacatnamu, and San Jose de Moro uncovering the individuals represented in the Sacrifice Scene.[364] Thus, the association between chewing coca and wearing the stepped triangle textile motif is likely to have occurred. Unfortunately, the climatic conditions of the North Coast do not tend to preserve textiles, therefore no tunics matching these depiction have been found to date; however, the ceramics depicts the stepped triangle

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[360] Anne Marie Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 1987): 21

[361] Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture*; Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*; Elizabeth P. Benson, "Iconography Meets Archaeology," in *Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget, and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008).

[362] "Iconography Meets Archaeology." Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture*: 40-41.

[363] Santiago Uceda, "The Priests of the Bicephalus Arc: Tombs and Effigies Found in Huaca De La Luna and Their Relation to Moche Rituals," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche*, ed. Steve and Kimberly L. Jones Bourget (Austine, TX: University of Texas Press, 2008): Figure 9.1 from Linden-Museum, Stuttgart.

[364] Alva, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*.

design not only in the tunics but also incorporated into headdresses being worn during the coca-taking ceremony. These were made of metal, ensuring their survival into the 21st century. Two metal items from Tomb 18 at Huaca de la Luna include the stepped triangle motif (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). The first gold plaque is in the shape of the stepped triangle motif (Figure 5.2). The holes visible on the surface are speculated to have allowed for the attachment of the piece to a support structure. The second metal headdress features a stepped fret with a bird head (Figure 5.3). Uceda has previously compared these stepped triangle and fret objects to the textile motifs worn by the figures in the Offering and Consumption of Coca scene (Figure 5.1), further explaining that the emblematic elements distinguish different types of individuals depicted in the scene.[365]Several examples of the Moche Offering and Consumption of Coca scene figures wear a headband with a single register (Figure 5.1). These headbands appear to be a textile wrapped around the top of the head, allowing for a single register of motifs to be displayed.

The inclusion of the stepped triangle motif in various ways on figures participating in the Offering and Consumption of Coca ceremony suggests a strong relationship between this motif and the ceremony itself. Since, as we will see, a stepped-triangle motif is found in Chimú-Inka *coqueros*, this relationship seems to have been continued after the Inka conquest of the North Coast. As such, the earlier Moche scenes help establish a strong tradition of North Coast coca themes as associated with certain motifs.

[365] Uceda, "The Priests of the Bicephalus Arc: Tombs and Effigies Found in Huaca De La Luna and Their Relation to Moche Rituals:" Figure 9.25A.

Chimú Coca Iconography

There is currently surprisingly little information on coca use and coca field cultivation during the Chimú Empire. At best, the Chimú practices in regard to coca cultivation can be reconstructed from early colonial documentation that provides evidence of pre-Inka cultivation and practices. While there are many ongoing archaeological projects on the North Coast, these have yet to be directed at the coca practices of the Chimú.

Inka Coca Iconography

Many studies of Inka political, economic, and religious structures rely heavily on colonial documentation. This is also true of research on the presence and use of coca in the Inka Empire, which unfortunately rarely combine art historical with ethnohistorical information.

According to colonial documents reporting on litigation on the North Coast in the 1560s, the Inka controlled three coca fields totaling 36 hectares (90 acres) located at Collambay in the Sinsicap Valley, a tributary of the Moche River (Figure 5.4).[366] These territories had previously been under Chimú control. These documents also include the former Inka names and elevations of the coca fields: Yapon, Arensa, and Guancha, each located at 800 m of altitude. As previously mentioned, despite the drought-resistant nature of *Erythroxylum novogranatense* var. *truxillense*, irrigation was necessary. The required water undoubtedly came from the tributary of the Moche River, but must have required Inka imposition of considerable water conservation by those living up-stream, as the colonial documentation also mentions the limited water supply of this area.

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[366] Netherly, "From Event to Process: The Recovery of Late Andean Organization Structure by Means of Spanish Colonial Written Record:" 270. From ANP Aguas 3.3.18.68.

The three fields also served somewhat different functions within the broader Inka economic and ritual structures. Products (*ají* was also planted)[367] of Yapon and Guancha were given directly to the Sapa Inka, the ruler himself, while Arensa's products were assigned to his mother.[368] This diverges from the typical tribute arrangement in the Inka Empire, in which one third of the product was for the Sapa Inka, one third for the Inka state religion, and one third for local consumption.[369] These fields, and the products from them, provide an example of the Inka hoarding products from the North Coast, perhaps due to the special nature of the coca grown there.

The significance of these three coca fields is further exemplified by the Inka ordering high *tapia* walls to be built around them. According to testimony from the early colonial period, the walls around Yapon were built by men from Túcume, for the purpose of preventing foxes from entering the fields and ruining the crop by urinating it.[370] Netherly has evaluated the political implications of workers specifically from Túcume building these walls. According to her, the Inka would have wanted high *tapia* walls around these fields in order to evoke the Chimú capital city of Chan Chan, as high *tapia* walls are a feature only seen there. Such a dramatic modification of the landscape --even in a technique usually seen in the Chimú capital—nevertheless displayed the Inka presence clearly co-opted a Chimú architectural convention as their own. On a practical level, the walls would also control access to these royal fields.[371] While Netherly

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[367] In addition to the cultivation of coca, all three fields also grew *aji*, another crop that can only be grown in specific altitudes and climates. Ibi:d :271. From ANP Agua 3.3.18.68.
[368] Ibid.: 271. From ANP Aguas 3.3.18.68
[369] Sabine G. MacCormack, "History and Law in Sixteenth Century Peru: The Impact of European Scholarly Traditions," in *Cultures of Scholarship*, ed. Sarah C. Humphreys (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 1997): 296-297
[370] Netherly, "From Event to Process: The Recovery of Late Andean Organization Structure by Means of Spanish Colonial Written Record:" 271. From ANP Aguas 3.3.18.68: f. 108
[371] Ibid.: 274.

speculates as to why the testimony would not mention such apparent conflicting symbolic aspects, the testimony is in line with the multitude of other early colonial documents that downplay the importance of the Chimú at the expense of the Inka. Acknowledging that *tapia* walls were necessary in order to display Inka presence and power, or that there was even a threat of thieving or pillaging from the Inka or the Inka's mother, may betray the perhaps tenuous hold that the Inka had in the far reaches of their enormous empire.[372]

Colonial Coca

The three Inka coca fields at Collambay were abandoned following the Spanish invasion and were not cultivated again until nearly thirty years later.[373] This is significant to our understanding of the interaction between the Chimú and Inka, because in the early years of colonization by the Spanish, local people usually recovered the land that the Inka had seized from them.[374] Since no one recovered this land, it suggests that there was no local claim to the land prior to that of the Inka royalty. Therefore, it is probable that the coca fields belonged to the Chimú state before being appropriated by the Inka, who even adopted tall tapia walls, the Chimú mode of architecture. This is significant in understanding the form and iconography of the *coquero* vessels as they too were apparently were only created in former Chimú lands, and the practice did not continue into the colonial period either.

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[372] Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris and Ramiro Matos Mendieta, *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007).
[373] Netherly, "From Event to Process: The Recovery of Late Andean Organization Structure by Means of Spanish Colonial Written Record:" 274.
[374] While it is also possible that no claims were made on this land due to the limited water supply, and the likely desire of people living up-stream to use the water for their own cultivation, given the desirable crops this land was possible of growing, the lack of water scenario seems subservient to the previous claims scenario.

Chimú-Inka Coqueros

The creation of a ceramic vessel that incorporated iconography related to coca occurred within the parameters of the Moche, Chimú, and Inka cultural understanding of coca. The attributes incorporated into this vessel type will be explored in terms of precedent in Moche, and any parallels in Chimú oeuvres, or contemporaneous Inka artistic production, to ascertain the relevance the attribute may have had in the Chimú-Inka context. Specifically, the coca quid, facial features, earspools, and headband will be discussed.

Coca Quid

The most apparent of the uniting features, found in all of the vessels except catalog number 215,[375] is a coca quid. Interestingly, in 50 of the 51 vessels, the coca wad is in the proper right cheek. This feature seems too consistent to be random; it is unlikely that such a large group as 51 would be non-representative.

It is nee to compare the Chimú-Inka *coqueros* to Inka figural art in the hopes of understanding the Inka contribution to these vessels; however, since the Inka did not make clay figures, metal effigies are the only extant works with which to compare. Currently it is not possible to ascertain whether most metal Inka depictions of *coqueros* share or deviate from this pattern of the coca quid in the right proper cheek, as this information cannot be always ascertained from photographs (it depends on masterful lighting). One Inka silver figurine from Dumbarton Oaks; however, clearly has a quid of

[375] Despite the absence of a coca quid, the iconography and formal features of catalog number 215 match the other vessels in the sample, and therefore is considered within this group.

coca in its left proper cheek. If one example is any indication, it presents tantalizing evidence that Cuzco-Inka depictions varied from those of the provinces (Figure 5.5).[376]

There is, however, literature regarding the general importance of right versus left in Inka and pan-Andean ideology. Tom Cummins has analyzed the role and function of *keros* (beakers) in Inka political ideology and highlights sections from Garcilaso de la Vega's Royal Commentaries of the Incas (particularly Book 6, chapters 23).[377] According to Garcilaso, "whoever extended the invitation to drink carried the two vessels in his hands, and if his guest was of lower rank, he offered the vessel in his left hand; if of higher or equal rank, the one in his right, exhibiting greater or less ceremony according to the degree of equality of each."[378] Cummins points out that the distinction between right and left was not merely made in relation to toasting with *keros*, but rather was an extension of the pan-Andean moiety system that divided society into one of two groups, known in Quechua as *Hanan* and *Hurin*. The *Hanan* group was associated with expressions of higher social rank, superiority, and the right; while the *Hurin* group was associated with expressions of lower social rank, slight inferiority and the left.[379] Thus, in an Inka figurine chewing on the right might connote a position of relative social importance. In other words, this could seemingly relate to the coca quid nearly always being placed in the right proper cheek.

If the placement of the coca quids in the right cheeks of the Chimú-Inka vessels is analyzed from this perspective, then a somewhat subversive message may have been expressed. Since the right side was associated with higher social rank and superiority, the

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[376] Other silver figurines with coca quids are from the American Museum of Natural History, accession numbers B/1542, B/1454, B/1635, B/9213, B/9610, 41.2/902-905.
[377] Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*: 109-115.
[378] Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*: Part I, Book 6, Chapter 23: 364.
[379] Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*: 113.

figures being depicted are aligning themselves with their own power vis a vis the Inka. The significance of the coca quid in the right proper cheek can also be viewed as representing the power given to the subject individual as an extension of the Inka's own power. Again, Cummins looks to Garcilaso, who describes the inferior individual later returning the toast by holding the offered *kero* in his *right* hand, thereby acknowledging his vassalage and servitude.[380] Viewed in this light, the coca quid in the right cheek seemingly acknowledges the *coqueros*' servitude to the Inka. Depending on the perspective, as one asserting power or vassalage, the coca quid serves to communicate the tenuous role held by Chimú local lords serving in administrative roles and the Inka asserting their power over conquered people. As both --power and subservience-- the coca quid placement aptly summarizes the liminality of the Chimú-Inka lords.

Facial Features

The facial features of the *coquero* vessels are similar across the entire sample, particularly as regards the treatment of the mouth, eyes, and hair. In 45 of the 51 vessels (88%), the faces have two rows of teeth exposed by the lips being retracted. The manner in which the teeth are represented varies across the assemblage: some have individually delineated teeth arranged in two rows,[381] some have a hastily incised grid of teeth composed of a single horizontal line broken up by several short vertical lines,[382] and still others have a more crudely delineated teeth composed merely of a vertical lines.[383] What is evident in all of these representations is that the teeth are emphasized over the lips, the teeth are shown as larger and at times in more detail than the rest of the mouth. It is

[380] Ibid. 115. And, Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*: Part 1, Book 6, Chapter 23, 364.
[381] Catalog number 184.
[382] Catalog number 206.
[383] Catalog number 167.

evident that the Chimú-Inka artists composed the features of the mouth in order to intentionally draw attention to the bared teeth of the *coquero*.

In looking for a precedent of figures shown with exposed teeth, Steve Bourget identifies a subgroup of Moche fineline and portrait head ceramics as the "living-dead" in which individuals are shown with mutilated faces, including the excision of the lips.[384] These individuals have prominently exposed teeth as one of their main attributes, which Bourget links to the decomposition of the body post-death. In a particularly similar vessel to the Chimú-Inka *coquero*,[385] a figure wearing a headband with two registers of stepped triangle motifs is depicted with a single row of exposed teeth and drawn-back lips (Figure 5.5). While Bourget's argument in relation to these vessels focuses on the transition from life to death and ultimately the ancestral, supernatural afterlife, the Chimú-Inka vessels show no overt evidence of being deceased; indeed their eyes are wide open and their cheeks are fleshy. The Moche figure also highlights some other distinctions between the Moche and later depictions: according to Bourget's interpretation, the tip of the nose is cut off and this is not true of the Chimú-Ink examples. More importantly, there is no coca wad in the Moche pieces. More important to understanding the Chimú-Inka *coquero*, is that this group of Moche vessels, produced on the North Coast, included one of the main characteristics of the Chimú-Inka *coquero* vessels: receding lips.

In assessing additional possible explanations for the receding lips, the proximity of the coca quid to the lips could be a factor. Modern scientific studies have confirmed what must have been nearly common knowledge in the ancient Andes: creating a more alkaline environment for the coca quid is a more effective way of achieving a slow

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[384] Bourget, *Sex, Death, and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture*: 55; 86.
[385] Ibid.: Figure 2.21.

release of the coca alkaloid into the body.[386] On the North Coast, lime ash, frequently made from calcined seashells, was added to coca to achieve this purpose.[387] While continued exposure to an alkaline, and the abrasive calcined shells may have worn away the skin from the interior of the cheek, it seems unlikely(and is not reported contemporarily as a symptom) to have worn away the lips of the individual.

Another possible explanation for this feature is found in the natural environment of the North Coast. The desert sands are home to a sand fly that spreads Leishmaniasis, a highly disfiguring condition that destroys cartilage ad soft tissue, particularly that of the lips and nose. Stone has argued that survivors of the often-fatal Leishmaniasis, which eats away the nose, eyelids, and lips would have been perceived as having the ability to fight death successfully. These healing powers placed these individuals in a privileged position to assist others in warding off disease and harm.[388] As such, Stone disagrees with Bourget about mutilation, seeing the receding lips as a result of Leishmaniasis and some Moche lips *only* have loss of lips, indicating a mild case or the incipient disease, indicating that the individual holds a privileged spiritual role in society.

Another possibility in assessing the features of the lips is to further explore a spiritual explanation beyond the indications of Leishmaniasis. Bared teeth in Andean figures are often explained as animalistic, shamanic, or aggressive;[389] however, these depictions typically include pointed fangs like those of felines or snakes. The Chimú-Inka *coquero* figures under discussion have square teeth, indicating they are human. There may be spiritual implications of the Chimú-Inka *coquero* features, even if it does not

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[386] Bray, "Coca Chewing and High-Altitude Stress: A Spurious Correlation :" 274.
[387] Jones, *Rituals of Euphoria: Coca in South America*: 3.
[388] Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas*.
[389] Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*.

stem from the type of teeth depicted. The role of entheogens, mind altering substances used to assist an individual in connecting with the divinevare likely still important in understanding Chimú-Inka *coqueros*. Individuals under the influence of entheogens often experience facial grimacing, which may be indicated as the bared teeth of the *coqueros*.

In this regard, the eyes of the figures are uniformly depicted as being wide-open, and unlike the lips are outlined with a thick line. Again, there are still variations amongst the eyes depicted: some are rounder, others more almond shaped; some turn down, others up. However, wide, outline eyes characterize the assemblage. In this case, the eyes on the Chimú-Inka *coqueros* may be referred to as what Stone calls "trance eyes," since the visionary experiences associated with entheogenic ingestion was often depicted by altering the appearance of the eyes of the individual.[390] While it would be convenient to attribute this feature to a chemical or body reaction to ingesting coca, this is not one of the symptoms associated with taking coca alone. However, rituals in which the coca-chewing individual ingested other entheogenic substances as part of his duties to the state, then these eyes makes sense. It has been suggested that coca was taken in combination with other entheogens in order to keep awake during physically demanding rituals that involved all night dancing, singing, or chanting. In these examples, coca provided energy to the participants to continue in the ritual. Additionally, the properties of coca that allowed for hunger to be staved off were useful in this ritual capacity in which drawn out shamanic rituals may not have allowed for time to eat, or in which the ingestion of entheogens induces vomiting.

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[390] Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*: 85-92.

According to Elizabeth Benson, entheogenic *espingo* seeds were associated with Moche Offering and Consumption of Coca scene, and contemporary accounts indicate that coca is often used to counteract the known soporific effects of other entheogens used in rituals.[391] Sarahh Scher has linked the visionary experience depicted in Moche ceramic vessels with the world of the dead, since it is one of the realms the shaman perceived s/he visited while under the influence of entheogenic substances.[392] As such, the wide-opened eyes and the bared teeth may illustrate the vital role of the Chimú-Inka *coquero* during stat-sanctioned rituals experienced as taking place in the land of the dead. Scientific testing of any residue remaining inside *coquero* and other coca-related vessels and implements might help scientifically prove the coca-entheogen connection, but does not exist yet. This remains a working hypothesis that relates strongly to the Moche, and therefore to North Coast precedents for the Chimú-Inka *coquero*.

All of the *coqueros* are illustrated as having braided hair. The hair is shown as divided into many small strands shown as parallel incised lines and then braided, as demarcated by repeated chevrons. The face is framed by a series of braids, whether one, two, or three braids.[393] The rest of the braids are depicted as pulled behind the ear, leaving the ears exposed. At the intersection of the base of the back of the head and neck, a horizontal band is usually included that ties the individual braids into a larger group.

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[391] Elizabeth P. Benson, "Garments as Symbolic Language in Mochica Art," in *42nd Session International Congress of Americanists* (Paris1976). 294; Jones, *Rituals of Euphoria: Coca in South America*. 13-14; E. Jean Matteson Langdon, and Gerhard Baer, *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992): 230.
[392] Sarahh E.M. Scher, "Clothing Power: Hierarchies of Gender Difference and Ambiguity in Moche Ceramic Representations of Human Dress, C.E. 1-850" (Emory University, 2010).
[393] Single braid: 12 vessels; two rows: 17 vessels; three rows: 10 vessels

Earspools

Another indication of the elevated social status of the individual(s) depicted in the Chimú-Inka *coquero* vessels is the inclusion of earspools. Interestingly, unlike most of the other traits, there is marked variation in the sizes and types of earspools found on these vessels. Since three faces do not have ears, these pieces were removed from the sample analyzed in this section.[394] Of the 48 remaining depictions, 35 had earspools. Of those, 18 showed the earspool in the middle of the ear, 16 in the earlobe, and 1 vessel with earrings hanging from the earlobe. Earspools shown in either the middle of the ear or the earlobe were the most frequent choice, and the possible implications of these choices are suggested below.

Two aspects of earspools are often discussed in terms of indicators of status: material and size. Creation myths from the North Coast, written down in the 17th century, discuss the relative values of metals, the almost universal materials used in Andean earspools. When Villama, the younger son of Pachacamac, asked the Sun to create the present humanity, the Sun obliges by creating three eggs: a gold egg from which the ruling elites emerged, a silver egg from which the wives of the ruling elite emerged, and a copper egg from which all commoners emerged.[395] While the material of the earspools depicted in the Chimú-Inka ceramic *coqueros* cannot be distinguished, it still may be assumed to be metal as per the existing actual esrspool. By contrast, size is clear, but also relative to actual surviving Chimú earspools; the depicted ones are modest in scale. This indicates that the wearer was not of the highest status. Further emphasizing this point is

[394] Catalog Numbers 176, 184, and 209.
[395] The myth was recorded by Calancha from a version collected by Father Luis Teruel in the Huaura Valley north of Lima during the second decade of the 17th century. According to Calancha, this myth was common from Piura to Arica, an area the contained the Chimú Empire. Calancha, *Crónicas Agustinianas Del Perú*: 17.

that over a quarter of the vessels (13/48) do not include earspools at all. This is somewhat of a conundrum, as many of the other elements indicate that this individual was involved in state rituals, which should have provided him with increased status. Two lines of evidence are helpful in contextualizing this otherwise confounding information. First, according to Cobo, there was a hierarchical system in place among Inka ritual specialists with "ranks and grades of higher and lower officials."[396] The smaller earspools could indicate a lower status within the ritual specialist ranking. Smaller earspools could also be an indication of age, as earlobes require stretching (and time) in order to accommodate larger earspools. As such, the variety of earspool sizes indicated in the head depictions do not necessarily negate other lines of evidence suggesting that a middle-to-high status figure was being depicted.

Headband

All of the *coqueros* display a headband that wraps completely around the head incised as parallel lines. The majority of headbands, 34 of 51 (67%), include two registers repeating the same motif. Of the remaining fourteen vessels, one example had three registers and two examples had one register. The remaining nine vessels had headbands that were blank, and therefore not divided into registers.

The largest group of patterned registers, found in 34 examples[397] are divided by thin horizontal lines in which there are chevrons, much like braided hair, and perhaps meant to represent it. In these cases the headband may be called a coiffure, although rope and cloth can also be braided. Within the larger registers, smaller blocks were created by

[396] Bernabé Cobo, *Historia De La Fundación De Lima*, Colección De Historiadores Del Perú (Lima,: Imprenta liberal, 1882): Book I, Chapter 33, 158

[397] Another small group of vessels, 9 of 51 (18%), had plain headbands around the tops of the head. Finally, a few vessels, 5 of the 51 (10%), incorporated different motifs into the registers. Catalog numbers 176, 183, 184, 186, 187, and 199.

s series of vertical parallel lines. It is within these smaller decorative areas that the most recognizable motif is present, a zigzag line moving diagonally from the upper left corner to the lower right corner of the design block. In many cases, the zigzag line is a stepped triangle, with nearly perfect right angles running perpendicular and parallel to the ground; however, more commonly the line is less regular and the overall effect is of a series of loosely formed triangles rather than a stepped triangle. The stepped triangle is the same motif found in the coca-related Moche textile and headdress patterns.

Regarding the Chimú-Inka stepped pattern headband, while it could possibly pull from many earlier sources, it has no known direct antecedents in either the Chimú or the Inka corpus as described above. Depictions of the Moche Consumption of Coca scene include a figure whose *tunic* includes a stepped triangle motif, but this figure's headband has an animal head projecting from the front (Figure 5.1). Two sheet metal headdress elements in the shape of stepped triangles, one of which included a bird's head, found at Tomb 18 at the Moche site of Huaca de la Luna (Figure 5.2 and 5.3) again may relate. While these are possible influences on the motifs on the later headband, the wrapped style of the headband must have other origins. Certainly other Moche portrait vessels include wrapped headbands with two registers (Figure 5. 5), but none with the same motifs as the Chimú-Inka examples. It may be argued that the Chimú-Inka artist is once again recombining but in novel arrangements.

Stepped triangle designs were also notably popular amongst Wari, an expansionistic highland empire dominant from the 6th to 11th centuries. Their depictions in tunics and ceramic effigies of tunic wearers feature several stepped motifs, from triangles to diamonds to stepped frets. The Wari are best known for their tapestry and

four-cornered cut-pile hats, whereas the headband on the Chimú-Inka vessel clearly wraps around the head instead. However, there are North Coast-Wari cut-pile headbands, so there could be a tenuous link, especially if cut-pile headbands were late in the Wari trajectory their presence could have overlapped with the Chimú. Given the research suggesting that the Inka emulated the Wari in many ways, it seems possible that the stepped triangle design was a common motif to both the Chimú and the Inka via the Wari, with the Chimú influence stemming from the Moche.[398] As such, the stepped triangle motif was a mutually accessible motif that both groups recognized for its historical significance and high status implications.

Five vessels have non-stepped motifs present on their headbands.[399] Upon closer inspection, these five vessels contain more variations in the other vessel attributes as well. The headband of catalog number 176 (Figure 5.6) for example, is similar to other vessels in that the headband is broken into segments, with three vertical lines bracketing the individual spaces; however, the units are decorated with rectilinear spirals rather than the typical stepped design. Other elements of this piece that deviate from normal conventions include a strap handle located on the back of the neck and the absence of ears. Another vessel, catalog number 184 (Figure 5.7), has two different rows of decoration: the bottom row has a diamond grid with dots in the center of each diamond, while the top row alternates an 'x' with five vertical lines. In a variation on the choices seen in catalog number 176, the ears have been replaced with the handles so that the handles and their placement closely resemble those of an *urpu*. In turn the individual units of the headband in catalog number 199 contain several inscribed variations of

[398] Cook, "The Emperor's New Clothes: Symbols of Royalty, Hierarchy and Identity."
[399] Catalog numbers 176, 184, 186, 187, and 199.

circles and zigzag lines; this piece has one of the faces with a grimacing mouth, unlike most.

A number of other unusual features are found in these five examples. While they bring into question the authenticity,[400] rather, they may simply highlight the regulated nature of the rest of the assemblage. These five vessels simply may not have been made within the usual canon; unusual pieces often pose this problem for scholars, especially when the corpus is notably standardized and fakery is rampant in ancient American art, sadly though the challenge is posed by blackware, which helps to keep it in chack, it may be argued. As such, these five may have been imitations of the more standardized version of the *coquero* vessel, or made in the more provincial areas further from the imperial models. Neither Chimú nor Inka standardization was absolute.

Túcume *Coqueros*

All of the coca-chewer vessels just discussed (48/51 or 94%) lack provenance information. However, three vessels were archaeologically excavated from a Late Horizon period Inka burial at the site of Túcume. Expansive mural programs, administrative centers, and ritual spaces mark Túcume as a site of political importance in the far North Coast Lambayeque Valley, both before and during the Inka reign. The key burial for present purposes is located in Tucume's South Cemetery, Unit ID, Burial 3 (Figure 5.8).[401] The specific characteristics of the three vessels from this burial, in addition to the accompanying burial goods, help to contextualize the iconographic choices of the Chimú-Inka artists making this type of vessel, and narrow the possible

[400] These five pieces were deemed authentic based on the adherence to other elements in the subset. The flared rim, pedestal base, and braided hair of these five pieces fit within the characteristics of the group. While the different headband motifs were different, they were not suspect (for example, they do not depict horses).
[401] Narváez, "Death in Ancient Túcume:" 175.

role(s) that such *coquero* head vessels played in North Coast Inka contexts.

Specifics of the burial and associated grave goods point to both Chimú and Inka influences. The individual was buried facing north and in a seated position, with legs crossed, and the two halves of a *Spondylus* shell held together in his hands.[402] The positioning of the body reflected a largely Inka custom; by contrast, individuals at Túcume from the earlier Lambayeque and Chimú periods were buried in extended positions with their heads to the south.[403] Several other individuals besides the occupant of Burial 3, dating to the same time, were buried holding *Spondylus* shells. These can be seen as symbolically laden objects for someone to be buried with during the Inka hegemony. The Chimú Empire previously controlled the *Spondylus* trade, whereas after the Inka conquest of the Chimú the center for this shell exchange was moved to Chincha on the South Coast. Chincha was both a stronger Inka ally and was located in closer proximity to Cuzco.[404] The move also effectively took the power, wealth, and tradition as far away from the Chimú as possible literally and figuratively, distancing the Inka from the former rival's glory and controlling the prestigious substance entirely. As the South Coast was considerably further from the Ecuadorian *Spondylus* source, obviously, efficiency was not a priority.

There are broader connections between Túcume and *Spondylus*, as several other areas of the site demonstrate. The greatest display of this linkage in terms of size and attention to *Spondylus* occurs at the Huaca Las Balsas, in the southwestern area of the site. Huaca Las Balsas was constructed over seven building phases, between 700 CE and

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[402] Ibid.: 175, 177.
[403] Ibid. :174-175.
[404] Craig Morris, and Julían Idilio Santillana, "The Inka Transformation of the Chincha Capital," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, ed. Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris, Ramiro Matos Mendieta, Joanne Pillsbury, and Jeffrey Quilter (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007): 136-137.

1370 CE, and currently consists of a series of low walls covered in adobe friezes depicting a variety of maritime themes: shells, boats, fish, sea birds, and waves.[405] Of particular interest is a scene depicting *Spondylus* collecting (Figure 5.9). In this scene, a wooden boat with a triangular sail holds two people, who are holding ropes attached to two divers underneath the boat. Along the rope, *Spondylus* shells are attached, while the area around the boat and figures is filled with more of these shells. The inclusion of this scene at Túcume is somewhat surprising, as *Spondylus* is not located in the coastal waters as far south as Túcume (with the exception of during some El Niño periods).[406] The wooden boat with triangular sail is also unexpected, as this type of boat is not common to the Lambayeque or other North Coast cultures. Rather, this type of boat is traditional to areas further north, particularly the coastal areas of Ecuador where *Spondylus* is more typically found.[407] As such, these scenes must allude to the *Spondylus* trade with the northern areas of what is now Ecuador, a trade that supposedly was curtailed under the Inka and transferred to the South Coast. Narváez argues that *Spondylus* trade was not a strictly economic venture, but religious as well, and others have discussed its periodic entheogenic properties,[408] so these allusions to it may not reflect political reality at all. Rather, the scene may reference North Coast religious practices in general and/or how the shell was obtained in the past before Inka incursions.[409]

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[405] Alfredo Narváez, and Bernarda Delgado, *Huaca Las Balsas De Túcume: Arte Mural Lambayeque* (Peru: Museo Sitio Túcume, 1995).
[406] Daniel H. Sanweiss, H.B. Rollins, and J.B. Richardson III, "Landscape Alteration and Prehistoric Human Occupation on the North Coast of Peru," *Annals of Carnegie Museum* 52(1983): 283.
[407] Narváez, *Huaca Las Balsas De Túcume: Arte Mural Lambayeque*: 118.
[408] Pillsbury, "The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered Spondylus Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru; Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art*.
[409] Narváez, *Huaca Las Balsas De Túcume: Arte Mural Lambayeque*: 119-120.

Highly detailed carved *Spondylus* shell have also been found at several places within Túcume. In particular, the Temple of the Sacred Stone included many such sculptures, as well as unworked whole shells and powdered shells. *Spondylus* offerings were interred at the Temple of the Sacred Stone continuously from the Lambayeque through Inka occupations of the site.[410] In the Inka strata of the building, two pits on either side of the doorway to the temple contained *Spondylus* figurines. The pit to the east of the door contained two of these figurines, a male and female, wearing miniature embroidered textiles and headdresses (Figure 5.10).[411] The male's headdress consisted of braided threads wrapped several times around his head, with a red knot in the middle. This format for a headdress is similar to the one depicted on the *coqueros*. The pit to the west of the door also contained two figurines, a silver female figurine (Figure 5.11), and a poorly preserved *Spondylus* shell figurine (Figure 5.12).[412] Thus, there are many instances of spiny oyster shell offerings at Túcume, rather than just being a single outlier in Burial 3.

The *Spondylus* shell is the highest-status grave good from Burial 3, but its inclusion does not automatically ally the deceased with North Coast or Cuzco practices. While ceramics are always found in North Coast burials, and usually found associated

[410] Narváez, "The Pyramids of Túcume: The Monumental Sector:" 106. Spondylus offerings were found in Pit 8, a fish carved of Spondylus and four Spondylus shells in two groups of two; at Altar 1, powdered Spondylus shells; and at Altar 2, Spondylus shells. Many of the metal objects offered at the Temple of the Sacred Stone were found inside the Spondylus shells they were offered in.
[411] Narváez, "The Pyramids of Túcume: The Monumental Sector:" 108, Figures 78-80.
[412] Ibid.: 109. The Spondylus figure has not been closely examined, nor have the clothes been removed to identify the gender of the figure. The associated textile were not in good enough condition to positively identify the gender. Nor do the other offerings provide solid evidence for gender identification; while the group of two Spondylus figurines includes a male and female, the male was found on top while the female was below. In the pit with the silver female figurine, the Spondylus figure was lower than the silver female. Also, given the mixing of silver and Spondylus in the offering pit, it seems unwise to speculate based on the given information.

with Inka burials,[413] the highest-status burials in both states tend to include metal objects and *Spondylus*.[414] (In other features North Coast and Inka heartland burials differ markedly. On the North Coast, retainers and animals were often sacrificed and interred with the main occupant, as they had been in the most lavish Moche graves, such as those at Sipán.[415] By contrast, in the heartland of their empire, Inkas created mummies and placed them in primarily in caves, a distinctive approach as compared to the indigenous North Coast burial practices.)

Other tombs from Túcume's South Cemetery follow the North Coast patterns, as the most elaborate burial (Burial 1) includes a copper medallion and a gold nose ornament as well as the remains of a child and part of a llama placed at the feet of the primary individual.[416] The offerings in the rest of the tombs in the South Cemetery consist only of fired ceramics and *crisoles*, unfired clay vessels probably used to heat *aqha*.[417] According to Narváez, this indicates that most of the graves do not contain elites;[418] however, his blanket conclusion disregards the variability in quality that exists between the ceramic goods found from one grave to another. In any case, since Burial 3 includes *Spondylus*, clearly the individual had higher status than that of any of the ceramics-only interments, but lower than that of the metal-inclusive Burial 1.

Perhaps the most obvious distinction amongst the ceramics found in the South Cemetery Inka-strata graves is whether they are Chimú or Inka in style. The Inka-style

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[413] Lucy C. Salazar, "Machu Picchu's Silent Majority: A Consideration of the Inka Cemeteries," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 18 and 19 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris and Ramiro Matos Mendieta (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, 2007): 170.
[414] Narváez, *Huaca Las Balsas De Túcume: Arte Mural Lambayeque*.:120-121.
[415] Alva, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*.
[416] Narváez, "Death in Ancient Túcume:" 171; 175-6.
[417] Ibid.: 176-7.
[418] Ibid.: 176.

graves are easily distinguished from those of previous periods, as the individuals are buried sitting upright with their legs crossed. Whether the ceramic offerings in a given grave have flared or straight rims would help determine the deceased's cultural affiliation during the late period. Interestingly, many graves with seated burials included primarily Chimú-style vessels, particularly straight-rimmed, double-chambered bridged vessels (Figure 5.13).[419] In many ways, in the South Cemetery burials a continuum of Chimú to Inka cultural identifiers exist, with some upright-body graves containing solely Chimú goods and others containing solely Inka goods. While these individuals may not have been in the upper echelon of Túcume elites, having only ceramics with them in the afterlife, variability in the types of vessels they had may indicate minor social distinctions and/or the roles they played at the site in life. Certainly, there is a large spectrum of social classes indicated by the burials found overall at Túcume. Narváez has suggested that the two large mummy bundles found outside the Temple of the Sacred Stone contained the Inka governors of the site who governed over the entire Lambayeque region.[420] The grave goods in this burial included lavish textiles, silver and *Spondylus* figurines, a silver diadem, and other copper and silver objects. These clearly indicate the two people belonged to an entirely different social class, and likely played a distinctive role, as compared to Burials 1 and 3 in the South Cemetery.

While the specific roles of the individuals from the South Cemetery are not as evident as that of an Inka governor, the coca iconography featured in three of the six ceramic vessels from Burial 3 helps establish a possible identity for the interred

[419] Ibid.: Fig. 154.
[420] "The Pyramids of Túcume: The Monumental Sector:" 96.

individual.[421]If, according to comparative evidence, he was neither the governor the Lambayeque region nor a member of the Túcume elite, it may be argued that he probably played an administrative function in the Inka regime. Given the imagery documenting his grave goods, perhaps he handled coca distribution for use in Inka rituals or participated in them as a middle-level shaman.

Importantly, Colonial documents do specifically link Túcume and coca production by identifying Túcume as the supplier of the laborers who built the *tapia* walls around Inka-controlled coca fields on the North Coast.[422] Further research may help to more fully understand the specific role the individual from Burial 3 played in the Inka administration, as well as the broader implications of a *coquero* administrative position.

Two of the *coquero* vessels from Túcume Burial 3[423] were probably created from the same mold. The dimensions of the two vessels are identical except for height, and this distinction is due solely to the spout having been broken in antiquity. Other features, such as the ears being different sizes and affixed to the body at slightly different points, mean they were additive, i.e., not part of the mold. The nose seams on these two vessels are both the unusual choice, as only four of the fifty *coquero* vessels have a seam down the nose-line rather than the ear-line.[424] Additionally, both sets of eyes on the two Túcume vessels are equally uneven, with the right proper eyes visibly lower than the left proper eyes. This indicates that the outlines of the eyes were included in the mold, rather than

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[421] The remaining vessels are two cooking *ollas* with little decoration and a flared rim vessel with a flat bottom.
[422] Netherly, "From Event to Process: The Recovery of Late Andean Organization Structure by Means of Spanish Colonial Written Record."
[423] Catalog numbers 214 and 216.
[424] Catalog numbers 187, 213, 214, 216. The other two vessels with nose seams in the overall corpus are, by contrast, not made from the same mold as each other; their general dimensions do not align. Compared to the Túcume examples, catalog number 213 is much too wide and catalog number 187 is much too long to be made from the same molds as the vessels from Túcume.

added later, and further confirms their similarity to each other. While the mold for the vessels from Túcume was not found at the site, it is probable that the vessels were made at the same site as each other, wherever their production took place.

These two vessels also share the unusual condition of having a broken-off neck and rim, although it was probably a flared rim, like the other examples in the overall sample. Neither the rim nor the neck was found in the associated grave materials, so the breakage may have happened during use before the burial. This is also telling regarding the importance of these particular objects, possibly continually used during the individual's life and, as even after they were broken, still included in his burial assemblage.

Technological Analysis

Manufacture

Previous chapters have discussed the continued use of molds in North Coast ceramic production from pre-Chimú through Inka styles. As with the double-to-single spout and *urpu* forms (Chapters 2-4), the *coquero* vessels were overwhelmingly mold made. Mold seams are visible on 32 complete examples,[425] and examination of broken vessels in several collections revealed that while many of the necks and rims were formed in the same mold as the vessel's body, others were formed separately. This practice was also seen in the Chimú-Inka *urpus*, and suggests that a similar set of values dictated the manufacture of both types of ceramics. The lines of the mold seams are often continued in the pedestal base, indicating that the base and body were formed in the same mold as well.

[425] The mold seams are visible in catalog numbers: 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 177, 278, 182, 185, 186, 189, 190, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 204, 205, 206, 208, 210, 211, 212, and 215.

Most of the mold seams run along the sides of the face, where the ears were later modeled onto the surface; however, in the two Túcume and two unprovenanced examples (8%) the mold seams run vertically along the center of the face, between the eyes and along the nose.[426] Vertical seams along the bridge of the nose in particular indicate that the general curvature of the face and its protruding facial features were part of the mold, rather appliquéd onto a smooth surface.

In the creation of the vessel, Chimú-Inka artists altered the surface by additive modeling, subtractive incision, and subtractive stampling in order to include the specific iconographic elements of *coqueros*. While the more general contours of the face were included in the mold, many of the facial features were added by modeling clay to the already molded surface. The ears found on most, but not all, of the vessels particularly divulge their modeled nature, as they tend to be placed over the mold seam.[427] Since the mold seam is visible both above and below the ear, but not present on the ear, the ear must have been added after the vessel was removed from the mold. This hand modeling and placement seems also to account for why the ears are not always identical in size, shape, and location on the vessel.

The most detailed level of iconography was incised into the surface of the vessel. This includes the hair, headdress, and the teeth/mouth. While it would seem that human lips would form part of the general contours of the face, most of the figures hardly have lips depicted at all, and instead two rows of teeth are exposed.

[426] The center mold seams are visible in catalog numbers: 187, 213, 214, and 216.
[427] Three vessels in the sample did not have ears, catalog numbers: 176, 184, and 209.

The repeated chevrons of the figures' braided hair were probably applied to the still-wet clay with stamps. This method accounts for the fairly standardized spacing, thickness of line, and angle of the chevrons and strands.

Surface Treatment

Nearly all (47 out of 51) of the Chimú-Inka *coqueros* in the sample are blackware vessels. They were fired in the same manner as double-to-single spout and urpu vessels (see previous chapters), following the North Coast ceramic tradition of reduced oxygen firing. The reduced oxygen atmosphere of the pits resulted in the clay turning grey to black in color.

Three *coquero* vessels in the sample were made in redware.[428] As mentioned in Chapter 2, oxidized firing techniques were never completely absent on the North Coast; they were simply less prevalent during the Chimú hegemony. The existence of these few examples of redware vessels perhaps indicates that this technology was once again gaining popularity on the North Coast due to the Chimú-Inka style. Significantly, incised lines appear on two of these three examples,[429] where polychrome slips could have been used. Clearly the artists were blending the artistic traditions of the Inka with those of the Chimú by including a few polychromes; however, other Chimú characteristics, such as incising, still accompanied the use of color in a sense "needlessly," but apparently served the larger symbolic need to reiterate the Chimú aesthetic.

Proportional Analysis

Despite the similarities in the facial features of the heads that constitute the vessel bodies, there is great variety in their overall sizes, shapes, and proportions. Quantitative

[428] Catalog numbers 173, 203, and 207.
[429] Catalog number 203 and 207.

data indicates notable differences in the heights of the vessels, ranging from 12.1 cm to 29.0 cm (Table 5.1). There is a wide range of widths as well, ranging form 9.8 cm to 21.75 cm, measured from ear to ear (Table 5.1). Despite the different widths of the vessels, the ears of the squat and thin vessels tend to have similar sizes. In terms of shape, while many of the faces are round, squat, and fleshy,[430] others are long and pointed.[431] The fullness of the cheeks and the shapes of the noses differ as well. The rounder faces tend to have flatter noses and the thinner faces tend to have pointier noses. These distinction lend uniqueness to the individual vessels; however, the complex topic of what represent portraiture in the later Andean styles remains for another study.

Conclusion

Despite the scholarly belief in highland origins for the coca-chewer vessels, the type of coca available in Chimú territory plus style of representation of *coqueros* belongs solely to the North Coast. Blackware is the most obvious Chimú choice, but the tradition of head vessels begun by the Moche remained familiar to elite Chimú audiences. As such, the Chimú local lords, likely coca trade-administrators for the Inka, not only maintained a thousand year old tradition, they created high-status images of their office, perhaps in their own likeness. The late-Wari influences that continued on the North Coast helped to form shared stylistic elements, especially stepped motifs, that were familiar to both the Chimú and Inka. In this way, the Chimú-Inka *coquero* vessels were familiar, yet distinct, to both the Chimú administrators and their Inka overlords.

[430] Catalog numbers 169, 185, 193 and 198.
[431] Catalog numbers 207 and 178.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The previous chapters have revealed the consistently unique and significant hand of Chimú-Inka artists by presenting analyses of Chimú-Inka ceramics in terms of technological style, proportion, and iconography. While the artists were forced by their Inka overlords to explore new ceramic forms, some made by coiling and incorporating polychrome surface decoration methods, simultaneously they had to please their local North Coast lords with their familiar blackware and mold-making technology, as well as a coastal-oriented iconographic program. Within this overall balancing act, each of the four main vessel forms included in this study -- double-to-single spout vessels, *urpus*, *urpu*-like vessels, and *coqueros*-- suggest varied ways to understand the complex relationship between the Chimú and Inka. These objects are the only record of this important conquest and this is the first systematic study. A major finding of this study is that all the Chimú-Inka vessels showed more innovation and creativity than the Chimú have been given credit for in the existing literature.

In the chapter on the double-to-single spout vessel, the technological style, proportional, and iconographic analyses indicate that there was greater variability in the Chimú-Inka examples as compared to Chimú ones that were already present before the Inka took over the North Coast. The incorporation of Inka polychrome firing methods re-introduced color to the North Coast assemblage, thereby diversifying the predominantly blackware Chimú tradition. The proportions of the double-to-single spouts were likewise more similar to one another during Chimú administration than under the Inka. Finally, the

majority of double-to-single spout iconography under the Chimú was either plain or faunal, while Chimú-Inka iconography more evenly incorporated fauna, marine, flora, geometric, plain, and human categories. It was argued that Chimú-Inka artist experienced a period of innovation under the Inka, rethinking a pervasive North Coast traditional form. It was hypothesized that the stronger Chimú contribution to design was due to the Inka previously having lacked this type of vessel and so having no set program for the double-to-single spout vessel form.

The following chapter provided a new assessment of the difference between the Cuzco-Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus*, the quintessential *aqha* storage and feasting ware pioneered by the Inka and spread throughout their empire. Again, the technological style, proportional, and iconographic analyses suggested innovation and systematic deviation from the model, despite its having been an Inka introduction to the North Coast trajectory and thus having had no preexisting Chimú equivalents whatsoever. Distinctions between the technological styles of Inka and Chimú-Inka *urpus* revolve around the technical decision to either paint, as in other Inka wares, or continue firing ceramics in the North Coast tradition of reduced-oxygen atmosphere. As opposed to the highly standardized Inka *urpu* form, the Chimú-Inka versions: had different relative proportions of the neck and base to overall vessel height, consistently greater diameters of the neck and body, markedly less flared rims than Inka vessels, and lacked a set relationship between the size of the rim and the height. Chimú-Inka *urpu*s retained an emphasis on incisedand fully sculptural elements that continued the ancient and pervasive North Coast ceramic tradition. It was also argued that in the absence of a preexisting North Coast vessel of this type, the Inka *urpu* form provided a starting point for Chimú artists' creativity, allowing

Chimú-Inka versions to be almost universally less derivative of, and more innovative than, their models.

The next chapter continued exploring the innovative treatment of the diagnostically Inka *urpu* form in its several unusual iterations. Whereas the iconographic themes included on *urpu*-like vessels were present elsewhere in the Chimú-Inka corpus of ceramics, these non-standard versions of *urpu*s show the importance of the Chimú creatively altering form in this culturally overlapping style. Some of the changes to the form brought into question *urpus'* functionality: flat bases compromising the carrying function, losing or moving handles interfering with the ease of pouring, and small size disallowed providing copious amounts of *aqha* to large numbers of feasting state workers. This allowed a conclusion to be drawn that Chimu-Inka *urpus* became more of a display items, perhaps a status symbols, but in any case removed from Inka imperial uses in a way that foregrounded Chimú choices. Other changes, such as the notable elongation of the body, represents the merging of Chimú and Inka ceramic traditions to produce uniquely Chimú-Inka forms that were previously unexplored in either culture on its own. For the Inka to allow these stark departures from the standard form of an imperial vessel is testament both to the flexibility of the Inka and the ingenuity of the Chimú.

The final chapter addressed a comparatively iconographically homogenous vessel type known as the *coquero*, or (male) coca chewer. The vessel itself being the man's head represented a longstanding preexisting North Coast portrait type popularized by the Moche and remaining familiar to elite Chimú audiences. Nearly all *coqueros* were blackware vessels, an obviously Chimú tradition. However, there was a general visual similarity of *coquero*s with *urpu*s in vessel body shape, flaring rim, and ears like handles,

as well as the fact that related face-neck jars are notably Inka. Further delving into the iconographic implications, coca is primarily a highland plant used for trekking at high altitude and so key to Inka political success and ritual life, but it can be grown in the Chimú area and was present among the Moche. Important in northern trade networks, the presence of the quid was hypothesized to represent that the *coquero* was a local Chimú lord who maintained status as an administrator of coca under the Inka. Thus, not only maintaining a thousand-year-old North Coast tradition of commemorating the heads of important men, the Chimú created a more appropriately standardized high-status image of their key provincial office. In these ways, Chimú-Inka *coquero* vessels merged familiar, yet distinct artistic elements to create a group of objects with a fairly unified set of characteristics. Whereas the previous chapters suggest the potential for the Chimú artists to innovate under Inka administration, this vessel analysis indicates that standardization reflected both influencing cultures and culminated in relatively set representations of the role of an important local administrator, rather than a specific individual.

The four chapters that present the results of this study look intensively at the characteristics found within each of the forms on its own merits. However, two areas can be assessed across the majority of Chimú-Inka ceramics: firing technique and neck flare. These will highlight what the blended style as a whole maintained across the double-to-single spout vessels, *urpus*, *urpu*-like vessels, and *coqueros*.

Blackware, the quintessential North Coast ceramic firing technique, dominated the firing techniques in all four form types, but none so much as the *coquero* vessels, in which 96% (46/48) of the vessels were blackware. Overall, 119/149) of Chimú-Inka ceramics (79.9%) were fired in an oxygen reduced environment. While this indicates

that the majority of Chimú-Inka ceramics are blackware, nearly 20% are not, indicating that polychrome firing techniques were re-introduced and somewhat accepted on the North Coast. Without a full study of Chimú ceramics on their own, it is difficult to assess the degree to which polychromatic firing techniques increased during the Inka occupation of the North Coast. However, general observation of the comparative pieces in this study and other published Chimu ceramics indicates that the Chimú overwhelmingly preferred blackware ceramics, suggesting that polychrome increased as a result of the Inka conquest. Future research on Chimú pieces alone and on more Chimú-Inka vessels would provide a broader understanding of the overall frequency of blackware, and the degree to which polychromy was re-introduced to the North Coast by the Inka.

The generally diagnostically Inka ceramic trait of the flared rim has also been addressed repeatedly in the previous chapters, due to its key role in signaling Inka presence. Across the entire sample, the average for the ratio of the rim diameter compared to the neck diameter is 1.65. In the form that preserved North Coast Chimú tradition the most directly, the double-to-single spout vessel, there was a slightly less-flared rim, with a ratio of 1.44; this suggests a recalcitrance to change a diagnostically Chimú form even under Inka colonizing pressure. The other forms average ratio hovered near the sample average, with the *urpu*, *urpu*-like, and *coquero* ratios of 1.63, 1.69, and 1.67 respectively.

In assessing all the Chimú-Inka ceramics in this study, it is important to note that if Chimú ceramic forms were better understood scholars would be well positioned to further refine the reasons for the retentions and changes seen when the Inka appear on the scene. Several archaeological projects have excavated ceramics from Chan Chan, Farfán,

and other regional sites under Chimú control,[432] but these have not been analyzed as a broader group in order to understand the region in a more cohesive manner. These materials primarily have been analyzed as economic products, rather than as works of art or cultural products.

As well as underscoring the need to excavate more materials, it is also necessary to continue to study the many Chimú, Inka, and Chimú-Inka objects that exist in museum and private collections. Those with and without provenance are equally telling in their technological style, proportions, and iconography. While Inka ceramics with provenance are somewhat better understood, or at least better published,[433] making them more accessible, even the many questions asked of them have not reflected an art historical perspective. The close relationship between archaeology and art history in the Andes, and indeed all of the indigenous Americas, needs to be more balanced to move both fields forward and reflect the complexity of these objects. Specifically, broadening the methodologies used to understand the *entire* vessel, and not just the decoration of the front of the vessel, will likewise provide a more nuanced understanding of the Inka and Chimú-Inka assemblages. Details such as mold seams are shown to be crucial in determining cultural allegiance and should be noted and published. New identifications of imagery, such as the *Anandenanthera* plant, with its implications for ritual life, are in constant demand as well.

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[432] Mackey, "Elite Residences at Farfán: A Comparison of the Chimú and Inka Occupation; "The Socioeconomic and Ideological Transformation of Farfan under Inka Rule; Michael Edward Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins, *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor; a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12th and 13th October 1985* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990); Sidoroff, "The Process Behind Form and Decoration: Defining North Coast Ceramic Technological Style, Peru."

[433] Julien, "Las Tumbas De Sacsahuaman Y El Estilo Cuzco-Inca; Meyers, "Algunos Problemas En La Classificación Del Estilo Incacio; Miller, "An Investigation of Cuzco-Inca Ceramics; Canons of Form, Proportion, and Size."

Moving outward to the implications of this study for the other media at the time, ceramics underscore the piecemeal creative process that underlies Chimú art and remains implicit in Chimu-Inka ceramics. Similar processes have been discussed in relation to contemporaneous Chimú and Lambayeque textiles (Figure 6.1). Much in the way that Chimú-Inka artists drew attention to the mold-made nature of ceramics by not smoothing the seams, the additive process was celebrated in textiles whose different parts do not even line up exactly across the face of a figure. Textiles, like the ceramics, border on sculptural due to the multiple layers they encompassed (Figure 6.2). Metalwork was also combined with textiles, multiple thin sheets sewn together and attached to woven frameworks (Figure 6.3).

Furthermore, the implications of this study extend beyond the immediate North Coast region. Similar vessels to the double-to-single spout vessels are found elsewhere within the Andean region, north in Ecuador, and even West Mexico. Recent studies of the presence in Ecuador of double-to-single spouts (Figure 6.4) suggests a greater relationship to the North Coast than had previously been understood. This form is likewise found in early West Mexican Colima funerary contexts, suggesting a widespread presence of this form throughout the Americas.[434] If Ecuador, Colima, and other North Coast double-to-single spout vessels are some of the earliest renditions of this form, Chimú-Inka ones are the last before the arrival of the Spanish. Seeing the whole "form class" as George Kubler would call it[435] is particularly enlightening; this study has established an apparent end point after which only modern commodifications continue

[434] Joseph Mountjoy, "Capacha (Colima, Mexico)," in *Archaeology of Ancient Mexico and Central America* (New York: Routledge, 2013).
[435] George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven: CT: Yale University Press, 1962).

the idea.

Urpus have been found throughout the Inka Empire, and some scholars even use their presence as an index for Inka dominance over an area. Bray has looked at the differences between Cuzco-Inka and Ecuadorian *urpu*s,[436] and a number of studies have suggested differences between individual provincial Inka ceramics and their models.[437] Yet a broader understanding of the many different ceramic styles under Inka administration is lacking. This dissertation has added to the number of provincial Inka ceramic styles that are being worked on independently, but a comprehensive overview remains to be constructed.

Coquero vessels are similarly not solely made in the Andean region, but versions exist in Ecuador (Figure 6.5) and vessels with forms based on the human head are found as far north as Costa Rica (Figure 6.6). The *coquero* chapter also addresses the role of a administrative office-style portraiture in the Chimú-Inka style, relative to the Moche dual traditions of a few physiognomic portrait head vessels and many more Moche effigies with generic facial features. The tomb of the Lord of Sipán, famous for providing the archaeological evidence of the actual practice of the events depicted in the Sacrifice Ceremony, included 1,137 ceramic vessels, many of which were decorated with generic facial features (Figure 6.7).[438] Chimú ceramics do not seem to have upheld a tradition of physiognomic portraiture, but rather feature generic facial features in their frequent depictions of the human form. The Inka likewise did not practice portraiture; the absence of an Inka portraiture tradition has previously been linked to mummification practices

[436] Bray, "Archaeological Survey in Northern Highland Ecuador: Inca Imperialism and the País Caranqui."
[437] Menzel, "The Inca Occupation of the South Coast of Peru; Stone-Miller, "Mimesis as Participation: Imagery, Style and Function of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Paccha, an Inka Ritual Watering Device."
[438] Alva, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*.

that allowed important ancestral figures and political leaders to remain physically present even after death, defying the need to memorialize the figure with a portrait.[439] Yet, in the blending of Chimú and Inka styles the differences from one head vessel to another suggest a tendency toward including individualized traits. Further study is warranted to more fully understand this tendency in Andean art as a whole, on and beyond the North Coast. Portraiture in all of indigenous American art, with the Maya as the other prime example beside the Moche, is an important topic to consider in the wake of the present study.

In even larger terms, this study has provided an initial assessment of an important cultural and artistic accommodation process, one that is found in other colonizing situations worldwide. It has been beyond the scope of this project to explore those parallels but is a worthy endeavor for specialists in different periods and regions to be aware of each others' findings.

In terms of the academic future of this specific study, in order to most widely disseminate the results and efforts of this dissertation, the four main chapters will be prepared as a series of articles. The coherence of each vessel type lends itself to this appropriately piecemeal presentation. In addition, since blackware vessels are the most difficult ceramics to photograph, producing a professionally photographed catalog as part of a book project would be prohibitively expensive.

As for future research, there remain many collections that include materials from this period and location, further research in which would help validate or challenge the

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[439] Carolyn Dean, "Inka Nobles: Portraiture and Paradox in Colonial Peru," in *Exploring New World Imagery: Spanish Colonial Papers from the 2002 Mayer Center Symposium*, ed. Donna Pierce (Denver, CO: Frederick and Jan Mayer Center for Pre-Columbian and Spanish Colonial Art, Denver Art Museum, 2005).

hypotheses generated from this research. The findings of this project would be profitably further contextualized with more information on Chimú and Inka ceramic styles in and of themselves, areas that I hope to contribute to in the coming years.

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