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Clothing Power: Hierarchies of Gender Difference and Ambiguity in  
Moche Ceramic Representations of Human Dress, C.E. 1-850

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An abstract of  
a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
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## ABSTRACT

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Using the representation of costume in ceramic art, this study examines how the Moche of northern Peru formulated ideals of gender and status, and how those ideals fit into larger Andean traditions of gender ambiguity. A synthesis of Panofskian iconography and semiotic analysis is used to understand the ways in which clothing and ornament speak to gender in Moche art. The elements of costume have been an essential part of social identity formation in the Andes for millennia, a trait that persists today. Moche ideals of gender are considered within a larger Amerindian tradition of gender ambiguity and its relationship to spirits and the divine. How the Moche upper classes negotiated between the spiritual power of the different-by-birth and the theocratic power of the noble-by-birth is visible in the treatment of sex and gender roles and the place of ambiguous gender in the art. Moche sex and gender exist in a continuum rather than in a dyad; while the poles of male and female are clearly defined, there are a number of individuals who are designated as ambiguous. Gender-ambiguous individuals in Moche art belong to three classes: performative, age-based, and diagnostically physical. All three rely on a combination of garments that erase distinctions of difference to signal this ambiguity. Gender ambiguity in Moche art is for the most part allied with private rituals, much more closely associated with the shamanic tradition than the public rites of the Sacrifice Ceremony, which were the province of the upper classes.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There were a tremendous number of people who helped me realize this project, and without whom it could not have come to fruition. My greatest thanks go to Jason Knight, for years of love and support in this and all things. My family, Dr. Robert Scher, Dr. Emilie Gould, Al and Barb Scher and Aaron, Kelly, and Jack Scher, were all great boosters. My advisor, Dr. Rebecca Stone, has guided me through the experience with wisdom and humor, and read endless edits of this dissertation with good cheer. My committee members, Dr. Walter Melion and Dr. Gay Robins, provided invaluable perspective and counterpoint throughout. Dr. Elizabeth N.C. Zarur continued to give great advice and write letters of recommendation on short notice. I visited many institutions to collect the data for this project, and the travel would not have been possible without support from the Emory University Art History Department, which funded my trips to Berkeley, CA and throughout Europe; and the Emory University Latin American and Caribbean Studies department pre-doctoral research grant, which allowed me to make arrangements in Spain ahead of my major dissertation research. A Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad fellowship allowed me to conduct ten months of research in Peru, without which this dissertation would not have been possible. And finally, a Predoctoral Residential Readership at Dumbarton Oaks greatly facilitated the writing of the dissertation. I thank Dr. Joanne Pillsbury, Bridget Gazzo, and Emily Gulick at Dumbarton Oaks for their support and assistance.

I would like to thank the following museums and their staff for their generous assistance in my research: firstly, at the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University, Renée Stein and Stacey Gannon-Wright, for helping foster my love of museums and helping me develop confidence in handling objects; at the Textile Museum, Rachel Shabica; at the British Museum, Dr. Colin McEwan and Stewart Watson; at the Museo de América, Dra. Ana Castaño; at the Museum Volkenkunde, Laura Von Broekhoven; at the Wereldmuseum, Dr. Edward de Bock; the Tropenmuseum; at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Leslie Freund; at the National Museum of the American Indian, Ducky Ngyuen and Dr. Patricia A. Nietfield; at the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, Sra. Isabel Larco de Álvarez Calderón, Sr. Andrés Álvarez Calderón Larco, curator and friend Ulla Holmquist, and Arq. Patricia Chirinos Ogata; at the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Dra. Carmen Arellano, Dante Casareto and the entire Sección de Cerámica; at the Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán, Dr. Walter Alva and Maricarmen Espinoza. Several active archaeological projects were also kind enough to let me examine pieces from their ongoing excavations: at the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Dr. Santiago Uceda and Arq. Nadia Gamarra; at the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca Cao Viejo, Dr. Régulo Franco; at the Proyecto Arqueológico San José de Moro and the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Dr. Luis Jaime Castillo and Arq. Carlos Rengifo; at the INC La Libertad, Sr. Sixto Enrique Sanchez and Arq. César Gálvez; at the Proyecto Santa de la Universidad de Montreal, Dr. Claude Chapdelaine, Dr. Victor Pimentel and Dr. Hélène Bernier. Dr. Christopher Donnan, Dr. Carol Mackey, and Dr. George Lau also graciously provided their expertise on the ancient Andes.

Special thanks go to Arq. Jorge Gamboa, for an unbelievable amount of help in seeing and negotiating Peru, and the chance to have a private guide to many sites. Also in Peru, the Comisión Fulbright staff, including Director Ejecutivo Henry A. Harman Guerra

and Encargada de Programas Marcela de Harth, were incredibly welcoming, as were the staff of the South American Explorers in Lima and Cusco. At the U.S. Embassy in Peru, Vanessa Wagner was a source of hard-to-find information and endless contacts. Emory alum Kylie Quave showed me around the Sacred Valley and introduced me to *sopa a la criollo*.

Thanks are also due to Juliet Wiersema, who showed me the ropes in Peru, read chapters and edited them kindly. Delinda Collier also read chapters and offered insights, and Sienna Brown and Liz Cummins gave much-needed moral support. Christina Mehta of the American Cancer Society, statistics artist extraordinaire, generously guided me through the use of SPSS and was incredibly patient with my ignorance. Dr. Simone Topal once again answered odd medical questions with aplomb. Dr. Laura Brannen Wingfield and Dr. Rebecca Dolhinow provided a great deal of patient mentoring during the dissertation process. And finally, thanks to Jane Royal and Dr. John Lantis, for decades of cheerleading; and Debbie Seem and Phil Smith, for reminding me that this research was supposed to be fun, too.

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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

*In any age there are certain widely shared beliefs—assumptions, attitudes, values—that are so obvious that they remain unstated. As such, they are most clearly perceivable, not in what a society says it is doing in its histories, literature, or public and private documents, but rather in the way in which it does things.<sup>1</sup>*

The Moche (or Mochica) developed a politically complex culture that flourished on the northern coast of Peru from approximately the last century B.C.E. to the year 850 (see map). It is not known what name they had for themselves; since its identification the culture has been referred to by the river valley where the type site is located. Before them, a number of different cultures prospered on the coast, among them the Gallinazo, Salinar, and Virú. After the Moche the Lambayeque and Chimú cultures held sway, the latter gaining dominance and controlling the north coast until the Inka, and soon after the Spanish, conquered them. The Moche were thus far removed in time from the written records of Spanish adventurers and bureaucrats, and their cultural legacy survives in their material culture: fine objects in metal and ceramic, and a few surviving textiles. Our knowledge of the Moche comes from these objects as well as from the painstaking work of archaeologists over the past century.

However, the artistic expressions of the Moche allow for an exceptional glimpse into their culture. Moche art represents people and things in such a way as to make them fairly easily recognizable, making it possible to use that art to understand some aspects of ideology and identity which are difficult to locate through archaeology alone, since the construction of societal ideals and identities within the culture is not solely the domain of archaeological investigation. Moche art portrays humans, animals, plants, and supernatural beings in a

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<sup>1</sup> Jules David Prown, "Style as Evidence," *Winterthur Portfolio* 15, no. 3 (1980): 198.

seemingly endless variety of contexts and actions, but this initial diversity is a false impression. Moche artists restricted their representations to actions and subjects important to the sociopolitical life of the culture, topics central to the power strategies of the Moche elite.

Our understanding of Moche political structure is still evolving. While once conceived as a monolithic expansionist state, a much more sophisticated picture has been emerging. Two spheres of Moche influence, one south of the Pampa of Paiján and one north of it, created art related in material and technique, but differing somewhat in style and selection of iconographic content. It is now thought that the Moche, once they emerged from the Gallinazo culture in the Moche river valley, spread their elite ideology through both peaceful and warlike means to many other polities, bringing them under the umbrella of Moche culture. Some of these polities were central, others peripheral, and their ties were loose or close depending on the power relationships between them at any given time. In the northern sphere, and especially in the valley of Jequetepeque, it is evident that larger political entities coalesced and dissolved depending upon both social and environmental conditions, a trend Luis Jaime Castillo refers to as Opportunistic States.<sup>2</sup> Despite the sometimes contentious nature of Moche political structure, the art style and the beliefs it depicted remained a fertile substrate for the creation and maintenance of Moche identity: as a unifying force through shared themes and motifs, and as a mode of separation in the acceptance, rejection, and modification of those same elements.

By analyzing the patterns of representation within the works of art created by these different but joined polities, it is possible to perceive the way in which the Moche elites created their cultural ideology through the vocabulary of visual representation, and how this

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<sup>2</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo, "Moche Politics in the Jequetepeque Valley: A Case for Political Opportunism," in *San José de Moro Archaeological Program: Readings* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2007), 3.

ideology approached the construction of identity within the culture. This study focuses on the representation of costume in order to understand the formation of gender, role, and status categories within this ideology. There has been until now no systematic exploration of the constitution of gender, and the possibilities for its complication, in Moche art. Costume is a useful lens through which to view Moche ideology, as the importance of textiles and items worn on the body to create, maintain, and negotiate social identity is a strong tradition throughout the history of the Andean region. By examining the trends of representation observable in a large corpus composed of pieces from museum and archaeological collections, it is possible to understand the way in which the imagery provides a window into the Moche worldview. This dissertation proposes a reconciliation between the logocentrism of Panofskian iconographic analysis and the art of cultures which did not use the written word. This is accomplished through the use of semiotic theory to treat Moche imagery as a kind of text in itself. To that end, the imagery is referred to as iconography throughout the dissertation. The iconography of the research corpus, taken *in toto*, allows for the perception of the *langue* of Moche ideology; conversely, an examination of the trends from one particular site reveals a *parole*. The relationship between *langue* and *parole* can be seen as a negotiation of a polity's ideological place within the greater Moche identity.

What is revealed through the iconography is a specific element of Moche society: the ideals of identity as created, maintained, and negotiated by the Moche elite of many separate polities. These polities were connected through their acceptance, use, and maintenance of the art style and belief system we refer to as "Moche."<sup>3</sup> It was a common thread which connected these ruling classes, and yet each group modified the iconography in order to negotiate their own unique position on the Peruvian coast. Once the foundations and

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 26.

methods of the project have been outlined, this study begins by identifying the categories of sex in the native traditions of the Americas, and then examines how these categories, as well as other aspects of identity, are formed through the use of worn and represented costume. Once these traditions have been laid out, the trends of the corpus are interrogated to understand how this particular Andean culture established categories of sex through costume. After these sex categories have been established, the study looks at the ways in which gender is defined, and how not only masculine and feminine gender are represented, but also individuals with ambiguous gender, which I will refer to as “gender-complicated.” The connections between these gender-complicated individuals and religious practices linked to the shamanic tradition stand in counterpoint to the formal, public rituals which were the cornerstone of the unifying Moche ideology.

Religious beliefs and practices based in the shamanic tradition have a long-standing tradition in the Andes, and predate the Moche by at least 800 years. The transformation of the shaman into an animal self is an essential element in the art of the Chavín culture (BCE 900 - BCE 200), whose artistic and ideological influence spread throughout the Andean region. Other elements of Chavín are evident in Moche culture, the use of stirrup-spout vessels and the importance of feline imagery among them.<sup>4</sup> Some elements of the shamanic tradition persist today in folk practices of healing and worship. Basic elements of this tradition include the use of trance and vision-inducing rituals and substances to contact the Other World, where the ancestors and spirits reside. In the Andes, ancestors and spirits exist in a reciprocal relationship to the world of the living, providing good fortune and fertility in

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<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "Death-Associated Figures on Mochica Pottery," in *Death and the Afterlife in Pre-Columbian America: A Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, October 27th, 1973*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Trustees for Harvard University, 1975), 105.

exchange for proper reverence and sustenance. Musical instruments, especially rattles and whistles, are parts of the ritual performance which induce trance and contact the inhabitants of the Other World to ask for knowledge and healing. Another important aspect of shamanic practice is the concept of ambiguity, of crossing boundaries and contradicting categories. This space of ambiguity and contradiction, from the active combination of opposites as well as from the space of uncertainty where “either/or” becomes “both/and,” is a profound source of spiritual power. Shamans in traditional cultures frequently embody this ambiguity, including a fluidity of sex and gender.<sup>5</sup> One current of Moche iconography solidly represents aspects of these beliefs and practices, as well as the gender-complicated individuals who perform them as ritual specialists. These specialists and their rituals appear to be part of the cultural substratum of Andean spirituality, with practices and beliefs older than the Moche and that persisted long after.

The formal, elaborate rituals performed by the highest elites depicted on Moche ceramics were more loosely related to this religious tradition, but depended upon it as the conceptual basis for the legitimacy and efficacy of the rituals. The Sacrifice Ceremony (Fig.

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<sup>5</sup> Niko Besnier, "Polynesian Gender Liminality Through Time and Space," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone Books, 1994); Bernard Saladin D'Anglure, "Rethinking Inuit Shamanism Through the Concept of 'Third Gender'," in *Shamanism: A Reader*, ed. Graham Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2003); Roland B. Dixon, "Some Aspects of the American Shaman," *The Journal of American Folklore* 21, no. 80 (1908); Stephen O. Murray, "South American West Coast Indigenous Homosexualities," in *Latin American Male Homosexualities*, ed. Stephen O. Murray (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Jeremy Narby and Francis Huxley, *Shamans Through Time: 500 Years on the Path to Knowledge* (New York: J.P. Tarcher/Putnam, 2001); Will Roscoe, "The Semiotics of Gender on Zuni Kachinas," *Kiva* 55, no. 1 (1989); Will Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache: Toward a Unified Analysis of Gender Diversity," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone Books, 1994); Will Roscoe, "Priests of the Goddess: Gender Transgression in Ancient Religion," *History of Religions* 35, no. 3 (1996); Pete Sigal, "The Cuilloni, the Patlache, and the Abominable Sin: Homosexualities in Early Colonial Nahua Society," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 85, no. 4 (2005); Henry Stewart, "Kipijuitiq in Netsilik Society: Changing Patterns of Gender and Patterns of Changing Gender," in *Many Faces of Gender: Roles and Relationships Through Time in Indigenous Northern Communities*, ed. Lisa Frink, Rita S. Shephard, and Gregory A. Reinhardt (USA: University Press of Colorado, 2002); Rebecca Stone, "Disability as Divine: Special Bodies in Ancient American Art," (Talk given at Emory University, November 62007); Rebecca Rollins Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Visions in Ancient Central and South American Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, in press).

1.1) shows the sacrifice of captured warriors and the ritual drinking of their blood by a figure variously described as a god, a deity impersonator, or a transformed priest. This figure, resplendent in elaborate costume and usually depicted with the feline fangs associated with the supernatural or divine (Fig. 1.2), represents the ability of the highest elites to come into contact with the spirits of the Other World. The spirits are presented with the blood of human sacrifice, the ultimate offering of vitality and most precious substance this world can give. It is a performance of shamanic concepts on a grand level, offering human blood rather than maize meal or sweet-smelling flowers; and securing the continued subsistence of the entire Moche people rather than curing an individual's disease. The people who performed this rite, both men and women, belonged to the upper classes of Moche society. Rather than receiving a shamanic spirit calling, they inherited their social position and the spiritual prerogatives that came with it. Negotiating the differences as well as the similarities between the Sacrifice Ceremony and shamanic practice was also a negotiation of the relationship between elites with inherited status and spiritual specialists who were called to their profession by the authority of the Other World.<sup>6</sup>

A subtext of the ideology promulgated by Moche iconography, then, is the claim by the highest elites to their positions of authority and privilege through the spiritual sanction of the Sacrifice Ceremony.<sup>7</sup> This public, formal rite where “the elites mediated directly with the spiritual world,”<sup>8</sup> and were often shown transformed into supernatural beings themselves,

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<sup>6</sup> Shamanic calling can take the form of diagnostic dreams, in which the subject is spoken to by the spirits or sees an object or being thought to be a shamanic sign. Shamans are also called through their survival of certain illnesses, or being born with physical anomalies such as blindness, some forms of impaired mobility, or an atypical body shape. As noted in Chapter 6, it is also possible that the Moche deliberately manipulated some bodies to create the appearance of diagnostically shamanic illnesses or physical anomalies.

<sup>7</sup> Garth Bawden, "The Structural Paradox: Moche Culture as Political Ideology," *Latin American Antiquity* 6, no. 3 (1995): 262.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Bawden also notes that the burial of elite personages in temple mounds may indicate the investiture of deceased elites as ancestors, creating an even greater claim to supernatural sanction for the living elites who

stood in counterpoint to the more private rituals related to the shamanic tradition. The authority of the Sacrifice Ceremony was still based in the entrenched, ancient, and pervasive power of shamanic ritual, and can be regarded as a form of institutionalized shamanism. The highest elites had usurped the authority of the shamans; they had substituted formal practices of ritual sacrifice for free-form trance rituals and put themselves in the position of spiritual specialists. Rather than transforming into animal doubles, they transformed into and represented the authority of anthropomorphic deities.<sup>9</sup> However, the construction of the Sacrifice Ceremony and the context of its efficacy was based in the beliefs of the earlier shamanic practices which had persisted through time. The elites could not simply discourage these practices or suppress their practitioners without denying the basis of their own power. Instead, elite ideology draws a clear set of categories which places the practitioners of traditional, shamanically-related rituals in a lower social class than those of the highest elites, and stresses the practice of the ritual rather than the form of the ceremony or the forces contacted. This elevates the highest elites who participate in the Sacrifice Ceremony to the place of deity impersonators or avatars, in close contact with the spirit world and with a greater spiritual sanction than those of the traditional ritual specialists. This difference is also reflected in the source of the specialization: the high elite impersonators/avatars inherited their position as the scions of lineages, while the ritual practitioners were called to their position by the spirit forces. It creates an argument for an inherited spiritual power greater than that of the shamanic specialists, based in the set of beliefs (and concomitant

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communicated with their dead kinsmen. Ancestors are different from the rest of the dead in Andean thought, they are believed to have more supernatural power and to exist on an equal plane with mountain creator spirits (*apus*) and other divine entities.

<sup>9</sup> In Moche iconography, the depiction of feline fangs is a sign of supernatural status. Anne Marie Hocquenghem and Patricia J. Lyon, "A Class of Anthropomorphic Supernatural Females in Moche Iconography," *Ñawpa Pacha* 18(1980): 38.

iconographic configuration) surrounding warriorhood and warfare, closely tied to the political maintenance and expansion of the polity.

At the same time the categories of “elite deity impersonator” and “special, but not noble ritual specialist” are created, categories of sex and gender are also delineated. Within the contexts of the Sacrifice Ceremony and its allied rituals, the differences between men and women are clearly described and maintained through their costumes, creating a ritual world of order and duality of opposites. The context of the shamanic specialists, however, is designated as one of contradiction, ambiguity, and complication, in which practitioners are frequently depicted with costumes that emphasize these concepts. Distinctions of difference are erased, attributes of sex and gender identity are removed. In their place is a gender complication which refers to chthonic ambiguity and ancient traditions which supersede cultural divergences. By maintaining the differences between high elites and less-privileged ritual specialists, the Moche rulers were able to both sustain the traditional basis for their claim to religious power as well as uphold their elevated social status. This created in some ways a parallel construction of spiritual power within the culture, in which the high elites performed in ceremonies that benefitted the entire polity, while the spiritual specialists performed rites which focused on the needs of individuals or small groups. The social identities of these two groups were distinguished in the iconography through clear differences in costume, which in turn made visible differences in sex and gender. Even practitioners of rituals which do not necessarily erase gender differences, such as shamanic healers, are kept in a status category different from the elites who participate in the Sacrifice Ceremony. This distinction, and the distinctions between men and women within the iconography, outline a construction of ideal identities.



Within the context of ideal identities and ideological power, it is important to address the vocabulary used to refer to social stratification in the Moche, as it is somewhat problematic. Chase and Chase<sup>10</sup> have outlined the problems inherent in using the word “elite” to describe a section of Ancient American society, when the word itself is polysemic and the criteria for archaeologically identifying “elites” varies. While the term is often viewed as designating the “rich, powerful, and privileged in any society,”<sup>11</sup> they note that “elites” can also be described as

*...those who run society's institutions...* Under this definition, elites are not necessarily characterized by luxury goods and other items found in the archaeological record; rather, the elite would be those who managed the political, economic, social, and religious institutions. A consideration of the elite, then, must by definition concern itself with the concepts of power and control; these are abstract notions that are difficult to identify concretely in the archaeological record.<sup>12</sup>

Elson and Covey characterize elites as concerned with “social exclusivity”—the legitimization of their place in society—and “political agency,” their position as decision-makers.<sup>13</sup> These two concerns are tied with the Chases’ focus on societal institutions. By manipulating elements of society, the elite can maintain their legitimacy, which is the foundation of their power to lead. The Chases also point out that, in addition to the upper echelons of a society, there are also “nonelite individuals who had various degrees of access to the trappings accorded the formal elite.”<sup>14</sup> Social structure is rarely strictly binary, and a simple division between elites and non-elites is reductive and disingenuous. Whether

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<sup>10</sup> Diane Z. Chase and Arlen F. Chase, *Mesoamerican Elites: An Archaeological Assessment* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

<sup>11</sup> George E. Marcus, "Introduction," in *Elites: Ethnographic Issues*, ed. George E. Marcus (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 3. Quoted in Chase and Chase, 1992, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Chase and Chase, *Mesoamerican Elites*, 3. Emphasis original.

<sup>13</sup> Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey, "Intermediate Elites in New World States and Empires," in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 5.

<sup>14</sup> Chase and Chase, *Mesoamerican Elites*, 11.

referred to as “bourgeoisie” or by the term “middle men” (a translation from a Maya term), the Chases remind us that these people occupied a space between the commoners and the “formal elites,” those with the greatest amount of social exclusivity and political agency. This distinction is useful, as it is evident that the Moche had more than a simple two-category designation of social status. What does become troublesome, however, is the nomenclature for levels of the society when the native designations are not known, and only rough divisions of status may be identified.

Both *cacique* (a Carib term) and *kuraka* (a Quechua word) were used by the Spanish to describe native Andean rulers of varying power and influence on the coast and in the sierra throughout the colonial period. However, neither of these were terms native to the area occupied by the Moche, and they describe individuals rather than social categories. We have no indigenous terms of rank and status with which to describe these strata of society, and so we must make do with what is available. “Elite” is a useful word simply because it is a term of general (the Chases would say too general) elevation in the social order, without designating a more specific set of obligations and powers, such as “king,” “prince,” or “warlord” do. Within this study, an effort is made to acknowledge that the term “elite” is somewhat ambiguous, and that within Moche society there would have been, at the least, two strata of socially elevated people: the high elites, who performed in the Sacrifice Ceremony and its related rituals as the main participants, and the lower elites who performed supplementary roles in these public rituals. With them beneath the high elites were also individuals who performed in rituals related to the shamanic tradition, which were probably more private in nature. It would appear that there was some level of kin-based status in Moche polities, borne out by mitochondrial DNA studies of high-status burials at Sipán and

the archaeological investigations at San José de Moro.<sup>15</sup> This provides some evidence that the high elites were hereditary, as these graves are associated with performers in the Sacrifice Ceremony. The lower elites may also have been kin-based, but the ritual specialists in shamanically-related rituals were more likely to *not* be in inherited positions. While there are cultures which do have shaman lineages, the more common practice is to have shamans or similar ritual specialists called to their position or marked from birth by the spirit world, rather than by human authority. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the depiction of this class of individuals in Moche art strongly suggests that the Moche followed the system of called, rather than inherited, ritual specialization. With these distinctions made, the term “elite” in this study will refer to the entire set of individuals above commoner status. “High elite” will refer to those most invested in the creation and performance of the ideology, the main actors within the Sacrifice Ceremony and its related rituals. “Lower elites” will refer to the figures depicted in the ideology as participating in, but not the main actors of, the public rituals of the polity or in scenes related to polity concerns. The spiritual specialists, as will be argued in Chapter 6, were of lower status than the high elites, and wore costume elements similar to the lower elites and so may have had roughly similar status. This use of broad demarcations is intentional, as neither the iconography nor the archaeology supports finer distinctions at this time.

An entire class of actors in Moche art, supernaturals, have been excluded from this study in order to focus on human actors and their social constructs and hierarchies. There is, as noted in chapters 5 and 6, a large amount of crossover between the human world and the

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<sup>15</sup> Steve Bourget, "The Third Man: Identity and Rulership in Moche Archaeology and Visual Culture," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 270; Izumi Shimada, "An Integrated Analysis of Pre-Hispanic Mortuary Practices: A Middle Sicán Case Study," *Current Anthropology* 45, no. 3 (2004): 389.

worlds of the deities/supernaturals and the dead, especially at the highest level of status.

Actors (both male and female) who are often shown as human can, on occasion, be depicted with supernatural attributes. While these types of figures can make clear distinctions difficult, the focus on human activities has been maintained by excluding all “divinely transformed” versions of human actors, in order to focus as much as possible on the construction of identity in the lived world. A study comparing the depicted costume of supernaturals to those of humans would be useful, but that endeavor is beyond the scope of this project. This study, however, provides a basis for the future comparison by providing a comprehensive analysis of human costume in representation.

## CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

*The picture takes the polemical argument out of the realm of the assertive and gives it the gloss of fact; it removes the element of strangeness or incredulity from unheard-of or miraculous events and can communicate a system of values as though it were a system of facts...*<sup>1</sup>

### **Introduction**

The main focus of this chapter is the method of analysis and the theoretical basis for the study. First, however, context for the study will be provided with a brief description of Moche ceramic art and production. Moche ceramic chronology as it is currently understood will also be discussed, as this has been in a state of revision in the last two decades. The ways in which Moche art has been used in the past to interpret Moche culture will be presented, followed by an explanation of the way in which this study's approach differs from past studies. Finally, the theoretical basis for this inquiry will be elaborated, and how it relates to the investigation of Moche art and material culture will be explained.

This chapter is predicated on a discussion of ceramic art in Moche culture as a materialization of ideology,<sup>2</sup> ideology here being defined as

...meanings, expressed through symbolic forms, that are mobilized in the service of dominant individuals and groups, that is the ways in which the meanings constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms serve, in particular circumstances, 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.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rolena Adorno, "Visual Mediation in the Transition from Oral to Written Expression," *New Scholar* 10, no. 1/2 (1986): 185.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Jaime Castillo, and Timothy Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 1 (1996): 3.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

This is a narrowed definition of ideology, which is not interested in the perspective of the individual and the construction of his or her personal world view; rather this study concentrates on iconography as a production of a group (or affiliation of groups) in an effort to exert social power.<sup>4</sup> To this definition may be added the “appeal to divine sanction” as a foundation for the system, as there is a fundamental religious basis for the art under examination.<sup>5</sup>

### **Moche Ceramic Art**

Moche art is unusual in the ancient Andes for its use of relatively representational and naturalistic form. The Moche favored naturalism over the geometricizing and abstracting styles that dominated pre-Hispanic Andean art both before and after their existence (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Moche ceramic art is the most durable legacy of the society, with hundreds of thousands of pieces scattered across the globe in museum collections and archaeological depositories. The imagery used for ceramic decorations is the same as that seen in metal, bone, and textile art as well as in architectural decoration; it is part of a coherent program of representation that carries across media.

Moche ceramic art exists as three-dimensional sculpted vessels, solid and hollow figurines, and two-dimensional images painted on the sides of vessels. Motifs vary from simple geometric designs to complex representations of humans, animals, plants, and supernaturals. Fine decorated wares are qualitatively distinct from quotidian ones, as the latter are generally cruder in execution, heavier, and undecorated or rudimentarily decorated. It has been established through archaeological finds and through scientific testing of ceramic

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<sup>4</sup> DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 4.

<sup>5</sup> Bawden, "The Structural Paradox," 259.

pastes that fine ceramic production was separate from that of domestic wares, produced by specialists and controlled by the upper classes.<sup>6</sup> This created a differential production which is echoed in the restriction of ceramics decorated with complex imagery to elite spaces, mostly graves.<sup>7</sup> It is speculated that figurines, which appear archaeologically in domestic contexts, were also produced by the fine ceramic workshops, owing to their standardization, conformity with representations from elite contexts, and association with rituals surrounding activities of the state, such as the production of *chicha*, or maize beer.<sup>8</sup> This would place their iconography under high elite control, even though they appear outside of elite ritual contexts in *senso stricto*. It is in elite graves and ritual spaces that most fine ceramics with a known provenance have been found. Bernier notes that at the site of Huaca de la Luna, fine ceramics with iconographic decoration are found in nearly every grave, and bear signs of use prior to their interment.<sup>9</sup> However, there is still a status designation in that the highest-quality and highest quantity of fine ceramics are found in the graves of the highest elites.<sup>10</sup>

This does not preclude the existence of poorly made pieces in important ritual contexts, as the ceramics from Sipán, various museum pieces, and some of the prisoner vessels from Huaca de la Luna attest (Figs. 2.3, 2.5-2.8). The ceramics excavated from Sipán are of especially poor quality: they are often unslipped, and the majority have an unburnished

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<sup>6</sup> Claude Chapdelaine, Greg Kennedy, and Santiago Uceda, "Activación neutrónica en el estudio de la producción local de la cerámica ritual en el Sitio Moche, Perú," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 24, no. 2 (1995): 184. Hélène Bernier, "Especialización artesanal en el sitio Huacas de Moche: contextos de producción y función sociopolítica," in *Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques (Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Cultura Mochica, Lima 4 y 5 de agosto 2004)*, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo, et al. (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008), 34, 37, 48; Margaret A. Jackson, *Moche Art and Visual Culture in Ancient Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 111.

<sup>7</sup> DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 19-20.

<sup>8</sup> Sophie Limoges, "Étude Morpho-Stylistique et Contextuelle des Figurines du Site Moche, Pérou" (Master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 1999), 138.

<sup>9</sup> Hélène Bernier, "La producción especializada de la cerámica doméstica y ritual mochica," *Estudios Atacameños* 37(2008): 166-167.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*: 166.

surface exhibiting cracks and the rough texture of a coarse clay paste or rough temper. These same pieces are multiples carelessly made from molds, frequently with the seams left visible. While made in a slipshod fashion, these pieces still conform to iconographic types found in finer vessels (Fig. 2.4).<sup>11</sup> The large group of these ceramics excavated from Offering 1 was arranged in a clearly meaningful fashion, with musicians and prisoners facing representations of higher-status individuals.<sup>12</sup> Llama bones, sea shells, the remains of copper objects, and a human sacrifice were also included in this large offering, indicating that the ceramics were part of a ritual interment. Similar pieces were placed around the adjacent Tomb 1 on benches and in side niches, as well as facing the coffin of the Lord of Sipán, perhaps acting as attendants.<sup>13</sup> This does seem to indicate that even poor material expressions of the ideology were produced under the control of, and distributed to, other elites.<sup>14</sup> It also indicates the importance of manifestations of ideology in material form. These poor-quality pieces were included in the burials as expressions of the iconography divorced from execution as fine works of art; in Sipán the metal objects are finer and carry more complex imagery. While the execution of fine pieces certainly reflected the status of the tomb occupant, it is evident that what was represented was of primary importance. Especially in the presence of finely made items in other media, as at Sipán, crudely executed ceramics were just as useful as good quality ones. The presence of fire-clouded, slumped, and carelessly-painted pieces in museum collections also testifies to this. Pieces such as Figures 2.5-2.8 were used rather than discarded, as the defects in their manufacture were evidently not enough to preclude

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<sup>11</sup> While the prisoner from Sipán has his hands on his knees rather than tied behind his back, he is still nude and wears a rope around his neck.

<sup>12</sup> Walter Alva and Christopher Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1993), 52-53.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>14</sup> Bawden, "The Structural Paradox," 267; DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 3.



their inclusion in burials.<sup>15</sup> It is not simply a matter of the finest items being placed in elite graves, rather the iconography itself creates significance for the object regardless of the material and technical quality of the individual piece. That is not to say that exceptionally well made ceramic items were not prized and did not indicate status with their quality. It does however indicate that aside from the material and aesthetic aspects of a piece, these ceramics belong to a class of objects with an intrinsic ideological value based in the representations they carry.

At Huaca de la Luna, there is a much higher overall ceramic quality than at Sipán, but in at least one instance pieces which would normally be described as poor quality were used in a ritual context. Excavating Plaza 3A, Steve Bourget found a set of deliberately broken, unfired clay representations of prisoners in the same context as a large number of sacrificed individuals.<sup>16</sup> Aside from one example, these prisoner effigies were made from untempered clay, indicating they were never intended to be fired. There are other prisoner effigies from Huaca de la Luna (Fig. 2.9) which exhibit low-quality molds or hand forming and careless painting, reinforcing the conclusion that the quality of the ceramics themselves was not what gave ritual meaning to the piece, rather it was the iconography which imbued the ceramics with meanings and messages for both this world and the next.

Both the Sipán and the Huaca de la Luna pieces attest to a meaning beyond that of fine quality ceramics. Ritual function is tied to the iconography in these pieces, rather than in the fineness of their construction: their depictions are what create a large part of their

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<sup>15</sup> Figure 6 is especially interesting as it is a finely made and highly burnished piece which was only disfigured during the firing process. The black smudge on the figure's proper left knee is what is described as "fire-clouding," when the piece comes in contact with the kiln or another vessel, preventing full oxidation of the surface. Another cause of the same effect was smoke from poorly burning fuel. Christopher Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 39.

<sup>16</sup> Steve Bourget, "Las excavaciones en la Plaza 3A de la Huaca de la Luna," in *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna 1995*, ed. Santiago Uceda, Elías Mujica, and Ricardo Morales (Trujillo: Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Nacional de La Libertad, 1997), 56.

meaning. This meaning, and this imagery, was kept in common among polities which had no direct ties through the deliberate control of the high elites. “An ideology rooted in a material medium can be controlled in much the same way” as other goods, and can be distributed “through the institutions of political economy.”<sup>17</sup> This allows the high elite class to control not only the creation of materialized ideology, but the transfer and audience for it as well.

### **Moche Ceramic Production**

As the Moche culture moved through time, more and more ceramic production was mold-made, increasing the number of vessels produced while maintaining standardized iconographic categories.<sup>18</sup> The seams left from mold production are visible on some vessels and figurines, but have been smoothed away in others. However, mold-made vessels were all finished and painted by hand, allowing for variations in surface decoration and the ability to add appliqué (also sometimes mold-produced) in finishing. The result is that even pieces made from the same mold have variations.

After forming, the majority of Moche fine ceramic wares were painted with slip (a suspension of fine clay particles), which was then burnished with a smooth stone or similar item (Fig. 2.10). This created a bright, glossy surface after firing. The color scheme tends to be bi- or trichromatic. Cream slip is usually paired with a darker red-orange, the actual hue of which varies widely. Some pieces take advantage of both a light and dark red-orange slip, or use a slip which contrasts with the terracotta clay body. Other pieces use an organic black

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<sup>17</sup> DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 7.

<sup>18</sup> The use of molds is not evenly distributed among Moche sites. The fine ceramics at the Dos Cabezas site were all hand-built. However, Donnan points out that despite the individualized production, the iconography is “remarkably standardized,” again indicating that there was a concerted effort to preserve iconographic and ideological consistency. Christopher Donnan, *Moche Substyles: Keys to Understanding Moche Political Organization*. (In press).

as a third color. This was achieved by painting the already-fired vessel with an organic liquid, which was then burned over a flame to turn it black. The disadvantage of this material is that it sits on top of and is much more fragile than slip, and has frequently faded from the vessels, eliminating a great deal of detail.

While the majority of Moche ceramics were fired in an oxidizing (oxygen-rich) atmosphere, which turned the iron in the clay to a range of terracotta colors, the ceramic artists had other options. Ceramic pieces could be reduction-fired, that is, fired in an oxygen-free atmosphere, which would ideally leave a deep black, glossy surface, although there are many examples of imperfectly reduced wares in shades of gray and gray-brown (Figs. 2.11 and 2.12). Moche reduction-fired pieces were burnished and placed in the kiln without being painted, and so rely on modeling and incision for their detail. This shift in the method of detailing was an aesthetic choice, as slip can be used in a reduction firing, although it will produce a different color than in an oxidizing atmosphere.<sup>19</sup> The percentage of reduction wares in Moche art is low, approximately 5%.<sup>20</sup> A few pieces, both oxidized and reduced, also use inlay of semiprecious stone, shell, or bone to add details (the remains of this inlay can be seen in Figure 2.12). These available choices in firing and decorating possibilities granted Moche artists room for variation in technique while still maintaining basic categories of vessel shape, conventions of representation, and elements of iconography.

### **Moche Ceramic Chronology**

The chronology of Moche ceramics has become increasingly complex in recent decades. While the cultural bracket dates of approximately 100 B.C. to 850 A.D. are

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<sup>19</sup> Elaine O. Henry, Personal communication. September 14, 2009.

<sup>20</sup> Christopher Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1978), 55. In Limoges, "Étude Morpho-Stylistique", 59.

relatively well accepted, the mechanisms of absolute dating for periods within this timeframe are constantly changing as new archaeological data emerge. Prior to the major revisions which have taken place, the five-phase relative chronology developed by Rafael Larco Hoyle in 1948 was generally accepted and widely used, with some debate over the absolute dates to be associated with the ceramic phases (Fig. 2.13).<sup>21</sup> Larco Hoyle based his chronology on the forms of stirrup-spouts; other vessel types were placed in the chronology as they conformed to the trends visible in the styles of these vessels.<sup>22</sup> At the same time, it was believed that the Moche had constituted a single, state-level political entity, spreading from the Moche/Chicama river valley area through force, proselytization, or some combination of the two.

More recent research has complicated this vision of Moche culture, and with it the ceramic chronology. The current understanding of the Moche is that rather than a single political entity, they were a loose affiliation of independent political spheres (some larger than others) which were united by their elites' use of a common ideology. This ideology was manifested in the art style and material culture known as Moche. Moche style appears to have evolved from the substratum of the Moche Valley-based Gallinazo culture, with the elites at first being the only ones who would have been recognizable as Moche.<sup>23</sup> This Moche tradition created by Gallinazo elites filtered down to the common classes and then

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<sup>21</sup> Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Cronología arqueológica del norte del Perú* (Buenos Aires: Sociedad Geográfica Americana, 1948). For example, Donnan and Mackey proposed dates of 0-200 for Moche Phase I in 1978, while Benson suggested 50-100 in 1997. Elizabeth P. Benson, "Moche Art: Myth, History, and Rite," in *The Spirit of Ancient Peru*, ed. Kathleen Berrin (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 42; Christopher Donnan and Carol Mackey, *Ancient Burial Patterns of the Moche Valley, Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 6.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "Cambios de temas y motivos en la cerámica Moche," in *Moche: Hacia el Final del Milenio*, ed. Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003), 478.

<sup>23</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo and Santiago Uceda, "The Moche of Northern Perú," in *San José de Moro Archaeological Program: Readings* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2007), 8.

spread, creating independent polities easily recognizable as Moche but having their own unique development. This is especially evident in the differences which are now becoming clearer between the Northern and Southern Moche spheres.

The split between these two broad areas is visible not only through the concrete, physical separation of the desert Pampa de Paiján (see map), but through general differences in the material expression of Moche culture. The northern polities placed more emphasis on fine metalwork in sites such as Loma Negra and Sipán than those of the south, and the southern polities, for the most part, produced much larger numbers of finer ceramic wares.<sup>24</sup> There is a clear distinction between the ceramic chronologies of the northern and southern Moche, and a clear difference in the quality and style of ceramics over time in both areas. Luis Jaime Castillo, working over nearly two decades at the site of San José de Moro in the northern Moche sphere, has developed a ceramic sequence that is split into three main phases, and which incorporates at some points the phases from Larco Hoyle's sequence, but does not follow them exactly.<sup>25</sup> The Early Moche phase is roughly equivalent to Moche I and II in the Larco system, Middle Moche with Moche III and IV, and Late Moche with Moche V (Fig. 2.14).<sup>26</sup> Complicating matters, however, it has also become clear that in some areas what were seen as sequential styles in the Larco chronology are found to be contemporaneous.<sup>27</sup>

The practical effect of these changes in understanding Moche political structure and ceramic chronology is that new studies of the ceramics must take into account both the

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<sup>24</sup> Bawden, "The Structural Paradox," 263. An exception is the Moche I style ceramics in the north, see Luis Jaime Castillo and Christopher Donnan, "Los Mochicas del Norte y los Mochicas del Sur," in *Vicús*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski (Lima: Banco del Credito del Perú, 1994).

<sup>25</sup> See Luis Jaime Castillo, *Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro Temporada 2008* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2009), 49, fig. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Claude Chapdelaine, Victor Pimentel, and Hélène Bernier, "A Glimpse at Moche Phase III Occupation at the Huacas of Moche Site, Northern Peru," *Antiquity* 75(2001): 361.

<sup>27</sup> Donnan, *Moche Substyles*.

unifying and specializing effects of how Moche expressions of ideology were manifested through art and material culture, across distance and through time. As Castillo has noted, the difference in political structures between the Northern and Southern Moche does not necessarily mean a cultural difference, and they held a large number of elements in common.<sup>28</sup> The Moche high elites invested enormous amounts of resources in the manifestation of their ideology through architecture, ritual performance, and ritual objects.<sup>29</sup> Religion and the ideology of the ceremonial rituals appear to have been unifying forces, creating a common basis of power and a foundation for communication and perhaps interchange between these polities.<sup>30</sup> While there are differences, especially in the construction of monumental architecture, there is a great deal of commonality in the use of ritual space and the representation of rituals and ritual actors. Trends in iconographic content appear to be similar in the north and the south, although some elements, such as the depiction of human beings, are more limited in the north.<sup>31</sup> However, it is still beneficial to investigate whether a polity's interpretation of the shared ideology and iconography emphasizes different aspects than those of the greater collective. Christopher Donnan has proposed that at least four Moche polities (San José de Moro, Dos Cabezas, Huancaco, and the Huacas de Moche) exhibit clear substyles in relation not only to artistic interpretation but to subject matter as well.<sup>32</sup> As such, collections of provenanced ceramics from selected sites will be

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<sup>28</sup> Castillo and Donnan, "Los Mochicas del Norte y los Mochicas del Sur," 157.

<sup>29</sup> Castillo and Uceda, "The Moche of Northern Perú," 9-10.

<sup>30</sup> Castillo and Donnan, "Los Mochicas del Norte y los Mochicas del Sur," 157. Christopher Donnan, "Moche State Religion: A Unifying Force in Moche Political Organization," (In press).

<sup>31</sup> Donna McClelland, *Moche Finesline Paintings from San José de Moro* (Los Angeles: Regents of the University of California, 2007), 29; Luis Jaime Castillo et al., "Ideología y poder en la consolidación, colapso y reconstitución del estado Mochica del Jequetepeque," *Ñawpa Pacha* 26(2007): 10.

<sup>32</sup> Claude Chapdelaine, "Moche Art Styles in the Santa Valley: Between Being "à la Mode" and Developing a Provincial Identity," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2008); Donnan, *Moche Substyles*.

examined in relationship to the general trends provided by the research corpus. While the split between the Northern and Southern Moche is not in and of itself important to the project at hand, it is useful to bear in mind that there were varying levels of divisions between Moche political structures, and that these divisions do have a bearing on trends in iconographic messages. The differences between the iconographic content of the Northern and Southern Moche act as broad indicators of general differences, but it is at the level of the polity that a definite dialogue between local iconography and the greater Moche ideology can be observed. This is especially clear in the case of San José de Moro, and will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

### **Using Moche Art to Interpret Moche Culture**

Moche art is one of the primary tools used by scholars to aid our understanding of Moche culture. Until recently, the field has been dominated by anthropologists and archaeologists, especially after the discovery of the spectacular tombs at Sipán. Elizabeth Benson<sup>33</sup> and Christopher Donnan<sup>34</sup> have been at the forefront of this examination of Moche art. Benson has for the most part concentrated on identifying individual actors in Moche

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<sup>33</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, *The Mochica: A Culture of Peru*, Art and Civilization of Indian America (New York: Praeger, 1972); Benson, "Death-Associated Figures."; Elizabeth P. Benson, "Garments as Symbolic Language in Mochica Art" (paper presented at the 42nd Session International Congress of Americanists, Paris, 1976); Elizabeth P. Benson, "The Moche Moon," in *Recent Studies in Andean Prehistory and Protohistory*, ed. D. Peter Kvietok and Daniel H. Sandweiss (Ithaca, NY: Latin American Studies Program, Cornell University, 1984); Elizabeth P. Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," in *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988); Christopher Donnan, "Caza del venado en el arte Mochica," *Revista del Museo Nacional* (1982); Christopher Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA, 1992); Christopher Donnan and Donna McClelland, "Moche Burials at Pacatnamú," in *The Pacatnamu Papers*, ed. Christopher Donnan and Guillermo Cock (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1997); Christopher Donnan and Donna McClelland, *Moche Finesline Painting: Its Evolution and its Artists* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1999); Christopher Donnan, "Moche Ceramic Portraits," in *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*.

<sup>34</sup> Christopher Donnan, *Moche Art And Iconography* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center, University of California Press, 1976).

iconography, such as “death-priests,” while Donnan (sometimes writing with Donna McClelland) focused on a thematic approach, identifying the scenes in which specific individuals took part. Donnan was the first to note that while a broad range of activities appear to be depicted in Moche art, it is not simply a record of daily life. The Moche were selective in what they included in their iconography, representing the ideals held by the elite classes rather than a comprehensive catalogue of Moche culture.<sup>35</sup> Both scholars, and many others, also used ethnographic analogy to help understand some elements of Moche art and culture. There are some general principles of worldview and cultural practices which seem to have persisted for thousands of years in the area,<sup>36</sup> and while it may not be taken for granted that these elements were present in Moche culture, it is considered reasonable to accept them as present when the art or other archaeological evidence reflects it.

Following the analysis of the Burial Theme by Donnan and McClelland, Jeffrey Quilter (an archaeologist, as is Donnan),<sup>37</sup> in his narrative approach to understanding Moche art, postulated a unifying mythology that connected the themes Donnan had identified. With the discovery and painstaking excavation of the tombs at Sipán and San José de Moro, it became evident that some of the scenes and actors depicted in Moche art were enacted in the lived world, and not just representations of actions in the mythological world. According to Quilter, this created a problematic situation, a “contradictory proposition that the art depicted scenes from daily life yet was a symbolic code” which he feels has yet to be resolved.<sup>38</sup>

Quilter has challenged, for example, Donnan’s interpretation of Moche portrait vessels,

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid; Yuri Berezkin, "Moche Society and Iconography," in *Pre-Columbian Collections in European Museums*, ed. Anne Marie Hocquenghem (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 273.

<sup>36</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1987), 188.

<sup>37</sup> Jeffrey Quilter, "The Narrative Approach to Moche Iconography," *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 2 (1997).

<sup>38</sup> Jeffrey Quilter, "Moche Politics, Religion, and Warfare," *Journal of World Prehistory* 16, no. 2 (2002): 162.



which appeal to the Western sense of individualism, saying they do not represent individuals who lived in the Moche world, but instead represent culture heroes, who operate as types rather than independent actors.<sup>39</sup> This dissertation establishes an effective way forward from Quilter's "contradictory proposition," by acknowledging the polysemy of Moche art and its use of ideal identities to create meaning. It demonstrates how actors in Moche representation occupy a space of ideal identity, in which representations of occurrences from "daily life" (such as child-rearing or hunting) are, at the same time, a "symbolic code," which reveals ideological constructs of gender, role, and status. The two are not mutually exclusive, and in fact the symbolic code *needs* the depiction of daily life in order to assert its claims to naturalism and normalcy, to establish the *status quo* the creators of the iconography wished to maintain.

### **Seeing Moche Figural Representation through a New Lens**

The previous examples serve to highlight a few of the problems involved in interpreting Moche art and culture. It is possible to look at Moche art as comprised of individuals, narratives, themes, types, or indeed all of the above. This study proposes that Moche art is multivalent, and can also be approached by regarding the decisions made by the high elites commissioning fine ceramic wares as constituting a kind of codified vision that reflects the way in which they saw the world. It is evident that while some aspects of Moche life are indeed rendered faithfully in the art, other aspects may be allegorical, mythological, or political propaganda. I do not agree that there is an irresolvable contradiction in the interpretation of the art. Many cultures have represented the supernatural in a natural context, and "portraits" of elites, throughout history, have frequently been a blend of individual

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<sup>39</sup> Jeffrey Quilter, Talk presented at Emory University, March 3, 2005.

appearance and idealization. Whether the Moche “portraits” are truly physical likenesses of men who existed, as real people who were then faithfully represented by artists, or instead elite-commissioned realistic images of important culture heroes, does not change the situational utility of this form of representation. Both leaders and culture heroes’ likenesses have a use in ideological communication, and the ways in which these images speak to ideals of identity, power and prestige is independent of who these men “really” were.<sup>40</sup>

A related problem is that individual characters who are prominent in the narrative themes have received more attention than secondary figures and personages who are not featured in these themes. This privileges the most elite personages, and especially men, the same people whose tombs have held the most numerous amounts of artifacts and received the majority of attention. Conversely, this means that historically a significant body of data has been ignored. This is beginning to change, as archaeologists begin to focus on the social strata below the highest elites.<sup>41</sup> This study will follow that trend, incorporating the lower levels of Moche society into the iconographic study, albeit seeing them from the elite’s perspective.

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<sup>40</sup> Bawden points to these “portraits” as indications that “symbols of social position were now so strongly individualized, a development that suggests progressive differentiation of exclusive elite groups if not actual personas.” Bawden, “The Structural Paradox,” 263.

<sup>41</sup> Claude Chapdelaine, “The Growing Power of a Moche Urban Class,” in *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Tom D. Dillehay, “Town and Country in Late Moche Times: A View From Two Northern Valleys,” *Conservation Research* 63(2001); Carolyn S. Dean, “Sketches of Childhood: Children in Colonial Andean Art and Society,” in *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society*, ed. Tobias Hecht (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002); France-Eliane Dumais, “Plain Moche Textiles from the Lower Santa Valley, North Coast of Peru,” in *69th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology* (Montreal: University of Montreal, 2004); Nadia Gamarra Carranza and Henry Gayoso Ruiller, “La cerámica doméstica en Huacas de Moche: Un intento de tipología y seriación,” in *Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques (Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Cultura Mochica, Lima 4 y 5 de agosto 2004)*, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo, et al. (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008); Izumi Shimada, “Late Moche Urban Craft Production: A First Approximation,” in *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Hendrik van Gijsegem, “Household and Family at Moche, Peru: An Analysis of Building and Residence Patterns in a Prehispanic Urban Center,” *Latin American Antiquity* 12, no. 3 (2001).

Another problem is that focusing on the most prominent iconography also privileges the themes prevalent towards the end of the Moche period, a time when elaborate scenes depicting multiple actors became common. While these elaborate representations of complex imagery have provided a key to understanding some earlier representations, and the themes expressed in them appear to have been part of earlier Moche ideology, the earlier ceramic images of non-elite and/or lower elite personages have received very little examination, as have the minor participants in the later elaborate scenes. This is evident in the general books published on the tombs of Sipán which largely ignore the ceramics found at the site, only publishing the few fine pieces, and in many cases use ceramics from museum collections to illustrate points in the text.<sup>42</sup> The amount of ink spilled trying to identify the actors in the Sacrifice Ceremony is overwhelmingly about the main, high elite actors in the depictions. Very rarely are the minor actors considered, and when they are their lack of iconographic information leads them to be cursorily mentioned.

However, without understanding the treatment of all the figures in the art, it is impossible to understand the construction of the idealized social networks in which they were perceived to participate. Iconographic types that have been established in the literature (such as the seated men who hold felines on their laps) are often ignored in discussions of social organization if they are not participants in the larger thematic scenes, leading to an incomplete understanding of how they fit into the ideals of Moche society. In evaluating all individuals represented in the art relative to their participation in the Sacrifice Ceremony and other complex scenes, the figures who do not appear in these contexts have not been

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<sup>42</sup> For example, Alva and Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*. Pages 13, 38, 126. There are photos of the cruder ceramics found at the site, but they are presented in the context of the scientific work of the excavation and are heavily outweighed by images of the spectacular metal objects; the only Sipán ceramic shown in a photograph by itself is one of the fine pieces. Likewise, while “attendant” persons in the burials are mentioned, they are treated as part of the elite figure’s funerary assemblage, and not as individuals themselves.

integrated into the larger vision of Moche ideology. Understanding their basic place in the idealized hierarchies of both status and gender helps to give them firmer grounding and allows us a more complete picture of the Moche elite's idealized vision of the world. To that end, I examine the creation of sex and gender identity through the representation of costume within the iconographic system, and how these categories are further elaborated by status indicators. I then take a closer look at the ways in which gender in Moche art is complicated through the depiction of costume elements, and how these gender-complicated individuals fit into the ideological system of role and status.

### **Conduct of the Study**

The corpus for the study consists of 1,406 ceramic representations of human figures in two and three dimensions, referred to as fineline and sculptural vessels, respectively, as well as some figures that are a composite of the two (see for example Fig. 2.15). The corpus is not comprehensive, but rather constitutes a reasonable sample of museum and excavated pieces. In both types of collections, the pieces catalogued were dependent upon the resources and convenience of the institutions, and so there were items on exhibition, on loan, or otherwise unavailable which could not be included. Nine hundred and ninety-three (993) of the examples are from museum collections housed in the United States, Peru, England, and the Netherlands. Four hundred and thirteen (413) are from archaeologically-provenanced collections: the collection excavated in 1899 by Max Uhle at Huaca de la Luna and housed at the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology; and warehoused ceramic collections from excavations at the Peruvian sites of Huaca de la Luna, San José de Moro, Sipán, and Huaca Cao Viejo, which are ongoing, and from Dos Cabezas, which is not currently under

excavation (see map). A further elaboration of the corpus can be found in the introduction to the Catalogue Raisonné. Pieces included in the corpus will be referred to by their Catalogue Raisonné (CR) numbers.

The corpus includes only representations of humans; it excludes individuals marked as supernatural through the depiction of feline fangs or zoomorphic/ phytomorphic traits. While there is an overlap between human and supernatural costume, especially for completely anthropomorphic supernaturals, limiting the corpus to natural humans helps maintain the focus on the less-analyzed (often low- or lower-status) aspects of Moche iconography. It also allows for a greater presence of figures previously considered “incidental.” Each individual piece was digitally photographed as well as formally analyzed; that is, in terms of its style, form, color, proportions, and finish, with a complete description of all representational features. All elements of costume were noted, as well as the variants of these items. Descriptors such as length of garment, color or textile pattern, presence or absence of sleeves, ornaments and their designs, etc. were noted for each individual. In multi-actor scenes, each actor is counted as a single individual. In addition, the posture (standing, sitting, etc.) and possessions (items held by the individual or closely associated with them) were noted. These notations were then coded so that simple statistical analysis could be performed on the corpus.

The two main analyses were raw percentages of the corpus (i.e., what percentage of tunics for a given group are long) as well as a Yule’s Q analysis, as used by Giersz, et al. in their evaluation of Moche supernatural attributes.<sup>43</sup> Yule’s Q is a simple measure of both positive and negative correlations between items (i.e., whether there is a positive correlation

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<sup>43</sup> Milosz Giersz, Krzysztof Makowski, and Patrycja Prządka, *El mundo sobrenatural mochica: imágenes escultóricas de las deidades antropomorfas en el Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera* (Lima: Universidad de Varsovia : Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 2005), 125-126.

between a long tunic and female hairstyle, or whether wearing a hooded cape makes an accompanying club unlikely). This was performed using the Statistical Pack for the Social Sciences (SPSS), software which automates the calculation of these statistics. Within SPSS, Yule's Q is performed as a special case of Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma, and results will be presented as gamma ( $\gamma$ ) values.<sup>44</sup> These statistical results were used sparingly to temper visual, qualitative observations of the corpus.

The results of this analysis were used to three primary ends: firstly, to establish common "social types," that is, repeated clusters of attributes in an individual which appear to have an iconographic meaning that is consistent within the art. Of course, a number of these types have already been established in the literature, and for these cases the attributes were re-examined in order to understand the type's place within the system of costume iconography. These social types may also be referred to as identities, not in the sense of personal identification of the self, rather, in the sense of

...characteristics of an individual or group that are assigned and assumed by the group and others as a result of perceived differences from and similarities to others. These identities are created and assigned qualities, which result in both cohesion and separation, and material culture is employed in a variety of ways to express them.<sup>45</sup>

Within this study, these identities are considered social constructions based in the ideology which engenders the iconography. They are cultural categories based in the ideal ordering of society. Secondly, once these social types were ascertained, they were examined in context in order to define the establishment and expression of gender based on sex. Thirdly, the social types were analyzed in light of these definitions in order to understand the basis for

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<sup>44</sup> David Sheskin, *Handbook of Parametric and Nonparametric Statistical Procedures* (Boca Raton, Fla.: CRC Press, 1997), 661.

<sup>45</sup> Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, "Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe," *Journal of the European Association of Archaeologists* 5, no. 1 (1997): 94.

complication of gender in Moche iconography. Once these three goals were realized, the implications of the social strategy expressed within the iconography were examined.

### **Approaches to the Analysis of Moche Iconography**

*"Just as the inhabitants did not have letters, or were even familiar with them, so they neither left records of their history."<sup>46</sup>*

In conducting the study of Moche figure types represented on ceramic vessels, it was desirable to bring the tools of art history to a subject more often in the purview of archaeologists and anthropologists, and to ask somewhat different questions than have been asked before. The methodology allows for an exploration of the iconography on its own terms, that is, not having to make the iconography conform to the archaeological data in all cases. This approach acknowledges art as a social construct, rather than as a strict representation of reality. The visual system, in and of itself, can be the basis of interpretation and creates meaning even in the absence of an excavated skeleton or object. It is acknowledged that it is possible or even probable that some of the elite worldview being portrayed in the art will contradict, or at the very least not conform with reality. In order to approach what is seen as a system which represents mental structures, two complementary methodological approaches to Moche art were chosen: the iconographic approach of Erwin Panofsky and semiotics as interpreted by Charles Peirce, Roland Barthes, and others. Barthes' costume-specific writings are examined in depth in Chapter 3.

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<sup>46</sup> Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, in Elizabeth Hill Boone, *Stories in Red and Black: Pictorial Histories of the Aztecs and Mixtecs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 4.

### Iconography Applied to the Analysis of Moche Ceramics

Erwin Panofsky is best known for his iconographic approach to art history. His interest in the meaning of art was, for the most part, developed in the context of Medieval and Renaissance-era European art. However, his discussion of the theory behind his practice was of a much broader scope. He asserted that the materials left behind by earlier generations were permanent records that “[emerged] from the stream of time,” bearing the communication of meanings both explicit and implicit.<sup>47</sup> Several Andeanist scholars, among them Hocquenghem, Castillo, Makowski, and Holmquist, have invoked Panofsky’s method in examining Moche art, but have not fully addressed the academic problem of using Panofsky’s method for a culture without a written legacy.<sup>48</sup> For the most part, ethnographic analogy was accepted as a substitute for written Moche sources.<sup>49</sup> This section provides an argument for a synthesis of Panofskian iconography in conjunction with semiotic theory in order to understand art from oral cultures, beginning with the issue of treating the work of art itself as a document.

A primary problem with “documents” in studying ancient Peruvian art is that many of the sources of information available to scholars do not fit the conventional definition of a document; that is, they are not composed of written words. It can be difficult to argue for the veracity of these kinds of documents, as we are accustomed to giving priority to written sources as opposed to images. This logocentrism is a deeply ingrained cultural prejudice, but it has been demonstrated repeatedly that the written documents of ancient cultures are often

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<sup>47</sup> Erwin Panofsky, "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 5.

<sup>48</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*; Ulla Sarela Holmquist Pachas, "El personaje mítico femenino de la iconografía Mochica" (Tesis Bachillero, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1992); Krzysztof Makowski, "El rey y el sacerdote," in *Señores de los Reinos de la Luna*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski, Joanne Pillsbury, and Régulo Franco Jordán (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito, 2008).

<sup>49</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 19-20.



no more trustworthy as records of daily life than are images.<sup>50</sup> Thus, while it may be argued that it is improper to use the term “iconography” in studying ancient American art, as the term implies the use of written documents in understanding the symbolism of a work of art, it may be argued in counterpoint that this is based upon a narrow definition of the word “document,” and a narrowly defined understanding of “written,” as well.

The nature of “documents” and “writing” has long been debated within the context of New World communication systems. The Spanish were reluctant to call Aztec and Mixtec pictorial codices “writing,” as they were a mixture of ideograms and phonetic elements, rather than an alphabetic script. This reluctance was based in part on considering the alphabetic script the zenith of writing’s evolution, and as such the only true medium for “accurate” history.<sup>51</sup> The Aztec and Mixtec codices stand on the cusp between writing as broadly defined (“a system of human intercommunication by means of conventional visible marks”)<sup>52</sup> and semasiography, where images “stand not for the sounds of the name of a referent but rather for the referent itself,”<sup>53</sup> and which may or may not be related to spoken language. It is much harder to place iconographic systems, such as that of the Moche, since it cannot be argued that the level of convention approaches that of language or writing, “operat[ing] on the same logical level as spoken language and...parallel[ing] it.”<sup>54</sup>

Iconographic systems are not as code-rich as written language, nor are they necessarily as

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<sup>50</sup> DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 10; Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (1982): 12. There is also evidence from Contact-era Mexico: “The chroniclers would have us believe that the dress of the masses was strictly regulated. It is questionable how true that is. Certainly the sources show that the lower classes were not uninventive.” Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *Indian Clothing Before Cortés: Mesoamerican Costumes from the Codices*, 1st ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 29.

<sup>51</sup> Boone, *Stories in Red and Black* 4.

<sup>52</sup> Ignace Gelb, *A Study of Writing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 12. Quoted in Boone, p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> Frank Salomon, "How an Andean "Writing Without Words" Works," *Current Anthropology* 42, no. 1 (2001): 2.

<sup>54</sup> Boone, *Stories in Red and Black* 30.

directly referential as semasiographic systems. However, they do operate according to rules and conventions of depiction, metonymy, and metaphor, which communicate information about people, things, and events as culturally understood. Despite not meeting even the loosest definition of “writing,” expressions of an iconographic system may still be considered “documents,” in that they are “a material substance...having on it a representation of thoughts by means of some conventional mark or symbol.”<sup>55</sup>

The art historian studying pre-Hispanic Peruvian cultures is then left with a set of visual documents, archaeological data, and ethnographic analogy. Very rarely are written documents available, with the exception of contact-era writing by Spanish authors, whose texts reflect their own interests and prejudices. For cultures like the Moche, who had come and gone long before the arrival of the Spanish, the written word is not available as a primary document. What *is* available, especially for the Moche, is iconography. The richness of Moche art lies partially in its wealth of imagery, portrayed in a relatively realistic (and some would argue narrative) style.

Panofsky’s theory of analysis made the distinction between subject matter and content, with subject matter being what is explicitly depicted in the work, and content being something much more elusive: that which a work of art “betrays but does not parade.”<sup>56</sup> In referring to the content of the work, he was interested in the work of art as the product of a single genius; an assumption conditioned by the Western tradition in which he worked. The idea that “the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical

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<sup>55</sup> "Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary," Merriam-Webster, [http://search.eb.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/dictionary?hdwd=document&book=Dictionary&jump=document\[1%2Cnoun\]&list=document\[1%2Cnoun\]%3D297244%3Bdocument\[2%2Ctransitive+verb\]%3D297266](http://search.eb.com.proxy.library.emory.edu/dictionary?hdwd=document&book=Dictionary&jump=document[1%2Cnoun]&list=document[1%2Cnoun]%3D297244%3Bdocument[2%2Ctransitive+verb]%3D297266).

<sup>56</sup> Panofsky, "The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline," 14.

persuasion [could be] qualified by one personality and condensed into one work”<sup>57</sup> is, of course, entirely possible in some cultures. However, Panofsky did not address the possibility that in some cultures these “basic attitudes” might also be revealed through the patterns of expression by multiple artists working in the same culture, and sometimes on the same piece.

It is in this vein that the art of the Moche has most fruitfully been explored. As George Kubler observed, the art of a culture does not so much reflect its daily life as select from it, and does so within the parameters of cultural perception and artistic traditions.<sup>58</sup> As noted by numerous Moche scholars, Moche art does not cover all aspects of Moche life, it instead focuses upon themes and representations that were important to the people commissioning and overseeing the works.<sup>59</sup> The paucity of clear individual styles, and the preponderance of regional and site styles<sup>60</sup> points to an elite class who controlled representation as a reflection of not only their “Mocheness” but their identity as the ruling class of a particular area or site.<sup>61</sup> In this manner the style as inscribed on the objects is, instead of being indicative of a period or person, indicative of the elites who dictated the style and iconography of the art.

Ceramics *are* the text of this phenomenon precisely because they downplay innovation and emphasize the repetition of standardized imagery, visible across independent polities.<sup>62</sup> The creation of conventions and standard iconography forge a communicative

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<sup>57</sup> Erwin Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 30.

<sup>58</sup> George Kubler, "History: Or Anthropology: Of Art?," *Critical Inquiry* 1, no. 4 (1975): 766.

<sup>59</sup> Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication*, 175, 189.

<sup>60</sup> Castillo and Uceda, "The Moche of Northern Perú.," McClelland, *Moche Fineline Paintings from San José de Moro*; Donnan, *Moche Substyles*.

<sup>61</sup> Christopher Donnan and Donna McClelland have identified some individual painters through their portrayal of human anatomy or animal attributes; however these representations still adhere closely to the predominant conventions of iconography. Donnan and McClelland, *Moche Fineline Painting: Its Evolution and its Artists*; McClelland, *Moche Fineline Paintings from San José de Moro*.

<sup>62</sup> Castillo and Donnan, "Los Mochicas del Norte y los Mochicas del Sur."

code meant to carry specific meanings across polities. Interpretation of this code points towards the assumptions and cultural concepts of the elites who commissioned the images; that is, their ideal of the way the world *should be*, rather than the way the world *was*. In much the same way that one could understand something of Florentine elite attitudes and ideals by examining all the paintings commissioned by the Medici, one can access the attitudes and ideals of the Moche elite by studying the corpus of works produced at their behest. Instead of being “unconsciously qualified by one personality, and condensed into one work,”<sup>63</sup> we gain a different, but equally useful view which departs from the Western ideal of singular, creative genius—itsself often a myth.

Bearing in mind the atextual nature of Andean culture, images take on increasing importance in conveying information. They serve as a mnemonic device for oral culture in addition to their existence as descriptive and allusive illustrations.<sup>64</sup> Rosemary Joyce notes that in the Classic Maya, images were “composed by the selection of representative elements...[which] distilled narrative into a ‘pregnant moment,’”<sup>65</sup> much like the temporally-layered representations of themes in Moche art, and the larger narrative that links warfare with sacrifice (the Warrior Narrative).<sup>66</sup> Rather than simply choose one moment, the Moche sometimes strung multiple “pregnant moments,” together, as in the Burial Theme<sup>67</sup>, and in others depicted individuals who could be a part of “pregnant moments” in more than one

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<sup>63</sup> Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology," 30.

<sup>64</sup> Anita G. Cook, "The Stone Ancestors: Idioms of Imperial Attire and Rank Among Huari Figurines," *Latin American Antiquity* 3, no. 4 (1992): 342.

<sup>65</sup> Rosemary Joyce, "Construction of Gender in Classic Maya Monuments," in *Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Rita P. Wright (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 176-178.

<sup>66</sup> Christopher Donnan and Donna McClelland, *The Burial Theme in Moche Iconography*, Studies in Pre-Columbian Art & Archaeology (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1979).

<sup>67</sup> The Burial Theme and the Warrior Narrative are two clusters of iconographic elements identified by Moche scholars. Donnan takes a thematic approach, using this term to identify elements of a particular event as they appear throughout the iconography. Quilter focuses on narrative as a unifying element, clustering the adherent meanings of warrior representations into the overarching Warrior Narrative. Both of these approaches consist of identifying clusters of related iconography and exploring the relationships between the variations of depiction, so that the Theme or Narrative as identified is a *langue*, and each instance of representation a *parole*.

narrative. This created what could be called a “nexus of thought,” in which certain characters or actions were connected, not to a single linear narrative, but to a series of narratives or ritual actions which were condensed into the “pregnant moment(s)” of a single representation. So, as the Sacrifice Ceremony shows simultaneously the sacrifice of the prisoners and the drinking of their blood, the Burial Theme shows the moment of interment as well as the rituals surrounding it in a single scene. In turn, the figures depicted in these scenes appear elsewhere: the Mythical Feminine Personage of the Burial Theme is also a prominent feature of the Tule Boat Theme, and the Warrior Priest of the Sacrifice Ceremony is seen in depictions of battles between supernatural beings and in iconic representations of the harvest. To represent a character or a moment from one narrative is to evoke all the others, placing the representation at the center of a web rather than at a point along a line (or rather, in a point along many intersecting lines). These associated narratives, beliefs, and practices are what Kubler called the “adherent meanings” of material culture, conventional meanings which were “richly clustered” in art objects.<sup>68</sup> Other scholars have noted the same configuration of iconography and belief, referring to these “cultural bundles of meaning” as configurations, patterns or themes.<sup>69</sup> The adherent meanings of warriorhood and warfare were interwoven with the adherent meanings surrounding death, and there were similar sets of adherent meanings surrounding other important aspects of Moche life.

The implication of narrative(s) in these “pregnant moments” necessitates the existence of codes of expression that can be communicated in this manner. Visual meaning is not solely conveyed through a “distilled narrative,” the narrative itself is dependent upon

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<sup>68</sup> George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1962), 26.

<sup>69</sup> Christopher Carr, "Mortuary Practices: Their Social, Philosophical-Religious, Circumstantial, and Physical Determinants," *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 2, no. 2 (1995): 193-194. “‘Configurations’ (Kroeber, 1963), ‘patterns’ (Benedict, 1934), and ‘themes’ (Emerson, 1989, p. 47).”

an iconographic code. For the narrative to exist, to be comprehensible, requires that the characters are recognizable and known to the audience. These characters are constructed semiotically through their appearance: through the costumes they wear, their postures, and items which are associated with them.

The validity and authority of iconographic representation could travel much further in both distance and time than costume itself. It bore the message of the ruling elite's authority to lesser elites and commoners, as well as to the inhabitants of the world after death. Articles of costume buried with the dead were themselves invested with meaning, as the ritual garments worn by the High Priest, the Priestess, and other high elites participating in public ceremonies alluded to the spiritual sanction of the person who wore them, and may have made them into avatars of the gods they represented. The costumes themselves were not just symbols of the elites ability to cross into the spirit world, they were the vehicles for the crossing. Including *representations* of the clothing on ceramics, sometimes appearing as part of a complex scene that provided narrative and associative context, allowed the place of these actors in the "distilled narrative" to be carried by the deceased into the afterlife, providing the basis of the authority they both represented and embodied.

This message of authority could be placed with individuals who had no direct relation to the iconography on the vessels, and could in fact be seen as a way of projecting subjugation to the order and ideology represented on the ceramics into the afterlife. Graves, in this sense, were a staged performance of the values of the culture, set in an ideal form as a communication with both the world of the dead<sup>70</sup> and those who participated in the burial.

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<sup>70</sup> The idea of an existence beyond death is apparent in Moche art; this world of the dead is inhabited mostly by skeletonized humans and animals. The spirit world inhabited by supernatural beings (when they are not placed in the world of living humans) appears similar but the two are not necessarily the same; they do not seem to overlap. The generalized Other Side or Other World of the shamanic complex, in which the ritual specialist

One can approach the burial as a performance which persists, “where the status quo is projected into the timeless world of the supernatural, naturalizing and normalizing the identities and inequalities that make up social organization.”<sup>71</sup> The construction of the grave as a performance included the fixing notion of ideal forms as well, creating not a reflection of the world as it was, but as it was supposed to be.<sup>72</sup> The recognizable pattern of Moche burials, including the placement of fine ceramics with complex iconography in Moche elite burials, is evidence of this level of performance and assertion of the cultural status quo, not only to the lower classes, who may or may not have been included in the funerary ritual, but to the elites themselves as well. The social differences manifested in the iconography were not only vertical but horizontal, and reinforced cultural beliefs such as the relative status of women within an elite class.

This theme of the grave as an eternal performance of social structure is also related to Judith Butler’s concept of gender as performative, rather than an essential element of identity, and which is also “the very apparatus of production whereby the sexes themselves are established.”<sup>73</sup> If, as she notes, gender is inextricable from the construction of race, class, and other identities,<sup>74</sup> then the construction of the grave as an eternal performance of social structure includes an eternal performance of the construction of gender as well. This attempt at fixing, concretizing, and immortalizing (in this world and the Other) the otherwise ephemeral performance of Moche identity is aimed at subverting Butler’s assertion that

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communicates with the spirit forms of animals, plants, and geographic features, is also alluded to within the art. Moche rituals seem to have formed contact with these worlds, but not necessarily all of them at each ritual.

<sup>71</sup> Colleen Donley, "Late Moche Burials in San Jose de Moro," in *Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques (Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Cultura Mochica, Lima 4 y 5 de agosto 2004)*, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo, et al. (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008), 121.

<sup>72</sup> Carr, "Mortuary Practices," 112.

<sup>73</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, ed. Linda J. Nicholson (New York: Routledge, 1990), 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

“gender ought not to be conceived as a noun or a substantial thing or a static cultural marker, but rather as an incessant and repeated action of some sort.”<sup>75</sup> Not just gender, but all of Moche elite identity was distilled into the signifiers of iconography, and placed in the grave as an “incessant action” which could persist forever in time. It was an attempt at making the conditional essential. For if the elite could secure the persistence of their ideology in time, their claim to authority would persist as well.

### **A Semiotic Approach to Moche Ceramics**

*The study of iconology leads ineluctably to the study of semiotics...*<sup>76</sup>

In speaking of what a work of art “betrays but does not parade,” Panofsky was referencing the work of Charles Peirce, one of the fathers of semiotics. Semiotics originated in linguistics, and there are several main branches of semiotic study developed since its inception and rise in popularity. The field of semiotics deals with the sign as a primary unit, which is composed of “the signifier (its physical form) and what is signified (the mental concept or associations that arise). Any meaning generated by the sign emerges from the subconscious or automatic relationship of these parts, which is usually arbitrary and culturally relative rather than fixed.”<sup>77</sup> According to Malcolm Barnard, then, a code is the agreed-upon set of meanings that connect signifiers with what they signify.<sup>78</sup>

Barnard further notes that there is more than one level of signified meaning, and this split correlates to Panofsky’s distinctions of subject matter: there is the denotative, which is

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 112.

<sup>76</sup> Prown, “Mind in Matter,” 12.

<sup>77</sup> Christopher Breward, “Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress,” *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* 4(1988): 306.

<sup>78</sup> Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion As Communication* (London: New York, 1996), 82.



the literal or common-sense meaning of a signified (what would correlate to Panofsky's primary "natural" subject matter), and there is also the connotative meaning, that which is associated with the signified indirectly by the perceiver (similar to Panofsky's secondary, or conventional subject matter, which searches for the literary basis for pictorial imagery).<sup>79</sup> To that end, "any item of nature, technology, or everyday use can become a sign whenever it acquires meaning beyond the bounds of its individual existence as a thing in and of itself."<sup>80</sup>

In Moche art, for example, several objects have become associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony and its related elements. The *ulluchu*, a fruit which is often depicted floating in sacrificial scenes, indicates the sacrifice when it appears elsewhere: as a design on a warrior's belt ornaments, for example. A more subtle example is a design sometimes painted or incised on the faces of individuals in Moche art, which at first looks like an abstract geometric design (Figs. 16 and 17).<sup>81</sup> It has been demonstrated, however, that this is in fact a representation of the pupae of muscoid flies, which inhabit the body during decomposition. The placement of the design is important as well, as the lower jaw is sometimes found disarticulated from the skull in deposits of sacrificial victims. Combining these two associations, Steve Bourget was able to show that these designs, usually seen on individuals outside of the narrative sacrificial scenes, are referencing them nonetheless. He goes on to argue that this reference is not only to the ritual performance of the ceremony itself, but to the conceptual place of these individuals in a space between life and death.<sup>82</sup> This is, essentially, a semiotic analysis.

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 84-85; Panofsky, "Iconography and Iconology," 40-41.

<sup>80</sup> Petr Bogatyrev, "Costume as a Sign (The Functional and Structural Concept of Costume in Ethnography)," in *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, ed. Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976), 14.

<sup>81</sup> Steve Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice in Moche Religion and Visual Culture* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2006), 86.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

Semiotics recognizes the richness of visual representation, and the polysemy possible in the visual field, a concept which is somewhat more vague in Panofsky's work. Semiotics helps concretize Panofsky's concept that works of art are autonomous aesthetic objects, but they and their subject matter also have culturally dictated connotations and associations, which create a second layer of meaning both for the objects and their representation. The decisions made by the artist, in terms of composition and naturalism, also create a level of meaning within the work of art.<sup>83</sup>

Charles Peirce did not directly address the issue of art and its relationship to semiotics. However, his semiotic model was presented not as a theory of language, but of knowledge,<sup>84</sup> which opens the possibility of applying it to images, as Panofsky saw. It also can be applied to material culture in general, and this possibility has been seized upon by a number of scholars. Zygmunt Bauman specifically noted the use of clothes and ornament as a culturally signifying system, calling them part of the practices that balance "the semiotic poverty of the human body."<sup>85</sup> He regarded most aspects of culture to be semiotic, involved in generating categories of distinction that create class, group identity, and the delimitation of norms through ritual inversion.<sup>86</sup> Barnard concurs, regarding clothing in a context of codes that has a shared meaning given to otherwise neutral items that define membership in the social group.<sup>87</sup> By acknowledging the semiotic potential of not just clothing but of material culture and ritual, these scholars have created a framework in which the *representation* of

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<sup>83</sup> Bogyatyrev, "Costume as a Sign," 9.

<sup>84</sup> Alexander Bauer, "Is What You See All You Get? Recognizing Meaning in Archaeology," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2, no. 1 (2002): 41.

<sup>85</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, "Semiotics and The Function of Culture," *Social Science Information* 7, no. 5 (1968): 72.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*: 73.

<sup>87</sup> Barnard, *Fashion As Communication*, 40,81-42.

costume by a culture (especially taking into account Joyce's idea of the "distilled narrative") can be regarded as a culturally coded communication in itself.

As mentioned above, it has been noted that it is possible to speak of "identity" as a type rather than as a denotation of individuality.<sup>88</sup> By this token, one could propose that the representation of costume within a prescribed set of parameters is in itself the presentation of "types" which are culturally coded and communicative not only of the items detailed in the representation, but of the effect created by the whole ensemble. As Bal notes, "The sign ... stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea..."<sup>89</sup> This relates to the example of the Byzantine royal garment mentioned in the chapter on costume (p. 57); it was an object which, in representation, stood not for the garment itself but for the political body of the Emperor as personification of the Empire.

The present study uses these methods of analysis, iconography and semiotics, to understand the creation of social and ideological types within a representational context in Moche art. Iconography creates the basis for the semiotic analysis, forming a series of visual codes which may be interpreted. It is taken as given that the Moche, like other cultures, used artistic representation as a mode of communication, and that this communication was predicated upon a common social code that allowed for the relatively consistent interpretation of visual images. As a corollary to this, it is assumed that dress was also part of a common social code, and its representation in art created a dialogue between codes of dress and these representations.

For example, the characters of the Sacrifice Ceremony have been identified in individual graves in disparate sites throughout the Moche sphere of occupation. The

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<sup>88</sup> Donald Pollock, "Masks and the Semiotics of Identity," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Association* 1, no. 3 (1995): 582.

<sup>89</sup> Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *The Art Bulletin* 73, no. 2 (1991): 188.

correlation between their depiction in the art and the ensembles of dress and ornament in their graves made this identification possible. It also became clear in the case of the Warrior Priest at Sipán and the Priestess at San José de Moro that there had been more than one individual person who had worn this costume through time.<sup>90</sup> There are multiple graves at both sites containing similar ensembles from different time periods. Thus, while the precise nature of the costume's meaning may be debated—as clothing for priests, deity impersonators, actors, or some combination thereof—the “type” of their character was established through a standardized ensemble of clothing elements, which was then transformed into representation in art. It should be noted at this point that, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, the use of costume to create the type included the concept of the costume itself, in a circular fashion, signaling the essence of the wearer and in a sense transforming that person to the type. Donnan refers to this as the “role” taken by individuals but depicted in an archetypal manner in the art.<sup>91</sup> This correlates to the idea of difference/différance in Derrida's work, where the creation of types through the depiction of costumes creates the space in which signification can take place; as we shall see in Chapter 6, the deliberate erasure of some spaces of difference—the creation of ambiguity—can produce its own powerful signification.<sup>92</sup>

Having a basis in a socially accepted code relates the study of representations to another aspect of semiotics: the Saussurean definitions of *langue* and *parole*, where *langue* is the collective, systemic norm of a language and *parole* is the individual utterance which

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<sup>90</sup> Donnan, "Moche State Religion," 14-15.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*: 4.

<sup>92</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Corrected ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 66,69; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Translator's Preface," in *Of Grammatology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), xvii, xlii.

relies upon the *langue* for its expressive capability.<sup>93</sup> It is possible, then, to extend the *langue/parole* distinction to material culture and visual iconography.<sup>94</sup> How the Moche visual *langue* functioned, what constituted its “vocabulary,” and how the visual *parole* of individual pieces and polity styles fit into the social existence of the Moche are some of the questions this study aims to answer.

Although there are fundamental differences between Panofsky’s theories and the theories of semiotics used to analyze visual culture, as indicated above the two are not incompatible.<sup>95</sup> Panofsky strove to outline a system of art analysis that could be valid at varying levels of description and interpretation. As Christine Hasenmueller points out, Panofsky’s iconography deals with “signifying” representations and their “signified” meanings. In this manner his method is congruent with semiotic studies. However, the divergence comes in terms of two central issues: the nature of images and the nature of culture. Panofsky’s method relies to a great extent on the relationship between intellectual culture as expressed in literature and its manifestation in images. Although his famous example of a man tipping his hat requires no literary knowledge whatsoever to decode, iconographic analysis as practiced was founded on “Panofsky’s definition of an *image* as a conventional association of *motif* and literary content.”<sup>96</sup> In this instance, usage of the conventional in iconography was conscious on the part of the artist, as opposed to Panofsky’s definition of iconology, which was “essential [and] unconscious.”<sup>97</sup> The relationship between the conscious iconography and the unconscious iconology is somewhat like the

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<sup>93</sup> Christopher Tilley, *Material Culture and Text* (London: Routledge, 1991), 17-18. This use of *langue/parole* is not alien to the study of culture. Marcel Griaule, in his early study of Dogon culture, used these definitions in his analysis of that culture’s cosmological thought.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-19.

<sup>95</sup> Christine Hasenmueller, "Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 36, no. 3 (1978): 290.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, italics original.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*: 291.

relationship between *langue* and *parole*, in that iconography can be seen as an utterance of the unspoken Gestalt that is the *parole* which iconology identifies. Panofsky was uncomfortable with the practical exposition of iconology, and text-based iconography was presented as the holder of “meaning” in art.<sup>98</sup> “In Panofsky, the aim of a historical interpretation is confined to the revelation of rules and cognitive codes bonding an actual image to the totality of culture.”<sup>99</sup> This was in spite of the fact that Panofsky acknowledged the divergence between literary imagery and visual imagery,<sup>100</sup> as well as the fact that the literary “root” of an image might be found which, while having no direct link to the artist, could still be said to “exist at an unconscious level and...function as a profound motivational force.”<sup>101</sup> It is interesting, then, that semiotics—a literary methodology which only of late has concerned itself with visual signs—would provide a counterpoint to Panofsky’s reticence in dealing with images divested or independent of text. Semiotics also fulfills Panofsky’s requirement for another analytical method with which to interpret iconography in order to “solve the riddle of the sphinx:” to understand the subtle cultural meanings borne in the iconography.<sup>102</sup>

The meaning of a work of art spreads far beyond the physical object itself. It exists in a web of signification, from the materials with which it was made, to the iconography it bears, to the context of its use and final resting place. All of these aspects must be taken into

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid.: 294. “There is, however, admittedly some danger that iconology will behave, not like ethnology as opposed to ethnography, but like astrology as opposed to astrography.” Panofsky, “Iconography and Iconology,” 32.

<sup>99</sup> Eduardo Neiva, “An Argument Against the Conventionalist Interpretation of Images,” *The American Journal of Semiotics* 17, no. 3 (2001): 71.

<sup>100</sup> Hasenmueller, “Panofsky, Iconography, and Semiotics,” 295.

<sup>101</sup> Giulio Carlo Argan and Rebecca West, “Ideology and Iconology,” *Critical Inquiry* 2, no. 2 (1975): 303.

<sup>102</sup> “It is because of these severe restrictions which common usage, especially in this country, places upon the term “iconography” that I propose to revive the good old word “iconology” wherever iconography is taken out of its isolation and integrated with whatever other method, historical, psychological, or critical, we may attempt to use in solving the riddle of the sphinx...So I conceive of iconology as an iconography turned interpretative and thus becoming an integral part of the study of art instead of being confined to the role of a preliminary statistical survey.” Panofsky, “Iconography and Iconology,” 32.

account when examining a work of art, to better understand not only the work itself but to contribute to the understanding of the society which produced it. Using the methods for understanding signification provided by semiotics, it is possible to understand the aspects of Moche culture which it “betrays” within the aspects which the art “parades,” and to understand an aspect of Moche culture through its art which is unattainable through, and in some ways separate from, archaeological evidence alone.

### CHAPTER 3

## COSTUME THEORY, TEXTILES, AND DRESS IN THE ANCIENT ANDES

*The wearing of an item of clothing is fundamentally an act of meaning that goes beyond modesty, ornamentation and protection. It is an act of signification and therefore a profoundly social act right at the very heart of the dialectic of society.*<sup>1</sup>

### Terms and Definitions

For the purposes of this study, I will narrow the uses of certain terms which otherwise have imprecise meanings. *Garment* will refer to an article of textile clothing worn on the body, such as tunics, loincloths, and mantles. *Adornment* will be defined as any item added directly on to a textile garment, such as an appliqué or metal disks on a headdress. *Ornament* will refer specifically to items of jewelry, tattooing/face paint, and any other item of the ensemble of appearance which is not covered by garment and adornment. This will include nose and ear ornaments, metal headdresses, and multimedia constructions such as a bird-effigy head circlet which includes textile but is primarily made from cane and feathers. I have collapsed all of these into one category as accessories to the foundation of the garment/adornment ensemble. *Costume* refers to the total ensemble of garments, adornment, and ornament. *Dress* will serve as a synonym of costume, and unless specified shall not refer to a specific type of garment (i.e., a long garment mainly worn by women in Western society). *Image-clothing*, a term coined by Roland Barthes,<sup>2</sup> refers to clothing in visual representation.

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<sup>1</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Language of Fashion*, trans. Andy Stafford (United Kingdom: Berg, 2004), 97.

<sup>2</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 8.



### Costume and Fashion Theory: The Meaning of Dress

Modern costume and fashion theory has centered primarily on the conception of fashion in Western culture. While ancient Andean culture may not appear to have much in common with contemporary Western fashion, with its emphasis on individual expression and fast-changing style, there is nonetheless a great deal that can be applied to non-Western cultures, especially in terms of communicating the status and gender identity of an individual, as well as the modes of representation of costume. As formulated by the semiologist Roland Barthes, fashion theory asserts that clothing communicates a person's social identity through the type and arrangement of his or her costume ensemble. For Barthes, this meant the equivalence of printed fabric with the social milieu of a day at the races in one fashion season, or woollens with the life of leisure lived by those who spent weekends in the country in another.<sup>3</sup> For a study of the Moche it inheres in the equivalence of a loincloth with masculinity throughout the Moche era, or the foreignness denoted by the use of shoulder pins (*ticpis*) on a woman's garment.

Since both are socially communicative media, many scholars see comparisons between the assemblage of costume and the construction of language.<sup>4</sup> However, it is important to approach costume as a communication that is more multivalent and less precise than language, able to convey a gestalt of meaning rather than a significance encoded with a one-for-one equivalency.<sup>5</sup> This is due to two factors: the ensemble of costume items itself is additive, layered, and therefore multivalent; and the grasp of costume is visual, and so non-linear, apprehended and comprehended in a single moment. This does not mean that there is

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 15,18.

<sup>4</sup> Barnard, *Fashion As Communication*, 29; Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 4; Benson, "Garments"; Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, 1st ed. (New York: Random House, 1981), 5.

<sup>5</sup> Margot Blum Schevill and E.M. Franquemont, *Costume as Communication* (Bristol, RI: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, 1986), 84.

no way to determine some of the meanings of individual garments. Just as a running shoe denotes not only an athlete, but a particular kind of athlete when paired with shorts and singlet, a shirt that reveals a loincloth may denote not only a man but a warrior in Moche art, if paired with the right accessories. What does emerge, however, is that any simple meanings that accrue to individual articles of clothing, adornment or ornamentation are part of a larger construction of meaning that cannot be directly, simply, or plainly articulated through language. Costume is, like music, “expressive in an indirect and allusive way.”<sup>6</sup> Costume also speaks in an expansive voice: “Just as the average English-speaking person knows many more words than he or she will ever use in conversation, so all of us are able to understand the meaning of styles we will never wear.”<sup>7</sup> If an individual’s costume follows the system of clothing within a society, or by breaking its rules engages in conversation with the system, it will be understood by other members of the society, even those who would never, for whatever reason, wear that costume.

Roland Barthes wrote a comprehensive dissection of costume, *The Fashion System*, which centered on the commercial production and consumption of clothing in 1960s France.<sup>8</sup> In his analysis, he relied heavily on the *representation* of costume (the visual aspect of which is referred to as “image-clothing”) in fashion magazines. He found that a system for creating fashion depended upon the manipulation of objects (items of costume such as skirts, hats, and blouses) and their materials (such as silks and woolens) so that they referred in an allusive manner to either concepts in the world (iconic places or activities that often signified status and the activities of the rich) or to the conceptual construct of fashion itself as an (elusive and

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<sup>6</sup> Ann Pollard Rowe, *Costume and Identity in Highland Ecuador* (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1998), 40.

<sup>7</sup> Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, 5.

<sup>8</sup> Barthes, *The Fashion System*.

ever-changing) ideal. Representation of costume is likewise the topic of this study, as actual examples of Moche dress, especially textile elements, have not survived in sufficient numbers to study on their own. Examining these representations also allows us to approach Moche costume as a system of what Barthes calls “myth-making:” production of social knowledge and meaning through the manipulation of the sign.<sup>9</sup> The study of fashion has acknowledged that images and articles of clothing are both capable of being signs. They create meaning in relationship to other signs in a culturally specific, relative way.<sup>10</sup> By using semiotic theory to understand the representation of clothing, I acknowledge the semiotic nature of clothing itself as well.

Within the semiotic system the sign is broken into its two component parts: the signifier, or physical part of the sign (the sound of a word or the physical aspects of a garment), and the signified, which is the mental concept that has been attached to the signifier.<sup>11</sup> While Saussurean semiotics might tend to treat the relationship between signified and signifier as a code, which implies in some sense a one-to-one relationship, it is better in the case of costume to use what Barnard refers to as the connotative meaning, the “second order of signification.”<sup>12</sup> Connotation is concerned not with a direct definition of the signified, but rather how the signifier makes one think, or the associations that a word or image has. It is related to the complex web of connections between ideas in a society, and is unique to that society. As an example, the word “apple” signifies the fruit of a specific family of trees. “Apple,” however, may also bring to mind the story of Adam and Eve and its themes of disobedience, sin, and the perils of knowledge, the desire to stay healthy (“an

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<sup>9</sup> Breward, "Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning a Cultural Approach to Dress," 306.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Barnard, *Fashion As Communication*, 81.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 85.

apple a day”), one’s love of pie, a Magritte painting, or the music of the Beatles. All of the associations which are not strictly about the fruit signified by the word are connotations, and these connotations have the ability to be selectively called to mind by the context of the signifier. This is important to the construction of gender through clothing, as it is “part of the process by which attitudes to and images of both men and women are created and reproduced.”<sup>13</sup> We can then construe sex and gender as part of the connotative signified of a sartorial sign; in other words a particular garment or costume can signify whether its wearer is male or female, and to some extent their relative level of masculinity or femininity. For example, in modern Western culture different kinds of skirts and dresses are all considered markers of femininity (unlike pants which can be worn by either sex). However, a pink, frilly dress has a much higher connoted level of culturally idealized femininity than a “power suit” from the 1980s. In Moche representations a long tunic, sometimes belted, is one signifier of femininity. Adding braided hair to that representation then alludes to ideals of feminine adulthood, including sexual maturity. The representation of costumes fixes the meaning inherent in the ensemble in a manner that is not possible with the actual costume objects, which move when worn, corrode over time when stored or buried, and otherwise depart from their ideal appearance. The person wearing the costume can also deviate from the ideals embodied within the costume, creating contradiction. Dealing with the representation of costume is then a way of engaging with the fixed, idealized aspects of its meaning, as well as the idealized identity it creates for the person depicted wearing it. Moche art, as a product of a strict control by the elites that is demonstrable across time and space, represents such an idealized vision in the same way the fashion photographs of 1960s Paris created idealized personas. In order to sell the clothing in the photographs, these

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<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth Rouse, *Understanding Fashion*, 1989, quoted in *Ibid.*, 117.

personas were added as a connotation which could be purchased and donned as a companion to the garment. Moche depictions of garments also created personas, existing at the level of the ideal but meant to persist in the lived world as well.

Certain ensembles have been shown to be worn in real life by members of the Moche high elite, having been recovered archaeologically. While the actual garments, adornments and ornaments of the costume carried their own semiotic message, this study concentrates instead on the semiotics of how these costumes were translated into representation and then manipulated. It is assumed that in Moche culture, as in others, there was a slippage between real costume as worn and the representation of it. This slippage allows for alteration, intensification, or flexion of meaning that may not have been present in the ensemble as worn. It also allows for the represented clothing to act as a metonym for the ideal role performed by the person shown inhabiting it, and indeed may act as a signifier of that role devoid of an actual person at all. Further, it allows for the creation of a ubiquity of presence, generated through the visual repetition of costume ensembles. High-status garments designed for the strong communication of social information can be uncomfortable and difficult to move in, making them more practical in representation than in physical use.<sup>14</sup> By representing the costume on multiple occasions, it is made to look more commonly worn, and thus more naturally a part of the social existence of the wearer. It becomes a statement of fact.<sup>15</sup>

Hollander deals specifically with the idealization and the reification of identity through the representation of clothing in art, saying that the clothed figure appears “more

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<sup>14</sup> Karen Olsen Bruhns, "Yesterday the Queen Wore...An Analysis of Women and Costume in the Public Art of the Late Classic Maya," in *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988), 107, 116.

<sup>15</sup> Adorno, "Visual Mediation in the Transition from Oral to Written Expression," 185; Roland Barthes, "Myth Today," in *Mythologies* (USA: Hill and Wang, 1972), 124, 131.

persuasive and comprehensible” in representation than it does in life.<sup>16</sup> The purpose of representation is to both create and represent the “natural” appearance of the body for that time.<sup>17</sup> By creating this sense of what is “natural,” that is, what is inherently correct in the worldview of a particular society, the ideas and ideals communicated by the representation of dress gain authority. This grounds the messages of costume in necessity and makes compliance with the sartorial code more difficult to break. In contemporary Western society, fashions change so quickly that it is often difficult to determine the fashion-breaker from the fashion-maker. In a more conservative, collective society, variations from the norm would be easier to notice, if not easier to categorize. Changes in dress often signaled change in status, be it sociopolitical, gender, or age-related.

As such, costume can be used to announce and maintain group affiliation or emphasize differences between members of the same group. While an individual may wear his or her dress in a way that is not entirely consistent with the ideals held by a society, if it does not conform enough it will be viewed as a transgression of, rather than a compliance with the societal code. Using the example of *langue* and *parole* discussed in the Methodology section, it is possible to see individual costume as the *parole*, an utterance of the “speech” of dress, and the representational ideal as its *langue*. By making personal distinctions an individual can assert an amount of personal identity, such as through variations in color choices in a tunic, but at the same time they must, to retain their association with the larger social group, conform in other ways, such as the weave structure or design pattern of the same tunic. These variations must be observed closely to understand their meaning: if one were to observe a group of men in military uniform, one might note that

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<sup>16</sup> Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (New York: Avon, 1980), xi.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, xii,xv.

some have differing medals and other insignia on their clothes, though the garments themselves are the same. The difference between insignia that designate a soldier's rank, and medals and other adornments which signify personal history (tours of duty, awards for personal bravery, etc.) is not apparent to the uneducated observer. It would be apparent that *some kind* of signification was taking place, but it would take analysis of the ways in which these costume elements vary in order to understand the difference between rank insignia and medals. All of these adornments, however, could be understood together with their garments as designating their wearer as part of a larger group, and creating an ideal identity based upon what they represent.

Likewise, in society it is through distinguishing elements of costume that identities of gender, status and role are expressed.<sup>18</sup> In public, where social groups will mix, a person is more likely to wear specific garments that announce status, role, and gender.<sup>19</sup> In highly stratified societies with traditions of reverence for the ruler, to see the monarch before he is dressed, or while he is donning his costume of office, is considered a great honor, as in the court of Versailles. That the ruler is most often seen in such a state by other elites and members of his own family reinforces the closed social nature of appearing without the costume of rank. This tendency further elucidates the communicative nature of clothing: when among those outside your social circle, a costume that communicates these concepts is necessary, as the identity of rank is in the clothing more than in the person. The representation of costume can act as such an identifier among strangers, be they members of the social group, a political state, or partially integrated groups at the periphery of a sphere of influence.

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<sup>18</sup> Barnard, *Fashion As Communication*, 42, 62.

<sup>19</sup> Dicey Taylor, "Classic Maya Costume: Regional Types of Dress" (Dissertation, Yale University, 1983), 13.

As noted in Chapter 4, identities of gender in the ancient Americas embraced at least three categories: masculine, feminine, and ambiguous gender. Status and role can be elusive in their categories, as they can relate to different fields of activity, and can vary according to which subset of society they are related. Warriors could have differing statuses relative to one another, for example, and elite women might have less status among men of their own social class but have greater status than men of the classes below theirs. It is important, then, when studying the representation of dress, to remember that this representation is a reiteration not necessarily of the items of clothing themselves but the systems of social structure to which they were attached.

Other art historical fields have provided examples of the way in which art, especially art as controlled by an elite or segment of elites, constructs ideals of identity that include status, role, and gender in their depiction. Ancient Egypt and the Byzantine Empire are far removed from the Moche in both time and place, but both present specific cases of identity creation, and the slippages between representation and lived reality within a culture. Texts and representations from ancient Egypt both serve the purpose of presenting the ideals of individuals, rather than the individuals themselves.<sup>20</sup> Representations were meant to perpetuate the idealized existence of a person, and frequently omitted aspects of everyday life that did not fit these ideals. For example, high-status Egyptian women are often depicted in art wearing tight-fitting, sleeveless dresses. However, it is known that not only were the real garments less fitted, they often had detachable sleeves which could be donned in cold weather.<sup>21</sup> Some of the more elaborate Pharaonic crowns depicted in the art may never have

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<sup>20</sup> Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), 13-14.

<sup>21</sup> Gay Robins, personal communication. March 21, 2008.



existed physically at all, and were solely the province of representation.<sup>22</sup> Jennifer Ball, in her study of the representation of Byzantine dress, noted one special garment which, while it did physically exist, was actually worn infrequently but yet often depicted as a metonym for the empire.<sup>23</sup> The frequency with which an element of costume is represented may have little to do with the frequency of its use, but everything to do with the importance of what the element signified. These examples serve as a reminder that taking representation of dress as a proof of dress itself is difficult at best,<sup>24</sup> and that this study is of the *representation* of costume, and how those representations were used to make meaning, and not of the costumes themselves. In fact, Ball notes that the dress of the working class as depicted in Byzantine art is schematic and only loosely related to the reality of the garments they depict, a trend followed in ancient Egypt as well. It appears that in Moche art the same holds true: richness of depiction is reserved for the costumes of the highest-status individuals, and those below them are depicted with much less detail. This does not necessarily create greater accuracy in the representation of elite dress; it is more that the elite are depicted with a greater number of signs on their person, the number of signs indicating their greater status. The pictorial elaboration of costume is as important as the depiction of the costume itself. The formal artistic aspects of a representation: color, form, relative naturalism, minimal or elaborate detail, etc., may constitute their own signs of status and importance.

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<sup>22</sup> Gay Robins, personal communication. June 2, 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Jennifer L. Ball, "Byzantine Dress" (Dissertation, New York University, 2001), 23.

<sup>24</sup> Irene Good, "Archaeological Textiles: A Review of Current Research," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30(2001): 216.

## Roland Barthes and the Semiotics of Fashion

Roland Barthes wrote *The Fashion System* in 1967, analyzing the way in which the language of fashion magazines created a system of communication that was allusive, complex, and self-sustaining.<sup>25</sup> While Barthes focused on the descriptive and declarative language of the magazines, he noted the importance of photography (and therefore images) to the system of fashion communication. Fashion photographs are acknowledged to have their own communicative rules, which are separate from photographs taken for other purposes.<sup>26</sup> Barthes struggled somewhat, however, with the relationship between text and image: “Rationalization of the sign (i.e., making it into a function) is possible only through a language (it is a connotation), and this is the point of written Fashion: the phenomenon is not found in iconic language (photographs, drawings) except when the setting communicates the garment’s function...”<sup>27</sup> He seems to eventually settle on the idea of the photograph as “only” denotative, while fashion illustrations, because of their style, are “an openly cultural code.”<sup>28</sup> Here he lays the groundwork for considering fashion as represented in image similar to fashion represented in text. If the fashion drawing is “openly cultural,” then we may by analogy assert that painting on and modeling in ceramic are also an “openly cultural code” of communication about fashion. We have passed to the level of connotation through the use of a medium which lacks the veracity and inclusiveness Barthes bestowed upon photographs: “A photograph is both an icon and an index; it is like an icon with a seal of approval, or, as Barthes calls it, a ‘certificate of presence.’”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Originally published in French as *Système de la Mode*.

<sup>26</sup> Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 4.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>29</sup> Margaret Olin, "Touching Photographs: Roland Barthes's "Mistaken" Identification," *Representations*, no. 80 (2002): 100.

If, along with the acceptance of representation as cultural code, we are able to leave behind the logocentric view that determines textual description as “truer” than images, it is possible to treat images which depict clothing as a sophisticated semiotic system. Barthes discusses the relationship between the actual garment and its representation: “‘Real’ clothing is burdened with practical considerations (protection, modesty, adornment); these finalities disappear from ‘represented’ clothing, which no longer serves to protect, to cover, or to adorn, but at most to *signify* protection, modesty, or adornment (emphasis added).”<sup>30</sup>

He goes on to argue that “image-clothing” (that is, the visual representation of a garment) is complicated through its practical or aesthetic function; he contends that only “written clothing” is divested of these burdens and is “entirely constituted with a view to signification.”<sup>31</sup> He also contends that language is able to “immobilize perception” of a garment or costume, fixing the attention of the reader on a certain significant aspect of it.<sup>32</sup> This ability to focus the perception of the reader on a particular aspect or aspects is, he contends, in contrast to the inclusiveness and uncertainty of the visual image. It could be argued, however, that just as images have an aesthetic function, so does language, and that like visual art, language both communicates information and connotes a complex matrix of cultural sentiment. If we look at the shift in relative complexity from the all-inclusive photograph to the selectively created sculpted/painted image there is a focusing function which performs a “fixing” effect. I argue that the visual and the verbal are not as different in quality as Barthes contends, but rather they are different in kind. And while it has been demonstrated by Christopher Donnan<sup>33</sup> that a few individual Moche fineline painters can be

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<sup>30</sup> Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>33</sup> Donnan and McClelland, *Moche Fineline Painting: Its Evolution and its Artists*.

identified stylistically, their role in the production of iconography appears to have been limited. Archaeological evidence has shown that the finer arts of Moche life—high-quality decorated ceramics, jewelry, fine textiles, etc.—were tightly controlled by the ruling elite.<sup>34</sup> Archaeological evidence indicates that it is much more likely that the high elites of the Moche were the visual specialists who determined the iconographic content of their art, rather than the artists themselves, as has been demonstrated in other cultures.<sup>35</sup> This would again contribute to the “fixing” function of representation in Moche art.

Barthes begins with the “technological structure” of the garment itself, and regards this structure as deriving from in essence a *langue* for the garment, of which individual instances of the garment are its *parole*. The other structures associated with a garment are the iconic and the verbal, which are transformations from the purely technological garment into representations.<sup>36</sup> This transformation is affected through “shifters,” which make the transition “from the real to the image, from the real to language, and from the image to language.”<sup>37</sup> Barthes notes the ability of fashion magazines to present a simultaneously verbal and visual message through photography and text. In the absence of text, the visual is the sole producer of code for the analysis of Moche representations of costume. While Barthes focused on text, he uses the word “representation” to describe much of the shift from technological garment to Fashion garment, and as such from a material object to a carrier of meaning.

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<sup>34</sup> Gamarra Carranza and Gayoso Ruiller, "La cerámica doméstica en Huacas de Moche: Un intento de tipología y seriación," 188. Bernier, "Especialización artesanal en el sitio Huacas de Moche: contextos de producción y función sociopolítica," 43-44; Jean-Francois Millaire, "Moche Textile Production on the Peruvian North Coast," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 233, 239, 242.

<sup>35</sup> Suzanne Preston Blier, "Words About Words About Icons: Iconology and the Study of African Art," *Art Journal* 47, no. 2 (1988): 80.

<sup>36</sup> Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 5-6.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

In this manner, it is possible to use his analysis of representation in verbal form to inform an analysis of representation in visual form. Barthes addresses the cultural independence of the represented garment from the technological garment, calling the described garment a “social fact,” that is, independent of the material existence of the garment and indeed whether the garment is ever actually created.<sup>38</sup> This has bearing also on the creation of a corpus of representations for analysis. Barthes holds that the rare is as important as the common, and therefore in order to assess meaning it is important “to distinguish units, not count them,” this, he says, has sociological but not systematic significance.<sup>39</sup> A semiotic analysis of fashion gives “at least equal semantic power to materially disproportionate elements, and to combat the primitive law of quantity by a compensating function.”<sup>40</sup> As I am interested both in the system of meaning and in the social significance of image-clothing in Moche culture, I will pay attention both to units and their frequency.

Barthes noted the ability of some garments to act as modifiers of others, as well as the systems by which this modification can be communicated. The variants of a costume may be binary (presence/absence) or may be of degree or kind (length, material, etc.).<sup>41</sup> There are elements of costume which, in their general type, are unchanged from representation to representation (objects and supports) and those which can change (variants).<sup>42</sup> Objects can acquire different meanings dependent upon their combination with another object; the

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 78.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 70.

signification comes not from the individual garments “but from the association of the two...”<sup>43</sup>

Fashion and the representation of garments are heavily invested in stereotypes, as the representations depend upon allusions to tropes outside of the representation itself.<sup>44</sup> These tropes form part of the connotative nature of clothing, giving as it does signification to that which is otherwise devoid of it: the human body.<sup>45</sup> As the photographed fashion model is, as Barthes says, “chosen for her canonic generality,”<sup>46</sup> so we may say that likewise representations of actors in Moche art are canonic, meant to carry the signs of their clothing as a signifier of a complex set of social concepts. Kubler reminds us that artistic traditions are limited to those things and concepts which the culture conditions the artist to represent and the viewer to see.<sup>47</sup> In so doing, they mix content (the represented costume) with comment (the social meanings of the costume).<sup>48</sup> The Moche artists and audience, like any other culture, were conditioned in their aesthetic and iconographic choices by the worldview of their society; this in turn means that the worldview is immanent in the art. And while we may regard Moche images as “crystallizations of ideology,”<sup>49</sup> this does not mean that they were static, or that the “fixing” of meaning that Barthes mentions was a permanent state. They were part of a dynamic process in which signs were manipulated to influence the very

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 184, 196.

<sup>45</sup> G.W.F. Hegel, quoted in Ibid, 258, footnote 20. It may be said that, as everyone has a body, it is difficult to invest it in semiotic functions, since without difference there is no way to signify. Tattooing, body painting, and cranial deformation all fulfilled a body semiotic to some extent in Andean culture, but clothing still seems to have had the primary semiotic function.

<sup>46</sup> Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, [1st American ] ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1968), 7.

<sup>47</sup> Kubler, "History: Or Anthropology: Of Art?," 766.

<sup>48</sup> Groupe µ, *Tratado del signo visual: Para una retórica de la imagen*, trans. Manuel Talens Carmona (Madrid: Cátedra, 1992), 116.

<sup>49</sup> Ana Llamazares, "Imágenes e ideología: algunas sugerencias para su estudio arqueológico," *University of Calgary Archaeological Association* (1992): 151-152.

ideologies they manifested. Each new image had the ability to “fix” the ideal in a different place than the last, whether this ability was taken advantage of or not.

What these ideologies were will be proposed based upon inferences made through archaeological evidence for the Andean region and the north coast in particular, as well as ethnographic work performed in the last century. Neither source provides concrete answers about gender and status in Moche society, but together they provide a basis for analogy and elaboration through the recovery of material culture (archaeology) and modern expressions of material and social culture (ethnography), which allows me to make reasoned proposals about Moche culture as it is expressed in the iconography.

### **Textiles in the Andean Tradition: Ethnographic and Archaeological Evidence**

*Clothes are powerful symbols of culture because they work both as metaphor and as synecdoche. As metaphor, clothes equal culture in a relationship of whole to whole: the process of clothing one's body equals that of learning one's culture. As a synecdoche, clothes are part of culture in a metonymic relationship in which the part stands for the whole.<sup>50</sup>*

The textile tradition in the Andes has the longest uninterrupted historical record in the world.<sup>51</sup> Fiber objects have been found archaeologically that date from about 10,000 years ago, and woven textiles date from about 3,000 B.C.E. to the present.<sup>52</sup> The oldest Peruvian textiles, such as the weft-faced pieces discovered at Guitarrero Cave (5780 B.C.E.),<sup>53</sup> occur

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<sup>50</sup> Blenda Femenias, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress in Contemporary Peru*, 1st ed. (University of Texas Press, 2005), 25.

<sup>51</sup> Rebecca Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," in *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles*, ed. Rebecca Stone-Miller (Boston: Museum of Fine Art, 1992), 11.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup> Eric Broudy, *The Book of Looms: A History of the Handloom From Ancient Times to the Present* (Hanover: Brown University Press, 1993), 78.

before the development of either metallurgy or ceramic technology.<sup>54</sup> Mary Frame has demonstrated how specific textile structures themselves became a part of Andean iconography.<sup>55</sup> It is partially because of this long and rich history that the topic of Moche costume has rarely been approached: there has been no impetus to study the few remaining examples of Moche cloth when there is such an abundance of well-preserved textiles from other cultures. This relative paucity is also a motivation to study the representation of costume in Moche art here, rather than costume itself. However, it must be repeated that these representations are being studied, not as a direct link to reconstruct the reality of Moche textiles, but to understand the language of costume as it was codified through art, and thus presented in an ideal state.

Scholars have used representation of clothing and descriptions from the colonial era in conjunction with archaeological evidence to interpret the costumes of the Andean area, especially in regards to the lesser-known costume of women. Of course, the archival accounts are limited to the cultures that were in existence at the time of Spanish contact, and so preclude the study of earlier cultures. In this study, surviving textiles will be considered in contrast to the representations, but mainly in the light of understanding slippage between reality and representation, to understand the language of representation rather than to reconstruct the technical aspects of Moche dress. The image-clothing of the Moche will be dealt with as an element of meaning-making that takes place at the level of social ideal. While individual costumes will be analyzed, this will be done in the context of the overall patterns of representation that contain the social structures they represent and reinforce. I

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<sup>54</sup> Junius B. Bird, "Technology and Art in Peruvian Textiles," *Lecture Series: Museum of Primitive Art* (1963): 47.

<sup>55</sup> Mary Frame, "The Visual Images of Fabric Structures in Ancient Peruvian Art," in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles, April 7th and 8th, 1984*, ed. Ann P. Rowe (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1986); Anne Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 15.



would contend, as well, that even cultures with a rich corpus of preserved costume elements, such as the Chimú, would benefit from an analysis of the representation of costume as separate from the articles of costume themselves. It would be beneficial to compare the reality of the recovered costume with the ideal presented in the art for cultures where the garments survive; it would be a way to further understand the slippage between idealized and real costume.

An analysis of the representation of costume in the Moche, or any Andean culture, is nonetheless predicated upon the importance of actual costume, and especially textiles, in the Andes. This tradition extends through time from the earliest recovered textiles at sites such as Huaca Prieta down through the ethnographically documented cultures of today. A surprising consistency in the primacy of textiles can be found, and an understanding of the importance of textiles in the Andean world serves to place the importance of textiles and costume (and by association their representation in Moche art) in perspective.

In the pre-Hispanic Andes, textiles and the clothing made from them were markers of status, gifts to the spirit forces that made and sustained the world, and were themselves infused with a spiritual existence (as expressed in the verb *camay*, the simultaneous infusion and becoming of life-force) that emerged from the process of their making.<sup>56</sup> They have been found dressing effigy figures, enveloping bodies and funerary offerings, and placed as offerings themselves in sacred sites throughout the Andean area.<sup>57</sup> The entire process of

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<sup>56</sup> It is speculated that the primary languages spoken on the coast at the time of the Moche occupation were Quingnam and Muchik, of which a few lexicons exist (Middendorf 1892; Cerrón-Palomino 1995). However, these are based on contact-era information, which postdates the Moche polity by at least 500 years. Most of the dictionaries consist of material, rather than abstract, definitions. I use Quechua terms where they apply to important concepts that are ill-expressed in English, based upon the general commonality of the importance of textiles in Andean cultures and in the great amount of scholarship that has been done on the Quechua language.

<sup>57</sup> As examples: Some Nasca clay effigy figures were clothed in textile garments that reflected both coastal and highland fashions (Ann P. Rowe, "Nasca Figurines and Costume." *Textile Museum Journal* 29/30 (1990-1991): 93-128); Paracas and Wari elite burials have been found wrapped in layers of textiles (Anne Paul, *Paracas*

textile creation, from the agricultural and pastoral sources of the fibers and colorants to the dyeing, spinning, and weaving of a textile, involved not only the hands of many people but the involvement of many spirit forces. Males and females, children and elders, all were involved in one aspect or another in the creation of textiles.

Conklin,<sup>58</sup> Murra,<sup>59</sup> A. Rowe,<sup>60</sup> and Stone<sup>61</sup> have all summarized the ubiquity and importance of textiles throughout Andean prehistory.

A primary source of state revenues, an annual chore among peasant obligations, a common sacrificial offering, cloth could also serve at different times and occasions as a status symbol or a token of enforced citizenship, as burial furniture, bride-wealth, or armistice sealer. No political, military, social, or religious event was complete without textiles being volunteered or bestowed, burned, exchanged, or sacrificed.<sup>62</sup>

The Inkas sacrificed the finest tapestry textiles daily to the god Inti, the sun, by burning them. "This practice cements the integral relationship of fiber to cosmic forces and accentuates the great status of the medium, since a people sacrifice what is most important to them in order to propitiate the supernatural realm most effectively."<sup>63</sup> Textiles represented

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*Ritual Attire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990 and Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*. 2nd ed, World of Art; London: Thames & Hudson, 2002); and high-altitude burials of Inka child sacrifices included garments as offerings (Johan Reinhard, *The Ice Maiden: Inca Mummies, Mountain Gods, and Sacred Sites in the Andes*. Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2005).

<sup>58</sup> William J. Conklin, "An Introduction to South American Archaeological Textiles," in *Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles: Archaeological Textiles*, ed. Patricia L. Fiske (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1975); William J. Conklin, "Moche Textile Structures," in *Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference* (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1979).

<sup>59</sup> John Murra, "Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State," *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 4 (1962); John Murra, "La función del tejido en varios contextos sociales y políticos," *Historia Andina* 3(1975).

<sup>60</sup> Ann Pollard Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," *Textile Museum Journal* 34/5(1995-6); Ann Pollard Rowe, "Inca Style Women's Dress," *Textile Museum Journal* 40/41(2001-2); Ann P. Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor* (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1984).

<sup>61</sup> Rebecca Rollins Stone, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: the Andean Artist, A.D. 500-800" (Dissertation, Yale University, 1987); Rebecca Stone-Miller, *To Weave For The Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles* (Boston: Thames and Hudson, 1992); Rebecca Rollins Stone, "'And all theirs different from his:' The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury, et al. (Washington, D.C.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

<sup>62</sup> Murra, "Cloth and Its Functions in the Inca State," 722. Murra and many others focus on the Inka state for two reasons: firstly, it was seen as the culmination of the thousands of years of Andean cultural development; and secondly, it is the most textually documented culture from the time of Spanish contact. The importance of textiles to earlier Andean cultures is evidenced through archaeological findings.

<sup>63</sup> Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," 18.

the collectivity and connectedness of Andean life, firmly anchored the people to the land that provided their materials, and in their weaving carried the identity of the kin group (in Quechua *ayllu*), as well as larger social divisions. This expression of group identity was not just at the level of color choices or patterns; the very spinning and plying directions, as well as method of weaving, could identify a social group.<sup>64</sup> These same fine distinctions could also distinguish social rank. The color, fineness of thread, number of threads per inch, and difficulty of weaving technique could all distinguish a higher-status garment from a lower-status one, even when the two articles of clothing were the same size and shape. For example, among the Lambayeque-culture burials at the site of Pacatnamú, there is a direct correlation between elite status and textiles using red dye; these same textiles were also more likely to be made with camelid wool.<sup>65</sup> Contact-era descriptions of women's clothing come from the far north coast of Peru, extending into what is now Ecuador. Explorers were intrigued by the political power held by women in these northern coastal societies, and thought that their dress resembled that of Capuchin monks. They therefore called these women *capullanas*, and described their clothing as long, "from the throat to the feet."<sup>66</sup> Vásquez de Espinoza describes the same garment as "like a big sack made of black cotton...the more authority and importance they had, the longer the train of the garment."<sup>67</sup> For these women, not only the added volume of textile indicated their status. Wearing cotton that had been dyed black, which had undergone an additional process that required labor and resources, demonstrated their ability to command both. While all Inka males wore *unkus*

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<sup>64</sup> William J. Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," *Chungará* 29, no. 1 (1997): 115.

<sup>65</sup> Ran Boytner, "Class, Control, Power: The Anthropology of Textile Dyes at Pacatnamú," in *Andean Textile Traditions*, ed. Margaret Young-Sánchez (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 64-65. Pacatnamú was a site occupied by several coastal Andean cultures, including the Moche.

<sup>66</sup> Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Curacas y sucesiones: Costa Norte* (Lima: Imprenta Minerva, 1961), 26. Translation by the author.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 27. Translation by the author.

(tunics),<sup>68</sup> those woven in colors (especially red and yellow) and with fine threads were reserved for the Inka elite.<sup>69</sup> While cotton and camelid fibers were used throughout the Andes, in many instances on the coast camelid fibers were carriers of higher status, due to greater scarcity and their ability to hold high-status dye colors. The Inka used clothing as an integral part of their conduct of empire. Subjects who were moved from one part of the empire to another (called *mitimaes*) were required to keep their own ethnic costume, as part of a royal mandate not to assimilate into their new home.<sup>70</sup> Other groups were required to retain their native dress, only being granted the use of Inka style as a sign of royal privilege.<sup>71</sup> Gifts of Inka-made textiles and other portable arts cemented political ties as well as spreading Inka style, allowing for a remarkable level of standardization in imperial art throughout a vast territory. The Inka emperor, or Sapa Inka, held the privilege of wearing many different costumes; he would dress in the clothing of a particular territory as he was traveling throughout his empire (down to a wig in the local hairstyle), making a declaration of solidarity and connectedness within the political structure of the empire through dress.<sup>72</sup> He also wore garments that set him apart—such as the Royal Tunic at Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, which incorporates many geometric designs (called *tocapus*), signifying the diverse reaches of the empire, into a single, unifying tunic design

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<sup>68</sup> The plural of Quechua nouns is made using the suffix –kuna or –guna; in the interest of ease of reading I have used the English pluralizing –s instead, e.g. *ticpis* instead of *ticpikuna*.

<sup>69</sup> Cathy Lynn Costin, "Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes," *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 8, no. 1 (1998): 128.

<sup>70</sup> Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, 2nd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 184-185.

<sup>71</sup> Stone, "'And all theirs different from his:' The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context," 397. Deborah E. Blom, "Embodying Borders: Human Body Modification and Diversity in Tiwanaku Society," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24(2005): 3.

<sup>72</sup> Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas* trans. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 168.

(Fig. 3.1).<sup>73</sup> This was not just a surface symbolism for the Inka, who conceived of the earth itself as a textile and therefore associated the control over textiles with control over the earth.<sup>74</sup>

*Tocapus* were reserved for Inka elites, and the number of *tocapus* in a garment was relative to the status of the wearer. In lower status textiles, the standardization of design was evident “even in the number of squares per row.”<sup>75</sup> The broad array of colors on the Royal Tunic also mark it as high-status and special, as the many hues reflected, through the dyes and fibers of its making, the far-flung power of the Inka to command these resources.<sup>76</sup> The tunic, enveloping its wearer and communicating his essence, sends not only a message of power and control but of the Sapa Inka as *pachakuti*, a term of disorder and cataclysm that implied within its change a creative return to order.<sup>77</sup> Within a single tunic, the sociopolitical power, geographic reach, and spiritual power of the Sapa Inka were all communicated. The Sapa Inka was also the only one allowed to wear garments made from vicuña fibers. All vicuña within the empire belonged to the Sapa Inka, and the super-fine fibers of these wild camelids were for his use alone. Through the placement of these signs of his unifying uniqueness on his body, the Sapa Inka literally embodied the power and diversity of the empire, brought together in the person of one man.

Guaman Poma, in the illustrations for his *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, depicts all the Inka queens (*coyas*) in a long garment covered by a mantle (*lliclla*) fastened at the front by a pin (*tupu*). Most of the queens also wear a head cloth, folded in such a way as

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<sup>73</sup> Stone, ““And all theirs different from his:” The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context,” 394-397, 399, 407.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 404.

<sup>75</sup> Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*, 212.

<sup>76</sup> Stone, ““And all theirs different from his:” The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context,” 406.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

to cover the top and back of the head, and sandals. The *llicllas* and long garments are depicted with *tocapu* decorations similar to those of the male Inka nobles. (To date, the archaeological textiles found with the Inka mountain sacrifices do not have such *tocapu* designs on the female garments, a possible slippage between real and represented clothing). The handmaidens Guaman Poma depicted with the *coyas* wear outfits similar to hers, although their heads are uncovered and there are fewer rows of *tocapus* on their garments. The first and ninth *coyas* are depicted wearing two inverted *tupus* with large, circular heads, pinning the *lliclla* to the long garment (Fig. 3.2). This doubling of the *tupus* and inversion of their position represents that the *coya*, like the Sapa Inka, had the power to break sartorial rules.<sup>78</sup> Sapa Inkas are depicted wearing a headdress with a distinctive fringe that falls on the forehead (*maskaypacha*), large circular ear ornaments, tunic with *tocapu* designs, a mantle, a decorative fringe tied below the knee, and sandals. In both male and female cases, the depictions are more or less similar to the clothing ensembles noted in the archaeological record. However, there has not been a concerted effort to understand the relationship between represented and worn clothing within an Andean society. In the case of Guaman Poma's illustrations, they have been successfully examined in terms of their political and social messages,<sup>79</sup> but the function of clothing alone within the representational system has not been addressed.

While the level of semiotic sophistication in Inka tunics is more easily observed, thanks to the preponderance of Spanish and written native sources, there are similar examples of the symbolic and identifying nature of textiles throughout Andean history. For example,

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<sup>78</sup> "...Inka textiles assign variation itself to the very top royal level..." Ibid., 391. This would appear to be a similar aspect of the *coya*'s appropriation of variation.

<sup>79</sup> See R. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress" in *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century* ed. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

Amy Oakland Rodman has determined that textiles buried with individuals in a cemetery in San Pedro de Atacama, Chile, maintain identity differences between local and Tiwanaku-allied groups.<sup>80</sup> Identity and ideology could also be carried, changed and manipulated through textiles: the iconography of the highland center of Chavín is found painted on cotton textiles from Karwa (Fig. 3.3). The gender-neutral Staff God of Chavín is now identified as female, and her staves are recognized as cotton plants, a coastal product. The power and prestige of the Chavín cult had been transported to the coast and reframed in an idiom that suited the local population, an idiom framed by local fibers and borne on textiles.<sup>81</sup>

Adornments added to textiles contributed to the message they conveyed. Shell adornments and gold alloyed with copper held spiritual significance that was intrinsic to the materials themselves.<sup>82</sup> Fox-skin headdresses appear to have had an association with agricultural protection at the time of the Conquest.<sup>83</sup> Chimú and Lambayeque tunics adorned with gold-alloy plaques in squares or circles made the high elites who wore them glitter like the sun. The items combined with textiles helped to create a complex signification through dress, which was accompanied by and emphasized through hairstyle.

A sometimes overlooked, but important aspect of the body in the creation of costume, human hair is never a socially neutral substance. Its manipulation is a part of the symbolic and social representation of the self.<sup>84</sup> In turn, the importance of hair can be taken as an indication of the general importance of the head. In southern Andean coastal art, human hair

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<sup>80</sup> Amy Oakland Rodman, "Textiles and Ethnicity: Tiwanaku in San Pedro de Atacama, North Chile," *Latin American Antiquity* 3, no. 4 (1992).

<sup>81</sup> Benson, "Death-Associated Figures," 105.

<sup>82</sup> Nicholas J. Saunders, "Biographies of Brilliance: Pearls, Transformations of Matter and Being, c. A.D. 1492," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 2 (1999): 246-247.

<sup>83</sup> Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, 43.

<sup>84</sup> Francisco Gallardo I., "Wool as a Privileged Substance: Turbans, Power and Symbolism in the Formative Period of Northern Chile," in *Identity and Prestige in the Andes* (Santiago: Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, 1993), 13.

was associated with potency and spiritual essence, not only as depictions on textiles but also for the heads of the wearers of the textiles.<sup>85</sup> This association led to the use of human hair wigs in mortuary contexts from the south coast of Peru down into the northern coast of modern-day Chile. In Arica, Chile, the head was the center of “power and authority;” by association hair was an important symbolic substance.<sup>86</sup> In Paracas textile imagery, trophy heads and shamans are virtually the only ones with unbound hair.<sup>87</sup> This symbolism links not just hair, but hair in an unkempt state with the concentration and possession of spiritual power.

Coastal burials of elite Wari state representatives included the creation of a false head placed atop the mummy bundle, which wore the deceased man’s hair as a wig.<sup>88</sup> The ends of the braided hair were wrapped in brightly dyed camelid-fiber thread, making the hair part of the ensemble of color, patterning, and textile that the body had become. Garcilaso de la Vega noted that Inka “vassals” could win the right to cut their hair, seen as a way of becoming more like the Sapa Inka.<sup>89</sup> However, the style in which they cut their hair was determined by royal mandate, related to their region of origin, and was not allowed to be exactly like the Sapa Inka’s hairstyle. Thus hair may also be an indicator of horizontal status, that is, status within a particular stratum of society.<sup>90</sup> As part of the power of hair to determine gender, female *berdaches* in the Mojave society of southwestern North America included a masculine haircut in their ritual transformation from woman to *berdache*.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, 114.

<sup>86</sup> Gallardo I., "Wool as a Privileged Substance," 11-13.

<sup>87</sup> Anne Paul, "Paracas Necrópolis Bundle 89," in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, ed. Ann P. Rowe (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1984), 202.

<sup>88</sup> Stone-Miller, *To Weave For The Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles*, 122.

<sup>89</sup> Stone, ""And all theirs different from his:" The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context," 394.

<sup>90</sup> Donley, "Late Moche Burials in San Jose de Moro," 120.

<sup>91</sup> Judith Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 91.



Hairstyle can also indicate age stage, as Isbell reported for the modern people of Chuschi in Ayacucho, Peru. Infants' hair was left untrimmed and unkempt; as they aged, their hair became more neatly tended and differentiated sexually.<sup>92</sup> "For a girl child, the female wildness was socialized into braids whereas such wildness was shorn from boys at a time when they were removed from their mothers' care and thrust into the larger world of men's activities."<sup>93</sup> In some parts of highland Ecuador, it was believed that cutting young children's hair too early could lead to inadequate socialization.<sup>94</sup> A child's first haircut was, and is, considered the beginning of a child's gendering,<sup>95</sup> and consequently their acceptance into the social order. Women's hair became invested with their sexuality and gender identity, and the thinning of hair in later life was associated with moving into the masculine category of old age.<sup>96</sup> Coverings worn on the head were as important as hair itself, and could also indicate life stage and gender. As will be shown in Chapters 5 and 6, the Moche similarly used head coverings and hairstyles to indicate gender and life stage.

Placing signs on the body through hair and costume may be seen as a construction not only of a message that is *carried* by the body, but *becomes* the body as well. As noted in Chapter 4, Lechtman's thesis on the relationship between exterior and essence in Andean metalwork may be taken to apply to clothing and other elements of costume as well.<sup>97</sup> If the costume communicated the essence of the wearer, then in a circular fashion the essence of the wearer would dictate the costume they would wear. Within Andean cultures, it is

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<sup>92</sup> Billie Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified," *Cornell University eCommons*(1997), [http://ecommons.library.cornell.edu/bitstream/1813/2474/2/Unripe\\_to\\_Petrified.pdf](http://ecommons.library.cornell.edu/bitstream/1813/2474/2/Unripe_to_Petrified.pdf).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> Ann Pollard Rowe and Lynn Meisch, *Costume and Identity in Highland Ecuador* (Washington, D.C. : Textile Museum: Seattle, 1998), 109.

<sup>95</sup> Carolyn S. Dean, "Andean Androgyny and the Making of Men," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and Cecelia F. Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), 152.

<sup>96</sup> Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

<sup>97</sup> Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," 22.

possible that the meaning of costume and its relationship to selfhood at the most basic level was thorough, pervasive, and fundamental. In this sense, the clothes do not denote the body, they *are* the body. In one version of the Andean creation myth related by chroniclers, the god Viracocha made mankind near Lake Titicaca and, by placing patterns on their skin, dictated the kinds of clothing they would wear: "...and there, in Tiahuanaco, the Creator began to raise up the people and nations that are in that region, making one of each nation of clay, and painting the dresses that each one was to wear. Those that were to wear their hair, with hair; and those that were to be shorn, with hair cut..."<sup>98</sup>

This conflation of surface and essence complicates the semiotic model, in that the signs are not merely agents of communication, or even of mental structure, but of physical structure as well. A mixture of male- and female-associated garments can then be seen as a layering of signs that can be taken as a contradiction, inversion, or multiplication of gender meanings, which in the Andes can have an effect on the spiritual essence of the wearer. The culture itself determines how such a blending of garments will be understood. Within Moche art, I will demonstrate that the blending of garments indicates an ambiguity of gender, one which is strongly associated with certain types of religious ritual.

This construction of identity through costume must be taken into account on more than one level. There is the level of individuality, although it has been noted that in many social contexts an expression of conformity is the way to manipulate appearance to enhance or maintain a positive self-image.<sup>99</sup> Elite Inka tunics are standardized in their appearance,

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<sup>98</sup> Bernard Mishkin, "Cosmological Ideas Among the Indians of the Southern Andes," *The Journal of American Folklore* 53, no. 210 (1940): 228.

<sup>99</sup> Aubrey Cannon, "Cultural and Historical Contexts of Fashion," in *Consuming Fashion: Adorning the Transnational Body*, ed. Anne Brydon and Sarah Niessen (New York: Berg, 1998), 25.

“with slight variations,” and it is possible that even these variations are standardized.<sup>100</sup> Only the Sapa Inka wore unique, individualized clothing. Many ethnic groups at the time of contact and in archaeological contexts exhibit deliberate cranial deformation, creating a kind of “body in common.”<sup>101</sup> These cranial modifications were often associated with a particular style of headdress also unique to the group.<sup>102</sup> Thus even a permanent body modification was still felt to require the use of a distinctive head ornament. These examples correlate to the strong sense of group identity in the Andes, which occurs at a spiritual level.

Kin groups tend to look to a *huaca* (in this case, an object, place or landscape feature that is infused with and a conduit for supernatural energy which has an individual spirit aspect) as their progenitor or origin point. A *huaca* that is the origin of a kin group is specifically called a *pacarina*; this word is specific to kin-group *huacas*. All of the members of that kin group share this *camac*, or vitalizing prototype.<sup>103</sup> “Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation.”<sup>104</sup> By conceiving of sharing a spiritual essence through common supernatural descent with others of the group, an identity is formed which emphasizes collectivity over individuality. The internal, spiritual connection is reinforced, reflected, and revitalized through the external use of costume. This feeling, and its emphasis on the relationship between the internal, spiritual self and the clothed body, was especially emphasized during the Taqui Oncoy rebellion of

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<sup>100</sup> John Rowe, "Standardization in Inca Tapestry Tunics," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, ed. Anne P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1973), 259-260.

<sup>101</sup> Blom, "Embodying Borders," 3.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 16. While the *pacarina* is a *camac* for a kin group, all other *camacs* (for animals, plants, etc.) do not share the *pacarina* designation.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. “Taylor (1974/1975) has likened this idea to Platonic idealism, an insight that helps one understand the profoundly plural and ongoing nature of Andean creation but also minimizes its earthiness. *Camac* in the manuscript seems to suggest a being abounding in energy as physical as electricity or body warmth, not an abstraction or mental archetype.” Ibid, 16.

the 1560s, a scant three decades after the conquest. In the face of massive relocations and decimated by disease, the Taqui Oncoy urged people to return to the old ways, to once again revere the *huacas* despite Spanish punishments, in order to return health, power, and self-sovereignty to the native peoples. This return to the old ways required a rejection of Spanish clothing: “Spanish clothing not only hides the Andean self but also distorts it. What the body wears must be in accordance with what the body, as a social and religious sign, signifies and contains.”<sup>105</sup>

With costume, and textiles in particular, having so many important functions in the Andes, to be without costume was more profound than a simple lack of covering. It was to be bereft of the signs that made an individual body a part of the social body and the *camay* that informed the essence of being. There is ethnographic evidence from around the time of the conquest of prisoners being divested of their clothes, which might signal their removal from the role of warrior into the role of prisoner, one who is no longer integrated into a social order, or into a liminal state.<sup>106</sup> Juan de Betanzos also records the Sapa Inka Yupanqui stomping on the clothing of his vanquished enemies to demonstrate his authority over them, equating the clothing with the essence of the person.<sup>107</sup>

The Inkas made prisoners of war, men who had ostensibly failed in their masculine role as warriors, wear women’s clothing as they were paraded through Cuzco.<sup>108</sup> By making these men remove their clothing and replacing it with that of women, the Inka were enforcing a removal of identity (and a replacement with one intended to humiliate). That warfare, and

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<sup>105</sup> Sarah Castro-Klarén, "Dancing and the Sacred in the Andes: From the Taqui-Oncoy to Rasu-Ñiti," in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 169.

<sup>106</sup> R. M. Czarano, F. M. Meddens, and A. Morgan, *The Nature of Wari: A Reappraisal of the Middle Horizon Period in Peru* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1989), 146; Erica Hill, "Sacrificing Moche Bodies," *Journal of Material Culture* 8, no. 3 (2003): 288.

<sup>107</sup> Stone, "'And all theirs different from his:' The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Inka Tunic in Context," 392.

<sup>108</sup> Constance Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 13, 57.

the warriors taken prisoner in battle, was also associated with sacrifice in the Andes, may in turn be significant in signifying this mixed-gender identity as one of liminality.

In contemporary highland Peru, the relationship between costume and identity has changed very little. Although the materials of costume have changed in some respects (aniline dyes, commercially woven fabrics, and Western articles of clothing are commonly used) the meaning-making of textiles, and the techniques of weaving, still remain.<sup>109</sup> Weaving patterns, color arrangements, and garment combinations still announce *pueblo* and *ayllu* affiliation. Indigenous women of Otavalo, Ecuador, wear two wrapped skirts (one light and one dark) as part of their traditional dress, and this combination of clothing identifies them as Otavaleño.<sup>110</sup> Women of Saraguro, Ecuador, wear beaded necklaces which indicate community affiliation, and the colors of seam embroideries on *kushmas* (an upper garment related to Inka tunics) perform the same expressive task for men.<sup>111</sup> Natives of Pacchanta, in the area of Ausangate, Peru, wear clothing that indicates their home is on the north side of the mountain, and their textile patterns make symbolic references to the lakes that hold the runoff from Mt. Ausangate, the sacred waters from the mountain spirit.<sup>112</sup> Textiles encode concepts of relationships between moieties and the spatio-temporal paradigms that define them.<sup>113</sup>

Garments also still distinguish (and blur) the lines between male and female. The *Witite* dancers and *waylaka* officiant mentioned in Chapter 4 are examples of how this is

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<sup>109</sup> Sophie Desrosiers, "An Interpretation of Technical Weaving Data Found in An Early 17-Century Chronicle," in *The Junius B. Bird Conference on Andean Textiles*, ed. Ann P. Rowe (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1984), 228.

<sup>110</sup> Lynn A. Meisch, "We Are Sons of Atahualpa and We Will Win: Traditional Dress in Otavalo and Saraguro, Ecuador," in *Textile Traditions of Mesoamerica and the Andes: An Anthology* ed. Margot Blum Schevill, Janet Catherine Berlo, and Edward B. Dwyer (New York: Garland Publishing, 1991), 150.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 159-160.

<sup>112</sup> Andrea M. Heckman, "Contemporary Andean Textiles as Cultural Communication," in *Andean Textile Traditions*, ed. Margaret Young-Sánchez (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2006), 180, 186.

<sup>113</sup> Gail Silverman, "La representación del tejido andino," *Boletín de Lima* 23, no. 123 (2001): 67.

accomplished, a modern instance similar to the feminization of male prisoners through dress enacted by the Inka. However, it is not only in garment shapes that gender is articulated—it can be something as basic as the horizontal or vertical orientation of design patterns that can announce the gender of a textile's owner.<sup>114</sup> For example, in Pacchanta, women wear their striped *llicllas* in a horizontal orientation.<sup>115</sup> Colors can signify gender, as well as fertility: in some areas men and women weave their motifs in different colors to denote and mark menopause or old age.<sup>116</sup> To dress in clothing that marks you as an outsider is to conceptually wear no clothing at all; the term *qalas*, “naked” or “peeled” ones, is frequently used to refer to foreigners in the Andes today.<sup>117</sup> Those in foreign (and therefore semiotically impoverished) dress have no social place, and therefore it is as if they wear no clothes.

### **Costume Elements in the Ancient Andes: Archaeological Evidence**

All textile elements of costume were conditioned by the techniques of the weaving process itself. Most of the textiles in the Moche area would have been woven on backstrap looms. Such looms are depicted on a bowl in the collection of the British Museum (Fig. 3.4). Textiles woven on these looms are limited to the manageable width of the loom bars, usually no greater than 75 centimeters.<sup>118</sup> Any garment that was wider than this would be made of panels stitched together. Some cultures used frame looms for larger pieces of textile, but so far none have been excavated in the Moche area, and none are depicted in the extant art. In

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<sup>114</sup> Conklin, "Structure as Meaning in Andean Textiles," 127.

<sup>115</sup> Heckman, "Contemporary Andean Textiles as Cultural Communication," 186-187.

<sup>116</sup> R. Tom Zuidema, "Inca Cosmos in Andean Context: From the Perspective of the Capac Raymi Camay Quilla Feast Celebrating the December Solstice in Cuzco," in *Andean Cosmologies Through Time*, ed. Robert V.H. Dover, Katharine E. Seibold, and John H. McDowell (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 185.

<sup>117</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 30.

<sup>118</sup> Margaret Young-Sánchez, "Textile Traditions of the Late Intermediate Period," in *To Weave for the Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles*, ed. Rebecca Stone-Miller (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 49.

the Andean tradition, it is uncommon for cloth to be cut after weaving. Items were woven to size and shape and taken from the loom as whole as possible.<sup>119</sup> To cut cloth was to destroy the spiritual existence with which it had become infused, and would render it soulless. Nonetheless, while it would seem that these strictures would limit creativity, they did not do so. Many elements of costume were variations on rectangular pieces of cloth, but this repetition of shapes was defied through an incredible richness of technique. An abundance of archaeologically recovered examples demonstrates the variations that were possible.

Elite costume elements varied from culture to culture throughout the Andes, and the archaeological record is full of examples of this varied display. The Wari-related tie-dye tunic from the southern coastal region around 1100 C.E. (Fig. 3.5) not only demonstrates the exquisite results Andean textile artists could achieve. It also shows the time-consuming methods in which they were willing to invest in order to create the desired effect for an elite personage, one which demonstrated the expenditure of both resources and time. Each stepped module of the textile is an individual element that was woven as a complete piece; that is, all sides were finished with threads turning back on themselves. A series of these pieces would then temporarily be joined by scaffold threads so that they could be resist-dyed in a single strip. This created a group of elements all in the same color scheme. Finally, the individual units were assembled together so that the tie-dyed patterns created larger patterns with adjoining elements. The warp threads were dovetailed together and the weft slits were sewn shut, making a minimally-evident join between the pieces.<sup>120</sup>

A feather garment from the Chimú culture, which followed the Moche on the north coast, (Fig. 3.6) displays the use of feathers to create a stunning effect. The feathers were

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<sup>119</sup> Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," 22.

<sup>120</sup> Stone-Miller, *To Weave For The Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles*, 101.

individually trimmed and tied to the plain-weave textile tunic, creating a mosaic-like effect that flaunted the wealth of its wearer. Bright feathers from tropical birds were difficult to obtain, and represented one of the most prestigious media in the Andes.<sup>121</sup> The Chimú also played with the possibilities of textiles by creating openwork fabrics (Fig. 3.7). The “bones” of the textile are revealed in this piece, as the warp and weft threads come together in nodes, elaborated with supplemental threads to provide density and detail. This creates an open, floating design that displays incredible virtuosity. Remains of feather adornments have been found in Moche tombs,<sup>122</sup> and plumes of feathers are depicted on headdresses in the represented costume of high-status individuals. Openwork or gauzelike textiles are sometimes depicted in Moche art with a netlike design.

A Chancay headscarf from the central coast (Fig. 3.8) is an exquisite example of gauze weaving, which creates an open, lacelike appearance. The headcloth would have retained its pattern only so long as it was on the loom, or as it is here, laid out for display. When it was worn, the tension on the threads would have released, and the pattern would no longer be evident. However, it was still part of the *camay* of the textile, an aspect of its essence, and the weaver, the wearer, and of course the spirit world would have known that pattern was there. Aspects of textile decoration, then, are not always evident to the casual observer, and in fact may not be for human eyes at all. Elements of textiles with important iconographic meaning can in fact be on interior or otherwise hidden parts of textiles. In the collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum is a textile, still undergoing conservation, which reveals some of the more elaborate effects created by Andean weavers. This Chimú tunic fragment (Figs. 3.9, 3.10) incorporates sewn-on roundels, sometimes with tassels protruding

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<sup>121</sup> Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*, 173.

<sup>122</sup> For example, Alva and Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*, 184.



from one side; these tassels also obscure human figures. These added elements introduce a three-dimensional quality to the textile as well as creating a level of mystery: the tassels hide a large part of the textile's iconography. The presence of the figures, however, is more important than their visibility to the observer, which is part of the essence of the piece and an important part of Andean textile sensibilities. Colors or images on the interior faces of textiles, or otherwise hidden from view, are just as important to the textile as those parts that are readily visible. The spiritual essence and life (*camay*) within the textile is conferred upon its wearer, and the elaborate costumes depicted on the highest Moche elites are a part of this tradition. These elites are depicted during the Sacrifice Ceremony sometimes as human and sometimes as supernatural beings, the costume consistent between the two categories and acting as part of the bridge between human and divine.

Vibrant colors, subtle textures, and surface embellishments all made it possible for garments in the Andes to be spectacularly beautiful. Andean textiles are characterized by “a simplicity of means and sophistication of ends, goal-orientation over effort and expenditure, technical transcendence, primacy of completeness, and emphasis on combinations.”<sup>123</sup>

Andean weavers were not limited by the constraints of their medium, rather, curves were formed in what is normally a grid-like art, differing faces could be created on the same textile, and incredible variations on a visual theme were formed within a single web.<sup>124</sup>

While the better-known elaborate textiles were of course for the elites, we also know that the lower classes wore plain, well-worn clothing, much in the same way as their

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<sup>123</sup> Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," 20.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., 20-21.

counterparts in Europe wore simpler, plainer garments than their leaders.<sup>125</sup> Unlike the Europeans, however, clothing seems to have been less class-differentiated through shape and fiber than through other elements of style.<sup>126</sup> Leaders and commoners all wore more or less the same garment shapes, and had access to the same basic materials (primarily cotton on the coast and camelid fiber in the highlands); it was the weaving technique itself that distinguished high-status from low-status garments, as well as the use of sumptuous materials such as dyed camelid fiber and tropical bird feathers as well as the time devoted to their creation.<sup>127</sup> All of this made the production and wearing of the elements of costume an action laden with meaning.

Archaeological textiles from the Chimú, Chancay, and Paracas cultures (among others) have shown that males in the Andean coastal region wore variations on the following suite of garments: a loincloth, tunic, mantle, and head covering or headband.<sup>128</sup> Men sometimes wore kilts over their loincloths, and warriors also wore helmets made of wood and fibers. Specific cultures created their own versions of these garments. For example, the elite males of the Paracas culture, on the south coast of Peru, wore matching sets consisting of a short poncho (in essence a tunic with open sides), loincloth, mantle, and turban.<sup>129</sup> The elite examples of these textiles found in burials exhibit elaborate embroidery over their surfaces, representing an immense investment in time as well as resources. Tunics were constructed in

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<sup>125</sup> Christopher Donnan and Sharon Donnan, "Moche Textiles from Pacatnamú," in *The Pacatnamu Papers*, ed. Christopher Donnan and Guillermo Cock (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1997), 231.

<sup>126</sup> Dwight Wallace, "The Process of Weaving Development on the Peruvian Coast," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973*, ed. Ann P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson, and Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1979). "By the end of the Early Horizon, the variations in quality became finer..." p. 46

<sup>127</sup> Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor*, 29.

<sup>128</sup> Paul, "Paracas Necrópolis Bundle 89.," Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor*; Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*.

<sup>129</sup> Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*, 55.

various ways, but with the similar result: a square or rectangular garment with holes for the head and arms, which might or might not have sleeves. Loincloths were formed from rectangular pieces of cloth that passed between the legs and were fastened with cloth tapes. It should be remembered that elaboration of technique rather than shape of garment distinguished levels of elites from commoners, and so the suites of clothing found in Paracas funerary bundles, while exceptionally rich in construction, are likely to be typical in shape and function. Moche men are depicted wearing all but the mantle as a part of their basic costume.

Elite Wari men wore tunics with complex, highly-abstracted designs that referenced the religion of their highland home (Figure 3.11).<sup>130</sup> They also wore headbands or four-cornered hats made with a pile technique that gave the surface a furry appearance (Figure 3.12). The combination of tunic and hat designs “transformed the wearer into a dynamic geometric pattern.”<sup>131</sup> Chimú men wore a basic garment set of tunic, turban and loincloth.<sup>132</sup> Some of the loincloths have long and elaborately woven ends, which allowed the wearer to display the fancy decoration in a skirt-like effect.

Women, while less visible in the archaeological record, seem to have worn a similarly simple repertoire of clothing. A mantle or shawl sometimes covered the shoulders, while a long tunic or wrapped ankle-length dress covered the body. In some of the ancient cultures women also wore headcloths, which are still seen in some highland cultures today. It is more difficult to discuss archaeologically recovered textiles for women in the ancient Andes, as they simply have not been given the same attention as men’s clothing. This is partially due

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<sup>130</sup> Stone, "Technique and Form in Huari-Style Tapestry Tunics: the Andean Artist, A.D. 500-800", Vol. 1, 192-193.

<sup>131</sup> Stone-Miller, *To Weave For The Sun: Ancient Andean Textiles*, 112.

<sup>132</sup> Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor*, 36.

to a disproportional number of high-status burials belonging to men. The Paracas culture, for which an abundance of mummy bundles have been found, appear to have exclusively placed men in the highest-status bundles, although this is still subject to debate as there has been little scientific examination of the skeletons themselves.<sup>133</sup> It is known that the clothing contents of the studied bundles have contained garment sets associated with males. Since the smaller ones have yet to be opened and studied, it is not known if these contain the remains (and garments) of women, or if they too contain men, and only males were accorded this burial rite.

In approaching the costume of the Nasca, the culture which followed from Paracas on the southern Peruvian coast and coeval with the Moche, Anne Rowe examined the costume of textile-dressed sculptures of men and women. She assumes that these miniature representations are faithful, and draws from them as well as ceramic representations the conclusion that Nazca women wore dresses which were “a plain garment seamed horizontally along the shoulders, and...often worn with a shoulder shawl.”<sup>134</sup> One example, however, features a wrapped dress, pinned into place at the shoulder “from front to back.”<sup>135</sup> Rowe notes, however, that this is a highland style, as is the camelid fiber of the dress, and may be meant to depict someone allied with a highland polity.<sup>136</sup> Throughout her examination, Rowe freely moves between the archaeological examples and representations of the clothing, a common method for many Andeanists. While this is useful in trying to identify costume proclivities within a specific culture and relative to the Andean milieu in

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<sup>133</sup> Anne Paul, "Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru" (Doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1980), 34. “Although Tello (1952:72) and Carrión (1949:10) state that all cadavers were males of advanced age, the skeletal remains from the Necropolis mummies in the MNAA have never been thoroughly examined by a physical anthropologist.”

<sup>134</sup> Ann Pollard Rowe, "Nasca Figurines and Costume," *Textile Museum Journal* 29/30(1990-1991): 113.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*: 116.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

general, it ignores the fundamental difference between clothing in representation and clothing as material culture. This study endeavors to separate the represented from the “real.”

There are, however, some women’s garments that have been recovered archaeologically. A young girl given as an Inka mountain sacrifice to Mount Llullaillaco, Argentina wore a sleeveless dress, *lliclla* (both fastened with distinctive pins), and moccasins.<sup>137</sup> The Ice Maiden of Ampato, another Inka mountain sacrifice, wore a similar set of clothes.<sup>138</sup> Ann Rowe has analyzed Inka women’s garments that have been archaeologically excavated, the majority of which came from the Empire’s coastal areas.<sup>139</sup> Inka women’s dresses were fundamentally different from coastal styles, in that they were wrapped around the body rather than passed over the head. Rowe found that both dresses and shawls were worn with the striped designs in a horizontal orientation.<sup>140</sup> The Chancay headcloth previously mentioned is another example of women’s costume, and Chancay women’s garments have been found which are constructed in a garment shape similar to men’s tunics.<sup>141</sup>

For the elites, added to these garments would be elements of adornment and ornament. An early example from the Chavín-influenced Chongoyape culture is a gold repoussé crown, depicting the Staff Deity of the Chavín cult seen in Figure 1 of Chapter 2 (Fig. 3.13). The figure is elaborated (and obscured) through the multiplicity of forms, some feline, some serpent, that together make the body of the Deity. Contour sharing confuses the eye, and visual kenning renders hair as snakes. The overall effect is meant to confuse,

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<sup>137</sup> Costanza Ceruti, "Human Bodies as Objects of Dedication at Inca Mountain Shrines (North-Western Argentina)," *World Archaeology* 36, no. 1 (2004): 111.

<sup>138</sup> Johan Reinhard, *The Ice Maiden: Inca Mummies, Mountain Gods, and Sacred Sites in the Andes* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2005), Figure 9.

<sup>139</sup> Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 12-13 and passim.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*: 14,16.

<sup>141</sup> Delia Aponte M., "La vestimenta femenina en la Costa Central del Perú durante el Período Intermedio Tardío," *Estudios Atacameños* 20(2000).

generate wonder, and reproduce the visual mystification of the shamanic vision within the power of the elite. An elaborate nose ornament from the Nasca culture is shown in Figure 3.14. The ring affixes to the face by piercing or pinching the septum, and would have covered most of the lower half of the face. For this reason, some scholars refer to them as mouth-masks rather than nose ornaments. The ornament also has fingerlike extensions on either side of the nose, perhaps mimicking feline whiskers.

Chimú lords wore large ear ornaments, the size and material corresponding to status. A pair in the collection of the Michael C. Carlos Museum (Fig. 3.15) is made of gold repoussé on silver posts, and depicts figures diving for *Spondylus princeps* shells. These shells, collected in the warm waters of the Ecuadoran coast, were an item of sacredness and prestige throughout the Andes from at least the time of the Chavín culture (Fig. 3.16). The major deity of the Chavín cult is often depicted holding a *Spondylus* shell. Therefore, these Chimú ear ornaments not only denote status through their materials, size, and workmanship, but they also speak to other high-status materials in their subject matter.<sup>142</sup>

Ear and nose ornaments, bracelets and necklaces were prevalent throughout the Andes. Some north coast men and women wore labrets in their lips, much to the consternation of the Spanish.<sup>143</sup> Head ornaments were common too, from simple folded and draped cloths to elaborate combinations of textile, wood, metal, and sometimes fur or feathers. The more complex constructions would have been heavy and ungainly. It is likely that, like the royal garment in Ball's study of Byzantine dress, elaborate and delicate elements of costume were more often represented than worn. Their use as a sign could travel farther in representation than in the wearing, carrying the attributes of authority to other

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<sup>142</sup> Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*, 171.

<sup>143</sup> Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Curacas y sucesiones: Costa Norte*, 27.

polities and to the world of the dead. Everyday head ornamentation, along with traditions of cranial deformation, appears to have a long history in indicating membership in ethnic groups.<sup>144</sup> Tattooing has also been found in archaeological contexts, from the Moche area south into Chile, although its place in creating identity is not yet clear.<sup>145</sup> A Moche example will be discussed later in the study.

This section has demonstrated the importance of textiles and other elements of clothing in ancient Andean life across time periods and regions. Costume was, without a doubt, a vector of social meaning. Some things that textiles signified were readily apparent, such as the rarity of indigo and cochineal dyes signifying status, while others were more subtle, such as the association of the Sapa Inka's tunic with the earth goddess Pachamama.<sup>146</sup> The relationship between clothing and wearer went beyond the idea of a surface decoration; rather, a person's costume signaled what was believed to be essential about them. These ideas about the semiotic nature of textiles and costume developed before and persisted well beyond the Spanish conquest.

### **Moche Textile and Costume: Archaeological Materials and Previous Studies**

Very few textiles have survived their burial in Moche graves. Much of this has been due to extensive El Niño flooding in the intervening centuries, as well as damage caused by close proximity to corpses and saltpeter in the soil.<sup>147</sup> The extensive use of copper alloys can provide a preservative agent: the conditions which corrode metals (acidic soils and water)

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<sup>144</sup> Niki Clark and Amy Oakland Rodman, "Ancient Andean Headgear; Medium and Measure of Cultural Identity," in *Contact, Crossover, Continuity: Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, Los Angeles, California, 1994* (Los Angeles: Textile Society of America, 1995), 294.

<sup>145</sup> Marvin J. Allison et al., "Tatuajes y pintura corporal de los indígenas precolombinos del Perú y Chile," *Chungará* 7(1981).

<sup>146</sup> Penny Dransart, "Pachamama: The Inka Earth Mother of the Long Sweeping Garment," in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (New York: Berg Publishers, 1997).

<sup>147</sup> Wendell C. Bennett, *Ancient Art of the Andes* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1954), 44.

will also destroy the textiles buried with them,<sup>148</sup> while at the same time replacing fiber elements in a process not unlike fossilization, creating “pseudomorphs” which preserve the structure, if not the color, of the textile.<sup>149</sup> Sometimes the textiles disappear entirely, but leave impressions in metal corrosion products (Figs. 3.17 and 3.18). Well-preserved textiles from other cultures such as the Paracas of southern coastal Peru, were buried in a much drier and saltpeter-free environment which not only preserved the textiles, but somewhat mummified the bodies they were buried with, preventing them from damaging all of the accompanying textiles.<sup>150</sup> Most extant Moche textiles are fragmentary rather than whole, and therefore only yield some of their information to scholars. William Conklin and Christopher and Sharon Donnan have written two important examinations of Moche textiles.<sup>151</sup> Conklin performed a survey of Moche textiles in museum collections and outlined their characteristic techniques. Donnan and Donnan analyzed textiles that had been recovered in the scientific excavations at the site of Pacatnamú, allowing them to understand the life history of a piece of cloth. There have been a few other elaborate textiles recovered archaeologically, but they are still quite rare.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> See Alva and Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*, 187, 216-187.

<sup>149</sup> “Textile pseudomorph formation may be defined as a petrification process in which mineral compounds replace completely the organic compounds of the fiber, assuming the physical configuration of the fiber in the process.” L.R. Sibley and K.A. Jakes, “Pseudomorphs, a Fossilized Form of Textile Evidence,” *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 1, no. 1 (1982): 24.

<sup>150</sup> There has not been a great deal of research conducted on the Paracas mummies themselves. A comprehensive study of the remains is in its early stages and the nature of the mummification process should become clear in the future. It is, however, known that the textiles closest to the mummies did sustain damage from exposure to fluids from the bodies. (Ann Peters, personal communication. September 15, 2009).

<sup>151</sup> Conklin, “Moche Textile Structures.”; Donnan and Donnan, “Moche Textiles from Pacatnamú.”

<sup>152</sup> Claude Chapdelaine, “Un tejido único Moche III del sitio Castillo de Santa: Una escena de cosecha de yuca,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 32, no. 1 (2003); María Jesús Jiménez, “El vestido de los reyes y príncipes de Moche,” in *Señores de los reinos de la luna*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski, Joanne Pillsbury, and Régulo Franco Jordán (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito, 2008).



Conklin's structural study concluded that the Moche style was firmly a part of the textile traditions of the North Coast.<sup>153</sup> His examination focused on higher status items, mainly tapestries, which incorporated both cotton and natural and dyed camelid fiber. All of the pieces he examined were part of museum collections and most had not been scientifically excavated. The earliest textile in his survey was from Moche Phase III.<sup>154</sup> He identified five types of textile technique that typified Moche textiles:

A plain weave used as a ground with discontinuous supplemental weft patterning in modular bands, which we can refer to, in short, as a plain weave with modular weft bands; a form of compound weave which uses discontinuous supplemental weft on warp floats; slit tapestry weave which has designs formed on a square matrix and has interlaced weft outlining; slit tapestry weave which has cursive design and eccentric interlaced weft outlining; [and] weft wrapping, or possibly interlacing, on rigid warps with square matrix designs.<sup>155</sup>

Some of these textiles contained complex iconography, which included warriors, supernatural beings, and mythical subjects. Conklin noted that subject matter appeared to change through time, with Moche III textiles featuring animals both real and imagined, Moche IV featuring geometric representations, and Moche V containing complex scenes with many different actors.<sup>156</sup> This last is congruent with a shift in Moche ceramics, which saw a move to painted, fine-line decorations on vessels that became increasingly complex. One of the textiles analyzed by Conklin is in the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. and a detail is pictured in Figure 3.19. This sash or belt is made with slit-cane warps around which yarn wefts have been woven. It features repeated images of anthropomorphic crabs executed in red, pink, yellow, cream, a blue-gray which may be a faded green, and a faded brownish color. The figures are geometricized, following the grid of the cane slats, with highly

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<sup>153</sup> Conklin, "Moche Textile Structures," 166, 168.

<sup>154</sup> For a discussion of the relative and absolute dating of Moche chronology, see Chapter 2.

<sup>155</sup> Conklin, "Moche Textile Structures," 165.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

abstracted heads but clearly defined human legs and feet. The crab, along with spiders and octopi, was associated with the themes of decapitation and sacrifice.<sup>157</sup> An anthropomorphized crab ornament was found in the tomb of the Old Lord of Sipán.<sup>158</sup> Another Moche piece creates a geometricized bird figure through the use of weave and embroidery (Fig. 3.20). The natural brown cotton creates the ground upon which the cream cotton is stitched, following the grid of the weave. Embellishments of red and green-dyed camelid yarns dot the figure adding visual interest and an indication of somewhat elevated status. A belt or head wrap (Fig. 3.21) indicates an even higher level of status through the use of a wide variety of colors. The tightly-packed threads also convey the artistry of this textile's creation. A detail from a tunic (Fig. 3.22) incorporates high-status red dye for the ground as well as sections of yellow, blue, purple, and what probably was green or brown. The design creates a figure/ground play between the cream and red, creating a design of manta ray heads that form a fret design at the center, and a step design at the corners. The colored portions of the step motifs are woven in a different technique, which creates a different texture and draws attention to their colors. The step and fret motifs are common to not only the Moche but to many cultures from the coast of Peru, and signify the mountains (step) and the ocean waves (fret), the geographic dualities that form the borders of that world. All of these textiles display a use of color and technique to create visually engaging surface designs; Figures 3.20 and 3.22 also use changes in texture to create visual interest and display virtuosity of technique.

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<sup>157</sup> Alana Cordy-Collins, "Archaism or Tradition?: The Decapitation Theme in Cupisnique and Moche Iconography," *Latin American Antiquity* 3, no. 3 (1992): 217.

<sup>158</sup> Alva and Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*, 181-183.

Moche textiles recovered from the site of Pacatnamú and studied by the Donnans, on the other hand, appear to have mostly belonged to lower-status individuals.<sup>159</sup> They were plainly woven of cotton, and of the few that did have elaboration many were decorated with simple geometric patterns. One of the most elaborate exceptions to this paucity of decoration was a fragment of elite textile that had been re-used.<sup>160</sup> Based on this and similar re-use of more elite textiles, Donnan and Donnan conclude that not only were clothes an important marker of status, but a single suit of clothes may have been a more or less permanent part of a person's daily life. They remark that many of the textiles in their sample were heavily worn, many fraying, and some patched with fragments of other textiles.<sup>161</sup> Even within the limited Moche corpus of archaeological textiles, there are tunics of plain, undyed cotton which are the same size and shape as highly-colored, camelid fiber-weft tunics with elaborate designs. It seems clear that for the Moche lower classes, textiles were very plain, the lack of textile elaboration its own signifier of low status.<sup>162</sup>

In contrast to textiles, a great deal of ornament has been recovered from Moche graves. These include a fox-effigy headdress found at Virú, and a fox-head effigy found at Sipán, probably part of a headdress, as well as a spectacular owl headdress with extended wings, covered in metal disks that would have shimmered in the sun.<sup>163</sup> An equally impressive feline-effigy costume element (probably worn hanging down the back) was found

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<sup>159</sup> Donnan and Donnan, "Moche Textiles from Pacatnamú," 231.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., 232.

<sup>162</sup> Inclusions of higher-status textiles seen at Pacatnamú were of pieces cut from larger, worn-out garments. Cutting them killed their *camay* and eliminated any elite spiritual associations the garment may have had, and they were simply cloth to be used for patching.

<sup>163</sup> Alva and Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*, 156-157, 184.

at Huaca de la Luna.<sup>164</sup> Earspools, necklaces, nose ornaments, and wrist ornaments made of gold and silver alloys and semiprecious stones have been found at numerous Moche sites. The examples from the highest-status graves display high-quality workmanship as well as elaborate iconography, and have become well-known and popular museum exhibits in Peru and abroad.

While skin painting has not been archaeologically documented, several bodies have been recovered from the Moche area with tattooed designs on the skin.<sup>165</sup> The most recent is the high-status woman known as the Señora de Cao, buried within the temple mound at Huaca Cao Viejo. The motifs on her arms and legs represent spiders, fish, and geometric designs. While such elaborate skin designs are not common in Moche representations, the Señora de Cao is exceptional in many ways which will be discussed in the chapters on gender and gender complication.

There have been previous studies of Moche costume, almost all of them before major textile finds in the Santa Valley and Huaca Cao Viejo, most of which are still under analysis and largely unpublished. In 1929, Gösta Montell published a study of costume in ancient Peru, using ceramic representations as a basis for the work.<sup>166</sup> Montell mainly described the garments and ornaments depicted in the art, not spending much time interpreting their meanings, nor comparing them to archaeological finds of actual textiles, even for cultures, such as the Chimú, which did have extant textile finds at the time. Almost 50 years later,

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<sup>164</sup> Bourget, "The Third Man," 264; Moisés Tufinio C., "Excavaciones en la unidad 12A (Ampliación Norte), Plataforma 1, Huaca de la Luna," in *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna 1998-1999*, ed. Santiago Uceda, Elias Mujica B., and R. Morales (2004), 34.

<sup>165</sup> Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering, *On the Royal Highways of the Inca* (Tübingen: Verlag Ernst Wasmuth, 1966), 30. Gösta Montell, *Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1929), 93; Jean-Francois Millaire, *Moche Burial Patterns: An Investigation Into Prehispanic Social Structure* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002), 76-77. A.R. Williams, "Mystery of the Tattooed Mummy," *National Geographic* 209, no. 6 (2006).

<sup>166</sup> Montell, *Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru*.

Anne Marie Hocquenghem, a pioneering Moche iconographer, also dealt with the textiles and dress of Moche culture.<sup>167</sup> She focused on identifying the major components of Moche costume in the art, concentrating on three broad classes of status, followed through time using the five ceramic phases of Larco Hoyle. Hocquenghem also was one of the first to recognize the importance of hairstyle in identifying women in Moche art, and along with Patricia Lyon, used the representation of elements of costume to identify the High Priestess of the Sacrifice Ceremony as a woman.<sup>168</sup> Christopher Donnan also contributed to the study of costume with an analysis of head ornamentation and adornment in his analysis of portrait vessels, as has Janusz Wołoszyn.<sup>169</sup> Both authors examined the possible purpose or meaning of these vessels, some of which are physiognomically specific while others are of generic types. Donnan concludes that while headdresses are no doubt tied to role and status for males, there are few styles which only appear in specific circumstances. Most headdresses “appear to have been suitable in many different contexts.”<sup>170</sup> He also demonstrates that at least some of the pieces depict individuals at various points of their life, and that ear ornaments and face painting are the purview of mature males.<sup>171</sup> While the latter may be true of the portrait vessels, it ignores the fact that adult females (rarely depicted in portrait vessels) are also depicted with face paint elsewhere in Moche art. Donnan does not speculate on the importance of the head as it relates to these vessels, and concentrates instead on defining types of headgear and contextual information for the different portrait types.

Wołoszyn acknowledges the head as a symbol of both fertility and life force, and concludes

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<sup>167</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, "Les Textiles et le Vêtement dans la Culture Mochica (Pérou)" (Thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1973).

<sup>168</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, "Un "Vase Portrait" de Femme Mochica," *Ñawpa Pacha* 15(1977); Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females."

<sup>169</sup> Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*; Janusz Wołoszyn, *Los rostros silenciosos: Los huacos retrato de la cultura Moche* (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008).

<sup>170</sup> Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*, 74.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 142-146, 156.

that these portraits are meant to present the elites to the world of the dead as “the equals of the gods.”<sup>172</sup>

## Conclusion

The importance of textiles in the Andean world serves to underscore the importance of studying Moche representations of costume. Given that textiles were supremely important in material culture, their representation encoded one of (if not the most) important social markers in the society. The disparity between elite and commoner textiles represented in the Conklin and Donnan and Donnan studies helps to demonstrate that there was not only a difference, but a profound gap between the textiles available to the upper reaches of Moche society and those below, despite the basic structural similarities of garment types. These differences could be as great as those between male and female, and perhaps less possible to breach. How those differences are made evident in their representations, and what those differences mean, is the subject of the following chapters.

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<sup>172</sup> Wołoszyn, *Los rostros*, 244; Janusz Wołoszyn, "Reyes o víctimas: ¿A quiénes presentaban los retratos moche?," in *Señores de los reinos de la luna*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski, Joanne Pillsbury, and Régulo Franco Jordán (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito, 2008), 148.



## CHAPTER 4 GENDER IN THE ANCIENT AMERICAS

*Verdad es que generalmente entre los serranos y los yungas se introdujo un vicio bajo la forma de la sacralidad, y es que en cada templo o adoratorio principal tienen un hombre e dos o más, según el ídolo, los cuales andan vestidos como mujeres desde que son niños, y hablan como tales, y a su manera remedan a las mujeres.<sup>1</sup>*

*[It is generally true that among the inhabitants of the foothills and the coast a vice was introduced under the appearance of sacredness, and that is that in each temple or principal oratory they had a man or two or more, dedicated to the idol, who went about dressed as women from their childhood, and spoke like women, and in their mannerisms aped women.]*

### **Gender in the Americas: An Overview**

The study of gender as a specific discipline began fairly recently in Western history, and art history has come to it even more belatedly.<sup>2</sup> It was not until the mid-1980s that gender began to be seriously explored in art history, paralleling a critique of male bias in the interpretation of the archaeological record.<sup>3</sup> There were, however, a few scholars of the ancient Americas pointing out gender issues before then. Tatiana Proskouriakoff published an essay in 1961 that challenged the designation of several Classic Maya stone portraits as males, proving instead that they were royal females.<sup>4</sup> Janet Berlo similarly was able to prove that the rain deity figures at Teotihuacan, previously thought to be male, were in fact female: The Great Goddess of Teotihuacan.<sup>5</sup> The birth of gender studies in the feminist

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<sup>1</sup> Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, quoted in Fernando Armas Asin, "Religión, género y construcción de una sexualidad en los Andes (Siglos XVI y XVII): Una acercamiento provisional," *Revista de Indias* LXI, no. 223 (2001): 682. Translation by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Cecelia F. Klein, "Introduction," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, ed. Cecelia F. Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 2001), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Virginia E. Miller, "The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture: Introduction," in *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller (USA: University Press of America, 1988), vii.

<sup>4</sup> Tatiana Proskouriakoff, "Portraits of Women in Maya Art," in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

<sup>5</sup> Janet Catherine Berlo, "Icons and Ideologies at Teotihuacan: The Great Goddess Reconsidered," in *Art, Ideology, and the City of Teotihuacan: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 8th and 9th October 1988*, ed. Janet Catherine Berlo (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992).



movement of the late 1960s frequently resulted in studies like Proskouriakoff's and Berlo's, with a focus on identifying the presence of women and their role in society. This left the definition of gender itself unresolved. More recent scholarship has focused on the way in which concepts of gender are formulated, performed, and maintained by societies, rather than studying one gender exclusively. For example, Judith Lorber's *Paradoxes of Gender* examines the construction of gender as similar to the construction of race and ethnicity, that is, as a social process rather than a fixed identity.<sup>6</sup>

Often gender studies have reflected Western culture's conception of gender as a mostly stable, strictly binary system of male/female opposition without subtle distinctions. These studies are frequently based in a culturally specific perception of gender understood and interpreted through sexuality, which identifies people by their choice of sexual partners.<sup>7</sup> It appears that the ancient people of the Americas viewed both gender and sex differently, as a continuum of *possibilities*, framed by different categories and systems of labeling, and not necessarily concerned with choice of sexual partners. This continuum of possibilities is a trait of many ancient and ethnographically documented native American societies, expressed in culturally different ways but always acknowledging the mutability of gender and sex, as will be demonstrated below.<sup>8</sup>

The term "gender" is generally regarded as the social identity constructed on biological sex. Even this definition is complex, as scientific categories of sex are based on more than the appearance of primary sexual characteristics (genitalia). Hormone levels and chromosome distribution are not as clear-cut as the western male/female conceptual dyad.

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<sup>6</sup> Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender*.

<sup>7</sup> Gilbert Herdt, "Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone Books, 1994), 47.

<sup>8</sup> Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 3-6.

As a social construct, gender, and even the perception of biological sex, can be subject to change. Cultural categories themselves can change (number of gender/sex categories) or attitudes towards the categories can change (different valuation of women's roles, for example). People also move along a timeline, and the construction of a person's gender may change as they move from childhood to adolescence, maturity, and old age. While recognizing that biological sex is composed of far more than two categories, it is assumed that ancient peoples based their assessment of biological sex on observable physical characteristics.<sup>9</sup> This would create at least three categories, composed of children born with distinct primary sexual characteristics (what we consider male and female) as well as a third group of children born sexually indeterminate—intersexed individuals, for example. There is also the possibility (although remote) that one or more of a series of hormonal disorders was present in the ancient Americas. One such disorder, 5-Alpha Reductase Deficiency, leads to biologically male children presenting the appearance of females at birth, including genitalia that mimic female organs until the onset of puberty (this and similar disorders were formerly referred to as “pseudohermaphroditism”). At puberty, virilization occurs, with the deepening of the voice, increase in muscle mass, and growth of the external genitalia.<sup>10</sup> It would seem that a disorder such as this, while rare, would provide an occasional, and legendary, example of spontaneous transsexuality. While there is no way to determine whether ancient cultures of the Americas were prone to these disorders, there is contemporary evidence among Alaskan and Central American populations.<sup>11</sup> The physical reality of intersexed individuals must be considered alongside epistemological constructions of ambiguous sex. As noted

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<sup>9</sup> Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, *Gender Archaeology* (USA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2000), 47.

<sup>10</sup> Ralph E. Peterson et al., "Male Pseudohermaphroditism Due to Steroid 5-Alpha Reductase Deficiency," *The American Journal of Medicine* 62(1977): 171.

<sup>11</sup> Melanie Blackless et al., "How Sexually Dimorphic Are We? Review and Synthesis," *American Journal of Human Biology* 12(2000): 153, 155.

below, many native peoples of the Americas acknowledged intersexed or otherwise sexually ambiguous gods, thus creating a mental category of sexual ambiguity. The level to which this category was expressed in everyday life varied from culture to culture.

Without the medical technology to “correct” the sex of a child, it would seem reasonable that intersexed individuals were considered, while rare, a part of the natural order of the world. In the Andes, this rarity would have been a sign of special spiritual connection rather than a “defect” in the way it is understood in contemporary Western society. Things that were different and unusual were frequently considered marked by spirit forces in Amerindian societies; in the Andes this was incorporated into the concept of *huaca*, a person, thing, or place that was a conduit and concentration of spiritual power. In many ancient American cultures this interest in the special or different manifests itself in the frequent portrayal of individuals displaying kyphosis (hunchbacks), achondroplasias (dwarves), and other physically different people in spiritual contexts.<sup>12</sup> The Inka are ethnographically documented as associating the physically unusual with the sacred.<sup>13</sup> What would be considered congenital defects in Western culture were seen as spiritual callings in the Americas: “Bodily anomaly apparently predisposed certain individuals to take on a sacred responsibility to transcend the norm.”<sup>14</sup> Therefore, a child who was born of a sex other than male or female would have been regarded as special from birth.<sup>15</sup>

How gender and sex were regarded differed from culture to culture, and it is not always easy to determine exactly how a specific society categorized and characterized different genders. While not from the Americas, a relatively modern example of

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<sup>12</sup> Stone, "Disability as Divine: Special Bodies in Ancient American Art."

<sup>13</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Stone, "Disability as Divine: Special Bodies in Ancient American Art."

<sup>15</sup> These individuals would have been considered marked by spirit forces, like twins or those born with a physical abnormality. In the Inka period, twins were considered to have been fathered by lightning.

institutionally accommodated male intersexuality from Papua New Guinea, among the Sambia, is useful for understanding cultural responses to intersex individuals. Sambian culture identifies individuals as “relatively male or female,” within a spectrum that takes into account socioeconomic status, life stage, and other factors.<sup>16</sup> The Sambia not only recognize the presence of a third sex in humans, it is acknowledged to be a part of some other species. Several cultures of Papua New Guinea raise intersexed pigs for ritual purposes, sacrificing them for specific status rituals.<sup>17</sup> The Sambians call intersexed humans who virilize at puberty *kwolu-aatmwol*, “transforming into a male thing.”<sup>18</sup> In a society rigidly divided between masculine and feminine social roles, the category of *kwolu-aatmwol* allows for a third sex within the social structure. *Kwolu-aatmwol* are regarded as gendered male, however their sex assignment tempers their “maleness” within the spectrum of this gender. *Kwolu-aatmwol* are not believed to be fully masculine, do not often complete more than a few levels of ritual initiations (a marker of status in Sambia society), and unless one becomes a great war leader or shaman, they are subject to ridicule.<sup>19</sup> This lack of status is in spite of an origin myth that features hermaphroditic ancestors.<sup>20</sup>

While their society is, of course, very different from that of the Moche, the Sambia are one example of how sexual ambiguity can be fitted even into a heavily gendered and sexually categorized worldview. Moche ideology, as well, tended to make clear distinctions between the sexes, but also created space for gender-complicated individuals. These

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<sup>16</sup> Gilbert Herdt, "Mistaken Sex: Culture, Biology and the Third Sex in New Guinea," in *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Zone Books, 1994), 425.

<sup>17</sup> John R. Baker, "Notes on New Hebridean Customs, with Special Reference to the Intersex Pig," *Man* 28(1928): 113, 116.

<sup>18</sup> Herdt, "Mistaken Sex," 432.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 436, 439, 440, 442.

<sup>20</sup> Herdt, "Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders," 68.

individuals were given a place in Moche society based upon distinctly Amerindian cosmology, which is quite different from Sambia socio-religious strategies.

### **Ethnographic, Art Historical and Archaeological Evidence**

Archaeological records are the basis of much of our knowledge of ancient Andean culture. However, the interpretation of archaeological finds has undergone close scrutiny in recent years, with several scholars reassessing the assumptions of earlier excavators about the sex and gender of tomb occupants. Making an assumption about gender appears easy when the pelvic bone is preserved, as this is the best indicator of sex. There are, however, several problems with this association. First of all, pelvic bones are not always preserved, and decisions about the sex and gender of the skeletal remains are made on the basis of grave goods. It has however been shown that skeletons of one sex have been found with the traditional grave goods of the opposite sex.<sup>21</sup> Gero has also noted that items can be interpreted differently if found in male or female grave assemblages.<sup>22</sup> This may be especially true if the remains do not adhere to the qualitative prejudices about “masculine” and “feminine” bone types, i.e. that women’s bones are “gracile” and men’s are “robust.”<sup>23</sup> Sharisse and Geoffrey McCafferty proposed that such assumptions came into play at Tomb 7 of Monte Alban, a high-status Mixtec burial from the Late Postclassic period (C.E. 1200-1519). The principal individual in the tomb was originally sexed as male, despite female-

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<sup>21</sup> Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1986), 17.

<sup>22</sup> Joan M. Gero, "Socio-Politics and the Woman-at-Home Ideology," *American Antiquity* 50, no. 2 (1985): 344.

<sup>23</sup> Pamela L. Geller, "Skeletal Analysis and Theoretical Complications," *World Archaeology* 37, no. 4 (2005): 598.

associated objects in the grave goods and skeletal remains which the McCaffertys characterize as “ambiguous at best.”<sup>24</sup>

Secondly, sex categories are imposed in a binary fashion on what is in reality a “continuum of sexual difference.”<sup>25</sup> Ultimately, if a sex is assigned to a skeleton, it is often done within the cultural assumptions of the archaeologist.<sup>26</sup> This can exclude the possibility of intersex categories, especially when the same condition which creates sex confusion also substantially modifies the skeleton in ways that are much more archaeologically visible.<sup>27</sup> Challenging the accepted sexing of a skeleton can result in contentious debate within the archaeological community, even when it is pointed out that the initial conclusion was based upon unrealistic evaluations of the osteological remains.<sup>28</sup>

When studying an ancient culture’s attitude towards gender and sex, trends of expression are often all that art historians have to analyze. When a culture sometimes depicts primary sexual characteristics and other times it does not, it allows us to speculate on the importance of sex and perhaps also gender at different points in a person’s life and through various social roles. For the purposes of this study, native Andean expressions of four sex and gender concepts are important: the mutability of sex and gender, the complementarity of male and female and their relationship to the forming of a “third sex,” intersexuality and ambiguous sex, and the perceived change in an individual’s sex and gender categorization

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<sup>24</sup> Sharisse D. McCafferty et al., "Engendering Tomb 7 at Monte Alban: Respinning an Old Yarn [and Comments and Reply]," *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 2 (1994): 43.

<sup>25</sup> Geller, "Skeletal Analysis," 598.

<sup>26</sup> Cheryl Claassen, "Exploring Gender Through Archaeology Workshop 3: Teaching and Seeing Gender" (paper presented at the Anthropology and Archaeology of Women, Appalachian State University, 1991), 152-153.

<sup>27</sup> Geller, "Skeletal Analysis," 601. For example, Turner’s Syndrome results in shorter than average stature and may exhibit vertebral abnormalities, including scoliosis (ibid).

<sup>28</sup> Geoffrey G. McCafferty and Sharrisse D. McCafferty, "Questioning a Queen? A Gender-Informed Evaluation of Monte Alban's Tomb 7," in *Ancient Queens: Archaeological Explorations*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2003).

due to age or physical anomaly, a change affected by and effected through social performance.<sup>29</sup>

While there is of course variation from culture to culture, there appears to have been a constant regard in the ancient Americas for gender and sex as a changeable state, one which could alter for any of a number of reasons, such as personal will, bodily injury or disease, and the end of fertility. Sexual and gender mutability, which embodies in its flux the interaction of male and female sex, is epitomized in the traditional cultures of native Arctic peoples. The continuum of sex and gender possibilities in the Amerindian cultures of the far north may provide a gateway to understanding sex and gender in more southerly ancient American societies. Albeit expressed in different ways, the protean nature of gender and sex is nearly constant in the Americas and extends to the cultures of Meso- and South America, as will be demonstrated below.

Within traditional Inuit culture, it was believed that a fetus was capable of changing its sex, either through circumstance or volition. Such circumstantial sex change is evinced by the belief that all fetuses begin as male, and the “condition and conduct” of the mother are what determine whether the baby’s sex will change; breaking a taboo or having a difficult delivery are both possible causes of *in utero* sex change.<sup>30</sup> Connecting these kinds of beliefs about the sex of the fetus to Mesoamerican thinking, the contemporary Quiché of Momostenango believe a child born during a full moon or a lunar eclipse may become physically transsexual, capable of changing gender and/or sex throughout life.<sup>31</sup> Northern

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<sup>29</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny."; Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

<sup>30</sup> Stewart, "Kipijuitiq in Netsilik Society," 21.

The idea that the maleness is the baseline, default sex for fetuses of course implies a relative valuation of male and female within Inuit society.

<sup>31</sup> Cecelia F. Klein, "None of the Above: Gender Ambiguity in Nahua Ideology," in *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, ed. Cecelia F. Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 2001), 232.

Tewa believed that a child could be made into a third-gender person if its genitals were exposed to moonlight, whether intentionally or accidentally.<sup>32</sup> Traditional Zuni culture believes that the sex of an infant is not fixed even during birth. Falling asleep during labor could change the sex of the birthing child.<sup>33</sup>

The St. Lawrence islanders included in their sex and gender categories the identity of *anasik* (woman-man). Such a person was able to change between male and female, rendering them invisible to malevolent spirits.<sup>34</sup> All *anasik* were shamans (although not all shamans were *anasik*). They seem to have been able to trick the spirits by changing sex, transforming their “true” substance from one to the other in order to fool them. It is important to note that this ability to change sex should be understood as a true, physical change effected without surgery, an ability granted by the special circumstances of birth rather than more Western conceptions of sex or gender change involving surgery, hormonal therapy or cross-dressing. While cross-dressing and blended dressing existed and continue to exist in traditional Amerindian societies, it needs to be understood that these transformations of sex and gender based in clothing the body are sometimes predicated upon a conception of the body itself as being similarly changeable.<sup>35</sup>

While the nature of a child at birth could be sexually mutable, there are also traditions of changing gender through nurture. In the Netsilik and Greenland cultures of the Arctic,

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It may at first seem odd that these opposites, the fullness of the moon and the erasure of that fullness, would both be associated with this state of change. It is easier to appreciate why the lunar eclipse would have been associated with the ability to change sex. As the eclipse transforms the moon, so people born under an eclipse can transform themselves, an analogy between the moon and the child that is understandable. However, we can also look at the moon itself as an agent and personification of change as it goes through its monthly cycle from new to full. We can then see the full moon as the culmination and completion of change, one that is more visible than the disappearance of the moon altogether when it is new. A child born under this powerful force of change should then also inherit this changing ability.

<sup>32</sup> Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache," 352.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 342-343.

<sup>34</sup> Stewart, "Kipijuitiq in Netsilik Society," 18.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*



children could be raised in a gender identity opposite to their biological sex. The Netsilik tradition concerns children who, when born, were determined by the grandparents to be *kipijuituq*, a male child who was then provisionally raised as female. The child would be released from this state upon hunting and killing a prescribed game animal.<sup>36</sup> This provisional nature extends to the “female” upbringing the child received: although dressed and coiffed as a girl, and encouraged to play with dolls, the child was not taught traditionally female practical skills, such as sewing and cooking.<sup>37</sup> The gender construction of the *kipijuituq* is explicitly understood to be temporary, able to change when the time is right. In the Greenland communities studied by Joelle Robert-Lamblin, children could be raised in “opposite” genders if their parents desired a child of the opposite sex.<sup>38</sup> The terms used for these children indicate that they were girls *made* into boys, and vice versa, emphasizing the volition involved in this change.<sup>39</sup>

Within the cultures of native North America there is a common tradition of a person who, to some varying extent, takes on the roles of the opposite gender. The overarching term for this social category is *berdache*,<sup>40</sup> although each culture had its own specific term. Geertz, in writing about Navajo and Pokot apprehensions of intersexuality, describes them as a “somewhat unusual product” of nature, just as gifted people and poorly-fired pots happen in the course of life.<sup>41</sup> The acceptance and integration of other-gendered individuals in Native American cultures reflected the relative normalcy of intersexed and other-gendered

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Ibid., 19.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> The term *berdache* appears to have come from French and Spanish explorers, who used an Arabic term which meant “catamite.” This term was intended derogatorily and focused on sexuality in its description, but has remained in the anthropological literature and has not been supplanted except in studies of specific cultures. Rather than cobble a new term together, I use the term *berdache* but fully acknowledge the history of the word.

<sup>41</sup> Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), 85. Quoted in Herdt, “Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders,” 21.

individuals within their worldview: neither “illegal or immoral, only atypical.”<sup>42</sup> Among the Kaska, if a couple wanted a daughter to become a hunter, they dressed her as a boy and trained her in masculine duties, similar to the Greenlanders noted above.<sup>43</sup> Literal translations of native terms for *berdaches* often indicate that they were considered to be somewhere between male and female.<sup>44</sup> However, it must also be understood that the actual occurrence of *berdaches* in any given native social group were small; this is important especially in considering the representative systems of a culture, which may reflect ideological possibilities at a greater frequency than lived reality.<sup>45</sup> This, as Herdt points out, makes it at the very least an ontological category, constructed outside the individual, and needs to be treated as such.<sup>46</sup> It should be noted that in none of these societies was choice of sexual partner a qualifier for *berdache* status. Indeed, it would appear that homosexuality was a category of its own, and not part of the definition of *berdache*.<sup>47</sup>

The characterization of the *berdache* can be taken as a set of commonalities between native North American societies from a wide range of geographical locations and modes of subsistence. Roscoe lists as the three distinguishing characteristics productive specialization, spiritual sanction, and gender variation.<sup>48</sup> He defines these as follows: productive specialization refers to the tendency of *berdaches* to take on the tasks associated with the gender opposite their biological sex: in cultures where men hunt and women make pots, a male *berdache* will make pots and a female *berdache* will hunt. Spiritual sanction is a broad term that can cover a wide range of possibilities. In some societies, *berdaches* come to their

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>43</sup> Charles Callender and Lee M. Kochems, "The North American Berdache," *Current Anthropology* 24, no. 4 (1983): 451.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.: 443.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.: 447.

<sup>46</sup> Herdt, "Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders," 61.

<sup>47</sup> Callender and Kochems, "The North American Berdache," 444.

<sup>48</sup> Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache," 332-335.

state through diagnostic dreams involving supernatural beings (as in many Plains tribes); in others, they may identify through personalities and preferences but are regarded as spiritually favored in other ways. For example, some societies require *berdaches* to perform certain rituals (naming ceremonies, burials, etc.) and in others *berdaches* are believed to be supernaturally favored, that is, that they are unusually skilled or productive (as with the Crow), and in some cases a family group with a *berdache* will turn its financial management over to this individual in deference to this belief (as in the Navajo). In some societies, *berdaches* could become shamans, but not all societies connected shamanic power and *berdachehood*.<sup>49</sup> Even in societies where all *berdaches* were shamans, not all shamans were *berdaches*.<sup>50</sup> Gender variation acknowledges the ways in which the *berdache* distinguished her- or himself from the other sexes or genders. This may include cross-dressing, but Roscoe points out that this has been shown to be a less-reliable marker than previously thought.<sup>51</sup> In some societies, if a woman acquired enough wealth that she could afford a wife of her own, she could enter a kind of *berdache* status that entailed the same “responsibilities and prerogatives” as men.<sup>52</sup> In some cultures, *berdaches* wore their own distinctive clothing rather than adopting gender-opposite dress, in others clothes of the opposite gender were worn only for participating in distinctly gender-opposite activities.<sup>53</sup> Male Illinois *berdaches* still participated in warfare, but were not allowed to use or carry bows, which were the emblem of maleness.<sup>54</sup> The relationship between dress, gender definition, and societal

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<sup>49</sup> Callender and Kochems, "The North American Berdache," 453.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache," 335.

<sup>52</sup> Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender*, 17.

<sup>53</sup> Roscoe, "How to Become a Berdache," 335.

<sup>54</sup> Callender and Kochems, "The North American Berdache," 449.

practice was often complex, as in the case of the Zuni, who buried male *berdaches* in a combination of men's and women's garments, on the men's side of the graveyard.<sup>55</sup>

The idea of the *berdache* as one who crosses or mixes gender categories is predicated upon the idea of a complementary relationship between male and female. Without these two poles, there is no point of (or point to) crossing between the categories. Many Amerindian social traditions express principles of male/female complementarity through paired male and female individuals, often in a ritual context or with spiritual implications. Sometimes, however, the gender of the pair members is not always what we would consider analogous to their sex. This creating—and then breaking the expectations of—a gender dyad creates the possibility and means of expression for a blending or ambiguity of gender. For example, the Aztec state was headed not by one but by two male leaders, the Huei Tlatoani and the Cihuacoatl. The Huei Tlatoani (“Great Speaker”) was the leader who managed the external, political affairs of the empire. The Cihuacoatl (“Woman Serpent”) was in charge of internal affairs. While both of these officials at the time of contact were biologically male, the office of Cihuacoatl was characterized as feminine. This may indicate that before the Aztec state was centralized, a woman could and did hold such office.<sup>56</sup> Cihuacoatl was the name of the Aztec goddess with whom the political official was associated. Through cross-dressing, he would impersonate her in religious celebrations dedicated to her attributes of earth and vegetation.<sup>57</sup> Together the rule of the Huei Tlatoani and Cihuacoatl exhibited wholeness through complementary sexual dualism. The relationship between a masculine-feminine dyad and power was an essential one in Aztec life. Aside from the dual nature of his pairing with the Cihuacoatl, the Huei Tlatoani was often referred to as the true mother and father of

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<sup>55</sup> Ibid.: 454.

<sup>56</sup> June Nash, "The Aztecs and the Ideology of Male Dominance," *Signs* 4, no. 2 (1978): 353.

<sup>57</sup> Richard F. Townsend, *The Aztecs* (Slovenia: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 201-202.

the people, making a conceptual association between leadership and parenting, with the implication that neither endeavor was complete without the two components.<sup>58</sup>

The biologically male Cihuacoatl's ability to exist as a necessary feminine complement to the masculine and biologically male Huei Tlatoani is an example of the mutability of gender. The relationship between the two rulers would change over time, reflecting the relationship between the genders in Aztec society. In the early empire the Cihuacoatl held co-equal power, but by the time of the Spanish conquest he had been reduced to the position of vizier, with the Huei Tlatoani retaining the greater power of state, as well as the combined mother-father attributes.<sup>59</sup> Within the institutional relationship between the Huei Tlatoani and the Cihuacoatl, we see an assertion of gender dominance in their roles: the masculine Huei Tlatoani eventually took power from the "feminine" Cihuacoatl, reiterating the masculine dominance in Aztec society, where biological women were excluded from the upper reaches of political power.<sup>60</sup> The Huei Tlatoani also co-opted the feminine role of mother, incorporating that attribute into his role. What we can understand from this is that Aztec gender roles could be transformed, and that this transformation was seen as serving a powerful and necessary function. In the end, however, a man holding a "female" office was still subject to "female" status in the hierarchy of rulership.

The relative status of male and female will, of course, vary from society to society, based upon its gender ideology, the "meanings and values attributed to gender categories in a given culture, and assignment of gender to non-sexed phenomena or ideas...on the basis of

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<sup>58</sup> Susan Kellogg, "The Woman's Room: Some Aspects of Gender Relations in Tenochtitlan in the Late Pre-Hispanic Period," *Ethnohistory* 42, no. 4 (1995): 567.

<sup>59</sup> Townsend, *The Aztecs*, 69,77.

<sup>60</sup> Kellogg, "The Woman's Room," 567.

these meanings and values.”<sup>61</sup> Within the Moche, it has been observed that men far outnumber women in representation, and that women are limited to a smaller range of activities within the corpus. While this is not necessarily true in other ancient Amerindian cultures, Silverblatt has argued that as a culture increases in sociopolitical complexity, the more it is likely to oppress women, using as her example the ancient Andean cultures from egalitarian hunter-gatherers to the Inka state.<sup>62</sup> The relationship of male sex and gender to power and elevated status seems to be common but not ubiquitous in the ancient Andes. The ideology of complementarity within the Americas sees male and female as expressions of a system of energy, which relies upon the interaction of necessary opposites to perpetuate itself. While women are recognized as necessary, this in and of itself does not always confer status upon them, and in many cases the duality of male and female is dealt with in the same way that other social divisions are: through the paradigm of a moiety system, which sets up two necessary, interdependent, but unequal groups as the basis of social interaction.

Evidence of the necessary complementarity of male and female, constituting together a whole that is more than the parts persists in Quechua, one of the dominant native languages of the Andean highlands. *Karihuarmi*, a single word made from the terms for man (*kari*) and woman (*huarmi*), expresses this complementarity through union.<sup>63</sup> The Inka took the power of *karihuarmi* so seriously that they punished both masturbation and homosexuality as subversive of the order of the complementary universe.<sup>64</sup> In a similar vein, colonial writer Guaman Poma calls the birth of twins of the same sex (*wisa awalla*) a bad omen; it may have

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<sup>61</sup> Hays-Gilpin and Whitley, quoted in Nelson, “Gender Ideology.” In *In Pursuit of Gender*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson and Miriam Rosen-Ayalon. Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002: 9.

<sup>62</sup> Irene Marsha Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987).

<sup>63</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 22.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 60-61.

This aversion to homosexuality does not seem to have been ubiquitous, and many Spanish chroniclers praised the Inkas for fighting the “*pecado nefando*” in which their contemporaries, especially on the coast, indulged.

been because the pairing of similars instead of opposites was seen as a debilitating force as opposed to a creative one.<sup>65</sup>

A visual manifestation of the productive nature of complementarity can be seen in the *unkunakuchkan* motif: “two animals, natural or conceptual, joined by the mouth,” found in both ancient and contemporary Andean art.<sup>66</sup> The *unkunakuchkan* is featured in contemporary Central Andean woven belts with narrative designs. Through the imagery of the figures joined at the mouth, like a parent bird feeding its young, the familial concept of wholeness and unity is expressed. The familial meaning of the motif describes the fertility of the couple as the product of the two sexes. It becomes a unit that, through its productive capacity, becomes greater than its individual components.

This idea of joined opposites can be seen in numerous ceramic works from the Americas. One example comes from the Tembladera culture of what is now Peru (Fig. 4.1). The man and woman in this piece literally form a single body. The male figure on the left wears a headdress with an animal motif. The surface decoration indicates their differing clothing: he wears a loincloth, indicated by the white slip painting below his “navel,” while his partner on the right has an all-over circle pattern indicating a long tunic or dress. Their torsos end in single cylindrical posts, which join together to stand as a pair of legs. Both have intricate facial painting or tattoos made up of step and fret motifs, which also unite them: the step pattern seems to follow up from his cheek and then descend to hers. They also wear matching broad collars or necklaces, whose sweeping forms visually gather them together. This unified pair has another special attribute: the piece is a whistle (note the hole

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<sup>65</sup> Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, trans. John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge Urioste, 3a ed., Colección América nuestra (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno, 1992), 278; Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí*, ms. Supp. I, Section 468.

<sup>66</sup> Karen Lizzaraga, "Unkunakuchan and Wailis: An Archaeolinguistic Study of Two Andean Radicals," *Sixth Conference on Gender and Archaeology*(2000), <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~gender-p/Papers/Lizzaraga2.pdf>.

in the front of the man's torso). The fact that one of the holes is where the male figure's navel should be is also significant; the navel, as the center of the body and the connection with the mystery of birth, is a powerful spot from which this piece gives "birth" to music. The musical instrument allows the male to perform a female function, giving birth; through this gender-crossing activity the spiritual nature of musical instruments is intensified, by associating it with the betweenness and strangeness of a male giving birth. The piece gives birth in another sense, in that the male-female couple of the whole piece has produced a third entity, a sound, an engendering of spirit power through their union.

Another example of a joined couple, from the Colima culture of western Mexico (Fig. 4.2), depicts the couple standing, joined near the hip, in such a way that they seem to constitute a third figure between them. His left leg and her right visually pull away from their bodies; they join together not at the hip but fully along the thigh. The pair of legs thus created seems to form its own unit, separate from the contributing figures. Faint surface painting shows that the man and woman both have one decorated and one plain leg; this pairing is repeated in the two of their legs that are joined together, further emphasizing them as a coherent pair. Above the joined legs, where a torso would normally be, is the space formed between the couple's embracing arms and their bodies. Rather than emptiness, we can view the space thus created as a place of ambiguity. This can in fact be another expression of the power in male-female complementarity—the space between them which may constitute, through its neither-male-nor-femaleness, a third sex or gender, a generative power that is frequently associated with the spirit world and the force that, in Quechua, is expressed in the verb *camay*. *Camay* is the force that animates and gives life to everything on the earth, but it is also a part of the non-physical spirit world. "*Camay* escapes the



seemingly handy glosses of ‘to create’ [because ‘create’ connotes an *ex nihilo* act, while *camay* connotes the energizing of extant matter] and ‘to fashion’ [because fashion suggests only an initial shaping of inert matter, whereas *camay* is a continuous act that works upon a being as long as it exists].”<sup>67</sup> *Camay* exists in inchoate and concrete forms, and moves between these forms. The *camac* (agentive form, ‘*camay-er*’) is the “vitalizing prototype...the *camasca*, its tangible evidence or manifestation.”<sup>68</sup> “Religious practice supplicates the *camac* ever to vitalize its *camasca*.”<sup>69</sup> Its power comes from the dynamic interaction of dualities, an interaction that creates new life, a new existence, sometimes a whole world. The space between is often more important than what flanks it; it embraces all liminalities within it. It is very much related to the other world of the spirit forces: powerful, beyond most human control, and difficult to comprehend.

One explicit depiction of creative force resulting from the “space between” is through the representation of sexual activity between a male and a female. There is a strong tradition of sexual portrayal in Andean art all along the coast, with the Moche culture being the best known (Fig. 4.3). The joining of male and female was associated with the joining of water and earth in agriculture, the source of life in a forbidding climate. It was not just a symbol of this fertility; it was spiritually connected to it, the one reinforcing and giving power to the other. The power could be considered as erupting from the “both male-and-female” third space created by intercourse; where the joined couple becomes a single entity with neither identity and yet both, creating a liminality that exists as long as the physical act but with repercussions lasting well beyond it.

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<sup>67</sup> Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí*, 16.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

While the Maya were not prone to explicit depictions of sexual activity, the discovery in the early 1980s of sexually-themed cave decorations in Guatemala indicates that sexual interaction held some meaning (Fig. 4.4). It is significant that these images were found in a cave, far from the ordered, civilized world of Mayan cities. Caves are places of primordial origin, wombs of the earth and entrances to the Underworld in Mesoamerican thought,<sup>70</sup> so it is not surprising that something as chaotic, creative, and powerful as sex would be depicted there rather than on the public monuments of the urban centers. In several ancient Mesoamerican traditions, caves were considered the entrance to the other world and the origin of mankind. The religious center of Teotihuacan in central Mexico owed its fame to a cave believed to be the emergence point of humanity. Hundreds of years after the fall and abandonment of the city, Aztec rulers would return to this place to honor its spiritual power as the place where the sun was created through the self-sacrifice of two gods.<sup>71</sup> This tale illustrates another principle of complementarity, which is reciprocity; acts of creation (birth) require acts of destruction (death) to maintain the balance of the cosmos. Disturbing the balance too far would result in the end of the world, and traditions of sacrifice were based upon the assumption that the ritual deaths would assure future fertility and births.

The joining of male and female couples is not only important for humans, it is also important for supernatural beings as well. The Aztec gods of primordial creation, Ometecuhtli and Omecihuatl, were a male and female pair, as were many other gods of the Aztec pantheon.<sup>72</sup> In Mesoamerica, a dual unit of male plus female was considered more

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<sup>70</sup> Doris Heyden, "An Interpretation of the Cave Underneath the Pyramid of the Sun in Teotihuacan, Mexico," *American Antiquity* 40, no. 2 (1975): 134.

<sup>71</sup> Townsend, *The Aztecs*, 128-129.

<sup>72</sup> These include Tonacatecuhtli and Tonacacihuatl, Lord and Lady of Sustenance (another expression of Ometecuhtli and Omecihuatl), Xochipilli and Xochiquetzal, god and goddess of flowers, and Mictlantecuhtli and Michlancihuatl, Lord and Lady of the Land of the Dead. Water was split between deities, including the

powerful than an individual of either sex.<sup>73</sup> The process of creation, powerful and mysterious, requires the interaction of male and female. This is why infertile couples were not considered to have the powers generative couples had, and why especially important individuals were referred to as “Father Mothers,” regardless of gender or, indeed, whether the individual was still alive.<sup>74</sup>

In another form of complementarity, spirit beings could also join with humans; in the Andes there are many folk tales of mountain spirits who grant water in return for sexual favors.<sup>75</sup> One tale attributes the creation of a spring to the *huaca* Paria Caca through his love for the woman Chuqui Suso, ensuring that her kin group would always be able to water their maize crop.<sup>76</sup> In the art of the Moche and Chimú cultures, the “Deity Making Love” motif features a male supernatural being engaging in intercourse with a human female. In the Moche version, human and supernatural attendants witness the event; in the Chimú iteration, fruiting branches spring from their union (Fig. 4.5). In this way the woman physically communicates with the spirit world in order to bring water and fertility to the human world. In the contemporary lowland Napo Quichua culture of Ecuador, forest spirits (*sacha supays*) appear to humans as seductive and beautiful members of the opposite sex to express their interest in them.<sup>77</sup> The spirits sometimes do this in order to entice a person into the spirit world as a spouse, but this will also happen as an offer of spiritual power over game animals, forest medicines or cultivated plants.<sup>78</sup> The line between the two offers is thin, and expresses the danger inherent in communication with the forces of the spirit world. Contact with this

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masculine Tlaloc (god of rain) and the feminine Chalchiuhtlicue (goddess of springs, rivers, lakes and the sea). Ibid., 118-119.

<sup>73</sup> Klein, "None of the Above," 188.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Salomon and Urioste, *Huarochirí*, Chapter 6, sec.82-89.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Carmen and Joaquin Andi, Interview, June 22-23 2005.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

world can be overwhelming and dangerous; it is a short step from being aided by the spirits to being abducted by them. The interaction of human and spirit is most frequently expressed in terms of a gendered duality—the human is approached by the spirit in the form of the opposite gender. Yet there is an implication, especially in the Napo Quichua stories, that the spirits themselves are gender ambiguous, and that they take on the gender that suits them at any particular moment.

Sexual ambiguity is also present as a theme in ancient American art. This ambiguity can reside in the lack of genital description or the mixing of genital attributes, either as intersex or as an individual with “in-between” genitalia. Relatively few ancient American cultures depicted sex and gender in their art by clearly demonstrating primary sexual characteristics. However, in those cultures that do depict genitals, an unusual appearance must be interpreted as an indication of sex or gender difference. It should also be interpreted as significant when a culture does not depict these characteristics at all. In some Mesoamerican cultures, a being whose gender is ambiguous subverts the generative meaning of gender complementarity. Gender ambiguous individuals were seen as incomplete, unfulfilled, a compromised sexual identity.<sup>79</sup> This inversion can have its own spiritual power, however, as it enters into the liminal realm of “neither-nor”: neither male nor female nor any other sex, as opposed to the “also-and” pairings that are associated with fertile couples. In other cultures, androgyny, like a doubled sexuality, is a permutation of the forces of creation, and therefore powerful: individuals of “uncertain gender” were considered powerful shamans and midwives in other parts of ancient Mesoamerica.<sup>80</sup> Thus the sexually

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<sup>79</sup> Klein, “None of the Above,” 190.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

different could be seen as trading one kind of generative power (physical) for another (spiritual), a further expression of the reciprocity between this world and the next.

What constitutes this ambiguous identity can be either the confusion of primary sexual characteristics or the complete absence of them. This is especially true in cultures which otherwise clearly depict genitalia. West Mexican figurines are usually clearly sexed, yet there are some that are deliberately sexless. Most significantly, these sexless individuals are never part of a joined couple, where the distinction between the sexes, while sometimes subtle, is still present.<sup>81</sup> Many Aztec sculptures depicting impersonators of the god Xipe Totec have delicately detailed surfaces, yet do not depict genitalia (Fig. 4.6). In representations which do depict male genitalia, only the testes are depicted outside the flayed skin.<sup>82</sup> Xipe Totec, “Our Lord the Flayed One,” was a god of rebirth and regeneration. His impersonators wore the flayed skins of sacrificial victims until they rotted from them, revealing the fresh, new, whole skin beneath in a symbolic renewal. It would seem that such principles derive from a generative and therefore conceptually sexual foundation. It is consequently puzzling that the genitalia are often not fully depicted. Perhaps it is a reflection of the transsexual nature of some Aztec gods, a doubling of sexual properties that results in an indeterminate sex.<sup>83</sup> Another explanation would be that like a seed, which has no sex until the plant matures, the deity impersonator has no sex in the “husk” he will soon shed.<sup>84</sup> The exposure of the testes in some examples may emphasize this by exposing the seed like

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<sup>81</sup> Marilyn Goldstein, "Gesture, Role, and Gender in West Mexican Sculpture," in *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller (USA: University Press of America, 1988), 54.

<sup>82</sup> Esther Pasztory, *Aztec Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1983), 227, 283.

<sup>83</sup> Kellogg, "The Woman's Room," 568.

<sup>84</sup> Aztec legend states that at one point in their early and persecuted history, a marital alliance with the kingdom of Culhuacán got off to a bad start when the Aztecs, instead of marrying the Culhuacán princess off to one of their nobles, instead sacrificed her and paraded her flayed skin before her father during a religious festival. This does not seem to be the same as the Xipe Totec ritual. David Carrasco, *Quetzalcoatl and the Irony of Empire: Myths and Prophecies in the Aztec Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 154.

parts of male anatomy on the priest within the skin, while the outer husk of the sacrificial victim is depicted as sexless.

Doubled sexuality, as opposed to ambiguity, occurs biologically in intersexed persons, individuals born with primary sexual characteristics of both males and females. A rare occurrence, this would have been seen as a powerful combination of masculine and feminine attributes within a single individual. The idea of intersexuality would have been incorporated into individuals who were born intersexed as well as supernatural beings that could change their sex or maintained a dual-sexed identity. Briefly returning to the cultures of the Arctic, Chugash tradition speaks of the *aranu'tiq*, people who were literally half-man and half-woman, split down the middle. They were able to perform the work of both sexes and were exceptionally skilled at these tasks, the doubling of their sex representative of the doubling of their skill and power.<sup>85</sup> The conception of this power is reflected in intersex gods of the ancient Americas. Pairing of male and female deities responsible for the same aspect may be one way of describing a single, intersex god by naming the two elements that comprise it. The Aztec god Tezcatlipoca was conceived of as a “shape-shifting transsexual,” a god who could be either male or female, and sometimes neither.<sup>86</sup> The ability to change back and forth between male and female is one source of power, as already seen, but Tezcatlipoca’s ability to be neither is an expression of power as well. The “neither” of sexual ambiguity can be either a doubling of the two other sexes, which brings the power of generation, or of a third sex which contains the power of liminality.

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<sup>85</sup> Stewart, "Kipijuitiq in Netsilik Society," 18.

<sup>86</sup> Klein, "None of the Above," 221.

Prehistoric clay figurines of women from Ecuadoran Amazonia have enlarged clitorises, visually confusing female genitalia with male.<sup>87</sup> In Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui's famous drawing of the Andean cosmos, his description of the ultimate creative force translates as "whether it be male, whether it be female."<sup>88</sup> While Carolyn Dean understands this to mean an androgyny that is *neither* male nor female, it can also be understood as *both* male and female. Intersex individuals were not unknown in the Andes, and there is at least one representation in the collection of the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera (Fig. 4.7). In a meaningful gesture, the figure appears to insert its penis into its vagina, an act of autoeroticism that may also evoke a divine creation myth. Intersex sculptures were objects of reverence in the Andes at the time of Spanish contact, an important indicator of the spiritual power they were believed to hold.<sup>89</sup>

Gender identities were based not only in the perception of primary sexual characteristics and their ability to change, but also based in performative aspects: what men and women *did*. Their gender was the layer of social performance laid on top of their biological sex. For example, in some societies women raise children and weave, while men hunt and make war. Judith Butler notes that, "if gender is something one becomes—but can never be—then gender itself is a kind of becoming or activity...an incessant and repeated action of some sort."<sup>90</sup> Gender is a "repeated stylization" which strives to create a substance for the action of gender.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Anna C. Roosevelt, "Interpreting Certain Female Images in Prehistoric Art," in *The Role of Gender in Precolumbian Art and Architecture*, ed. Virginia E. Miller (USA: University Press of America, 1988), 12.

<sup>88</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 148-149.

<sup>89</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 22,177.

<sup>90</sup> Quoted in Joyce, "Beauty, Sexuality..." 87.

<sup>91</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 25,33.

Complications then arise around those who do not or cannot perform these activities. Traditional North American native societies with traditional “two-spirit” roles base this gender category upon an individual choosing the occupations of the gender associated with the opposite sex: men doing beadwork and women competing in rodeos, for example.<sup>92</sup> What then is the status in other cultures of those who, due to age or physical anomaly, cannot perform their gender? Children, while they are not yet able to reproduce and therefore fulfill the function of their sex, need to be trained in their roles. The aged, however, are beyond producing children and performing their gender roles, and so return to a state which is much less differentiated.<sup>93</sup> In Maya culture, as in many contemporary indigenous societies, people who are beyond reproductive age are freed from the taboos of their gender; often they also become free to perform and partake in rituals that are perceived as harmful to fertility.<sup>94</sup> During the early years of Spanish colonization in Peru, the priest Pablo José de Arriaga noted that old men and women should be considered prime suspects in a search for “sorcerers,” his term for shamanic practitioners and followers of native religious practices.<sup>95</sup>

Arriaga goes on to note that the elderly are not the only candidates, however. He warns that persons “crippled, lame...or peculiar in some other way” were also possibly shamans.<sup>96</sup> If their difference prevented them from performing their gender role, then it is possible they became something other than male or female, and thus a principal candidate for shamanic practice. Dean notes that in Inka society, it was less critical to gender-identify “nonreproductive humans... the infirm, the disabled, the blind, the deaf, the mute,

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<sup>92</sup> Joan M. Gero and M. Christina Scattolin, "Beyond Complementarity and Hierarchy: New Definitions for Archaeological Gender Relations," in *In Pursuit of Gender*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson and Miriam Rosen-Ayalon (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2002), 160.

<sup>93</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 162.

<sup>94</sup> Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," 76.

<sup>95</sup> Pablo José de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, trans. L. Clark Keating (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 116.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*



hunchbacks, etc.” these are the same individuals who would have been considered marked by spirit forces.<sup>97</sup>

In several contemporary Mesoamerican cultures, the absence of a foot is specifically seen as marking an individual as sexually different and representative of chaos.<sup>98</sup> The sexually ambiguous Aztec deity Tezcatlipoca was petitioned to cure maladies of the legs and feet.<sup>99</sup> K’awil, the Mayan god of the royal lineage, had one foot that was replaced by a serpent; he was considered to be the first Maya shaman.<sup>100</sup> The serpent foot may be a reference to shamanic vision, which often includes snakes and other reptiles. In Moche art, there are numerous representations of individuals who are missing a foot, ravaged by disease, kyphotic, or otherwise physically abnormal. Their relationship to categories of sex and gender ambiguity is discussed in Chapter 6.

### **Gender and Dress in the Ancient Americas**

Gender does not necessarily reside in the physical body; as a performance (per Butler) it relies upon costume to create itself. The relationship between costume, sex, and gender can be a complex one, and while the costume elements commonly associated with masculine and feminine gender in ancient Andean cultures have been outlined, instances of ambiguity and gender complication need to be discussed. Heather Lechtman, in her studies of Andean metallurgy, has proposed that the surface of a work in metal was understood to convey the essence of what was inside it. Depletion gilding allowed the gold submerged in

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<sup>97</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 161-162.

<sup>98</sup> Klein, "None of the Above," 211, 219.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 225-226.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

an alloy to emerge, expressing the gold within through an exterior golden skin.<sup>101</sup> In a complementary way, gold placed upon buildings or rulers infused that essential quality that was understood or desired to be there.<sup>102</sup> It is possible, then, to argue that by donning the clothes that refer to or belong to another gender, a person was able to alter their essence, effectively transforming not just to the gender represented by their costume but to the sex associated with it as well.<sup>103</sup> Clothing is still used in contemporary Andean cultures to complicate gender, especially within the bounds of ritual. It is within ritual religious practice that contemporary, Western-derived ideas about sex and gender are discarded in favor of older notions about the nature of the world. This temporary state says less about the individual who crosses or mixes genders ceremonially than it does about the place of ambiguous or blended gender within the society's worldview. The *Witite* dancers of Caylloma, Peru, are an example of costume used to complicate gender. *Witite* are men who dance dressed in a costume that contains elements of women's clothing. They wear the traditional decorative women's vests and skirts called *polleras*, a mask which ostensibly hides their identity, and carry slings, a traditional weapon. Prior to governmental efforts in the mid-twentieth century to curb the violence, the *Witite* not only danced at important festivals, they took part in ritual battles with their slings, which resulted in injuries and even a few deaths.<sup>104</sup> The association of the *Witite* with ritual, staged warfare, shedding blood, and sexually ambiguous dress indicates the spiritual importance of this figure.

By putting on garments that signify "woman," the *Witite* moves out of his normative place in the social category of male sex and masculine gender. However, he does not simply

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<sup>101</sup> Heather Lechtman, "Andean Value Systems and the Development of Prehistoric Metallurgy," *Technology and Culture* 25, no. 1 (1984): 30, 35.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*: 35.

<sup>103</sup> Stone-Miller, "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," 22.

<sup>104</sup> Femenias, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress*, 205.

move from that category into a female/feminine category. Instead, he inhabits a space in between the categories, one that is potent (associated with sexual conquest of women and warfare), difficult (*Witites* are considered tricksters), and kept within the confines of ritual activity. Although ostensibly bridging male and female, their final effect is to reiterate and reinforce these categories.<sup>105</sup> Were the *Witites* to persist in their dress and their behavior outside of ritual time, they would upset the social equilibrium that they otherwise help to maintain.

Also in Peru, the Chinchero incorporate male transvestism into a land-possession ritual. The *mujonomiento* is a ceremony that marks the boundaries of kin-group land holdings. Runners move from one boundary marker to another, staking a physical claim to the land. One of the participants is the *waylaka*, a man who dresses in traditional women's clothing. At the stones which mark the boundaries, he dances and gives humorous accounts of the history of these markers.<sup>106</sup> Marking and dividing land is an important aspect of contemporary Andean rural life; it is often closely integrated with aspects of social organization and status. Rituals of land use and maintenance can perpetuate these systems even where they have otherwise become jumbled or abandoned.<sup>107</sup> This is not surprising, as land claims are directly tied to agriculture and animal husbandry, the life-blood of the people. The Chinchero inclusion of transvestism in the *mujonomiento* indicates another instance of temporary gender-crossing for ritual purpose.

There is also an example of male spiritual specialists who are compelled to wear garments of the opposite sex; Dixon comments on the Patagonian "tribes" which required

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 26, 207.

<sup>106</sup> Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, 19-20.

<sup>107</sup> Paul H. Gelles, "Equilibrium and Extraction: Dual Organization in the Andes," *American Ethnologist* 22, no. 4 (1995): 718-719.

their male shamans to wear women's clothes.<sup>108</sup> Rosemary Joyce has pointed out that the representation of nobles in Classic Maya monuments sometimes combine male and female costume elements, evoking the power of the creator gods and claiming their power for the nobility.<sup>109</sup> What was stressed was a "unified elite identity" that allowed individuals to assume dual gender identities, and the ritual and cosmological power associated with that doubling.<sup>110</sup> The clothing of one gender in the garments of another can be a powerful tool of spiritual practice; it is a deliberate creation of ambiguity and therefore of the liminal spaces within which spirit forces reside in an undefined state. By physically associating with that ambiguity, the shaman or other spiritual specialist is not just identifying with the ambiguous; he or she is *becoming* that ambiguity, changing at an essential level into an ambiguously sexed individual. The designation of the physically different and sexually ambiguous as ritual specialists in ancient societies may have been an attempt at keeping this ambiguity within boundaries that protected the more stable categories of male and female.

That sex was closely tied to gender in some societies can be seen in the emphasis on the performance of gender roles. What is greatly different from the current Western view of sex and gender was the idea that one's sex as well as gender could change with life changes, whether through disease or age, and that the changes could be temporary or long-term, depending on the nature of the change and the individual. Dressing an individual in sexually ambiguous clothing, or clothing that is at odds with their sexual appearance, is a way of signifying such a change of sex or sexually ambiguous state. Judith Butler states that transvestism ("drag") reveals the contingency of gender; while this may be a source of epistemological discomfort in contemporary Western culture, it may rather have been a

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<sup>108</sup> Roland B. Dixon, "Some Aspects of the American Shaman," *Journal of American Folklore* 21(1908): 2.

<sup>109</sup> Joyce, "Construction of Gender in Classic Maya Monuments," 182.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 182, 186-187.

statement of worldview in the ancient Andean world.<sup>111</sup> This was seen as more than just a surface change, it was a change in the essence of that person, and signified alteration of their being. As Lorber notes, clothes often conceal sex in favor of displaying gender.<sup>112</sup> This change was not exclusively perceived as a good thing: the Inka would shame warriors they had defeated by sending them women's clothes, indicating they had faltered in their fulfillment of the masculine role.<sup>113</sup> This was the power of not only gender, but dress in the Americas.

### **Moche Sex and Gender: Previous Studies**

There has been relatively little written on the subject of sex and/or gender in Moche art. For the most part, gender was not an issue in early studies because the majority of Moche iconography deals with activities deemed masculine in Western culture, especially warfare. Sex and gender were mostly implicit rather than explicit, and the relationship between the sexes was rarely discussed. Rafael Larco Hoyle, in examining the representation of scenes involving sexual acts in Moche art, concentrated on his interpretation of the moral message of the pieces.<sup>114</sup> Paul Gebhard, an associate of the sexologist Dr. Alfred Kinsey, was likewise more interested in the moral history of the pieces and their place in Peruvian prehistory than in the sex and gender relationships they depicted.<sup>115</sup> In 1977, Anne Marie Hocquenghem first wrote about the identification of biological females in Moche art, using

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<sup>111</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 137.

<sup>112</sup> Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender*, 22.

<sup>113</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 13.

<sup>114</sup> Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Checan: Ensayo sobre las representaciones eróticas del Perú* (Geneva: Nagel, 1965); also Sarah E.M. Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art: Fertility and Ritual in Pre-Columbian Peru" (New Mexico State University, 2001), 4.

<sup>115</sup> Paul Gebhard, "Sexual Motifs in Prehistoric Peruvian Culture," in *Studies in Erotic Art*, ed. Theodore Bowie and Cornelia Christenson (NY: Basic Books, 1970). Dr. Kinsey communicated with Larco Hoyle about the sexual representations in Hoyle's collection. See Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art", 3-4.

sexual representations as the basis for her conclusions. She was able to equate the representation of braided hair to women whose genitalia were visible, and used this to call attention to a rare “portrait” head vessel that portrayed a woman.<sup>116</sup> She went on to use this information in an article co-written with Patricia Lyon, identifying female supernaturals in Moche art.<sup>117</sup> The most important “supernatural” woman they identify is both the human High Priestess of the Sacrifice Ceremony and her representation as a transformed, supernatural being.<sup>118</sup> In both cases, her braids are the key indicator of her sex. This same figure was treated more recently by Ulla Holmquist Pachas, who followed the work of Hocquenghem and Lyon by incorporating her along with several other representations into a larger “Mythical Female Personage.”<sup>119</sup> However, none of these authors examined the relationship between female and male figures in Moche art, nor did they treat the concept of gender as a separate entity from sex.<sup>120</sup> Daniel Arsenault, in the 1990s and early 2000s, further explored methods of identifying women in Moche art, as well as the relationship between male and female actors in the Sacrifice Ceremony.<sup>121</sup> His studies represent the beginning of an exploration of the social interaction between the sexes in Moche

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<sup>116</sup> Hocquenghem, "Un "Vase Portrait" de Femme Mochica." The vase in question is not in the strictest sense a portrait, as it represents the head at a generic level of facial detail.

<sup>117</sup> Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females."

<sup>118</sup> Some authors have chosen to class the High Priestess as a supernatural figure, given that she is sometimes depicted with fangs, an element that signifies sacredness and supernatural status in Moche art. For the purposes of this study, I have considered only those representations without fangs, in which she is human. A comparison of the representations of individuals who appear in both human and supernatural form remains to be undertaken.

<sup>119</sup> Holmquist Pachas, "El personaje mítico femenino de la iconografía Mochica".

<sup>120</sup> While Hocquenghem has addressed the possibility of homosexuality and transvestism in Moche art in her writings, she has not pursued these topics as a focus.

<sup>121</sup> Daniel Arsenault, "Representation of Women in Moche Iconography" (paper presented at the Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, 1991); Daniel Arsenault, "Les Rapports Hommes-Femmes Dans le Contexte des Sacrifices Humains Chez les Mochicas du Pérou," in *Tranquillitas: Mélanges en l'Honneur de Tran tam Tinh*, ed. Marie-Odile Jentel, Gisèle Deschênes-Wagner, and V. Tam Tinh Tran (Québec: Université Laval, 1995); Daniel Arsenault, "Gender Relationships and Symbolism in Some Moche Sacrificial and Mortuary Contexts," in *Mortuary Practices and Ritual Associations: Shamanic Elements in Prehistoric Funerary Contexts in South America*, ed. John E. Staller and Elizabeth J. Currie (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2001).

iconography, but was not a comprehensive exploration of gender in Moche art. In his recent book about the adherent meanings surrounding representations of sex, death, and sacrifice in Moche art and culture, Steve Bourget suggests that a type of hooded cape worn by male skeletal figures is an “embedded metaphor” that signals a female presence within the depiction.<sup>122</sup> However, while recognizing the complexity and sophistication of these depictions, he does not follow this observation with an exploration of complicated gender, mainly because it is not relevant to the argument of his book. Hocquenghem, likewise, has noted the sexual ambiguity of some representations, but has not placed them within a coherent ideological framework, usually opting to choose the more probable sex rather than addressing the possibility of a complicated gender.<sup>123</sup> As I will discuss below, and has been noted by Arsenault, gender categories within the Sacrifice Ceremony and its attendant elements<sup>124</sup> appear to be more rigid than in some other aspects of Moche iconography, and a broader view of the representation of gender will allow us to flesh out the bones of gender relationships in Moche art.

More recently, there has been a resurgence of interest in women in Moche art, due to the archaeological discoveries of the graves of high elite women at Huaca Cao Viejo in the El Brujo architectural complex of the Chicama Valley and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley. Luis Jaime Castillo, lead archaeologist at San José de Moro, has written extensively on the finds at the site, which span occupations by at least three different cultures. He and his students have focused on the sociopolitical position of these women, their unique power relative to Moche political structures observed at other sites, and the

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<sup>122</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 105,108.

<sup>123</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, "Les Représentations de Chamans dans l'Iconographie Mochica," *Ñawpa Pacha* 15(1977): 126.

<sup>124</sup> This includes not only representations of the Sacrifice Ceremony itself, but also representations of prisoners, their attendants before and after sacrifice, and warfare: essentially the elements of the Warrior Narrative.

effect the position of women seems to have had on iconography at San José de Moro.<sup>125</sup> The Señora de Cao, a high elite woman discovered more recently at Huaca Cao Viejo, has fewer published accounts. Most of the published works about the Señora focus on her funerary chamber and accompanying objects.<sup>126</sup> It was however possible to visit the site, view her body, and see some of the artifacts that had been buried with her, as well as speak with the archaeologists and conservators at the site.<sup>127</sup> It is clear that, like the Priestesses at San José de Moro, she was an extremely important individual with ties to Moche religious cosmology and ideology.

The archaeology at San José de Moro, in particular, is useful in understanding the real-world existence of a politically powerful woman or women. An examination of San José de Moro ceramics must take into account whether the site iconography enters into a dialogue about gender relationships that might reflect this anomalous situation, and whether any similar situation emerges at Huaca Cao Viejo. These case studies of gender-atypical politics will be compared in Chapter 6 to the iconography encountered at more typical Moche sites from both the northern and southern regions, sites governed by male elites.

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<sup>125</sup> Christopher Donnan and Luis Jaime Castillo, "Excavaciones de tumbas de sacerdotisas Moche en San José de Moro, Jequetepeque," in *Moche: Propuestas y perspectivas*, ed. Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica (Trujillo: Universidad Nacional de La Libertad, 1994); Luis Jaime Castillo, "Las Señoras de San José de Moro: Rituales funerarios de mujeres de élite en la costa norte del Perú," *Arkeos: Revista Electrónica de Arqueología PUCP* 1, no. 3 (2006), <http://mileto.pucp.edu.pe/arkeos/content/archivecategory/2006/07/1/>. Luis Jaime Castillo, "Five Sacred Priestesses from San José de Moro: Elite Women Funerary Rituals on Peru's Northern Coast," *Arkeos: Revista Electrónica de Arqueología PUCP* 1, no. 3 (2006); Ana Cecilia Mauricio and Jessica Castro, "La última Sacerdotisa Mochica de San José de Moro: Excavaciones en el Área 42," in *Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro Temporada 2007*, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo (Lima: Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2007).

<sup>126</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo, "Las Señoras de San José de Moro: Rituales funerarios en la costa norte del Perú," in *Divina y humana: la mujer en los antiguos México y Perú* (Mexico: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2005); Castillo, "Five Sacred Priestesses from San José de Moro: Elite Women Funerary Rituals on Peru's Northern Coast."; Donnan and Castillo, "Excavaciones de tumbas de sacerdotisas Moche en San José de Moro, Jequetepeque."; Mauricio and Castro, "La última Sacerdotisa Mochica de San José de Moro: Excavaciones en el Área 42."; Williams, "Mystery of the Tattooed Mummy."

<sup>127</sup> Visits to Huaca Cao Viejo, lead archaeologist Régulo Franco Jordán, November 1 and December 17, 2008.



## CHAPTER 5 COSTUME, SEX, AND GENDER IN MOCHE ART

### **Introduction**

This chapter will lay the groundwork for understanding the complication of gender within the Moche iconographic system. The basic repertoire of representational costume is first presented, then the modes of representation of biological men and women within the system are examined, and the way in which the ideals of gender are constructed upon these representations is identified. This is done by identifying the elements of costume that consistently appear in representations which clearly depict male and female genitalia, in other words, how biological sex is “clothed,” and then the costume repertoires that can be securely associated with the construction of male and female sex are discussed. Then, the ways in which masculine and feminine gender identities are formed on male and female sex through the life cycle are examined, as well as how this construction takes place through the representation of actions and contexts. The depiction of status within male and female gender categories, and how this further elaborates the costume “code” used within Moche iconography, is then analyzed. Once this base of sex, gender, and status has been laid, it will be demonstrated in the following chapter that there are individuals in Moche art who do not easily fit into masculine and feminine gender categories, and therefore should be considered “gender-complicated” individuals.

It is vitally important to reiterate at this point that this study approaches sex, gender, and gender complication as they are created within the Moche iconographic corpus and through image-clothing, *not* as they may or may not have been experienced and negotiated in daily life. While archaeological data and ethnographic analogies are noted in order to better

understand some elements of the iconography, the following interpretation deals solely with the constructed, ideological world of representation. This world, while it is certainly related to the lived life of the Moche, is not taken as a record of it, and as mentioned in the discussion of methodology, is expected to differ from “reality.” The dialogue is restricted to representations of human beings only, and does not discuss at any length figures with obvious supernatural elements. While there is certainly a useful exploration of the gender dynamic within the supernatural world to be made, the present study is concerned here with the ideological expression of sex and gender within the human world. In order to do this, it is first necessary to firmly establish the relationship between identifiable biological sex and costume in Moche art.

### **Moche Costume Elements in Representation**

The following section is not intended to be a comprehensive catalogue of Moche costume elements, as the reconstruction of Moche dress is not the main objective of this study. Instead, this section is intended as a broad introduction to the elements of Moche costume (including hairstyle) as depicted in the art, so that later discussions of iconographic trends may be better understood. It will also provide a context for understanding the meaning of important elements of appearance in Moche art.

Hair and its covering was an important part of the Moche vocabulary for body representation (Figs. 5.1-5.4). In Moche art, hair is most often “contained,” either through covering (for men) or binding in braids (for women). Uncovered, unbraided and especially ungroomed hair seems to indicate a state of transition or liminality, in which status is ill-defined. By covering the head or grooming the hair, Moche costume manipulated its

importance, and gave meaning to the uncovered head as well. Moche depictions indicate warriors defeated in battle by their opponent grasping their now-exposed forelock; later, the naked prisoners are shown with uncovered and sometimes unkempt hair. Braided hair, sometimes terminating in feline or serpent heads, has been identified by Hocquenghem and Lyons as a major indicator of sex in female supernaturals.<sup>1</sup> There may be an association between unbound hair and the spirit forces; perhaps styling, covering, and binding hair was meant to contain a spiritual power that was dangerous if left unfettered. Moche female burials have been found with braided hair,<sup>2</sup> and hair combed and twisted into “ropes,” giving an archaeological correspondence with the represented styles.<sup>3</sup>

Hairstyles are relatively limited in number, partially due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of depictions show covered heads. Uncovered hair is seen on women and prisoners; prisoners are depicted with a range of hair lengths from long to short, and there are even depictions of prisoners who have had their hair shaved, with the exception of a forelock at the top of the head (Figs. 5.5 and 5.6).<sup>4</sup> As mentioned above, uncovering and grasping the hair is a symbol of a warrior’s defeat in Moche art. This defeat is usually followed by the removal of the conquered warrior’s clothes, which ties the representation of an uncovered head in combination with nudity to a loss, or at the very least a change, of status and identity. Bourget notes that some women in sexual scenes wear their hair shorter, and that the same hairstyle is seen on captured warriors and sacrificial victims of both sexes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females," 32.

<sup>2</sup> Donnan and Donnan, "Moche Textiles from Pacatnamú," 20.

<sup>3</sup> William Duncan Strong and Clifford Evans, *Cultural Stratigraphy in the Virú Valley Northern Peru* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), 142.

<sup>4</sup> While Benson refers to this as the “prisoner” haircut (1974: 26), a forelock tuft is also seen on male figures carrying large bundles using tumplines. This will be discussed below.

<sup>5</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 161.

This, however, is not true in all cases and indeed within the research corpus there is a significant portion of captured warriors depicted with long hair (see Figure 2).

Depictions in ceramic art of textile elements on the head and on the body tend to be plain, that is to say the variety of decoration is limited, with the most frequent representation being that of undecorated textiles. The weavers depicted on a *florero*-style bowl in the collection of the British Museum (Fig. 3.4 and 5.7) are shown weaving textiles with elaborate geometric designs, based upon examples placed before them. Seated figures that accompany the weavers in the same scene wear textiles with striped designs, and headcloths with patterns similar to those the women are weaving. Despite this depiction of elaborate textile production, the majority of represented textiles are plain. This is at odds with what we know was possible in Moche textile arts, given the pieces which have managed to survive. There is a demonstrated sophistication of color, imagery, and texture in Moche textiles which is absent in all but a few of the depictions of costume in the art.

While, as this example shows, pattern and ornament of textiles are depicted in the art, the highest level of represented design is far simpler than what was possible, and patterned textiles in general are far outnumbered by plain textiles, and smaller areas of textiles (such as headcloths and tunic cuffs) are more likely to have patterning than large ones such as tunics or loincloths. In addition, the pattern types are overwhelmingly geometric and relatively simple. There are few representations of tunics with zoomorphic figures or elaborate scenes (Figs. 5.8 and 5.9). It would appear that for whatever reason, this aspect of Moche culture was not an essential part of the language of representation. This may be due in part to the Moche preference for bichromatic ceramic decoration, which can make the rendering of a sophisticated design difficult, especially if the design was texture-based. It is unclear

whether the technology and technique of ceramics dictated this simplification or if there was a conscious decision to simplify the appearance of color and texture in representation, which then affected the limited choice of colors. In any event, the “shifter” from the real garment to the image-garment almost always included a significant simplification of textile technique.

It should be noted also that the techniques and physicality of costume are not depicted except in certain circumstances, such as the holes used for attaching metal plating to textile and the use of shoulder pins, both items which create semiotic difference (Figs. 5.14 and 5.15 show plating examples, shoulder pins will be discussed at length below). The basic physicality of costume is taken for granted and the technique of textile creation and garment construction is rarely a concern of the representations, unless it designates a distinction of difference. There are some motifs represented on clothing which recur, as will be noted here and in Chapter 6. With this aspect of meaning-making largely removed from the representational vocabulary, the instances in which it does occur gain even greater power of signification. As well, other factors become key in describing status and role in Moche art, most notably the number and complexity of costume elements.

The head coverings depicted in Moche art range from the simple to the complex. It would appear that the simpler coverings often acted as bases for more elaborate elements placed on top of them. The most basic head coverings in Moche art are a pointed kerchief which was usually tied under the chin, a simple cap, or the same cap with a flap falling behind it. There are also depictions of a length of fabric which is wound about the head several times, sometimes referred to as a turban (see Figures 5.3, 5.10, 5.11, and 5.71). The more complex a headdress ensemble was, the less common it was in the corpus, consistent with a hierarchical society and the use of costume to indicate rank.

Complex headdresses are made up of combinations of elements, the most frequent of which are circlets (circular bands of varying width) made from animal skins or constructed to resemble them, fans or panaches made of feathers and/or long plumes, and crests shaped like the sacrificial knife, called a *tumi* (Figs. 5.12-5.16). These *tumi* crests are usually an exaggeration of the knife form, being more heavily curved and extending further laterally. Animal skins depicted in the headdresses may or may not refer to effigies, as both types have been recovered from graves. It would seem that with the exception of the chevron-animal headdress, effigies and actual skins are more or less interchangeable in the representational vocabulary. Other circlets are plain, their construction not represented, and serve as platforms for attached elements such as projections shaped like mace heads or large circular bosses (Figs. 5.17 and 5.18). Frequently, headdresses which include a circlet are placed over a kerchief or other textile element, and may be secured in place with a tie beneath the chin. Another important head covering is the helmet worn by warriors (Fig. 5.19). These helmets are usually conical, although there are some representations of a more hemispherical shape, and often are shown held in place by a chin strap. The helmet can be smooth or constructed of tiers, but almost always has a flap in the back that falls down the neck. The flap can be depicted as attached to the helmet itself or emerging from beneath it, and if the helmet is decorated the flap is almost always decorated in the same or matching pattern. *Tumi* crests are often attached to the peak of the helmet. While the initial proliferation of headdresses is at first overwhelming, it soon becomes apparent that even the most complex headdresses are composed of separate elements common to other headdresses. The apparent complexity is for the most part composed of a standard set of elements. Very rarely is a headdress depicted that does not incorporate these standard elements (see for example Fig. 5.20).

In addition to head coverings, ear and nose ornaments were a part of the set of elements that could appear on the head. Nose ornaments are infrequently depicted, and consist of two main types: a crescent that resembles the exaggerated form of the *tumi* crest, and a circular shape (Figs. 5.21 and 5.22). Both are depicted as gripping the septum, and frequently are shown covering the mouth. Ear ornaments can be one of three basic types: ear cylinders, which are passed through a hole in the ear lobe; the more common earpool, which is placed in the ear like the ear cylinder but has a large circular disc attached to the front, which is often decorated; or a drop earring, which is a shape (most frequently a circle) suspended from the ear by a circular wire (Figs. 5.6, 5.8, 5.23 and 5.24). Like textiles, both earpools and nose ornaments are aspects of Moche art in representation which do not match what we know from excavation (Fig. 5.25). The overwhelming majority of earpools represented in Moche art are plain or decorated with simple designs of dots or spirals, while excavated examples provide a wide variety of materials and decoration.<sup>6</sup> Nose ornaments are similarly restricted in depiction while exhibiting great diversity in the archaeological record.

Of course, some of this simplification is necessary as earpools and nose ornaments are relatively small in comparison to the rest of the body (although portrait head vessels sometimes offer more detail). It would be impractical to try to depict the elaborate designs achieved by Moche jewelers on most ceramic pieces. However, it is important to bear this in mind when considering the system of representation. If the elaborate designs which helped denote the status of the wearer are not practical to depict in image-clothing, we must then understand that the less impressive styles represented in the art may be conveying the same level of status as the more opulent material culture, simply because they have been selected (by the elite patrons of the iconography) for representation. This is true for other elements of

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<sup>6</sup> See for example Alva and Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán*, 71, 75, 85, 97, 147, 211.

jewelry, such as collars and wrist cuffs, as well as textiles, as was discussed above. While the basic elements of Moche head coverings—the simple textile head cloths—display a low level of variation, the combinations of elements in more elaborate headdresses produce a large number of types. Christopher Donnan claims that, with a few exceptions, the profusion of combinations seen in his sample of portrait heads precludes a direct association between headdress elements and individual role.<sup>7</sup> There are headdresses which are associated with specific roles and actions in Moche art, but the level of diversity within the portrait corpus points to an element of interchangeability in some cases. It may be that, in some situations, it was more important to simply signify quantity of elements rather than to specifically spell out the role of the wearer through a code of specific headdress elements. In other words, we can identify a warrior through his helmet or the Priestess of the Sacrifice Ceremony through her distinctive headdress. However, it is not possible (at this time) to determine specific ranks of warriors through their additional headdress components. Nor is there a clear indication of a headdress which solely designates the priests who assist in the minor aspects of public state rituals, and does not cross over to representations of individuals who do not seem to be associated with these rituals. Headdress elements are “readable” to a degree, but it seems that not all elements are meant to be specific designations of role or status. It is quite possible that some specific meanings (kin affiliation, highly specific role designation) are not evident to us though they may have been obvious to the Moche, as discussed below.

However, given that there are some situations which clearly call for a specific headdress, such as ritual runners and warriors (Figs. 5.13, 5.18, 5.22), it should also be considered that certain roles were considered of high status because of their conferral of specific headgear. Some of the most high-status figures in Moche art, the major celebrants of

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<sup>7</sup> Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*, 74.



the Sacrifice Ceremony, wear distinctive and elaborate headdresses (Figs. 1.1, 5.26-5.28). The other individuals with distinctive headgear in Moche art—ritual runners and warriors—are part of the set of beliefs surrounding warfare and sacrifice that is celebrated in the Sacrifice Ceremony. The additions to warriors' helmets that make them visually unique may indicate aspects other than role or rank, perhaps kin affiliation or other group sub-identity.<sup>8</sup> The rigidly similar headdresses of the ritual runners points to a state of absolute conformity within the ritual. Hocquenghem associates these representations with rituals reported for the colonial era, in which young men demonstrated not only their speed but their agility in ceremonial races where they ran carrying objects which would be damaged or destroyed if they fell.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that this is a depiction of a ritual activity in which the participants wear costumes which identify them with the rite rather than with an individual identity. This would exist in contrast with some of the other headdress types in Moche art. It is interesting to note that the headdresses associated with the runners do fall into two distinctive types: one with a round projection usually carrying an animal-head design, the other a plain rectangular shape without additional decoration.<sup>10</sup> Depictions of the runners tend to show them in an alternating fashion, which while emphasizing the differences between the two headdresses, also emphasizes the integration of the groups wearing the different headdresses into a single ceremony. The implication is that while there are clearly two sets of runners, they are equally part of the ceremony. This may be an indication of moiety separations or other distinctions of Moche subgroups within the ceremony.

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<sup>8</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo, "La gesta del guerrero,"(2009), [http://sanjosedemoro.pucp.edu.pe/descargas/articulos/La\\_gesta\\_del\\_guerrero.pdf](http://sanjosedemoro.pucp.edu.pe/descargas/articulos/La_gesta_del_guerrero.pdf).

<sup>9</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 103.

<sup>10</sup> An anomalous vessel excavated from Huaca de la Luna (PT-022) shows runners wearing headcloths with geometric designs and feather fans rather than the usual round and rectangular headdresses. While the figures run in a typical desert landscape surrounded by hummingbirds, they do not carry the characteristic bags in their hands.

While, as noted above, there may be some instances in which headdresses exist as a very general marker of identity or association, there are elements of headdresses which can be understood to have certain cultural meanings, even if the specific association in Moche culture is not known. For example, the circlets in the forms of animal effigies associate the person wearing them with the spirit of that animal. Placing the effigy on the head, an important locus of spiritual energy in Andean thought, creates a fusion between the essence of the person wearing the headdress and the spirit of the animal the headdress represents. Therefore a feline effigy is an association with the feline spirit, a bird effigy with the bird spirit, and so on. The ritual runners wear animal circlets which associate them with foxes or felines, perhaps alluding to the fox's association with agricultural protection or the feline's association with supernatural power,<sup>11</sup> or to the swiftness of both animals. So while figures with animal-effigy headdresses cannot be concretely categorized in particular roles, it is possible to see that they have specific associations. Benson has demonstrated that seated figures holding felines in their laps are associated with the ritual use of coca, which itself is linked to the reverence for jaguars, and felines in general, in Andean art and religion.<sup>12</sup> She asserts that in some cases, at least, the feline stands for the Moche people as a "spirit or totem."<sup>13</sup> Different types of birds had different associations, and in the cases where a specific kind of bird is depicted in the headdress, the associations with that bird are conferred on the wearer. For example, ducks with a distinctive, flaring bill (possibly the Red Shoveler, *Anas platalea*, although others identify it as a Muscovy Duck, *Cairina moschata*) are associated with warriors in Moche art, sometimes depicted armed with the warrior's shield

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<sup>11</sup> Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, 43.

<sup>12</sup> Alan R. Sawyer, "Paracas and Nazca Iconography," in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 279.

<sup>13</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, *A Man and a Feline in Mochica Art*, *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1974), 28.

and mace. Cormorants and other diving seabirds are associated with the sea as the passage to the other world and as such are liminal creatures in their ability to travel between this world and the other.<sup>14</sup> Given that many portrait vessels do not depict circlets or other effigy-type head coverings, there would seem to be at least a basic level of meaning-making beyond simple proliferation of elements and richness of ornament. Specific instances of meaning-making will be addressed below in relation to the social identities they help create.

Head ornamentation in Moche art also includes skin decoration. We know that both body painting and tattooing were present among peoples of the north coast, and several mummified remains have been found in Moche graves with preserved tattoos.<sup>15</sup> However, it is impossible to determine from the representations whether permanent tattooing or less permanent paint is being indicated. Neither the corpus nor the published photographs surveyed for comparison contained representations of either body paint or tattooing being applied. In contemporary times, cultures in the Amazonian region use plant extracts that can sit on or stain the skin. The red-orange seeds of achiote (*Bixa orellana*) can be ground to a powder, painted on the skin with water, and washed off after use.<sup>16</sup> Fruits of the *Genipa americana* produce a liquid that stains the skin black, similar to the action of henna. It can last up to a month even with regular bathing. This tropical fruit would have been available to coastal peoples through trade. Mineral pigments could have been used to paint the body as well, and red pigments such as cinnabar have been found on bodies in Moche graves,

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<sup>14</sup> Benson, *The Mochica*, 32.

<sup>15</sup> Ubbelohde-Doering, *On the Royal Highways of the Inca*, 30; Williams, "Mystery of the Tattooed Mummy."

<sup>16</sup> Achiote paint is used in rituals, such as those for planting manioc, among the people of Santo Urku, Ecuador. When the planting is finished, the achiote must be washed off in ritual fashion, it is not simply cleaned off as part of normal body care.

indicating some form of body painting in death.<sup>17</sup> The facial designs depicted in Moche art exist in a profusion of designs. There is very little repetition of design styles, with a few exceptions, which will be discussed with their respective iconographic types. It would seem that there are two possible explanations for this diversity. One is that the depiction of face painting holds a general, rather than a specific meaning. Another possibility is that the various designs are so site-, polity-, or lineage-specific that we have lost their precise meaning.

The wide variety of both headdress and face painting elements points to the importance of the head in the Moche representational system. Another element consistent with this is the “level of completion” observed in the research corpus, especially in three-dimensional works. The further down the body an element of costume appears, the less likely it was to be rendered in a clear fashion. This is most plainly visible in the ceramics from Sipán, which are overall of low quality, but which consistently depict the head more clearly than any other portion of the body (Fig. 5.29). A vessel from the MNAAHP collection clearly shows this trend, with a carefully sculpted headdress and facial features, while the torso is less well-defined and the lower body is a series of simplified shapes (Fig. 5.30). This is also well-demonstrated in vessels, sometimes referred to as “face-neck jars,” which depict the head of a figure on the neck of the vessel, while the main body is only roughly decorated to resemble the body of the figure. Very frequently, only the arms and hands of the figure are represented, while details of facial anatomy and costume are well-

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<sup>17</sup> Régulo Franco Jordán, César Gálvez, and Segundo Vásquez, "Modelos, función y cronología de la Huaca Cao Viejo, Complejo El Brujo," in *Moche: Hacia el final del milenio*, ed. Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003), 164.

defined (Fig. 5.31). All of these trends point to a preferential treatment of the head before the rest of the body.<sup>18</sup>

Moving down to the neck, both narrow necklaces and broad collars are common in Moche art. The depictions in art tend to be simple, once again not always reflecting the level of design sophistication demonstrated in the objects themselves (Figs. 5.19 and 5.32). So, if there were a sartorial code that distinguished between “necklace of quartz beads” and “necklace of lapis lazuli beads,” that code is invisible in the art. It is reduced to “necklace of small beads” or “broad collar with fret design.” This is further evidence that, in general, the Moche costume vocabulary is vastly reduced from its real-world application. Along with the considerations of technology and technique, this may be an effect of universalizing, in that real-life sartorial substyles visible in different Moche polities were at least partially ignored in favor of a unifying, generalized version of costume, in addition to a practical consideration of medium. This could also explain the variations in face paint in relation to more standardized representations of dress: it allowed for a representation of individual or sub-group identity while still rendering the figure recognizably Moche.

In clothing the torso, tunics were worn by both men and women. Some scholars have referred to the long tunics worn by women as “dresses,” however I believe that this is counterproductive to understanding the relationship between men’s and women’s clothing in Moche art. In terms of construction, the two garments are depicted as being the same, unlike shirts and dresses in contemporary Western culture, and unlike the differences of construction in highland Andean costume. Both long and short versions in Moche art are shown as shirtlike, made from two or more rectangular textiles sewn together (Figs. 5.33 and

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<sup>18</sup> The primacy of the head in Andean art and thought has been noted by several authors, including Blom, “Embodying Borders,” 4; Gallardo I., “Wool as a Privileged Substance,” 11-12; Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 66.

5.34). The only structural difference between the tunics of men and the “dress” of women is length. The long tunic worn by women effectively prevents the representation of any undergarments. It has been concluded from this that women did not wear the loincloth or any other form of undergarment, although Hocquenghem contends that some women do.<sup>19</sup> However, no undergarments were found in representations of women in the current corpus and the figure which Hocquenghem cites as a specific example is, I argue, meant to represent a man. I also suspect that at least one other figure which she may have interpreted as being a woman wearing a loincloth is actually a person of complicated gender. This will be discussed in Chapter 6. What is apparent is that even if women did wear undergarments, they are invisible in the art and the loincloth is heavily associated with masculinity, as will be discussed. Short tunics reveal the loincloth or kilt with which they are paired, and it may be that the tunic is short specifically to reveal these garments.

Both sexes can wear belts, which are usually depicted as a single band, occasionally indicated as being tied, either in the back or front (Figs. 5.35 and 5.36). Belts wrap around long tunics at the waist, but can also sit between a loincloth and a short tunic. It can be a plain band or the belt can have a textile pattern or adornments. Warriors often have backflaps and bells attached to their belts, both of which have been found in archaeological contexts (Figs. 5.37-5.39). The backflap, like the *tumi* crest, is shaped like the ceremonial knife, although the backflap remains more true to the knife shape. Both of these elements serve to reinforce the relationship between warriors and the Sacrifice Ceremony. Loincloths are depicted as simple items, most often with no textile decoration. A panoply depicted in Figure 5.40 appears to depict a loincloth among the other spoils of war as a rectangular piece

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<sup>19</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, "Code Pour l'Analyse des Représentations Figurées sur les Vases Mochicas" (Doctoral dissertation, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, VIème section, Sorbonne, 1973), 59-60; Hocquenghem, "Les textiles", Fig. 57.

of plain cloth with ties at all four corners, but representations of worn loincloths do not indicate these ties. Kilts are often open in the back, in an apron-like style, and frequently reveal that a loincloth is worn beneath them. Unlike plain loincloths, kilts will often match the pattern of a decorated tunic (Fig. 5.41). Tunics, kilts, and some headdress elements can all have metal plating depicted on them, consisting of small, rectangular shapes with holes, usually two of them (Figs. 5.13, 5.41). This is a representation of a textile adornment method well-documented in archaeological contexts. Sometimes, tunics will have a plated hem, which is then repeated if there is a kilt. Plating is not common, and it is even less common to see an entire garment covered in it. Benson associates the plated tunic with the Owl God; the warriors who wear it, as well as the prisoners dressed in this tunic, are affiliated with this god.<sup>20</sup> While plating, like textile, is relatively plain in pictorial description, it is almost always rendered as a light-colored element, emphasizing the brilliance and shine of the plating material.

Another item of jewelry in Moche art is the wrist cuff, a broad bracelet that can be depicted as a plain band or a more complex item made of multiple parts. It is worn by both men and women, although it is much more frequently worn by men (Figs. 5.1, 5.8, 5.13, 5.14, 5.16, 5.19, 5.21, 5.22, 5.30, 5.33, 5.37, 5.41). In representation the cuffs are usually depicted as a solid form, rarely having more than a simple decorative motif of vertical stripes, although more complex versions have been recovered archaeologically.<sup>21</sup> Arms and hands can also be decorated with body paint or tattooed designs (Figs. 5.42 and 5.43). With the exception of blackened hands, however, these are rare, and do not seem to consistently form an iconographic class.

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<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "The Well-Dressed Captives," *Baessler-Archiv, Neue Folge* 30(1982): 203-204.

<sup>21</sup> Walter Alva and Christopher Donnan, *Tumbas reales de Sipán*, trans. Mary E. Doyle and Mariana Mould de Pease (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, UCLA, 1993), 97, Fig. 100.

The legs in Moche art are not particularly important and as such do not receive a great deal of artistic elaboration. Frequently, the legs of seated individuals are covered by their garments or presented as a simple geometric mass. When they are depicted, the sole form of ornamentation is body paint or tattooing, almost exclusively worn by males associated with the Warrior Narrative.<sup>22</sup> A single exception in the research corpus is an individual associated with curing and gender complication; this will be addressed in Chapter 6. The format for leg paint designs is fairly standard, and while there are variations, they consistently hold to a basic style across depictions from different sites (Figs. 5.8, 5.9, 5.13-5.16, 5.41, 5.44). This usually consists of a socklike painting of the foot and shin, sometimes with a single horizontal stripe above it, and a circular or diamond-shaped spot on the knee. There are minor variations within this, including simply painting the entire leg, but usually a combination of socklike painting and a circle or diamond on the knee is found. This would seem to indicate that the small group of leg paint styles was an identifying factor of Moche warrior identity.<sup>23</sup> Footwear is not depicted in Moche art, with the rare exception of foot effigies, such as one in the collection of the Textile Museum which wears a sandal (Fig. 5.45).

As we have seen, costume as depicted in Moche art generally has much less variety than was possible in real life. This is further evidenced by the exotic costume elements excavated at such sites as Sipán, San José de Moro, and Huaca Cao Viejo. However, it is also important to bear in mind the findings at Pacatnamú, which suggest that access to

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<sup>22</sup> A piece from the collection of the Museo de América (Fig. 5.21) may indicate some form of leg covering with patterning. This is a singular exception and there are no other aspects of the iconography in the corpus which relate to it. Donnan describes other representations of “leggings” (“Dance in Moche Art,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 20 (1982): 99), although the fineline examples he cites often show ties and there are no such ties depicted on the three-dimensional vessel in Figure 5.21.

<sup>23</sup> A vessel from Huaca Cao Viejo depicting deer hunters (CR 929) shows an unusual leg-paint design. Another piece from the same site (Figs. 5.47, 5.51), which depicts human prisoners taken by supernatural bird-warriors, shows the captives with typical socklike leg paint.



elaborate textiles (as well as other high-status costume elements) was highly restricted socially, and that plain textiles were worn, and worn out, by the lower classes.<sup>24</sup> Metal elements and jewelry likewise only appear in the graves of the upper classes, with greater quantities in the tombs of the highest elite. While the personages depicted in ceramic art are most likely not of the commoner class, it is best to assume that plain textiles are a baseline of status depiction, and that any decoration or elaboration depicted is an indication of further elevated status, especially if the textile decoration is not one of several standard patterns.

### **Establishing the Sexes in Moche Art**

The data for this section come from a combination of research conducted in the field in 2007-2009 (the corpus) and photographic records from previous research conducted with the Erotic Collection of the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera in 2000. Published drawings and photographs of Moche ceramics were also consulted during analysis. The artworks were examined to determine what aspects of costume could consistently be associated with the clear depiction of genitalia in Moche art. I will begin with the associations of male costume, as men are depicted in a more complex range of representations than women.

### **Establishing Male Sex: Nudity and Necessary Dress**

Male genitalia are generally represented in one of three contexts: scenes depicting sexual interaction, images of prisoners in groups or alone, and scenes of healing. Of these, prisoners are by far the most common representation. Prisoners are most often depicted

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<sup>24</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo and Flora Ugaz, "The Context and Technology of Mochica Textiles," in *Tejidos Milenarios del Perú*, ed. José Antonio de Lavalle and Rosario de Lavalle de Cárdenas (Lima: Integra AFP, 1999), 236.

nude, with a rope tied around their necks and hands bound behind their backs (Figs. 5.46 and 2.4). Individual ceramic representations of prisoners are usually seated. In two-dimensional formats (Figs. 5.44 and 5.47), they are more often depicted standing and running. The relief imagery on the walls of the main plazas at Huaca Cao Viejo and Huaca de la Luna also contain representations of naked prisoners being led in a line (Figs. 5.48 and 5.49). While the overwhelming majority of prisoners are depicted unclothed, they are sometimes shown wearing high-status costumes that include an elaborate headdress. This has been noted by Elizabeth Benson, who proposes that at least some of these clothed prisoners are individuals chosen as deity impersonators in sacrificial rituals.<sup>25</sup> It should be noted that most of the prisoners in the research corpus who are wearing elements of costume still have their genitalia exposed, while the examples illustrated in Benson do not. There are eighteen representations of prisoners in varying stages of dress within the corpus, six of them excavated pieces from the Huaca de la Luna (Figs. 5.50-5.52 have exposed genitals, 5.53 and 5.54 do not).

There are also seven depictions of prisoners from the same site with elaborate designs on the torso which appear to be depictions of body painting rather than garments (Figs. 5.55-5.57). As these are excavated pieces, it is assured that the paint is part of the original conception of the piece. The designs are in the same organic black used for face paint and hair, and there is no attempt at depicting the entirety of a garment: no hem, no indication of sleeves, and where plating-style forms are indicated, there is no indication of attachment or support. Slip is not used nor are there changes in surface depth that sometimes indicate garment edges. One of these techniques is usually present when a textile design is depicted. It seems likely that these body paint patterns had significance similar to those of the partially

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<sup>25</sup> Benson, "The Well-Dressed Captives," 203-204.

clothed prisoners, as the grid and checkerboard patterns of the body paint are similar to the plated shirt depicted on other prisoners. Painting a representation of the garment on the individuals would have been the same as placing the actual garment on them—it contained the *camay* of the garment, similarly to the Inka practice of placing textiles on *pacarinas* (objects believed to be the *camac* of a kin group), which then retained the *camay* after it was removed.<sup>26</sup> It may indicate that the ritual garments had at some time been placed on the prisoners, such as those shown in Figures 5.50 and 5.52, and then removed and replaced with the representation of the costume, maintaining its spiritual association with the prisoner. The liminal identities of these warriors after defeat and before their sacrifice are defined by their nudity and exposure as well as their captor's ability to inscribe costume on the body in paint: they are, in representation and in conception, fashionable into constructs of religious ideology. By painting the garments on the prisoners, it is also possible to sustain the association with the supernatural that these garments imply, while simultaneously maintaining the ambiguous status of the individual. The essence of the costume is upon them, yet they are nude; they are sacralized, yet they are humiliated. They are embodiments of not only ideals of warriorhood, masculinity, and fertility, but they also personify the inherent contradictions in social status within the warrior identity: a fall from high status in defeat, then sacralized and elevated as a sacrifice. This contradiction creates an ambiguity that may itself have been perceived as part of the spiritual power of their situation.

The nakedness that is typical of most prisoners is a sign of their defeat and change in status, down to the frequent representation of open ear-holes where ornaments once were inserted (Fig. 5.58). The public nature of this nakedness is underscored in such representations as the relief murals on the walls at Huaca de la Luna, where warriors are

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<sup>26</sup> John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 107.

depicted parading with their captured enemies' clothing and weapons (Fig. 5.59), and at Huaca Cao Viejo, where the naked prisoners themselves are similarly featured (Fig. 5.48). This bundle of costume elements is sometimes referred to in the literature as a panoply, as it frequently contains arms and armor. Panoplies vary in complexity from depiction to depiction. In the wall murals at Huaca de la Luna, the panoplies are simple and contain war maces and a rectangular object with trailing elements, perhaps a loincloth or a square shield. Three panoplies are depicted in the Larco Vase version of the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figs. 1.1, 5.60-5.62) the first, in the upper register, is behind a supernatural figure and depicts a mace, a shield, and looped object with five flaps appearing behind the shield, which may be a loincloth, kilt, belt, or combination of garments, although it is difficult to discern. Almost directly beneath it on the lower register is a set which contains a mace, shield, spears or darts, what appears to be a representation of the ceremonial carding-tool,<sup>27</sup> and another looped object with flaps. To the left of this is another, with mace, spears or darts, a round shield, and the looped object with flaps. A stafflike object similar to the carding-tool is at the center of the panoply, and is topped with the profile depiction of the front half of an animal (possibly feline) head. Both stafflike objects have small circles floating near the horizontal element, perhaps indicating rattles or bells. The two lower panoplies also depict flaps with a circle design matching the tapes trailing from the Carding-Tool Headdress the Priestess wears, perhaps indicating warriors who were designated to her. Another panoply depicted on a vase in the collection of the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera (MARLH) (Fig.

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<sup>27</sup> Carding refers to the process of separating textile fibers to untangle and align them before spinning. "Carding produces a thin sheet of uniform thickness that is then condensed to form a thick, continuous, untwisted strand called sliver. When very fine yarns are desired, carding is followed by combing, a process that removes short fibres, leaving a sliver composed entirely of long fibres, all laid parallel and smoother and more lustrous than uncombed types." "Carding," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*(2009), <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9471973>.

5.40) contains more items. It is held by one warrior and consists of a loincloth, apron-style kilt, elaborate belt, backflap, feather fan, and mace. Items of costume like these, especially those that appear in the abbreviated panoplies, can be loosely related to the naked prisoners. The association is also established in the scenes of battle, which narratively precede the parading of prisoners, as both combatants frequently wear near-identical costumes.<sup>28</sup>

Panoplies also appear in the theme known as the Revolt of the Objects, where normally inanimate objects are depicted with human arms and legs and engage in combat with human warriors. These animated panoplies are usually simpler, and consist of a mace, a looped piece of textile, and sometimes darts or spears. The mace is the quintessential element of the panoply, and while the rest of the assemblage varies, an article of clothing is almost always included. The removal of weapons and the removal of costume together make for the removal of a warrior's status, and the naked prisoners are paraded behind the costume they will never again wear.

An even closer relationship between costume and visible sex can be found in images which depict sexual interaction, as these figures, while sometimes completely nude, often wear clothing while still displaying genitalia. Sexual representations are rare in Moche art, and most of the known examples were obtained without scientific excavation. Fifty-one representations from the MARLH collection were examined from a photo set created in 2000 during research for my master's thesis.<sup>29</sup> Three identical pieces that were excavated from a grave at Huaca de la Luna were added to the sexual representation set, bringing the total to

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<sup>28</sup> Several articles have been written identifying "enemy combatants" in Moche art (*inter alia* Lau 2004; Proulx 1982; von Schuler-Schömgig 1981). These representations are limited in number and do not reflect the majority of Moche combat imagery. They also appear to exclusively come from the later stages of Moche culture in the southern sphere of influence. These "foreigners" are often associated with the Recuay culture and will be discussed in the context of *cargador* imagery below.

<sup>29</sup> I was able to revisit some of these pieces in their cases while at the MARLH in 2008-9, and used the photos as further reference.

54. Within the collection of sexual representations, 29 pieces depicted the male figure wearing a loincloth, which had been pushed to the side to expose the phallus. Whereas other cultures of the Peruvian coast such as the Paracas and the Chimú created loincloths with elaborate front and back flaps, Moche representations do not appear to create a vocabulary of intra-sex status with the loincloth. It remains a plain garment, very rarely depicted as decorated with any design or ornament (Fig. 5.23). Of the ten representations in the corpus that clearly showed a design on the loincloth, all but two were ritual runners and warriors, who typically have fancier costume elements. The remaining two were an achondroplastic individual<sup>30</sup> and a blind man. The implications of this will be discussed below and in Chapter 6.

Additions to the costume that cover the loincloth can indicate status through the elaboration of their textile design as well as the addition of another elements of costume. These include the kilt, as well as elements such as backflaps and rattle bells which are attached to the belt, rather than the loincloth itself. Kilts can and often do have designs on them, but the loincloths sometimes visible underneath them are still shown as plain. Through the depiction of loincloths under some kilts, the kilt iconographically implies the loincloth (Fig. 5.63). The loincloth, then, is absolutely associated with the male sex within the corpus and seems solely to denote this aspect of social identity. Hocquenghem considers at least one depiction of a figure with an exposed loincloth as female,<sup>31</sup> but when multiple instances of this figure are examined it becomes clear that this is a male *cargador* (Fig. 5.64), a foreigner who will be discussed in depth below.

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<sup>30</sup> Achondroplasia is the scientific name for a form of what is colloquially called dwarfism, and is used here to refer to the entire category of individuals of abnormally short height and anomalous bodily proportions.

<sup>31</sup> Hocquenghem, "Les textiles", 200, Figure 257.

In all cases where the head was visible in the sexual representations (not all vessels were complete), the men wore a head covering of some kind. It should be said that these coverings were not elaborate, but covering the head appears to have been nearly ubiquitous in these depictions. These head coverings are either simple caps, headcloths, or cap/flap combinations. They do not wear the more elaborate elements seen in representations of warriors and other high elites, but they are all placed within the same sex category through the ubiquity of the loincloth and head covering as minimal costume for males.<sup>32</sup> They do, however, often have elements of jewelry, which will be discussed below. Males with exposed genitalia in depictions of illness and healing follow the trend of sexual representations in the ubiquity of head coverings. These males are less likely than the males in sexual representations to wear other elements of costume. Like the sexual representations, the head coverings tend to be simple caps, headcloths, or cap/flap combinations (Figs. 5.65-5.68). In both sexual representations and healing imagery, there are no representations of the elaborate headdresses seen elsewhere in Moche art. Defeated warriors are shown with exposed hair, and images of combat signal their defeat through, among other tropes, the removal of their helmet (Figs. 5.69 and 5.70). The lack of elaborate headdresses in healing and sexual scenes may in part be due to their private nature, rather than a lower status for their participants. This is especially true of the men in sexual scenes, who frequently wear jewelry items that do indicate elevated status. As Taylor has noted, dress in public and dress in private are two very different things for the elite, especially in a society where the costume itself is perceived as the carrier of power.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The iconographic motif sometimes referred to as "The Deity Making Love" depicts a figure who wears an elaborate headdress copulating with a woman within an architectural structure. However, this figure is depicted with fangs which denote him as either a god or a deity impersonator, and so is not included in this analysis.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor, "Classic Maya Costume: Regional Types of Dress", 13,16.

The loincloth and head covering are thus the costume elements most strongly associated with male sex, and the construction of male gender through clothing was founded on the basis of these items. Head covering appears to be a nearly ubiquitous male attribute, and it is prevalent enough that a figure which appears to be male yet has the head uncovered should be examined carefully. In addition to the representational trends, it should be noted that a male Moche burial has been excavated at the El Brujo architectural complex with an intact loincloth, an unusual textile survival.<sup>34</sup> This would appear to indicate that the correlation between the loincloth and male sex was observed in burial practices, although of course more examples are needed. The simple loincloth and, almost always, a basic headdress represent the bare minimum of clothing that denotes maleness, and they serve as the basis for the construction of masculine gender through these items. It allows us to begin identifying maleness and masculinity in Moche art. While the loincloth and head covering form the foundation, there were a variety of other costume elements that men could wear. All of these additional items served as signs of status, role, and degree of masculine gender, and will be discussed below.

### **Establishing Female Sex: Nudity and Necessary Dress**

There are fewer representations of women in Moche art with which to understand the construction of femaleness and femininity, but both nude and clothed women do exist in the iconography. Women, while they do not appear as prisoners, are sometimes depicted as victims of sacrifice in late Moche (Moche IV and V in the south, Late Moche in the north, see Fig. 2.14) representations of burials. In these few representations, the woman is shown

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<sup>34</sup> Amy Oakland Rodman and Gioconda Arabel Fernandez Lopez, "North Coast Style After Moche: Clothing and Identity at El Brujo, Chicama Valley, Peru," in *Us and Them: Archaeology and Ethnicity in the Andes*, ed. Richard Martin Reycraft (Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles, 1999), 120.



with lying on her back, arms and legs away from the body. She has highly distorted facial features, in a manner which resembles depictions of supernaturals in Moche art and perhaps refers to the transformation of the sacrifice from human to spirit (Fig. 5.71). It has been noted by several scholars that the stylization resembles a mask,<sup>35</sup> a likeness that could be an association with the use of masks to animate coffins and facilitate life after death.<sup>36</sup> Some scholars believe that she is associated with, or is the same as, the Mythical Feminine Personage, who exists as a concatenation of female representations within the rituals depicted in Moche art.<sup>37</sup> Others have postulated that she is actually the same individual as the deceased within the coffin in these scenes.<sup>38</sup> The stylized mode of representation used to depict her appears to be limited to two-dimensional representations of the Burial Theme, almost exclusively in the San José de Moro style, and as such may also represent a regional variant in the depiction of the human body. Benson has pointed out the similarity between these splayed figures and false-bottom bowls which represent a woman in a similar pose,<sup>39</sup> although the bowls are executed in a much more representational style and the women wear their hair in braids. Makowski associates these images of female sacrifice with the coffin of the Priestesses at San José de Moro (Fig. 5.72),<sup>40</sup> although the orientation of the coffin would have directed this pose towards the ground (and therefore the underworld) rather than towards the sky, as is shown in the Burial Theme vessels. The coffin's orientation could as easily represent a sexual pose rather than a pose of sacrifice, which would be consistent with

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<sup>35</sup> Erica Hill, "Death as a Rite of Passage: The Iconography of the Moche Burial Theme," *Antiquity* 72(1998): 531; Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 64.

<sup>36</sup> Christopher Donnan, "Moche Masking Traditions," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 72-79.

<sup>37</sup> Makowski, "El rey y el sacerdote," 95-96.

<sup>38</sup> Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 64.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>40</sup> Makowski, "El rey y el sacerdote," 95-96.

the theme of sexual vitality persisting beyond death seen in Moche art. In this case the Priestess, through the symbol of her personified and animated coffin, could be presented as engaging in a generalized sexual interaction with the land of the dead. While either interpretation is possible, the symbolism of sexual activity after death seems more consistent with the general themes of Moche iconography. And while women in most scenes of post-mortem sexual activity are shown as the living interacting with the dead, in the polity of San José de Moro this inversion of roles would be consistent with the Priestesses' anomalous role as rulers; the full implication of this will be discussed below and in Chapter 6.

In sexual scenes, women are most often nude, removing the possibility of having clothing items absolutely tied to female sex. Items of jewelry, especially necklaces and wrist cuffs, can appear in these scenes, but they are connected more to indication of status than gender, as they are worn by both male and female partners, even within the same sexual scene. Clothing for women in sexual scenes is limited to long tunics in representations of fellatio, although in these scenes female genitalia are not visible. However, as has been noted by Hocquenghem, it is hairstyle which is strongly connected to women in these depictions.<sup>41</sup> Braids, or hair divided into two segments which are then twisted and wrapped, are nearly ubiquitous with women whose genitalia are visible. Braids, wrapped braids, and wrapped segments of hair appear to be interchangeable in Moche art, and indeed the wrapping itself often resembles the representation of braiding (Figs. 5.73 and 5.74). It should be noted that the pattern of diagonal lines used to denote wrapped braids or sections of hair also strongly resembles the depiction of rope associated with captured prisoners. While it is possible that the resemblance is merely the result of a similarity of construction between braids, wraps, and ropes, it is also possible that the visual similarity in material reality was

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<sup>41</sup> Hocquenghem, "Un "Vase Portrait" de Femme Mochica," 118.

seen as a spiritual connection between hair and rope, the essence of their connection perceived through their visual similarity.<sup>42</sup> This principle of analogy and metaphor is a strong component of Andean religious belief as documented in colonial and contemporary times. Similarities in form, function, or attribute are seen as manifestations of a relationship on a spiritual or essential level between two or more things. It is also possible to deliberately style the hair exactly like a rope by twisting two sections and then plying them. Such a connection might have influenced the depiction of braids and ropes in the iconography of scenes where women tend to the prisoners and their sacrificed bodies; in the one earlier representation in the corpus, the woman has braided hair (Fig. 5.75), in later fineline representations their hair is sometimes unbound (Fig. 5.76). This could indicate a shift in the significance of the braids in relation to the prisoners over time, from an association between the bound hair of the attendant and the bound neck of the prisoner as symbols of sacrifice, to an approach which related the hair to loosening rather than binding. Unbinding the hair could prevent this spiritually powerful substance from trapping or impeding the essence of the sacrifice from passing to the other world. The fact that in the later versions of the Sacrifice Ceremony the high-status Priestesses keep their braids indicates that wearing this hairstyle could also be a matter of status. The attendants to the prisoners with unbound hair are of a distinctly lower status than the Priestesses by many measures.

Bourget notes that in scenes depicting fellatio, the women sometimes wear a shorter haircut, which he associates with captured prisoners and sacrificial victims of both sexes.<sup>43</sup> However, there are representations of captured male prisoners with long hair as well as short, and the majority of women in sexual scenes of all types wear their hair in braids. Three

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<sup>42</sup> Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 66. Benson extends the visual connection to the ties around the necks of jars used in ritual.

<sup>43</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 161.

identical pieces (Figs. 5.77-5.79) from Huaca de la Luna which represent fellatio appear to depict this short haircut, but it is possible that the two light vertical stripes on the woman's torso/tunic are meant to denote bound braids, or to stand for them in a kind of visual metaphor (Fig. 5.78). The construction of this particular piece would have prevented braids from being easily depicted, and so the idea of the stripes as metaphors for braids is worthy of consideration.

On the whole, it is not common for women to have short hair, and the depiction of the exposed/sacrificed women in Burial Theme images is certainly anomalous in this regard. It may be that cutting a woman's hair was part of the process of this type of sacrifice, or was meant as a sign of humiliation similar to a warrior's loss of headgear. It is also possible that, like the attendants, having braided hair could impede the process of the sacrificial essence to the spirit world. While there is no conclusive evidence for any of these speculations, I am inclined to believe that cutting the hair was meant both as humiliation and an enabler of spirit passage. There are representations of figures who wear women's long tunics depicted in scenes related to sacrifice who do *not* wear their hair in braids (such as Fig. 5.76), but their hair is still depicted as long (at least shoulder length) and is well-kept. By removing the social signs of both length and style, these women are rendered liminal, in terms of their sex/gender identity as well as their space between life and death.

Women in sexual scenes never wear head coverings as the men do, and so without clothing or unique jewelry, braids are the sole item of appearance strongly correlated to their sex. Breasts are only sometimes depicted in representations of nude Moche females, and they are not frequently depicted on clothed bodies. Only women who are nursing are consistently depicted as clothed and having visible breasts. As such, the contours of the body

underneath clothing cannot be relied upon to transmit information about biological sex. Braids are, unequivocally, the sole positive determinant of feminine gender constructed on female sex in Moche art, and as we have seen, braids are not the only hairstyle used by women. There is, however, a garment consistently associated with braids, and which therefore has been considered diagnostic of sex and gender identity even when braids are not present: the long tunic, a shirt-like garment identical in construction to the tunic worn by men. The long tunic reaches below the knee, and is sometimes, but not always, accompanied by a belt at the waist.

There are other elements of costume that appear on some depictions and not in others. Several writers consider the belt an important part of female costume, or that it designates priestesses,<sup>44</sup> but it appears that the belt is not ubiquitous, especially in three-dimensional representations and in depictions of women not participating in the Sacrifice Ceremony and its attendant rituals.<sup>45</sup> Hocquenghem and Lyon note that a headcloth is sometimes part of elite female dress,<sup>46</sup> however within the database only *cargador* women, who as I show are foreign, wear a clearly depicted headcloth. The items Hocquenghem and Lyon identify as headcloths all come from two-dimensional late Moche representations, and are not clearly depicted as headcloths *per se*, and in many cases they could as easily be tapes or flaps attached to a headdress. Makowski<sup>47</sup> suggests that a mantle gathered and crossed at the chest

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<sup>44</sup> Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 99; Benson, "The Moche Moon," 129; Benson, "Garments," 292-293.

<sup>45</sup> The use of "sacrifice complex" in lowercase refers to the entire Moche cosmological approach to sacrifice and the various rituals and events connected with it. This is distinct from the Sacrifice Ceremony, which is a specific ritual in the Warrior Narrative, a series of events and rituals which culminate in the sacrifice and dismemberment of defeated warriors. The Warrior Narrative will be discussed below.

<sup>46</sup> Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females," 28-29.

<sup>47</sup> Krzysztof Makowski, "La figura del "oficiante" en la iconografía mochica: ¿shamán o sacerdote?," in *En el nombre del señor: shamanes, demonios y curanderos del norte del Perú*, ed. Luis Millones and Moisés Lemlij (Lima: Seminario interdisciplinario de Estudios Andinos, 1994), 55.

is also diagnostic, however within the corpus this is almost nonexistent, and related more to ritual associations than to female sex or gender.

Along with the loincloth and head covering for men and the dress and braid combination for women, there are of course many other elements of costume available to the sexes, and these will be examined as they are relevant. Once the significance of the essential *sexing* elements are understood, it is possible to see what other items of clothing are strongly associated with one *gender* or the other. First, however, it is necessary to examine the construction of gender, that is, the qualities that seem to be associated with male and female sex, once we begin to identify them in the art.

### **Constructing Gender From Sex Throughout the Life Cycle**

Once the basic representations of men and women have been established, it is then possible to observe trends that allow us to understand some of the conventions of masculine and feminine gender in Moche art. Carolyn Dean has analyzed drawings related to the Inka life cycle in Guaman Poma's *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* to understand the conventions of masculinity and femininity in Inka culture around the time of the Conquest.<sup>48</sup> Without explicitly stating so, she bases her conclusions on a Panofskian acceptance of Poma's images as being representative of his time and culture, distilled through his personal vision. Although they are accompanied by text, the images themselves impart a great deal of information about Inka ideas of masculinity and femininity, as well as the relative importance of gender throughout the life cycle. While it may not be possible to approach Dean's level of specificity in dealing with gender categories, it is possible to use this conceptual format to

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<sup>48</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny."; Guamán Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica*.

gain an understanding of Moche ideals about varying stages of life, and how these ideals were also about the construction of gender on biological sex.

Isbell, in her analysis of gender throughout the life cycle in Chuschi, Peru, notes that androgyny, which she defines as meaning “both male and female,” is an essential element in the Andean worldview, and that this androgyny is a reproductive power that is greater than the sum of its parts.<sup>49</sup> Babies move along a path of gradual sexual differentiation, which culminates in young and married adulthood and reverts towards androgyny in old age and death, to eventually become an androgynous ancestor. The ancestors contribute to the life of infants, thus perpetuating the cycle of differentiation and reversion to androgyny.<sup>50</sup> While some *huacas* and *pacarinas* are male or female, ancestors from the group seem to occupy an androgynous state, as Isbell notes this is a “both/and” androgyny rather than a “neither/nor” definition. This pattern of an emergence from and return to sexual ambiguity is similar to the pattern Dean demonstrates for the Inka life cycle. Marking stages in the life cycle is an important part of every human culture, but the construction of these categories differs.<sup>51</sup> By looking at the stages of the life cycle visible in the art, it is possible to see which age groups were most important to the ideology, and how sex and gender differentiation was or was not important in the definitions of these categories.

### **Infancy and Childhood**

Guaman Poma begins his description with infants, who become more and more differentiated in gender as they pass through several key life stages. This level of precision is not possible here, as it is impossible in Moche art to distinguish between, say, a four-year-old

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<sup>49</sup> Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 2-3,7.

and an eight-year-old.<sup>52</sup> There is a paucity of children in Moche art, with few variants. There are images which depict infants nursing, and a few representations of children carried in a shawl on a larger figure's back, as is still done today by highland Andean women. It is difficult to assess the nature of most small figures, and indeed the only ones which can definitively be labeled as children are those which are nursing and being born. Any other small figures are open to debate. This becomes clear especially when examining art from other American indigenous cultures, which often depict achondroplasics and other anomalous individuals as having puffy or otherwise childlike faces.<sup>53</sup>

Children, and especially infants, do not appear on their own, they are always in the social context of adults. The size difference between the adult and child figures in many cases leads to very little detail in the smaller figure, and they almost always cling to the larger adult. There is no representation of childhood activities, and no depiction of children learning adult tasks. Children are, for the most part, undifferentiated, undefined, and unremarkable when they are visible at all. This is of course due in part to the themes important to Moche art. Rituals, warfare, and displays of status do not, in general, involve children, at least not in the ideal. It therefore makes sense that Moche art does not really deal with people until they are adults, that is, until they are able to perform socially in rituals, warfare, and displays of status.<sup>54</sup> It may be that the depictions of children which do exist

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<sup>52</sup> Rosemary Joyce has written an article which examines early colonial Aztec writings to understand the construction of gender in that society. She also focuses on childhood, and concludes that costume and hair style were essential parts of creating girls and boys from the raw material of infancy.

Rosemary Joyce, "Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Ancient Mesoamerica," *World Archaeology* 31, no. 3 (2000).

<sup>53</sup> N. Murdy Carson, "Congenital Deformities and the Olmec Were-Jaguar Motif," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 4 (1981). Virginia E. Miller, "The Dwarf Motif in Classic Maya Art," in *Fourth Palenque Round Table, 1980*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson (San Francisco: The Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute, 1985), Figure 2.

<sup>54</sup> It has been suggested that some complex Moche scenes are in fact depictions of rites of passage. If this is the case, the participants in these rites are not depicted as children, and they are not functionally different from the other adult figures within the scene, as they are in the process of becoming adults.



have ties to these social institutions. However, it must be acknowledged that within the system of representation, children are to a great extent both sexless and genderless, and with no individual markers of status of their own. With one exception, that of the *cargadores* discussed below, the depiction of figures which may be children past infancy is not common in the art. There are a few images of women holding children, or child-sized figures, on their laps. Some of these explicitly show the children nursing, and are the only figures within the present corpus that can absolutely be defined as children (Fig. 5.34).

Regarding children's clothing, of the four pieces in the corpus which depict women nursing, three infants seem to wear long tunics, while the fourth does not have depicted clothing. From this limited sample, it would at least seem that children wore garments similar to those of adults. However, it is impossible to know if the children wearing long tunics are indeed girls, as there is no clear depiction of hairstyle. In contemporary western Catholic practice, christening gowns are the same design for both boys and girls, at an age when hair and facial features often make it difficult to otherwise determine sex. The gowns are based in female clothing types, rendering the children nominally female in appearance. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe, it was customary for boys to wear dresses until they were "breeched" or given trousers to wear, between the ages of four and eight.<sup>55</sup> At that time, they were not only given masculine garments but became more closely associated with the world of their fathers than their mothers. There were distinctions made in hairstyle and dress color and style which would have allowed an observer to differentiate between boys and girls, despite the overall similarity in garment type.<sup>56</sup> In Isbell's study of a contemporary Andean village, infants unable to walk were all dressed in clothing resembling that of adult

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<sup>55</sup> "Boys' Dress," V&A Museum of Childhood, [http://www.vam.ac.uk/moc/collections/costume/boys/boys\\_trousers/index.html](http://www.vam.ac.uk/moc/collections/costume/boys/boys_trousers/index.html).

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

women; however, their hair was left unkempt and was not “civilized” into gendered hairstyles until later.<sup>57</sup> On the island of Taquile in Lake Titicaca, the contemporary native population distinguishes children’s sex past infancy through the use of differently-colored hats, as the rest of their costume remains undifferentiated until puberty.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that a similar situation held true for the Moche, and that while infant clothing may have resembled that of adults, it was not part of a full ensemble of gendered costume. This would be consistent with the representational trends, and indicates a conceptual system in which male is marked and female unmarked.

Women who nurse children in Moche art wear a small amount of adornment: three of the four wear necklaces, while two of them wear wrist cuffs (Figs. 5.34, 5.80-5.82). The jewelry added to these women’s costume indicates a status above the unadorned baseline. It may indicate that the children being nursed are important in their own right, or that the status of these women is somehow tied to the bearing and/or nursing of children. Even if this is the case, the children themselves are presented as very generic figures, without indications of individual status or role, and with closed eyes. Nursing children are also sometimes depicted in sexual representations, usually in low-relief scenes that depict a man and a woman lying on their sides while copulating. These representations of infants are rarely detailed, and do not indicate items of costume. Frequently, their bodies are hidden beneath a blanket. The child’s hair is difficult to discern, but appears short. Short, uncovered hair, as previously noted, is associated with both women and men in liminal states, and it may be that infants are liminal precisely because they are undifferentiated. In a circular fashion, they are also

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<sup>57</sup> Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

<sup>58</sup> Visit by the author to the island of Taquile, February 24, 2009.

undifferentiated because they are liminal, following the same logic of essence and external appearance described in Chapter 3.

A second possible type of child image is found in representations of female figures carrying a smaller figure on their backs in a mantle tied at the chest (Figs. 5.42, 5.83-5.84). Three of these figures seem to depict the same person or character, with a consistent representation of facial decoration. This is interesting as all three are obviously not from the same mold. The two large pieces clearly show the woman's braids as falling inside her long tunic. In the smaller figurine this seems to also be implied. Two of the pieces also depict the woman wearing a necklace. In all of them, the small figure is enveloped in the mantle, with just the head and legs emerging from it. This is the standard method of carrying children in Andean highland societies today, and so it is possible to link these small figures to children, but this association is not absolute. There is the possibility of metaphorical usage, where the small figure is "as an infant" to the larger. As it is not nursing, this is not a secure identification, however since there is clearly an association with child-ness, I will refer to them as child figures.

These child figures appear to have short hair, but are otherwise lacking in details of appearance. Unlike the previous group, their eyes are open. This consistency of depiction may indicate that a mythical figure is being represented, as the rigorous use of the iconographic type, and especially the consistency of the female figure's facial decoration, seem to point to a well-known and rather specific character. As will be noted below, face paint designs do not present a great deal of regularity, and it is uncommon to find all figures of a certain type with the same design. Only ritual runners exhibit the same regularity of face paint design. A figurine that depicts a woman with a small figure similarly carried on her

back (Fig. 5.74) is slightly related to the nursing group, in that the child figure's eyes are closed. This child figure wears wire-and-drop circle earrings and appears to be wearing a tunic. However, since it is a figurine, the back of the piece is flat and so there is no further iconographic information. The inclusion of ear ornaments, which are associated with adult males, creates a great deal of complication and confusion in regard to this figure. This anomalous ornament seems to point either to a metaphorical "childness" or to an extraordinary child, in either case this figure is not consistent with the other representations in its group. These representations of what may be mothers with children, then, is split between obviously nursing infants, which may have social implications related to lineages and status, and figures which may have connections with mythology, and in at least one case may not indicate a child at all.

Another type shows a woman with a small figure, most likely a child, seated on her lap and facing away from her. Two of these depictions, both from Huaca de la Luna and possibly from the same mold, show the child wearing a vertically-striped tunic (Figs. 5.1 and 5.85). A third, from Huaca Cao Viejo, may indicate a tunic as well, but it is not clear (Fig. 5.86). The fourth, from the collection of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú (MNAAHP), is similar to the example from Cao Viejo (Fig. 5.87). None of the small figures is depicted wearing a lower garment, and all four appear to have closed eyes, which may allude to sleep, trance, or death. This would indicate that these are not meant to merely be genre depictions of mothers and children, but rather reference some sort of connection to Moche spiritual beliefs. While infants do tend to fall asleep while being carried or nursing, it is important to remember that the iconographic system is not as naturalistic as it first appears, and if we are interpreting the iconography as a code

transmitting meaning, it is disingenuous to discount a semiotic meaning for this particular aspect of the depiction. Another interesting note is that in all four examples, the women holding the small figure wear narrow collars, and three of the four wear wrist cuffs. These jewelry items, as in the sexual representations, specify an elevated status for the women, again indicating that there is something more important here than a genre image of mother and child. These women are similar to small figurines (one hollow and two solid) depicting individuals in long tunics, with short hair, carrying child figures (Fig. 5.88-5.90). In all three, the child figures are too small to have much detail, but the larger figure holding them wears a necklace. These possible mother and child figurines may be related to the larger, more detailed hollow vessels discussed above in indicating the elevated status of the woman who holds the child.

While the above representations are scant in the corpus, there are two more numerous categories with small figures. It is not as clear in these representations that the smaller figure is a child, although there is one example of a *cargador* representation that seems to indicate this fact. The first and less-numerous type depicts a standing figure who holds a small figure. The larger individual is usually depicted as old, with a wrinkled face, and with lips pursed in a whistling gesture, referred to as whistlers. The other category consists of a small figure clinging to one side of a seated individual who is carrying a large bundle held on the back by a tumpline.

There are ten examples of whistlers in the corpus, and another four which seem related although differing significantly in iconography. The standard depiction is of a standing individual holding a child-sized figure. Sometimes the small figure is held under one arm, sometimes with both hands. A variation found in three examples that closely

resemble each other (Figs. 5.91-5.93), depicts the small figure partially draped by the hooded cape the larger figure wears. The level of detail is insufficient to be certain, but it is possible that there are breasts indicated on these small figures, which would of course preclude them from being children.<sup>59</sup>

However, the depiction of breasts in general is not common in the corpus, and they are never used to indicate the sex of an individual. The vulva is the consistent marker of physical sex in depictions of adults, and it would be unlikely that breasts would be used to indicate the sex of either an adult or a child. It is therefore most likely that these bumps are either referring to some other element of body structure or costume, or are simply artifacts of the manufacturing process which were not smoothed away. It is interesting that while two of the pieces appear to be from the same mold, the third piece also has the same breast-like bumps on the small figure. This complicates the issue, and unless depictions are found which clearly use breasts to indicate sex, the meaning of these bumps will remain unresolved.

As is usual for small figures, few of the individuals held by the whistlers have much depicted detail. The majority of them have their eyes closed, but a two-dimensional representation (Fig. 2.15) shows an unclothed, short-haired figure with open eyes, curled in a fetal position. The piece with the greatest detail, from Huaca de la Luna (Fig. 5.94), depicts a seemingly bald-headed figure with closed eyes, wearing a long tunic with a horizontal geometric stripe pattern (often associated with women, as discussed below), and an indication of fringe on the hem. A related piece (Fig. 5.95) depicts a different kind of large figure, with ear ornaments, a tunic with diagonal stripes canted towards the center of the garment, and a vessel opening which resembles a crown. This large figure does not make the

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<sup>59</sup> The fourth figure similar to the whistler is CR 16. The child figure in that depiction has no discernible details other than what appears to be a mantle around or beneath it.

whistling gesture with his mouth, and does not wear the hooded cape. The small figure he holds wears a loincloth, a rare representation of a lower garment on this social type.

Hocquenghem proposed that these figures are representations of child sacrifice, based in the later Inka practice of the *Capacocha*,<sup>60</sup> an extremely specific association that is impossible to prove for the Moche. While Bourget has excavated two child skeletons beneath a group of sacrificed warriors at Plaza 3A at Huaca de la Luna, it was not possible to determine if the children were in fact sacrificed or if they were offered after natural deaths.<sup>61</sup> While it is therefore possible that these are images of sacrifice, they could also be related to scenes of healing. In the contemporary Andes, there are so-called “spiritual” illnesses believed to be common to children that can only be healed by traditional methods.<sup>62</sup> If they are scenes of healing, the size differential may refer to the disparity in spiritual power between the healer and the patient, and not to the youth of the smaller figure. It is difficult to decide whether these are scenes of sacrifice or healing, and the issue may not ever be satisfactorily resolved. However, it is important to note several things about this class of representations.

First, the larger figure tends to be portrayed as older, with an often heavily-wrinkled face; this same figure makes a pursed-lip motion with the mouth. This pursed-lip motion is recorded by early colonial sources and remains an act of personal devotion in native religious practices today.<sup>63</sup> It is described in the colonial documents as making a sound with the lips

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<sup>60</sup> Anne Marie Hocquenghem, "Les Offrands d'Enfants: Essai d'Interpretation d'une Scene de l'Iconographie Mochica," *Indiana* 6(1980).

<sup>61</sup> Steve Bourget, "Children and Ancestors: Ritual Practices at the Moche Site of Huaca de la Luna, North Coast of Peru," in *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 103-104, 115, 117.

<sup>62</sup> Fabiola Chávez Hualpa, "Soñadoras, terapeutas y carismáticas de los Andes del Norte: Un perfil antropológico," in *Shamán: La Búsqueda...* ed. Luis Hurtado (Sevilla: Rinconada, 2000), 180-188.

<sup>63</sup> Mario Polía, *La cosmovisión religiosa andina: En los documentos inéditos del Archivo Romano de la Compañía de Jesús 1581-1752* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1999), 223.

pursed while facing the *huaca* one is offering to, and referred to as *much'ay* (Quechua) or *mochar* (noun form *mocha*, Spanish). In addition, wrinkled faces are associated with supernatural beings and the trance state; the visual similarity between the grimace of trance and the wrinkles of age may, like braids and ropes, carry a mimetic association between the two. Wrinkled faces of the elderly, when depicted in scenes of ritual, may be equal to the wrinkled faces of deities and trance specialists. The small figures the whistlers hold are not presented in a great amount of detail and remain generic, with the exception of the richly-dressed figure in Figure 5.99. Like the children in other representations, and as will be discussed below, the small figures are passive and largely undifferentiated, in common with a general disinterest in children as individuals and as active agents. It may be that they are “as children” to the larger figure, and thus are left less well-developed than the larger figures. The large figures are presented as old, a life stage often associated with forms of shamanistic practice in the Andes during various periods.<sup>64</sup> It is important to note that not all old people were ritual specialists, but rather that within the shamanic tradition they are regarded as likely candidates for spiritual calling.

While the purpose of the ritual depicted is in the end unclear, it is evident that these representations are of a form of religious or spiritual practice. I would argue that it is more likely to represent a healing ritual rather than a high-status sacrifice based upon the lack of high-status indicators worn by either the adult or “child” figures. There are no elaborate headdresses, no ear ornaments, no necklaces, nothing that normally indicates the highest sociopolitical statuses in Moche art and, as we shall see, are indicative of Moche religious ceremony at the polity level. Some of the larger figures do wear garments (hoods,

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<sup>64</sup> Pablo José de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, trans. L. Clark Keating (Lexington: KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1968), 116.



headcloths, tunics) with patterning, indicating a textile of greater than baseline status. This would seem to indicate a moderate level of status for the figures, rather than the extremely high status conferred by the elaborate costumes (and especially headdresses) of the participants in the Sacrifice Ceremony and high-status warriors. This would be consistent with practitioners of “private” religious ceremonies, those focused on the health and well-being of an individual or small group as opposed to the larger polity. I will discuss the adult figures in greater detail in the section on old age below.

The final set of probable child figures are related to a subclass of burden bearers (*cargadores*) who carry a large bundle on their backs, most often with the help of a tumpline across the forehead. *Cargador* child figures are, with two exceptions, only included when the *cargadores* are seated. These figures are more likely to have well-depicted costumes and sometimes hairstyles, and would appear to be older than the infant-like children described above. The one exception to this is a *cargadora* who carries a child figure inside the bundle on her back (CR 27), this figure is depicted as infantlike and has no depicted costume or hairstyle. They are larger in proportion to the accompanying figure, they sometimes carry the same bags (*chuspas*, see below) as the adults, and in one depiction, the small figure is shown standing and holding the hand of a larger figure (Fig. 5.96). More usually they cling to the larger figure (Fig. 5.97). The example in Figure 5.96 from Huaca de la Luna presents the larger figure holding the hand of the accompanying smaller figure in what seems to Western eyes to be a very parental gesture. If these figures are indeed meant to be children, they are older than the infants portrayed in scenes with nursing mothers.

The hairstyle most prevalent for these children is a wedge-shaped forelock of hair indicated on top of what is either a bald head or an abbreviated version of shorter hair.

Figures without a forelock do not have a clear indication of hairstyle. Small figures wearing the forelock are also likely to wear a clearly depicted loincloth. The small figures frequently wear upper garments similar to the adult they accompany; for example, if the larger figure wears a hooded cape, the smaller figure will as well (Fig. 5.98), although the patterns do not match. Figure 5.98 depicts a piece where both wear similar, but not exactly matching, patterns. Costumes are rarely exact duplicates, but are depicted with enough similarity to reinforce the relationship between the two figures that their postures indicate.

In addition to the large bundles carried on their backs, seated adult *cargadores* also carry a smaller bag, usually slung over the body crosswise and resting at one hip (Fig. 5.99). Benson has identified these bags as *chuspas*, or bags for coca (*Erythroxylum coca* or *Erythroxylum novogranatense*) leaves.<sup>65</sup> As noted above, the child figures in these depictions also carry *chuspas*, frequently slung on the neck and held to the front of the body. The *chuspa* and the *cargadores* are related to ritual use of coca, and Benson suggests that the large bundle the *cargadores* carry on their backs contains coca leaves.<sup>66</sup> There is strong evidence that the *cargadores*, male, female, and child, are meant to be perceived as foreigners in Moche art, associated with the coca grown in the highlands. This indication of difference and its relationship to the highlands adjacent to the Moche area is most visible with the adults, and will be discussed below.

It would seem, then, that when an infant is definitively depicted, it is not particularly important to indicate the sex clearly, and there are no indications of gendering, with the exception of their passivity, which as a category is like that of women. In the representations which may depict older children, these figures are sometimes differentiated as male (with a

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<sup>65</sup> Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 67.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

loincloth), but this is not always the case, and there is no equivalent indication of femaleness through an adult female hairstyle. All of this indicates a disinterest in infancy and childhood, and for a distinction of gender during this life stage, within the representational system. It is clear that by adulthood sex and gender were very important to the Moche. This is an area where there is a clear gap between what we perceive as the priorities of the culture at large and the priorities of the representational system. Within the system, only children who have successfully become adults are worthy of careful depiction, while it would seem that at the very least the children of the elites should have had some social importance as future priests, warriors, and leaders. This visual scarcity may to some extent be a reflection on infant and child mortality in Moche culture, and a strategy of refraining from incorporating individuals into the ideological system until they have proved viable.<sup>67</sup> It also touches upon the representational system as a instrument of power. The ideological system that produced the representational system was maintained, manipulated, and negotiated by adults and through images of adults. Personal and class power, while not solely dependent upon the representational system, was certainly legitimated through it, and the relative paucity of children represented in the art may be an indication that children were not ideologically important to the adult patrons of the iconography, perhaps due to something other than direct descent as a mode of power transfer.

If individual infants were important inheritors of or conduits for power positions, it would be reasonable to expect at least some images with infants as their focus. This does not seem to be the case. If the images of infants nursing in sexual scenes are alluding to the

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<sup>67</sup> For the Inka, children received names at weaning and at puberty. The second naming acknowledged the individual as “a significant contributor to the local economy,” and “signaled an important reclassification of the individual and his or her significance to society.” Both of these life stages mark critical points where the health and ability of the child is acknowledged with further incorporation into the social system. Dean, “Sketches of Childhood: Children in Colonial Andean Art and Society,” 44.

passage of lineage rights or power, they are focused upon the transfer of masculine potency from the adult male to the infant through the female, and not on the infant itself. Children within the iconographic system also do not seem to act, they are carried by or sit close to the larger adult figures they accompany, and do not have an independent physical existence of their own. In a representational system that emphasizes distinct categories of costume and a limited repertoire of actions, children remain generically clothed and relatively motionless. David Jenkins notes that María Rostworowski's historical examples of north coast leadership succession indicate what is called a "Breadth First Search," or mode of succession in which brothers are favored over sons.<sup>68</sup> Jenkins also cites Netherly's<sup>69</sup> work to support a similar system of inheritance on the central coast. The relative unimportance of children seen above suggests that this horizontal transference of power may have been the case in Moche ideology.<sup>70</sup> At the very least, this lack of representation or differentiation within the iconographic system indicates an ideological indifference to children, an attitude which changes as people enter adult life.

### **Adulthood**

We have seen that once a Moche person reached adulthood, the sexes were distinguished by the braids worn by women and the loincloth (and its coverings) worn by men. This helps us to understand the sexes, but it does not tell us about the genders. In order to do that, it is necessary to see how men and women are depicted as performing in Moche art, and further, not just what this says about what men and women *do*, but what this says

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<sup>68</sup> David Jenkins, "The Inka Conical Clan," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 57, no. 2 (2001): 172.

<sup>69</sup> Patricia Joan Netherly, "Local Level Lords of the North Coast of Peru" (Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, 1978).

<sup>70</sup> There have not been any meaningful studies of Moche infant mortality rates, as there are not enough well-preserved sets of remains to conduct such a study. Sara Phillips, personal communication, September 14, 2009.

about what men and women *are*. Judith Butler emphasizes the importance of performance in the construction of gender, describing gender as a “repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame.”<sup>71</sup> This serial stylization of the body makes gender a matter of performance rather than of essence; men and women must perform the proper actions to retain their masculinity and femininity. Carolyn Dean, however, notes a difference in the Inka construction of gender, which sees masculinity as performative while femininity is a “state of being.”<sup>72</sup> According to her, females moving through the age categories are distinguished by their appearance, while males are distinguished by their appearance *and* actions. This is demonstrated through the fact that there are physical tasks performed by both sexes, but the males have their own actions which women do not perform. Isbell likewise indicates that in contemporary Chuschi, Peru, the feminine is unmarked, while the masculine is marked.<sup>73</sup> Men in general are represented in Moche art as active, while women are less physically performative; even in scenes where they do act, they are frequently either overshadowed by or subservient to the actions of men. In addition, it would appear that within a system which acknowledges a category of ambiguous gender, gender is marked in different ways than Isbell describes. Rather than representing male as marked and female as unmarked in a binary system, a relationship exists between the marking of the poles of adult gender identity through strong sartorial signs, and the creation of an unmarked category of ambiguity which is paradoxically marked through the *blending* of sartorial signs.

The gender constructions presented in Moche art are ideals, the very thing pursued by Butler’s idea of constant performance. Thus “performance” and “essence” take on different meanings within the fixed frame of the ideal, and to some extent all gender is essential when

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<sup>71</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 33.

<sup>72</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 155-156.

<sup>73</sup> Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

it is frozen within the iconographic system. This is not to say that gender is itself essential, rather, the fixing of the ideal through representation constitutes an eternal performance. Ideal representations do not age, nor do they falter in any of the requirements of gender performance. The act of representation itself becomes the performance, one which maintains its ideal state in perpetuity, in the physical world as well as the spirit world. By making the ideal performance exist in infinite time, it approaches the essential through its perpetual association with gender outside of entropic existence. It is, as noted in Chapter 2, a deliberate subversion of the need for performance, substituting a permanent represented action for an ephemeral human one, and through this permanence making a claim for the permanence of the ideology it embodies.

### **Masculine Gender**

Men have a wide range of social roles (with their accompanying costumes) which they can fulfill in Moche art. Perhaps the most visible is that of warrior, one of the most prevalent representations within the corpus, and the related roles of hunter and ritual runner. The importance of the warrior role is codified within the Warrior Narrative, an overarching sequence of events played out through linked visual themes. It follows Moche warriors through their preparation for battle (Fig. 5.22), combat with other warriors (Fig. 5.100), taking of prisoners, then stripping and parading their captives (Fig. 5.47).<sup>74</sup> The captives are then bled as part of the Sacrifice Ceremony (Fig. 5.101) and their blood drunk by the Warrior

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<sup>74</sup> There is a debate within the Moche field as to whether the combat depicted in Moche art is conducted in a purely ceremonial aspect or if it is “true” warfare, and whether the individuals captured and then sacrificed are Moche elites from the same community, from other Moche polities, or in some cases foreigners. Donnan (2004: 117) argues for the ceremonial nature of Moche combat, while Sutter and Verano (2007: passim) believe DNA evidence from Huaca de la Luna indicates battles fought as part of Moche expansion. It is probable that within the iconographic system even “everyday” combat held a ritual importance, and that this is yet another slip between the reality of Moche life and the ideal world of the Moche iconographic system.

Priest, following which the bodies of the sacrificed are dismembered. According to Christopher Donnan, all the elements of the Warrior Narrative (which not only includes prisoners and the Sacrifice Ceremony, but metonyms such as panoplies and the Decapitator deity) account for over sixty percent of the Moche artistic corpus.<sup>75</sup> This preponderance of imagery is mirrored by the archaeological evidence for at least two major episodes of warrior sacrifices at Huaca de la Luna.<sup>76</sup> Hunters and ritual runners are also associated with the warrior identity, as deer are iconographically equated with defeated warriors and sacrificial victims, and runners wear the leg paint associated with warrior costume and sometimes have *ulluchu* patterns on their belts (Fig. 5.13).

Warriors, hunters, and ritual runners are all depicted wearing a loincloth and a head covering, frequently elaborate. While the runners almost always go bare-chested, warriors and hunters wear short tunics that expose either a loincloth or the kilt which covers it. These figures are most commonly depicted in action: fighting, running, advancing on a deer, or in the case of warriors, kneeling on one knee with shield and/or club at the ready. While there are depictions of warriors and runners in a seated position, they are not the majority.

Warriors, wearing a loincloth as an indication of their *sex*, express an important aspect of their *gender* through action, both depicted explicitly through the art and implied by reference to the Warrior Narrative. In the case of warriors and hunters, this action is violent; in all cases it is depicted in a highly ritualized fashion. Even in warfare scenes with multiple aggressors, combat is most often portrayed as a hand-to-hand confrontation between two individuals, rather than a *mêlée* (Fig. 5.70). This is especially true outside of fineline vessels,

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<sup>75</sup> Donnan, "Moche State Religion," 7.

<sup>76</sup> Steve Bourget, "Rituals of Sacrifice: Its Practice at Huaca de la Luna and Its Representation in Moche Iconography," in *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, ed. Joanne Pillsbury (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 91-92.

which by their nature can depict more complex scenes (Fig. 5.100). Not only the action but its result is important to establishing the role of the male warrior, and so the narrative is explicitly spelled out through successive images, and through depictions which focus on the individual performance of the warrior rather than the group's pursuit of martial power.

Warriors are clearly depicted wearing a head covering along with a loincloth, the sartorial indication of male sex. The kilt, which is sometimes depicted covering the loincloth and iconographically includes it, begins the process of creating gender and rank on top of sex indication. The addition of a kilt (which is often decorated), belt ornaments and adornments, head ornamentation beyond a basic helmet, ear ornaments and sometimes wrist cuffs add elements of status to the costume of the warrior. Warriors also carry a shield and a war mace, the defensive and offensive weapons of their role. Shields are sometimes depicted with a decorative pattern, but the biconical maces are usually plain and unadorned. However, the basic importance of the warrior, highly ornamented or not, to the Sacrifice Ceremony and its adherent meanings cannot be denied. Quilter, among others, notes that there is a great deal of difficulty in discerning any coherent depiction of rank within representations of Moche warriors.<sup>77</sup> While it is obvious that some are more heavily adorned than others, no clear image emerges of anything more subtle than relative amount and richness of costume; Quilter posits that all warriors depicted in Moche art are elites, and that commoner warriors were either rarely depicted or not at all.<sup>78</sup> The level of ornamentation also does not seem to indicate who will win in a depicted combat. In many of the scenes in the corpus, pairs of combatants frequently wear the same or very similar costume (Figs.

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<sup>77</sup> Jeffrey Quilter, "Art and Moche Martial Arts," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 223.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.



5.102-5.105). The warriors in figures 5.102 and 5.103 wear different headdresses, 5.102 wearing a flat-topped hat with feather fans at the front and back, and a flap hanging down the back, while 5.103 wears a more conventional helmet with *tumi* crest and flap, although feather fans are also depicted attached to his helmet. Their tunics and kilts are both divided into two fields, one a grid composed of rectangular forms, the other occupied by a design based in the step form. Figure 5.102 wears a conventional *tumi*-shaped backflap, while figure 103 has a fan or tassel-like element falling behind. Both men wear the same leg paint and plain wrist cuffs. While figure 5.102 wields his mace with both hands, figure 5.103 holds his mace in his left hand and a square shield in his right. Both warriors exhibit a mix of conventional and unusual costume elements, as well as share elements in common. The only indication of the outcome of this combat is in the design on the jaw of figure 5.103, a simplified version of the muscoid fly design described by Bourget.<sup>79</sup> Figures 5.104 and 5.105 present a case in which the warrior with the more elaborate textile designs is depicted as losing the battle. Figure 5.104 wears a tunic and kilt with the wave/spiral design, a headdress with a *tumi* crest and two circular bosses, earspools, and a very large backflap. His opponent, figure 5.105, wears a helmet with a *tumi* crest, earspools, and a large backflap with an *ulluchu* fruit design. Like the previous pair, these two wear the same leg paint design and plain wrist cuffs. Their earspool designs, while not exactly the same, are very similar, differing only by the presence of a circle on figure 5.104's earspools that is not present on the other pair. The victor, figure 5.105, holds the base of his mace to his opponent's throat with his left hand, and grabs his victim's forelock with his right. The victim grabs at the victor's mace with his left hand, in his right are his mace and round shield. In these corpus examples, the emphasis seems to be more on a combat among equals rather than an inevitable victory of

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<sup>79</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 86.

the high over the lowly, which in itself is an important message. While the costumes they wear are not identical, they are very nearly so, and seem to represent a balancing of differences between them: differing but equally rich headgear and similar tunics for figures 5.102 and 5.103, and while figure 5.104 has a more sophisticated tunic and kilt design, figure 5.105 has a more elaborate backflap. Combat among equals is inherently different than the defeat of lower-status individuals or foreigners. While the defeat of the lesser and the foreign serves to assert the place of the high over the low and “us” over “them,” defeat of one’s equal is an assertion of individual power and fitness. Especially within the context of the Sacrifice Ceremony, a captive who is equal to the warrior who defeated him may be seen as a more potent, and therefore more fitting, sacrifice. It may be that this relative, but not identical, equality is an essential element of depictions of combat which do not clearly mark foreign combatants.

While the losing warriors are eventually stripped of their clothing, in examples where there is a representation of the loser’s costume, it is usually similar to the victor’s, and in some cases nearly identical (Fig. 5.100). This would also seem to indicate an aspect of Moche warfare which emphasized this ideal of equals in combat. There are examples of tunic designs which do cluster in warriors and related roles, which will be discussed in the section on status. The images believed to be of Moche warriors and foreign combatants will not be discussed here, as they do not occur in the present corpus and have been treated extensively elsewhere.<sup>80</sup> Instead the focus will be on the formation of warrior identity within

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<sup>80</sup> See George F. Lau, "Object of Contention: An Examination of Recuay-Moche Combat imagery," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14, no. 2 (2004); Krzysztof Makowski, "Poder e identidad étnica en el mundo moche," in *Señores de los reinos de la luna*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski, Joanne Pillsbury, and Régulo Franco Jordán (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito, 2008); Donald A. Proulx, "Territoriality in the Early Intermediate Period: The Case of Moche and Recuay," *Ñawpa Pacha* 20(1982); Raphael Reichert, "Moche Battle and the Question of Identity" (paper presented at the Cultures in Conflict: Current Archaeological Perspectives: Twentieth Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, Calgary, 1989); Immina Schuler-

the context of combat itself, as a specific subset of warrior imagery that helps to define the masculine ideal in Moche culture in both victory and defeat.

In the sequence of the Warrior Narrative, following the combat defeated warriors are paraded by the victors, an event which describes two more aspects of masculine gender. Men fight, and then either present captives for sacrifice or become sacrifices themselves. Dead warriors on the battlefield are infrequently depicted; there is one example in the current corpus (Fig. 5.106), and another is illustrated in Kutscher.<sup>81</sup> In both examples, the fallen warrior is depicted upside-down and unclothed, with disheveled hair. The figure in Kutscher has drops of blood issuing from his face. Unlike other depictions of fallen warriors, both are here depicted with closed eyes, indicating they are no longer alive.<sup>82</sup>

The integral importance of warriors to the ideology of sacrifice makes their definition of manhood supremely important to Moche ideology. Without warriors there is no sacrifice, and without sacrifice there is no bond of reciprocity with the spirit forces of nature, the gods, and the ancestors. Donnan likens them to medieval knights,<sup>83</sup> members of the elite who incorporated ritualized violence into their identity. However, unlike knights, these warriors' sacrificial deaths were necessary to the religious ideology of their society. This holds regardless of the actual numbers of victims sacrificed by the Moche. It must be reiterated here that not only the presence but the profound numerical ubiquity of Warrior Narrative imagery indicates that the Narrative, with its emphasis on blood sacrifice, was a central point

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Schömig, "Die sogenannten Fremdkrieger und ihre weiteren ikonographischen Bezüge in der Moche-keramik," *Baessler-Archiv* 29(1981).

<sup>81</sup> Gerdt Kutscher, *Nordperuanische Gefäßmalerei des Moche-Stils* (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1983), Abb. 97A.

<sup>82</sup> The example in the corpus depicts an unusual victor, with a tonsure-like haircut and circular wire-and-drop earrings, associated with the coca complex.

<sup>83</sup> Donnan, "Moche State Religion," 5.

of ideology that existed separately from the performance of the ritual within a single Moche lifetime or polity.

The prisoners to be sacrificed are depicted in a manner that still underscores not only their male sex but the active aspects of masculine gender, including fertility. Certain key representations of prisoners being paraded in preparation for the sacrifice depict the phallus as erect (Figs. 5.107 and 5.108). This relates to the sexual representations mentioned earlier, and to the active, fertilizing sexuality of the male, which will be passed through his blood to the spirit world through the sacrifice, just as his semen is passed to women in sexual scenes (and in both instances, drinking the vital fluid is a valid method of transfer). Representations of skeletonized male figures with living, functioning phalluses (Fig. 5.109) indicate a belief in the persistence of male vitality and fertility past the barrier of death.<sup>84</sup> The Moche method of sacrifice (cutting the throat) may have induced trauma to the spinal cord, an action which can trigger a post-mortem erection.<sup>85</sup> Bourget notes it is possible that bloating of the corpse may also produce the appearance of an erection.<sup>86</sup> This connection between the erect phallus and sacrificial death may be prefigured in the representations of prisoners with erect phalluses. The presence of women as assistants in depictions of sacrifice, as well as companions of prisoners before and after their sacrifice (Figs. 5.75 and 5.76), is symbolically part of this sexual dynamic.

I would also propose that there is a possible semiotic reference to sexual excitement even in depictions of prisoners who do not have an erect phallus. The phalluses of captured

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<sup>84</sup> Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art", 41.

<sup>85</sup> Park Elliot Dietz, "Recurrent Discovery of Autoerotic Asphyxia," in *Autoerotic Fatalities*, ed. Robert R. Hazelwood (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1983), 14; Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art", 58-59; John W. Verano, "Sacrificios humanos, desmembramientos y modificaciones culturales en restos osteológicos: evidencias de las temporadas de investigación 1995-1996 en Huaca de la Luna," in *Investigaciones en la Huaca de la Luna*, ed. Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica (Trujillo: Universidad Nacional de La Libertad, 1998), 161.

<sup>86</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 124.

prisoners, both standing and walking, are depicted with the glans visible, even when it is clear that the phallus is not in a state of excitement. This would, of course, be normal if the Moche practiced circumcision, but there is no evidence to suggest that they did. While it is understood that the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, it is useful here to explore the possibility of a more complex semiotic meaning for these phallic representations.<sup>87</sup>

Circumcision is a form of body modification which has been practiced by many societies throughout time and around the world. However, at the time of the Spanish arrival in Peru circumcision was an object of profound conflict in Spanish society, to the point where it should have been something worth remarking upon were it found in the Americas. The Spanish, influenced as they were by the long wars of the *Reconquista*, held an ambivalent attitude towards circumcision. On one hand, the Circumcision of Christ and its celebration in the Catholic liturgical calendar were incredibly important aspects of Spanish Christian life. However, at the same time that this event was revered, Jews and Muslims were also known to practice the same ritual. The persistence of circumcision in these cultures was explained by stating that the rite these groups performed was not the same as that from Abrahamic times, and was, in fact, a deceit of the devil.<sup>88</sup> Circumcision was the mark of those not within the fold of the Church, and indeed crypto-Jews in Spain ceased performing circumcisions, as it was an indelible mark which made detection inevitable.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Representations of skeletal beings with depicted phalluses often show the glans in red, while the rest of the phallus is shown in white, creating a sharp visual distinction consistent with the depictions of living phalluses. Bourget (2006:108) points out the color symbolism of this depiction, where red is the color of life and white is the color of death; the phallus therefore retains the power of vitality and fertility even in an otherwise dead being.

<sup>88</sup> David Darst, "Witchcraft in Spain: The Testimony of Martín de Castañega's Treatise on Superstition and Witchcraft (1529)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 123, no. 5 (1979): 302.

<sup>89</sup> John Beusterien, "Lope de Vega's "Auto sacramental de la circuncisión de Cristo": A Focal Point of Anti-Semitism in Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Hispanic Review* 72, no. 3 (2004): 362-363.

While most Spanish Jews had ceased the practice, Muslims persisted in it, and the two groups were to some extent conflated in this regard in Spanish eyes.<sup>90</sup> The subject of circumcision came up during the lengthy intellectual debate about the origins, nature, and rights of the peoples of the New World. The theory that the “Indians” were Jews, the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel, was addressed by Father Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Repúblicas del mundo*, where he dismissed the possibility, saying that while circumcision had been reported in the Yucatán, it was nowhere else practiced, and the Jews were “known” to closely guard their cultural practices.<sup>91</sup>

Such a highly charged observance would have been something remarked upon, and likely suppressed, by the Spanish had it been encountered elsewhere in the New World. Circumcision is not mentioned among the many and lengthy interrogations included in Pérez Bocanegra’s *Ritual formulario*, a guide to confession for priests with native parishioners in Peru.<sup>92</sup> An examination of the depiction of naked indigenous males in Guaman Poma’s illustrations also reveals penises which appear uncircumcised, something this chronicler of everyday Andean life would have drawn attention to if it were an important fact or point of persecution for the native population (Figs. 5.110 and 5.111). That the lack of circumcision was something so commonplace as to remain unmentioned seems to indicate that it was not a contested field between the Spanish and natives in the Andes. Cieza de León, as well, in his remarks upon the sexual practices of the north coast peoples, does not mention circumcision, while listing a number of other “sinful” acts related to gender and sexual practices.

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Rolena Adorno, "Censorship and Its Evasion: Jerónimo Román and Bartolomé de las Casas," *Hispania* 75, no. 4 (1992): 826.

<sup>92</sup> Juan Pérez Bocanegra, *Ritual formulario, e institucion de curas, para administrar a los naturales de este Reyno, los sanctos sacramentos del baptismo, confirmacion, eucaristia, y viatico, penitencia, extremauncion, y matrimonio: con aduertencias muy necessarias* (Lima: Por Geronymo de Contreras ... 1631).

All of this, again, does not conclusively demonstrate that circumcision was not performed by the earlier Moche.<sup>93</sup> However, in light of the fact that the cultural norms of the Andes would seem to be weighted against it, it is interesting that the Moche chose to depict the phallus in such a way. An uncircumcised penis normally sheathes the glans within the foreskin when the phallus is not in a state of arousal. However, sexual excitement and the erection of the phallus pulls back on the foreskin, exposing the glans. It may be that the exposed glans depicted on prisoners in Moche art is a reference to this state of sexual excitement, an “embedded metaphor,” as Steve Bourget puts it.<sup>94</sup> In this manner *all* phalluses with an exposed glans would be referents of sexual excitement and, by association, an implicit reference to the fertilizing force explicit in scenes of sexual interaction, and perhaps regarded as an essential component to the ideal of masculine gender.<sup>95</sup> The vitality and potency that makes a warrior the perfect sacrificial offering is reified within this convention of depicting anatomy, and becomes part of the definition of masculinity in Moche art. This is then tied to the loincloth/kilt and its visibility in the costume, alluding to the vital fertilizing force of the male sex as a characteristic of masculine gender.

The vitality, sexuality, and fertility associated with warriors and their sacrifice characterize an extreme pole of masculinity within the Moche system of gender. There are, however, other men within the Moche corpus who are depicted as male, but not as masculine as those associated with the Warrior Narrative. While some of these men appear to have a status above the unadorned baseline, they do not reach the same level of prestige and

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<sup>93</sup> Bourget considers the iconographic appearance of the phallus as proof the Moche practiced circumcision. Steve Bourget, personal communication, November 20, 2008.

<sup>94</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 111.

<sup>95</sup> There do not appear to be any depictions of uncircumcised penises in Moche art. There is a difference between phalluses which clearly depict the exposed glans and those which do not, but the latter are often small figures in two-dimensional representations, which may not have had the space to elaborate the depiction. There are no depictions which clearly show the foreskin covering the glans.

adornment that warriors do. The sole exception to this is the senior officiants of the Sacrifice Ceremony and its related themes, whose costumes are essentially those of warriors. This will be discussed at length in the section on status.

### **Feminine Gender**

As mentioned before, women in Moche art are limited in the roles that they can perform. They are integral to scenes of sacrifice and ritual, sexual interaction, and childbirth and care, but this is almost the full extent of their depicted actions. Human (as opposed to supernatural) women are rare in the complex scenes of later Moche ceramics, and are for the most part limited to secondary roles within the scene.<sup>96</sup> Benson has noted that scenes of childbirth and sexual intercourse date from earlier phases of Moche history, and that these depictions decrease as the role of women in ritual contexts increases in time.<sup>97</sup> It could be argued that there are ritual and spiritual aspects to both sexual and birth representation, and that the *types* of ritual performances for women change throughout time, but that their participation is a constant, as is their relationship to aspects of birth, fertility, and life beyond death. This may also be a function of the increasing importance of the Sacrifice Ceremony, and public ritual in general, to the identity of the expanding Moche world, as discussed in the Conclusion. Small, solid figurines depicting standing women are fairly common in Moche art and are found throughout Moche settlement sites (Figs. 5.112-5.114).<sup>98</sup> These static figures, often exhibiting the characteristics which designate them as female (exposing the vulva, holding braids) point towards a conception of the feminine as passive which is

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<sup>96</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo and Ulla Sarela Holmquist Pachas, "Mujeres y poder en la sociedad mochica tardía," in *El Hechizo de las imágenes*, ed. Narda Henríquez (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 2000), 16.

<sup>97</sup> Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 63.

<sup>98</sup> Limoges, "Étude Morpho-Stylistique", 29-30.



reinforced in pieces which do depict action. While there are representations of inactive men, they tend to be individuals of lower rank (or with physical disabilities), and frequently men who do not perform actions wear or carry objects which refer to actions, such as maces and other weapons or ritual runner's gear. This further stresses a difference between men and women based in the physicality of men and the relative inaction of women.

This distinction is also borne out within the sexual scenes, where women are cast in the role of receiver. That is, what appears to be a large variation of sexual acts is actually limited in its treatment of the female as recipient of semen, in a human parallel of agricultural fertility.<sup>99</sup> Within these scenes, men are more likely than women to be upright, and while many scenes take place with the couple lying side-by-side on a mat on the floor, there is a subgenre of depictions where a man receives fellatio from a woman while seated on a throne. In some of these depictions, the female figure lacks a bottom half and is literally a torso rising out of the base of the vessel. This makes her less than a full physical or social being, removes her agency through lack of possible motion, and emphasizes only the parts of the body engaged in sexual contact with her male partner. She is also placed below the man she is fellating, indicating her lower status: not only is he elevated above her by the throne, but she is further demoted through the act of removing her lower body. A rare excavated set of vessels from Huaca de la Luna (Figs. 5.77-5.79), three nearly identical pieces, create physical movement through the construction of the women's heads on a pivot, so that their mouths

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<sup>99</sup> Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art". The interest in fertility depicted by these vessels is not necessarily focused on human fertility; that is, the women frequently receive the semen in ways which would not lead to childbirth. However, it is likely that the reception by the "passively fertile" female of the "actively fertile" semen was a correlate to the earth receiving the rushing water from the mountains. The human body becomes an analogue of this process, and while it is not known if the act depicted was understood as not creating human fertility, it participates in the fertility of all things.

can actually be moved up and down on the male's phallus.<sup>100</sup> As an extra indication of the importance of semen in these representations, her mouth has been ringed with cream-colored slip. Like many other fellatio representations, the woman in these pieces lacks a lower body. While it is the female figure in this piece that moves, the attention drawn to her as a receptacle of semen is indicative of the characterization of men as active and women as passive within the sexual corpus. The male figures receiving fellatio in these pieces wear a head covering and ear ornaments, emphasizing the differences in their status.

Scenes of childbirth are rare in Moche art, and indeed there were none represented in the research corpus. There are, however, several in the collection of the MARLH which were examined on display but not photographed or coded for the corpus.<sup>101</sup> These depictions usually involve three figures: the woman giving birth, another woman behind her who supports her, and a smaller figure in front of the mother who appears ready to receive the baby. Within these scenes, the action is frequently arrested at the moment of the appearance of the head, as the new life emerges into this world. The birthing mother is usually depicted as nude and with unbound hair, while the attending figures wear long tunics and keep their hair in braids. The unbound hair of the mother may indicate hair's spiritual importance during such a liminal and dangerous time as childbirth. However, there is no indication of the precise nature of hair's importance within the birth process. It may be that unbinding the hair, and loosing it, may be associated with facilitating the birth, another form of loosening or letting go. The attendants tend to have their braids looped around each other on their backs, although this may simply be a practical means to keep their hair out of the way. The images

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<sup>100</sup> Excavated in the Parada Turisitca section of Huaca de la Luna, published in Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 114.

<sup>101</sup> See Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Arte erótico en el antiguo Perú*, 1. ed. (Lima, Perú: Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, 1998), 62-63, figs. 99-101; Chávez Hualpa, "Soñadoras," 177, 179, 181, 183 for close-up views of the same pieces.

of women nursing children discussed earlier depict the women wearing braids and long tunics, and usually an item of jewelry, either wrist cuffs or a necklace. Within these scenes and the representations of sexual activities, women are depicted as the givers of life and the passively fertile field to their partner's actively fertilizing "water," but their infrequent depiction pales beside the ubiquitous representation of warriors. It would seem that in Moche ideology the perpetuation of agricultural and human fertility through masculine activities was deemed far more important than women's personal fecundity and ability to give birth, and while women in sexual scenes and scenes of nursing wear some ornamentation, they are not adorned to nearly the same level as men. This may, to some extent, exist as a dialogue between the unmarked, natural ability of women to give birth (and hence their scarcity in representation) and the powers of fertility claimed by men, which are not immediately evident and need to be marked. In a society that elevated male status over female, this male claim to fertility and fecundity through masculine activities would need to counter the observable powers of women's fertility.

Women in scenes of ritual activities related to sacrifice are, with few exceptions, depicted as accompanying and preparing the sacrificial prisoners but not participating in the main sacrificial rite. They are attendants to the ceremony, and in their dark tunics, are like a stage crew that moves the scenery of the ritual for the main actors. These women accompany the defeated warriors through the course of their imprisonment and sacrifice, and are depicted with single prisoners or their dismembered remains (Figs. 5.75 and 5.76). As noted earlier, the representation of women in ritual contexts occurs in later Moche phases, and as a consequence these depictions are primarily two-dimensional. The women thus depicted have no distinguishing costume to indicate a special status, despite the ability of artists to depict a

greater level of detail in fineline painting. They often, but not always, have their hair in braids, and wear long tunics, usually dark in color with a light belt (Fig. 5.73). The dark color of the tunics could be an indication of special status, as natural cotton colors tend to be light, even the cottons that are naturally brown.<sup>102</sup> A dark tunic could indicate dyed cotton which would have been a higher-status textile material than undyed cotton, even if the garment were otherwise plain, that is, without woven pattern or adornment. The use of limited color erases the differences among colors of textile dyes; there is no distinction, for example, between a tunic dyed a relatively simple brown, and one dyed with difficult-to-master indigo, which has a higher status as a textile element.

In some two-dimensional depictions these dark-clad women are visually interchangeable with vulture-headed figures, a metaphorical indication of their participation in the sacrificial rite and the decomposition of the sacrificed bodies after death.<sup>103</sup> As vultures have black feathers, this may have influenced the representation of the women in dark tunics, even when they are not directly depicted as vulture-headed. These women sit in attendance of prisoners (Fig. 5.73), accompany them through parts of the ritual (Fig. 5.115), and otherwise move this portion of the Warrior Narrative along to its inevitable conclusion. Their small size relative to other actors and the lack of patterned textile garments or head ornamentation within these representations is a measure of their relative lack of importance within the scene, even though their dark tunics still mark them as separate from the other lower levels of Moche society represented in the corpus. They are, in contrast to the men within the Warrior Narrative, relatively inactive. They stand, gesture, and attend to

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<sup>102</sup> The “chocolate brown” of natural Peruvian brown cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*) is a milk chocolate, rather than a dark chocolate color; see comparison in Fig. 116.

<sup>103</sup> Benson, “Women in Mochica Art,” 66.

dismembered remains, but they do not run, fight, or participate in any of the other violent and vigorous activities of men.

Two-dimensional images of women involved in the ceremonies of sacrifice are scarce in the research corpus, as there are only a small number of vessels which depict these themes in full. A piece from the MARLH features four women painted on the side of a vessel, standing beneath a three-dimensional depiction of a sacrificial victim tied to a rack (Fig. 5.117). Of the four, only one is dressed in the common costume of sacrifice assistants: a long dark tunic with a light-colored belt. The other three women wear light-colored long tunics, two of which have dark-colored belts. The fourth woman's long tunic is unbelted. All of the women wear their hair in long, wrapped braids, and none wear any jewelry or other ornamentation. The two women directly under the sacrificial victim hold out their hands as if to catch the blood that drips down. There are other images of victims tied to racks in Moche art, and this is certainly something that appears to be associated with Moche religious practice, but it is not a part of the formalized Sacrifice Ceremony as it is commonly depicted.

Other two-dimensional depictions of women in the context of the Sacrifice Ceremony show them bearing jars, dismembering sacrificed prisoners, and seated in small roofed structures (Figs. 5.76, 5.108, 5.118). The women in the dismemberment scenes do not wear their hair in braids. This leads to some speculation about the importance of hair as it relates to the images of childbirth mentioned above. It may be that in times of liminality, the binding or braiding of the hair was associated with binding or preventing the spirit forces which were present. In birth, this might cause harm to the newborn child and mother; in sacrifice, perhaps it was feared the spirits of the victims would be tethered to the earth instead of leaving for the land of the dead. It could also be related to a wish that the body

come apart more easily in its dismemberment; that like hair being released from its braids, it will “unravel.” In modern Andean practice, midwives will untie the woman’s hair, open drawers, or unlock locks to symbolically move along difficult births.<sup>104</sup> As noted above, in Andean though the essence of objects and people is intrinsic to its outward appearance. Physical similarities in both appearance and performance indicate a spiritual relationship between objects, between people, and between people and objects, and manipulating the one can affect the other. This belief is what Fraser called the homeopathic strain of sympathetic magic.<sup>105</sup> While this connection is speculation, it remains that women’s hair is not always worn in braids, and that its depiction unbound most often relates to liminal states and the spirit forces that govern them.<sup>106</sup>

Two-dimensional depictions of women in ritual are more common than three-dimensional piece in Moche art, despite both being scarce in the research corpus. A sculptural piece in the collection of the MARLH (Fig. 5.75) depicts a seated prisoner with a rope tied around his neck. He is naked, with body paint designs on his upper chest and face. The faded design of fly pupae on his jaw line is associated with his eventual sacrifice and decomposition.<sup>107</sup> To his right is a female figure, hair in braids, wearing a long, dark tunic, earspools, and a narrow collar, holding his right arm. With the earspools, she is exceptionally adorned for a woman, as women are normally restricted to necklaces and wrist cuffs for their jewelry. Despite her relatively rich attire, she is much smaller than the

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<sup>104</sup> S. Cominsky, "Traditional Birth Practices and Pregnancy Avoidance in the Americas," in *The Potential of the Traditional Birth Attendant*, ed. A. Mangay Maglacas and John Simons (Geneva: World Health Organization, 1986), 80.

<sup>105</sup> Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, Third ed., 12 vols., vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1911), 52-53.

<sup>106</sup> In some cultures, this can apply to male hair as well: "...with few exceptions in Paracas textile imagery, only trophy heads and shamans have unbound hair." Paul, "Paracas Necrópolis Bundle 89," 202. Aztec priests wore their hair matted and dirty as part of their calling, Michael D. Coe, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztecs*, 6th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 208.

<sup>107</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 86.

prisoner she accompanies, indicating that even though she is wearing some of the trappings of rank which associate her with the Sacrifice Ceremony, her importance pales before that of the male prisoner, whose blood will be the focal point of the ritual, and whose dismembered body will further carry the sacrifice to the Other World in part through the flies that will feast on his flesh.

There are also four other pieces in the corpus which relate to the role of women in the Sacrifice Ceremony. They depict single individuals, separated from the context of the ceremony but carrying items associated with the moment of sacrifice: the ritual goblet and/or lid. It would appear that those with goblets are bearing these objects before the sacrifice and not after, as there is no indication the vessels contain any liquid and the cover is not held over the goblet. Two (Figs. 5.119 and 5.120) depict figures in a long tunic carrying the goblet and lid associated with the blood-drinking portion of the rite. One has long braids, the other does not, although it is possible that the latter's braids are meant to be understood as falling down the back or within the tunic. Figure 5.120 has a clearly depicted necklace, and indications of a horizontal stripe and circle pattern on her long tunic. Both figures have human mouths, separating them from depictions of the Priestesses with a fanged mouth, an indication of her supernatural transformation.

Another two figures (Figs. 5.121 and 5.122), show women holding a round object, which may be the lid of the ritual goblet which held the blood of sacrificed warriors. Figure 5.121 has long braids and wears earspools with a beaded outer rim, a rare accessory for a woman. Figure 5.122 has her braids clearly tucked inside her tunic. The round object held by Figure 5.121 is much larger proportionally than that of Figure 5.122, but it seems likely that this is the reference for both of them, given that Figure 5.121 wears ear ornaments, a

high-status item of costume only associated with women participants in the Sacrifice Ceremony. It could be that the round object is a gourd, associated both with burials and the presentation of food during ceremonies.<sup>108</sup> Depictions of the goblet used in the Sacrifice Ceremony show the cover in profile as a slightly lumpy object consistent with gourds (see Figs. 1.1 and 5.28).

All of these women appear to be associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony, but they are also obviously not the main actors in the rite. These are the three-dimensional equivalents of the two-dimensional ritual helpers. They are marked as important, and some have signs of higher rank, but they do not wear any headdresses or other special ritual garments to set them apart from the other minor performers other than their jewelry. These cup-bearers do not wear the headdress associated with the Priestesses of the Sacrifice Ceremony, and perhaps represent women who transported the vessel to the High Priestess before she herself presented it to the High Priest.

The main exception to the general lack of differentiation in women of the Sacrifice Ceremony is of course the High Priestess, whose prominence is made all the greater by her rarity (Figs. 1.1, top center, and 5.28, top center right). She is depicted only in the later phases, and as such is usually portrayed in two dimensions. She wears a distinctive, patterned tunic and an elaborate headdress, in addition to ear ornaments. It is she who hands the goblet of blood to the priests for consumption. The Priestess with the Carding-Tool Headdress identified by Daniel Arsenault is depicted as being of lower rank, although with a

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<sup>108</sup> Bonnie Glass-Coffin, *et al.*, have written an analysis proposing a transition from shamans to Priestesses and psychopomps of the Sacrifice Ceremony for spiritually powerful women in Moche society. In both cases, the women are seen as part of the process of communication with the Other World, in the first case as an autonomous actor, the latter as part of a complex performance. They propose that the women holding the discs in these representations are shamans and/or healers. Bonnie Glass-Coffin, Douglas Sharon, and Santiago Uceda, "Curanderas a la sombra de la Huaca de la Luna," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 33, no. 1 (2004).



tunic similar to the High Priestess' and her own headdress and ear ornaments; she is still a very important participant in the ceremony.<sup>109</sup> This priestess is one of the figures who collect the blood from bound prisoners. While it is not shown, at some point the goblet of blood is transferred to the High Priestess, who then passes it to the High Priest/deity impersonator. A depiction of the High Priestess, which Quilter relates to the Revolt of the Objects theme, depicts her in her usual role of handing the goblet to the High Priest/deity impersonator (Fig. 5.26). However, in this representation her headdress is composed of two distinct parts. One element is the two curving forms flopped to the side, in this case ending in serpent heads (other versions terminate in a wide, serrated wedge shape tipped with circular elements). Above and behind this is another representation of the carding tool, which may mean that on some occasions the two priestesses were conflated into one. I will return to the Priestess' headdresses below.

These two main female participants in the Sacrifice Ceremony, while performing actions that are important to the rite, are not the paramount actors in the scene. Women, even those of high rank, are ancillary in relation to the male actors. They collect and pass the blood but do not drink it. They process bodies after sacrifice, but do not make the sacrifice themselves. It is the blood of men, obtained through the action of combat with other men and consumed by men impersonating gods, which is the center and purpose of the Sacrifice Ceremony. Arsenault has written that the sacrificial knife, or *tumi*, is the exclusive province of men, both in the iconography and in archaeological context, and that images of male sacrificers emerge early in the Moche timeline.<sup>110</sup> Men carry and use *tumis*, and the *tumi*

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<sup>109</sup> Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 105.

<sup>110</sup> Arsenault, "Les Rapports Hommes-Femmes," 21; Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 96,105. However, a tomb at San José de Moro (M-U 1316), contains what appears to be a copper alloy *tumi*. This should be seen in

form figures prominently in headdresses and nose ornaments worn by men. Women are not shown using the *tumi*, and *tumi* shapes are not part of their costume; they are excluded from this sign of the action of sacrifice. It would seem that even within a context where women bear the signs of elevated rank, they are still limited in their active participation in the ritual and their status is below that of the high-ranking men with whom they participate in the ritual. This does not, of course, preclude the existence of high-ranking women, such as those at San José de Moro, from having been the absolute authority within their polities and attaching power symbols to themselves. It does mean, however, that the ideology as presented in the iconography restricts women's status.

It is also important to note that images of the Sacrifice Ceremony were accompanied in the artistic corpus at San José de Moro by site-specific iconography that emphasized the Moon Goddess/Tule Boat Woman, perhaps countering the relative lack of status for women within the iconography in a site where women were the holders of power.<sup>111</sup> The Moon Goddess is a supernatural figure depicted riding in a crescent-shaped boat made from tule reeds, in expanded versions her boat follows another carrying a male figure. Holmquist regards this woman as an aspect of the Mythic Feminine Personage (Mythical Feminine Personage), with whom the High Priestess is also affiliated, and she will be referred to as such from now on.<sup>112</sup> In the "holds" of both tule boats, captives are sometimes depicted, in others they are filled with jars; occasionally the hold is divided and both are shown. Benson

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context with the rest of the site, in which women assume roles of power unusual for the rest of the Moche world, and will be discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>111</sup> Edward Swenson, "The Ritual and Political Efficacy of Moche Warfare," in *Abstracts of the Society for American Archaeology, 74th Annual Meeting* (Atlanta, GA: Society for American Archaeology, 2009).

<sup>112</sup> Holmquist Pachas, "El personaje mítico femenino de la iconografía Mochica", 65.

considers these scenes to have associations with sacrifice.<sup>113</sup> At San José de Moro, the Tule Boat theme was reduced to show only the Mythical Feminine Personage, focusing on her participation in this ritual (Fig. 5.123). The boat shape was likewise reduced, so that the hold was now gone, and the boat frequently resembles the crescent moon. In some instances, the boat is gone completely and the curved edge of the ceramic vessel acts as a proxy for the boat. The preponderance of female supernatural imagery at San José de Moro can be seen as engaging in a dialogue with the male-dominated iconographic corpus, emphasizing the roots of female power in the general Moche ideology in parallel with the ruling female elite at the site. This creates a divine legitimacy as the source of female political power. Equally, it has been noted that there is very little warrior imagery at San José de Moro,<sup>114</sup> thereby downplaying the importance of masculine attributes and power while elevating those of the feminine within the already existing ideological and iconographic system.

If we approach these anomalies by looking at them in relation to the elements of Moche ideology expressed in the corpus of iconography produced at other sites, it becomes clear that there is a definite effort to create an artistic and iconographic identity for San José de Moro that is related to, but different from, the styles adopted in other sites. It has been noted that the fineline style at San Jose de Moro is different from other Moche fineline expressions.<sup>115</sup> Creating a distinct art style is a way for political entities to distinguish themselves from their neighbors.<sup>116</sup> In this case, the San José de Moro polity may have wished to distinguish themselves while at the same time maintaining their ties to the larger

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<sup>113</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "Iconography Meets Archaeology," in *The Art and Archaeology of the Moche: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 2.

<sup>114</sup> Ethan Cole, "A Northern Moche Paradox: The Absence of Warfare Imagery in the San Jose de Moro Fineline Substyle," in *Abstracts of the Society for American Archaeology, 74th Annual Meeting* (Atlanta, GA: Society for American Archaeology, 2009).

<sup>115</sup> McClelland, *Moche Fineline Paintings from San José de Moro*, 1.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

Moche sphere of influence. To do this, not only a distinct style was encouraged (perhaps even through the patronage of a single artist or workshop), the content was also selectively used. Images of the Mythical Feminine Personage seem to argue for a female supernatural patronage for women rulers within the San José de Moro polity. However, even within a milieu that emphasizes women, the Mythical Feminine Personage is physically passive in the manner of her southern counterparts. She sits in the boat/crescent moon, and does not participate in other physical activities in other scenes. She does not take on the role of warrior, but rather her female role within the Moche iconographical system is emphasized above the others. It differs in the relative quantity of certain representations, rather than in a radical change in gender roles of the iconography itself. The basic emphasis on women in Moche art as physically passive relative to men is preserved, although the symbolism of the graves of Priestesses at San José de Moro and the Señora de Cao makes an argument against this passivity, as will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Castillo and Holmquist proposed that the low status of women in Moche art was due to their social class rather than their gender; that is, that most of the women depicted in Moche art were of the lower classes, and thus were equivalent to similarly simply-clothed men.<sup>117</sup> However, it is clear that even within positions of power and elevated status, women are treated differently than men. They are less adorned than men doing similar activities or participating in the same rituals, they do not hold positions of paramount power, and they are less-frequently depicted. Castillo and Holmquist aver that "...in this case the differences cannot be attributed to a reduced social position, but appear to be attributable to gender and

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<sup>117</sup> Castillo and Holmquist Pachas, "Mujeres y poder en la sociedad mochica tardía," 16-18.

function.”<sup>118</sup> However, by assigning more and more highly ranked social functions to men than women within the elites, the iconography explicitly limits the status and opportunities for status that women may have. It may be better to say that women, as a class, are treated as lower status than men, so that in most situations there is effectively an exclusion of women from the highest level of the elites within the iconography, and that the few exceptions prove rather than negate the rule. While a select few women who perform roles within the Sacrifice Ceremony wear headdresses and earpools, the majority do not, whereas there are more roles for men which include these status elements.<sup>119</sup> In addition, even the Priestesses, who wear comparable costumes to men, are still restricted in their actions from achieving the same level of status. They serve the blood rather than drink it, and are not depicted with the weapons of sacrifice. This means that at even the highest level of status, there were differences between men and women, distinguished at that point not through costume, but through actions.

### **Clothing and Gendering Foreigners**

Within the research corpus there are individuals who consistently display items of costume that do not conform to normative Moche representations. One type (Fig. 5.124) has been demonstrated by Alana Cordy-Collins to be an elite woman from the areas to the north of the Moche sphere of influence. The hairstyle, long-sleeved tunic, and facial piercing (labret) all mark her as “other.”<sup>120</sup> Cordy-Collins demonstrates how these women, who appear late in the Moche timeline, are similar to far north-coast women of high rank

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 26. “...en este caso las diferencias no se pueden atribuir a una posición social disminuida, sino que parecen ser de género y función.” Translation by the author.

<sup>119</sup> A further discussion of the headdresses and earpools worn by the Priestesses is in Chapter 6.

<sup>120</sup> Alana Cordy-Collins, “Labretted Ladies: Foreign Women in Northern Moche and Lambayeque Art,” *Studies in the History of Art* 63(2001).

described in ethnographic documents from the time of contact. Without the ethnographic writings, these figures would be problematic, as their sex is not clearly indicated within the normal Moche system. It is clear, however, simply from their deviance from the bulk of Moche depictions, that these figures are not normative Moche, and so foreign. The same can be said for another group of figures in Moche art for which there are a relatively large number of representations.

I refer to these figures as burden-bearers, or *cargadores*. They are depicted sitting or standing, and carry a large bundle on their backs, supported by either a tumpline across the forehead or mantle tied at the chest. A similar device is illustrated in Guaman Poma (Fig. 5.125). The child figures that accompany the seated *cargador* figures have already been discussed. The majority of *cargadores* are female, identified not through hairstyle but through dress. Their hair is not visible, as their heads are protected by a headcloth under the tumpline (Fig. 5.126). However, the *cargadoras* wear a distinctive item of costume that not only identifies them as female, but separates them from the normative depictions of Moche women in particular and coastal women in general. As can be seen in Figures 5.127 and 5.128, the typical standing *cargadora* wears a long garment that is belted at the waist. Seated *cargadoras* (Fig. 5.129) usually do not have belts depicted. The majority of *cargadoras*, both standing and sitting, have an item of costume depicted on each shoulder, often simply painted in slip as a triangular shape (Fig. 5.141) or a crescent shape at the end of a narrow stripe (Fig. 5.130). While at first glance these may look like earrings or necklace ornaments, there are several depictions in which it is clear that these are meant to be *ticpis*, or clothing pins.<sup>121</sup> Two pieces excavated by Max Uhle at Huaca de la Luna (Figs. 5.131 and 5.132) are

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<sup>121</sup> While the Quechua word *tupu* has long been used to denote pins used to hold both dresses and shawls closed, the term is closely associated with the Inka and the particular form of pin they used, which had a flat, slightly

exceptional in their detail, clearly showing the pin piercing one side of the selvage edges meeting at the shoulder and emerging on the other side (Fig. 5.133). This pin is wedge-shaped, while another example from the same excavation depicts a “nail-head” pin, a type associated with the highland Recuay culture, contemporaneous with the Moche.<sup>122</sup>

This method of clothing attachment is radically different from that of other Moche women, where the shoulders of the garment are shown as a solid form. While normally there is no indication of seaming in the art, and the shoulder of the tunic is shown as a continuous piece of fabric, there is at least one representation of stitching on a ceramic piece.<sup>123</sup> While there is not a great deal of material evidence, the well-preserved long tunics found with the Señora de Cao do have stitched shoulder seams.<sup>124</sup> The use of shoulder pins is instead similar to the method of garment fastening among Inka women at the time of the Conquest.<sup>125</sup> The use of shoulder-pinned garments appears to have also been a highland trait during the Moche period. A high-status woman from the Recuay site of Pashash, in the highlands above the Santa river valley, was buried with several pairs of fancy *ticpis* of the nail-head type.<sup>126</sup> Dresses from Cahuachi, a Nasca site roughly contemporaneous with the Moche, indicate that women of the south coast wore long garments that were stitched at the shoulders, although with decorative pleats and folds not seen in analogous Moche

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ellipsoid disc shape at the head. *Ticpi* refers to these types of pins in a broader sense (George Lau, personal communication. February 22, 2008). While both terms presume a Quechua-speaking maker/wearer, the more inclusive *ticpi* is useful in indicating a pin with this purpose, and I feel it handily implies its use by a highland dweller.

<sup>122</sup> George Lau, personal communication. February 22, 2008.

<sup>123</sup> Donnan and Donnan, "Moche Textiles from Pacatnamú," 225, fig. 223.

<sup>124</sup> Visit to Huaca Cao Viejo by the author, November 1, 2008.

<sup>125</sup> Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor*, 29.

<sup>126</sup> Terence Grieder, *The Art and Archaeology of Pashash* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 119-129.

garments.<sup>127</sup> Slightly later garments from the central coast exhibit similar characteristics.<sup>128</sup>

The pinned shoulders in the ceramic representations definitely mark these women as different from normative Moche and indeed other coastal women, but are typical of highland Andean women's garments.

While not portrayed walking, these women are depicted as physically active in a way most other Moche women are not, carrying heavy loads. Hocquenghem took their burdens as a sign of low status in Moche society.<sup>129</sup> As will be related below, it is possible that their cargo may have been a very important one, making them more than mere porters. A few of the *cargadoras* appear to wear necklaces. This may in some instances indicate a cord tied to the *ticpis*, although this is not always the case (Fig. 5.134). These figures also often have patterned textiles, another marker of status. Finally, the pins themselves may be regarded as a status item, although in most instances (as in other items of costume) the materials from which they were made and the fineness of execution that indicated the status of the wearer are not evident in the ceramic representations. While the representation of *ticpis* identifies them as foreigners, and the occasional necklace and/or patterned tunic adds status within conventional Andean systems of rank, just like Moche women they are still depicted as relatively unadorned, keeping them within the gender expectations of the Moche, and certainly below the level of the Moche elites. These figures do, however, provide us with an example of a figure in female costume who does not have visible braids, yet still conforms to Moche expectations of gender. As a foreigner, it would be expected that a *cargadora* would have a hairstyle other than braids, just as the elite northern woman identified by Cordy-

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<sup>127</sup> Mary Frame, "What the Women Were Wearing: A Deposit of Early Nasca Dresses and Shawls from Cahuachi, Peru," *The Textile Museum Journal* 42-43(2003-4): 19. Chancay dresses were similarly sewn shut on their seams. Rowe, *Costumes and Featherwork of the Lords of Chimor*, 29.

<sup>128</sup> Aponte M., "La vestimenta femenina," 91.

<sup>129</sup> Hocquenghem, "Les textiles", 216.



Collins wears her hair in a distinct style (see p. 196). Also like the northern woman, the *cargadoras* wear costumes that, while not Moche, relate to gendered clothing from other Andean traditions.

Male *cargadores* are also present in the corpus, although there are fewer of them. They carry the same large bundle on their backs as the women, but their hair is arranged in a wedge-shaped forelock which is uncovered and visible, even in the examples where the figure wears a hooded mantle (Figs. 5.96 and 5.97). Their bundle is sometimes carried in a mantle tied at the chest instead of supported by a tumpline. Benson associates hooded mantles, which she calls “capas” with the rituals surrounding death, and “capas” tied at the chest also with ritual coca use.<sup>130</sup> She differentiates between the two types by noting the tie is more emphasized in the death-associated figures than in the coca-associated ones, but she provides no specific images as examples to illustrate this. Within the corpus, there appears to be a distinction made between mantles with hoods that have no visible fastening, and those with tied or wrapped ends. Those without the visible fastening seem to be restricted to the *cargadores*, while the latter type are Moche and related to both coca and rituals and scenes involving liminality and the dead.

When standing, *cargador* tunics are often too long to show a loincloth, but in seated depictions it is visible. The length of these tunics is similar to those depicted for the Inka by Guaman Poma, who illustrates them as descending well past the hips (Fig. 5.135). However, there are also representations of *cargadores* where the loincloth is visible: when seated (Fig. 5.98) and in some cases standing (Fig. 5.64). *Cargador* men also wear ear ornaments in the depictions where their ears are exposed (Fig. 5.64 and 5.96). They tend to be simple cylindrical forms rather than earpools. They do not wear headdresses, another indication that

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<sup>130</sup> Benson, "Garments", 293.

they are not Moche as at the very least a basic head covering was an essential part of minimal dress.

The forelock hairstyle is a complicated sign in Moche art, as it is visible in several different contexts. There are “portrait” head vessels, *cargadores* both big and small, and a number of other seated and standing figures with the forelock in Moche art (Figs. 5.136 and 5.137). Various authors<sup>131</sup> have asserted that these forelocks are designations of Recuay people, active in the highlands near the Moche cultural sphere and with whom there seems to have been some cultural interaction.<sup>132</sup> However, Raphael Reichert, among others, has noted that the forelock is nowhere evident in Recuay ceramic imagery.<sup>133</sup> Benson states that this hairstyle is also associated with prisoners of war and sacrificial victims; she feels that this is the overriding meaning and that the small figures with this hairstyle are either miniaturized adults or child sacrifices.<sup>134</sup> There is definitely a distinction of difference in *cargador* images, both in the dress of the women and the hairstyles of the men. It may not be possible to pinpoint the culture to which these people belong, but it is clear that they are designated “different” and “other” through the depiction of costume, including hairstyle.

It has already been mentioned that both adult and child *cargadores* carry *chuspas*, bags associated with coca, although not as directly related to coca chewing as the lime gourd and dipper.<sup>135</sup> Benson also associates the forelock hairstyle with a set of images representing the ritual consumption of coca.<sup>136</sup> She notes the foreignness of some coca-associated figures,

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<sup>131</sup> Hans D. Disselhoff, "Hand-und Kopftrophaen in plastischen Darstellungen der Recuay-Keramik.," *Baessler-Archiv* IV, no. XXIX (1956); Lau, "Object of Contention.,"; Proulx, "Territoriality in the Early Intermediate Period: The Case of Moche and Recuay.,"; Woloszyn, *Los rostros*.

<sup>132</sup> Grieder, *Pashash*, 72-73.

<sup>133</sup> Reichert, "Moche Battle", 88.

<sup>134</sup> Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 66,67.

<sup>135</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "Salesmen and Sleeping Warriors in Mochica Art" (paper presented at the 41st Session of the International Congress of Americanists, Mexico, 1974), 29,30.

<sup>136</sup> Benson, "Garments", 293.

but rejects the idea that all figures associated with coca are foreign.<sup>137</sup> It is possible that the association of the forelock with captured prisoners is more tenuous than Benson believes, as in many depictions of combat the “forelock” being grabbed by the victorious warrior is of a different shape than that of the coca-associated figures. The forelock of the coca-associated figures and the *cargadores* is wedge-shaped and relatively short, while the lock frequently being grabbed in combat is longer and does not have a squared-off end (Figs. 5.100 and 5.104). There is, however, one image in the corpus which depicts a prisoner with the wedge-shaped forelock (Fig. 5.6). It is possible that this is a designation of a foreign prisoner, visibly different from normative Moche prisoners even when naked. Seated Moche prisoners are almost always depicted with medium-to-long hair, not with the forelock haircut (Fig. 5.138).

Persons wearing the wedge forelock hairstyle, aside from *cargadores* and portrait heads, include figures holding felines on their laps (Fig. 5.137) and figures holding lime containers, an accessory to coca chewing (Fig. 5.139). These latter figures, often referred to as *coqueros*, tend to wear either cylindrical ear ornaments or earrings pendant on a wire. These pendant and cylindrical earrings, regardless of style variations, are not nearly as common as earspools in normative Moche representations. Benson also points out that individual coca consumption is depicted in the early phases of the Moche timeline, while what appears to be group or ritualized consumption is depicted later, towards the time of Moche expansion.<sup>138</sup> This would seem to follow the same trend as with the Sacrifice Ceremony, where elements and participants of the ceremony are shown in isolation in the earlier stages of Moche art, and in the context of larger rituals in the later stages. In these

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<sup>137</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "The Men Who Have Bags In Their Mouths," *Indiana* 9(1984): 373.

<sup>138</sup> Benson, "Cambios de Temas," 490.

later depictions, the wedge-shaped forelock also disappears, perhaps also indicating a shift in emphasis away from coca's foreign associations. Representation of ritual coca use disappears from the final stages of Moche culture.<sup>139</sup>

Coca is not a coastal plant; it needs more moisture to grow successfully than is available on Peru's desert coast. However, *E. novogranatense* var. *truxillense* is a variety of coca which was developed in prehistoric times specifically to thrive in the drier climate of the upper coastal river valleys, between 200 and 1,800 meters above sea level.<sup>140</sup> Moche settlements were located only between the shore and the point at which the floodplains narrow,<sup>141</sup> which would not provide territory for coca cultivation. At the time of the conquest, there was coca cultivation in the areas of Siniscap and Colambay, highland areas located between Cajamarca and Huamanchuco, directly up the Moche river valley from the coast (see map).<sup>142</sup> The Moche would have needed to either trade for their coca or grow it themselves in lands separate from those of the coast, and if they wanted other varieties of coca, they would have to trade for it. The costume differences seen in a large proportion of figures associated with coca in the early and middle Moche timeframe would seem to indicate that there were highland coca-growers in regular contact with the Moche, and that they maintained a distinct form of costume from their Moche trading partners. They were, however, not necessarily Recuay, and it is possible that these figures may never be associated

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<sup>139</sup> Luis Jaime Castillo, "Los últimos Mochicas en Jequetepeque," in *Moche: Hacia el final del milenio*, ed. Santiago Uceda and Elías Mujica (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Trujillo and Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2003), 101.

<sup>140</sup> Timothy Plowman, "Origin, Evolution, and Diffusion of Coca, *Erythroxylum spp.*, in South and Central America," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University* 76(1984): 135, 138.

<sup>141</sup> Christopher Donnan, *Moche Tombs at Dos Cabezas*, Monograph (Los Angeles, CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007), 3.

<sup>142</sup> Plowman, "Origin," 144-145; Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Plantaciones prehispanicas de coca en la vertiente del pacifico," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39(1973): 202-203; Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Las etnias del valle del Chillón," in *Costa Peruana Prehispanica, Obras Completas* (Lima: IEP Ediciones, 2004), 62.

definitively with an archaeologically documented highland group. Indeed, they may represent a conflated view of several different highland trading partners.<sup>143</sup>

Despite their divergence from normative Moche costume, it is still easy to note the difference between males and females in these representations. The women wear a long garment, which, while fastened differently than Moche garments, is of a well-known type archaeologically and ethnographically associated with highland women. The women also sometimes wear a belt depicted in the same manner as those worn by Moche women, and analogous to the belts worn by many highland women today. The men wear simple loincloths which can be seen when sitting down, and are associated with other male figures in other coca-related contexts. Their longer tunics, which cover the loincloth unless seated, seem similar to the Inka tunics represented by Guaman Poma, which also were long enough to cover the loincloth. These men also wear ear (and in other contexts head) ornaments, something the women almost never do.<sup>144</sup> Both genders, while seemingly associated with highland culture, are therefore consistently depicted within the parameters of Moche ideas about clothing gender. This seems to be an indication that they were seen as being allied with the Moche, or Moche-like, in their similarity to Moche norms. The maintenance of close ties with another group to facilitate trade relationships is reflected in this balance

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<sup>143</sup> Rostworowski notes many different areas in the modern-day La Libertad department where coca was grown at the time of contact; it would seem possible that there was a general category of “coca traders” in Moche art. Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, "Plantaciones," 202-203, 217.

<sup>144</sup> There are six pieces in the corpus that appear to depict *cargadoras* wearing ear ornaments, only two of which were scientifically excavated. The majority of these figures wear either ear cylinders or wire-and-drop circle earrings, which are not as closely related to Moche social identity as earpools. Two pieces, from the MARLH, wear ear spools, one of which is a doubled type depicted on friezes of the Decapitator Deity at Huaca de la Luna. While this does seem to confer status on these women, they still are lacking the headdresses that would mark them as high elites in Moche society. Males with the wedge-shaped forelock sometimes wear simple headdresses, although in the corpus only one does, a figure with the lime gourd and dipper, who wears a simple circlet with two thin projections issuing horizontally from the front (CR 831). Overall, while some *cargadores* and *cargadoras* have some extra adornment, they maintain a level of status below that of most elite Moche.

between the depiction of difference and the representation of similarity, through the nuances of costume elements.

### **Old Age**

There are not many depictions within the corpus of figures that may indicate old age, and there is some measure of confusion between the depiction of wrinkles due to old age and the distortion of facial features associated with the ingestion of psychoactive substances. The implications of this visual confusion was addressed above and will be revisited below and in Chapter 6. The vitality related to sexuality which is at the root of much of the Warrior Narrative focuses on vigorous adults, mostly males who are active and able to participate in warfare.<sup>145</sup> Women in Moche art are mostly depicted as of childbearing age. For many cultures the passage into old age carries with it a change in gender perception, and it seems that the iconography indicates that this was, in some cases, also true for the Moche.

### **Men in Old Age**

In general, old people are depicted in Moche art with a heavily wrinkled face, but wrinkles themselves can also be associated with other attributes besides advanced age.<sup>146</sup> Figures with wrinkled faces who are blowing a conch shell or whistling may not be marked solely as old, but rather the wrinkling of the face could be intended to emphasize the action of blowing or whistling. It is also possible that the wrinkled faces on such figures are meant to convey both at once, or to associate participation in particular rituals with age and perhaps

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<sup>145</sup> Brumfiel notes that in Tlatilco ceramic figurines from Mexico, gender performance is “focused on the display of the adorned bodies of young adult men and women.” Elizabeth Brumfiel, “Performing Gender in Early Mesoamerica,” *Current Anthropology* 43, no. 3 (2002): 519.

<sup>146</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 111.

wisdom through the deformation the face undergoes during the performance. As noted earlier, wrinkles may also have been associated with the deformation of the face during ecstatic rituals involving trance and vision. These figures will be treated separately in the next chapter, as they tend to fall into gender-complicated categories.

Standard representations of old men fall into two general categories: the first consists of elder versions of common social figures such as warriors (Figs 5.140-5.142), seated figures (Figs. 5.18, 5.30, 5.143-5.145), men with felines (Fig. 5.146), and *coqueros* (Fig. 5.147). Men who belong to this first group are depicted otherwise the same as their younger counterparts, with no indication of failing physical prowess. They are, however, not common, and occur in much smaller numbers than the younger versions.<sup>147</sup>

The old warriors all come from the site of Huaca de la Luna, and this fact may indicate a specific interest at this site in the identity of elders as warriors. Two of the three pieces (Figs. 5.140 and 5.141) are very similar in style and may have been made by the same artist. They adhere to canons of vigor in their poses; two of them kneel at the ready with their weapons in hand; the third is seated but placed above another warrior figure in a pose of dominance. All three wear a distinctive headdress that is different from the other warrior representations at Huaca de la Luna, who for the most part wear variations on the conical helmet. The elder warriors instead wear a headdress that has two hemispherical objects projecting from a textile head covering. Donnan considers these projections to be depictions of tassels,<sup>148</sup> but there is a distinct difference in representation between such tassels (or perhaps feather fans) and these hemispherical projections (Figs. 5.12 and 5.18). The meaning of these projections will be examined in depth in the following chapter. This style

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<sup>147</sup> There is a “portrait” head vessel in the corpus which depicts an old man (CR 19). He wears a textile band wrapped around his head with depictions of panoplies on it, but wears no other items of status.

<sup>148</sup> Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*, 57,64.

of headdress is not particularly common in the corpus, and is most often found on figures seated or kneeling. One kneeling warrior (Fig. 5.148) has the projections situated to either side of a *tumi* element attached to a helmet, a more common warrior costume element. (Alva considers the *tumi* headdress element, along with the backflap, an indicator of the highest status in Moche art).<sup>149</sup> While both of these items are indeed associated with high status, it is apparent that there are other elements of costume which additively elevate the status of an individual. The seated figures with these hemispherical headdress projections tend also to wear a broad collar; typically along with earspools and wrist cuffs. The elder warriors from Huaca de la Luna wear wrist cuffs and earspools, and two of them wear collars. It should be noted that the two elder warriors with collars are also highly finished works, with inlaid elements (stone and shell) to emphasize the details of the piece. This would seem to indicate a high level of status for this class of representation. The two pieces which appear to be by the same hand also indicate some sort of back ornament that resembles a flayed human skin or effigy, in that it has human hands and feet (Figs. 5.140 and 5.141). Elements of an effigy which closely resembles this one were excavated at Dos Cabezas, and a ceramic piece illustrated as a possible reconstruction of the effigy resembles a feline effigy found at Huaca de la Luna.<sup>150</sup> A similar human effigy was found at Huaca Cao Viejo, the metal elements still attached to their support material.<sup>151</sup> The representation in figure 5.163 has inlaid hands and feet, and may have had an inlaid head, while the simpler version from Huaca de la Luna (Fig. 5.164) has the same details indicated in relief, with a sunken space provided for the head, possibly for inlay. This is an unusual iconographic item, not seen in the rest of the

<sup>149</sup> Presentation on the Tombs of Sipán, July 15, 2008, Chiclayo, Peru.

<sup>150</sup> Donnan, *Dos Cabezas*, 105. Tufinio C., "Excavaciones en la unidad 12A (Ampliación Norte), Plataforma 1, Huaca de la Luna," 34.

<sup>151</sup> Elías Mujica Barreda et al., *El Brujo: Huaca Cao, centro ceremonial Moche en el Valle de Chicama*, 1a. ed. (Lima: Fundación Wiese, 2007), 215-217.



corpus. The display of human skin (or an effigy of one) could indicate a further relationship with the Sacrifice Ceremony, and again seems to emphasize a level of status for these warriors that is above the baseline. The feline version of this effigy from Huaca de la Luna has also been connected with ritual coca use,<sup>152</sup> further associating this type of costume element with ritual. While the Huaca de la Luna figures and effigies from Huaca Cao Viejo and Dos Cabezas are the only examples representing this type of effigy to have emerged during research, these examples come from three valleys: Moche, Chicama, and Jequetepeque, that bridge the physical space between the southern and northern Moche spheres. This demonstrates that this element of costume, and most likely the ritual it accompanied, was part of the shared Moche ideology and not an isolated expression, even though the ceramic representations come only from Huaca de la Luna (Moche Valley).<sup>153</sup> The iconic association of these effigies with older men is so far unique to the Huaca de la Luna site.

Seated figures of old men are more numerous than old warriors in poses of vigor, but they still occur in small numbers relative to the more youthful versions. The majority of them represent individuals with ritual associations, and they wear clothing which does not emphasize their masculinity. One (Fig. 5.144) extends both hands forward in a gesture of offering, the left bearing a fish, the right unfortunately broken. Another (Fig. 5.143) wears a headdress with two round elements that resemble owl eyes. Owls and anthropomorphized

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<sup>152</sup> 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: An Ancient Andean Society of the Peruvian North Coast*, ed. Steve Bourget and Kimberly L. Jones (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 164-167.

<sup>153</sup> The ceramic piece used for reconstruction of the Dos Cabezas effigy is an unprovenanced piece from the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art (1989.90).

owls are associated with both ritual healing and the Sacrifice Ceremony.<sup>154</sup> These seated old men very rarely wear garments or headdresses associated with the Warrior Narrative. Only one piece in the corpus (Fig. 5.18) seems associated with the warrior persona seen in the elder warriors from Huaca de la Luna. This figure wears the same rounded projections on his headdress, as well as earspools and an elaborate collar. The bottom view of the piece also specifies that he wears a loincloth. These examples of depictions of older men cast in the same costume and poses as younger men seems to indicate that within at least some polity ideologies, a few were able to retain an identity of vitality into old age. The relatively small number of these representations, however, would also seem to indicate that the retention of vitality was not seen as part of a normal elderly identity. That some of the seated figures wear long tunics similar to those of women moves them away from the pole of masculine vigor represented by the old warriors, and begins to make them somewhat gender-complicated. They will be further addressed in the following chapter.

It should also be mentioned that there is an unprovenanced piece in the MARLH collection which depicts a standing old man receiving fellatio from an adult but younger woman. This image, like those of the warriors from Huaca de la Luna, associates old age with the perpetuation of vigor. When viewed in light of Moche images of skeletal males with fully functioning phalluses, it becomes evident that the persistence of vitality past death was a key component of Moche ideology. To portray old men, when visible in the iconography, with the same persistent fertility provides yet another bridge between the vitality of youth and its continuation after death, although the relative scarcity of these figures makes it clear that this was considered exceptional.

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<sup>154</sup> Douglas G. Sharon and Christopher Donnan, "Shamanism in Moche Iconography," *Ethnoarchaeology* 4(1974).

The second group of old males is comprised of men whose wrinkles coexist with differing forms of physical anomalies, such as prominent moles, blindness, or lip deformities (Figs. 5.149-5.153). This may indicate a relationship between general physical anomaly and old age, but could in some instances celebrate victory over death, achieved through lasting to old age or through the defeat of normally fatal diseases.<sup>155</sup> An old man who had survived disease was thus doubly victorious, and marked as possessing the power to return from the land of the dead, an important part of the shamanic belief system. Such a person may also exist in parallel to the images of warriors and seated figures noted previously; that is, the representation of elder versions of commonly represented types. Representations of other blind and otherwise disabled figures who appear to be youthful outnumber those who appear old, and it would seem that for the most part older individuals, like many individuals with physical anomalies, tend to be gender-complicated, as explained below in Chapter 6. Thus the semiotic trend in Moche art is for males to lose vitality and with it the strong association with masculinity which reaches its ideal in the warrior and warrior-related imagery. Older males, for the most part, simply fade from the iconography, and when they do appear they are cast in roles which refer to gender complication and religious practices outside of the Sacrifice Ceremony and its related rituals. The Huaca de la Luna warriors are an exception to this trend, and speak to a site-specific reframing of old age for some men.

### **Women in Old Age**

In accordance with their scarcity throughout the iconography, there are very few representations of old women within the corpus: a woman holding rattles, excavated at Huaca

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<sup>155</sup>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), 227.

de la Luna (Fig. 5.154), and a woman holding a child-sized figure on her lap (Fig. 5.155) are the only pieces in this database which depict older women without complicated gender. The woman holding rattles sits, knees drawn up in a somewhat contorted pose, on top of a globular vessel. Her head is tilted upward, and the lines on her face are emphasized, as are her wide-open eyes. A bundled-up mantle is tied at her chest, and may be supporting an oblong, tied object on her back. Her right hand holds a small pair of rattles, while her left arm is unfortunately broken off at the elbow. Large, staring eyes and rattles are both associated with aspects of shamanic ritual and other forms of folk spirituality in modern Peru.<sup>156</sup> Bulging or staring eyes are associated with the use of some psychoactive substances.<sup>157</sup> (Stone uses the term *entheogen*, which comes from a Greek root meaning “divinely inspired,” to describe these kinds of substances. I will subsequently use this term). Thus, this woman seems to be engaged in ritual, which is of course one of the few standard roles for women in their youth. The presence of the rattles and the contorted face of entheogen use, however, would seem to indicate a level of participation far greater than that of the women in the Sacrifice Ceremony. This woman appears to be cast in the role of shaman or other ritual specialist, which gives her a level of spiritual power not seen elsewhere outside the formal performances of the Sacrifice Ceremony. What is interesting is that most other figures who appear to be women engaged in ritual trance involving entheogens are much more ambiguously gendered; they will be discussed in the following chapter.

The other elderly female figure, also seated, seems to be at rest in her posture rather than in the somewhat strained position of the rattle-holding woman. She sits holding a child on her lap, but the badly worn surface lacks much detail. However it is clear that she places

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<sup>156</sup> Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 190-191.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

her hands on the small figure as she sits with legs crossed. Her braids are plainly shown falling to her shoulders. Like the seated elderly male figures, this would seem to be an older incarnation of a figure already established in youth, the woman holding a child or child-sized figure. Only this example exists in the corpus, and could as easily be related the persistence of women's roles in child-rearing into old age (a grandmother caring for her grandchild) as it could participation in healing or ritual.

### **Creating Status Within a Gender Category: Masculine**

Men, as we have seen, occupy a wide number of roles and statuses within Moche art. The level of status of a particular individual is not something that can be given an absolute value. Rather, it is possible to speak of relative status between individuals and between broad classes of personages. As stated earlier, there is a baseline within the system of representation which depicts simple textiles, undecorated by pattern or adornment. We may further elaborate this baseline by noting there are individuals who wear minimal assemblages of garments, simple head coverings, and no or minimal jewelry. Status increases as the number and complexity of costume elements increase, but there is not necessarily a correlation in which the figure with the largest number of items is absolutely the most important within a scene. If there are multiple actors depicted in a single representation, then other indicators of status must come into play, such as relative size and placement within the scene.<sup>158</sup> It has been noted that, with few exceptions, there seems to be no absolute standardization for head ornaments and face paint designs,<sup>159</sup> which further precludes an equivalence between individuals with headdress or face paint elements and their specific

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<sup>158</sup> Donnan and McClelland, *Moche Finesline Painting: Its Evolution and its Artists*, 62.

<sup>159</sup> Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*, 74, 86-88.

statuses relative to others with similar costume elements. This is for the most part true, although there are trends in both headdresses and face paint which do seem to be limited to roles or groups of roles, and this will be discussed further below.

It should be re-emphasized here that by dint of being represented in the first place, a person is elevated in status, as the iconographic system is exclusionary and does not represent people, things, or activities which are not already of ideological and/or spiritual importance. It is through this exclusion that the relatively lower status of women is elaborated, as well as the high importance of the Warrior Narrative and its focus on youth and masculine vigor. It should also be reiterated that a “person” within the iconographic system may not necessarily be meant to represent a specific individual in the physical world. Rather these representations are the ideological ideals of these cultural actors, social bodies created through the action of ritual (including costume), as a means of structuring the relationship between the society and the supernatural world.<sup>160</sup> They are “fixed” in the sense in which Barthes speaks of the fixing property of image-clothing. Not only the costume, but the person wearing it is made into a sign; and it is the representation of costume which *makes* a person into a sign. This is aligned with the cultural practices noted earlier at Sipán and San José de Moro, in which prescribed costume elements recognizable from the iconography were found in successive graves, indicating a social role fulfilled by more than one person throughout time and signified, as well as embodied, through the costume. Repetition within the iconography also renders the sign “natural,” that is, through its familiarity it makes a case for the sign and what it signifies as part of the natural order of things.

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<sup>160</sup> Simon Dein, "From Semiotics to Phenomenology: Towards an Anthropology of the Body," *British Medical Anthropology Review* 2, no. 2 (1994): 48,49.

There are a huge number of different social types within the masculine category, and so for limitations of space I will deal with only some representative types in this section, in order to illustrate the trends observed in the corpus. It is not possible to account for every type which appears in the corpus, however an effort has been made to at least make mention of types not covered comprehensively below.<sup>161</sup> These groups have been chosen for amplification due to several factors: enough representatives in the corpus to demonstrate variation within the type, strong relationship to iconography and ideology, and to create a balance between highly-adorned and less-adorned groups. These groups serve as a representative sample which encompasses the majority of representations in the database.

The spectrum of status runs from poles defined by figures wearing the minimal costume (a loincloth, tunic, and head covering), and figures wearing a considerable amount of ornamentation in addition to this, as well as more elaborate head coverings.<sup>162</sup> It should be remembered, however, that as a system which represents the worldview of the highest elite, even those with the minimal amount of costume should be regarded as above commoner status. As noted earlier, in the reduction of detail engendered by the use of bichromatic representation, details which may have indicated status in worn costume (especially those of textile elaboration) are stripped away. We must recalibrate plain costume as the lower end of an already elite scale, above an unseen commoner stratum. These individuals in simple costume often fall into the category of the lower elite, performing in public polity rituals or having other significance within the ideology or the religious belief system. Others may have held some status above that of commoner due to

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<sup>161</sup> The Catalogue Raisonné entries will address social types not discussed within the body of the dissertation when possible. As some pieces are incomplete or damaged, it is not possible to assign categories to all corpus entries.

<sup>162</sup> As mentioned earlier, ritual runners do not wear tunics. However, they wear complex headdresses which indicate their status despite their lack of tunic.

the perception of spiritual connectedness or ritual power based in the broadly-defined Andean shamanic tradition. It should be borne in mind that these figures represented in the iconography, while plainly dressed, are still engaged in tasks or performances with ritual significance. Figures presented on their own, rather than within the context of complex scene depictions, almost always have a connection to native spiritual beliefs. They belong to a category of individuals with a somewhat elevated status, but who are far below the high elites and at least some of the lower elites. Their status may have come not only from their perceived spiritual power or essence, but from association with high elites (as part of a retinue or other social association), who may have granted them certain higher-status costume elements, such as feline circlets, as will be discussed below.

This section will progress from figures in basic costume to those in the most elaborate costume. I begin with achondroplastic individuals (“dwarves”) and individuals with amputated feet, followed by actors in sexual scenes, then figures associated with ritual coca use, warriors and hunters, and finally the major male participants in the Sacrifice Ceremony. Warriors and hunters, who are closely associated in Moche art, wear the tunic and loincloth combination as a base for further adornment, while achondroplasics and mutilated figures usually have no further costume elements. Actors in sexual scenes stand in between these two groups, as their clothing is usually minimal but often accompanied by jewelry, which denotes elevated status. Furthermore, they are frequently placed on thrones or platforms which indicate secular and/or religious importance.<sup>163</sup>

I will begin with those social types who wear the minimal elements of costume: achondroplasics and individuals with mutilated faces and amputated feet. Achondroplasics are distinguished by their bodily proportions: they tend to have rounder torsos and shorter

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<sup>163</sup> Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art", 65-67, 75.



limbs than other Moche depictions of people, and there is also a tendency to represent them with slightly puffy faces. There are also several types of mutilated or physically anomalous individuals in Moche art, and there are distinct costume differentiations among them.

Arsenault explored the iconography connected to an individual with one amputated foot who sometimes wears a prosthesis; this individual is different from those with two missing feet and is discussed in the next chapter.<sup>164</sup> The legs of the double-amputee figures terminate in a notch, which is not always easily seen but is physically palpable on three-dimensional pieces. Verano has discussed osteological evidence for the Moche practice of disarticulating the foot at the ankle joint, which would leave a similar notch at the end of the leg.<sup>165</sup> While the same method may have been used to remove the feet of men with prostheses, they are different iconographically. Both achondroplasics and the double amputees wear a short tunic paired with a loincloth and a simple head covering. There are a few instances where other items are added to the representation.

Achondroplasics are sometimes depicted as armless, but this may be intended to be understood as them having their arms inside their tunic, which is sometimes depicted in other figures as well (Fig. 5.156). There are two types of achondroplastic representations in the corpus: the more common is of a squat, barrel-chested figure, usually standing, who wears tunic, loincloth or kilt, and a head covering. There are 21 of these in the corpus. The other type, of which there are only three examples, is depicted with a close-fitting cap over the head, seated, and in two cases with the genitals visible. Their bodies are not as massive as

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<sup>164</sup> Daniel Arsenault, "El personaje del pie amputado en la cultura Mochica del Perú: Un ensayo sobre la arqueología del poder," *Latin American Antiquity* 4, no. 3 (1993).

<sup>165</sup> John W. Verano, "Advances in the Paleopathology of Andean South America," *Journal of World Prehistory* 11, no. 2 (1997): 248.

the other achondroplasias, and they are more likely to be wearing jewelry. I will begin with the more common type.

Barrel-chested achondroplastic figures are exclusively male, as they wear a tunic with loincloth/kilt exposed (Fig. 5.157). Headdress elements tend to be simple, but not completely plain, with the most frequent elements being a pointed kerchief and a circlet. The circlets are about evenly divided between plain and animal effigies. While the animal effigies are more elaborate and seem to indicate higher status, on the whole the headdress ensembles still have few elements and there is rarely any additional adornment in the costume. Animal effigy headdresses associate the individual who wears them with that animal, through metonymy endowing the wearer with its spiritual essence. As noted in the chapter on costume, in a circular fashion the headdress is also meant to be an expression of the essence of the wearer. The feline is an important animal in Moche art, associated with the divine. The achondroplasias who wear these feline headdresses, then, are iconographically associated with the spiritual importance of the feline in Moche art and in the Andes in general.<sup>166</sup> Anthropomorphized felines are shown in some versions of the Sacrifice Ceremony, sometimes performing the act of cutting the victims' necks and collecting the blood (see Fig. 5.26, left). Circlets, especially feline ones, are often part of the more elaborate headdress ensembles worn by higher-status individuals as well, and may indicate a relationship between them and these achondroplastic figures. It is possible that it marks them as being in the retinue of a higher-ranking individual with ties to the cult of the feline, in much the same way that the Owl God costume connects prisoners with that deity before their sacrifice. The achondroplasias wearing the plain circlets, then, have a different status, one

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<sup>166</sup> Benson, *The Mochica*, 34.

which is not related to the feline, and which is slightly lower than the individuals who wear the feline headdress.

Facial designs for achondroplasics are rare, and do not follow any consistent pattern. Only three of the 21 figures in the sample wear ear ornaments. The tunics are preponderantly short, displaying the loincloth and/or kilt with which they are paired, and are almost evenly divided between plain and decorated. One of the tunics was plain, with the exception of a design at the cuffs. Of the textiles with designs, three of them were variations on vertical stripe patterns, and two tunics bore an inverted step design at the yoke. Both of these design categories are fairly common in Moche art, indicating that perhaps they were part of the designation of more sophisticated textiles, or at the very least, textiles that were a step above plain. In many Andean textile traditions, vertical stripe orientation is associated with men, horizontal with women.<sup>167</sup> The inverted step design appears on warriors, figures associated with the mountain sacrifice scene, ritual specialists with rattles, and some male actors in sexual representations (Figs. 5.53, 5.158-5.161). Vertical-stripe design patterns constitute the largest category of depicted designs, and while they cross many social types, this category of designs does seem to be restricted to men. The inverted step, with its wider associations, appears to be connected to general ideas of ritual and sacrifice, and is also restricted to men. The use of these designs would indicate a somewhat elevated level of status for the achondroplasics, along with the circlet headdresses; both elements are also exclusively male-gender elements. However, the absence of jewelry implies that while their status is above that of commoner, they are not of a particularly elevated class. Additionally, they are rarely

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<sup>167</sup> Rowe, "Inca Weaving and Costume," 12-13; Heckman, "Contemporary Andean Textiles as Cultural Communication," 186-187. Such gendered orientations extend to the neck openings of Chancay tunics excavated from Pacatnamú: men's were vertical, women's horizontal. Donna M. Horié, "A Family of Nasca Figures," *Textile Museum Journal* 29/30(1990-1991): 77.

depicted holding objects in their hands or moving, which implies that their social performance was based in their physical anomaly, rather than in distinctive actions.

Achondroplastic figures are not common in the complex fineline scenes of the later Moche periods, and they may have lost cultural importance through time.

The less-common achondroplasics, as described above, are depicted with a close-cropped hair or a fitted cap (Figs. 5.162 and 5.163). Two of the figures wear jewelry in the form of pendant crescent earrings and necklaces. These same figures have genitals exposed; one is male and the other female. The third figure, which has ear holes indicated but no ear ornaments, is even more barrel-chested than the other two examples as well as displaying kyphosis (commonly referred to as a hunchback). The sex of the third figure is not explicitly depicted. The exposure of the genitals in the first two figures is something of a mystery, but may be meant to indicate sex in a body which is otherwise outside the normal canon of sartorial representation. (The indeterminacy of the third figure is an example of this). Pendant crescent earrings are unusual in Moche costume iconography, and in the corpus they are associated with two groups: small, solid ceramic figurines, usually depicting females with the same short haircut or close-fitting cap as those the achondroplasics wear, and figures with connections to ritual coca use. One holds a small feline on his lap (this is also associated with coca-chewers).<sup>168</sup> High-status Inka women are depicted as attended by achondroplasics in Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y bien gobierno*, (Fig. 5.164, this particular image portrays an achondroplastic with kyphosis) demonstrating their status as companions to the elites. At the birth of a potential heir to the Inka throne (all royal sons were considered eligible to succeed, not just the first born), all the achondroplasics and kyphotics were

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<sup>168</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 33. See also CR 723.

gathered together to make clothes for the child.<sup>169</sup> The association of people with physical abnormalities with the birth of a royal son is part of a series of events acknowledging and honoring people, animals, and objects from the natural world which were out of the ordinary. Classen opines that the birth of a potential heir created a time of liminality and anomaly, as it created the coexistence of present and future Sapa Inkas.<sup>170</sup> The unusual physical appearance of achondroplastic and kyphotic people was understood as a sign of their special connection to liminality and the spirit world. This connection to spirit forces was the source of their status and power, unconnected to clan affiliation or other potential sources of status. Just as the achondroplastic in Figure 5.164 is shown as lower status than the *Coya*, so achondroplasics in Moche art are dressed in a manner that indicates a lower status than the majority of elites.

Individuals with both feet removed, “double amputees,” are most often depicted kneeling. One is shown kneeling while playing a drum (Fig. 5.165), and there are two nearly-identical pieces in the collection of the MARLH showing a double amputee figure kneeling while holding a double rattle, with eyes closed in trance (Fig. 5.160). Both of these representations depict a relationship between double amputees and music, heavily associated with ritual. Figure 5.160 also wears a necklace of *espingo* seeds, which were associated with coca use by Benson<sup>171</sup> and found in a funerary bundle at Dos Cabezas, along with *ulluchus*.<sup>172</sup> *Espingo* is mentioned by Arriaga in 1621 as an offering to the huacas as well as part of a “witches” drink.<sup>173</sup> Another frequent pose is lying on the stomach, with head lifted

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<sup>169</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 61.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> Benson, "Garments", 294.

<sup>172</sup> Donnan, *Dos Cabezas*, 118.

<sup>173</sup> Mario Polía, *Despierta, remedio, cuenta: adivinos y médicos del Ande*, 1. ed., 2 vols. (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1996), 379.

and the hands frequently crossed over the chest (Figs. 5.166 and 5.167). One piece in the corpus clearly shows a double amputee riding a llama (Fig. 5.168). Another piece in the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden may depict the same motif, but the level of craftsmanship is too low to determine whether the figure has feet (Fig. 5.169). Arsenault includes a similar piece in his article on individuals with missing feet from the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. A large adult llama can carry a maximum load of 99-135 pounds, which could be enough to accommodate a small person.<sup>174</sup> It is not possible to calculate the weights for individuals in the prehistoric Moche area, but living height calculations have been performed on individuals from burials at Pacatnamú and El Brujo.<sup>175</sup> At Pacatnamú, the average male height was 5 feet 2 inches; females averaged 4 feet 8 inches. Values for El Brujo were slightly taller for men and slightly shorter for women. A 1992 study of native Aymara people living at high altitude showed an average height of 5 feet 3 inches and a weight of 129.36 pounds.<sup>176</sup> It is possible to loosely extrapolate backwards in time and downwards in elevation and conclude that some males and likely most females would have been small enough to actually ride on a llama, although it should be noted that all llama riders in the corpus are depicted as male. However, these pieces may not be literal representations of transport, and rather may be associating the double amputees with llamas, frequently found as sacrificial offerings in graves. It could be the association of llamas with sacrifice and offerings for the dead that links them with double amputees, who possess aspects of

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<sup>174</sup> "Llama," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*(2009), <http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9048623>.

<sup>175</sup> John W. Verano, "Physical Characteristics and Skeletal Biology of the Moche Population at Pacatnamu," in *The Pacatnamu Papers*, ed. Christopher Donnan and Guillermo Cock (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1997), 193.

<sup>176</sup> Kellie Lynn Whittaker, "The Relationship of Forced Vital Capacity to Morphology and Fat-Free Mass in High-Altitude Adult Aymara Men," in *Population Studies on Human Adaptation and Evolution in the Peruvian Andes*, ed. Robert B. Eckhardt and Terry W. Melton, *Occasional Papers in Anthropology* (University Park, PA: Department of Anthropology, The Pennsylvania State University, 1992), 55.

liminality in their physical body and may have the ability to “travel” with the llama to the other world and back.

These figures are dressed differently from the men with prostheses Arsenault describes, who have only one foot amputated. The double-amputee figures almost always wear short tunics, visible loincloths, and simple head coverings. The major exception to this, Figure 5.165, wears a long tunic which still exposes the loincloth beneath it, maintaining the semiotic insistence on the maleness of these individuals. Another piece (Fig. 5.170) also wears a long tunic, but he has an anomalous facial deformation (exaggerated mouth but no mutilation of the nose), and his eyes are depicted in a manner which may indicate blindness. Blind figures are often depicted wearing long tunics, as will be described in Chapter 6. As opposed to the double-amputees, figures with prostheses are sometimes depicted standing, walking, or leading a dance or procession. The latter two are more common in depictions of the world of the dead, where certain aspects of Moche culture are enacted by skeletal beings. This world, inhabited by skeletonized humans, seems to exist in a different sphere than the world inhabited by supernatural beings, although both appear to be part of a general conception of a world beyond this one. While Arsenault treats the men with one amputated foot and men with both feet amputated as belonging to the same iconographic category, this is too broad of a classification, which does not take into account consistent differences between double amputees and figures with a single amputated foot/prosthesis. The headgear worn by the men with prostheses is marginally more elaborate than those of the double amputees, and they also wear more clothing elements. Additionally, the double-amputees do not appear in complex narrative scenes as the men with prostheses do, and while it is likely that they share a number of associations, they are not the same. Finally, Arsenault bases

some of his associations on figures that do not have visible feet, arguing that they can be classed as disabled by their clothing and associated attributes,<sup>177</sup> despite acknowledging that the costume class he is describing also contains figures with no apparent disability. He contends that these may be deaf or mute individuals; however, he has created such an incredibly broad class of “afflicted” individuals as to be useless in determining any subtle understanding of costume communication; and it is on the representation of the figure with the prosthesis that he bases his interpretation of the meaning of these figures.

The majority of double-amputee figures have facial anomalies of some kind, most commonly the nose and mouth deformation often associated with Leishmaniasis, which renders the face skeletal in appearance.<sup>178</sup> There is debate as to whether this deformation as depicted is meant to refer to the scars of mucosal Leishmaniasis or to an intentional modification of the nose and mouth.<sup>179</sup> Bourget refers to these deformities as “mutilations,” intentionally applied in order to transform the victims into liminal figures who bridge the world of the living and the dead.<sup>180</sup> It is not clear from the iconographic record which may be the case, and to date it has not been resolved through archaeological evidence. For that reason, this form of facial modification will be referred to as “Leishmaniasis,” in quotation marks, as it seems to be at the least related to the effects of this disease. It is also important to remember here the problem created by repetition, that these figures begin to become

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<sup>177</sup> Arsenault, "El Personaje," 236-238.

<sup>178</sup> Leishmaniasis is a parasitic infection caused by a protozoa, which is transferred to humans through sand fly bites. The two main types of infection are cutaneous and visceral. “The skin sores of cutaneous leishmaniasis usually will heal on their own...but this can take months or even years, and the sores can leave ugly scars. Another potential concern applies to some (not all) types of the parasite found in South and Central America: occasionally, the parasite spreads from the skin to the nose or mouth and causes sores there (mucosal leishmaniasis). Mucosal leishmaniasis might not be noticed until years after the original skin sores healed.” Visceral leishmaniasis, if untreated, can lead to death.

([http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/dpd/parasites/leishmania/factsht\\_leishmania.htm#what](http://www.cdc.gov/ncidod/dpd/parasites/leishmania/factsht_leishmania.htm#what))

<sup>179</sup> Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 325.

<sup>180</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 86, 88.



naturalized, and to forget that such individuals may have been rare indeed in reality. At the very least, it should be understood iconographically as a reference to liminality, just as the more explicit “living skeleton” figures in sexual scenes are. Whether the iconography is derived from Leishmaniasis or deliberate mutilation, or the latter in imitation of the former, does not change the symbolic meaning of a living person with a skeletal face. Liminality, in and of itself, does not grant elevated status beyond the baseline, as is evident in the limited costume worn by these figures. These men who do not have the vitality and potency of warriors may have something else essential to masculinity within the Moche iconographic system, perhaps the liminality itself or an association with a particular kind of vegetable fertility.<sup>181</sup> Whatever the reason for their categorization, they are almost always clearly dressed as males.

The most common head covering for double amputees is a plain pointed kerchief, tied at the back or top of the head as often as under the chin. Ear ornamentation is rare, and there was only one case of a figure wearing a nose ornament. Other than a single figure wearing a plain circlet, the head coverings remain basic and textile-based. Jewelry is scarce, as only one figure wears a necklace, and none wear wrist cuffs. Most wear short tunics which expose a loincloth, the overwhelming number of which are plain. The tunics are for the most part undecorated; the ones that have decoration are variations on vertical stripe patterns. Benson associates the vertical stripe patterns with “death priests” and skeletonized figures,<sup>182</sup> and she specifically associates “figures with apparently mutilated faces or amputated limbs” with striped tunics and death,<sup>183</sup> although the same design also appears on tunics related to

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<sup>181</sup> Pedro Weiss, "Significado del motivo enfermedad en el arte figurativo precolumbino," *Amaru* 9(1969): 29.

<sup>182</sup> Benson, "Death-Associated Figures," 116-117.

<sup>183</sup> Benson, "Garments", 294.

the ritual use of coca.<sup>184</sup> Coca is often associated with rituals using entheogens, as it helps counteract the soporific effect of some of these substances.<sup>185</sup> Since the world of the dead is one of the realms visited in the vision state, this could provide a connection between the coca chewers and the “death priests.” Within the corpus, variations of the vertical stripe design occur on many different types of individuals, almost exclusively male, and it is difficult to assign an association between vertical stripes and a particular social type. However, designs based on vertical stripes do not appear on any of the warrior or hunter representations, which may at the least indicate that it is not associated with the Warrior Narrative. While there are certainly associations between these double amputees and Moche ideas about death (through both their facial deformation and the appearance of double amputees in depictions of the world of the dead), the stripes are not a ubiquitous part of their costume.

One double amputee individual (Fig. 5.167) wears a plain tunic with a complex geometric design at the cuff, which is accompanied by a step design on a cap worn under the pointed kerchief. This was by far the most elaborate textile design seen on a double amputee in the corpus. Twelve of the figures wear a mantle, most of them as a thick bundle tied at the waist or chest. Benson associates this bundle with participants in death rituals,<sup>186</sup> and it is worn not only by amputees but by figures with other kinds of physical anomalies as well. The only commonly held item was a stick, held only by kneeling figures. Fourteen of the twenty double amputee figures wear a visible loincloth. These figures, along with the achondroplasics, represent the baseline of depiction within the iconographic system,

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<sup>184</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 28.

<sup>185</sup> E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer, *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 230; Julie Jones, *Rituals of Euphoria: Coca in South America : Exhibition 6 March to 8 September 1974, Museum of Primitive Art* (New York: The Museum, 1974), 13-14.

<sup>186</sup> Benson, "Garments", 295.

especially as they are not depicted wearing elaborate headdresses or garments. This does not preclude them from having an important role in the Warrior Narrative or in more populist forms of ritual, but it is evident that these figures are not given the same sartorial emphasis that others have. They belong to the base population of Moche iconography, those important enough to be represented, but not of elevated enough status to be depicted with a large number of costume elements or associated iconographic attributes. They retain the basics of costume which designates them as male. The figures that lie on their stomachs hold their hands crossed in front of them, and frequently cross one ankle over the other as well. This posture is intriguingly similar to the poses in which sea lions bask (Figs. 5.166, 5.167, 5.171). The posture is not one of repose, the body is actively being lifted into a curve by the raised head; the crossed legs further add to a sea lion shape by visually tapering the lower extremities. While they do not bear any other signs of a maritime association, it is possible that they were linked with the themes of hunting/sacrifice and the liminality of the ocean present in Moche art, an association similar to that of the llama-riders.<sup>187</sup>

Their associations with the world of the dead, and some of its animal psychopomps, granted them an important place in spiritual beliefs. Their social status, however, was far below that of the high elite participants in the Sacrifice Ceremony. This seems to speak to a hierarchy of religious status which goes beyond the idea of a ranked priesthood. Some forms of spiritual expression, while obviously important to Moche beliefs, are simply not marked by the upper reaches of status. The single and double amputees, like the achondroplasics and the kyphotics, are essential to the connection between this world and the world of the dead. However, there is a clear distinction in the iconography between these individuals and their

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<sup>187</sup> Elizabeth P. Benson, "Art, Agriculture, Warfare and the Guano Islands," in *Andean Art: Visual Expression and its Relation to Andean Beliefs and Values*, ed. Penny Dransart (Brookfield, VT: Avebury, 1995), 259, 262.

communication with the world of the dead, and the communication with the world of supernatural beings embodied in the Sacrifice Ceremony. The debate over the High Priest's status as a deity impersonator or actual transformed being is a case in point. In the depiction, whether the priest is truly transformed or simply understood to be *in loco dei*, he is dressed in a costume which clearly shows his status at the very pinnacle of Moche status. This stands in stark contrast to the figures just discussed, and I will return to this split between types of ritual in the next chapter.

Male actors in sexual scenes show more of a variety in costume, perhaps because they are clearly designated as male through their visible genitalia. Failing to depict a loincloth or a tunic is not as detrimental to our understanding of the represented figure as it would be if the genitalia were not visible. While the actors do not wear a tunic or loincloth in every representation, they do consistently wear a simple head covering. The simplicity of the covering may at first seem at odds with the ritual importance associated with these scenes.<sup>188</sup> However, a principle of social proximity may be in play in these images, where the people involved and the intended audience are close enough in the social ladder that a strong indication of status through elaborate ritual wear is not necessary (see Chapter 3). In this case, we are again left with a basic wardrobe which highlights horizontal rather than vertical distinctions; that is, between the men and women within the scene. The distinction made is almost wholly focused on sex and gender, as women are as likely as men to wear jewelry in these scenes. These men, however, wear more jewelry items than the achondroplasics and double amputees, so that even with their relatively basic costume, their status is elevated. In addition these figures are more likely to be shown as active, and more likely to be depicted on structural elements which denote status, such as thrones or on vessels with indications of

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<sup>188</sup> Donnan, *Moche Art And Iconography*, 134.

platform steps on the sides, turning the vessel into a form of ceremonial architecture. Thus their status is referred to even when their costume does not indicate it, and in fact these signs may replace the costume as indicators of status within this context.

Figures associated with coca represent another level of status, but they do not always exhibit all of their distinguishing characteristics at one time. Many of these characteristics have been outlined by Benson, including a cap or cap-like haircut,<sup>189</sup> checkerboard tunic designs,<sup>190</sup> atypical ear ornaments, including a disk pendant on a wire,<sup>191</sup> and holding a feline or a bird in the lap.<sup>192</sup> Only some figures with these characteristics within the corpus hold the lime gourd and stick, the actual implements of coca-taking (Figs. 5.139, 5.147, 5.172). Others are depicted as sitting with their arms crossed over drawn-up knees and their eyes closed, which alludes to trance, or seated in some other position with open eyes.<sup>193</sup> Benson speculates that some prisoners with checkerboard-like designs painted on the body may be related to coca rituals;<sup>194</sup> however, as mentioned earlier I believe that these designs are more closely related to the plated costumes worn by performers identified with the Owl God. While Benson associates the ritual use of coca with sacrifice, both human and animal,<sup>195</sup> coca is not included in the complex depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony.

Coca, for all its importance, was not ideologically associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony and disappears from the iconography of the Jequetepeque Valley during the last

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<sup>189</sup> Benson, "Cambios de Temas," 481.

<sup>190</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 32.

<sup>191</sup> Benson, "Garments", 293.

<sup>192</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 26-28.

<sup>193</sup> Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 191-192. A group of head effigy vessels from Huaca de la Luna (CR 960, 997 and 999) may refer to the coca complex. The figure's bulging cheeks (usually associated with coca chewing) are marked with concentric circles on CR 960 and serrated spirals on CR 997 and 999, perhaps alluding to the effects of entheogens, and the eyes of CR 960 are depicted with proportionally small irises, which can refer to the physical effects of entheogens on the eyes as well as vision into other worlds.

<sup>194</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 32.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

phase of Moche culture.<sup>196</sup> It was, as we have seen, associated with aspects of ritual behavior as well as with Moche ties to highland groups. These figures for the most part are depicted within a medium range of rank; they often wear decorated tunics, carry status animals such as felines, and wear ear ornaments, albeit atypical ones. They do sometimes wear complex headdresses, but as a group overall they are mostly limited to simple caps (or, as Benson indicates, hair cut in a manner that looks like a cap, see Fig. 5.147). While their importance is indicated, they occupy a middle ground of status within the continuum, which would be consistent with their ties to the foreign groups mentioned above: it would not be fitting for outsiders to have the same level of status as the Moche high elite.

A vertical status distinction is sharply visible in the more elaborate costumes worn by warriors and hunters, males involved in activities that appear to have been public, or at least “publicized.” Warriors and hunters are closely related in Moche art, and there have been strong links demonstrated between hunting and warrior activities in Moche culture.<sup>197</sup> The basic costume of hunters and warriors is the ubiquitous tunic, loincloth, and head covering. For some warriors, a kilt covers and visually takes the place of the loincloth. Of the 154 examples of warriors in the research corpus, roughly 80% wore tunics short enough to expose the loincloth or kilt worn with it. The majority of the examples that were catalogued as not having loincloths were representations that had ambiguous lower halves. While half of the warriors’ tunics were plain, a wide variety of tunic designs were depicted. Other scholars have observed that there is no pattern to costume types for warriors,<sup>198</sup> and clusters of tunic designs were only likely within this corpus if they were on the same vessel. Within the research corpus, however, there was a slight clustering of tunic types, and a slight

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<sup>196</sup> Castillo, “Los últimos Mochicas en Jequetepeque,” 101.

<sup>197</sup> Quilter, “Art and Moche Martial Arts,” 222.

<sup>198</sup> Bourget, “Rituals of Sacrifice,” 93.

prevalence of designs featuring dots or dots within a circle, especially as belt motifs (Figs. 5.173-5.177). A tunic design based on the wave motif, while numerically not common to warriors, was almost exclusive to that group (Figs. 5.178 and 5.179). The other examples of this design were found on a hunter (Fig. 5.180) and on the kilt of a ritual runner (Fig. 5.181). While varying in clarity, the form of the design frequently creates a spiraling or pinwheel effect, often based upon the figure/ground confusion of a dark wave pointing upwards and a light wave pointing downwards and interlocking with it. The wave design is associated with maritime scenes, where it acts as an integrated element of the landscape. It is also present as a motif in scenes involving supernatural characters and some representations of sexual acts (Fig. 5.182). Benson associates the wave motif with the sea as an entrance to the other world.<sup>199</sup> It may also in some cases be associated with the rapidly moving water that descends from the mountains and the agricultural fertility it brings,<sup>200</sup> which in contemporary times is associated with semen.<sup>201</sup> This design, then, associates warriors with elements of liminality and fertility, precisely the elements that define them in the Sacrifice Ceremony.

This may indicate that while there were certain culturally accepted ideas about tunic designs, the actual depictions may have been left to the artist. Kilts most often match the tunic with which they are paired (helmets sometimes also match), and loincloths are overwhelmingly plain. This again reinforces the loincloth's place as a basic item of clothing, and emphasizes the fact that the kilt is a decorative item involved in the indication of status. Combined with the variety of designs found on tunics, the iconographic indication seems to be one of "high-status textile," but is often not more specific than that. By including a design in general, the artist makes an indication of the textile quality that is not necessarily a

<sup>199</sup> Benson, *The Mochica*, 130; Benson, "Death-Associated Figures," 105, 140.

<sup>200</sup> Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art", 61.

<sup>201</sup> Susan E. Bergh, "Death and Renewal in Moche Phallic-Spouted Vessels," *RES* 24(1993): 82.

reflection of the real-world appearance of the garment; rather, it is a shorthand reference meant to be measured against plain textiles. This does not mean that the warriors with plain tunics are of a low status, as many of them wear complex assemblages of headgear. The range of tunic/kilt decoration for warriors in comparison to the representation of other personages places them as a social type in a higher rank than those classes that are less likely to wear decorated textiles. Warriors sometimes also have metal plating depicted on their ensembles, either covering an entire garment, acting as a hem for a tunic or kilt, or as edging on a helmet. This is another indicator of warriors' high status in general, as plating occurs only on warriors (as combatants and as captives), hunters, runners, and officiants in rituals.<sup>202</sup> The addition of metal to the textile creates another level of status, and within the corpus costumes with plating only appear on high-status individuals. Completely plated costumes are reserved for figures associated with rituals, especially those of the Sacrifice Ceremony.

The costume of hunters and warriors becomes more complex in the treatments of head ornamentation, jewelry, face paint, and items held or carried. Headdresses worn by warriors vary widely in combinations, presenting once again what appears to be a bewildering variety of choices. However, over half of the warriors wore a helmet, the majority of which were the conical type, and which were often decorated. These were followed in commonality by circlets, which were part of roughly 21% of the headdresses. Both circlets and helmets were frequently placed over simple cloth head coverings, such as cap-like head cloths which continued in a flap down the neck, the flap sometimes matching the design on the helmet. A set of tapered textile elements are also common, usually emerging from under the helmet or circlet and perhaps indicating long ties or ends for the

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<sup>202</sup> Plating is also an important element in the costume of some supernaturals, another indication of its status, but outside the scope of this discussion.



headcloth worn underneath. Both helmets and circlets are commonly bases for further adornment. Conical helmets often have a *tumi* crest at the top, while circlets can support fan-shaped plumes made from feathers, mace head effigies, large circular bosses, and animal head effigies. The circlet-supported headdresses tend to have more projecting elements, and the difference between them and the helmeted warriors may indicate the difference between more ritual and more practical costume. While the depiction of decorated textiles may be an indication of status, the headdress is even more consistently a part of the warrior ensemble. Reduction-fired wares, which have a black, glossy surface, are never painted in the Moche tradition. They tend to have less surface detail than their oxidized and slip-painted counterparts, and in these pieces it is clear that a great deal of attention has been paid to the headdress, even if the rest of the piece is not clearly sculpted (Fig. 5.183).<sup>203</sup>

Along with the headdress, warriors are also likely to have ear ornaments. Close to 70% of the warriors in the corpus have ear ornaments, which overwhelmingly are earspools. While there are a variety of earspool designs, plain spools and ones with a central dot design are the most common. This would again perhaps indicate a small amount of vertical distinction between plain earspools and decorated ones, but earspools in and of themselves are an indicator of higher status, and the paucity of decoration may simply reflect the very small surface area occupied by earspools in a given representation. Representations of prisoners often have an indication of ear holes, signifying the removal of the spools that is part of their change in status (see Fig. 5.58). The importance of earspools to warrior identity is visible in a helmet effigy from Huaca de la Luna, which depicts earspool faces attached to

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<sup>203</sup> Reduction firing as a technique does not preclude the use of slip. While slips would produce a different coloration as the result of reduction firing, the reduction process itself will not obscure it. Therefore the absence of slip in Moche reduction-fired wares appears to be a deliberate choice. The piece in Figure 201, while it appears to be missing eyes, might also have been constructed to accommodate inlay and therefore is not included in the group of blind figures.

the chinstrap of the helmet (Fig. 5.4), as well as a two-dimensional rendering from the same site (Fig. 5.70, left). Whether this indicates a real use of earspool effigies on helmet straps (large earspools *would* be impractical in combat) or functions as a shorthand is irrelevant to the signification that earspools are an important part of warrior identity—as important as the helmet. The other item of jewelry common to warriors was wrist cuffs, which are mostly represented as plain, but there are examples of more elaborate designs (Figs. 5.140, 5.177).

Warriors sometimes wear face paint, but not in overwhelming numbers. The few designs which seem to occur with some frequency are simple; one divides the face into thirds with vertical stripes, and the other is an all-over color. There does not seem to be a correlation between the face-paint designs and warriors *per se*. If anything, it would seem that the tripartite design is common to two-dimensional representations of not only warriors but ritual runners as well, and may be a function of style rather than iconographic specificity. There is almost the same rate of occurrence for leg paint as there is for face paint, and again there is no correlation between designs and other elements of costume. Leg paint, however, is nearly exclusive to warriors, hunters, and runners. It is one of the few items restricted to this class and the only one which is not a manufactured item.

Warriors carry a wide variety of objects, but these can be narrowed down to a few categories. There are very few warriors who do not carry either a shield or some form of weapon, and in the corpus the majority of unarmed warriors belong to the subclass of “sleeping warriors” (Fig. 5.179). Benson associates these “sleeping” figures with coca rituals, and their closed eyes to trance rather than sleep.<sup>204</sup> These figures, while they do not carry weapons, do wear the conical helmet that identifies them as warriors. The chin strap that

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<sup>204</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 30, 32. While the heads of some of these figures are turned as if lolling to the side, the close connection between sleep, trance, and death places them in the realm of contact with the spirit world.

secures this helmet is for the most part plain, although there are variations with triangular or octopus-arm projections (Figs. 5.179, 5.184).<sup>205</sup> Shields are either round or rectangular, and can be plain or decorated. There is not a great emphasis on shield decoration, and they are frequently depicted as plain or slatted. The weapon of choice for Moche warrior iconography is a mace with a wide, conical head and a pointed base, sometimes also referred to as a club. The mace is also visible as a decorative element in representations of ceremonial architecture, and both ceramic and wooden effigies of maces have been found in archaeological contexts. However, warriors also carry other weapons, including spears and darts, along with spear-throwers. These are rare, however, and are more closely associated with hunting. Hand-to-hand combat, as depicted in Moche ceramic art, consists of two opponents facing each other, each attempting to knock off the other's headdress to expose the hair, which is then grabbed by the victor. Sometimes the pointed base of the mace is held to the victim's throat.

For the most part, hunters are depicted pursuing two kinds of animals: deer (Fig. 5.185) and sea lions (Fig. 5.186). As there were no depictions of sea lion hunts in the present corpus, this study focuses on representations of deer hunters. Like warriors, hunters wear a tunic and loincloth or kilt, and a helmet or circlet, usually over some supporting textile element. Feather fans and individual plumes were much more common in hunters' headdresses than they were for warriors, especially in representations where such adornments are easily depicted, such as low relief and fineline decoration. They are also likely to have ear ornamentation, but a greater percentage of hunters wore ear cylinders compared to earspools. Hunters are more likely to be depicted wearing broad collars, and are as likely as

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<sup>205</sup> Benson (1974) associates the triangular ruff with the sleeping warriors, but it is also present on depictions of warriors with open eyes, who hold offensive and defensive weapons.

warriors to wear wrist cuffs. The most visible difference between warriors and hunters is in their weaponry. Warriors' maces are characterized by a broad, conical head, whereas the clubs for hunting deer and sea lions are rounded (Figs. 5.176, 5.185).<sup>206</sup> Darts and spears are also common deer-hunting weapons, and while warriors are sometimes shown carrying these items they are never depicted in scenes of actual combat. This would seem to indicate that, even if Moche warriors used these weapons during battle, the warrior ideal was centered on the use of the conical-head mace in hand-to-hand combat, and this weapon was not to be used for any other purpose. The prevalence of tropes of combat indicates that we are dealing with ritualized depictions of warriors and warfare, rather than situational descriptions of real warfare. Warriors appear to be slightly elevated above hunters, mainly through their greater tendency to wear earspools. Hunting remains a high-status motif, however, and as mentioned is ideologically allied with warfare. It may be that the difference between hunters and warriors was the nature of their prey.

A subset of warrior or warrior-related depictions occurs in the representation of male healers with their patients. Only two instances are found in the research corpus, and only one of those has an elaborate headdress (Fig. 5.187). He sits in front of his patient, placing his hands on her nude body. The female patient wears only a broad collar with a vertical-line pattern that creates a two-tiered design. Her hair is shown in two bundles, but it is uncertain whether it is braided. The healer wears a costume very similar to that of warriors, and in fact his face paint design is the same tripartite division seen on hunters and ritual runners in two-dimensional depictions. He wears an animal circlet (which represents a large-eared animal, perhaps a bat), from which a large hemispherical projection emerges in the back. Earspools

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<sup>206</sup> A club, different in shape from the war club and closer to the type used in hunting scenes, was excavated at Huaca de la Luna Plaza 3A by Bourget. This club tested positive for human antiserum, strongly suggesting it was used in sacrifice. Steve Bourget, "A Toast to the Ancestors," *Baessler-Archiv* 46, no. 1 (1998): 88, 90.

with a multi-dot design are shown as relatively large in proportion to his head, emphasizing their presence and status indication. The healer's eyes are closed, and there is a pair of rattles slung over his shoulder. Both of these indicate trance states as part of the healing ritual. He wears a short tunic, kilt and belt. The tunic may have the inverted step design, but significant discoloration from poor firing makes it difficult to determine with certainty. A plain backflap is attached to the belt. Both the kilt and the backflap are associated with warriors and hunters, while the kilt is occasionally shown on ritual runners. To his left there is a small rectangular object, similar to depictions in other pieces which indicate a box filled with lumpy objects. These objects may be stones used in healing.<sup>207</sup> The other male healer (Fig. 5.188) wears the short tunic and loincloth that forms the basis of male costume, but rather than an animal circlet he wears a simple head cloth with a second plain cloth wrapped around it. He wears simple ear cylinders, and a pair of rattles slung around his neck similarly to the healer in Figure 5.187. His patient also appears to be female; although his left hand covers her groin her right breast is indicated. Unlike the patient in Figure 5.187, she is depicted as completely unadorned, and with an oddly-shaped head that has no depicted hairstyle. The base of the vessel beneath her body is painted in red slip, with the rest of the area painted in cream. The disparity between these two representations may indicate a relative rank within healers, as well as their clients, where the higher-status patients warrant higher-status healers. As there are only two examples in the corpus, this is a limited observation.

The depiction of a male healer with the costume elements of a warrior places at least some members of this social type in a relatively high status among the Moche elite. In comparison, images of women who are healers, such as Figures 2.6 and 5.189 from the

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<sup>207</sup> Sarahh E. M. Scher, "Held in the Balance: Shamanism and Gender Roles in Ancient and Modern Practice," *Acta Americana* 15, no. 1 (2007): 35.

research corpus and a piece from the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography (Fig. 5.190), are not nearly as heavily adorned, and there is no emphasis on a warriorlike persona. This may have something to do with a perceived difference in the way men and women healers practiced; for contemporary healers of northern Peru Glass-Coffin notes that masculine interaction with healing ritual is focused on transcending and dominating the dualism represented within the ceremony, while most women healers focus on paradox and synthesis, adapting and coexisting.<sup>208</sup> It also fits in with the hierarchy based on sex seen previously in this chapter, where men have more social roles with high status available to them than women do. While the female healers in Figures 2.6 and 5.189 do wear necklaces and large shoulder pins, these pins also identify them as foreign, and they do not wear any of the elaborate head ornamentation essential to status within the Moche system. The Peabody healer does not wear any jewelry items, and is depicted in a manner similar to *achumeras*, a social type associated with gender-complicated old women and discussed in the following chapter. None of them is depicted with the signifiers of status seen on the male healer in Figure 5.187, nor are there any associations with warrior identity. In addition, the healers in Figures 2.6 and 5.189 hold their small patients on their laps, perhaps indicating a specialization in children or a lower status for their clientele. This places male healers in a status category above female healers, relates them at least somewhat to warriors, and separates this form of healing ritual from other forms which are not accorded the same status.

At the very highest level of status are the celebrants of rituals, who wear not only elaborate headdresses but also frequently have tunics decorated with metal plates or disks; they are also frequently depicted as transformed into supernatural beings (Figs. 5.191 and

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<sup>208</sup> Bonnie Glass-Coffin, *The Gift of Life: Female Spirituality and Healing in Northern Peru* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 163.

5.192).<sup>209</sup> These costumes are normally based on the costumes of warriors, and include items such as the helmet, kilt, and backflap. Considering the importance of warriors to sacrifice and its attendant rituals this is not surprising. Within the corpus, completely plated tunics were present on dancers, most of whom also wore a headdress consisting of a semicircular element edged with octopus arms, captives, and one warrior engaged in battle with a supernatural adversary (Figs. 5.50, 5.193 and 5.194). As noted earlier, plates are found as hems on some warrior tunics and kilts, but they are not common. However as also noted above, prisoners with plated tunics are related to the Owl God, who wears a similar tunic. The octopus-arm headdress may also signify a connection to the Decapitator Deity, who is associated with spiders and octopi.<sup>210</sup> The main officiants in the Sacrifice Ceremony are often shown as supernatural figures, but even when they are shown as human the costumes they wear frequently feature projections, tassels, and other costume elements which add to the visual richness of the garment. These garments, as depicted, would also be ungainly and quite heavy. In many ways, they are like extra-fancy warrior costumes, in that they frequently incorporate warrior costume elements. The level of rank among these officiants is, like those of warriors, not exclusively delineated through costume elements alone. The positioning and relative size of the actors within the Sacrifice Ceremony scene is paramount in determining their rank relative to one another. Their depiction as sometimes human, sometimes supernatural, also signifies their status relative to other elites. Their ability to “be” deities during the ceremony is a sign of their elevated status, above even the rest of the Moche elite.

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<sup>209</sup> This transformation is signaled through the depiction of feline fangs in the mouths of the celebrants, see Figures 211, left and 212. See also, for example, Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females," 38.

<sup>210</sup> Cordy-Collins, "Archaism or Tradition?," 215; Alva and Donnan, *Tumbas reales de Sipán*, 189.

### **Creating Status Within a Gender Category: Feminine**

Women become more prevalent within the iconography as the Moche timeline progresses, paralleling an increase in the richness of female high elite burials in the late Moche periods.<sup>211</sup> Most women in the corpus are more limited in sartorial scope than men, reflecting their relative scarcity overall in Moche art. The costumes of attendants to the Sacrifice Ceremony, women with children or child figures, and women in sexual scenes have been discussed above. However, some women are depicted with patterned textile garments. The most common design is of a circle with a dot or smaller circle inside it, or a thick circle without a center dot. While not completely exclusive to women, all but two of the designs based on these motifs were worn by women, and one of those two was quite different from the bulk of the designs. This open circle, and the dot within a circle, therefore seem to be textile motifs with a strong female association (Figs. 5.80, 5.85, 5.197, 5.198).<sup>212</sup> This is especially interesting in light of the fact that dots, or filled circles, are a relatively common motif on warrior costumes, although they are not exclusive to them.

Women also have simpler ensembles; they are for the most part marked by very few additions to the basic costume. If a woman wears her long tunic belted, the belt is depicted in a contrasting color to the tunic. As we have seen, for men the belt is a site for items of warrior status such as bells and backflaps. Women do not have access to these items in the iconography, and so their belts are unadorned, but they do have access to some elements of jewelry. The women most likely to wear wrist cuffs and necklaces or collars are participants in sexual scenes. Women almost never wear ear ornamentation, and when they do they are almost always accompanied by other distinctive garments and ornaments. We know that for

<sup>211</sup> Castillo and Holmquist Pachas, "Mujeres y poder en la sociedad mochica tardía," 26-28.

<sup>212</sup> The textile patterning on several of the pieces in the corpus is executed in a fading post-fire black which is difficult to photograph and so these examples are not shown in the figures for this chapter.



the Inka, the ritual of ear piercing was an important part of male coming-of-age ceremonies,<sup>213</sup> and that the size and richness of ear ornaments indicated status. This appears to have also held true for north coast cultures, with Moche, Sicán, and Chimú elite male graves all yielding large and elaborate ear ornamentation. It would seem that among the Moche, ear ornaments were also seen as a masculine attribute.

There are very few highly-adorned women in Moche art, and they are almost exclusively restricted to the Sacrifice Ceremony. An exception is a mold-made figurine from the collection of the MARLH (Fig. 5.195), which depicts a woman with braided hair wearing earspools, wrist cuffs, a necklace of espingo seeds like that worn by the double amputee in Figure 5.160, and a headdress or circlet adorned with hemispherical projections. She holds a pair of joined rattles in her hands, the same kind held by both Figure 5.160 and the old woman in Figure 5.154. All of these elements associate her with ritual and elevated status, but not with the Sacrifice Ceremony. This singular representation appears to depict a woman of elevated status engaged in a form of ritual related to the shamanic tradition. The piece is not securely provenanced, but is purportedly from the Chicama Valley, adjacent to the Moche Valley. In the following chapter, women participating in trance ritual at the site of Huacas de Moche are demonstrated to occupy a relatively elevated position, however these figures are all gender-complicated. This obviously female figure remains anomalous in the corpus.

The High Priestess, depicted on the top register of the Sacrifice Ceremony in Figure 5.196, and the Priestess with the Carding-Tool Headdress who sometimes appears with her in a lower register (Fig. 5.197), are the most richly costumed females depicted in Moche art. They are, as well, products of a very limited genre within the art, as they are confined to the

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<sup>213</sup> Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*, 62.

Moche V fineline style. The Mythical Feminine Personage of the San José de Moro fineline style also wears elaborate clothing and ornament, although the style of the painting is so highly abstracted as to make the elements of costume difficult to read. The Priestess' costumes are described in a limited number of two-dimensional fineline depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony. There are almost no sculpted representations of either woman in Moche art, while there are representations of attendants to the ceremony, as will be discussed below. Both Priestesses wear long tunics, divided into vertical fields by a stripe running down the center of the visible garment. The tunic of the High Priestess has one field of circles, the other side contains irregular oblong shapes. Benson considers this pattern to be reminiscent of jaguar pelage marks, which are associated with sacredness and a more general Andean reverence for the feline.<sup>214</sup> The asymmetrical design of her tunic is unusual, and may express concepts of reciprocal duality (in which one half of the system is subordinate to the other), or uniqueness and the ability to be an exception from systems of regularity (like the Inka rulers). As noted above, the use of circles is common as a design motif on women's dresses. By bringing the pelage marks and the circles together, it is possible that the relationship between this particular woman and the spiritual power of the feline is being stressed. Another version of the High Priestess (Fig. 28, upper center right) creates the same effect by depicting her in a pelage-marked tunic with a circle-design mantle over it. Her headdress consists of a headband above which nod two curving shapes which terminate in a serrated edge. The four serrations in turn end in circular elements. A bead necklace is somewhat cursorily drawn above her tunic, and she wears earspools decorated with a large central dot. Her hair is shown in long braids or wrapped segments, which terminate in feline heads. Down her back, two shapes similar to her braids, but depicted without the braid pattern, also terminate in

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<sup>214</sup> Benson, "Women in Mochica Art," 63.

heads. Their attachment to her costume is unclear. She wears wrist cuffs, which are visible as she lifts the gourd lid above the goblet. Her face is painted, but the paint patterns vary from depiction to depiction.

The Carding-Tool Priestess' tunic fields are, in some representations, divided between the oblong pelage shapes of the High Priestess' tunic and a similar form in outline. The Larco Vase version (Fig. 5.197) does not depict this division, instead depicting it as completely covered in pelage marks.<sup>215</sup> The circles visible in the tunic between her arm and chin may be a field of circle motifs, or they could be an indication of a bead necklace. The Carding-Tool headdress consists of four vertical rectangles atop a headband. The tip of the carding-tool staff peeks out between her legs, both turning her into an animated carding-tool as well as visually masculinizing her. This associates her with the Revolt of the Objects theme, in which animated objects with human arms and legs (including carding-tools) attack Moche warriors and are ultimately defeated.<sup>216</sup> She appears to wear braids, although they are not as prominently displayed as those of the High Priestess. The end of one braid and feline head is visible in the Larco Vase depiction. Down her back, where the High Priestess has another set of feline-headed elements, she has two strips of cloth decorated with circles. She also wears wrist cuffs, but is not depicted as wearing earspools. Arsenault sees the ceremonial Carding Tool as a signifier of religious power equal to the *tumi*.<sup>217</sup> However, given the fact that it is not ubiquitous within the (albeit limited) known depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony, and that the Priestess with the Carding-Tool Headdress has a status within the scene lower than that of the High Priestess, this seems unlikely. Arsenault also

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<sup>215</sup> For an example of the Priestess with the Carding-Tool Headdress with a divided tunic, see Kutscher 1983: Abb. 299.

<sup>216</sup> Jeffrey Quilter, "The Moche Revolt of the Objects," *Latin American Antiquity* 1, no. 1 (1990).

<sup>217</sup> Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 105.

notes that women and men who handle and receive the container with the sacrificial blood are distinguished by differences in the type of container offered, with a more elaborate vessel offered to men, and a simpler vessel offered to women.<sup>218</sup> This would seem to reinforce the concept that even within the elevated milieu of the Sacrifice Ceremony, there is not only a difference maintained between the sexes, the relative status between them also persists, and this was indeed one of the objectives of the ritual.<sup>219</sup>

The Mythical Feminine Personage of San José de Moro, who appears in a maritime theme rather than in the Sacrifice Ceremony, wears a highly abstracted costume which consists of a long garment that is shown as being decorated with a close grid pattern, perhaps indicating netting (Fig. 5.198). An element which may be a belt is sometimes depicted. She wears earspools, often shown with a simple decoration such as a central dot, and a headdress consisting of trumpet-shaped vertical elements, which are sometimes depicted as stiff and upright and other times as bending. Seemingly emerging from her headdress is a long tiered element, which Hocquenghem and Lyon refer to as a headcloth.<sup>220</sup> This element could also be a trainlike addition to her headdress. Her arms and hands are rarely depicted, although when they are, she sometimes wears wrist cuffs.

The main division in costume status among women in Moche art remains between these very high-status women and women in other representations. The female attendants throughout the Warrior Narrative are almost always unadorned, and the women in the sexual scenes wear a small amount of jewelry (never earspools) and have uncovered heads. The Priestesses and the Mythical Feminine Personage with their elaborate costumes, jewelry, and head coverings, are important exceptions to the simple attire of women in Moche art. The

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<sup>218</sup> Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>220</sup> Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females," 34.

only other exceptions to this trend are the few representations of women holding cups and covers associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figs. 5.119-5.122). These women are sometimes adorned with earpools, but do not wear the headdresses as the Priestesses do. While all the women depicted in the art were most likely referring to women from the elite classes, there were very few who were actually represented with the trappings of high status in the art. Unlike men, they do not display many differing levels of jewelry, headdresses, and other ornamentation. There is a sharp distinction between heavily adorned, lightly adorned and unadorned, but very little else.

### **Conclusions**

While not all men participated in the activities of the Warrior Narrative, for many their costume reflected the basic elements of masculine identity, and allied them with this active, vital ideal, even when the individuals themselves could not be active. This identity did not in itself confer power or status however, and there are distinctions of rank among those wearing the basics of masculine costume—the loincloth and head covering. It is also clear, however, that there is a large distinction between women and men in the art, and between the highest women elites and other women depicted in the art. Women, in general, are passive, and when they do act it is within very circumscribed bounds. This is maintained by the foreign *cargadores* as well. This distinction between both men and women and the highest elites and the rest of the Moche polity is strictly maintained throughout the depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony, but is also present in piecemeal form in earlier representations. There are, however, figures within Moche iconography who do not fit into the categories designated masculine and feminine, and they are the subject of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 6 GENDER COMPLICATION IN MOCHE ICONOGRAPHY

*Rather than affirming an equivalence of male and female power, these [Aztec] images suggest that power can be obtained only through maleness. Androgynous goddesses are an artistic solution to the conceptual problem of representing powerful females under the prevailing ideology of male dominance.<sup>1</sup>*

Now that I have established the construction of masculine and feminine gender through the use of costume within the Moche iconographic system, and the elements of status within these two gender categories have been outlined, it is possible to perceive that there are some characters depicted in the art which are not clearly gender-identified, and can be said to have “complicated gender.” I use this term in lieu of “third gender” in recognition of the fact that while there is definitely an iconographic acknowledgment of individuals who do not clearly fit into “masculine” or “feminine” categories, it is unclear exactly how many separate distinctions the Moche may have made.<sup>2</sup> Using the term “gender-complicated” acknowledges the complexity of Moche ideology and worldview, but does not attempt to create a specific system of categories beyond that supported by the evidence. It is possible to propose that there were third and fourth genders composed respectively of gender-complicated men and gender-complicated women, or that the Moche recognized more than two sexes, but these finer distinctions are not explicit in the art and I would be imposing a

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<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Brumfiel, "Figurines and the Aztec State: Testing the Effectiveness of Ideological Domination," in *Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Rita P. Wright (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 157.

<sup>2</sup> “Third gender” refers to a social category of people who cross the boundaries of binary sex distinctions. Shamanic and other forms of spiritual power are often associated with this mediating betweenness. “...an individual who was socialized in such a way as to straddle the gender boundary ought to be able to span all boundaries.” D'Anglure, "Rethinking Inuit Shamanism Through the Concept of 'Third Gender'." As noted in Chapter 4, there are at least two Inuit cultures with designations (*anasik* and *kipijuitiq*) that indicate an ambiguous sex or gender. See also M. Kay Martin and Barbara Voorhies, "Supernumary Sexes," in *Female of the Species* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975). “Third gender,” of course, has attained broad usage in both academic and popular culture. This is another reason to move away from such a polysemic label and use one more specifically tailored to the Moche.

category where it is not clear one existed. However, an argument can be made for a spectrum of gender-complication, in which some individuals are further from the poles of ideal masculinity or femininity than others, and this will be addressed in the relevant sections below.

### **Gender Complication in Andean Thought and Within the Iconographic System**

The perception of gender can change within several parameters in Andean society. Distinctions can be made among ritual gender complication, which is temporary and performative, life stage gender complication, which is more essential and permanent, and physical anomalies present at birth (such as intersexuality) or acquired through the life cycle (such as blindness), which are also regarded as essential and permanent. An example of the first would be the *Witite* dancers mentioned in Chapter 4, who complicate their gender only for the duration of their ritual participation, and who in fact enhance their masculine status within the society through participation in this ritual. The second would be like the gradual masculinization of women as they age, noted by Isbell in contemporary highland Peru and Dean for the early colonial Inka. Dean notes that in Guaman Poma's illustrations old men become more like girls and old women begin to resemble men,<sup>3</sup> changing their perceived gender towards an undifferentiated middle. In reference to the third category, it is worth noting that the Inka appear to have classified "nonreproductive humans" separately, in a category where strong gender differentiation was not as important.<sup>4</sup> Among the Inka, this included "the infirm, the disabled, the blind, the deaf, the mute, hunchbacks, etc," who were

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<sup>3</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 161-162.

not able to take on full adult roles within the social structure.<sup>5</sup> There appear to be examples of all three possibilities—ritual complication, life stage complication, and an ambiguity based in physical anomaly—within Moche art. Those with physical anomalies alone are less heavily marked with gender-complicating costume elements, and seem to occupy a place in the gender continuum closer to masculinity (representations of this group in the corpus are exclusively male). There are, in addition, some male individuals who wear at least some elements of gender-complicating costume and do not appear to have any physical anomalies at all. This will be further discussed below.

### **Moche Ritual, the Shamanic Tradition, and Gender**

Performative gender complication is dictated by the ritual in which that complication takes place: not all performances require or desire gender complication. Two of the most well-known aspects of Moche ritual, the Burial Theme and the Sacrifice Ceremony, are presented in the iconography as elaborate rites which have a public and state/polity association. That is, they are performances which have a wide postulated audience (at the very least the Moche elite as well as the ancestors/spirit world), and the rituals were carried out as part of the elite's claim to power within the polity. These performances also reaffirmed the alliances or relationships between the high elites of independent Moche polities, by emphasizing the central ideology upon which their common culture was based.<sup>6</sup> Within these ritual performances, it would seem that gender polarity/duality is more strictly delineated than in other themes in the iconography. This has been observed specifically for the Sacrifice Ceremony by Arsenault, who notes that there is a rigidly gendered division of

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<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 161-162, footnote 117.

<sup>6</sup> DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle, "Ideology, Materialization, and Power Strategies," 16-17. Castillo and Uceda, "The Moche of Northern Perú," 7.



labor within not only the Sacrifice Ceremony itself but the events preceding and following it as well.<sup>7</sup> It would appear, then, that within the ritual time and space of the Sacrifice Ceremony, gender differences were heavily emphasized. This may have been necessary in light of the importance of male virility to the ritual. In order to derive the maximum spiritual benefit from the masculinity of warriors, their place on one pole of the gender spectrum had to be protected and maintained. As such, almost all the participants in the ceremony closely adhere to the gender roles observed in the iconography, with one important exception which will be examined below. However, it also appears that there are elements of ritual performance depicted in Moche art which do not relate to the Sacrifice Ceremony or to the larger Warrior Narrative as it is depicted in the late fineline images. While it is possible that the figures with complicated gender that appear in these rites outside the Warrior Narrative (as it is currently understood) may in fact relate to parts of a larger sequence of events, they do not currently fit with any of the known narrative themes. I contend that these depictions of ritual, which appear to be private rather than public performances, are the space in which the greatest amount of gender complication is depicted. It is within private rituals performed not for the state but for smaller groups or individuals in which gender complication appears to not only be permissible, but desired and emphasized. There has been some discussion of the shamanic roots of the Sacrifice Ceremony, and how the religious power within the polity was most likely transferred from shamans or similar ritual specialists (who were called to their position by the spirit world) to lineages of elites.<sup>8</sup> There are elements of shamanic beliefs evident within the representations of the Sacrifice Ceremony, especially the

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<sup>7</sup> Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 105.

<sup>8</sup> Bawden, "The Structural Paradox," 262.

transformation of the main actors into supernatural beings.<sup>9</sup> This is similar to the shaman's transformation into a spirit, usually a powerful animal, as he moves into the spirit world.<sup>10</sup> However, the focus of the performance on the sacrifice of prisoners as opposed to communion with the spirit world moves the Sacrifice Ceremony away from the core shamanic tradition. By contrast, within those representations which can be called private ceremonies, the aspect of trance is the most emphasized shamanic element, which itself indicates communication with the spirit world.

While it may not be possible to definitively say that the individuals engaged in private ritual are shamans, it is clear that they bear a number of characteristics of the shamanic tradition in their representation. These figures are associated with trance, music, and the use of entheogens, all key elements of shamanic practice. As seen in Chapter 4, the complication of gender can be an important part (albeit not a necessary one) in the power of shamans throughout the Americas. That in Moche art there would then be an element of gender complication tied to performances with shamanic attributes is no surprise.

### **The Problem of the Mantle**

Before discussing specific individuals who exhibit gender complication within private ritual, it is necessary to discuss a particular item of clothing which, in and of itself, presents problems of gender identity and has not previously been discussed. A mantle worn over the head (referred to as a veil by Hocquenghem)<sup>11</sup> quickly becomes a complicating element as its associations within the iconography are examined (Fig. 6.1). Arsenault believes that the mantle serves a synonymic function which places its wearer in the same class as "stewards"

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<sup>9</sup> Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 93.

<sup>10</sup> Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Hocquenghem, "Les textiles", 216.

with infirmities.<sup>12</sup> These stewards maintain order within ritual action, in both this world and in the world of the dead, acting as enforcers of ritual procedure and the social order. Bourget does not distinguish between the draped mantle and the hooded version, and relates the hooded mantle seen on whistlers as a feminine attribute.<sup>13</sup> Hocquenghem notes the difficulty in assigning a gendered meaning to the mantle,<sup>14</sup> but decides it is most likely feminine based on the presence of figures wearing mantles in scenes of childbirth.<sup>15</sup> She argues that if the “veil” were associated with ritual rather than with gender, that is, if it were a necessary part of the ritual performances of curing, it would be worn by all actors performing cures, which is not the case. However, she acknowledges that there are both iconographic and ethnographic complications as to the nature of the mantle. For example, Inka males wore a mantle over their heads as a sign of mourning or penance, as illustrated in Guaman Poma (Fig. 6.2). If it were a necessary component of mourning or funerary ritual (referring to the Inka practice), she asks, why then is it present in Moche birth scenes where this would not be appropriate? She concludes that it is most likely that the mantle over the head in Moche art designates women, not men. While both mourning and birth are times of liminality, I see this as a clear case where ethnographic analogy is not constructive, as the use of draped headcloths, and indeed any form of head ornamentation, seems to have varied greatly from culture to culture, more so than for other articles of costume. As discussed previously, the head is the site of the greatest social distinction, and so this difference between Inka and Moche customs is not unexpected.

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<sup>12</sup> Arsenault, "El Personaje," 233-234.

<sup>13</sup> Bourget, "Children and Ancestors," 103, 105; Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*.

<sup>14</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 109.

<sup>15</sup> Hocquenghem, "Les Représentations de Chamans dans l'Iconographie Mochica," 125.

I argue that these indicators point towards a spiritual association for the mantle, over and above the slightly feminine aspect. Hocquenghem implies as much elsewhere,<sup>16</sup> but does not address it directly. It is important to recognize that the mantle is not a diagnostic element of female sex or feminine gender. The mantle over the head appears in a limited number of scenes, and in many cases is associated with individuals whose sex and gender are not immediately apparent. In fact, by its nature it frequently removes some elements of sex identity previously established for Moche art: the presence of braids for females and the head coverings associated with males. The mantle is distinct from the types of head coverings associated with males (as discussed in Chapter 5), and more closely resembles the hooded “capas” which appear on whistlers, some individuals with physical abnormalities, and on inhabitants of the world of the dead. The mantle over the head, then, whether fastened at the neck as a hood or left loose, appears to be more strongly associated with performance within ritual and with the spirit world in general than with the gender or sex identity of women.

By covering the head, the mantle obscures an important locus of sex identity in Moche iconography, and through this removal of the space of difference, creates another category. The creation of this confusion, of the erasure of information, opens the possibility for gender complication. This complication is emphasized, rather than removed, in the existence of two pieces in the corpus which do give more information. One piece (Fig. 5.36) depicts a woman holding her braids, which emerge from beneath the mantle. Another (Fig. 6.3) is clearly shown with a feline circlet (a male head covering) beneath the mantle. Thus, while there appears to be a slight female bias in the use of the mantle in some birth scenes and for the *achumeras* described below, there is not a strong correlation, and instead the

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<sup>16</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 132.

mantle is an element of complication rather than designation, and makes necessary another sign if the gender of the wearer is to be clarified.

### **Performative Gender Complication**

In at least one instance, I believe that a type of individual Hocquenghem has labeled as female due to the mantle is actually a gender-complicated male.<sup>17</sup> These figures wear a costume composed of a short tunic and exposed loincloth, with a mantle draped over the head. They are depicted standing and holding a set of small rattle-bells (Fig. 6.4),<sup>18</sup> which points to participation in a ritual based on the shamanic tradition. Rattles are an essential element of contemporary shamanic practice on the north coast,<sup>19</sup> and there is colonial evidence for the use of musical instruments in native ritual.<sup>20</sup> This would seem to indicate that the rattle-bells held by these figures indicate a similar relationship with ritual. Along with the presence of rattles, 21 of the 34 examples in the corpus are depicted with closed eyes, which is associated with a trance state in Moche art.<sup>21</sup> They are not depicted in the same way as the blind, who often have sunken, closed eyes or are missing the eyes entirely, and so seem to emphasize the performative and temporary aspect of this figure. There is a strong statistical relationship in the research corpus between the rattle-bells and closed eyes ( $\gamma = .781$ ). What is even more interesting is that all four examples in the corpus that are holding rattle-bells but do not have a mantle over their heads have open eyes. This even

<sup>17</sup> Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females," 123.

A problem of nomenclature emerges when discussing gender complications, especially temporary ones. I will, as in Chapter 4, use the terms "male" and "female" to refer to designations of sex, and "masculine" and "feminine" to refer to categories of gender. A person of male sex may take on complications related to feminine gender while retaining a male sex identity.

<sup>18</sup> I refer to them by this name as it is unclear whether they produced a percussive or a ringing sound.

<sup>19</sup> Sharon and Donnan, "Shamanism in Moche Iconography," 53.

<sup>20</sup> Polía, *La cosmovisión*, 97, 319, 415.

<sup>21</sup> Benson, "Salesmen", 30. Bonnie Glass-Coffin, "Engendering Peruvian Shamanism through Time: Insights from Ethnohistory and Ethnography," *Ethnohistory* 46, no. 2 (1999): 207.

more firmly supports the link between a mantle over the head and the use of trance in shamanic ritual.

The tunics worn by these figures are sometimes elaborated above the simple baseline. They are depicted with serrated hems (Fig. 6.5) or textile surface design (Fig. 6.6). They also sometimes wear accompanying kilts with textile designs or in a solid color contrasting with the tunic (Fig. 6.7). These rattle-holders, while almost never displaying the head ornamentation associated with high status, do however wear a considerable amount of jewelry. While only six of the 34 in the corpus wear wrist cuffs, 30 of the 34 wore a collar or necklace, and 32 wear some form of ear ornamentation. The most common ear ornament, by far, is the earspool, with the majority of those bearing some form of decoration. The earspools, as seen in Chapter 5, are particularly associated with higher status as well as with masculinity, as are the short tunic and kilt or loincloth worn by the majority of these figures. This clothes the figure in masculine dress, and makes him nominally male and masculine; but by placing the mantle over his head this masculinity becomes complicated. Not only does it hide a major locus of sex and gender identity for men, but it also alludes to shamanic spiritual practices, in which contradiction and complication are an important source of power. As noted above, the mantle does seem to have some light association with the feminine through scenes of childbirth. Therefore the placing of the mantle (associated with spiritual ritual as well as slightly with femininity) on a figure wearing a short tunic and loincloth/kilt as well as earspools (associated with masculinity), creates a contradiction and complication of this individual's gender. Hocquenghem's original designation of this figure as female is based in the assumption of a dyadic gender conception, but by accepting the possibility of more gender categories, it becomes possible to see the complication of gender within the

iconographic system. There is no need to make a choice between male or female, as there is ample evidence for a space of ambiguity.

In light of the spiritual practices documented in Chapter 4, it seems possible to suggest that the rattle-bell holder is participating in a ritual which calls for the complication of gender through performance, in this case a ritual involving music as well as trance states. The complex nature of these figures is summed up beautifully in a piece from the MARLH (Fig. 6.5), where the loincloth of the figure has been partially divided by an incised line, making it resemble the vulva. The two sides of the area thus marked are then painted in opposing colors of slip, creating within this space of the body a compact symbol of the complication inherent in this particular individual, and the transformative nature of the ritual, which can turn an indicator of masculinity (the loincloth) into one of female identity (the vulva). It is through this temporary transformation, achieved by way of the ritual, that the celebrant both receives and exhibits the power inherent in the blending of opposites (male and female). As discussed in Chapter 4, this blending can take place on an essential level, even if only for the duration of the ceremony—there is at least the conceptual possibility of not just the gender but the sex of the celebrant becoming complicated. The dangerous place where opposites interact and sex and gender become mutable is also a source of great spiritual power, and it is this source of power which the celebrant is contacting and reflecting through his/her own shifting essence. So while as noted before this is most likely a private ceremony performed for the benefit of a small number of people, the spirit forces called through the ritual are just as powerful as those invoked in the Sacrifice Ceremony. They may indeed be the exact same spirit forces, as ancestors, mountain spirits, and similar forces contacted in contemporary shamanic ritual all reside in the Other World. It is possible that

the main difference between the rituals of the high elites for the benefit of the polity and the smaller rituals performed by gender-complicated individuals may be the nature of the offerings made. Fineline scenes of the Burial Theme show large offerings of food and *Strombus* shells, and the Sacrifice Ceremony depicts the most potent sacrifice of all, human blood and life. The individuals in non-polity ceremonies are shown most often with musical instruments or other methods of trance induction, and not with offerings.<sup>22</sup> The high elites, through their access to more and higher-status resources, can offer more to the spirit world, and as such have the right to ask for greater things in exchange.

Another case of performative gender complication does occur within the Sacrifice Ceremony, but it is more subtle and more allied with state ideology than that seen in the rattle-bell holders. I had previously mentioned both Arsenault's and my observations regarding the strict adherence to gender ideals within depictions of the Sacrifice Ceremony. There is however a slight exception to this fact, one which is based in the hierarchies of power as expressed within Moche iconography and relies upon its rarity to send its message. I propose that the only participants in the Sacrifice Ceremony who are gender-complicated are the High Priestess and the Priestess with the Carding-Tool Headdress, even as they adhere to their feminine roles within the Ceremony. Their earspools and elaborate, distinct headdresses, items otherwise exclusively associated with men, make them something other than the standard feminine in Moche art.<sup>23</sup> In the case of these women, their extreme

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<sup>22</sup> In contemporary practice, small-scale rituals require small-scale offerings, often not much more than some perfume, coca leaves, and/or maize flour. Larger rituals, such as those for building a house, require larger offerings, including llama fetuses. Roger W. Byard, "Impressions of Folk Medicine in the Andes," *Canadian Family Physician* 33(1987).

<sup>23</sup> Donnan states "Both Moche males and females wore ear ornaments, and it does not appear that any styles or materials were unique to either sex," seemingly implying that the earspool does not create a gender distinction. However, as seen above, there are very few women who wear earspools, they are almost exclusively restricted to men at the highest levels of status. This argues for a gendered association for the earspool. Donnan, *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru*, 77.



elevation of rank is, in itself, reliant on masculine symbols, and to that extent complicates their feminine category. In other words, in order for a woman to attain that level of status within Moche society, she *had* to acquire elements of rank which were masculine, making herself a blend of male and female rather than strictly female. That level of power was *inherently* masculine, and speaks to a definition of that power itself as a masculine attribute within Moche ideology.

The existence of “real-life” exceptions to the gender separation normally evident in the Sacrifice Ceremony is borne out in archaeological finds through the elements buried with the Priestesses at San José de Moro and the Señora de Cao, who are associated through their funerary goods with performers in the Sacrifice Ceremony. These goods also emphasize a complication of their gender. Earspools with turquoise mosaic inlay were interred with one of the Priestesses of San José de Moro, and distinctive headdresses were interred with all of the Moche-era priestesses from that site. These headdresses are the same as those depicted on the High Priestess in the Sacrifice Ceremony. In addition, there is a funerary assemblage<sup>24</sup> which appears to have a *tumi* or *tumi*-shaped object included among its inventory. The *tumi*, as the instrument of sacrifice, is imbued with a great many masculine associations through the blood of warriors and their fertility. Placing the *tumi* and the earspools in the funerary assemblage creates a gender-complicated symbolic identity for the individual interred in the grave, one based in symbols of masculine status and power.

The woman buried at Huaca Cao Viejo, known as the Señora de Cao, was buried with an elaborate funerary assemblage and accompanied by several attendant burials. Among the many items of status with which she was buried were four long tunics, two of which appear

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<sup>24</sup> Excavation designation M-U 1316.

to have been well-worn, the other two relatively new.<sup>25</sup> The textiles from which they were made featured both woven and painted decoration. All four of the long tunics are typical of Moche women's clothing, and serve along with her mummy's braids to establish the primary sex and gender identity of the Señora within her funerary assemblage. However, one of the dresses bears a repeated pattern of the wave/spiral motif described in Chapter 5 as occurring in depictions of warriors' tunics. This feminine item (the dress) bears a motif associated with the iconography of warriors (the wave/spiral) in a complication of gender. Two large gilded copper diadems were included in the funerary bundle, in a shape similar to the headdress element worn by an iconographically male actor in the Sacrifice Ceremony.<sup>26</sup> Steve Bourget has identified the male individual buried in Tomb 3 at Sipán with this actor, whom he associates with the sea and the ecological changes associated with El Niño events.<sup>27</sup> It is interesting to note that evidence of flooding and ground erosion due to an El Niño event was observed in another grave at Huaca Cao Viejo.<sup>28</sup> The Señora de Cao was also buried with a complement of large gilded wooden war clubs, as well as spear-throwers. These weapons of war and the hunt are exclusively the province of men in the iconography. A suite of exquisite nose ornaments was also part of her funerary assemblage, an item of jewelry represented solely on men (Fig. 6.8). I would argue that like the wave/spiral motif on her long tunic, the inclusion of weapons, a male headdress, and nose ornaments in the burial was a deliberate complication of the gender of the Señora de Cao, to reflect and carry forth in death the role she had played and the power she had held in life.

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<sup>25</sup> Mujica Barreda et al., *El Brujo: Huaca Cao*, 229-230.

<sup>26</sup> Régulo Franco Jordán, "La Señora de Cao," in *Señores de los Reinos de la Luna*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski, Joanne Pillsbury, and Régulo Franco Jordán (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito, 2008), 287.

<sup>27</sup> Bourget, "The Third Man," 270, 282.

<sup>28</sup> Régulo Franco Jordán, César Gálvez, and Segundo Vásquez, "Desentierro ritual de una tumba Moche, Huaca Cao Viejo," *Revista Arqueológica SIAN* 3, no. 6 (1998): 14-15.

Unlike San José de Moro, there is no tradition of female-centered iconography at Huaca Cao Viejo. The uniqueness of the Señora's tomb may indicate that there was no institutional female power at the site, as there was at San José de Moro. The iconographic rhetoric of San José de Moro, which focuses on images of supernatural females to a greater extent than that of other sites, can be seen as engaging in a discourse with the general trends in the iconography, which, as we have seen, emphasized male dominance through not only images of action and prestige but through a proportionally greater number of representations and roles. By emphasizing female supernaturals (and de-emphasizing the Warrior Narrative), the iconography of San José de Moro argues for power based in the female rather than the male, which could devolve to the human females who impersonated the supernatural Priestess of the Sacrifice Ceremony. As time passed and successive generations fulfilled this role, the deceased Priestesses became ancestors, who also hold a great deal of power within the Andean spiritual system. Thus San José de Moro gained a vested interest in the establishment and maintenance of female sociopolitical power which was not carried beyond the Señora de Cao in her polity. Perhaps if other women had persisted in her role after her, we might have seen the same shift in iconographic emphasis there. The Señora de Cao comes from the middle period of Moche development in the southern sphere, the Priestesses from the Late Moche phase of the north. An interesting connection between the Señora and the Priestesses may be made through the style of the nose ornaments buried with her (Fig. 6.8). They closely resemble the gold and silver objects looted in the 1960s from Loma Negra, a site far to the north of the Moche sphere of influence known at the time (see map). Perhaps the presence of northern-style metalwork in the Señora's grave links her to the northern polities. It is tempting to think that the north was the home to a tradition of

powerful women, one of whom came to Huaca Cao Viejo in the middle Moche period, and her later kinswomen are the Priestesses buried at San José de Moro. This is unfortunately something which cannot currently be proven, but prompts future inquiry.

Returning to the iconographic system, the roles played by the High Priestess and the Priestess with the Carding-Tool Headdress within the Sacrifice Ceremony are thus distinctly gender-complicated, in a manner similar to that seen in archaeologically-recovered assemblages from high elite female graves. How these women were perceived throughout their lifetime is a more complicated question, which cannot be answered by this analysis. However, taking the tombs of San José de Moro and Huaca Cao Viejo as performances staged for the Other World, it would seem that at the very least official ceremonial personas carried this element of gender complication by including masculine items in the funerary offerings, while affirming their dominant feminine identity through other items such as dresses and hair (Huaca Cao) and spindles and spindle whorls (San José de Moro).<sup>29</sup> (Direct comparison of the two sites is difficult, as the Señora de Cao represents an unusual level of body and textile preservation which is not present at San José de Moro). Within the performance of the Sacrifice Ceremony and of the burial, these women did not fit completely within the image of Moche womanhood that permeates the rest of the iconography. By containing items of status and power as well as weapons, these burials are similar to the “honorary male” burials discussed by Arnold for Iron Age Europe, a “transvestite” category that occurs in patriarchal societies which have difficulty categorizing women of power.<sup>30</sup>

The Priestesses of San José de Moro occur towards the end of the Moche timeline, the same point at which the emphasis on the Sacrifice Ceremony comes to the fore in the

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<sup>29</sup> Castillo, "Las Señoras de San José de Moro: Rituales funerarios en la costa norte del Perú," 116.

<sup>30</sup> Bettina Arnold, "Honorary Males' or Women of Substance? Gender, Status, and Power in Iron-Age Europe," *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (1995): 161, 165.

iconography. It is possible that the importance of the Sacrifice Ceremony to Moche identity and ideology allowed women to gain a foothold in official power in the lived world.

However, it should be reiterated here that even within the Sacrifice Ceremony, women were still iconographically subordinate to men, and that the emergence of the Priestesses of San José de Moro was an exception rather than the norm.

### **Life Stage Gender Complication**

A change in the perception of gender occurs in many cultures when a person passes from adulthood into old age. This passage is not concrete, it can occur at varying ages to varying degrees and with varying social markers, and may be different for men than for women. Women and men past the age of fertility may be categorized differently by their culture from those of reproductive age; conversely some cultures allow old people the option of changing gender as they change life stage.<sup>31</sup> As previously discussed, Isbell reported a distinct change in gender perception in Chuschi, Peru, where old age is characterized as male.<sup>32</sup>

The onset of menopause for women, often with physical symptoms, is a much more perceptible alteration of age category than that experienced by males. While male fertility may decline, there is no ubiquitous marker of this occurrence, and there are many historical examples of older men fathering children with younger women, without the aid of medical technology. With this in mind, it may be that there was a perceived diminution of masculinity in older males in Moche society, associated with the requirements of

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<sup>31</sup> This idea was prevalent in traditional Tlingit societies as well: "Sex is apparently not an unchangeable attribute of a person. Thus, not only may sex be changed at reincarnation, but at menopause (according to the interior Tlingit) the woman 'changes back to a man again.'" Frederica de Laguna, "Tlingit Ideas About the Individual," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 10, no. 2 (1954): 178.

<sup>32</sup> Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

performance of the warrior ideal. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Inka regarded individuals who were not capable of maintaining gendered adult roles within their society as both “nonreproductive” and less distinctly gendered, something that also applied to older men and women.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that something similar made up the ideal of old age in Moche society, a return to an undifferentiated state similar to that seen for children in the previous chapter, not unlike the system in Chuschi and seen in other Andean cultures as well.<sup>34</sup>

We have seen that images of older males are not common in the corpus, and that only at Huaca de la Luna do we encounter images of warriors with indicators of old age in action poses. It would seem that these warrior images were an exception to the rule and that the Moche conception of old age was, much like childhood, one of relative iconographic neglect. The exception to this invisibility is in images of older people who participate, like the rattle-bell holder, in ceremonies which appear to relate to private forms of ritual based in shamanic beliefs. Similar to the rattle-bell holder, the two individual types discussed below wear costumes which blur rather than define their gender. However, a case can be made that these costumes and their gender ambiguity are in part tied to the old age of the figures, rather than the ritual in which they participate. The ambiguity of gender which the rattle-bell holders seek through their clothing within the ritual is an inherent aspect of the elderly, which can consequently grant them access to spiritual power. In colonial times, old people were one of several categories of individuals who were considered potential “witches.”<sup>35</sup> The elderly are

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<sup>33</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 161-162.

<sup>34</sup> Karen Olsen Bruhns, "Sexual Activities: Some Thoughts on the Sexual Division of Labor," in *The Archaeology of Gender: Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Dale Walde and Noreen Willows (Calgary: The Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary, 1991), 427.

<sup>35</sup> de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, 116.

gender-complicated whether they are called to ritual specialization or not, whereas the rattle-bell holders are gender-complicated only for the duration of the ritual.

Wrinkle-faced individuals with pursed lips, called whistlers, were discussed in the previous chapter regarding the small figures held in their arms, and their association with ritual and the action of the *mocha*, or whistling gesture. I now turn to the whistlers themselves, who reinforce the idea of spirit ritual through several of their attributes. I also include two examples (Figs. 6.9 and 6.10) which do not depict child figures. Some of these vessels are constructed so that they make a whistling sound when blown into, creating an aural counterpart to the facial expression of the large figure. Sound gives a fleeting presence to air, making the invisible tangible. Along with smoke, music allows the most elusive aspect of the physical world to be perceived. The invisible and omnipresent qualities of air made it a perfect conduit for those wishing to communicate with the world of the spirits, which was likewise difficult to glimpse. Thus, the *mocha* of the figures and its sonic reproduction through the physical body of the vessel serve to underscore the ritual nature of this social type. Of the ten whistlers in the corpus, only two definitively display a loincloth beneath the tunic (Figs. 6.10 and 5.94). The rest of these figures wear a tunic long enough to cover any lower garment, a trait which loosely allies them with women and their long tunics. Giersz associates the long tunic with the broad category of “priests,” even though he acknowledges the importance of the long tunic to representations of the “Female Deity.”<sup>36</sup> The relative absence of a visible loincloth, which as we have seen acts as a basic indicator of maleness, moves the whistlers closer to the gender-complicated center of the Moche sex and gender spectrum. All of the examples wear a hooded mantle or cape, which is depicted as

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<sup>36</sup> Giersz, Makowski, and Przada, *El mundo sobrenatural mochica*, 67.

fastening at the neck.<sup>37</sup> Benson associates the hooded mantle with death,<sup>38</sup> while Hocquenghem associates wrinkles and mantles with, among other things, shamans.<sup>39</sup> Like the mantle worn over the head discussed above, these hooded garments eliminate the head as the site of the distinction of difference, creating an ambiguous figure. Within the corpus in general, a hooded mantle is somewhat negatively correlated ( $\gamma = -.334$ ) with the loincloth, indicating that the hood is neither particularly associated with masculinity nor femininity. These hooded capes are also depicted on the inhabitants of the world of the dead, creating an association with spiritual practices, and may indicate what or whom the whistling ritual was meant to contact. Only one of the whistlers (Fig. 6.11) has any head ornament aside from the hood—a bird figure which is also the whistle element for the piece, which is not constructed like a typical male headdress. It is not the same as a bird circlet, rather it appears as a bird perched on the figure's head, and stands as a sign for the sound made by both the vessel and the celebrant. It also serves to call the bird spirit to the pot, as the whistling sound made by this type of vessel often sounds like a bird call. The use of the bird, and of the whistling mechanism in general for these vessels performs a level of “fixing” that permanently associates the sound with the actor and his actions.

Although they are relatively unadorned in terms of jewelry items, elevated status for these figures is present in their textiles. While there is at least one example in the corpus which has no textile decoration, the general trend for the whistlers is to have at least one decorated textile in their costume. Three of the pieces (Figs. 6.10, 6.12, and 2.15) have a crossed-line design on their mantles, a design which Bourget associates with the inhabitants

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<sup>37</sup> It is unclear whether the garment depicted is a two-part piece composed of a cape and hood which is then tied at the neck, or a single-piece mantle which has been placed over the head and gathered at the neck. The garment is, however, distinct from the plain mantle placed over the head by rattle-holders and *achumeras*.

<sup>38</sup> Benson, "Garments", 293.

<sup>39</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 111.



of the world of the dead,<sup>40</sup> and Benson associates with stars or nighttime.<sup>41</sup> These two possibilities are not incompatible, as nighttime is the time when spirits and the dead are more easily present in this world. Three of the figures have vertical stripe patterns on their tunics (discussed in Chapter 5), while two have tunics with decorated hems. One (Fig. 2.15), has a fringe hem on his tunic, while another (Fig. 5.94) has what appear to be small metal disks sewn on to the hem. The same figure also wears the most complex mantle design, of stripes alternating with a double-headed bird motif. This would then elevate this class of figures above the baseline, but not particularly far, as there is no jewelry nor complex headdresses within this group. This is another argument against Hocquenghem's interpretation of these as images of child sacrifice, as the celebrants in other important rituals are depicted as elaborately dressed and heavily ornamented. An event as important as a child sacrifice would most likely have polity-wide implications and require a much more elevated officiant. In addition, neither these whistling figures nor the "children" they carry bears any of the iconographic signifiers associated with sacrifice.

Another attribute of this group is that they are all shown with unusual eyes. While one figure (Fig. 6.10) is depicted with empty eye sockets, the remaining eight pieces depict disproportionately large, staring eyes. One example, Figure 6.9, depicts the eyes as both open wide and sunken within the skull, emphasizing the particularly cadaverous appearance of this piece. Both missing and bulging eyes may be seen as a reference to sight beyond the physical world: the blind through the idea of trading worldly sight for supernatural vision, and the bulging eyes associated with the effects of several entheogens, tying these figures

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<sup>40</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 108.

<sup>41</sup> Benson, "Death-Associated Figures," 131.

again to expressions of shamanically linked ritual.<sup>42</sup> The white coloration and “animalistic” eyebrows with individually represented hairs of Figure 2.15 are also associated with visionaries.<sup>43</sup> As presented in Chapter 4, the nature of the ritual is likely to be related to childhood spiritual illness, rather than a sacrifice for the benefit of the polity.

The iconographic construction of the whistlers could, similar to that of the rattle-bell holders, be considered “gender-complicated/male,” that is, they occupy a set of types which while gender-complicated, have at least some representations which associate them with male sex. At the same time, this maleness is compromised through the removal of some key aspects of male identity (in both cases the relative absence of male head coverings, for the whistlers the relative rareness of the loincloth). This is compounded by the absence of referents to a warrior identity within their costume, keeping them from the extreme pole of masculine gender and moving them towards a less- or undifferentiated middle. In addition, two of them (Figures 5.94, 6.13) have textile designs which incorporate horizontal motifs, which as noted in previous chapters is most often associated with women. The mantle of Figure 5.94 incorporates horizontal stripes as part of a larger, horizontally-oriented pattern, while Figure 6.13 wears a tunic with a simple repeated horizontal stripe. This same figure, while not whistling, purses the lips in a similar gesture. The child figure she/he holds wears a loincloth, but any upper garment is obscured by the larger figure’s hands. Like the overtly whistling figures, this individual wears a long tunic and a hooded mantle, which is depicted as being tied at the back of the neck. For the whistlers, their apparent old age appears to be an aspect of a return to the undifferentiated middle. While their wrinkles are a heavily-emphasized aspect of their appearance only for some, the overall prevalence of wrinkles in

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<sup>42</sup> Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 78, 191.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 180, 299, 320, 354-186.

this type indicates a strong association with old age. The occasional depiction of a loincloth is mitigated by an equal occurrence of textile designs associated with women, making the class of images gender-complicated even if some individual expressions of it have an emphasis on one gender over the other. A further note should be made of what appears to be leg paint designs on Figure 5.94, the only appearance in the research corpus of this form of body decoration outside of the warrior/hunter/ritual runner set. Such a strong relationship to this aspect of Moche ideology is unusual, all the more so as it creates a connection between the shamanically-based private ritual of the whistlers and the polity-level rites of the Warrior Narrative. It may be that the leg paint is meant to associate the whistler with the warrior nature as he enters his trance, to do battle with malevolent forces within the spirit world.<sup>44</sup> If this is the case, then it presents a further argument for the whistlers as practitioners of a healing rite rather than a sacrifice. As this is the only instance within the research corpus, it is difficult to draw any strong conclusions, but an association with spiritual “warfare” does seem to fit the characteristics of the class in general.

While there seem to be more gender-complicated men than women (that is, individuals who are gender-complicated but who are somewhat identified with male identity), there are representations which appear to depict gender-complicated older women, also associated with private spiritual practices. They are sometimes referred to in the literature as *achumeras*, a reference to a contemporary folk name for the San Pedro cactus in their hands, *achuma*. The San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*) is a mescaline-bearing cactus which appears in Andean iconography as early as 900 B.C.E. in the highland Chavín

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<sup>44</sup> As Stone notes, the transformation into an animal self is often associated with this same form of spiritual battle. Ibid., 96.

culture, associated with humans transforming into supernatural beings.<sup>45</sup> It is still used in contemporary Peru for healing and shamanic ceremonies (Fig. 6.14).<sup>46</sup> *Achumeras* are depicted seated, wearing a long tunic, with their heads covered by a mantle similar to those worn by the rattle-holders and holding the crown of a San Pedro cactus in an outstretched hand. The more detailed versions of this motif make the identification of the plant clear (Fig. 6.15), while in other representations the crown is rendered as a series of small bumps. The crown or tip of the cactus is today considered the most potent part. In contemporary shamanic practice on the north Coast of Peru, a four-ribbed cactus is believed to be particularly potent, perhaps because of its cosmological significance: the four ribs echoing the four quarters of the world, while its columnar form reaches to heaven above and the earth below as a kind of *axis mundi*.<sup>47</sup> Many of the representations of *achumeras* depict the object in their hand as having bumps similar to the crown of the cactus, but the number is not always distinguishable. There is one piece from Huaca de la Luna which clearly depicts four distinct bumps (Fig. 6.19). Another piece from the same site depicts three. A similar figure from Huaca de la Luna (Fig. 6.17), a piece broken from a missing vessel, depicts a figure in a pose similar to that of the *achumeras*, although no San Pedro is depicted. The face of this figure is rendered as skeletal, with empty eye sockets, visible teeth, and a step-shaped form on the side of the face. This form may be a stylization of the zygomatic process of the skull as it crosses the ramus of the jaw. However, even if it is a stylization, the convention in Moche art was to stylize it as a step, a symbol of power.<sup>48</sup> While not exactly the same as the

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<sup>45</sup> See Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*, 32-33, figs. 20-22.

<sup>46</sup> Douglas Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus* (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Man, 2000), 13.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> Scher, "Moche "Erotic" Art", 72.

*achumeras*, the figure is similar enough to suggest a connection between the *achumeras* and the world of the dead.

It is possible to designate these figures as nominally women by their long tunics, as discussed in Chapter 5. Typically, these figures have their eyes closed or covered, in an allusion to the trance induced by the mescaline-bearing San Pedro. Two vessels (Figs. 6.16, 6.18) excavated from Huaca de la Luna depict *achumeras* with a visor-like piece attached to the mantle and covering the eyes completely. In both depictions, the women wear earspools, which as we have seen are a rare adornment for women, an indication of high status, and a complication of their gender. Another Huaca de la Luna piece (Fig. 5.32) depicts a figure with a similar eye covering; this figure holds a set of rattle-bells in the right hand. A necklace of large round beads and earspools are worn in addition to a long tunic with complex step design. All of these elements, again, point to gender complication, an elevated level of status, and to participation in rituals related to the shamanic tradition, through the emphasis on the removal of physical vision, entheogens, and rattles. It is possible that these examples from Huaca de la Luna indicate that the type of spiritual practice depicted was of greater importance there than elsewhere. This would seem to point toward an acceptance of women (albeit gender-complicated ones) as spiritual practitioners in small-scale rituals even when they were largely pushed to the periphery of the major religious components of polity ideology.

Another piece, (Fig. 6.19) depicts an *achumera* with a belt as well as *ticpis* at the shoulders, both items associated with female garments as discussed in Chapter 5. The figure of a healer from the Uhle excavation at Huaca de la Luna (Figs. 2.6 and 6.20), another form of spiritual practice, also wears the *ticpis* at her shoulders. This would seem to indicate,

then, that *achumeras* have feminine aspects, although at times they are depicted in an undifferentiated manner, and that a few of them at least wear foreign clothing. In many traditional cultures which practice trance states and vision healing, women do not participate fully in these activities until after menopause, as the stresses of the vision drugs and lengthy rituals can be harmful to a pregnancy.<sup>49</sup> As women pass from child-bearing years into old age, they become, as a social category, less differentiated from men through the cessation of menses.<sup>50</sup> It is possible that this is what we are seeing with the *achumeras*, and would explain why braids, an element of youthful female sexuality,<sup>51</sup> are no longer shown. *Achumeras'* mantles, like those of the whistlers, sometimes display surface patterns. Among the mantles with elaboration, a pattern of repeating pairs of horizontal lines is dominant. As seen in Chapter 5, in the Andean tradition there seems to be an association of horizontally-oriented textile designs with women and vertical designs with men. Some of the *achumeras'* long tunics also have designs, although there was no clear preference for a particular style. A majority also wear neck ornaments (collars or necklaces), indicating elevated status; none of them wear wrist cuffs. While no individual *achumera* is heavily adorned, as a group they display elements of high status: plating on the eye-covering, textile decoration, and the presence of earspools, which as we have seen is associated not only with high status and the masculinization of women, but is otherwise associated only with women performing in the central ritual of Moche ideology. As with the other figures in this chapter, the nature of the ritual being performed by the *achumeras* is not clear, as there are no representations of their context. However, the inclusion of the earspools would seem to indicate that in least some

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<sup>49</sup> Richard Evans Schultes and Albert Hoffman, *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing and Hallucinogenic Powers* (Rochester, VT: Healing Arts, 1979), 62-64.

<sup>50</sup> Judith K. Brown, "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Middle-Aged Women [Comments and Replies]," *Current Anthropology* 23, no. 2 (1982): 148.

<sup>51</sup> Isbell, "From Unripe to Petrified."

instances the ritual was very important, enough so to confer this particular gender-complicating ornament. Since the only provenanced pieces with earspools are from Huaca de la Luna, it is tempting to speculate that this particular elevation of gender-complicated women is, like the old warriors, a unique aspect of that site. However, it is equally possible that at Huaca de la Luna, men rather than women performed San Pedro rites, and complicated their gender through long tunics while retaining male ear ornaments. It will take more analysis of archaeologically recovered pieces to determine which of these is the case.

The nominally male (but removed from the warrior ideal) whistlers and the female (but not particularly feminine) *achumeras* move towards an undifferentiated gender associated with old age. This lack of differentiation can be seen as “both male and female” or “neither male nor female,” as the aspects of human fertility have been shed. This complication makes them prime candidates for contact with spirit forces, and especially it would seem in the case of the whistlers, with the world of the dead.

### **Physical Anomaly and Gender Complication**

There are clear distinctions between different kinds of physical difference in Moche art, some of which appear to be intentional body modifications in mimesis of conditions rather than the result of illness, injury, or genetics. These artificial physical anomalies appear to hold the same spiritual qualities as those inborn. Benson believes that individuals with physical anomalies were chosen for spiritual specialization because of this,<sup>52</sup> and Hocquenghem notes later evidence that people with disabilities were regarded as having a power which could be dangerous.<sup>53</sup> This is associated with the idea of essence over

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<sup>52</sup> Benson, "Death-Associated Figures," 113-114.

<sup>53</sup> Hocquenghem, *Iconografía Mochica*, 57.

appearance; if someone has a physical appearance that is out of the ordinary, it is taken as a sign of their essential association with the spirit forces. If someone survives a grave accident or often-fatal illness, they have demonstrated their ability to return from the land of the dead, and frequently carry the evidence of this survival on their bodies. While a great variety of physical anomalies are depicted in Moche art, it is clear that disability itself did not grant elevated status. I must reiterate that by “elevated,” I am referring to a scale which begins with the baseline of depiction, which denotes a social standing already above the common Moche people.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the costume of achondroplasics and individuals with double foot amputations who wear conventional male costume and are at the low end of male status. Here I will discuss individuals who wear costume elements less clearly associated with male identity. These individuals tend to be complicated through the *absence* of certain masculine elements, especially those which are linked to the Warrior Narrative, although this is not absolutely enforced. They frequently are marked as gender-complicated through the use of the long tunic, and in many cases this is the only complication of their gender, although the use of mantles sometimes adds to their complication. Due to their relative lack of gender-complicating attributes, this category is less heavily marked than the previous two categories, and this may place them in a separate group from the previous two categories. However, there is still a definite removal or absence of strong markers of masculinity and maleness: the loincloth and weapons of war. As noted earlier, the Inka felt that those with physical anomalies did not need to have their sex and gender strongly marked,



as they were not considered able to participate completely in all the obligations of Inka life,<sup>54</sup> it is possible this trend reflects the same approach to disability for the Moche.

The movement away from the masculine ideal exhibited by these individuals not only creates gender complication, it helps to reinforce by contrast the status as well as the masculinity of the participants in the Warrior Narrative. These individuals do not have the same association with private ritual that the performative and age-based images do, another reason to consider them separate from the previous two categories. The associations these figures do have, moreover, appear to be more closely aligned with polity-level ritual performances rather than private ones, although the role these figures may have played in the ceremonies appears to have been peripheral and supportive rather than central and integral, much like the differences between the High Priestess and the female attendants in the Sacrifice Ceremony.

There are several elements common to the representation of individuals who are gender-complicated and exhibit a physical anomaly. The first is a long tunic, which as discussed above removes a key marker of masculine identity (the loincloth). The second element typical of those with physical anomalies is that the head coverings worn by these individuals *are* common masculine types, but simple ones, usually a kerchief or plain cap and flap design. It may be that it was important for such individuals to be seen as belonging to a “not completely male/masculine” category rather than strongly in the “gender-complicated” category. These individuals almost never wear the complex headdresses associated with warriors and the Sacrifice Ceremony. They do, however, often wear textiles with some additional form of elaboration: a textile pattern on the body of the tunic, a design at the cuffs of the tunic, or a patterned mantle. Some individuals also feature a roughly rectangular

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<sup>54</sup> Dean, "Andean Androgyny," 161-162.

adornment at the center of the tunic near the neck opening, which is usually depicted as a patterned and fringed textile element.<sup>55</sup> Other common garments include a mantle, either tied at the waist so that the fabric hangs down in the back or tied at the chest and hanging from the shoulders, and a narrow scarf-like textile which is wrapped or draped around the shoulders. Neither the mantle nor the scarf is associated with warriors, and so their inclusion in the costume for these individuals is to some extent a sign of their difference from that group. Mantles are, however, worn tied at the chest by some women, moving them further towards a gender-complicated signification. Not all individuals will wear all these garments or adornments, but together they form a loose set of elements for the costume of individuals with physical anomalies. Both Benson<sup>56</sup> and Arsenault<sup>57</sup> discuss these costume elements in relation to a group of individuals, who Benson sees as connected with death and who Arsenault associates with maintaining social and ritual order for the ruling elites.

These costume elements are for the most part different from those worn by individuals with both feet amputated, or who exhibit the anatomical traits of achondroplasia, as discussed in Chapter 5. Only three of the 51 pieces in the corpus which fall into this broad category of “physical anomaly” have a loincloth depicted. The rest of these figures either wear long tunics or do not indicate the presence of a loincloth. Two of the loincloth-wearing figures are representations of men with one missing foot, which has been replaced with a prosthesis. A figure with one amputated foot or a prosthesis which indicates an amputation is rather common in Moche iconography, and was the subject of a study by Arsenault, who did not differentiate between individuals with one or two amputated feet.<sup>58</sup> He does mention that

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<sup>55</sup> This is sometimes referred to by Benson as a “badge” (1975: 111-112).

<sup>56</sup> Benson, "Death-Associated Figures."

<sup>57</sup> Arsenault, "El Personaje."

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

only amputees with a single foot are shown wearing a prosthesis, and that these figures are usually dressed in a tunic with long sleeves, sometimes with a fringe at the hem of the garment, a mantle tied at the waist and hanging down behind, a scarf or similar textile accessory, and what he describes as a “turban” with a “veil” covering the back of the neck.<sup>59</sup> This corresponds to a pointed kerchief in the system used here, and the piece he cites as an example (Fig. 6.21) also wears a simple circlet over the kerchief. Arsenault does not seem to make a categorical difference between this costume and the loincloth and short tunic worn by double amputees, and creates a category of “stewards,” figures who appear in scenes depicting the ritual preparation of food and perhaps also textiles.<sup>60</sup> However, I feel that his category is too broad, and that by including the very differently dressed double amputees with the prosthesis-wearing figures, he chooses a physical similarity over a sartorial one. As has been demonstrated, there is a strong tendency in Moche iconography to create social categories using costume elements, and so the costume distinction made between single and double amputees should be considered significant. It does, however, appear that the corpus bears out Arsenault’s grouping of some other physical anomalies into a category associated with ritual.

There are a great many different forms of physical anomaly in Moche art; the study will discuss here only a few which have aspects of gender complication: the individual with the prosthesis, “Leishmaniasis” figures, and the blind. Within the corpus, there are only four representations of a figure with a prosthesis (Figs. 6.22-6.24). There is slight favoritism

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.: 233-234. “A partir de mi selección de vasos-efigie de lisiados, he podido determinar los criterios de base para identificar esta categoría de personajes baldados: la ausencia de uno o dos pies, la presencia de una prótesis en los sujetos amputados de un solo pie y el llevar un látigo y/o un bastón, atributos fundamentales a los cuales vienen a agregarse un conjunto de otros atributos, sobretodo de vestuario. Respecto a los atributos de vestuario, el análisis de los vasos-efigie demuestra que, a pesar de la evidente variabilidad observada dentro del muestreo, una cierta cantidad de elementos tiende a ser reproducida de manera recurrente: la túnica de mangas largas, sin motivos, la bufanda, el delantal "invertido," el turbante y el velo.” 235

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

towards which foot is amputated, as one figure has the prosthesis on the right foot, the other three on the left. Two of these pieces also have the “Leishmaniasis” deformation, Figure 6.23 has the deformation of both the nose and lips, and Figure 6.22 has the same deformation of the nose but appears to have a harelip. Figure 6.24 exhibits a distortion of the facial features which might indicate old age, but the fourth piece (excavated from Huaca de la Luna) does not exhibit facial mutilation (Fig. 6.21). This figure is also the only one of the four with a scarf draped around his shoulders. None of the pieces is highly adorned, with only one wearing a bead necklace (Fig. 6.22). Two of them have design motifs on the cuffs of the tunic (Figs. 6.21 and 6.23). Three wear long tunics, which act as the main complication of their gender. The fourth (Fig. 6.24) wears a mantle tied at the waist, effectively complicating the figure’s gender by performing the same function (preventing the representation of the loincloth) as the long tunic.

The man with a prosthesis in Figure 6.21 is depicted as seated atop the body of the vessel, and is surrounded by two-dimensional representations of a set of objects: a whip; a solid rectangular object, which Arsenault interprets as an open mantle;<sup>61</sup> a fancy fringed bag with a wave/spiral design; a *florero*-style vase with basket-weave and lazy-S designs; a stirrup-spout vessel with the representation of a feline face wearing a bead necklace sgraffitoed on it; and a baton or staff.<sup>62</sup> Arsenault has associated the whip and the baton with the Moche “Dance of the Dead,” in which the skeletal version of the man with a prosthesis keeps order.<sup>63</sup> The same baton is found in some representations of double amputees, however they are not associated with whips. It may be that the baton is simply a walking

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.: 233.

<sup>62</sup> *Sgraffito* is the term for ceramics in which lines are scratched into a top layer of differently-colored slip before firing, revealing the design in the color of the slip below.

<sup>63</sup> Arsenault, “El Personaje,” 240.

stick or other aid to movement, and is associated with this type of physical anomaly. The *florero* and stirrup-spout vessels are elite ceramic forms and are associated with rituals for both the living and the dead. The fringed bag is likely a *chuspa*, loosely relating this figure to coca ritual; the same wave-spiral design is associated with warrior tunics, as noted in Chapter 5. These figures, as a group, do not seem to have a particularly elevated status, but as Arsenault notes they are associated with fineline scenes of food preparation and relief depictions of the Dance of the Dead, two *milieus* which associate them with ritual in the capacity of a “steward.”<sup>64</sup> With few exceptions, they are not present in the depictions of the major rites themselves. Their status as helpers and their absence from the main rituals are consistent with both the relationship between gender complication and spirit forces and the Moche construction of public ritual as a space of gender opposition and duality: they are involved behind the scenes, as it were, but are not part of the main performance. It may be that the liminal nature of at least some physically anomalous individuals made them suitable for preparing food and other offerings meant to travel to the Other World, even while they were kept from participating in the major portions of public ritual.

Another set of figures in the corpus have the same “Leishmaniasis” facial modification seen on the double amputees and most prosthesis-wearers, however this figure is dressed very differently. Arsenault groups them as stewards, along with the amputated-foot figures. There are four representatives (Figs. 6.25-6.28), all extremely similar in execution. They depict the figure seated, hands placed on knees, with the head tilted to the proper right shoulder. They wear a cap beneath a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head, a long tunic with long sleeves, and a mantle tied at the waist and hanging down the back.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid.: 229, 238.

Arsenault considers this to be “attire specific to male priesthood.”<sup>65</sup> Again, while these costume elements are indeed associated with individuals related to minor roles in ritual activities, taken alone they create a category so broad as to limit its usefulness. Three of these figures (Figs. 6.26-6.28) wear earspools, and two (Figs. 6.25 and 6.26) have roughly rectangular areas of decoration depicted at the neck of the tunic. The earspools are not clearly attached to ears, and it is possible that they are supposed to be read as attached to the kerchief rather than the body. While this seems a bit strange, the helmet effigy with attached earspools mentioned in Chapter 5 would seem to indicate that this was possible, at least in the ideals of costume. It would also seem to indicate that the earspools were an important part of the representation of this person, and elevate him above the status of the men with prostheses. The head tilted to the side is not exclusive to this figure (Figs. 5.183, 6.29, 6.30), but seems to be limited to other figures with physical anomalies, including a musician figure with two amputated feet (Fig. 5.183).<sup>66</sup> One of the pieces (Fig. 2.16) has the muscoid fly pupa design painted on his jaw line.<sup>67</sup>

This design, which when used on warriors and prisoners signifies their eventual sacrifice,<sup>68</sup> creates a connection between the “Leishmaniasis” figures and the passage from life to death through decomposition. As discussed earlier, this transition refers specifically to the Sacrifice Ceremony when it appears on warrior figures. There are no images of figures with the “Leishmaniasis” anomaly being sacrificed, so it may be that the decoration on the

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<sup>65</sup> Arsenault, "Gender Relationships," 97-98.

<sup>66</sup> It is possible that the tilting of the head refers to some sort of spinal abnormality, which may or may not have been associated with a specific condition in living humans. It may be another sign of physical difference, without signifying that the spinal condition was concurrent with the other anomaly, such as blindness, etc.

<sup>67</sup> A piece from the collection of the Museo de América (CR 414) depicts a figure with the same design incised on the jawline. This figure sits with eyes closed and holds a rattle. The hair on this figure is represented as unbound and uncovered, indicating relatively low status. The belt indicated around the waist of the figure may indicate that it is a female, which would explain the lack of head covering. If so, this piece is a rare depiction of a female with a “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.

<sup>68</sup> Bourget, *Sex, Death and Sacrifice*, 86.

jaw of Figure 6.28 is meant to associate this figure with the ritual in some other way: through the association of physical abnormality with liminality, and/or the “Leishmaniasis”

appearance with death and the liminal ability to come and go from the land of the dead.

Without an iconographic context, however, their particular significance cannot be presumed.

Another group which has unclear ties to ritual are the blind. Blind figures in Moche art are usually indicated through the depiction of empty or exceptionally sunken eye sockets. As noted in the previous chapter, there is some overlap between representations of blind persons and representations of the elderly. This analysis will be confined to those representations of blind figures that exhibit elements of gender complication, as not all blind figures have complicated gender. Like the elderly, it seems that blindness made an individual a candidate for gender complication, but did not guarantee it. Empty or sunken eye sockets serve, in one sense, as an analogue of the closed eyes of the rattle-bell holders and *achumeras*. Closing our eyes to this world is one way of beginning to see into the Other World, and it is frequently believed that the blind have “lost” their vision in this world in favor of vision into the Other.<sup>69</sup> So while these figures are not represented as actively involved in ritual, it is quite possible that by dint of their blindness they were viewed as involved with the spiritual world. Blind and/or eyeless figures exhibit a great deal of variety in head coverings, from simple kerchief styles to animal circlets and circlets with projections. This would seem to indicate that the category of “blind” was a fairly broad one, and that there were levels of status within this grouping. One example in the corpus (Fig. 5.149), is depicted as a face-neck on a vessel body, and does not have the length of tunic indicated. It is, however, one of two that has a roughly rectangular adornment indicated on the front of the tunic by the neck, creating a relationship with other individuals who wear these elements,

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<sup>69</sup> Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 78, 296-297.

such as the “Leishmaniasis” figures above. However, since this element is not ubiquitous as it is with the “Leishmaniasis” figures, this relationship may be slight. The group of blind figures, with one exception, wears long tunics. One (Fig. 6.31) wears a medium-length tunic that does expose a loincloth in back. The gender-complicating nature of the long tunic has already been discussed. The group of blind figures can be roughly divided into two groups: those with minimal costume and those with more complicated or fancy costume elements. The three “plain” blind individuals (Figs. 6.32-6.34) wear pointed kerchiefs, sometimes with a cap visible underneath. Their long tunics are undecorated, with the exception of a rectangular ornament on Figure 40’s tunic. All three have their mouth depicted as slightly open or grimacing, and two have their head slightly tilted to the side, perhaps referring to listening intently, as a further indication of their lack of physical sight.<sup>70</sup> All three are seated, and two rest their heads on one or both hands. The third piece is missing its arms, but they appear to have been bent at the elbows, perhaps holding an object. The level of detail on these pieces is not particularly high, and the general description of the type seems to center on the empty sockets, long tunic, and kerchief head covering, elements which as we have seen present a basic level of gender complication (long tunic) in a nominally male individual (the head covering). Blind figures firmly belong in the least gender-complicated category discussed at the beginning of this section, more so even than the figures who commonly wear mantles tied at the shoulder or waist, as the mantle is itself an additional item of costume that is a marker of “not warrior” status.

The figures with more complicated costumes do not present a unified group in terms of their dress. One wears elements related to warrior costume (Fig. 6.35), with an unusually-

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<sup>70</sup> It is possible that the other figures shown with tilted heads are also listening or otherwise concentrating, but the degree of tilt is markedly less than that of the “Leishmaniasis” figures, creating a distinct kind of head tilt.



shaped mace in one hand, an elaborate collar, earspools, and a feline circlet, from which a single hemispherical projection emerges. The associations of the feline circlet to Andean spiritual traditions have been discussed in Chapter 5. The hemispherical projection is similar in style to the pairs seen on the headdresses of the elder warriors from Huaca de la Luna, but is larger. Unlike the warriors, however, the figure wears a long tunic and has a bundled textile tied at the chest, and he is seated. The other figure within this subset wearing a feline circlet (Fig. 6.36) differs significantly from the first. The circlet is worn by itself, without any projections or depicted textile elements accompanying it. There are no ear or neck ornaments, and he wears a plain, long tunic. The figure sits with hands on the knees, and the eye sockets are depicted as sunken, with a thin slit of cream slip at the center indicating eyelids.

One member of the group (Fig. 6.31) is the most intriguing, sitting with elbows on thighs and fingertips pressed together. He wears a pointed kerchief, tied over a cap and at the chin in the manner of the more plainly dressed blind men. On top of this is a narrow circlet with a fret design, which supports a large hemispherical projection at the back of the head. A broad collar sits on top of the vertically-striped tunic, and under the trailing ends of a mantle worn down the back and wrapped at the neck. His loincloth is visible from the bottom only. What is most remarkable about this figure, however, is the many designs incised into his face (Fig. 6.37). They are representations of animals, birds, and war maces, as well as a human vulva on the chin, with a penis and testes pointing towards it depicted on his neck. The use of incision may be meant to indicate scarification rather than face paint or tattooing, but once again, the material reality of the designs is of little import in a semiotic sense—since we are experiencing it in its fixed state it is meant to be seen as an essential part of this person. The

remarkable conglomeration of items represented in his facial decorations evokes the Warrior Narrative, human sexuality and fertility, and the variety of life on the Peruvian desert coast. Taken as a whole, the images seem to reflect basic ideas about the relationship between these elements of Moche life. Perhaps inscribing them on the face of the blind man was a way to focus his vision into the Other World on these vitally important things.

None of the blind figures, in plain or fancy costume, is engaged in any visible activity. The figures all sit, and at the most only two hold objects. Yet there are elements of costume which indicate status within the iconographic code—the feline circlet, textile ornaments on the tunics, jewelry including earspools. What can we take from these figures? There is evidence that they are also related liminality. Like the “Leishmaniasis” figures, they have an appearance that is obviously different from that of the normative Moche, and fit into the idea of *huaca* as a person marked by the spirit forces. The fact that almost all of them wear long tunics, moving them away from the masculine pole, also contributes to the idea of these figures as possibly involved with the spirit world. The figure which does not wear a tunic long enough to cover the loincloth wears a mantle down his back, and on his face are representations of both sets of human sexual organs, creating a sexual ambiguity within his person in a different manner. Perhaps even more importantly, the organ visible at first sight is the female one, possibly emphasizing the contradiction and complication between the loincloth and the absolute indicator of female sex.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> There is also a piece in the collection of the MARLH depicting a standing blind individual wearing a long tunic and a mantle over the shoulders and tied at the neck. He holds a set of rattle-bells and wears a circlet with hemispherical projection. On his face are incised a toad, an erect penis and scrotum, and a series of zig-zag lines associated with entheogenic visions. Like the piece described above, these motifs link the figure to shamanic ritual and vision into the Other World as well as fertility, both human and animal. Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 297-299.

There does seem to be a slight correlation between blind persons and a rounded, hemispherical projection at the back of the headdress. These projections are essentially the same in form as those worn by the old warriors in Chapter 5, but they occur as a single element and are sometimes depicted as much larger than the paired projections. Of the pieces in the corpus with a single such projection at the back of the head, three were blind, one had the “Leishmaniasis” face deformation, one was the healer mentioned in Chapter 5, one a *coquero*, and one held a feline on his lap. The remaining three depict seated individuals with no further distinguishing elements. The healer, *coquero*, and feline-holder point towards aspects of Moche ritual life which are not associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony. Stone suggests that these projections could be associated with entheogenic mushrooms or seen as a signal of “expansive crown-of-the-head consciousness, representative of trance state.”<sup>72</sup> If this is the case, it argues for an association between these blind figures and the performance of rituals based in the shamanic tradition.

While these projections are sometimes depicted as plain, others have designs in slip or in relief (Fig. 6.38). The repertoire of motifs is limited, with dots, spirals, and similar geometric designs the only motifs in the corpus. All three of these designs could refer to the first stages of entheogenic visions, in which geometric forms and spiraling movement are common across cultures.<sup>73</sup> While these motifs seem suitable to the blind, the different, and those associated with specific spiritual practices, the reason for association of doubled projections with warriors is not immediately apparent. It may be that the warrior figures with this headdress element are emphasizing a connection between warfare and spirit visions, the same connection alluded to in representations of “sleeping” warriors, and the connection

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 298.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 13.

made by the costume elements of the healer from Huaca Cao Viejo (Figure 5.187). It should also be noted that these projections, like almost all headdress elements, are exclusive to men, including the male healer described in the previous chapter. This physical indication of spiritual power and expansiveness is solely the domain of men, and may make a claim to a gender-based exclusivity for this specific kind of power. In turn, this may be related to the stronger male sex-identification of those with physical anomalies. It is possible that, as a function of their less-complicated gender, this particular group had access to a different kind of spiritual power than that of the more gender-complicated groups. It certainly strengthens an argument for a categorical difference between performative and age-based gender-complication and that based in physical anomaly.

There are also some figures in Moche art who are not visibly physically anomalous yet who wear long tunics and relatively simple head cloths (Fig. 6.39). They belong to the costume class Arsenault designates as “priests” as discussed above (p. 277). While Arsenault contends these figures may have an unseen disability, such as deafness, this is not something which can be proven. The individuals in Figure 46 appear to be engaged in the management of food, including a large fish, similar to other depictions where male figures, some with disabilities, manage the preparation of offerings. A jar with sprigs tied to it is visible floating in the upper right; Benson associates these vessels with the preparation of *chicha* (maize beer) used in rituals and ritual feasting related to burials and sacrifice.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that there was a class of individuals who did not, for whatever reason, perform within the warrior ideal, and for that reason were not heavily marked with the signs of masculinity. However, there was a social place for these individuals in the preparation for large polity rituals, even if these same individuals were not included in the public performances themselves.

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<sup>74</sup> Benson, "Death-Associated Figures," 108.

### **The Place of Gender Complication in Moche Ideology**

The simple but visibly masculine costume worn by the achondroplasics and double foot amputees in Chapter 5, in contrast with those individuals discussed above, makes it clear that distinctions were made within the iconographic system between types of physical anomalies. Some were obviously of higher status than others, and it is also clear that some were more clearly marked with their gender than others. It is also clear that there are important aspects of shamanic beliefs, especially the use of trance, in rituals which appear to be of a much more private nature than those of the Sacrifice Ceremony or the Burial Theme, and which seem to accept or even require a certain amount of gender complication. As these rituals are depicted with some frequency in the iconography, they would seem to hold a certain level of importance to the Moche elite. As the Sacrifice Ceremony had ties to earlier shamanic beliefs, it is not surprising that practices more closely related to the shamanic tradition persisted within Moche culture. And as these rituals represented a belief system which supported the religious and political legitimacy of the ruling elites, maintaining the efficacy and status of these rites and their practitioners supported the place of those at the top of Moche society.

It is clear then that not only was gender complication possible within Moche ideology, there were aspects of Moche life in which it was deemed useful or perhaps necessary, both in the context of traditional beliefs based in the shamanic tradition, and in the specific iteration of religious ideology promulgated by the Moche ruling elite. This complication of gender also served to highlight the poles of sex and gender identification for those aspects of life which required that the dualities be kept separate, and which were occupied by the highest levels of Moche society. The performers in private rituals stand in

marked contrast to the actors in large public rites. They have much simpler costumes, wear less jewelry, and rarely have any plating on their costumes. There is a definite difference in status between the two groups, and there seems to be evidence of this for later cultures in of the coast in colonial sources as well:

“...los sacerdotes que ejercían sus funciones por tener “dones naturales” eran calificados como gente “baja y vil,” en comparación con los que procedían de linajes nobles y debían su poder de pontífice a las implicancias políticas de su origen.”  
[...the priests who exercised their functions by dint of “natural gifts” were classified as “low and base,” in comparison to those who came from noble lineages and gained their priestly power through the political implications of their birth].<sup>75</sup>

While both the officiants of the Sacrifice Ceremony and related rituals and these practitioners of private rites were most likely considered to be in contact with the same forces, there is a clear distinction of rank in the Moche representations which appears to mimic the separation quoted above. The Moche ruling elite, as mentioned in Chapter 5, had succeeded in supplanting the shamans through the institution of the Warrior Narrative, and specifically the Sacrifice Ceremony. The persistence of shamanic or shamanically-related rituals was necessary, but was kept as a lower-status activity, with its officiants costumed in accordance with their position. The gender-complicated category or categories maintained by these individuals also provided the ontological category where the highest-ranking women resided, rendering them natural while at the same time exceptional, and providing a sartorial framework in which to represent them.

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<sup>75</sup> Juan D. Mongrovejo, "El sacerdote lechuza de Huaca de la Cruz," in *Señores de los reinos de la luna*, ed. Krzysztof Makowski, Joanne Pillsbury, and Régulo Franco Jordán (Lima, Perú: Banco de Crédito, 2008), 302. Translation by the author.

## CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

*The understanding that the artistic sign establishes among people does not pertain to things, even when they are represented in the work, but to a certain attitude toward things, a certain attitude on the part of man toward the entire reality that surrounds him, not only to that reality which is represented in the given case.<sup>1</sup>*

*Besides its function as autonomous sign, the work of art has another function, that of informational sign. Thus, a poetic work, for instance, functions not only as a work of art but also, simultaneously, as an "utterance" expressing a state of mind, an idea, an emotion, etc.<sup>2</sup>*

The previous chapters have helped to demonstrate the way in which Moche art, and specifically the representation of costume, can be used to gain an understanding of the ideology expressed by that art. While this window on ideology offers us a limited view of Moche life—the idealized world of the ruling elite—it is nevertheless a useful tool in understanding the way in which the Moche may have approached their world. Social interactions between men and women are only one aspect of the ideology visible in the art; as those interactions are examined their connections to other social relations become clear. Analyzing the mediation of a male/female opposition by the category of gender complication reveals one aspect of these relations: the manipulation of gender and sex identity within varying contexts structured relationships between different kinds of spiritual practitioners. In turn, the relationships between types of spiritual practice reveal relationships between differing levels of status within Moche society.

Moche artists and the group or groups of elites who dictated their subject matter were performing a complex set of negotiations through the ceramics they produced. The *langue* of Moche culture, bound by a set of religious beliefs and a material culture style, was added to,

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Mukařovský, "The Essence of the Visual Arts," in *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, ed. Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976), 237. Emphasis original.

<sup>2</sup> Jan Mukařovský, "Art as Semiotic Fact," in *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions*, ed. Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976), 6.

changed, and negotiated with every *parole* “uttered” by a work of art. Site styles were much more than artistic variations, they were assertions of political distinctiveness performing a dance between belonging to the Moche sphere and forging a unique identity. This dance was executed not only through artistic style, but also through selective use of the existing Moche iconography. As seen in the case of San José de Moro, the distinct political evolution of that site affected the iconography, prompting an emphasis on the Mythical Feminine Personage as an assertion of the legitimacy of female power, while simultaneously reducing the presence of the warrior ideal and its adherent meanings. This appeal to the *langue* of Moche religious beliefs, already changing through time to include more images of women in ritual contexts, argues for the primacy of the female ruling elites who emerged at that site.

Likewise, the juxtaposition of high status, strongly gendered men and women with lower-status, gender-complicated individuals reveals an expression of the negotiation of legitimacy and power between the ruling elite and practitioners of traditional spiritual beliefs. Beliefs related to the shamanic tradition, part of the general Andean heritage and much older than the Moche, were a source of social power for those called by the spirits to act as interlocutors. Their social position, based upon individual qualities, was very different from the social power wielded by elite lineages with inherited status. A balance had to be maintained between the ritual specialists of the shamanic tradition and the high elites who participated in the rituals surrounding the Sacrifice Ceremony. It is possible that the increase in complex imagery representing the Sacrifice Ceremony and other aspects of ritual life were a part of the high elites’ claim to rule through spiritual sanction. However, without the foundational beliefs of the shamanic tradition, their religious power could not exist—and so the high elites maintained a relationship with these ritual specialists that acknowledged their



powers and performances while elevating the high elites' power and performances above them.

Costume embodied the spiritual sanction and social distinction from the shamanically related ritual specialists that the high elites sought, and thus costume created the social types represented in the art. By making these costumes—and through them their social identities—the subject of representation, they sought to fix them in their ideal state and perpetuate them, in this world and the next. The creation of objects that could substitute a fixed, ideal, and (relatively) permanent performance for the ephemeral existence of a live human aimed at making these ideals of identity persist in time independent of individual actors, attempting to create embodied ideals which would make gender essential rather than performative. This brings us back to Quilter's discomfort over a lack of resolution between the "contradictory proposition[s] that the art depicted scenes from daily life yet was a symbolic code."<sup>3</sup> Donnan has proposed that among the Moche and their contemporaries, nothing was depicted which did not have a spiritual significance.<sup>4</sup> This study concludes that, more correctly, nothing was depicted which did not have an *ideological* significance. In this way the depiction of persons and actions which were part of Moche life was made into a code through selection and idealization by the Moche high elite. Just as Courbet's *The Stone Breakers* depicts a scene from daily life and is also rife with references to social class, status, and gender, so Moche iconography selects from daily life to illustrate ideals of these same categories. It is because it depicts daily life that the code is so effective, as it renders a particular *interpretation* of daily life—an interpretation produced through the ideology of the high elites—natural and permanent. By making select depictions of daily life the focus of ideology, representations

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<sup>3</sup> Quilter, "Moche Politics, Religion, and Warfare," 162.

<sup>4</sup> Donnan, *Moche Art And Iconography*, 5,10.

made the ideology ubiquitous in life. It is not that the depictions do not “truly” show daily life, it is that, like all representations of life, they come alloyed with the assumptions and assertions of the people who make the representations.

A final observation is that one of the goals of this study—to better understand the world of commoners in the Moche iconographic system—remains unfulfilled. It is borne out through the analysis of the corpus that there is little or no iconographic presence of what would be considered commoners: farmers, for example, or keepers of domesticated animals. Llamas and dogs appear in the iconography, but in the context of ritual rather than as work or companion animals. Even the harvest is depicted solely as a symbolic event (Fig. 7.1), rather than a routine task; this is true in textile as well as ceramic representation.<sup>5</sup> Even more than the very young and the very old, the labor force of Moche society is invisible. They are not part of the ideal world created by the iconography, despite the fact that it could not have existed without them. Referring back to Quilter’s dilemma, the problem is not that Moche art does not show daily life; rather it is that it only shows select *aspects* of daily life, precisely those which are useful vehicles for the ideology.

The relationship of these findings to other Andean cultures forms a basis for future research. How personal and public religion were viewed and expressed, how gender and status were related, and the connection between gender categories (especially ambiguity) and religious conventions are open to exploration. This latter topic has been broached, especially in terms of the Inka, where there are written sources.<sup>6</sup> However, there is a lack of scholarship on gender categories and relationships in the cultures prior to the Inka. Many

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<sup>5</sup> Claude Chapdelaine and Víctor Pimentel, "Un tejido único Moche III del sitio Castillo de Santa: Una escena de cosecha de Yuca " *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Études Andines* 32, no. 1 (2003): 38.

<sup>6</sup>Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body*. Michael J. Horswell, *Decolonizing the Sodomite: Queer Tropes of Sexuality in Colonial Andean Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

gender studies in the Andes are also rooted in contemporary Western ideas about gender, and especially ambiguous gender, which tends to classify gender-ambiguous individuals in terms of queer sexuality,<sup>7</sup> a category that may not have existed, or been differently defined, in the pre-Hispanic Andes. The Moche construction of gender categories is in concert with the trends observed in Andean traditions, as is the relative sociopolitical power of women in the society. It is evident that in Moche society there was a visible status difference between the two polar genders. A nascent comprehensive study of the Paracas mummy bundles will hopefully provide a textile-based comparison from a relatively contemporaneous culture.<sup>8</sup> As more wide-ranging studies are made possible, a more inclusive picture of gender categories and gender relationships in the Andes will take form. The next step from this study is a comparative study on supernatural gender, incorporating the work of Holmquist, Hocquenghem and Lyon, and Giersz, *et al.*<sup>9</sup> While Giersz *et al.* do not focus on gender *per se*, the focus on identifying anthropomorphic deities through their costume and attributes would make a statistical analysis of their findings easy to incorporate into that used for the present study. It would allow for an expansion on Arsenault's findings in the context of the Sacrifice Ceremony,<sup>10</sup> and create an overall vision of the gender dynamic throughout the Moche cosmos.

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<sup>7</sup> Callender and Kochems, "The North American Berdache," 443, 444; Femenias, *Gender and the Boundaries of Dress*, 212-213; Herdt, "Introduction: Third Sexes and Third Genders," 47; Hocquenghem, "Les Representations de Chamans dans l'Iconographie Mochica," 126; Lorber, *Paradoxes of Gender*, 90-91.

<sup>8</sup> Ann H. Peters, personal communication. September 15, 2009.

<sup>9</sup> Giersz, Makowski, and Przadka, *El mundo sobrenatural mochica*; Milosz Giersz and Patrycja Przadka-Giersz, "Las imágenes escultóricas de los seres sobrenaturales mochica en la colección del Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera y el problema de la identificación de las deidades: Una aproximación estadística," in *Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques (Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Jóvenes Investigadores de la Cultura Mochica, Lima 4 y 5 de agosto 2004)*, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo, et al. (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2008); Hocquenghem and Lyon, "Supernatural Females."; Holmquist Pachas, "El personaje mítico femenino de la iconografía Mochica".

<sup>10</sup> Arsenault, "Les Rapports Hommes-Femmes."; Arsenault, "Gender Relationships."

It is hoped that the present study has shown how productive the investigation of represented costume can be for elucidating ideological constructions. This method is useful not just for this narrow topic, but in textile history, gender studies, and Andean studies, as well as adding to the art historical body of work on the complex and intriguing Moche culture.

**Abbreviations within the dissertation and Catalogue Raisonné**

MARLH	Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera
MdA	Museo de América
MNAAHP	Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú
MTRS	Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán
NMAI	National Museum of the American Indian
PAHM	Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche
PAHMA	Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology
PASJM	Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro

## **ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE DISSERTATION**

The illustrations are numbered by chapter. If an illustrated piece is listed in the Catalogue Raisonné, its image credit is followed by its CR number (“CR 156”). If the piece is not in the Catalogue, then the accession number from its relevant institution will appear.



Map of the north coast of Peru, indicating sites mentioned in the dissertation.



Figure 1.1. Rollout of the Larco Vase depiction of the Sacrifice Ceremony.  
Image courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru.



Figure 1.2. Detail of the High Priest from Figure 1.  
Image courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru.





Figure 2.1. Chavín representation of the Staff Deity  
Redrawn from Burger 1992: 175.



Figure 2.2. Inka warrior's tunic (1995.32.MCD).  
Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene and Margaret McDermott Art Fund, Inc. in honor of Carol Robbins.



Figure 2.3. Mold-made prisoner effigy from Sipán.  
Courtesy of the Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán, Lambayeque, Peru (C7 B).



Figure 2.4. Prisoner effigy from Huaca de la Luna.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1018).



Figure 2.5. Prisoner effigy with evidence of fire-clouding.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 362).



Figure 2.6. Female healer with a patient on her lap, exhibiting fire-clouding. Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 849).



Figure 2.7. A poorly-fired effigy vessel. Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 667).



Figure 2.8. A vessel exhibiting slumping from improper firing.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 584).



Figure 2.9. Prisoner effigy from Huaca de la Luna.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 986).



Figure 2.10. An artist demonstrates the ancient method for burnishing slip on a mold-made replica vessel.  
 Photograph by the author.



Figure 2.11. An imperfect reduction-fired vessel, with lighter-gray areas on top and black on the bottom of the piece.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 624).



Figure 2.12. Vessel from Huaca de la Luna with a partially-reduced surface.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1002).

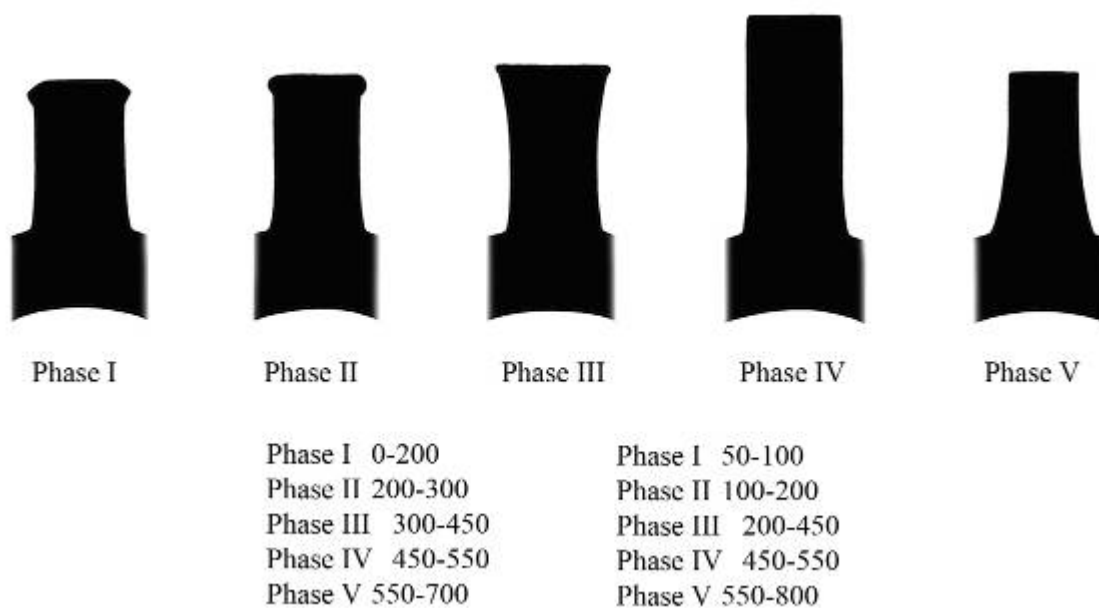


Figure 2.13. Above: Rafael Larco Hoyle's relative chronology based on the shape of stirrup-spouts.

Below: Absolute chronologies assigned to the phases by Donnan (Left, 1978:6) and Benson (Right, 1997:42).

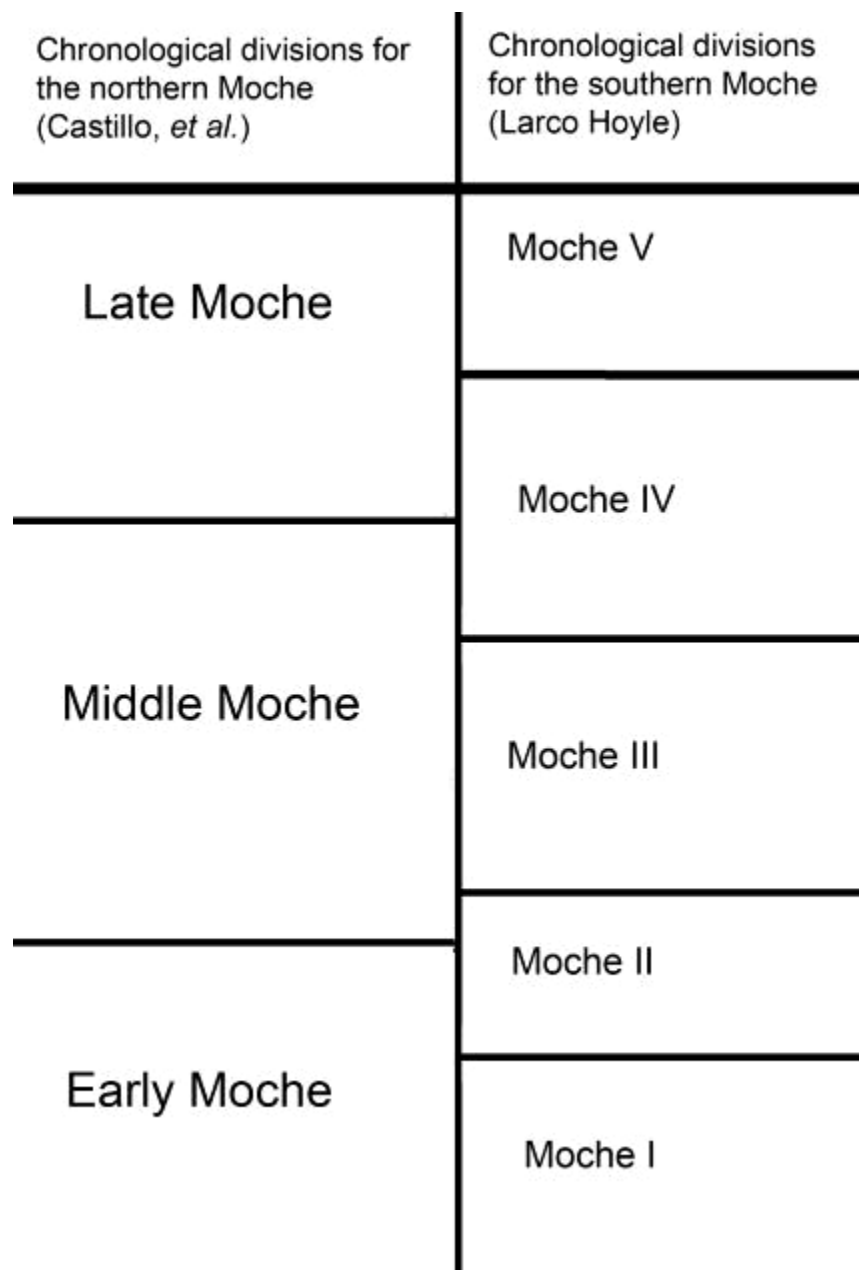


Figure 2.14. Approximate relationship between the relative chronologies of the Northern (left) and Southern (right) Moche.





Figure 2.15. A vessel with both three-dimensional modeling and two-dimensional depiction of figures.  
 Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 81).

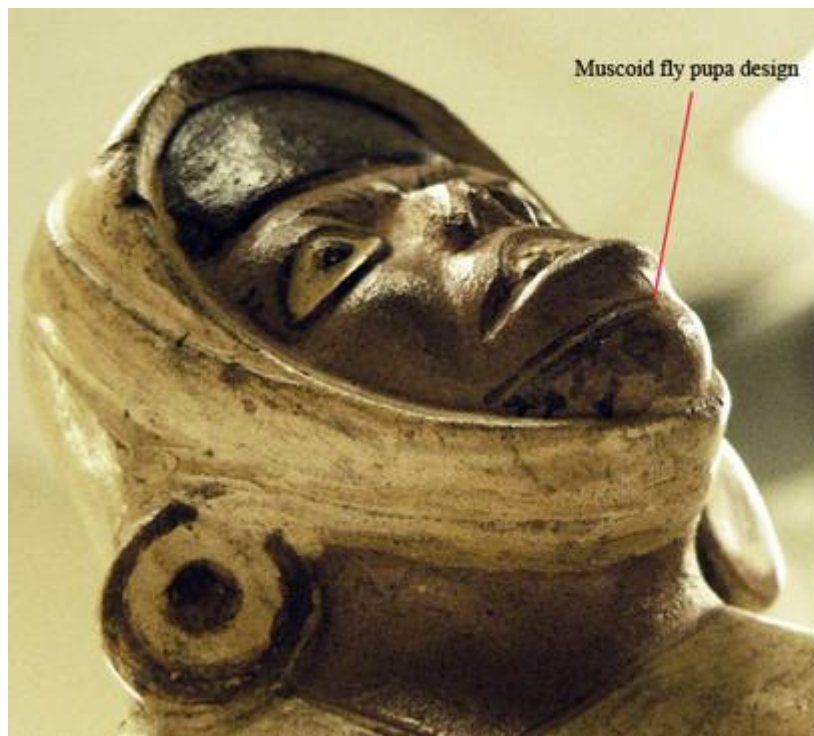


Figure 2.16. Muscoid fly pupa design visible on the jaw line of a figure.  
 Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (CR 327).

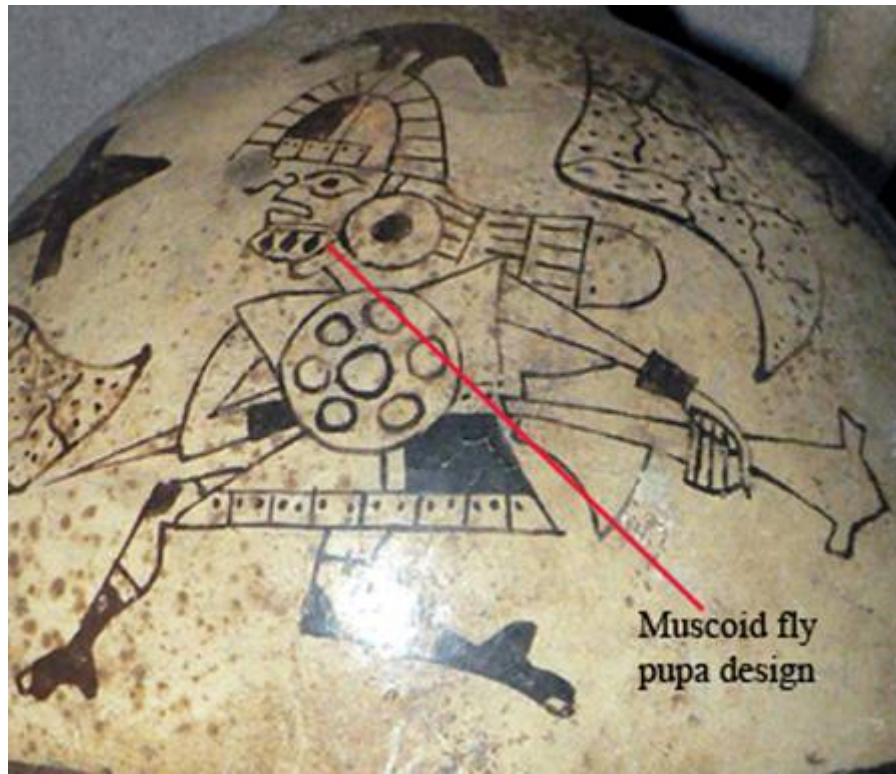


Figure 2.17. Muscoid fly pupa design on the jaw line of a warrior.  
Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 824).



Figure 3.1. All-*tocapu* royal tunic.

Image © Dumbarton Oaks, Pre-Columbian Collection, Washington, DC (PC.B.518.S1).

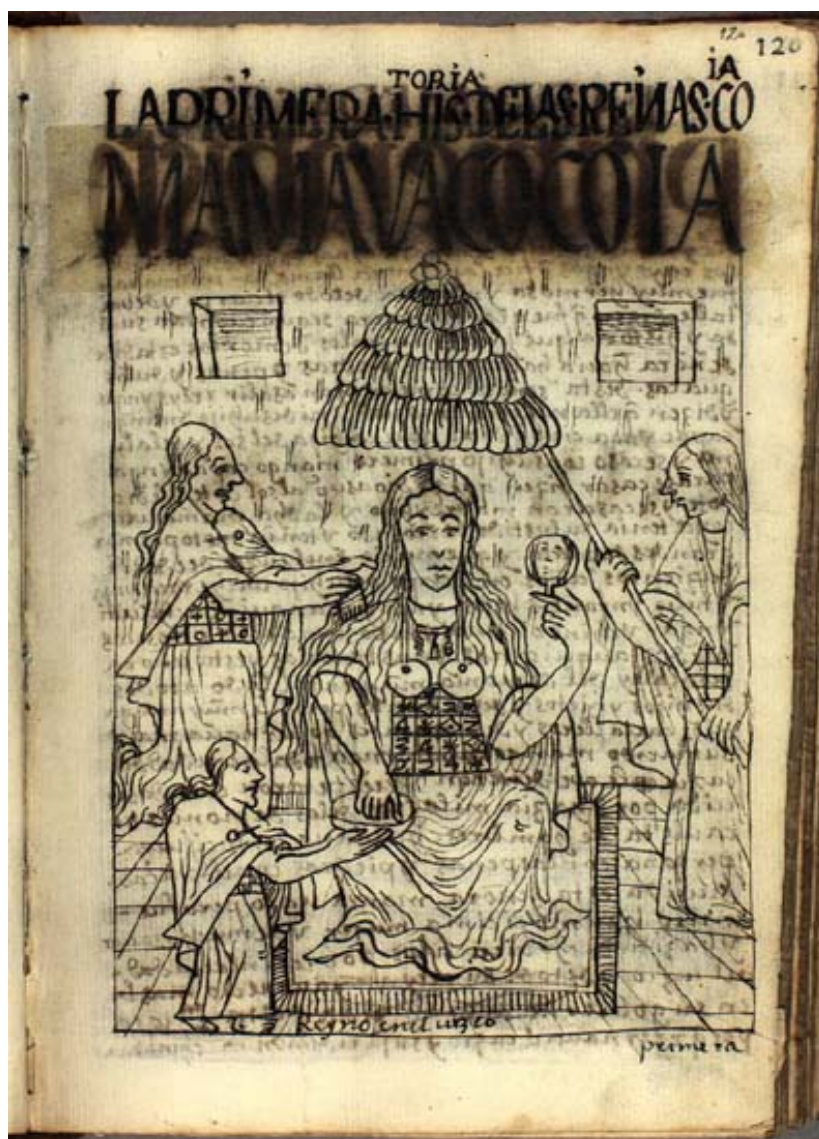


Figure 3.2. Guaman Poma's illustration of the first *coya*.  
 Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library,  
 Copenhagen, Denmark.

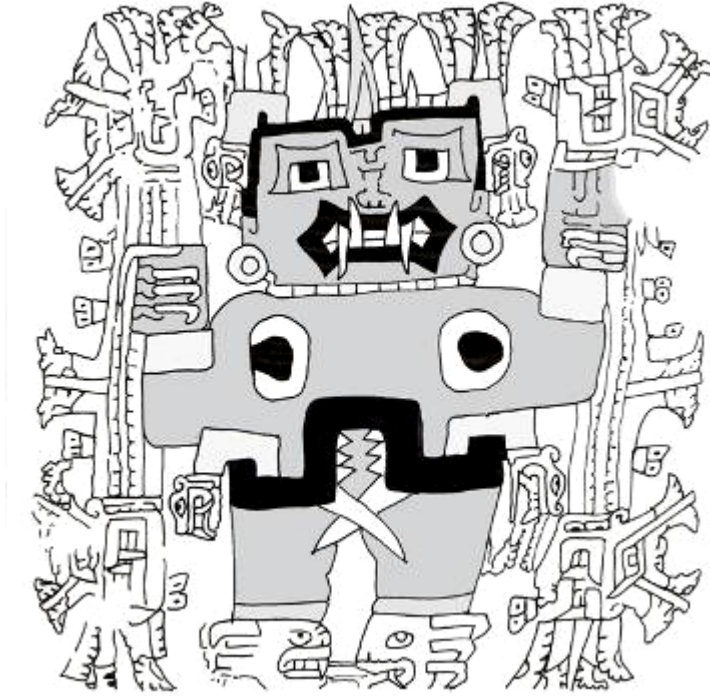


Figure 3.3. Karwa painted textile depicting a coastal version of the Chavín Staff Deity.  
Redrawn from Burger 1992: 175.



Figure 3.4. Bowl depicting weavers using backstrap looms.  
Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 57).



Figure 3.5. Wari tie-dyed textile.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (2002.1.148).

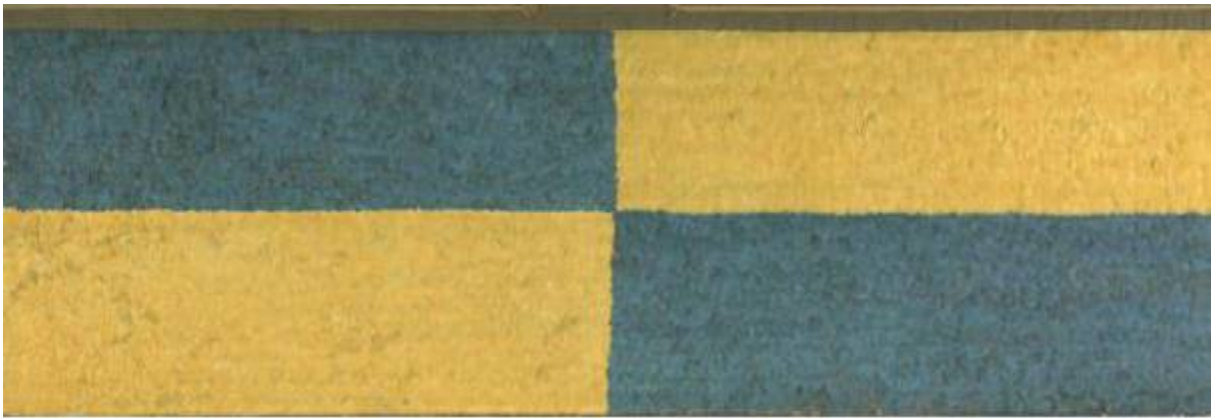


Figure 3.6. Chimú feather garment.  
Courtesy Dallas Museum of Art, Textile Purchase Fund (2001.262).

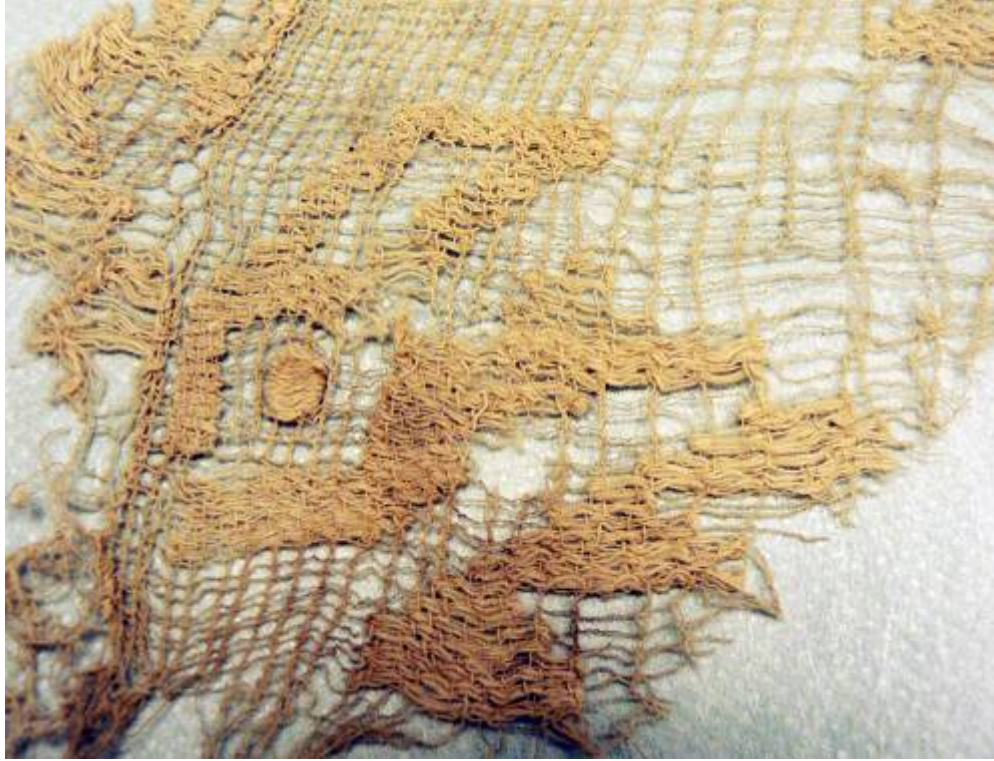


Figure 3.7. Chimú openwork textile fragment.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (2002.1.87).



Figure 3.8. Chimú openwork head cloth.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (1989.8.163).



Figure 3.9. Chimú tunic fragment with roundels and tassels.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (2004.64.1).



Figure 3.10. Chimú tunic fragment showing reverse of the side seen in Figure 3.9.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (2004.64.1).





Figure 3.11. Fragment showing the side-seam of a Wari tunic.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (2002.1.127).



Figure 3.12. Four-cornered Wari hat in pile technique.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (2002.1.119).



Figure 3.13. Chongoyape crown depicting a version of the Chavín Staff Deity.  
Courtesy Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene and Margaret McDermott Art Fund, Inc. (2005.35.MCD).



Figure 3.14. Nasca nose ornament.  
Courtesy the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio (1945.377).



Figure 3.15. Chimú earspools depicting the harvesting of *Spondylus* shells.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (1992.15.261).



Figure 3.16. *Spondylus* sp. shell.  
Photograph by the author.



Figure 3.17. Moche earspool with textile fragment and evidence of pseudomorphs.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (1992.15.274).



Figure 3.18. Sicán (Lambayeque) ritual knife with pseudomorphs over the entire surface.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (1994.18.33).



Figure 3.19. Moche textile woven on a slit-cane warp, with anthropomorphic crab design.  
 Courtesy The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1967.37.1. Gift of Frederick E. Landmann.



Figure 3.20. Moche textile with geometricized bird design.  
 Courtesy The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1959.5.7. Gift of Raymond Weilgus.



Figure 3.21. Moche textile band with multicolor design.  
Courtesy The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1960.13.1a, Museum Purchase.



Figure 3.22. Moche textile with figure/ground interplay.  
Courtesy The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1985.16.7. Gift of Nobuko Kajitani.



Figure 4.1. Tembladera joined couple.  
Courtesy Saint Louis Art Museum, Gift of Morton D. May (186:1979).



Figure 4.2. Colima joined couple.

Courtesy Los Angeles County Museum of Art, The Proctor Stafford Collection, purchased with funds provided by Mr. and Mrs. Alan C. Balch (M.86.296.145).



Figure 4.3. Moche vessel with representation of sexual activity.

Courtesy the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 262).





Figure 4.4. Illustration of sexually-themed Maya cave drawing from the site of Naj Tunich.  
Courtesy of Andrea Stone.



Figure 4.5. Moche (right) and Chimú (left) versions of the Deity Making Love theme.  
Courtesy the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (L: ML004358; R: ML019223).



Figure 4.6. Aztec stone effigy of Xipe Totec.  
Courtesy Dallas Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Eugene McDermott, the McDermott Foundation,  
and Mr. and Mrs. Algur H. Meadows and the Meadows Foundation, Incorporated (1973.65).



Figure 4.7. Virú-Gallinazo effigy of an intersexed figure.  
Courtesy Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (ML004445).



Figure 5.1. Ceramic vessel depicting a woman with hair separated into two sections holding a child seated on her lap.

Courtesy the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 881).



Figure 5.2. Rear view of a prisoner effigy, showing long, unbound hair.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1018).



Figure 5.3. Two-dimensional image of a man wearing a bound headcloth with a flap emerging from the back.

Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 57).



Figure 5.4. Ceramic effigy of a warrior's helmet with serpent crest, flap, and ear spools.

Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (PU-1334).



Figure 5.5. "Portrait" head vessel showing the wedge-shaped forelock hair style. Profile shows what appears to be hair on the remainder of the head, however the painting of the ears in the same color slip makes this determination difficult.  
 Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 92).



Figure 5.6. Prisoner with clearer representation of a forelock with the rest of the hair close-cropped.  
 Courtesy the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 837).



Figure 5.7. Above: Vessel depicting weavers creating textiles with geometric designs. Below: Detail of one of the weavers, with backstrap loom, spindles, and example textile. Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 57).



Figure 5.8. Kneeling warrior with catfish-head tunic design. Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 560).



Figure 5.9. Hunter wearing a tunic with a deer design.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1066).



Figure 5.10. Figure with a length of fabric wrapped around the head, beneath the circlet.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 440).



Figure 5.11. Musician figure with a cap and flap style head covering.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 343).

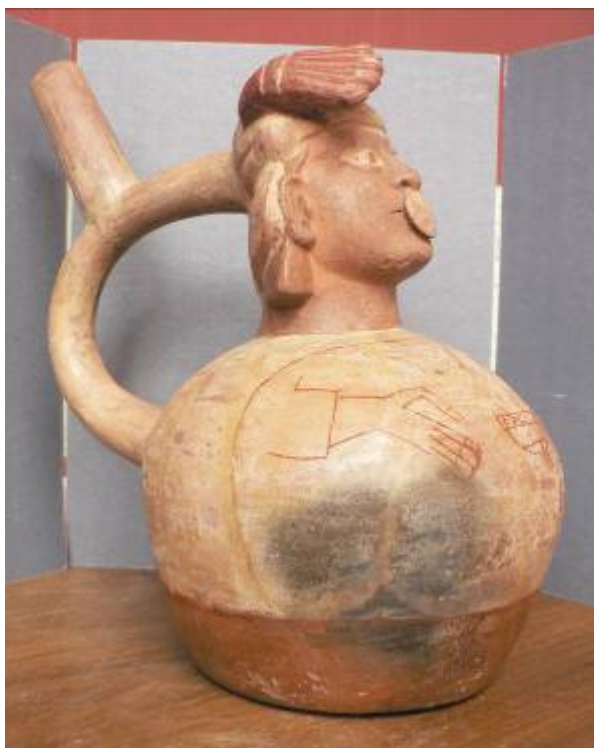


Figure 5.12. Three-dimensional depiction of a headdress with feather fan element.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1019).





Figure 5.13. Ritual runner wearing one of two typical headdresses, with an animal circelet and oblong projecting element.  
Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 48).



Figure 5.14. Ritual runner wearing one of two typical headdresses, with an animal circelet and circular projecting element.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 423).



Figure 5.15. Warrior wearing a helmet with *tumi* crest at the top.  
 Courtesy the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 824).



Figure 5.16. Warrior wearing atypical headdress with two feather fan elements  
 on top of a wrapped textile with long flap.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 206).



Figure 5.17. Semi-circular element and cupped circular bosses supported by a plain circlet.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1028).



Figure 5.18. Plain circlet supporting two hemispherical projections and a feather fan.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 631).



Figure 5.19. Warrior wearing conical helmet with chin tie, tiered rear of helmet with matching flap, and a broad collar with a geometric design.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 336).



Figure 5.20. Figure wearing headdress with octopus-arm elements and animal head emblem.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 412).



Figure 5.21. Example of a crescent-style nose ornament.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1061).



Figure 5.22. Warrior wearing a circular nose ornament.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 195).



Figure 5.23. Warrior wearing earspool-style ear ornaments.  
Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1152).



Figure 5.24. Figure wearing circular ear ornaments pendant  
on a wire (wire-and-drop earrings).  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 950).



Figure 5.25. Elaborate Moche ear spool with semiprecious stone and shell mosaic representation of an anthropomorphic bird-warrior.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (ML100849).



Figure 5.26. Detail of a representation of the Priestess offering the sacrificial goblet (center left) in the Revolt of the Objects scene.  
Redrawn from Kutscher 1983:Abb. 304.



Figure 5.27. Simplified version of the Sacrifice Ceremony.  
Redrawn from Alva and Donnan 1993:134.



Figure 5.28. Version of the Sacrifice Ceremony.  
Redrawn from Alva and Donnan 1993:135.





Figure 5.29. Ceramic effigy from Sipán, showing low level of completion in the lower body.  
Courtesy of the Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán, Lambayeque, Peru (CR 725).



Figure 5.30. Vessel with highly abstracted lower body.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 460).



Figure 5.31. “Face-neck jar” with minimal body depiction on the main portion of the vessel.  
 Courtesy the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 833).



Figure 5.32. Depiction of a necklace with large, round beads.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1067).



Figure 5.33. Warrior wearing short tunic.  
Courtesy of the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands (CR 757).



Figure 5.34. Nursing mother wearing long tunic. Seams can be seen at the shoulders.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 177).



Figure 5.35. Man wearing a belt shown tied at the front.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 467).



Figure 5.36. Woman wearing a belt, no tie depicted.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 255).



Figure 5.37. Rear view of a ritual runner wearing a backflap and bells attached to his belt.  
Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 843).



Figure 5.38. Rear view of a warrior wearing a plain backflap attached to his belt.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 392).



Figure 5.39. Metal belt adornment bell unit in the shape of a group of *ulluchu* fruits.  
 Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (1992.15.302).



Figure 5.40. Warrior carrying a panoply that includes various elements of costume.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 209).



Figure 5.41. Warrior in matching tunic and kilt.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 824).



Figure 5.42. Vessel depicting a female figure carrying a smaller figure in a mantle, female figure has faded black decoration on hands, arms, and face.

Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 117).



Figure 5.43. Sleeping warrior with traces of black paint on hands and arms.  
Courtesy of the British Museum, London, England (CR 17).



Figure 5.44. Prisoner with typical warrior leg paint style.  
Courtesy the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca Cao Viejo (CR 936).





Figure 5.45. Ceramic foot effigy with sandal.  
Courtesy The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 1969.51.5. Gift of Leo Drimmer-Lichtemberg.



Figure 5.46. Prisoner effigy vessel.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 118).



Figure 5.47. Two views of a vessel in which a warrior with captured panoply (left) leads his naked captive by a rope tied around his neck (right).  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 209).



Figure 5.48. Adobe frieze from the central plaza of Huaca Cao Viejo, showing naked prisoners paraded in a line.  
 Photograph by the author.



Figure 5.49. Adobe frieze from the main plaza at Huaca de la Luna, depicting naked prisoners paraded in a line.  
 Photograph by the author.



Figure 5.50. Prisoner wearing a plated tunic with serrated hem and an elaborate headdress, much of which is missing.  
 Courtesy the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 340).



Figure 5.51. Prisoner wearing an elaborate headdress with octopus-arm motif.  
Courtesy the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 218).



Figure 5.52. Prisoner wearing a plated tunic with serrated hem.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 341).



Figure 5.53. Left: Dressed prisoner effigy vessel, with arms are tied behind the back. Right: Detail of the inverted-step pattern on the tunic. The lack of slip painting creates a play between the inverted step and the upright step forms it creates.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1086).



Figure 5.54. Well-dressed prisoner effigy vessel. Arms are tied behind the back, but there is no rope around the neck.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1088).



Figure 5.55. Prisoner effigy vessel with depiction of body paint.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1072).



Figure 5.56. Prisoner effigy vessel with depiction of body paint.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1074).



Figure 5.57. Prisoner effigy vessel with depiction of body paint.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1075).



Figure 5.58. Prisoner effigy vessel depicting ear holes  
 which would have accommodated ornaments.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1055).



Figure 5.59. Warrior frieze at Huaca de la Luna, soldiers parading with panoplies.  
Photograph by the author.



Figure 5.60. Larco Vase panoply, detail from roll-out drawing.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú.



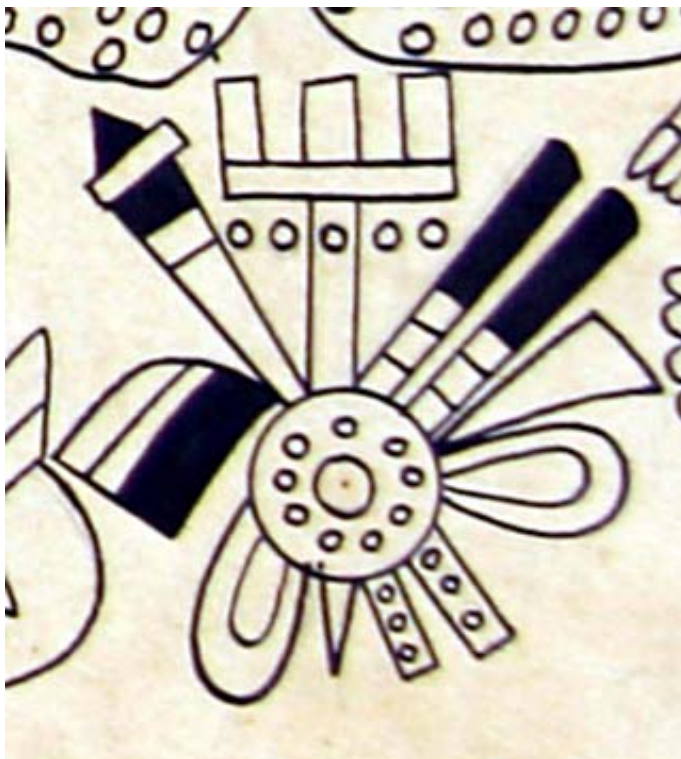


Figure 5.61. Larco Vase panoply, detail from roll-out drawing.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú.

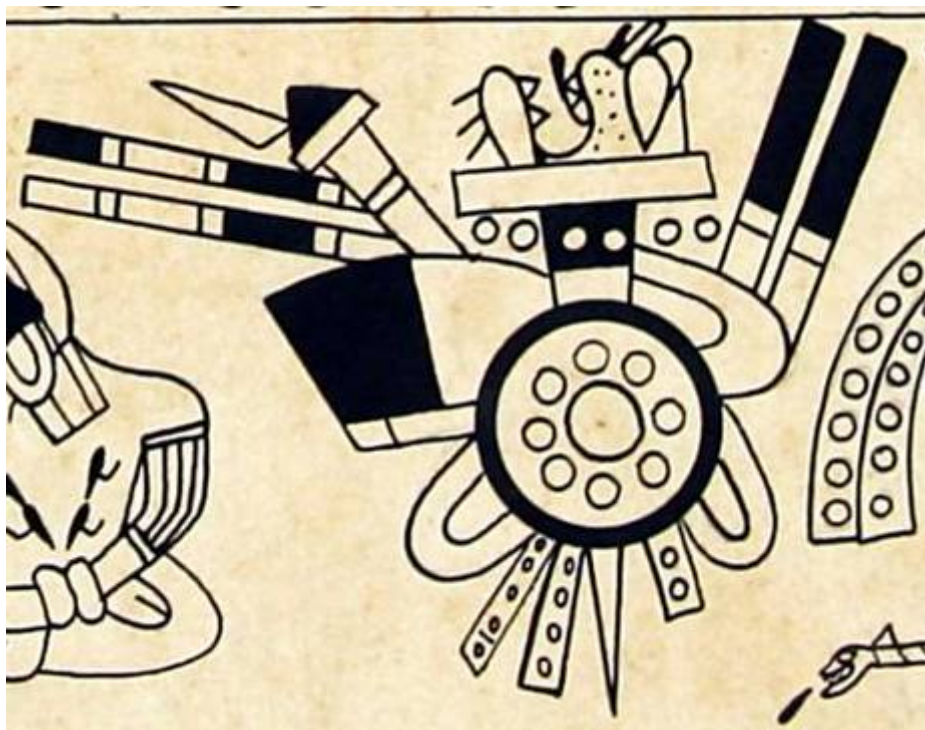


Figure 5.62. Larco Vase panoply, detail from roll-out drawing.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú.



Figure 5.63. Detail showing the depiction of a plain loincloth emerging from underneath a kilt with a triangular design.  
 Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 101).



Figure 5.64. Male *cargador*, with a loincloth visible beneath the hem of his tunic.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 154).



Figure 5.65. Example of a simple head covering, depicted as a head cloth over a flap, held in place with a chin tie.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 453).

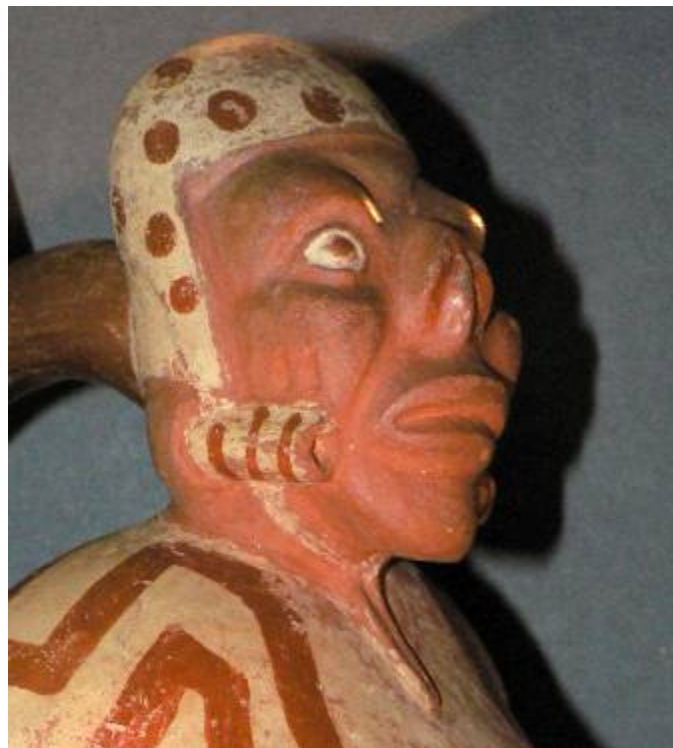


Figure 5.66. Example of a simple kerchief-style head covering with chin tie.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 359).



Figure 5.67. Example of a man wearing a simple wrapped headcloth.  
Courtesy the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, La Libertad (CR 124).



Figure 5.68. Example of a simple cap and flap style head covering.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 717).



Figure 5.69. Vessel depicting warrior combat. The defeated warrior's headgear is depicted above him on the upper left, his hair floats free.  
 Courtesy of the Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro (CR 904).



Figure 5.70. Left: Defeated warrior depicted with wounds to the face, unbound hair, and his helmet and ear spoils on the ground. Right: A warrior defeating his foe.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 887).

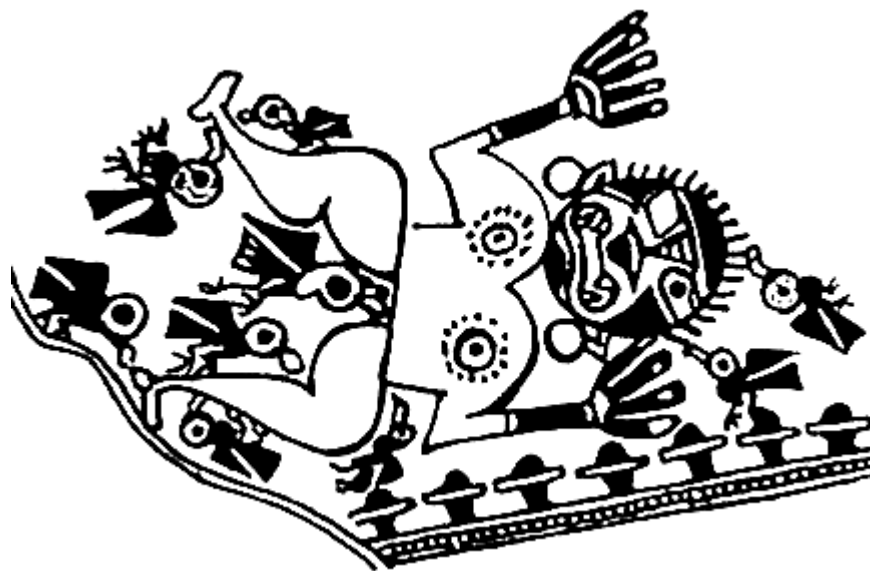


Figure 5.71. Detail of a female sacrificial victim in the Burial Theme.  
Redrawn from Donnan and McClelland 1979: Fig. 7.

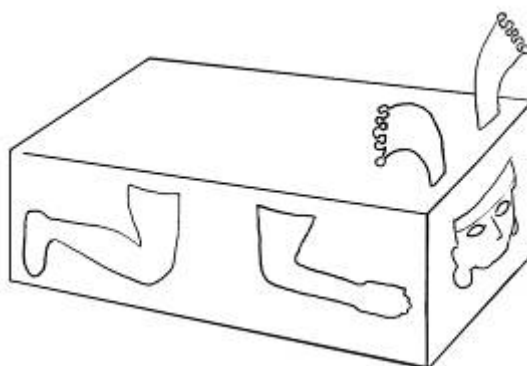


Figure 5.72. Coffin of the Priestess of San José de Moro, showing the metal pieces which depicted her limbs, head, and headdress.  
Redrawn from Makowski 2008: Fig. 17.



Figure 5.73. Woman depicted with wrapped section of hair.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 191).



Figure 5.74. Female figure with braided hair.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 31).



Figure 5.75. Effigy vessel depicting a captive with a rope around his neck, attended by a female figure with braided hair.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 223).



Figure 5.76. Female attendants with a male prisoner and severed limbs tied with ropes.  
Redrawn from Kutscher 1983: Abb. 120.





Figure 5.77. Vessel depicting fellatio, one of set of three.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1011).



Figure 5.78. Vessel depicting fellatio, one of set of three.  
 Note the two long lines in cream slip down the back of the female figure.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1012).



Figure 5.79. Vessel depicting fellatio, one of set of three.  
 Note the female figure's head on a pivot (left).  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1013).



Figure 5.80. Figure depicting a nursing mother.  
 Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 9).



Figure 5.81. Figure depicting a nursing mother.  
Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 807).



Figure 5.82. Depiction a nursing mother.  
Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 802).



Figure 5.83. Vessel depicting a female figure carrying a smaller figure in a mantle.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 477).



Figure 5.84. Figurine depicting a female figure carrying a smaller figure in a mantle.  
 Figure 5.1. Vessel depicting a female figure with a smaller figure on her lap.  
 Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 881).



Figure 5.85. Vessel depicting a female figure with a smaller figure on her lap.  
 Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 882).



Figure 5.86. Vessel depicting a female figure with a smaller figure on her lap.  
 Courtesy of The Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca Cao Viejo, Magdalena de Cao, Peru (CR 932).



Figure 5.87. Vessel depicting a female figure with a smaller figure on her lap.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 506).



Figure 5.88. Hollow figurine depicting a female figure holding a smaller figure.  
Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1159).



Figure 5.89. Solid figurine depicting a female figure holding a smaller figure. Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 863).



Figure 5.90. Solid figurine depicting a female figure holding a smaller figure. Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 864).



Figure 5.91. Whistler variation, a hooded figure holding a smaller figure under a mantle.  
Courtesy the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands (CR 1118).



Figure 5.92. Whistler variation, a hooded figure holding a smaller figure under a mantle.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 507).





Figure 5.93. Whistler variation, a hooded figure holding a smaller figure under a mantle.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 509).



Figure 5.94. View and detail of whistler (left) and child figure (center).  
 Right: detail of the Whistler's hooded mantle.  
 Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 844).



Figure 5.95. Vessel depicting a large figure holding child figure.  
 Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 83).



Figure 5.96. Standing *cargador* holding the hand of what may be a child figure.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1014).



Figure 5.97. Seated female *cargador* (*cargadora*) with smaller figure clinging to her side. Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 510).



Figure 5.98. Seated male *cargador* with smaller figure, wearing similar garments. Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 505).



Figure 5.99. Seated *cargadora* depicting the coca bag (*chuspa*) slung across her body and down to her left hip, as well as the tump line for her larger bundle going over her forehead and down to her back.

Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 491).



Figure 5.100. Vessel with depiction of combat between two warriors, with the warrior on the left victorious over the warrior on the right, demonstrated through grasping the forelock.

Courtesy of The Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 840).



Figure 5.101. Detail from Figure 1.1, a priestess gathering blood from a sacrificial victim.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú.



Figure 5.102. One of a pair of combatants.  
Courtesy the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 206).



Figure 5.103. One of a pair of combatants.  
 Note the simplified muscoid fly design on the jaw.  
 Courtesy the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 206).



Figure 5.104. One of a pair of combatants, depicted at the moment of defeat.  
 Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1138).



Figure 105. One of a pair of combatants, depicted at the moment of victory.  
 Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1138).



Figure 5.106. Representation of a dead warrior on the field of battle (right figure).  
 Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 113).



Figure 5.107. Prisoner with erect phallus.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 205).



Figure 5.108. Detail of a sacrifice scene. A prisoner with an erect phallus runs towards a structure where a seated figure holds the sacrificial goblet.  
Redrawn from Kutscher 1983: Abb. 123.





Figure 5.109. Sexual interaction between a living female (right) and a skeletonized male with living phallus (left).  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 85).



Figure 5.110. Illustration from Guaman Poma, “Punishment of youthful fornicators.”  
Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library,  
Copenhagen, Denmark.



Figure 5.111. Illustration from Guaman Poma,  
 “How the administrators abuse the Indian magistrates.”  
 Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library,  
 Copenhagen, Denmark.



Figure 5.112. Solid figurine of a woman in a long tunic holding one of her braids.  
 Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1109).



Figure 5.113. Hollow figurine of a standing woman with exposed vulva, holding her wrapped braids.

Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 289).



Figure 5.114. A trio of solid figurines from Sipán, depicting women with ear ornaments holding their braids.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán, Lambayeque, Peru (CR 726).



Figure 5.115. Female and vulture-headed attendants of a prisoner.  
Redrawn detail from Kutscher 1983: Abb. 123.



Figure 5.116. Natural brown Peruvian cotton.  
Courtesy Mielke's Fiber Art, LLC.



Figure 5.117. Women standing beneath a bleeding victim tied to a rack.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 191).



Figure 5.118. Detail of a sacrifice scene, women sit inside a structure marked by a  
 dismembered arm, while a vulture-headed figure faces a prisoner.  
 Redrawn from Kutscher 1983: Abb. 124.



Figure 5.119. Female figure holding the goblet and cover for the Sacrifice Ceremony.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 323).



Figure 5.120. Female figure holding the goblet and cover for the Sacrifice Ceremony.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 30).



Figure 5.121. Figurine depicting a woman holding what may be the cover for the ceremonial goblet.

Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 526).



Figure 5.122. Vessel depicting a woman holding what may be the cover for the ceremonial goblet. Her braids are shown as falling inside her tunic.

Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 949).



Figure 5.123. Vessel from San José de Moro depicting the Mythical Feminine Personage, the rim of the vessel replacing her boat.  
 Courtesy of Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro (CR 907).



Figure 5.124. A figure identified as a foreign female by Cordy-Collins.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 357).





Figure 5.125. Illustration from Guaman Poma, “The eighth “street” or age group, *pukllakuq wamra*, playful little girl of five years.”

She carries a ceramic vessel on her back using a tumpline.

Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Figure 5.126. *Cargadora* wearing a headcloth between her hair and tumpline.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1038).



Figure 5.127. *Cargadora* vessel.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 131).



Figure 5.128. *Cargadora* vessel.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 181).



Figure 5.129. Seated *cargadora* with child figure.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 165).



Figure 5.130. *Cargadora* vessel.

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 815).



Figure 5.131. *Cargadora* vessel, showing the *ticpi* fastening the shoulder of the garment.

Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 862).



Figure 5.132. *Cargadora* vessel, showing the *ticpi* fastening the shoulder of the garment.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 817).



Figure 5.133. Detail of the vessel in Figure 144, showing the *ticpi* passing through the fabric of the garment and holding two selvage edges together.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 817).



Figure 5.134. Two *cargadora* figures wearing necklaces.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 145, 150).

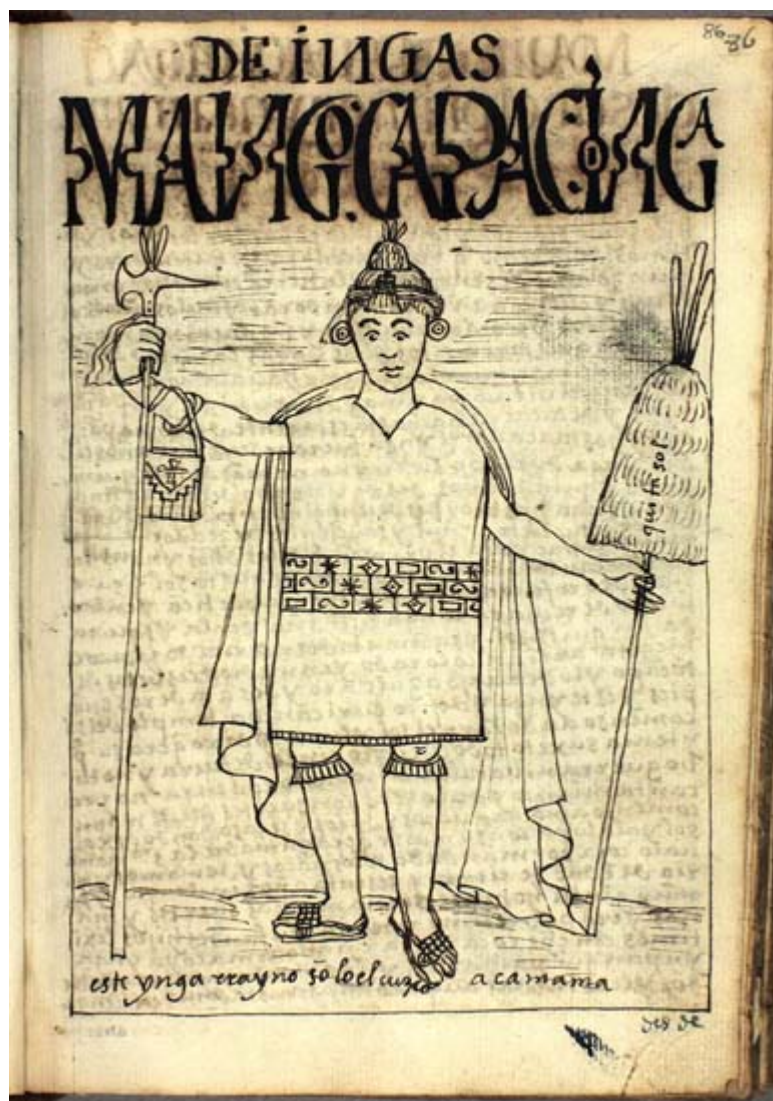


Figure 5.135. Illustration from Guaman Poma, “The first Inka, Manco Capac Inka.”  
 Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library,  
 Copenhagen, Denmark.



Figure 5.136. Effigy head vessel with wedge-shaped forelock hairstyle.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1023).



Figure 5.137. A figure with a wedge-shaped forelock holds a small feline on his lap.  
 Courtesy the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands (CR 769).





Figure 5.138. Front and back views of a Moche prisoner effigy, showing typical hair style.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 1085).



Figure 5.139. Vessel depicting a figure with a wedge-shaped forelock,  
 holding a lime container and dipper.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 941).



Figure 5.140. Left: Kneeling warrior with wrinkled face. Right: Rear view, showing inlay hands and feet of effigy backpiece. Depression for head inlay can be seen to the right.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 963).



Figure 5.141. Left: Kneeling warrior with wrinkled face. Right: Rear view, showing relief depiction of an effigy backpiece similar to that in Figure 5.152. A depression for a head inlay is visible between the holes of the broken spout.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 954).



Figure 5.142. Seated warrior with wrinkled face.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (CR 966).



Figure 5.143. Seated figure with wrinkled face.  
Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1156).



Figure 5.144. Seated man with wrinkled face (right). Detail showing fish in left hand (left).  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 419).



Figure 5.145. Seated man with wrinkled face.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 434).



Figure 5.146. Seated old man with small feline.  
Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1149).



Figure 5.147. Seated man with wrinkled face, holding lime jar and dipper.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 87).



Figure 5.148. Kneeling warrior wearing a conical helmet with *tumi* crest and two hemispherical projections to either side.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 634).

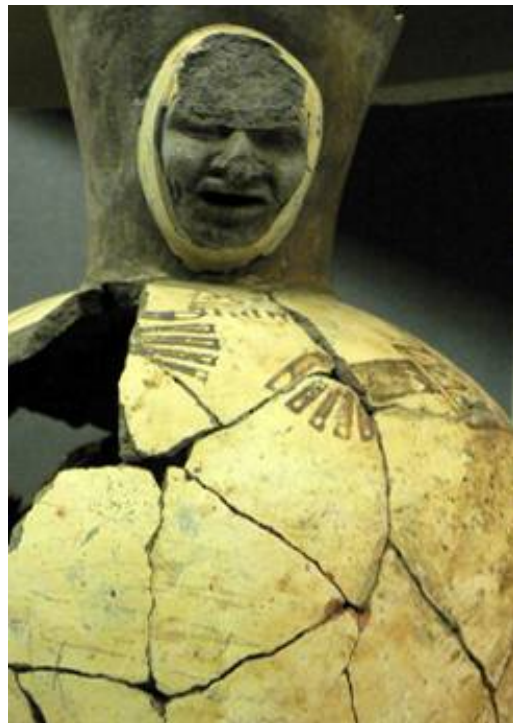


Figure 5.149. Face-neck jar depicting a blind man.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 830).



Figure 5.150. Vessel depicting a man with distorted facial features and a damaged left eye.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 839).



Figure 5.151. Vessel depicting an old man with facial warts or moles  
 and a damaged left eye.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 468).



Figure 5.152. Vessel depicting an old man with facial warts or moles and a damaged left eye. Note that while Figure 5.151 and 5.152 are from the same mold, they have been finished differently.

Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 471).



Figure 5.153. Seated figure with heavily distorted facial features and missing lips.

Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1090).





Figure 5.154. Seated figure of an old woman holding a pair of rattles.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1047).



Figure 5.155. An old woman holding a child-sized figure on her lap.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 62).

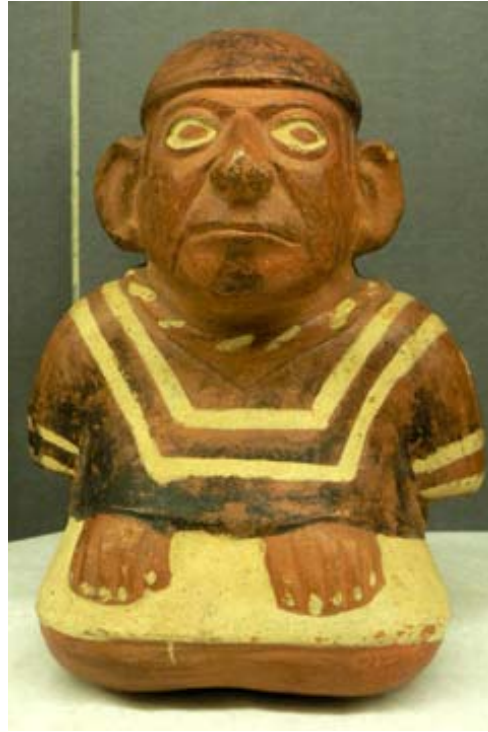


Figure 5.156. Seated figure depicted with arms inside the tunic and hands emerging on the lap.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 859).



Figure 5.157. Achondroplasic wearing loincloth, short tunic, and plain circlet over a kerchief.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 800).



Figure 5.158. Mountain sacrifice attendant figure wearing tunic with inverted-step pattern.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 718).



Figure 5.159. Hunter wearing tunic with inverted-step design.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 973).



Figure 5.160. Kneeling figure holding a pair of rattles and wearing a tunic with inverted-step design.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 198).



Figure 5.161. Sexual representation, the male figure (top) wears a tunic with inverted-step design.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 266).



Figure 5.162. Seated achondroplastic figure.  
Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 803).



Figure 5.163. Seated achondroplastic figure.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 263).

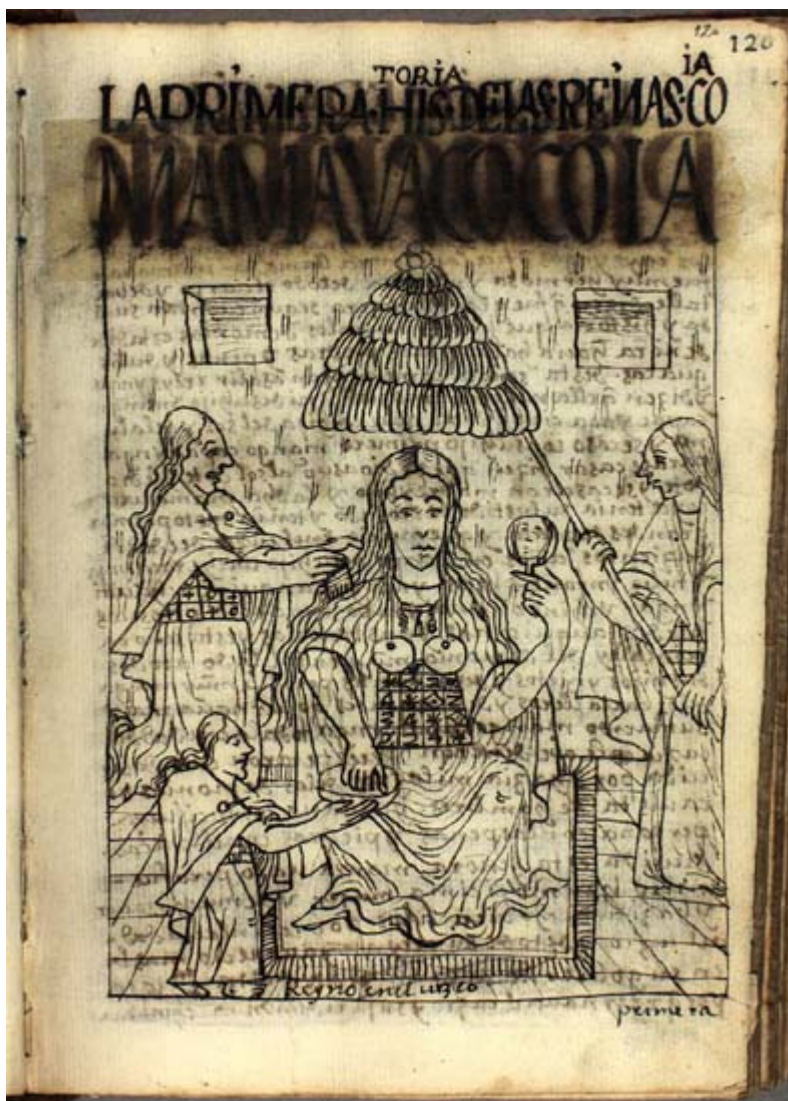


Figure 5.164. Illustration from Guaman Poma, “The first *Coya*, Mama Huaco.”  
 Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library,  
 Copenhagen, Denmark.



Figure 5.165. Seated double amputee playing a drum.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Perú (CR 302).



Figure 5.166. Double amputee figure lying on his stomach.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1064).



Figure 5.167. Double amputee figure with decorated cuffs and cap.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 418).



Figure 5.168. Double amputee riding a llama.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 465).





Figure 5.169. Vessel which may depict a double amputee riding a llama.  
Courtesy of the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands (CR 781).



Figure 5.170. Seated double amputee figure.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 107).



Figure 5.171. Basking sea lions.  
Creative Commons image by neosmile.



Figure 5.172. Figure holding lime jar and dipper.  
Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 851).



Figure 5.173. Warrior wearing tunic with wave-spiral variation and belt with dot motif.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 205).



Figure 5.174. Warrior wearing belt with dot motif and carrying a panoply which includes a belt decorated with dot-in-circle motif.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 209).



Figure 5.175. Warrior wearing matching tunic and kilt with dot motif.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 346).



Figure 5.176. Warrior wearing head band and collar with dot motif.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 825).



Figure 5.177. Warrior wearing tunic with dot motif, helmet has a crest with matching pattern.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 196).



Figure 5.178. Warrior wearing a tunic and helmet with the wave spiral motif.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 577).



Figure 5.179. Sleeping warrior wearing tunic with wave spiral motif.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 713).



Figure 5.180. Hunter wearing tunic with wave spiral variation.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 408).



Figure 5.181. Ritual runner wearing a kilt with a wave spiral variation.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 423).



Figure 5.182. Representation of sexual interaction with a wave design on the base.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 265).



Figure 5.183. Kneeling warrior figure in reduction-fire technique.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 636).



Figure 5.184. Seated warrior wearing chin strap with triangular ruff.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 307).





Figure 5.185. Hunter pursuing a deer using a rounded club.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 1051).



Figure 5.186. Detail of a seal hunt.  
Redrawn from Kutscher 1983: Abb. 89.



Figure 5.187. Male healer treating a female patient.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca Cao Viejo, Magdalena de Cao, Peru (CR 931).



Figure 5.188. Male healer with patient.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 462).



Figure 5.189. Female healer wearing highland-style dress, with patient.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 178).



Figure 5.190. Detail of the Owl Healer from the collection of the  
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography.  
Drawing by the author.



Figure 5.191. The High Priest (left) and Bird Warrior (right), detail of the Larco Vase.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru.



Figure 5.192. "Personage D" from the far right upper register of the Larco Vas.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru.



Figure 5.193. Dancer wearing a fully-plated tunic.  
 Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 49).



Figure 5.194. A warrior in a fully-plated tunic (perhaps Personage D)  
 confronts a supernatural foe.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 337).



Figure 5.195. Figurine depicting a woman wearing a headdress and holding rattles.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 301).



Figure 5.196. Detail of the Larco Vase, the High Priestess.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru.



Figure 5.197. Detail of the Larco Vase, the Priestess with the Carding-Tool headdress.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru



Figure 5.198. Vessel from San José de Moro depicting the Mythical Feminine Personage.  
 Courtesy of the Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro (CR 903).



Figure 6.1. Vessel representing a man in short tunic and kilt with a mantle over his head.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 233).



Figure 6.2. Guaman Poma illustration, "Burials of the Collasuyus."  
 Courtesy of The Guaman Poma Website, A Digital Research Center of the Royal Library,  
 Copenhagen, Denmark.





Figure 6.3. Standing male figure wearing a mantle over a feline circlet.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 242).



Figure 6.4. Standing "rattle-holder" wearing a loincloth, short tunic,  
 and a mantle draped over the head.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 536).



Figure 6.5. “Rattle-holder figure” with loincloth sculpted to resemble a vulva.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 239).



Figure 6.6. “Rattle-holder” figure.  
 Courtesy of the Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam, Netherlands (CR 1122).



Figure 6.7. "Rattle-holder" figure.

Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 533).



Figure 6.8. A gold and silver nose ornament buried with the Señora de Cao, depicting a crab flanked by lobsters or crayfish.

Drawing by the author.



Figure 6.9. Whistling figure.  
Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 826).



Figure 6.10. Whistling figure  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 421).



Figure 6.11. Whistler with child figure.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 508).



Figure 6.12. Whistler with child figure.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 945).



Figure 6.13. Figure with pursed lips holding a child figure.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 511).



Figure 6.14. Tops of the San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*) for sale  
 in the “witches’ market,” Chiclayo, Peru.  
 Photograph by the author.



Figure 6.15. *Achumera* figure holding San Pedro crown in the right hand.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 253).



Figure 6.16. Left: *Achumera* figure wearing veil-like eye cover. Right: Detail of the hands.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 952).



Figure 6.17. *Achumera*-like figure with skeletonized face.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (PU-984).



Figure 6.18. Vessel with two- and three-dimensional representations of *achumeras*.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 847).





Figure 6.19. *Achumera* figure with belt and *ticpis*.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 272).



Figure 6.20. Detail of *ticpi* worn by healer in Figure 2.6.  
 Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 849).



Figure 6.21. Seated man wearing a prosthesis.  
Courtesy of the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California (CR 821).



Figure 6.22. Seated figure wearing a prosthesis.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 190).



Figure 6.23. Seated figure wearing a prosthesis.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 192).



Figure 6.24. Seated figure wearing a prosthesis.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 459).



Figure 6.25. Seated figure with “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.  
 Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 435).



Figure 6.26. Seated figure with “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 193).



Figure 6.27. Seated figure with “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.  
Courtesy of the Museo Larco, Lima, Peru (CR 194).



Figure 6.28. Seated figure with “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.  
Courtesy of the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, Georgia (CR 327).



Figure 6.29. Standing figure with facial anomaly and head tilt.  
 Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 454).



Figure 6.30. Standing figure with facial anomaly and head tilt, nearly identical to Figure 34.  
 Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 35).



Figure 6.31. Blind figure with elaborate facial decoration.  
Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 988).



Figure 6.32. Vessel depicting a blind man.  
Courtesy of the Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, Netherlands (CR 785).



Figure 6.33. Vessel depicting a blind man.  
Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 21).



Figure 6.34. Vessel depicting a blind man.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 458).





Figure 6.35. Vessel depicting a blind man wearing a feline circlet.  
Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 395).



Figure 6.36. Vessel depicting a blind man wearing a feline circlet.  
Courtesy of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú, Lima, Peru (CR 466).



Figure 6.37. Detail of Figure 31, showing incised designs including phallus and vulva.  
 Courtesy of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 988).



Figure 6.38. Examples of single hemispherical projections as headdress elements.

Images courtesy:

Left: The Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 395).

Center: The Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 995).

Right: The Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche, Trujillo, Peru (CR 988).



Figure 6.39. Figures in long tunics and male headdresses from the Weaver's Bowl. Note the fish at the lower right of the scene and the jar with sprigs tied to it floating in the upper right. Courtesy of The British Museum, London, England (CR 57).



Figure 7.1. “Harvest” scene with a figure holding a stalk of maize in the right hand and a bunch of manioc in the left.

Courtesy of the Museo de América, Madrid, Spain (CR 436).

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## CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

The catalogue below lists all pieces with human representations included in the statistical database. They are listed by institution, and are in alphanumeric order according to accession number. When available, provenance and phase information are provided.<sup>1</sup> Most of the provenance information is based on computer database records from the holding institutions, which in the case of museums are often based on much older, and often incomplete, records. The Uhle collection from the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology gives the provenance based on Uhle's notes from his excavation at Huaca de la Luna which are in the museum's database, using his site and grave designations. Some pieces from San José de Moro stored at the INC in Trujillo did not have attached provenance information beyond the site name.

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<sup>1</sup> The phase information will be according to the Larco Hoyle five-phase system for Southern Moche pieces and the three-phase system used by Castillo for the Northern Moche pieces. Please see the explanation of chronology in Chapter 2.





1. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 10 3 1886  
 Description: Incomplete vessel depicting a couple engaged in intercourse. The female is lying on her stomach, with her male partner crouching behind her. He wears a band wrapped around his head, a short tunic and a loincloth pulled to one side, exposing the phallus.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is most likely not original.



2. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: +1308  
 Description: Head effigy vessel, wearing a geometric-patterned headcloth and ear cylinders.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882.  
 Phase: III



3. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: +1309  
 Description: Head effigy vessel, figure has a headband wrapped several times around the head. Wears ear cylinders and a *tumi*-shaped nose ornament.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882.



4. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: +2199

Description: Vessel depicting a *coquero*, a seated figure holding a lime container in his left hand and a lime dipper in his right. He wears a long tunic, and a *chuspa* is slung on his neck to the left shoulder. It is unclear whether he wears a head covering.

Provenance: Found in unspecified grave. Acquired in 1884.



5. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: +2201

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure standing on top of a globular main body. The figure wears a circlet which supports two circular bosses and a semicircular element with a serrated edge, held in place by a chin strap. He also wears ear spools, wrist cuffs, and a kilt with either a long rear portion or a fancy backflap, with a loincloth visible underneath. He holds a curved trumpet to his mouth.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1884



6. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: +2776

Description: Vessel with three-dimensional head and two-dimensional elements painted on the vessel body to represent the female figure. She holds her braids with her hands, and a mantle is tied at the chest. A tunic is implied but not depicted. Her face paint is a tripartite design, with outer thirds of the face painted with red slip.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1886



7. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: +2779

Description: Vessel depicting a healing scene. While the figure has an inverted-step motif at the neck, indicating a tunic, the navel is clearly depicted, and the phallus is visible. He wears a simple cap-and-flap headcovering, and a dish with 5 small, round items is lying on the ground by right his buttock.

Provenance: Pacasmayo. Acquired in 1886

Phase: IV



8. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 40 9-30 17

Description: Seated figure wearing long tunic with a fringed element at the chest and a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders, with the ends trailing down the back. A cap with geometric design is covered by a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1840



9. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 58 4-3 22

Description: Nursing mother wearing long tunic with a circle design, which dips to expose her right breast. Her hair is in braids. The child figure does not have distinguishable costume or hairstyle.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo. Acquired in 1858.

Phase: II



10. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 58 4-3 36

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with a rope around the neck, which trails to the left hip, and hands bound behind the back. The hair is long and separated into two sections in the back. The piece has a cracked surface and fire clouding

Provenance: La Libertad, Ascope (Chocope?). Acquired in 1858

Phase: IV



11. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 58 4-3 42

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing long tunic with checkerboard design. A *chuspa* is slung over neck and falls on the left rear shoulder. Figure wears wire-and-drop pendant earrings and either a cap and flap headcovering or hair styled in the same manner.

Provenance: Santiago de Cou [sic]. Acquired in 1858

Phase: III



12. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 7419

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic with double stripe at the cuffs, a mantle fastened at the chest, and holding a conch shell. He also wears a circlet, wire-and-drop circular earrings, and a plain, narrow collar.

Provenance: Unknown.



13. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 97-49

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a throne or step. He wears a short tunic and may have a loincloth depicted. He also wears plain ear spools, and a circlet with animal paws projecting at the sides; the left paw seems to have pelage marks.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1897

Phase: III



14. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1900 11-17 1

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior. He wears a hemispherical helmet with a transverse crest, ear spools, wrist cuffs, and a tunic with circle pattern.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1900.



15. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1900 11-17 2

Description: Vessel depicting a standing warrior, wearing a kilt and short tunic and holding a club in his left hand. The top of the vessel is treated as a truncated version of a tiered helmet with matching flap. He also wears ear spools with a spiral motif, and wrist cuffs.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1900.



16. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1900 11-17 3

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a hooded mantle, tied at the back of the neck, with a cap visible under the hood. A small figure which seems to also be wearing a mantle is held in the crook of the large figure's right arm. The large figure's left hand holds an oblong object. Related to the whistler figures but does not make the *mocha* gesture with the mouth.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1900.



17. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1900 11-17 6

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, eyes closed and arms crossed and resting on knees. He wears a conical helmet with a chin strap decorated with triangular ruff. He also wears wrist cuffs. A tunic is implied but not depicted. Traces of post-fire black seem to indicate body painting on the face, shoulders, and arms.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1900.

Phase: Spout is broken.



18. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1901 12-18 1

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic, a broad collar of rectangular plaques, and pendant crescent earrings.

Provenance: Trujillo. Acquired in 1909.



19. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1902 5-16 2

Description: Portrait head vessel of an older man. He wears a headcloth wrapped over a cap and flap head covering, held in place with a chin tie. The headcloth has a panoply design of a mace, shield, and crossed spears or darts. The ends of the headcloth ties have geometric designs.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1902.



20. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1902 5-16 3

Description: Head effigy vessel wearing a feline circlet. The feline's front paws are project from the side of the circlet, the rear paws are not shown. The circlet body is decorated with dots, the tail falling down behind has irregular pelage marks. It sits over a kerchief or headcloth with chin tie. The figure also wears ear spools with a circle and dot design, and has a post-fire black face paint design. Worn surface of the piece prevents discerning whether the face paint pattern was intended to be symmetrical.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1902.



21. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1902 5-16 5

Description: Vessel depicting a seated blind figure wearing a long tunic and a pointed kerchief over a cap. The tunic has a wedge-shaped decoration at the V of the neck opening, and two stripes parallel to the cuff.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1902.



22. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1907 3-19 573

Description: Vessel depicting a seated man wearing a long tunic and a mantle, tied at the chest. He wears a patterned headcloth wrapped around a cap and flap. The headcloth is decorated with a dot pattern, the ties decorated with a serpentine pattern and a contrasting solid red. The figure also wears ear cylinders and has his face painted with two parallel stripes to the outside of the face in the tripartite design.

Provenance: Pacasmayo. Acquired in 1907.



23. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1907 3-19 574

Description: Vessel depicting a male figure seated on throne or bench, wearing a kilt, belt with bell adornments, short tunic, collar, wrist cuffs, and crown with geometric design. He also wears ear spools with a spiral design and holds a club in his left hand.

Provenance: Pacasmayo. Acquired in 1907.



24. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1907 3-19 575

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a mantle tied at the neck. He also wears a plain headcloth over a cap and flap, and ear cylinders. The mouth appears to have a harelip, the nose is distorted but not missing cartilage.

Provenance: Pacasmayo. Acquired in 1907.

Phase: Spout is missing.





25. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1907 3-19 576

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure seated with the soles of the feet touching. He also wears a long tunic and a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders, with the ends trailing down the back. He wears a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head, under a plain cirlet with a vertical stripe motif. The mouth appears to be slightly deformed, the nose is missing from the vessel.

Provenance: Pacasmayo Valley, burial. Acquired in 1907.

Phase: Spout is missing.



26. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1907 3-19 578

Description: vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a short tunic and conical helmet with flap. He also wears wrist cuffs and earspools with concentric circle design.

Provenance: Pacasmayo Valley, burial. Acquired in 1907



27. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1907 3-19 579

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with plain belt. Two sets of *ticpis* with crescent heads are at the shoulders. A tumpline across her forehead supports a bundle that contains a child figure. This is one of two pieces in the corpus with a child figure in the bundle (see CR 82).

Provenance: Pacasmayo valley, burial. Acquired in 1907



28. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1907 3-19 580  
 Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder, wearing a kilt, short tunic, plain collar and plain earspools. A mantle covers the head and drapes down the back. The figure's eyes are closed.  
 Provenance: Pacasmayo valley, grave. Acquired in 1907



29. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 2  
 Description: Hollow figurine depicting a female figure, appears to be mold-made. She wears a short tunic, broad collar and matching wrist cuffs with grid design, and pendant crescent earrings. She has a labret under her lower lip, and wears her hair short and parted in middle. Similar to the labretted figures in Cordy-Collins 2001. Vulva is also a vent hole.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909



30. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 3  
 Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing female figure wearing a long tunic with a horizontal stripe design and a collar composed of rectangular elements. Her hair is depicted as falling to the shoulders, braids not depicted. She holds a goblet in the left hand and a round object in the right.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



31. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 4

Description: Solid figurine depicting a female figure wearing long tunic and a mantle tied at the chest, which carries a small figure. The main figure wears her hair in braids and has a necklace of diamond-shaped pendants. The small figure wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, may wear a tunic, and holds an unidentifiable object. Piece appears to be mold made.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



32. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 5

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth and short tunic with matching pattern of vertical stripes with a comb-like design. He also wears a plain circlet with circle design. His face is painted with post-fire black.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



33. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 12

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a scarf draped over the shoulders. He also wears a pointed kerchief over cap. The figure has distorted facial features and may be missing the right eye. He plays a set of panpipes.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: III



34. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 21

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a child figure to the right side. The main figure wears a long tunic with two stripes at the cuff and a headcloth beneath the tumpline. The tumpline appears to have a triangle pattern in the front but in the back expands to a netlike pattern. A *chuspa* is slung over the right shoulder to left the hip. The child figure appears to have short hair and a tunic with vertical stripe pattern.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909

Phase: IV



35. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 22

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure, wearing a medium-length tunic and a hooded mantle. A large bag, larger and more rectangular than a *chuspa*, is slung around the figure's neck and falls down the back. He also has a wedge-like forelock and distorted facial features. The eyes are wide and staring and the mouth appears to have no lips.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: Spout may not be original.



36. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 23

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure. The body is painted in solid cream slip and details are unclear. He wears a tunic but it is not clear how long the tunic is or if there is a loincloth. He also wears a pointed kerchief tied over a cap and holds a baton in his right hand. The face has the "Leishmaniasis" deformation.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV-V



37. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 24

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic, a bundled mantle tied at the chest, and carrying a baton or staff in the right hand. He also has a wedge-shaped forelock and face paint in a Maltese cross design.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: Spout is broken.



38. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 26

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and mantle tied at the chest. He appears to wear a cap and flap or has a cap-like hairstyle. A *chuspa* rests on the right rear shoulder. The eyes are closed, and the face is painted in a variation of a Maltese cross design.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: III



39. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 27

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a bundled mantle tied at the chest, tied over the right shoulder and under the left. He wears a plain circlet, and has a distorted face, the eyes are sunken and appear to be blind.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: II



40. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 28  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*, wearing a long tunic with plain belt. The tumpline has a netlike pattern, and she appears to wear a headcloth.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



41. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 29  
 Description: Vessel with modeled head and painted body. The figure wears a tunic with long sleeves, mantle tied at the chest, and a headcloth wrapped twice around the head over a cap and flap.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.  
 Phase: IV



42. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 31  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure wearing a headband wrapped twice around the head and tied at the back, over a cap and flap. He also wears earspools with roundels at the outer edge, and appears to have the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.  
 Phase: Spout not original.



43. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 35  
 Description: Vessel with modeled head and painted body. The body is extremely abstract and it is not clear if the vessel design is meant to be a tunic decoration. The figure wears a textile band tied over a cap with flap. The face is distorted, with the mouth pulled down and to the right, and the left eye appears to be missing.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



44. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 41  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a kilt, short tunic, and rounded helmet with a fan-like crest along the transverse ridge. He wears wrist cuffs, broad collar, and ear spools. He holds a shield on the left wrist.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.  
 Phase: Spout not original.



45. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1909 12-18 43  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *coquero* with lime jar and dipper. The garments are not depicted. The figure wears a feline circlet with extended front paws and a hemispherical projection in the back, along with wire-and-drop circle earrings.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. (Chicama?) Acquired in 1909.  
 Phase: III



46. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 45

Description: Vessel depicting ritual runners, with one sculpted figure and five painted figures. The rear of sculpted the figure appears to be restored or remade. The surface is missing quite a lot of slip; the upper rear portion does not appear to be original. The sculpted figure wears loincloth with *ulluchu*-pattern belt, animal circlet with circular projection, and wrist cuffs. His face is painted in the tripartite design, with two vertical stripes on the outer margins. The painted figures are dressed similarly, with alternating circular and oblong projections on the headdresses. Painted runners carry bags in their right hands.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: Spout not original.



47. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 46

Description: Vessel with an odd grouping of three poorly-modeled figures. Of the two figures seated next to each other, one is a male wearing a hooded mantle. His phallus is exposed and held by the female figure to his left. She wears a long, belted tunic and a necklace. Her hair is not clearly depicted but seems to be short. The figure on the left holds a stone and the figure to the right holds a staff like object, and appear to be driving the third figure in front of them despite being seated. The third figure is crudely modeled and painted and has little detail. He wears a tunic and may have earspools. A stirrup-spout vessel is at his right side but the method of attachment is not apparent.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV





48. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 94

Description: Vessel with painted depictions of six ritual runners. They wear loincloths and belts with *ulluchu* designs, as well as animal circlets with chevron designs, alternating between round and oblong projections. They have typical leg paint designs. The runners also carry bags in their right hands.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV



49. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 108

Description: Vessel with a depiction of four dancers wearing plated tunics. They all wear earspools and wrist cuffs. Three of the dancers wear circlets supporting a semicircular element, with an animal head in the center and curved projections at the edge. The fourth figure wears a circlet which supports a similar semicircular element, but has two wedge-shaped projections at the top. All have tapes trailing behind the circlets, two of which are smooth and two of which have serrated edges.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV-V



50. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 112

Description: Vessel depicting three warriors running in a landscape. All carry shields and clubs, along with spears and spear-throwers. The vessel is worn in places, eliminating some details. The warriors wear kilts and tunics one with full plating, the other two split between light and dark fields and plating only at the hem. They all have backflaps also split between light and dark halves. All wear ear spools. One warrior wears a conical helmet, which appears to be plated, while another wears a more domelike head covering, with a feather fan at the back. Both have *tumi* crests. The third warrior's head covering is not visible. One warrior has a variation on the sock-like leg painting, with added curved lines below the knees.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV



51. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 178

Description: Vessel with a geometric design around the main body. A figure is painted on the top of the vessel between the bases of the spout. He wears a kilt, short tunic, and elaborate animal circlet with feather fan element. A flap, which appears to be plated, falls down the back. He also wears ear spools and wrist cuffs, and holds a pair of joined rattles with a streamer attached to them in the right hand. A looped element behind him may be a loop of belt fabric, but this is not clear.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV-V



52. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 232

Description: Whistle, depicting a warrior wearing a kilt, short tunic, and conical helmet with *tumi* crest at top. He also also wears earspools, a *tumi* crescent nose ornament, and wrist cuffs. He holds a mace in his right hand and a square shield in his left. The piece appears to be mold made.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



53. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 233

Description: Whistle, depicting a warrior wearing a kilt, short tunic, and conical helmet with *tumi* crest on top. He wears earspools and wrist cuffs, and carries a mace in the left hand and a round shield in the left. The piece appears to be mold made.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



54. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 237

Description: Trumpet with a bell in the shape of a prisoner. While the figure wears a kilt and tunic, the penis is exposed. The arms are bent as though the hands are tied behind the back, although this is not depicted. He wears a circlet supporting a *tumi* crest and two circular bosses. He also wears a broad collar, *tumi* crescent nose ornament, and ear cylinders.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



55. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 238

Description: Trumpet with a bell in the shape of a prisoner. While the figure wears a kilt and tunic, the penis is exposed. The arms are bent as though the hands are tied behind the back, although this is not depicted. He wears a circlet supporting a *tumi* crest and two circular bosses. He also wears a broad collar, *tumi* crescent nose ornament, and ear cylinders. Identical to CR 54.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.



56. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1909 12-18 240

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a kneeling warrior. He wears a kilt, short tunic, and an animal circlet with four limbs and tail down the back. The circlet supports two large cupped bosses and a *tumi* crest element. He also wears a simple belt with a plain backflap, and wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design. He appears to hold a mace but portions of the right hand and club are missing.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, cemetery. Acquired in 1909.

Phase: IV



57. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1913 10-25 1

Description: *Florero* vase depicting six seated weavers and six figures interacting near them. The weavers wear long tunics and have short hair. The belt of the loom passes around their waists. Some of the figures appear to have wrinkles or scarification on their faces. The remaining six figures wear long tunics and head coverings composed of wrapped headcloths and kerchiefs. Four have mantles tied at the waist, and four wear ear cylinders.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo, grave. Acquired in 1913.



58. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1919 6-14 2

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure, wearing loincloth and short tunic. He wears a band wrapped around the head twice and tied in the back, and carries a baton in the left hand and an unidentifiable oblong object in the right. He has the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1919.



59. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1919 6-14 3

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt and a long tunic with vertical stripe design. A *chuspa* is slung around the neck and rests on the rear left shoulder. It is unclear if the figure has hair or a cap and flap with a striped design. His painted facial design includes a moustache-like shape.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo. Acquired in 1919.

Phase: Spout is broken.



60. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1919 6-14 4  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a duck on his lap with both hands. He wears a tunic underneath a mantle wrapped around the body. He also wears a necklace of multiple strands, pendant crescent earrings, a crown or circlet with a diamond pattern, and face paint. His hair is gathered into a club-shaped ponytail in the back.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1919.  
 Phase: Spout is missing.



61. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1920 2-12 1  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing a double-headed bird circlet with wings, and the tail depicted as a flap in the back. He also wears ear spools with a center dot design.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Chicama Valley. Acquired in 1920.  
 Phase: III



62. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1921 10-27 43  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated female figure with smaller figure in her lap. Her hair is in two braids, and her face is wrinkled. The piece is extremely worn down and there is almost no detail.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Pacasmayo. Acquired in 1921.



63. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1921 10-27 62  
 Description: Vessel depicting a couple in a scene of fellatio. The male is seated on a step and wears a loincloth, short tunic, and kerchief tied over a cap and flap. The female is seated on the ground beneath her partner. The two long stripes down her back may be part of a tunic design or may be indications of braids. Her costume is not clearly depicted.  
 Provenance: La Libertad, Pacasmayo. Acquired in 1921.  
 Phase: IV



64. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1922 4-15 9  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with hands tied behind the back and rope around the neck. The hair is loose and falls down the back.  
 Provenance: Label: "Huaco" from the tombs of Pachonac Peru Dec: 1884." Acquired in 1922.



65. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1923 6-14 1  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, pointed kerchief, and plain circlet. The nose has the "Leishmaniasis" deformation but the lips do not seem to.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1923.  
 Phase: III



66. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1926 3-15 1

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, a mantle tied at the chest, and a pointed kerchief over a circlet or folded cloth. The mouth is lopsided and the eyes are depicted as closed and possibly blind.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1926.

Phase: IV



67. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1926 3-6 3

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior wearing a loincloth and kilt with matching dot design, short tunic, broad collar, and helmet with flap down the back. He also wears wrist cuffs with vertical stripe design.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1926.

Phase: IV



68. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1926 3-6 6

Description: Face-neck vessel, with sculpted head and mostly two-dimensional body. He wears a tunic, wrist cuffs, broad collar, ear spools with a center dot design, and a flapped head covering that may be a helmet but is unclear.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1926.





69. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1927 5-7 2

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt. The tumpline across her head is plain and supports a large bundle on the back. It is placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1927.



70. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1929 3-5 26

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated with the soles of the feet together. He wears a medium-length tunic with a single stripe at the cuffs, and a scarf draped twice around the body and the ends trailing down the back. He also wears a pointed kerchief under a circlet with a vertical stripe pattern.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1929.



71. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1929 3-5 27

Description: Vessel depicting a "harvester" figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, broad collar, and a circlet with two projecting flanges at the sides, held with a chin tie. He holds a stalk of maize in the left hand and a cluster of manioc in the right.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1929.



72. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1937-1

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee lying on his stomach, with the hands crossed at the chest. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with a dot motif at the cuffs, and a bundled mantle slung under the left arm and over the right shoulder. He also wears a pointed kerchief over a cap with flap. He has the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1937.

Phase: Spout is broken.



73. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1938 2-17 6

Description: Vessel depicting a seated achondroplastic figure wearing a long tunic, a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders with the ends falling down the back, and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head. He holds an unidentified object in left hand.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1938.

Phase: Spout broken.



74. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1938-2

Description: Vessel depicting a procession of figures, five human and one anthropomorphized animal that may be a deer. Some of the figures appear to hold musical instruments, others may hold rounded clubs. The level of detail is very low. The human figures wear loincloths and may have a bundle tied at the waist like a thick belt. Two human figures wear cap and flap head coverings and ear cylinders, the remainder wear a simple cap or headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1938.



75. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1938 10-17 2  
 Description: Vessel fragment depicting a head with a circlet supporting an element with a stylized face and front paws or hands. The face is painted with red slip.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1938.



76. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1939-2  
 Description: Portrait head vessel wearing a cap and flap with a plain band wound around the head and tied to create a flap in the back. The face is painted in the tripartite design, with two parallel vertical stripes to the outside of the face.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1939  
 Phase: III



77. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1939-3  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a person with a lip deformity. The tip of the nose has a spiral pattern incised on it. He wears a kerchief or similar head covering with a tie over it; the tie has two long tassels which fall to either side of the head.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1939  
 Phase: IV



78. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1939 Am8 61

Description: Badly-eroded vessel depicting a whistler figure wearing a hooded mantle that may be tied at the back of the neck, and a long tunic is implied but not clearly visible. The eyes are depicted as wide and slightly bulging. The child figure is unreadable in its current state of degradation.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1939



79. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1939 Am8 62

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior seated on a step or throne. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and conical helmet with flap. He also wears wrist cuffs and ear spools with concentric circle design.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1939

Phase: Spout is broken.



80. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1939 Am 25 8

Description: Head vessel wearing a cap and flap with a fancy textile wound around it. The fancy textile has a pattern of feline-headed serpents above a serrated design. The tie in the back has a contrasting solid end.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1939

Phase: Spout is broken.



81. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1939 Am25 9

Description: Double-chambered vessel depicting a whistler holding a child figure. He has a modeled head and painted body, the child figure is entirely painted. The whistler wears a long tunic with a fringed hem and a hooded mantle with a crossed-line design tied at the back of the neck. The vessel produces a whistling sound. The child figure is not depicted with any garments.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1939

Phase: IV



82. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1941 Am 4 69

Description: *Cargadora* vessel, wearing long tunic and a tumpline across the forehead. Slip painting at neck may indicate both a double-strand necklace and *ticpis*, but this is not clear.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1941



83. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1942 Am 2 1

Description: Vessel depicting a large figure holding a smaller child figure. The child figure wears a loincloth, the larger figure wears a tunic with vertical stripe design, earspools with a concentric circle design, and hair gathered into a club-like ponytail in back. The top of the vessel is treated like a circlet or crown but this is not clear. Vessel appears related to the whistler type.

Provenance: Chimbote. Acquired in 1942



84. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1945 Am 5 10  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a loincloth, short tunic, a mantle which falls down his back, a conical helmet with a flap, and wrist cuffs. His eyes are closed.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1945



85. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1947 Am10 6  
 Description: Vessel depicting a living woman fondling a skeletonized man. The woman wears a long tunic, a collar composed of rectangular elements, and her hair in braids.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947  
 Phase: Spout is missing



86. Institution: The British Museum  
 Accession number: 1947 Am 10 8  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt and tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and hanging to the rear left shoulder. The piece has pierced holes in the ears but no ear ornaments are depicted. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled to resemble this. Face paint design of three round dots.  
 Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947



87. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 10 9

Description: Vessel depicting a *coquero* with a heavily wrinkled face. He wears a tunic and appears to wear a kilt. He has two *chuspas* slung on his neck, falling to either rear shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or has hair styled in the same manner.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947

Phase: II



88. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 10 10

Description: Vessel depicting a standing warrior wearing a kilt, tunic, circlet, wrist cuffs, and ear spools. He carries a mace in the right hand and a round shield in the left.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947.

Phase: III



89. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 10 19

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a headcloth tied at the back of the head, with another cloth tied at the chin. The other elements of the costume are not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947.

Phase: III



90. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 16

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic individual wearing a long tunic and a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders, with the ends trailing down the back. He wears a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head. The facial features are puffy and slightly distorted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



91. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 16 3

Description: Portrait head vessel depicting a figure wearing a cap and flap with a textile band wrapped twice around the head and tied in the back. He wears ear spoons with roundels around the rim and a small circular nose ornament.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947.

Phase: III-IV



92. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 16 5

Description: Head effigy vessel wearing ear cylinders. A wedge-shaped forelock is depicted, with the ears painted in the same red slip as the forelock and rear of head.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947

Phase: Spout is broken





93. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 16 7

Description: Vessel depicting a man wearing a tunic, mantle tied at the chest, and a cap and flap with a textile band wrapped around the head and tied in the back, with the ends trailing down like a flap. He also wears a narrow necklace and ear cylinders.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947

Phase: IV



94. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 16 9

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a bundled mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a hooded mantle, under which a cap and a tie are visible. He may be kyphotic, and has a variation of the "Leishmaniasis" deformation, with large, protruding teeth.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947

Phase: Spout not original.



95. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am 16 13

Description: Portrait head vessel wearing a cap and flap, over which is wrapped a textile band with geometric step design. The band is tied in the back and the flap falls down behind. The face is painted with the tripartite design.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947

Phase: III



96. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1947 Am29 1

Description: Badly damaged portrait head vessel, most of the surface has been worn off. The figure wears a pointed kerchief, tied under the chin, and may also have a band tied around the head. Ear holes are depicted, with no ornaments. The face appears wrinkled and the mouth is distorted.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1947



97. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1948 Am12 2

Description: Portrait head vessel. The figure wears a feline circlet with head, front and hind legs, tail hanging down in back, and pelage marks. The ties of a head cloth beneath the circlet are visible to either side of the tail. The earspools have a center dot and smaller circles around the outside rim, all of which are raised and painted in contrasting slip. He has a form of the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



98. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1948 Am12 3

Description: Portrait head vessel, wearing a textile band wrapped around the head and tied with a flap in the back, over a cap and flap. He also wears ear cylinders, and the face is painted with the tripartite design.

Provenance: Possibly from Chicama Valley. Acquired in 1948

Phase: III-IV



99. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1948 Am12 4

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and a rectangular shape at the V of the neck with dots inside it. He also wears a headdress composed of a rolled textile in a half circlet, over a pointed kerchief tied at the chin. He wears earspools with a crossed-line pattern. The face is not distorted but the mouth is depicted as open, with the teeth showing. He holds an object in his lap that may be a mummy bundle or a drum, it is shaped like a rounded object with a human-like head.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



100. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1948 Am 12 5

Description: Vessel with images of four ritual runners, wearing alternating oblong and circular headdress elements on animal circlets with a chevron design. They wear loincloths with *ulluchu* design belts, and carry bags in their right hands. All have a standard version of the sock-like leg painting and the tripartite face paint design.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1948

Phase: IV



101. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1949 Am22 215

Description: Reduction-fired stirrup-spout vessel depicting two pairs of fighting warriors. They wear kilts with loincloths visible underneath, short tunics, and three wear conical helmets. The victors grab the exposed forelock of the vanquished.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1949.

Phase: III



102. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1949 Am22 216

Description: Portrait head vessel wearing a cap and flap headcloth, with a narrow, geometric-patterned cloth tied at the top of the head. Over this is a thin band wrapped twice around the head. There is a conical element projecting from the top front of the head covering. He wears earspools with roundels at the perimeter and the tripartite face paint design.

Provenance: La Libertad, Trujillo. Acquired in 1949.



103. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1951 Am 13-2

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with two stripes and a "lazy S" design at the cuffs. A mantle is tied at the chest. He also wears ear cylinders and a cap and flap with a band wrapped twice around the head and tied at the front. The face is somewhat distorted, with large nose and slight underbite. There is also one deep scar or wrinkle on either cheek.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1951.

Phase: IV



104. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1951 Am2

Description: Badly preserved vessel with depictions of two deer hunters and a net. The hunters wear kilts, belts with a tie in the back, and wrist cuffs. One figure wears a tunic with a stepped yoke, the other is unclear. The hunters wear relatively simple headdresses but the details of them are not discernible. The surface is so worn and was originally so sloppily painted that it is difficult to read.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



105. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1952 Am 20 1

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with the arms inside the tunic rather than through the sleeves. A lower garment is not depicted. He holds a small feline in front of him with both hands. He also wears a headdress that appears to be made of two rolled textile half-circlets joined together and flattened. His earspools have an incised grid design.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1952.

Phase: III



106. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am 5 2

Description: Portrait head vessel wearing a bead necklace, a cap and flap with a textile wrapped twice around the head and with the flap hanging down the back. The wrapped textile is depicted with a serrated edge and feline-headed serpent motif. He has a complex face paint design in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954.

Phase: Spout is broken.



107. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am 5 7

Description: Vessel depicting a seated double amputee wearing a long tunic, and a cloth wound around the head and tied in the front. His face is depicted as distorted, with no lips and fully-exposed teeth. His nose is whole but the eyes are depicted as sunken slits.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954

Phase: IV-V



108. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am 5 8

Description: Vessel depicting a harvester figure. He wears a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and a circlet with two projecting elements in the front. He also wears ear spools with a center dot motif and wrist cuffs, and holds a stalk of maize in the right hand and a bunch of manioc in the left.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954

Phase: IV



109. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am 5 14

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure embracing a large vessel with a tie around the neck. The costume details are difficult to read but the figure has a mantle bundled at the back of the neck. He wears a cap with a kerchief tied over it.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954.

Phase: Spout is broken but appears to be III.



110. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am5 47

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a warrior seated on a mountain throne. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a conical helmet with an inverted cone shape at the top, and what may be a circlet with projecting paws. He also wears a broad plain collar and holds a round shield in the left hand and an unusually-shaped mace in the right.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954

Phase: Spout is broken but appears to be III.



111. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am 5 85

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior sitting on top of the main body. He wears a loincloth, tunic, belt with fancy backflap, and a helmet with a flap down the back. He also wears a broad, plain collar, wrist cuffs, and holds a mace in the left hand. A small animal, perhaps a feline, sits behind his right hip.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954.

Phase: III



112. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1954 W Am5 182

Description: Canteen-shaped vessel depicting two figures in combat. Both figures have either unusual head coverings or tonsure-like hairstyles which are long in back. The victorious fighter wears a kilt, tunic, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He holds a square shield in the right hand and a mace with a cuff-like head in the left hand. The defeated fighter is nude and depicted as dead, with closed eyes.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1954



113. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1955 W Am 5 33

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, tunic, and mantle tied over the right shoulder and looped under the left. A *chuspa* is slung around the neck and rests on the rear left shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar shape. He holds a *Strombus* shell with both hands.

Provenance: Possibly Chicama Valley.



114. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1962 Am5 1

Description: Very badly worn head effigy vessel wearing a cap which may have a differently-colored flap falling behind. There are traces of face paint.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1962



115. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: 1967 Am 5 6

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-holder wearing a kilt which may have a loincloth depicted under it, short tunic, and a mantle over the head. He also wears a plain collar and wrist cuffs, and holds rattle-bells in the right hand and a staff in the left. He wears earspools with a concentric circle design, and the eyes are closed.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1967



116. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Foster 2

Description: Portrait head vessel wearing a cap and flap. A headcloth flaps over the front, and a cord is wrapped three times around the head. He also wears earspools with dots at the perimeter and a large circular nose ornament with outer dots that match the earspools.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882





117. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Foster 5

Description: Vessel depicting a standing woman with a child figure held in a mantle tied at her chest. The woman wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and her braids are depicted as falling inside her tunic. She also has distinctive face paint design. The child figure has no costume or hairstyle depicted.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882



118. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Foster 6

Description: Vessel depicting a prisoner with a rope tied around his neck, trailing to the left hip, and hands tied behind the back. The hair is loose and divided into two sections in the back.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882



119. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Foster 7

Description: Vessel depicting a male figure holding up a tunic divided along a diagonal line between light and dark sections. He wears a kilt, tunic, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He also wears a cap and flap, or has hair styled to resemble this. A *chuspa* is slung on his neck and rests on his right shoulder.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882

Phase: III



120. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Foster 8

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a kilt with a vertical stripe design, tunic, wrist cuffs, plain narrow collar, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He wears a circlet with paw-like protrusions at the sides and two arched elements over dots in the front. His hair is bound in a ponytail in the back. He holds a feline on his back, held by the legs and draped across his shoulders.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1882



121. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Q78 Am32

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting two male figures in a mountain setting. On the plateau beneath them is a deer. Neither figure has much detail. The men wear kilts, appear to have tunics, and wear plain circular caps or open crowns. Both carry pointed war maces and carry shields.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



122. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Q78 Am33

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure playing a *Strombus* shell. The figure wears a long tunic and a hooded mantle, his eyes are open and staring and his face is heavily wrinkled.

Provenance: Unknown

Phase: III



123. Institution: The British Museum

Accession number: Q82 Am 901

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, tunic, and a tall circular crown. The ear holes may be original, the necklace of shell and silver beads is a modern addition. The figure's arms appear to be inside his tunic.

Provenance: Unknown



124. Institution: Dos Cabezas

Accession number: 13437

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a healing scene. The figure has inlaid eyes, and his face is wrinkled on the right side but not on the left. He wears a headcloth wrapped twice around the head, with the ends flapped down the back. He has body painting in organic black on torso and arms.

Provenance: Tomb 2

Phase: I



125. Institution: Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera (MARLH)

Accession number: ML000515

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman wearing a long tunic, and a mantle tied at the neck. She holds her braids with both hands. Slip has spalled off some of the head.

Provenance: Unknown



126. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML000675

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design and a "lazy S" design at the cuffs. A mantle with vertical stripe design is tied at the neck. He wears a cap and flap with a textile band wrapped around the head and tied at the back, and wire-and-drop trapezoid earrings. A rope is tied around the neck but the hands are not bound.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



127. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001070

Description: Vessel depicting a man holding up a tunic. The tunic is decorated with a symmetrical geometric design featuring a step pattern. The man wears a tunic and a mantle fastened over the right shoulder and passing under the left arm. No lower garment is visible. The figure wears either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in this shape. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, plain wrist cuffs, and has a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



128. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001071

Description: Vessel depicting a man holding up a tunic. The tunic is decorated with an inverted step design at the yoke and a horizontal stripe at the hem. The figure wears a tunic and a mantle fastened at the right shoulder and passing under the left arm. He wears either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in this shape, and wire-and-drop circle earrings, plain wrist cuffs, and a *chuspa* slung around the neck and resting on the rear right shoulder.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



129. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001178

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and fastened with a plain belt. She carries a bundle using a tumpline, and has a faded face paint design in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.



130. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001179

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt, one end of the tie is depicted at the left hip. The tumpline that encompasses her bundle is depicted in a netted design. The piece is rather crudely made, with noodly arms and vestigial face.

Provenance: Virú Valley, Tomabal



131. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001180

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible under the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



132. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001181

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. The tumpline is depicted with a netted design and a headcloth is visible beneath it.

Provenance: Chicama Valley



133. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001182

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened with a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline. The body of the vessel is treated as though it is being carried on her back.

Provenance: Unknown.



134. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001183

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline. There is a scribbled black line at the bottom of piece, it is not clear if that is original to the item

Provenance: Unknown.



135. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001184

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with one visible *ticpi* and a belt with a diagonal line pattern. A headcloth is visible under the tumpline. She may also wear a broad collar with a triangular pattern but this is unclear.

Provenance: Unknown.



136. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001185

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened with a belt indicated by a pattern of dashed lines. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline, which has a netted design.

Provenance: Unknown.



137. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001186

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic which appears to be fastened with a plain belt. She wears a necklace of oblong beads. The tumpline has a netted design.

Provenance: Unknown.



138. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML001187  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora*, the figure itself is rudimentarily depicted. The tumpline is shown with a netted pattern. Four spoon-shaped depictions at the neck could be necklace elements or *ticpis*.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



139. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML001241  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened at the waist with a plain belt. A headcloth is visible under the tumpline. She has a face-paint design in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



140. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML001242  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic and a plain belt tied at the front. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline.  
 Provenance: Unknown.





141. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001244

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt and triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders. A headcloth is visible underneath the netted tumpline. The face has surface spalling, with little detail visible

Provenance: Jequetepeque Valley, Pacasmayo



142. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001245

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible beneath the netted tumpline. She has face painting in post-fire black, as well as stripe designs painted on each arm. The upper left arm is painted solid.

Provenance: Unknown



143. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001247

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with *ticpis* depicted at the shoulders as two pairs of lines, one of each pair terminating in a triangular shape. She wears a plain belt, and a headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline which has a netted design.

Provenance: Unknown.



144. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001248

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* depicted at the shoulders. She wears a belt with a geometric design. A headcloth is visible underneath a netted tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



145. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001249

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a belt at the waist depicted by a design of dashed lines. *Ticpis* are shown at the shoulders, represented as a set of four on each shoulder, two of which have a triangular head. There appears to be another element at the shoulder, but the erosion of slip makes it difficult to determine. She wears a bead necklace and a headcloth under the tumpline with a netted design.

Provenance: Unknown.



146. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001251

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The mouth is held with the center of the lips together, forming an X.

Provenance: Unknown.



147. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML001255  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. She appears to have earspools or pendant ear elements, but these could be indications of *ticpis*.  
 Provenance: Chicama Valley.



148. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML001256  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



149. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML001257  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline and the figure appears to have a forelock. The figure also wears ear cylinders and what may be a necklace depicted with a series of dots at the neckline. This piece appears to confuse aspects of male and female *cargadores*.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



150. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001258

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible underneath the netted tumpline. She wears a collar composed of rectangular elements.

Provenance: Unknown.



151. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001259

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



152. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001260

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure of what appears to be a female wearing a headcloth. She also wears a long tunic and a mantle tied at the chest and depicted as supporting a bundle in the back. She has a necklace composed of rectangular elements. The piece appears mold made.

Provenance: Unknown.



153. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001261

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* wearing a tunic and possibly wearing a loincloth. A headcloth may be visible underneath the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



154. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001263

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* wearing a loincloth and a medium-length tunic with an inverted chevron design. He wears a broad, plain collar and ear cylinders. He also has a wedge-shaped forelock visible from under the headcloth beneath the tumpline. Two *chuspas* are slung on the neck, one to the left side and one to the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



155. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001264

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic that appears to have two crossed-line elements at the front. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The vessel has very low detail.

Provenance: Unknown.



156. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001265

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* wearing an undefined lower garment and a tunic with a horizontal stripe at the hem. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



157. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001266

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. What appears to be a necklace may be a stripe at the collar of the tunic. The piece has scored lines that acted as a rough guide to the slip painting.

Provenance: Unknown.



158. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001273

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* with a child figure at her side. She wears a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt that appears to be tied to the left. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. She also wears wrist cuffs with a grid design. The child figure wears a long tunic and has short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



159. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001275

Description: Vessel depicting a seated female figure wearing a long tunic, with a design split between light and dark halves. It is difficult to tell if the back is divided, as the dark coloring of the tunic seems to be black overpainting, which has faded. She has braids and wears a collar composed of rectangular elements. A child figure is seated in her lap and faces out. The figure has no depicted costume, it may have male genitalia depicted but the area is damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



160. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001278

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with child figure at her right. She wears a long tunic, with wedge-shaped *ticpis* at her shoulders. A *chuspa* is slung on her neck and rests on her left hip. Her hair is covered by a headcloth, which in turn is covered by a tumpline with a netted design. The small figure at her side wears a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe design, and holds a *chuspa* to the front of his body. His hair is in a wedge-shaped forelock.

Provenance: Unknown.



161. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001279

Description: Reduction-fired *cargadora* vessel. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt. Her headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline. The vessel is highly burnished but lacks detail.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



162. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001282

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. Her breasts appear to be indicated. A headcloth is visible beneath the netted tumpline. A face paint design of two elongated triangles is executed in red slip on cream.

Provenance: Virú Valley



163. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001283

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic, with triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders and a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline

Provenance: Chicama Valley



164. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001286

Description: Vessel depicting a seated female figure wearing a long tunic with a design of pairs of horizontal stripes in cream slip faintly visible. She has her hair in braids and wears a necklace made of rectangular elements. She holds a small figure in her lap, which is represented schematically and with virtually no detail.

Provenance: Unknown.





165. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001287

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a small figure at her right side. She wears a long tunic fastened by *ticpis* at the shoulders. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline, which has a netted design. A *chuspa* is slung on the neck and rests on the left rear shoulder. The small figure wears a loincloth and a tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and has a wedge-shaped forelock.

Provenance: Unknown

Phase: Spout is broken.



166. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001291

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* wearing a long tunic, with visible braids beneath the headcloth, and wears ear ornaments which look like two earspools stacked on top of each other. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline. A *chuspa* is slung on the neck and rests on the right rear shoulder. The small figure to her left has no visible costume, but carries a *chuspa* slung around the neck and held to the front of the body.

Provenance: Unknown.



167. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001292

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* who may be male or female. The figure wears a long tunic, a plain collar, and wire-and-drop circular earrings. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



168. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001293

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* wearing a long tunic and carrying *chuspas* slung on either shoulder. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline. A small figure clings to the *cargadora*'s right side, clasping the *chuspa*. The small figure may wear a tunic but it is not clear.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



169. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001295

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a small figure at her right. She wears a long tunic carries a bundle in a tumpline. A *chuspa* is slung on left shoulder. The small figure wears a loincloth and carries a *chuspa* slung around the neck and held to the front of the body.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



170. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001296

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman. Her hair is depicted as short but may indicate braids falling inside the tunic. She wears a long tunic fastened with a belt with a step-and-fret design. She also wears a mantle bundled in the back and tied at the chest, and wears a plain necklace. She holds a bag in her left hand.

Provenance: Virú Valley, Huancaco

Phase: IV



171. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001297

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* wearing a long tunic fastened by *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline, and a *chuspa* is slung on the left shoulder. The small figure at her side wears a loincloth and a plain tunic, and carries a *chuspa* slung around the neck and held to the front of the body.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



172. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001298

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman with her hair in wrapped braids. She wears a long tunic with traces of a pattern of two concentric circles. She also wears plain wrist cuffs, and a necklace made of oblong beads, the ties of the necklace are visible down back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



173. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001299

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with short, uncovered hair wearing a long tunic divided into color quadrants and a plain belt. The figure also wears a multi-strand short necklace, and has a somewhat distorted face, with small eyes and puffy face.

Provenance: Chicama Valley, Chiquitoy

Phase: III



174. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001302

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman with braided hair, wearing a long tunic and a necklace composed of two strands of round beads.

Provenance: Chicama Valley, Pampas de Jaguey

Phase: IV



175. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001304

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman holding a small figure on her lap. She has her hair in braids, and wears a long tunic, wrist cuffs, and a necklace made of long oblong sections with the ties visible down the back. It is difficult to make out details, the surface has a lot of marks from the burnishing process and is not smooth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



176. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001305

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman holding a small figure on her lap. The woman has her hair in wrapped braids down her back, and wears a long tunic with a circle pattern. She also wears wrist cuffs and a necklace made of two rows of oblong sections with the ties visible down the back. The circle pattern on the tunic and her face paint are both in post-fire black. The small figure is rudimentary and does not have any depicted costume.

Provenance: Chicama, Sausal

Phase: Spout is broken.



177. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001306

Description: Vessel depicting a woman holding a nursing child on her lap. The woman wears a long tunic with a dot pattern, with lines depicting the seams at the shoulders. Her hair is in wrapped braids down her back. The child is not depicted with any costume elements.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



178. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001308

Description: Vessel depicting a woman with a small figure in her lap, most likely a depiction of healing. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, fastened at the shoulder by round-headed *ticpis*. She wears an elaborate necklace that has pendant rectangular and conical elements. Her hair is unbound and hangs down the back. The small figure is depicted without costume and with closed eyes.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



179. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001315

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman holding her braids in her hands. She wears a long tunic and a necklace with diamond-shaped pendants. Holes at the top are to repair a crack through the top of the head, it is unclear when this occurred.

Provenance: Unknown.



180. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001316

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic with a striped belt and fastened by triangular-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The figure holds a dipper-shaped vessel in the left hand and a bag with a grid pattern in the right. Another bag with a dot pattern is slung over the right arm.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



181. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001320

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt and triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



182. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001327

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt and triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders. A headcloth is visible beneath the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



183. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001361

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargador* wearing a loincloth, short tunic with checkerboard design, and ear cylinders. A wedge-shaped forelock is visible beneath the tumpline, which has a netted pattern. A *chuspa* is slung on his right arm.

Provenance: Unknown.



184. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001388

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee with the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation lying on his stomach, with the head elevated and the hands crossed at the chest. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and a bundled mantle fastened at the chest. He also wears ear cylinders and a pointed kerchief tied at the chin.

Provenance: Unknown.



185. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001391

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee with the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation, lying on his stomach, with the head elevated and the hands crossed at the chest. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and pointed kerchief tied at the chin with a plain circlet over it. He has very wide eyes with small pupils.

Provenance: Virú, Huaca de la Cruz

Phase: Spout is broken.



186. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001399

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, wearing a medium-length tunic with a bundled mantle passed over the right shoulder and under the left, tied at the chest. He wears a pointed kerchief, tied so that a portion of the head is exposed, and has ear holes but no ornaments. He holds a dipper vessel in the left hand and a stirrup-spout vessel in his right. Another, unidentified object is under his left arm.

Provenance: Unknown.



187. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001401

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation and an underbite. He wears a medium-length tunic, with a bundled mantle passed over the right shoulder and under the left, tied at the chest. He also wears a pointed kerchief, tied so that a portion of the head is exposed. He holds a dipper vessel in the left hand and a stirrup-spout vessel in his right. Another, unidentified object is under his left arm.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



188. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001457

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic of undetermined length, with a mantle passed under the left arm and over the right. He wears a collar of thick rectangular elements and pendant crescent earrings. The hair is gathered into a thick, club-like ponytail in the back, and the top of the vessel is treated like a crown or circlet.

Provenance: Unknown.





189. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001462

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee with “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, wearing a loincloth tied in the front, short tunic, and a pointed kerchief with a narrow textile band tied on top of it. The figure wears a bead necklace, and carries a staff in the left hand and an unidentified object in the right. Disarticulation notches are visible at the ends of the legs.

Provenance: Unknown.



190. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001472

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a prosthesis on the right leg. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a pointed kerchief underneath another head cloth tied at the front of the head, and a bead necklace.. The nose is deformed in the “Leishmaniasis” fashion, but the lips are present although not typical.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



191. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001474

Description: Four two-dimensional female figures wearing long tunics and with their hair in braids stand beneath a naked figure (which appears to be female) tied to a rack. Two of the women appear to carry bundles on their backs, and one woman has a bowl or gourd on her head, filled with round objects.

Provenance: Moche Valley

Phase: Spout is broken.



192. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001482

Description: Vessel depicting a male figure with a prosthesis on the right leg, seated on the main vessel body. He has the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, and wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head, over a cap. The body of the vessel shows depictions of high-status vessels, including a stirrup-spout and a *florero*.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



193. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001485

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation. The figure wears a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the waist and hanging down the back. The tunic has a rectangular element at the chest with geometric designs. The figure also wears a cap with a pointed kerchief over it, tied at the top of the head. Earspools with a crossed-line design are either in the ears or attached to the kerchief.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



194. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001524

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation on the top of the vessel. The figure wears a long tunic with a mantle tied at the waist and hanging down the back. The figure also wears a cap with a pointed kerchief over it, tied at the top of the head. The kerchief has a “lazy S” design on the edge near the face. Plain earspools are either in the ears or attached to the kerchief.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



195. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001569

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling warrior. He wears a kilt with a plated hem, a short tunic with disks attached to it. A belt with *ulluchu* design has a backflap attached. He also wears wrist cuffs with a complex design, circular nose ornament, and ear spools with a center circle design. The headdress is composed of a semi-circular element with two circular bosses with roundels around the edges, a chin tie with triangular ruff, and a flap in the back with attached disks that matches the tunic. He carries a mace in both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



196. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001572

Description: Vessel in the form of a kneeling warrior wearing a loincloth, with a kilt with plated hem over it. He wears a short tunic with dot design, and a plain belt with an attached backflap. The figure also wears wrist cuffs decorated with a step design, and a semicircular helmet with a crest running from side to side. The crest has a dot design. The front of the helmet has a *tumi* crest element. The helmet has a flap in the rear with a pelage-mark design. He holds a mace in his hands, the top is broken off.

Provenance: Virú Valley, Huancaco

Phase: Spout is broken.



197. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001588

Description: Vessel in the form of a kneeling warrior wearing a kilt with a step and fret design and a short tunic with dot design. A belt with feline serpent design has an attached plain backflap. He also wears wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design. He wears a conical helmet with a plated "headband" in the front and a tiered flap in the back. He holds a mace in both hands.

Phase: III/IV



198. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001620

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee kneeling figure wearing a tunic with a stepped pattern at the yoke and a plain belt. No lower garment is indicated. The figure wears a simple cap with flap, and a necklace of *espingo* seeds (*Nectandra* sp.). The head is thrown back, and the eyes are closed. A double rattle with trailing cord is held in the left hand, a round object in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



199. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001627

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee kneeling figure wearing a kilt, plain belt, and a tunic which appears to have a stepped pattern at the yoke. The figure wears a simple cap with flap, and a necklace of *espingo* seeds. The head is thrown back, and the eyes are closed. A double rattle with trailing cord is held in the left hand, a round object in the right. This piece is nearly identical to CR 198.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



200. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001721

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel depicted nude, with hands tied behind the back and a rope at the neck that terminates in a serpent head which bites the prisoner's phallus. The prisoner has loose, medium-length hair and ear holes but no ear ornaments.

Provenance: Unknown.



201. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001722

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel depicted nude, with hands tied behind the back and a rope at the neck that terminates in a serpent head which bites the prisoner's phallus. The prisoner has loose, medium-length hair and ear holes but no ear ornaments.

Provenance: Unknown.



202. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001724

Description: Prisoner effigy wearing a loincloth, plated short tunic with a serrated hem, and a circlet from which the front element is missing. The figure has ear holes but wears no ornaments, and has a rope tied around the neck which trails to the left hip and ends in a tassel. The figure held an object in the left hand which has broken off.

Provenance: Unknown.



203. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001726

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck that curves under the right leg and terminates in a serpent head which bites the exposed phallus. He wears a short tunic with an incised line design which may indicate plating, ear holes but no ornaments, and an animal circlet with stylized front paws to either side of the head.

Provenance: Virú Valley.



204. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001728

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel depicted nude, with a rope at the neck with the front end trailing to the right hip, the back end trailing down the center of back. Both ends terminate in a fringed element, and the prisoner holds the rope with his right hand. He has loose, medium-length hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



205. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001731

Description: Vessel depicting two sets of warriors and captives. Both warriors wear kilts, belts, short tunics, helmets with flaps, wrist cuffs, and ear spools. Both warriors are painted in a manner which indicates that they wear body paint on the legs, arms, and a portion of the face. The warriors carry minimal panoplies consisting of a mace and a looped piece of cloth in their right hands, and shields and the prisoners' ropes in their left. Their prisoners are nude, with ropes leading to their necks but not depicted encircling them. Both prisoners have a sock-like leg painting and may have an indication of ear holes.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.

Phase: IV



206. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001734

Description: Vessel depicting two sets of warriors in combat. All of the warriors wear kilts and short tunics. Two also have belts with plain backflaps, the other two have belts with a fabric flap hanging down the back. All wear wrist cuffs, three wear ear cylinders. Three warriors carry maces, one does not. One of the warriors wears a conical helmet, another wears an animal circlet with a *tumi* crest, and the other two wear crown or hat-like head coverings with a flap down the back and a pair of feather fans, one at the front and one at the back. Three of the warriors have a face paint design that is a simplified version of the muscoid fly design.

Provenance: Unknown.



207. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001736

Description: Vessel depicting two warriors in combat, one with his helmet knocked off. The victor wears a kilt, short tunic, belt with a backflap, wrist cuffs, a conical tiered helmet, and plain ear spools. He holds his opponent's hair with his left hand and his mace with his right. His opponent's dislodged headgear—a helmet with *tumi* crescent and a flap down the back, ear spools, and chin strap—lies on the ground between the two figures. The defeated warrior wears a loincloth under a kilt, a short tunic, belt with backflap, plain wrist cuffs, and a plain, broad collar. His hair is depicted as short.

Provenance: Virú Valley.

Phase: III



208. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001738

Description: Vessel depicting two pairs of warriors in combat, one of whom has been defeated. Two of the figures have visible loincloths, three figures wear kilts. All wear short tunics, two have wire-and-drop circle earrings and two have earpools. Two figures wear animal circlets and one wears a conical helmet.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



209. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001749

Description: Vessel depicting two warriors and a prisoner. The prisoner has sock-like leg paint with a dot on each knee. The warrior who holds his rope wears a kilt, a belt with a circle pattern with a backflap attached in the back, short tunic, and a conical helmet with a *tumi* crest and a flap hanging down the back. He holds a shield and the prisoner's rope in his left hand, and in his right a panoply attached to his mace, which contains a kilt, a belt, a mace, and other textile elements which are not readily identifiable. The third warrior wears a kilt, belt with dot pattern, short tunic, and an animal circlet with a chevron body, a semi-circular element at the front of the circlet above the animal's head, and a circular boss and two sets of five thin projecting elements which may be feathers. He carries a shield in his left hand and a panoply suspended from his mace in his right hand. The panoply includes a mace, backflap, belt, loincloth, kilt, and feather plumes.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V





210. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001798

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck that trails to the left hip. He wears a short tunic with a wave/spiral pattern in the front and tiered in the back, ear holes but no ornaments, and an animal circlet with stylized front paws to either side of the head. The hair is medium-length and parted in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



211. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001799

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck that trails to the left hip. He wears a short tunic with a wave/spiral pattern in the front and tiered in the back, ear holes but no ornaments, and an animal circlet with stylized front paws to either side of the head. The hair is medium-length and parted in the back. Nearly identical to CR 210.

Provenance: Unknown.



212. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001801

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope tied around the neck. The figure has ear holes but no ornament, and the hair is medium-length.

Provenance: Unknown.



213. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001802

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope tied around the neck that terminates in a feline-headed serpent which bites the exposed phallus. He has ear holes but no ornament, and the hair is short. There is an indication of leg paint but it is badly faded.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.



214. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001893

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope tied around the neck that terminates in a feline-headed serpent which bites the exposed phallus. He has ear holes but no ornament, and the hair is medium-length. The surface of the vessel is very worn, areas spalled off

Provenance: Chicama Valley.



215. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML001996

Description: Prisoner effigy with rope tied around the neck and held in the right hand. He appears to be wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe pattern. The hair is medium-length.

Provenance: Unknown.



216. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002002

Description: Prisoner effigy with rope tied around the neck and held in the right hand. The lower half of the body is subsumed into the shape of the vessel. His hair is medium-length.

Provenance: Unknown.



217. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002014

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck that trails to the right hip. He wears a loincloth, a short tunic with a wave/spiral pattern, ear holes but no ornaments, and a feline circlet with stylized front paws to either side of the head. The hair is medium-length.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.



218. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002015

Description: Seated prisoner effigy with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck that terminates in a serpent head near the exposed phallus. He has ear holes with no ornaments, and wears a circlet with a semicircular front element that has eight wave or tentacle forms on the curve.

Provenance: Moche Valley.



219. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002017

Description: Prisoner effigy seated with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck that trails to the left hip. He wears a short tunic with a horizontal stripe pattern which may have an indication of plating. The tunic has a serrated hem. He also wears earpools, and an animal circlet with six octopus-arm elements in a half-circle at the front, which is placed over a pointed kerchief.

Provenance: Santa Valley, Chimbote.



220. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002019

Description: Prisoner effigy with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which ends in a tassel-like element. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and has ear holes with no ornaments. He also wears a plain circlet and his hair is medium-length and parted in back.

Provenance: Unknown.



221. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002022

Description: Prisoner effigy a rope tied around the neck which trails over his folded legs. He holds an empty bowl in the left hand. The hair is uncovered and long in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



222. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002034

Description: Vessel depicting a seated prisoner, a short tunic with serrated hem appears to be painted on the body. A mantle is tied at the neck and a rope is tied around the neck and trails down the center of the back, terminating in a tassel-like element. The hair is long and parted in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



223. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002039

Description: Seated prisoner vessel with a female attendant holding his right arm. The prisoner has a body paint design on the upper chest and the muscoid fly design on the lower jaw. He has a rope around his neck which trails down the back. His female attendant wears a long tunic, plain necklace, ear spools with a center dot design, and hair in braids.

Provenance: Unknown.



224. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002345

Description: Vessel depicting five ritual runners. All have sock-like leg painting and wear loincloths; only one wears a belt, which has an *ulluchu* design. Four runners wear wrist cuffs, and four wear ear spools. Two wear animal circlets with plain oblong projections, and two wear animal circlets with round projections with roundels at the edge and a geometricized face at the center. The fifth runner wears a wrapped headcloth with a serrated line design, a feather fan on top, and a long tiered flap in back. All runners carry bags in their left hands. Two figures have all-over face paint, the other three have the tripartite design.

Provenance: Moche Valley.

Phase: IV



225. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002361

Description: Vessel depicting thirteen ritual runners. Some parts of the surface are worn off and obscure parts of the runners. Twelve runners wear animal circlets with either oblong or circular elements. The remaining figure wears a wrapped headcloth with geometric design and a panache of long plumes on the top. All figures wear loincloths with belts and leg paint.

Provenance: Moche Valley.

Phase: IV



226. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002364

Description: Vessel depicting eight ritual runners, six on the top register of the vessel and two on the bottom. All runners wear loincloths and leg paint, six wear belts. Three runners wear animal circlets with oblong projections, two wear animal circlets with circular projections. One runner wears a wrapped headcloth with a geometric design, and feather plumes on top. The two runners on the bottom register wear different head coverings: one is a round circlet or crown with a feather fan attached to the back; the other wears an oddly-shaped headdress that appears to be composed of three segments, with a feather fan also attached to the back. All runners carry bags in their right hands, the runners on the bottom register carry spears in their left hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



227. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002366

Description: Stirrup-spout vessel depicting four ritual runners in two dimensions, with a fifth modeled figure depicted seated on top of the vessel body. The modeled figure wears a loincloth, belt with an *ulluchu* design, wrist cuffs, ear cylinders, and an animal circlet from which the top element is broken off. He holds the chin ties of the headdress. The runners on the vessel body wear loincloths, belts, and leg paint. Only one wears ear cylinders. All four runners wear chevron-design circlets, two of which have oblong projections and two of which have circular projections with roundels at the edge. They have all-over face paint, and carry bags in their left hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



228. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002368

Description: Vessel depicting two ritual runners. Both wear loincloths, one has a belt with an *ulluchu* design, the other has a circle design. Both wear animal circlets with a semicircular crested element in the front and a feather plume fan in the back. They either wear earspools in their ears or have earspool-like elements attached to the headdress. Both hold unidentified objects in their right hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



229. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002371

Description: Vessel depicting a scene of ritual runners with fourteen figures. Thirteen of the figures are runners, one is a seated figure holding a bowl or cup. The bodies of the figures are depicted in an unusual fashion, with heads seeming to float above torsos without necks. The seated figure has no identifiable costume, other than an animal circlet. The runners wear leg paint, loincloths, plain belts with the tie visible as a flap down the back, and animal circlets. The circlets have either oblong or circular projections with roundels at the edge. The runners all carry bags in their right hands.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.

Phase: IV



230. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002372

Description: Vessel depicting four ritual runners, similar to CR 228. the figures have leg paint and wear loincloths with belts: one serpent motif, one *ulluchu*, one chevron and one circle design. All four wear wrist cuffs, animal circlets with crested semicircular elements in the front and feather fans in the back, and earspools which appear to be attached to the headdress rather than attached to the ears. All have the tripartite facial paint design.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.





231. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002373

Description: Vessel depicting four ritual runners. The runners have leg paint and wear loincloths, two have belts with a circle design, two have a serpent design. All runners wear wrist cuffs. Two runners wear animal circlets with oblong projections, the other two wear wrapped textiles with a feather fan on top. All the runners hold bags in their left hands and have the tripartite face paint design.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



232. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002413

Description: Vessel depicting a large figure wearing a long tunic with a double-line geometric design. The figure's hair is long and uncovered. He holds two smaller figures by their feet, slung over his shoulders. The small figures wear loincloths.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



233. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002606

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a kilt, short tunic, plain collar, plain earspools and a mantle over the head. The rattle bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



234. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002607

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a kilt with a triangle design, short tunic, plain, narrow collar and ear spools with center dot design. A mantle is draped over the head, and the figure holds rattle bells in the right hand and a bag or dipper vessel in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



235. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002608

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a tunic, collar composed of rectangular elements, plain ear spools, and a mantle draped over the head. The figure holds rattle bells in the left hand and a bag in the right.

Provenance: Chao Valley



236. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002609

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing what appears to be a long tunic, wrist cuffs, a collar with bicolor rectangular elements, and a mantle draped over a cap and covering the rear of the body. The eyes are closed. Similar to rattle-bell holders but not holding any objects.

Provenance: Unknown.



237. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002610

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a kilt with triangle design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain collar, and plain earspools. A mantle is draped over the head and the eyes are closed. Rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



238. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002611

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a loincloth, a short tunic with a step design on the hem and sleeves, a necklace with bicolored rectangular elements, ear spools with an outer line design, and a mantle draped over the head. The eyes are closed and the figure holds rattle-bells in the left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



239. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002612

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a short tunic with a triangular design at the hem, plain necklace, earspools with center dot design, and a mantle with a grid design draped over the head.

The figure appears to wear a loincloth which is light on the right side and dark on the left, partially divided by an incised line which makes the area resemble the vulva. The figure's eyes are closed and rattle-bells are held in the left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



240. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002613

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a loincloth, short tunic with fret design at the hem, wrist cuffs, broad plain collar, and ear spools with a center dot design. A mantle is draped over an animal circling with outstretched front paws. The figure's eyes are closed and rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



241. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002614

Description: Vessel depicting a seated rattle-bell holder, wearing a tunic with a step design at the yoke and a necklace of *espingo* seeds, with a mantle draped over the head and pulled around the body. Rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



242. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002615

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a tunic with a design of circles with dots inside them, a collar with vertical stripe design, ear spools with a dotted design, and a mantle draped over an animal circling. The figure's eyes are closed and the rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Virú Valley.



243. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002617

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a loincloth, short tunic with dot design and serrated hem, plain collar, ear spools with center dot design, and a mantle over the head. The figure's eyes are closed and the rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



244. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002618

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a kilt with dots at the hem, a short tunic, an *espingo*-seed necklace over a plain collar, and ear spools with a dot design around the outer edge. A circlet with seabird depictions to the side rests over the mantle that falls down the figure's back. Rattle-bells are held in the right hand, a bag in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



245. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002619

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, mantle tied at the neck, ear spools with a center dot design, and a feline circlet with the front paws extended.

Provenance: Unknown.



246. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002620

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with two horizontal stripes and a fret design at the cuff and mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a circlet with two seabirds at the sides and a flap down the back with crossed-line design. There is no depiction of the lower body. Rattle-bells are held in the right hand, a bag in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



247. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002621

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and a mantle tied at the neck. He wears a cap and flap with a tie beneath the chin, and holds a pair of rattles in the left hand and a bag in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



248. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002622

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, an *espingo* necklace, plain earspools, and a circlet of two sea birds with a shared tail as a flap in the back. The lower half of the body is not depicted. He holds a bag or dipper vessel in the right hand and rattle-bells in the left.

Provenance: Santa Valley, Chimbote.



249. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML002653  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with closed eyes. Figure wears a long tunic, with a mantle draped over the head and around the body. The mantle has a horizontal stripe design. This is an *achumera*-type figure but it is unclear if there is anything held in the hands.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken, but appears to be phase III.



250. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML002654  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated *achumera* wearing a collar with bicolored rectangular elements, and with a horizontally-striped tunic over the head and around the body. A tunic is implied but not explicitly depicted. The eyes are closed and what appears to be a San Pedro cactus top is held in the right hand.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II-III



251. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML002657  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated *achumera* wearing a plain collar, and with a horizontally-striped tunic draped over the head and around the body. A tunic is implied but not explicitly depicted. The eyes are closed and what appears to be a San Pedro cactus top is held in the right hand.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



252. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002658

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a plain collar, ear cylinders, and a mantle draped over the head. A tunic is implied but not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



253. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002659

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *achumera* wearing a long tunic, a collar made from rectangular elements, and a mantle covering the head and back. A San Pedro cactus crown is held in the right hand, and the eyes are closed.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



254. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002669

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder, wearing a tunic, narrow plain collar, earspools with dots around the perimeter, and a mantle draped over the head. There is no lower garment depicted. The eyes are closed, and rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.





255. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002674

Description: Vessel depicting a standing woman wearing a long tunic with a plain belt, a plain necklace, and a mantle draped over the head and down the back. She holds her braids in her hands. The braids appear to be wrapped.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



256. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002702

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-holder wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, necklace of rectangular elements, and ear spools with a center dot design. A mantle is draped over the head, the eyes are closed, and rattle-bells are held in the right hand..

Provenance: Unknown.



257. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002703

Description: Vessel depicting a standing rattle-bell holder wearing a long tunic, broad, plain collar, and a mantle draped over the head. The eyes are closed, rattle-bells are held in the right hand, and a bag in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



258. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML002794

Description: Vessel depicting a standing rattle-bell holder wearing a kilt, short tunic, collar made of rectangular elements, and ear spools with a crossed-line design. A mantle covers the head, and the eyes are closed. The figure holds rattle-bells in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



259. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML004235

Description: Vessel depicting a sexual scene. The male partner wears a short tunic with a vertical stripe design and a pointed kerchief. The female partner is nude with the exception of a collar composed of rectangular elements. Her hair is in braids.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



260. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML004238

Description: Vessel depicting a sexual scene. The male partner wears a kilt, short tunic, ear cylinders, and a pointed kerchief. The female partner wears no elements of costume, and her hair is loose and of a medium length.

Provenance: Chicama Valley

Phase: IV-V



261. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML004240  
 Description: Vessel depicting a woman lying on her back with her hands behind her knees. One end of the stirrup-spout terminates in her vulva. She wears a collar composed of rectangular units, and her hair is in braids.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



262. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML004246  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sexual scene. The male partner wears a loincloth, short tunic, and pointed kerchief. The female partner wears no elements of costume, and her hair is in braids.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



263. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML004249  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated achondroplastic figure, wearing a short tunic that exposes her uncovered vulva. She also wears a collar composed of rectangular elements, pendant crescent earrings, and appears to wear a close-fitting cap over the head. In her right hand is a conical object.  
 Provenance: Chicama Valley.



264. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML004251

Description: Vessel depicting a sexual scene. The male partner wears a loincloth, short tunic, a collar shaped in a step form, ear cylinders, and a pointed kerchief. The female partner wears a collar composed of rectangular elements, and her hair is in braids.

Provenance: Santa Valley.

Phase: IV



265. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML004253

Description: Vessel depicting a sexual scene. The male partner wears a loincloth, short tunic with a step design at the neck, and a pointed kerchief. He has warrior-style leg paint. His female partner wears wrist cuffs, a broad, plain collar, and has her hair in braids.

Provenance: Virú Valley.

Phase: III-IV



266. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML004265

Description: Vessel depicting a sexual scene. The male figure wears a loincloth, short tunic with inverted step design, and a pointed kerchief tied over a headcloth with geometric designs. The female figure wears wrist cuffs, a collar with vertical stripe design, plain earspools, and braids.

Provenance: Virú Valley.



267. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML004282

Description: Vessel depicting an old man receiving fellatio. The male wears a cap over his short hair, and his female partner wears a long tunic with dot design. Her hair seems to be pulled to her left side, and is not braided or bound.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.

Phase: I



268. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML005636

Description: Vessel depicting a standing female figure wearing a long tunic, and a mantle draped over the back with the ends draped over the chest, and a necklace made of long rectangular elements. Her hair is in wrapped braids which she holds in her hands.

Provenance: Santa Valley, Huaca Corral.



269. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML005648

Description: Vessel depicting a woman wearing a long tunic, necklace of round beads, and earspools with a center dot design. She holds her braids in either hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



270. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML010852

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a necklace composed of rectangular tiles with a circular depression and a serrated edge. He also wears ear cylinders and a narrow circlet that supports two circular bosses with a punctated dot design in front and a tall fan in back. The headdress sits over a head cloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



271. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012873

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* with a child figure by her side. She wears a long tunic, with *ticpis* at the shoulders and a belt tied at the left side. A tumpline supports a bundle on her back. She carries a bag in her left hand. The child figure wears a tunic with a dot pattern, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and has a wedge-shaped forelock. He carries a lime container and dipper in his right hand, and has a *chuspa* slung around his neck and resting on his back.

Provenance: Virú Valley, Huancaco.

Phase: IV-V



272. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012887

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *achumera*. She wears a long tunic with a belt at the waist and *ticpis* at the shoulders, and may have a bead necklace depicted. Draped over her head is a mantle with a broad horizontal stripe design. Her eyes are closed, and she holds what appears to be a San Pedro cactus crown in her left hand.

Provenance: Santa Valley, Tanguche

Phase: IV



273. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012888

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and a mantle tied at the chest. He wears a pointed kerchief over a cap and flap, with a tassel or decorated flap down the back. He holds a pair of rattles with a trailing cord in his left hand and a bag or gourd in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



274. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012889

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with a vertical stripe design, a short tunic, a plain collar, and a mantle draped over the head and back. He holds rattle-bells in the left hand, and his eyes are closed.

Provenance: Unknown.



275. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012890

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with a vertical stripe pattern, short tunic, plain collar, ear spools with a center dot design, and a mantle with a vertical stripe pattern over the head and back. The eyes are closed, and rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



276. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012893

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, a mantle draped on the back and tied at the neck, and a feline circlet over a cap and flap. The figure holds a gourd in the left hand and a pair of rattles in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



277. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012894

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic, pointed kerchief over a cap, and holding a pair of rattles in the left hand and a bowl in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



278. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012896

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a tunic, collar composed of rectangular elements, earspools with a dot design around the edge, and a mantle draped over the head. No lower garment is depicted. The figure holds a gourd in the right hand and rattle-bells in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.





279. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012898

Description: Vessel depicting a figure similar to an *achumera*. The figure wears a long tunic, a collar composed of rectangular elements, ear spools with a center dot design, and a mantle covering the head. The eyes are depicted closed.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



280. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012899

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with inverted step design, necklace of *espingo* seeds, plain earspools, and a feline circlet. The figure's eyes are closed, and he holds a gourd in the right hand and a pair of rattles in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



281. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012902

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a tunic, collar composed of rectangular elements, ear spools with center dot design, and a mantle draped over the head with a horizontal stripe pattern. No lower garment is depicted. He holds a gourd or bag in the right hand and rattle-bells in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



282. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML012904

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a tunic with vertical stripe design, collar composed of rectangular elements, plain earspools, and a mantle draped over the head. He holds a bag or gourd in the right hand and rattle-bells in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



283. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013234

Description: Solid figurine depicting a woman wearing a short tunic which exposes her vulva, a collar with vertical stripe design, ear spools with center dot design, and appears to have short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



284. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013237

Description: Solid figurine depicting a woman who appears to be nude, with exposed vulva, wearing a collar with vertical stripe design. She appears to have short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



285. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013240

Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic, a plain collar, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and appears to have short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



286. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013241

Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic and wire-and-drop circle earrings, the figure's hair is covered by a high, rectangular cap.

Provenance: Unknown.



287. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013242

Description: Solid figurine depicting a woman who wears a long tunic and a collar with vertical stripe design. She wears her hair in braids, which she holds in her hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



288. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013246

Description: Solid figurine wearing a long tunic with a plain belt, a mantle tied at the chest, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. Figure wears ear cylinders and has a textile band around the head. The figure holds a round object with both hands.

Provenance: Chicama Valley, Mocollope.



289. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013248

Description: Standing hollow female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic which exposes the vulva. She also wears a plain collar and hair in wrapped braids, which she holds in her hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



290. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013255

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic which exposes the vulva. She also wears a collar with vertical stripe pattern, pendant crescent earrings, and appears to have short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



291. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013259

Description: Solid figurine depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic, plain collar, pendant crescent earrings, and a rectangular cap with a center stripe-and-dot design. No lower garment is depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



292. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013262

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic which exposes the vulva. She also wears a plain collar, pendant crescent earrings, and a close-fitting cap.

Provenance: Unknown.



293. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013266

Description: Solid standing female figurine with exposed vulva. No garment is clearly depicted. She wears a collar with vertical stripe design, the ties of which are visible in the back. Her hair appears to be medium length.

Provenance: Unknown.



294. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013270  
 Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a long tunic, necklace composed of vertical components, and long braids.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



295. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013271  
 Description: Solid standing female figurine with exposed vulva. No garment is clearly depicted. She wears a plain collar and appears to have medium-length hair.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



296. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013273  
 Description: Solid standing figurine depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic with a horizontal stripe at the cuffs. The figure also wears a plain collar, pendant crescent earrings, and may wear a close-fitting cap, although this is not clear.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



297. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013276

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic and a plain necklace. She wears her hair in braids and holds them in her hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



298. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013283

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a long tunic, a collar composed of vertical elements, and her hair in long braids.

Provenance: Unknown.



299. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013285

Description: Solid standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic. The vent hole is placed between legs and may indicate the vulva. The figure also wears a necklace of pendant diamond shapes, pendant crescent earrings, and either short hair or a close-fitting cap.

Provenance: Chao Valley.



300. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013289

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic which exposes the vulva. She also wears a plain collar and wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a close-fitting cap or cropped hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



301. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013308

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a long tunic, wrist cuffs, a necklace of *espingo* seeds, ear spools with a center dot design, and a circlet which may be decorated with animal heads. Her hair is in braids, and she holds a pair of rattles with an attached cord.

Provenance: Chicama Valley



302. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013347

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee wearing a loincloth, long tunic, and a bundled mantle tied at the waist. He also wears a cap, over which is a pointed kerchief, tied at the top of the head. The figure has the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation. He holds a drum in his left hand and a drumstick in his right.

Provenance:

Phase: IV





303. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013441  
 Description: Hollow standing female figurine wearing a long tunic. There is a vent hole at the crotch. She wears a collar composed of rectangular elements and ear spools with a center dot design. Her hair is in long braids. The figure has matte red face paint.  
 Provenance: Virú Valley.



304. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013723  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic, a plain necklace, ear spools, and a mantle with vertical stripe design over the head and down the back.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



305. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013727  
 Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a kilt, short tunic, plain collar, ear spools, and a mantle draped over the head and down the back. The eyes are closed, and the figure holds rattle-bells in the right hand and a vessel or bag in the left.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



306. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013732

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt with tabbed or pleated hem, short tunic, collar composed of rectangular elements, ear spools with center dot design, and a mantle draped over the head and down the body. The figure holds a gourd or bag in the left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



307. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013740

Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a loincloth, belt with dot design, wrist cuffs, and a cap with tiers in the back. A tiered flap with tasseled hem falls down the back to the neck, and it is secured with a chin strap with triangular ruffles. A short tunic may be implied by post-fire black pigment. He holds a rectangular shield in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



308. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013817

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a long tunic, a belt with a design of alternating circles and vertical lines, and a necklace of rectangular elements. A scarf is draped over her right shoulder, and she wears her hair in braids.

Provenance: Unknown.



309. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013821

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic which exposes the vulva. She wears a plain, narrow collar, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a cap or closely cropped hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



310. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013823

Description: Standing figurine wearing a long tunic. There is an indentation between the legs at the hem of the tunic, this may indicate the vulva but it is not clear. The figure also wears a necklace composed of rectangular elements. The figure has either a headcloth or the hair is long but unbound.

Provenance: Unknown.



311. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013830

Description: Standing figurine wearing a medium-length tunic. There is no lower garment indicated. The figure also wears a collar with vertical stripe design, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a high rectangular cap.

Provenance: Unknown.



312. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013832

Description: Standing solid figurine wearing a long tunic with a belt tied in a loop at the front, plain collar, and a circlet with two projections on the sides over a headcloth decorated with pairs of horizontal stripes. The figure holds a rattle with an attached cord in both hands.

Provenance: Santa Valley, Tanguche



313. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013840

Description: Standing solid figurine wearing a long tunic, a necklace composed of two rows of diamond shapes, and pendant crescent earrings. The figure wears a feline circlet, over a cap or headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.



314. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013842

Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a long tunic and carrying a small figure on her back in a mantle tied at her chest. She wears a collar composed of rectangular elements, and she appears to have short hair. The small figure has no represented garments, and appears to have short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



315. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013849

Description: Standing figurine wearing a long tunic, a collar composed of rectangular elements, and pendant crescent earrings. The figure wears a high rectangular cap with a thick stripe pattern which has a flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



316. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013868

Description: Standing female figurine wearing a long tunic, necklace with diamond-shaped pendants, and braids that she holds in her hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



317. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013869

Description: Standing female figurine wearing a medium-length tunic which exposes the vulva. She wears a collar with vertical stripe design, pendant crescent earrings, and a high rectangular cap with a flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



318. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013876  
 Description: Standing hollow figurine wearing a long tunic with faded pelage pattern in post-fire black, and a mantle over the back with the ends held at the chest. The figure also wears a necklace of large, round beads, plain ear spools, and a circlet which has two large plume-shaped elements and a central vertical piece.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



319. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013882  
 Description: Solid standing female figurine wearing a long tunic, a collar composed of rectangular elements, and braids.  
 Provenance: Moche Valley, Huaca de la Luna.



320. Institution: MARLH  
 Accession number: ML013892  
 Description: Standing figurine depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic. A loincloth may be depicted. The figure also wears a mantle, tied at the neck, and medium-length hair.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



321. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013907

Description: Standing figurine depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, a mantle tied at the chest, a necklace composed of rectangular elements, ear spools with a center dot and outer roundel design, and a circlet with two flat projections at the sides. The figure appears to hold the cup and lid for the Sacrifice Ceremony.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: V



322. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013933

Description: Solid standing figurine depicting a woman wearing a long tunic, wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, a necklace of large round beads, ear spools with outer roundels, and braids. She holds a cup in her right hand and most likely a lid in her left.

Provenance: Unknown.



323. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013948

Description: Solid standing figurine depicting a woman wearing a long tunic, with her hair in braids. She holds a cup in her left hand and a large round object in her right.

Provenance: Chicama Valley, Cerro Mocollope

Phase:



324. Institution: MARLH

Accession number: ML013953

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a tunic, with a belt at the waist and what appear to be *ticipis* with round heads appearing from under the mantle, which is fastened at the neck. The figure wears ear spools with a concentric circle design, and the top of the vessel is treated like a headdress attached with a chin tie. A pair of rattles is held in the left hand, the attached cord in the right. The figure's eyes are closed.  
Provenance: Unknown.



325. Institution: Michael C. Carlos Museum (MCCM)

Accession number: 1989.8.68

Description: Hollow standing figurine wearing a long tunic, with arms bent to chest, cup-like hands facing palm out. The figure also wears a necklace of diamond pendants, has ear holes but no earrings, and appears to be wearing a close-fitting cap. Six teardrop-shaped projections are in the middle back.  
Provenance: Unknown.



326. Institution: MCCM

Accession number: 1989.8.69

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a bundled mantle tied at the waist, and a pointed kerchief covered by a wrapped textile. The face is heavily wrinkled.  
Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V





327. Institution: MCCM

Accession number: 1989.8.72

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation. The figure wears a long tunic, a mantle tied at the waist and draping down the body, earspools with a concentric circle design, and a cap under a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head. The figure also has the muscoid fly design painted on the jaw in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



328. Institution: MCCM

Accession number: 1989.8.74

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, tunic, plain necklace, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a cap with flap down the back. The figure is holding a strand of *espingo* seeds.

Provenance: Unknown.



329. Institution: Museo de América (Mda)

Accession number: 1001

Description: Head effigy vessel with ear holes but no ornaments, and a cap and flap head covering.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



330. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1011  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with pronounced jaw. The teeth are bared and the face is painted with an elaborate design which contains a catfish-like motif.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II



331. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1026  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure standing and holding a tunic. The tunic has an S-shaped fret at the cuffs. The figure wears a tunic with a mantle that passes under the right shoulder and over the left. One mantle corner drapes over the left shoulder and ends in a fringe or tassel. A *chuspa* is slung around the neck and rests on the right rear shoulder. The figure also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a cap and flap or hair styled to resemble this.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is damaged but appears to be Phase III.



332. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1027  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing an animal circlet over a pointed kerchief. Face paint is depicted in red slip, and there is significant fire-cloudding.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II



333. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1029  
 Description: Vessel depicting a head with four faces. The faces are painted half in dark slip and half in light, with the cap-like head covering painted in the opposite colors. The eyes of all four faces are closed.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



334. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1030  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, kilt with disk appliqués at the hem, tunic, and a broad collar with two pairs of tabs in the front and two in back, with disk appliqués. The figure also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a feline circling with extended paws over a cap and flap. He holds a partially-damaged square shield in the left hand and a mace of some kind, the top is damaged and the bottom terminates in a flange with a spike.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



335. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1031  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing a pointed kerchief with a dot design over a cap with a design of pairs of diagonal lines. The figure also has a face paint design composed of triangular elements.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II-III



336. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1037

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling warrior wearing a loincloth, short tunic which is tiered in the back, wrist cuffs, broad collar with step motif, and earspools with a center dot and dots around the edge. He also wears a conical helmet with a tiered flap down the back. He carries a mace in his left hand, the right hand is missing.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



337. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1043

Description: Vessel with a scene depicting one human figure confronted by two supernaturals. He wears a loincloth, an unseen belt with a plated flap down the back, and a plated tunic with serrated hem. His legs are painted with the warrior's sock-like pattern and circles at the knees. He wears wrist cuffs, earspools with a circle design, and a circlet with a half-circle element in the front, which has two curved projections at the top and an animal head at the center. There is a large feather fan at the back of the circlet, and a flap hanging down the back of the figure's neck. He holds a *tumi* in his left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



338. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1061

Description: Head effigy vessel with loose, short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



339. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1063

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, belt with attached backflap and bells, and a tunic with complex geometric and zoomorphic motifs. He may wear wrist cuffs but this is not clear. He also wears a ritual runner's headdress, with chevron-design circlet and a circular element with roundels at the edge, which has been broken off. He has sock like leg paint with dots at the knees.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



340. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1064

Description: Seated prisoner effigy vessel with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which drapes over the right hip. There is no lower garment and the phallus is exposed. He wears a short plated tunic with serrated hem and a circlet with a grimacing face on a half-circle element, part of which is missing. He has ear holes but no ornaments.

Provenance: Unknown.



341. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1065

Description: Seated prisoner effigy vessel with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which drapes over the left hip. There is no lower garment and the phallus is exposed. He wears a short plated tunic with serrated hem and a plain circlet or crown. He has ear holes but no ornaments. The hair is depicted as in the back as long and split into two sections.

Provenance: Unknown.



342. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1114

Description: Vessel depicting twin figures who share one pair of legs for two torsos. They wear long tunics, a mantle at the chest that supports bundles on their backs, and hooded mantles. They wear ear cylinders, and caps covered by circlets with what appears to be a tied element in the front, with the ends projecting towards the top of the head.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



343. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1115

Description: Vessel depicting a skeletal figure playing a flute, seated on a bench. He wears a short tunic and a cap with a flap down back. The phallus is exposed. He has empty eye sockets and a “Leishmaniasis” deformation nose, while the mouth appears normal

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



344. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1116

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder, wearing a loincloth, vertically-striped kilt, short tunic with dot design, a collar with vertical stripe design, and ear spools with a center dot design. There is a mantle draped over the head and down the back. His eyes are closed, and rattle-bells are held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



345. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1140

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior. He wears a tunic that is pulled over the knees, with a plain belt with bells attached at the sides and a backflap with *ulluchu* decoration. He also wears a short tunic, ear spools with concentric circle design, and a conical helmet with a ruffled chin strap. The figure's eyes are closed.

Phase: III



346. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1141

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on the left knee. The top of the head is missing. He wears a loincloth, kilt with dot pattern, backflap, and a short tunic with dot pattern. He also wears wrist cuffs, and a two-strand necklace of round beads. He holds a mace in both hands and a square shield in his left.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



347. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1142

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and a bundled mantle tied at the chest. He wears a cap with flap, and carries a baton or staff in the left hand. He has a variation of the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



348. Institution: Mda  
 Accession number: 1146  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure. A long tunic is implied but not explicitly depicted. He wears a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders, a hood with a pointed end like a kerchief, and a cap underneath the hood. He holds a monkey with his left hand, and an oblong object in his right.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



349. Institution: Mda  
 Accession number: 1154  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure. He wears a long tunic, a mantle with a pattern of paired horizontal stripes tied at the chest, and a cap and flap, with a long band tied around the head and with long ends trailing down the back. The eyes are closed and the mouth is open, exposing the teeth.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



350. Institution: Mda  
 Accession number: 1156  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding a double strand of *espingo* seeds to the chest. He wears a short tunic, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder, earspools with an outer ring design, and a cap and flap. The top of the vessel is treated like a crown or circlet over the cap and flap. No lower garment is depicted.  
 Provenance: Unknown.





351. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1158

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, who wears a bead necklace over a broad collar, ear spoons with an outer ring design, and a circlet with cylindrical projections over a cap and flap. No other garments are depicted. He holds a round shield on the right arm.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



352. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1165

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure, wearing a tunic, possibly a broad collar, and a circular crown with a vertical stripe design. Arms appear to be inside the tunic. Details are executed in a poorly preserved organic black.

Provenance: Unknown.



353. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1176

Description: Face-neck vessel wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar, ear spoons with horizontal line design, and an animal circlet with the tail hanging down the back of the head. No other garments are depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



354. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1179  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure holding a small feline. The figure appears to wear a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the chest. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar manner, and has the tripartite face paint design.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is missing.



355. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1180  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with one knee drawn up, chin on knee. The face is heavily wrinkled with an exaggerated "muzzle." The figure wears a long tunic, a bundled mantle looped under the left shoulder and over the right. The figure also wear ear cylinders, and either a headcloth or short braids, but this is unclear.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



356. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1183  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, and a bundled mantle passing under the left shoulder and over the right, tied at the chest. A stirrup-spout vessel is strung on the left side of the mantle. He also wears a textile band wrapped multiple times around the head. The face seems mildly distorted and slightly puffy.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



357. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1184

Description: Vessel depicting a northern woman as described by Cordy-Collins (2001). She wears a long tunic with a stripe running from the neck to the wrists, a collar composed of square elements, a cylindrical labret, and short hair combed forward over the eyes. She holds a drum under the left arm and a drumstick in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



358. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1191

Description: Vessel depicting an oversized head with crouching legs. No garments are depicted, the hair is loose and medium-length.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



359. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1194

Description: Vessel depicting a figure with the arms apparently inside the tunic. He wears a long tunic with a fringed hem, ear cylinders with a stripe pattern, and a pointed kerchief tied over a cap with dot pattern. The face is heavily distorted, with a “Leishmaniasis” deformation nose and missing or closed left eye. The mouth is distorted, pulling to the left. The cheeks both have two deep wrinkles or scars.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III/IV



360. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1195

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, identical to CR351, who wears a bead necklace over a broad collar, ear spools with an outer ring design, and a circlet with cylindrical projections over a cap and flap. No other garments are depicted. He holds a round shield on the right arm. the piece is too poorly preserved in the lower half to determine objects or garments. Top half is partly worn and appears to have been poorly finished to begin with.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Likely III-IV.



361. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1196

Description: Head effigy vessel with wire-and-drop circle earrings and a wedge-shaped forelock.

Provenance: Unknown.



362. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1197

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck. There are traces of sock like leg paint on the right leg. The hair is long and divided into two sections in the back, and the genitals are roughly depicted. The piece is crudely executed and badly deteriorated, with fire-clouding on the right side, and the left-side surface mostly gone.

Provenance: Unknown.



363. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1198  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure holding a feline, the surface is badly damaged and detail is not visible. The figure wears a circlet supporting a large half-circle element with feline head and forepaws and wire-and-drop circle earrings.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



364. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1200  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with no lower garment depicted and phallus exposed. The figure also wears a mantle which passes over the right shoulder and under the left, and is tied at the chest. A stirrup-spout vessel duck effigy is strung on the mantle at the left rear side. The figure has ear holes but no ornaments, and a simple circlet. The face is covered by incised designs of animals. A crescent-shaped nose ornament may be indicated. A rolled-up mat or blanket is held under the right arm, and a dipper vessel is held in the left hand.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III-IV



365. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1208  
 Description: Vessel with a figure depicted on the top of the vessel. The figure wears a long tunic, and a hooded kerchief over a cap. The figure's face is distorted, with open, lopsided mouth and eyes that are closed or blind. A drum is held on the lap with the right hand, and a drumstick is held in the left.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



366. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1213  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, wearing a short tunic, a mantle tied at the chest, and a cap covered by a pointed kerchief which is tied on top of the head. The figure may wear a loincloth. Faded slip on the face appears to indicate the tripartite face paint design.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



367. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1221  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a short tunic, mantle tied at the chest, and a headcloth with a textile band which is tied at the top of the head.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



368. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1224  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora* a figure wearing a long tunic with two horizontal rows of dots and a belt at the waist, a mantle tied at the chest, and a tumpline. The face is painted in a "Maltese cross" pattern. The piece is rather sloppily painted.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



369. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1228

Description: Stirrup spout vessel depicting a human warrior with two zoomorphic figures in a mountain setting. He wears a kilt, plain wrist cuffs, a short tunic, and a broad collar with indented dot design. He also wears ear spools with an indented center dot, and a conical helmet with flap down the back. He carries a mace with both hands and is depicted running.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken off.



370. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1231

Description: Vessel depicting a dressed prisoner, with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing down the back to the right wrist. He is wearing a kilt, a tunic with a large grid design, and long unbound hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



371. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1235

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic of indeterminate length, a mantle tied at the chest, and a hood like pointed kerchief over a cap. He has the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation.

Provenance: Unknown.



372. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1237

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, with knees drawn up and hands on knees. He wears a loincloth, a medium-length tunic, ear cylinders, and a large rectangular bag slung on the neck and resting on his back. He has a wedge-shaped forelock. There are faint traces of face paint in cream slip.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken off.



373. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1238

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing ear cylinders and with a wedge-shaped forelock. The piece is very roughly finished and fire clouded, and there is very little detail.

Provenance: Unknown.



374. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1240

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, perhaps also wearing a pointed kerchief over a cap. The mouth is open, with exposed teeth, the right eye is closed or blind. Most of the head is missing.

Provenance: Unknown.





375. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1243

Description: Partial vessel depicting a standing figure holding *espingo* seeds. The figure wears a medium-length tunic with vertical stripes, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He appears to be wearing a cap over medium-length hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



376. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1250

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic with an elaborate geometric design of triangles, lines, and dots. No lower garment is depicted, the lower body is only roughly indicated. Figure also wears a mantle wrapped over the right shoulder and under the left. He wears a necklace of widely spaced round beads, and high crown or cap which is criss-crossed with a patterned band and held in place with a tie over the cap and fastened under the chin.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken off.



377. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1254

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling figure wearing a loincloth, plain belt, short tunic with inverted step design at the yoke, and earspools with a large center dot and smaller dots around the edge. He wears a feline circlet with front paws displayed. A pair of rattles is in the right hand, a bag with a looped top is in the right. The left cheek is bulging, indicating coca use.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken off.



378. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1263

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, which trails to the left hip. The genitals are implied rather than clearly indicated. The hair is long and parted into two sections in the back, revealing the rope around the neck.

Provenance: Unknown.



379. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1265

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting the head in full modeling on the neck, with the body cursorily described in relief on the vessel body. The figure wears wrist cuffs, a plain collar, and earspools. A tunic is implied but not depicted. He wears a circlet with an animal head, perhaps a monkey, with limbs and tail-flap depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



380. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1266

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his left knee. He wears a loincloth visible under a kilt with a step pattern variation, a plain backflap, wrist cuffs, and a short tunic with a dot pattern. He also wears a circlet with cupped bosses at the sides, supporting a *tumi* crest element. A headcloth and kerchief are underneath the circlet. He holds a round shield on the left hand, and mace in both hands which has the head broken off.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



381. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1267

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated in an enclosing platform that resembles a peak of a mountain or a bean. He wears a tunic, an elaborate wide collar with multiple layers and geometric designs, earspools with a concentric circle design, and *tumi* crescent nose ornament. He wears a circlet with circular bosses and a *tumi* crest element. No lower garment is depicted, the figure holds a circular object on his lap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



382. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1268

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which trails to the left hip. The phallus is visible and highlighted with cream slip. The piece is roughly finished and fire-clouded; the surface is mostly paste with fugitive organic black pigment on the face. The hair is modeled as long and separated into two sections in the back, but is overpainted by the representation of the rope in cream slip.

Provenance: Unknown.



383. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1276

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which trails to the left hip. The phallus is visible. The piece is roughly finished and the surface is mostly paste with eroded portions.

Provenance: Unknown.



384. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1279

Description: Head effigy vessel with skeletal appearance, teeth are bared as in the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, but the nose is not modified in the same style. The figure wears an owl headdress with wings and a stylized tail for a flap in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



385. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1280

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing wrist cuffs, a mantle over the back, a necklace of rectangular elements, and ear cylinders. The top of the vessel is treated like a crown. The cream slip is flaking off from the face, it may have been in a pattern but unclear now.

Provenance: Unknown.



386. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1306

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design. The arms are either missing or under the tunic. He wears a crown or circlet with vertical stripe design. The piece is overfired, with fire-clouding in the rear.

Provenance: Unknown.



387. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1319

Description: Canteen- or drum-shaped vessel with a human head on the top. The eyes are closed. The piece is mold-made, with a crack along the seam. The figure wears a circular nose ornament and has a stripe of red slip on the right side. The hair appears to be cut in a "tonsure" style with a ponytail down the back, otherwise it is a circlet with a flap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken, may have been a stirrup-spout.



388. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1330

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation. He wears a tunic with a mantle tied at the waist and falling down the back. No lower garment is visible. The figure may have a tassel-ended scarf wrapped around the shoulders but flaked-off slip makes this impossible to determine. He wears a circlet with four protrusions which may be animal limbs, over a hooded kerchief and a cap with an undulating line design.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



389. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1337

Description: Prisoner-effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck and falling down the back. The figure appears to wear a kilt with a plain backflap and a tunic with a gridlike design. The piece is poorly painted and finished, making the details of costume difficult to determine.

Provenance: Unknown.



390. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1341

Description: Vessel depicting a prisoner with the wrists tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The phallus is roughly depicted, and the piece is of overall poor quality.

Provenance: Unknown.



391. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1384

Description: Vessel depicting two figures in warrior costume seated in a mountain setting, with a female deer beneath them in the lower portion of the vessel. The warriors wear kilts and tunics with geometric patterns, wrist cuffs, and circlets or crowns. They carry maces and circular shields, and have sock like leg paint.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



392. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1392

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on the left knee. He wears a loincloth, kilt, a belt with lazy-S design supporting a plain backflap. His tunic has a dot pattern that matches the loincloth, and he wears wrist cuffs, plain earspools, a conical helmet with serpent elements and a dotted flap down the back, and circular bosses. The face is painted in the tripartite design. He holds a mace in both hands and a circular shield in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



393. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1394

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, a textile bundled and tied at the waist, a short tunic with vertical line design, and ear cylinders. His face is painted with dots in cream, and lines in black, with a series of parallel vertical grooves on the chin. The head and hair have been modeled in an exaggerated shape which resembles the glans of the penis.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



394. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1396

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with plain belt, cone-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulders, and a tumpline over the forehead. Appears to wear a headcloth under the tumpline.

Provenance: Unknown.



395. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1398

Description: Vessel depicting a seated blind figure wearing a long tunic, a rolled textile tied at the chest, a collar of rectangular elements above the textile, and a feline circlet with front and rear limbs and a tail flap down the back. The circlet is over a headcloth with a geometric pattern. The figure also wears ear spools with a center dot and circles around the perimeter. He holds an unusual club in his right hand, with a lenticular head slotted on the shaft.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



396. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1400

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with vertical stripe design, the arms appear to be inside the tunic. The lower part of the body is not depicted. The figure wears ear spoils with a hole through the center and a pinwheel design, and a circlet or crown with a diagonal stripe design.

Provenance: Unknown.



397. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1402

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure wearing a loincloth, a short tunic, and a thick circlet around the head. An oblong object is held in the right hand. There is some post-fire black face paint but most of it is faded.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



398. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1404

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a small feline which seems to be missing its head. The figure wears a kilt and matching tunic with a step motif, ear spoils with concentric circle design, and a circlet with two paw-like projections and a double-plume element in the front.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III





399. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1405  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with ear holes but no ornaments, spiral and step face-paint design, and a step and wave design at the base of the neck. The figure appears to have unbound hair.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III-IV



400. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1406  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a striped platform. He wears wrist cuffs, a broad collar with vertical stripe pattern, and a circlet with a tasseled strip of textile over his head. No other costume elements are depicted.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



401. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1408  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation. He wears a pointed kerchief, and a headcloth tied at the front.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



402. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1410

Description: Head effigy vessel with skeletal appearance, teeth are bared as in the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, but the nose is not modified in the same style. The figure wears an owl headdress with wings and a stylized tail for a flap in the back. Probably from the same mold as CR 384.

Provenance: Unknown.



403. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1414

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure with a “Leishmaniasis” nose deformation, but normal mouth. He wears a loincloth, a mantle bundled and tied at the waist, and a short tunic. He wears a thick plain circlet and has traces of face paint in post-fire black, there are also traces of body paint on the upper arms. The figure holds an oblong object in the left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



404. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1416

Description:

Description: Vessel depicting two figures in warrior costume seated in a mountain setting, with a female deer beneath them in the lower portion of the vessel. The warriors wear kilts and tunics, circlets or crowns, and may have wrist cuffs. They carry maces and rectangular shields, and have sock like leg paint. The vessel appears to be from the same mold as CR 391.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



405. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1417

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a broad, plain collar, a bird circlet with wings depicted, and earspools with a center dot design. There is a headcloth underneath the circlet. The figure holds a circular shield in the right hand and a mace in the right. The left hand has seven fingers total, each with nail. The lower body is not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



406. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1418

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with the "Leishmaniasis" deformation of the nose and lips. He wears a tunic, with a mantle tied at the waist and hanging down the back. He also wears ear cylinders, a circlet with limbs and a tail flap. The circlet supports a large hemispherical projection in the back. The circlet is placed over a kerchief and cap. His left leg ends in a prosthesis.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase:



407. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1419

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a small mummy or human effigy/drum. The figure wears a long tunic with a mantle tied at the chest, plain earspools, and a circlet formed by a rolled textile secured to the front half of the head with a band and chin strap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



408. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1422  
 Description: Vessel depicting two hunters pursuing foxes. They wear vertically-striped kilts with loincloths visible beneath them and short tunics with a variation of the wave/spiral design. The hunters also wear wrist cuffs, ear spools, and conical helmets with flaps down the back. They hold rounded hunters' clubs in their right hands.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



409. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1424  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a plated loincloth, short tunic, a scarf draped across the chest, and ear spools with a center dot pattern. He also wears a circlet with a ropelike twisted appearance, and holds a bag in the right hand. The piece is badly overfired.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout broken.



410. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1425  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and rope around the neck, draping over the right rear shoulder. The phallus is depicted, with the glans painted in contrasting dark red slip and pubic hair indicated with the same color. The hair is loose and medium-length. His face is painted in the tripartite design.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



411. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1426  
 Description: Vessel depicting a prisoner seated on a vessel with depictions of panoplies. The prisoner has a rope around his neck that falls down his chest, short hair, and the tripartite facial paint design. He holds a drum in front of him, and has a drumstick in the right hand. A panoply is painted on the vessel beneath him.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



412. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1432  
 Description: Figure from the top of a stirrup-spout vessel, the chamber of which is missing. The figure appears to wear leggings with a repeated shovel-shaped motif, a loincloth, and a plated tunic, with a small bundled textile tied at the neck. He also wears earspools with a concentric circle design and a circlet with a large front element depicting six octopus arms and human head at the center. A headcloth is visible underneath the circlet in the back. The figure holds a circular shield in the left hand.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



413. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1433  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing earspools with a concentric circle design and a feline circlet with extended forepaws, pelage marks, and a spotted tail as a flap in the back. Loops of textile are depicted to either side of the tail flap and may indicate part of a headcloth. The circlet is fastened with a chin tie. The face is painted with vertical stripes to the outside of the face, joined by a masklike painting around the eyes.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



414. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1435

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, most likely female, wearing a long tunic and a plain belt. The figure's eyes are closed, the nose is deformed in the "Leishmaniasis" manner, and the lips are thick and protruding. The muscoid fly pupa design is incised on the figure's jaw. A pair of rattles is held in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



415. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1436

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling warrior above a vessel painted with a desert landscape populated by fox-like animals baring their teeth. He kneels on his right knee, and wears a loincloth, wrist cuffs with vertical stripe design, a plain belt supporting a backflap with bells, short tunic, and appears to be wearing a broad plain collar. This is overlaid by a triangular ruff on the chinstrap of his conical helmet, which has a flap down the back and a headcloth underneath. He also wears earspools with a center dot and smaller dots around the edge. In his left hand he holds a square shield and a mace, his right is held up in a clenched fist shaped like a mountain range.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



416. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1438

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, kilt with concentric triangle design, plated tunic, and a monkey circlet with limbs and tail flap. The circlet is placed over a high, rectangular textile item and a kerchief tied at the chin. The figure appears to have some sort of ankle ornament but this is unclear, facial hair appears to be depicted, in modeled forms highlighted with cream slip. On his back is a feline skin or effigy piece with head, limbs, and tail.

Provenance: Unknown.



417. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 1439

Description: Vessel depicting one figure on the top of the vessel modeled in three dimensions and another figure in two dimensions on the body of the vessel. The three-dimensional figure wears a long tunic with a mantle tied at the neck, and a rope around the neck. He also wears a headcloth with long tasseled flaps in the back. The figure on the body of the vessel appears to be wrapped in a mantle with a design of pairs of short vertical and horizontal lines. A tied cloth with a flap down the back is on his head, and he holds a bowl in an outstretched arm. Between the two figures are painted depictions of vessels and tied gourd containers with food items in them.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



418. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1440  
 Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee figure lying on his stomach with the hands held to the chest and the ankles crossed. He has the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation, and scars or deep dimples on the cheeks. The figure wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a bundled mantle tied at the waist. He wears a kerchief tied at the top of the head, over a cap with a geometric step design.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



419. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1442  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with vertical striping, a mantle tied at the waist, and a kerchief tied at the chin over another headcloth. The figure holds a fish in the left hand, there was something in the right hand but it was broken off.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout may not be original, appears to be Phase IV.



420. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1443  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with fringed hem, mantle tied at the chest, and a wrapped textile over a headcloth. The tunic has a large, oblong fringed element with avian designs near the neck. The figure holds a bowl in the right hand. The figure has a "smiling" face, exposing the teeth, and ear holes with no ornaments. A stirrup-spout form in faded black floats on body.  
 Provenance: Unknown.





421. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1444  
 Description: Vessel depicting a whistling figure wearing a loincloth, tunic with vertical stripe design, and a hooded mantle with crossed-line design. The figure's eyes are missing or blind.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II



422. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 1449  
 Description: Head effigy vessel, wearing a cap and flap with a band tied at the back of the head. He appears to be wearing ear cylinders. The mouth and nose appear to be joined in an extreme harelip or other congenital defect.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



423. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 9401  
 Description: Stirrup-spout vessel depicting six ritual runners. The surface of the vessel is spalled in several places, eliminating some detail. The runners wear kilts with plated hems, wrist cuffs, and chevron-bodied animal circlets with typical circular or oblong elements. The runners carry bags in their left hands.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



424. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 10043

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated, eyeless figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, plain earspools, and a circlet supporting two circular bosses in the front and one large hemispherical projection in the rear, which is incised with a spiral motif. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief and a headcloth with dot design. Two textile bands with fringed ends trail down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I



425. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 10112

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, tunic, and a pointed kerchief tied over a cap. The hands are clasped over what appears to be a bivalve shell, but the overall low finish of the piece makes any detail unclear.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



426. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 10896

Description: Vessel depicting a figure lying on his right side, playing panpipes. He wears a loincloth with a plain belt, a rolled textile tied at the neck, what appears to be a conical helmet, and a textile band tied around the helmet. There is decoration in post-fire black which may indicate a patterned tunic, however the figure's navel is depicted, which may mean the pattern is intended to be body paint.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



427. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11001

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with closed eyes. No textile costume elements are indicated, other than a *chuspa* slung across the chest and resting on the left rear shoulder. The figure also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and appears to have hair that is short in the front and long in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



428. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11002

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with plain belt and *ticpis* at the shoulders, and a tumpline over her forehead. It is unclear whether a headcloth is covering her hair. Face paint and other details are indicated in partially-preserved post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.



429. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11008

Description: Vessel depicting a *coquero* wearing a kilt, medium-length tunic with checkerboard pattern, and a feline "cap" with paw projections and pelage marks. The figure's hair may be indicated as two cylindrical shapes to either rear shoulder, but this is not clear. Facial hair is indicated with a three-dimensional modeling of a moustache and goatee. He holds a lime container in his left hand, the right is broken off.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



430. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11010

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his left knee, wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and earspools with a design of dots in a band around the rim. He also wears a conical helmet with a flap down the back, and a headcloth with flaps that hang down behind the earspools. He carries a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



431. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11013

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, earspools with dots around the outside edge, and a circlet with a human or monkey head at the front and a flap in the back. No textile garments are depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



432. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11015

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a mantle tied at the chest, and a pointed kerchief over two other head cloths. No tunic is depicted. The figure has no arms, although they could be under the mantle. The figure's mouth has a pronounced overbite.

Provenance: Unknown.



433. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11016  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with ear holes but no ornaments and what appears to be loose, short hair. There are faint traces of face paint in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



434. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11017  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure of an old man wearing a long tunic and a textile band wrapped twice around the head and tied in the back.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



435. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11019  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, wearing a long tunic with a rounded chevron design at the neck, mantle tied at the waist and falling down the back, and a cap with a kerchief over it tied at the top of the head.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout appears shortened, may be IV.



436. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11021

Description: Vessel depicting a standing harvester figure wearing a kilt with horizontal stripes, short tunic, broad, plain collar, and plain earspools. He also wears a crescent nose ornament and a feline circlet with a hemispherical element composed of octopus arms. He holds a maize plant in the right hand and a manioc bunch in his left.

Provenance: Unknown.



437. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11022

Description: Vessel depicting a standing achondroplastic figure, wearing a medium-length tunic. A loincloth appears to be indicated. He also wears a feline circlet with limbs and a tail as a flap down the back, on top of a pointed kerchief with a geometric design.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



438. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11024

Description: Stirrup-spout head vessel wearing a semi-circular nose ornament and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head over a cap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



439. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11025  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing wire-and-drop trapezoid earrings, and a pointed kerchief over a headcloth.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



440. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11028  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, tunic with serrated hem, and a circlet supporting a half-circle element with a triangular design at the edge. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. He holds a drum with his right hand, the left hand is broken off.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is cut short.



441. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11031  
 Description: Portrait head vessel wearing a kerchief tied at the chin, with a wrapped headcloth underneath.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is likely not original.



442. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11032

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a bench or throne, wearing a kilt, tunic, wrist cuffs, plain collar, ear spools with concentric circle design, and a conical helmet.

Provenance: Unknown.



443. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11040

Description: Heavily-damaged double-chambered vessel, possibly a whistling vessel. The figure is heavily eroded, and depicts a figure wearing a long tunic, a bundled mantle tied at the chest, ear spools with a concentric circle design. He wears a bird circlet over a pointed kerchief, and has traces of a face paint design in red slip. He holds what appears to be a folded length of textile in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



444. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11042

Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure with heavily-wrinkled face and closed or blind eyes. The hair is depicted as loose and short.

Provenance: Unknown.





445. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11043  
 Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling figure, who may have the feet amputated. He wears a loincloth, tunic, and a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders. He wears a hooded kerchief over a cap. There are very faint traces of face paint in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



446. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11050  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure with very broad face and puffy cheeks. The head appears to be covered with a hood, even though the ears are protruding.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



447. Institution: MdA  
 Accession number: 11052  
 Description: Head effigy vessel. The figure has short, uncovered hair.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



448. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11082

Description: Hollow figurine representing a standing female figure wearing a long tunic, collar of rectangular elements, and may have braids in the tunic but it is unclear. The feet have exaggerated heels to allow the figure to stand.

Provenance: Unknown.



449. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11094

Description: Hollow standing female figurine wearing a short tunic which exposes the vulva, narrow collar, and pendant crescent earrings. She wears a high, rectangular cap with a flap down the back, and face paint in a step design.

Provenance: Unknown.



450. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11104

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a medium-length tunic which appears to expose male genitals. A band is wrapped around his body and supports a stirrup-spout vessel on his back. He has ear holes but no ornaments, and wears what appears to be a cap with a rolled edge. He carries a rolled mat under his right arm and a dipper vessel in the left hand. The piece is heavily eroded with very little remaining details. There are traces of post-fire black visible.

Provenance: Unknown.



451. Institution: MdA

Accession number: 11108

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, a hooded mantle and a smaller textile bundled and tied at the chest. Under the hood the figure wears a circlet with two curved projections at the front.

Provenance: Unknown.



452. Institution: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú (MNAAHP)

Accession number: C-00144

Description: Effigy-head vessel with well-modeled features. He wears a doubled necklace of small, round beads, ear cylinders, and a pointed kerchief over a cap. He has a face paint design in post-fire black.

Provenance: W.D. Strong, Tomb V-162, Huaca de la Cruz.



453. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00149

Description: Stirrup-spout head effigy vessel. The figure wears ear cylinders and a cap covered by a wrapped textile with a geometric design. Post-fire black badly faded, portions of surface worn off.

Provenance: Strong, Entierro 13 y 16; Foto 39 ; Lámina A  
Phase: IV



454. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00243

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic (loincloth is not depicted) and a hooded mantle. A large bag is slung around the figure's neck and falls down the back. Figure has a wedge-like forelock and distorted facial features. Eyes are wide and staring and the mouth appears to have no lips. The head is tilted to the right. Appears to be from the same mold as CR 35

Provenance: Unknown.  
Phase: V



455. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00251

Description: Standing achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe design, and a thick circlet over a pointed kerchief. Figure has a puffy face.

Provenance: Unknown.



456. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00252

Description: Modeled figure that is a fragment from a larger piece. A hole in the mantle bundle may indicate that it was part of a whistling jar. It depicts a seated double amputee figure wearing a short tunic, a mantle bundle tied at the neck, and a wrapped, pointed kerchief tied in the back. The figure appears to have pads on the knees.

Provenance: Unknown.



457. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00257  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure. The piece has little relief and it is very difficult to discern details. Figure may have amputated feet but this is not certain. The face is poorly modeled and looks clown-like. The only visible element of costume is a wrapped textile band over a kerchief.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken



458. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00262  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a blind figure wearing a long tunic, a mantle bundle tied at the neck, and a pointed kerchief tied over a cap. The piece is highly burnished but poorly fired, with the surface an uneven grey-brown.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III-IV



459. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00263  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure with an amputated foot and prosthesis. He wears a tunic, with a mantle tied at the waist and trailing down the back. He also wears ear cylinders, and a thick circlet over a pointed kerchief. The face seems distorted: eyes are small, chin protrudes, odd mouth, as though teeth are missing. The piece is highly-burnished but unevenly fired.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout tip is modern



460. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00264

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing wrist cuffs and a pointed kerchief tied over a high rectangular element. Other elements of costume are not depicted, the body is depicted in a series of abstracted shapes. The figure's face is heavily wrinkled, with empty eye sockets.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I



461. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00278

Description: Vessel depicting a man lying on his back with legs akimbo, head resting on rolled mat. The figure wears a loincloth, a belt that appears to be double-wrapped, ear spools, and a headcloth tied over a cap. He holds a strand of *espingo* seeds in the left hand, and an oblong object in his right which he holds to his groin. What appears to be a *Strombus* shell sits to the right of the figure's head. The surface of the piece is badly worn.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



462. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00279 healer

Description: Vessel depicting a healer with his patient. The healer wears a kilt, short tunic, ear cylinders, and a wrapped headcloth. The patient is not depicted clearly, but may be female.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



463. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00285

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, mantle tied at the waist, and a thick circlet over a pointed kerchief. The figure has proportionally short limbs, and may be achondroplastic.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout tip is broken, but appears to be III



464. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00287

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure with the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation. He wears a tunic with vertical stripe pattern, mantle bundle at the waist, and a pointed kerchief under a thick circlet. No lower garment is depicted. He holds a staff in his left hand and an ovoid object in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



465. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00289

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee riding a llama. The figure has the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation, and wears a loincloth, a short tunic, and a pointed kerchief under a diagonally-striped circlet. He holds a staff in his left hand and a rope attached to the llama in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



466. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00300  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated blind figure wearing a long tunic and a feline circlet with the limbs projecting, and the tail down the back.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



467. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00301  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, fastened with a belt tied in the front. A scarf is draped across the chest and loosely tied at the back. He also wears a necklace of large, round beads, and a wrapped headcloth. The face is wrinkled and distorted, and he appears to be blind.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV-V



468. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00303  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, covered by a hooded mantle which is wrapped around the body. He also wears a circlet with a circle design, visible under the hood. The left eye is damaged or missing, the face is wrinkled, and there is an indication of moles or similar skin condition.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is probably not original.





469. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00304

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, a mantle tied around the body near the waist, and a mantle bundle tied at the neck. The figure does not seem to have arms, although they may be under the tunic. The figure also wears a cap, topped with a wrapped band and a pointed kerchief with a step design. The figure's mouth has large, protruding teeth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout does not appear to be original.



470. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00306

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, and a mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a camelid circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back. The figure is blind, and holds a bag in the left hand and an unidentified object in the right. The piece is fire-clouded on the right side.

Provenance: Unknown.



471. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00313

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, covered by a hooded mantle which is wrapped around the body. He also wears a circlet with a circle design, visible under the hood. The left eye is damaged or missing, the face is wrinkled, and there is an indication of moles or similar skin condition. Piece appears to be from the same mold as CR 468.

Provenance:

Phase: III



472. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00370

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with two sets of three vertical lines at the neckline and a plain belt at the waist. A tumpline rests across the forehead. The figure appears to have a forelock.

Provenance: Unknown.



473. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00371

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a plain belt at the waist. The hair appears to be uncovered, and is short. The face is somewhat distorted, with small eyes and prominent brow ridges.

Provenance:

Phase: III



474. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00373

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a plain belt tied in front. The hair is short, and the face is distorted in a manner similar to CR 473.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: spout is not original



475. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00374  
 Description: Vessel depicting twins who share a set of legs but have individual arms. They each wear long tunics, hooded mantles supporting a bundle, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and falling to the free shoulder. They also wear ear cylinders and a circlet with two curved projections in the front.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



476. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00377  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a plain belt at the waist, and a broad collar. The hair appears to be uncovered, and is short.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: spout most likely not original.



477. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00378  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing woman carrying a child figure in a mantle. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and a bead necklace. Her braids are depicted as falling inside her tunic. The mantle is tied at her chest. The child figure does not have a depicted costume or hairstyle.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



478. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00382

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a large figure carrying a smaller figure in a mantle tied at the chest. The figure wears wrist cuffs, and a double-strand necklace of oblong beads. A tunic is implied but not depicted, and there is no depiction of the lower body. The hair appears to be uncovered and short. The small figure has no depicted costume or hairstyle.

Provenance: Unknown.



479. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00383

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with plain belt and *ticpis* at the shoulders. She holds a tumpline that rests over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.



480. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00384

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora*, with a smaller figure to her side. She wears a long tunic, a *chuspa* slung on her neck and laying on her left shoulder. She wears a headcloth under her tumpline. The small figure next to her wears a loincloth, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and held to the front of the body, a short tunic, and short hair with a wedge-shaped forelock. Most of the slip and perhaps post-fire black pigment have worn away from the front.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



481. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00385

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* with a small figure to his side. A lot of slip has worn off and with it details. The *cargador* wears a loincloth, short tunic with a step pattern, and a hooded mantle. A *chuspa* is visible on the left side but it is not clear where the strap for it is. A tump line with a net pattern is over the hood, and a wedge-shaped forelock is visible protruding from the front of the hood. The small figure wears a loincloth, which appears to have ties in the back, a short tunic, and holds a *chuspa* sling on the neck and held to the front of the body. He also wears a hood or hooded mantle, and his wedge-shaped forelock is visible underneath it.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



482. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00386

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding two smaller figures over his shoulders. The large figure wears a loincloth, a short tunic with a design of dots and lizards, and a mantle that falls down his back. He may be wearing a headcloth, but the erosion of slip makes this difficult to determine. The small figures both wear loincloths and short tunics, and have short, loose hair.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



483. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00387

Description: Crudely-made *cargadora* vessel, depicted without arms. The figure wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and the depiction of *ticpis* with rounded heads. She has a tumpline across her forehead. Her hair is not clearly depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



484. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00388  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding two smaller figures over his shoulders. The large figure wears a medium-length tunic with a vertical stripe design. He appears to have loose, medium-length hair. No loincloth is depicted. The small figures both wear loincloths and have long, loose hair.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: spout modern



485. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00389  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping *cargadora* with a small figure to her side. She wears a long tunic, a *chuspa* slung over her right shoulder and resting on her left hip, and a tumpline over her headcloth. The small figure wears a loincloth, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the back, and a short tunic. The figure has a wedge-shaped forelock.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV-V



486. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00390  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* with a small figure at her side. The piece has a badly damaged surface, and does not seem to have had painted details. The *cargadora* wears a long tunic, with wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulders. A tump line rests on her headcloth. The small figure has a wedge-shaped forelock, but has no other visible elements of costume.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



487. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00391

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a small figure at her side. She wears a long tunic, a *chuspa* slung over her right shoulder and resting on her left hip, and a headcloth under the tumpline on her forehead. The small figure wears a medium-length tunic, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and held at the front of the body, and has short hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



488. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00392

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic, and a *chuspa* slung across the body and resting at her left hip. Her hair is covered with a headcloth, over which a tumpline with a netted design sits. The small figure has a wedge-shaped forelock and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the back, other elements of costume are unclear.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



489. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00393

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding two smaller figures over his shoulders. The large figure wears a long tunic with a vertical stripe design, and may wear a mantle. He appears to have loose, medium-length hair. No loincloth is depicted. The small figures both wear loincloths and have long, loose hair.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



490. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00394  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* with a smaller figure at her side. She wears a long tunic and a headcloth with a tumpline over it. The smaller figure wears a short tunic, holds a *chuspa* to the front of the body, and has a wedge-shaped forelock.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout not original.



491. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00396  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping *cargadora*, with a smaller figure to her side. She wears a long tunic with a geometric design on the sleeves and *ticpis* with triangular heads. A *chuspa* is slung across her body and rests on her left hip. A tumpline rests on her headcloth. The small figure wears a short tunic, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on his back, and a wedge-shaped forelock. He may have ear cylinders. Some slip gone from the piece, but what remains is highly burnished.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV-V



492. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00397  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargador* with a smaller figure at his side. The larger figure wears a medium-length tunic, plain earspools, a wedge-shaped forelock, and a *chuspa* slung across the body and resting on the left hip. He may have a mantle tied at his back, but it is not clear. He holds a lime container in his left hand. The small figure wears a tunic, *chuspa* held to the front of the body, and has a wedge-shaped forelock.  
 Provenance: Unknown.





493. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00399  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and parted bangs are visible underneath the headcloth. A tumpline rests on her forehead. She has a face paint design of two parallel stripes.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



494. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00401  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline, and the tump bundle itself has a netted design.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



495. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00402  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



496. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00403  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a grid design, and a headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The piece had been broken and reassembled, some rear portions are modern.  
 Provenance: W.D. Strong, Site V-51, Castillo de Tomaval.



497. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00404  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline, the tump bundle itself has a vertical stripe design. There are traces of cream slip but the remaining detail is all modeled.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



498. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00405  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The piece has some fire-clouding, and has a smoothed but not highly burnished surface. Details of the rear of the piece are low relief and difficult to read, perhaps from an end-run of a mold half.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



499. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00406  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout not original.



500. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00410  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic, a belt with a faded circle design, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. She wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The tump bundle itself has a netted design.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



501. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00411  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and wedge-shaped *ticpis* at the shoulder. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline, and the tump bundle itself has a netted design. There is extensive pitting and surface wear. Piece was originally cream and orange with post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



502. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00413

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt, and may have *ticpis* indicated by four inverted Y shapes. A headcloth is visible underneath the tumpline. The head is much more finely made than rest of body, and could be a mold-made appliqué.

Provenance: Unknown.



503. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00417

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman holding a small figure on her lap. She wears a long tunic with a faint pattern of two concentric circles in post-fire black. She also wears wrist cuffs, a thick necklace made of ridged rectangular elements in alternating colors, and her hair is in two braids, which appear to be wrapped. The small figure wears a long tunic with horizontal stripe pattern, its head is missing. There is some fire-clouding on the left side.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I-II



504. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00418

Description: Double-chambered vessel depicting a whistler holding a small figure. While the vessel form is typical of whistling vessels, this one has no whistle element. The whistler wears a medium-length tunic and a hooded mantle, tied at the back of the head and covering a cap. The small figure has short hair but no other costume elements are indicated.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout missing.



505. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00419

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargador* with a small figure at his side. He wears a loincloth, a medium-length tunic with a crossed-line design, and what appears to be a hooded mantle. A tumpline rests on his forehead, and a wedge-shaped forelock is visible from beneath it. A *chuspa* is slung on his left arm at the elbow. The small figure wears a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and possibly a hooded mantle. He holds a *chuspa* to his chest. The surface is heavily damaged, and details difficult to make

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



506. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00420

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman holding a small figure on her lap. The woman wears a long tunic with a pattern of dots inside circles executed in fading post-fire black. She also wears a necklace of rectangular plaques, and her hair is in two wrapped braids or bundles down her back. The small figure has no elements of costume depicted.

Provenance:

Phase: II/III



507. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00421

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure related to the whistler type holding a small figure. He wears a medium-length tunic and over a cap he has a hooded mantle, tied at the back of the neck. The small figure has closed eyes, but no elements of costume are visible.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



508. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00422

Description: Vessel depicting a whistler holding a small figure. He wears a medium-length tunic with vertical stripe design, and a hooded mantle, tied at the back of the neck. A bird effigy is perched on his head, with the wings spread. It is the whistle element for the vessel. He has a wrinkled face, bugged eyes, and pursed lips. The child figure appears to have closed eyes. No elements of costume are depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



509. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00423

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure related to the whistler type holding a small figure. He wears a medium-length tunic and over a cap he has a hooded mantle, tied at the back of the neck. The small figure has closed eyes, but no elements of costume are visible. This piece is nearly identical to CR 507, and is most likely from the same mold.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout may not be original.



510. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00424

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a small figure at her side. She wears a long tunic, and a tumpline over a headcloth. A *chuspa* is indicated at her left hip, but is in an area of reconstruction. The small figure wears a loincloth and short tunic, and holds a *chuspa* to the front of the body.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



511. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00425

Description: Vessel depicting a whistler-type figure, holding a smaller figure with both hands. The larger figure wears a medium-length tunic with a horizontal stripe pattern and a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck. The small figure wears a loincloth but has no other costume elements visible.

Provenance: Unknown.  
Phase: IV



512. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00426

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *achumera* with closed eyes. She wears a long tunic, necklace of rectangular elements, and earspools. Her head is covered with a mantle. Her outstretched hand is damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.  
Phase: III



513. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00427

Description: Unusual piece which depicts a sleeping figure either seated or lying on its side. The figure wears a long tunic, and there are conical shapes near the neck that could be either *ticpis* or ear cylinders. A mantle with a stripe pattern is wrapped over the head and around the body.

Provenance: Unknown.  
Phase: III



514. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00428

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora*. She wears a long tunic with a plain belt and triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders. She appears to have a double-strand necklace, and a tumpline is placed over her headcloth. The piece has a rough surface and minimal detail.

Provenance: Unknown.



515. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00429

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design, a necklace made of rectangular elements, and a crown with a flap down the back in a striped pattern that matches the tunic. The piece is cursorily made and slumps to the figure's left. The bottom of the piece is rounded.

Provenance: Unknown.



516. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00430

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a faint vertical stripe design, a plain collar, and a crown with a flap down the back. The piece is cursorily made and slumps to the figure's left. It is nearly identical to CR 515.

Provenance:

Phase:





517. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00431  
 Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with loose medium-length hair. The eyes are disproportionately large.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



518. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00432  
 Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with loose medium-length hair. The eyes are disproportionately large. Nearly identical with CR 517, but with less detail and a more matte surface.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is missing.



519. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00433  
 Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a medium-length tunic, kilt with triangular design, and loose medium-length hair. The eyes are disproportionately large. Similar to CR 517 and CR 518, but with different elements of costume incised.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



520. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00434  
 Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with loose medium-length hair. The eyes are disproportionately large. Similar to CR 517-519, with a greyer surface.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout may not be original.



521. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00435  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman holding a small figure on her lap. She wears a long tunic, a mantle over her back, wrist cuffs, a necklace of rectangular elements, ear cylinders, and two long wrapped braids. The child figure may be nursing, although this is not clear. The child wears a long tunic, but has no other elements of costume depicted. The piece is a fire-clouded brown-red; may be failed reduction firing.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout missing.



522. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00437  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a sleeping *cargadora* with a small figure at her side. She wears a long tunic, a *chuspa* slung across the body and resting on the left hip, and a tumpline over a headcloth. The small figure does not have visible elements of costume.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



523. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00438  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with remnants of a circle pattern in post-fire black. A mantle may be draped over the left shoulder but this is not clear. The hair is in braids.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout missing.



524. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00439  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, wrist cuffs, a necklace of oblong beads, and two sections or braids down her back.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout probably not be original.



525. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00441  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman wearing a long tunic, a double-strand necklace of round beads, and hair in braids.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout may not be original.



526. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00446

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic with plain belt, necklace of large round beads, earspools with roundels at the edge, and hair in braids. She carries a large, round object in her hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout may not be original.



527. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00447

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a woman wearing a mantle tied at the chest, a necklace of oblong beads, and braids. A tunic is implied but not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



528. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00448

Description: Crudely made face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a mantle, fastened at the neck. A tunic is implied but not depicted. The hair appears to be covered but this is not clear.

Provenance: Unknown.



529. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00449

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder with closed eyes, wearing a kilt, short tunic, earspools, and an animal circlet underneath a mantle draped over the head. The surface is badly damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.



530. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00450

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic with vertical stripe design, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a cap with flap. He holds a strand of *espingo* seeds in his hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



531. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00451

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder with eyes closed. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with serrated hem, wrist cuffs, a necklace of rectangular elements, earspools with a center dot design, and a mantle draped over the head. He holds a set of rattle-bells in the left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



532. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00452

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a woman wearing a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the chest. She holds her braids with her hands. The vessel surface is heavily damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.



533. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00453

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder with eyes closed. He wears a kilt over a loincloth, short tunic, a plain necklace, ear spools with an outer stripe design, and a mantle draped over the head. He holds a set of rattle-bells in the left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



534. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00454

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding a strand of *espingo* seeds. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. A *chuspa* is slung on his neck and rests on the left rear shoulder. He has a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar fashion. There is extensive surface wear.

Provenance: Unknown.



535. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00455

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding a strand of *espingo* seeds. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with tabbed hem, three-strand necklace, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He wears a feline circlet with forelimbs and tail flap down the back, supporting a semicircular element with roundels at the outer edge.

Provenance: Unknown.



536. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00456

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder with eyes closed. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with serrated hem, wrist cuffs, a necklace of rectangular elements, ear spools with a spiral design, and a mantle draped over the head. He holds a set of rattle-bells in the left hand.

Post-fire black has faded in most places, but visible in leg paint.

Provenance: Unknown.



537. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00457

Description: Vessel depicting what appears to be an *achumera*. The eyes are closed, mouth is slightly open. She wears a long tunic, with a mantle draped over the head. She holds an unidentified object in her left hand. The piece is crudely made with low detail, sloppy painting and surface damage.

Provenance: Unknown.



538. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00458

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar with stripe design, ear spools with a center dot design, and a feline circle with a tail flap down the back. Rather carelessly painted, does not follow guidelines of the modeling and incisions.

Provenance: Unknown.



539. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00459

Description: Vessel that appears to depict a prisoner, with a rope around the neck and trailing down the chest. He wears a crescent nose ornament, ear spools with a crossed-line design, and a feline circlet. The piece is heavily damaged, with little detail.

Provenance: Unknown.



540. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00460

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a serrated hem, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad collar with a step and fret design, ear spools with a spiral design, and a cap and flap, perhaps with a helmet over it. He holds a mace in his left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.





541. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00461

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain, broad collar, and plain earspools. He wears a feline cirlet with forelimbs and a tail flap down the back, and carries a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



542. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00462

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain, broad collar, and earspools with a circle and dot design. He wears a cap with a flap down the back, possible a helmet, and carries a mace in both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



543. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00463

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a horizontal line pattern, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and earspools with a spiral design. He wears a cirlet supporting two circular bosses and a flap down the back, carries a mace in his right hand and a round shield in his left. Piece is broken, bottom missing.

Provenance: Unknown.



544. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00464

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a vertical stripe design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain, broad collar, earspools with a crossed line design, and a crescent nose ornament. He wears a feline cirlet with outstretched forepaws and a tail flap down the back, carries a mace in his left hand and a round shield in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



545. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00465

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt with dot pattern, short tunic with matching dots, wrist cuffs, plain, broad collar, and plain earspools. He wears what appears to be a helmet with tiered flap down the back, and carries a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



546. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00466

Description: Large vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a fret design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain, broad collar, and earspools with a dot design around the edge. He wears what may be a helmet with a vertical stripe design, and a flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



547. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00467

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with spiral wave design, broad collar with vertical stripe pattern, and earspools with a concentric circle design. He wears a high cap wrapped with a thin band, and held in place with a chin tie over a flap which hangs down the back. There may be a flap or mantle hanging from the waist, but the attachment is unclear. The figure has no arms, and no indication that there are arms inside tunic.

Provenance: Unknown.



548. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00468

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, a broad collar with a step pattern, and a conical helmet with flap down the back. The figure's hands and face have black paint.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



549. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00469

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a tabbed hem, a short tunic, plain, broad collar, and an animal cirlet with limbs over a headcloth. He carries a mace in his right hand and a round shield in his left. The mouth is downturned and somewhat protruding.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



550. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00470

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his right knee. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and belt with *ulluchu* design. He also wears wrist cuffs, a feline circling which supports a crescent *tumi* element, and sits on a headcloth with flap down the back. He carries a mace in both hands. Traces of leg paint in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



551. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00473

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his left knee, wearing a loincloth under a kilt with plated hem and circular appliqués, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a feline circling supporting two cupped bosses and a crescent *tumi* element. A flap down the back is edged in dark fringe. He has the tripartite face paint design, and holds his mace in both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



552. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00474

Description: Standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a vertical stripe design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad collar with ovoid designs, plain earspools, and a feline circling with limbs and a tail flap down the back. He carries a mace in his right hand and a round shield in his left.

Provenance: Unknown.



553. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00475

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and earspools with a concentric circle design.

He wears a feline circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



554. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00476

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, and an animal circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief, tied at the chin.

Provenance: Unknown.



555. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00477

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, a scarf wrapped twice at the chest, and a feline circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief, tied at the chin.

Provenance: Unknown.



556. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00478

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, broad, plain collar, ear spools with a peripheral stripe design, and a feline circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



557. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00479

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a triangle design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain, broad collar, plain earspools, and a feline circlet with limbs and a tail down the back. The circlet sits on top of a headcloth. He carries a square shield in his left hand and a mace in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



558. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00480

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a short tunic with dark and light halves, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a crown with a triangle design. The figure's arms may be inside the tunic, no loincloth is depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



559. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00482

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior, with his left knee on the ground. He wears a kilt with a dot design and a serrated hem, a matching short tunic, and a plain backflap. He also wears wrist cuffs, a conical helmet with a central *tumi* crest and two head effigies with *tumi* crests to either side, and a flap down the back. He holds a round shield in his left hand and a mace in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout missing.



560. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00485

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior, kneeling with his right knee on the ground. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with catfish design, a plain backflap, wrist cuffs, earspools with a center dot design, and a conical helmet over a headcloth. He holds a round shield in his right hand and a mace in his left.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout missing.



561. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00486

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior, with his left knee on the ground. He wears a loincloth with a dot design, short tunic with spiral wave design, wrist cuffs, broad collar with stepped triangle design, earspools with an animal-head design, and a conical helmet with a flap down the back. He holds a round shield on his left wrist and a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



562. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00487  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a step and fret design, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and conical helmet with flap. The surface of the piece is badly eroded.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout missing.



563. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00488  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a vertical stripe design, short tunic, broad collar with alternating colors, and a cap and flap.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout missing.



564. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00489  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a loincloth that appears to have a flap in the back, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, plain earspools, and a conical tiered helmet with a tiered flap in back. The helmet has a triangular ruffed chinstrap.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout may not be original.





565. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00490

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth which may have a rear flap, a kilt with vertical stripe and pelage mark design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and conical helmet with flap down the back. The piece has some fire clouding, the cream slip is fading. Rear of piece either completely faded or never painted, not possible to tell.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



566. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00491

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design, and possibly a collar. He also wears earpools with a center dot design, and a feline circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back, seated on a pointed kerchief. The piece has a rough surface, and a crack on one side may follow a mold seam.

Provenance: Unknown.



567. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00492

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with a circle and stripe design, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, ear spools with spiral design, and an animal circlet with limbs and tail flap down the back, seated over a headcloth. He holds a circular shield in his left hand and a mace in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



568. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00493

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, broad, plain collar, plain earspools, and an animal circlet with a tail flap down the back. The circlet is placed over a headcloth. He holds a round shield in the right hand and a mace in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



569. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00494

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs with vertical stripe design, broad, plain collar, and an animal circlet with limbs and tail flap down the back. He carries a mace in his left hand and a rectangular shield in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



570. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00495

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, plain earspools, and an animal circlet with forelimbs outstretched and tail flap down the back. A tunic is implied but not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



571. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00496

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, which may have a flap behind it or a mantle draping down the back. He also wears a short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad collar with wedge design, and a crown or circlet with vertical stripes and a flap down the back. He carries a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



572. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00497

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, broad collar with a single stripe, earpools with a center dot design, and an animal circlet with limbs and a tail flap in the back. He also wears a crown-like element with semicircles at the rim. He carries a mace in his left hand and a circular shield in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



573. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00498

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and a feline circlet with forelimbs and a tail flap in the back, over a headcloth. He holds a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



574. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00499

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth beneath a kilt with a tabbed hem, short tunic, a scarf wrapped twice around the chest, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools with a center dot design, and a headcloth with a long flap, tied over a narrow band wrapped twice around the head.

Provenance: Unknown.



575. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00500

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar with a geometric pattern, and a feline circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. The slip and post-fire black are both badly faded.

Provenance: Unknown.



576. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00501

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and a plain, narrow circlet placed over a pointed kerchief and a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout missing.



577. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00502

Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a kilt, a plain backflap on a narrow belt, a short tunic with spiral wave design, wrist cuffs, and ear spools with a crossed-line design. He also wears a conical helmet with a wave spiral and a tiered flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



578. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00504

Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a loincloth, a plain belt supporting a backflap, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and plain ear spools. He also wears a conical helmet and flap, placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



579. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00505

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, crescent nose ornament, ear spools with dots at the outer edge, and a conical helmet with flap. His hands are crossed over his chest.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



580. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00506

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic with a large rectangular appliqué at the chest, wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He also wears a conical helmet with rounded projections, placed over a headcloth. His teeth are bared, and a teardrop-shaped object projects from the mouth, which may be a stylized trophy head suspended by its hair.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



581. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00507

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his left knee. He wears a loincloth underneath a kilt with a circle design, a short tunic with matching pattern, a plain belt supporting a backflap, and wrist cuffs. He also wears a broad, plain collar, crescent nose ornament, earspools with concentric circle design, and a feline circlet with front paws outstretched, placed over a headcloth. He holds a mace with both hands and has a small circular shield on his left wrist.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



582. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00509

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing plain earspools, animal circlet with extended front paws and a tail flap down the back, over a headcloth. The piece has very little surface detail and is roughly finished.

Provenance: Unknown.



583. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00510

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs and a headcloth covered by what may be a conical helmet. He holds a mace in both hands. A tunic is implied but not depicted, there is no depiction of a lower garment.

Provenance: Unknown.



584. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00511

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with vertical stripe design, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar with wedge design. He also wears earspools with a center dot design, and a feline circlet with rounded pawlike projections at the sides, placed over a headcloth. He carries a mace in his right hand and a circular shield in his left. There is some fire-clouding, and the middle back of the figure is slumped inwards.

Provenance: Unknown.



585. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00512

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior seated on a throne. He wears a kilt, belt, and short tunic which all have matching bicolor designs, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar that continues the bicolor theme. He also wears a crescent nose ornament, earspools with a center dot design, and a tiered conical helmet, which has the same alternating bicolor fields as the rest of the costume.

Provenance: Unknown.



586. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00513

Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a loincloth, tunic with asymmetrical pattern, wrist cuffs, earspools with a center dot and smaller dots around the edge, and a conical helmet with a dot “headband” design, placed over a headcloth. He holds a round shield in his left hand and a mace in his right.

Phase: Spout is broken.



587. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00514

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth with a flap in the back, short tunic, wrist cuffs, earspools with center dot design, and a conical helmet with flap down the back. He holds a mace in both hands, the head of which is broken off. The piece has some fire-clouding.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



588. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00515

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic, a short mantle at the shoulders, and a broad collar with long vertical projections in the front and back. He also wears plain earspools, a conical helmet with two rounded projections, and a headcloth underneath. He has a bag resting on his back that has an elaborate fringe at the bottom, which incorporates two human heads. He carries a club-like object in his left hand, and in his clenched teeth is what may be a stylized trophy head suspended by its hair. Similar to CR 580.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.





589. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00516

Description: Vessel depicting a seated ritual runner. He wears a loincloth and a fancy belt with a dot design and bells pendant from the bottom, tied at the back. He also wears wrist cuffs, ear cylinders, and an animal circling with limbs and a tail down the back. The circling supports a large circular projection with roundels at the edge, and a long, narrow textile with a serrated edge loops down his back, emerging from under his circling. The surface is badly worn, with almost no slip left.

Provenance: Unknown.



590. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00517

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with vertical line design, short tunic, broad, plain collar, and a pointed kerchief under a cap. The figure has no arms, and no indication of arms in tunic.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



591. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00518

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt with vertical line design, short tunic, broad collar with step and fret design, and a pointed kerchief under a cap. The figure has no arms, and no indication of arms in tunic. Very similar to CR 590.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



592. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00519

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a broad belt with a design depicting a bird warrior, tied in the back, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, and ear cylinders. He also wears a wrapped headcloth with a flap down the back, covered by a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



593. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00520

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his left knee. He wears a loincloth with a tiered, plated flap in back, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a tiered conical helmet with a tiered flap down the back. He carries a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



594. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00521

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with a vertical stripe design, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He also wears a conical helmet with a flap down the back. The piece has a very heavily worn surface.

Provenance:

Phase: Spout is broken.



595. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00522

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling with his left knee on the ground. He wears a loincloth underneath a kilt, short tunic, and a plain belt supporting a plain backflap. He also wears wrist cuffs, plain earspools, a feline circlet with raised front paws and a tail down the back. The circlet supports a *tumi* crest element, and has a chin strap with a triangular ruff. It is set over a headcloth. The figure holds a mace in his hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



596. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00524

Description: Vessel depicting a standing achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with a netted design. He also wears a short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a pointed kerchief underneath a plain circlet.

Provenance: Unknown.



597. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00525

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing what appears to be a long tunic with a triangular design. The ears are depicted with holes but no ornaments, and he wears a crown or circlet.

Provenance: Unknown.



598. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00526

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth with a dot design underneath a kilt with a vertical stripe design. He also wears a short tunic, wrist cuffs with a dot design, broad collar with a triangle design, and earspools with a spiral design. On his head is a feline circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back, over a pointed kerchief.

Provenance: Unknown.



599. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00527

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with step and fret design, short tunic, and a broad, plain collar. He also wears what appears to be a helmet, and holds a mace in his left hand and a square shield on his right wrist.

Provenance: Unknown.



600. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00528

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools with an outer line design, and a feline circlet with front paws extended and a tail flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. He holds a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



601. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00530

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with a triangle design, short tunic with dot design, and wrist cuffs. He also wears a broad, plain collar, earspools with a center dot design, and what appears to be a helmet with a flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. He holds a square shield in his left hand and a mace in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



602. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00531

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with an off-center division between light and dark, a short tunic which may have once matched the kilt, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools with a center dot design, a circlet with rounded projections, and a tiered flap down the back. The circlet is on top of a headcloth. He holds a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



603. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00532

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt with tabbed hem, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar. He also wears what appears to be a tiered helmet with a matching flap down the back, over a headcloth. He carries a mace in his left hand and a square shield in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



604. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00533

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt with a tabbed hem, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and ear spools with a circle design. He also wears a circlet which supports a tall element in the front, with metal disks at the bottom. He holds a square shield in the left hand and a staff or baton in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



605. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00534

Description: Vessel depicting a hunter wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with dotted zigzag design, short tunic with square pattern, and ear cylinders with a horizontal stripe design. He has a headcloth wrapped around his head, and carries a square shield in his right hand and a rounded club in his left. On his back he carries the carcass of a male deer, with testicles and antlers clearly depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



606. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00536

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and broad, plain collar. He also wears a circlet with a half-circle element in the front, placed over a pointed kerchief.

Provenance: Unknown.



607. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00537

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe design, and a circlet with circle design. His face is painted with a wave design. The piece is very heavy, and the cream slip is heavily worn.

Provenance: Unknown.



608. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00538

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt with serrated hem, short tunic, and a mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a cap and flap with a tape tied around it at the front of the head. He holds a bag in the right hand and a pair of rattles with an attached cord in his left. There is a lump on the right side of his face, possibly indicating coca chewing.

Provenance: Unknown.



609. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00539

Description: Vessel depicting a seated ritual runner. He wears a loincloth, a belt with metal disks, and has ear holes with no ornaments. The headdress is damaged, what remains is an animal circlet with a chevron design on the body and a tail flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. The top portion of the headdress is missing.

Provenance: Unknown.



610. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00540

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and plain earspools. He also wears an animal circlet with the front paws extended and a tail flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. He holds a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



611. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00541

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs with a zigzag design, a collar with a single horizontal stripe at the bottom, and earspools with a center dot design. He wears a circlet with two triangular projections, over a headcloth and a flap down the back. The piece is heavily fire-clouded, the cream slip heavily damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.



612. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00543

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, earspools, and a circlet over a pointed kerchief. The surface of the piece is badly damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.





613. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00544

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt with serrated hem, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar with a triangle design. He wears a headdress with a double step element, where the step portions face each other.

Provenance: Unknown.



614. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00545

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, tunic, and broad collar with a dot design. He wears ear spools with a concentric circle design, and a headdress composed of a hemispherical helmet with triangular projections at the sides and a *tumi* crest, placed over a headcloth with a flap in the back. He holds a square shield in his left hand and a club composed of a circular mace head placed around the shaft of the club.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



615. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00546

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt with a tabbed hem, plain belt, tunic, and a mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a double-strand necklace of round beads, plain ear spools, and a headdress composed of two folded and tied textile bundles, a cap, and a large hemispherical projection.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



616. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00548

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a circlet with two rounded projections at the sides and two plume-like projections in the front. He holds a small feline with both hands. The piece is rather crudely made, and the surface damaged. The piece appears to have been mold made.

Provenance: Unknown.



617. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00552

Description: Vessel depicting a seated ritual runner. He wears a belt with bells or beads at the bottom edge, tied in the back, ear cylinders, and an animal circlet with limbs and tail hanging down the back. The top element of the headdress is missing, but two long tapered elements with serrated edges fall down the back. No loincloth is depicted. The piece has a rough surface, minimal detail, and fire clouding. A mold seam is visible.

Provenance: Unknown.



618. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00553

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical line design, earpools with outer ring design, and an animal circlet (missing its head) with limbs, tail down the back, and pelage marks. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. He carries an animal carcass that may be a deer on his back, it has depicted testes but no antlers.

Provenance: Unknown.



619. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00554

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and plain collar. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a cap and flap or hair styled to resemble this. He holds a double strand of objects in his hands, similar to *espingo* seeds but rendered as rectangular units. The surface is badly damaged in places.

Provenance: Unknown.



620. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00555

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe pattern, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and what appears to be a plain circlet. He holds a double strand of *espingo* seeds in his hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



621. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00556

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with tabbed hem, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a plain, broad collar. He also wears plain earspools and a crown or helmet. He holds a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



622. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00560

Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a sleeping warrior. He wears a short tunic, and a conical helmet with flap, placed over a headcloth. No loincloth is depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout missing.



623. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00561

Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a sleeping warrior. He wears a short tunic, earspools with roundels at the edge, and a conical helmet with flap. The helmet has a chinstrap with triangular ruff. No loincloth is depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout missing.



624. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00562

Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He also wears plain earspools and a conical helmet with a flap down the back. The piece is highly burnished but poorly fired, resulting in a mottled pink/black surface.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



625. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00563

Description: Reduction-ware vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He wears a conical helmet, with a flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



626. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00564

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and plain earspools. He wears a thin circlet over a headcloth with geometric design, with a flap down the back and with tassels at the ends. No other elements of costume are depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



627. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00565

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure kneeling on the left knee, wearing a loincloth under a kilt with tabbed hem, short tunic, and a plain belt with bells and a plain backflap suspended from it. He also wears wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, earspools with roundels at the edge, and a flattened hemispherical helmet, with a tiered flap down the back and over a headcloth with tasseled ends. The septum is depicted as pierced, and could have held a nose ornament.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



628. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00566

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a hunter wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with tabbed hem, short tunic, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and possibly a headcloth. He has a square shield in his right hand, and in his left carries a club composed of a lobed mace-head hafted onto the shaft of the club. On his back he carries a deer, depicted with antlers but no testes.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



629. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00567

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and broad collar with a design of dotted lines. On his head he wears a plain circlet supporting two hemispherical projections with a dot design, placed over a headcloth with tasseled ends and another with conical bells or tassels at the hem. The eyes, wrist cuffs, and circular depressions may have been inlaid.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



630. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00568

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure kneeling on his left knee. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with plated hem, and wrist cuffs. He also wears a circlet with four hemispherical projections, over a headcloth and a long tape with trailing ends tied at the back. The piece is badly damaged in places.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



631. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00569

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a short tunic, a broad collar with step and fret design, and earspools with a stripe around the outer edge. He also wears a circlet which supports four hemispherical projections with spiral designs and a plume fan, placed over a pointed kerchief over a headcloth with tassels at the ends. The figure has a heavily wrinkled face.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



632. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00570

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, a collar, wrist cuffs, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He also wears a circlet with a projection depicting a human head in the front and a hemispherical projection in the back. He holds a square shield in his left hand and in his right a club composed of a circular mace head hafted on the shaft. Hanging from his teeth by its hair is a human head with wire-and-drop circle earrings and plaque behind it.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



633. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00571

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated ritual runner wearing a plain belt, wrist cuffs, and an animal circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back. The headdress is placed over a pointed kerchief and a headcloth. The headdress appears to have had a circular element with roundels at the edge, which is mostly broken off. A loincloth is implied but not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



634. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00572

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure kneeling on his left knee. He wears a kilt with dot design at the hem, a plain belt supporting a backflap, short tunic, and wrist cuffs with a dot design. He also wears a round nose ornament, earspools, and a hemispherical helmet with a fanlike projection in the back and supporting two hemispherical projections and a reconstructed *tumi* crest. He holds a square shield in his left hand and a club or mace of some sort in both hands, the head of which is broken off.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is modern.



635. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00573

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure kneeling on his left knee. He wears a kilt with dots at the hem, sleeveless tunic, and a plain belt which supports a plain backflap. He also wears wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, earspools with a dot and crossed-line design, and a circular nose ornament. On his head he wears a feline circlet with heavily outsized paws extended, with a tail flap down the back and a *tumi* crescent element, placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



636. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00574

Description: Reduction-fired vessel of a warrior kneeling on his left knee, wearing a kilt with dot design, plain belt with plain backflap, and short tunic. He also wears wrist cuffs, broad collar with dot motif, and earspools with a center dot design. He wears a conical helmet with a flap down the back, two feline serpent elements at the sides, and a *tumi* crescent element on top. Two tapered elements of a headcloth emerge from under the helmet. He holds a square shield in his left hand and a mace in his right, the head of which has been reconstructed. The eye sockets are empty, and may have been meant for inlay.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV





637. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00575

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and plain belt suspending a backflap with bells. He also wears wrist cuffs, plain earspools, and a circlet supporting a double-step element and a *tumi* crest, worn over a headcloth. He holds a human-headed club with both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



638. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00576

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a short tunic, a mantle tied at the neck, wrist cuffs, and a conical helmet with a flap down the back. There is no depiction of a loincloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



639. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00577

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a mantle tied at the neck and a conical helmet with flap, over a headcloth. No other garments are depicted. The helmet and flap are decorated with alternating stripes of light and dark slip.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



640. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00578  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a mantle fastened at the neck, wrist cuffs, and a conical helmet with flap down the back, placed over a headcloth.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



641. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00579  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a conical helmet with flap down the back, over a headcloth. The helmet has a chinstrap with a ruff of triangular shapes.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



642. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00580  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a short tunic, a belt with bells and an *ulluchu*-decorated backflap attached, and earspools with a center dot design. He wears a conical helmet with flap down the back, over a headcloth. The helmet has a chin strap with a ruff of triangular shapes.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



643. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00581

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic painted half light and half dark, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a tonsure-like hairstyle or a circlet with flap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



644. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00582

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He has a dot of cream slip on the earlobes, but the type of ornament this may indicate is unclear. He has either a tonsure-like hairstyle or a circlet with flap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



645. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00583

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt and a medium-length tunic painted with a serrated line design. He has ear holes but no ornaments, and either a tonsure-like hairstyle or a circlet with flap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



646. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00584  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. There is a dot of slip on the earlobes but the type of ornament this may indicate is not clear. He has either a cap and flap or hair styled to resemble this.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III-IV



647. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00586  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, wearing a loincloth, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He wears a conical helmet with a flap down the back, and a chin strap with triangle ruff, worn over a headcloth. He appears to have a bulge in the left cheek. The piece is badly damaged, about half of the surface is gone.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



648. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00587  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, wearing a kilt with a tabbed hem, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He wears ear spools with a center dot design, a conical helmet with a tiered flap down the back, and a chin strap with triangle ruff, worn over a headcloth.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



649. Institution: MNAHP

Accession number: C-00588

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, wearing a kilt with a vertical stripe design, short tunic, mantle, and wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design. He wears ear spools with a circle design, a conical helmet with a flap down the back, and a chin strap with triangle ruff, worn over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



650. Institution: MNAHP

Accession number: C-00589

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, wearing a kilt with tabbed hem, mantle, and wrist cuffs. No tunic is depicted. He wears ear spools with a dot and circle design, a conical helmet with a tiered flap down the back, and a chin strap with triangle ruff, placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Tip of spout is modern, appears to be IV.



651. Institution: MNAHP

Accession number: C-00590

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, wearing a plain belt supporting a backflap with *ulluchu* design and bells. He wears a short tunic, ear spools with a dot design, and a conical helmet with a ruffed chinstrap. The helmet supports two circular bosses with dot designs, and is worn over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



652. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00591

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, long tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and falling to the rear left shoulder. He wears a mantle wrapped under the right shoulder and tied on the left, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. His hair is either in a tonsure-like style, or he wears a circlet with a flap.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



653. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00592

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with vertical-stripe design, a *chuspa* resting on the left rear shoulder, and ear holes with no ornament. The hair is either in a tonsure style or he wears a circlet with a flap down the back. The piece has a heavily-worn surface.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



654. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00593

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt and a medium-length tunic. His hair is either cut in a tonsure style, or he wears a circlet with a flap down the back. He holds an unidentified object in his right hand. The piece is heavily worn, with very little visible detail.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



655. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00594  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a loincloth under a kilt, short tunic, and a plain belt with bells suspended from it. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings and a conical helmet and flap. The piece is fire-clouded and sloppily painted.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



656. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00595  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with a design composed of vertical stripes and crossed lines, and either a cap and flap or hair styled in the same form.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is missing.



657. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00596  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with a bowl in its lap. The figure wears a long tunic, and an animal circlet over a pointed kerchief. The piece may have mold seam on the right side. There is very poor detail and very little painted information.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



658. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00597

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe pattern, and a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck. A wedge-shaped forelock is visible under the hood.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



659. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00598

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, and a mantle bundle on his back. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a circlet with two plume-shaped projections in the front. A *chuspa* is held to the front of his body.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



660. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00599

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* resting on the right rear shoulder. He either wears a cap and flap or has hair styled to resemble the same.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.





661. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00601

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design, with a mantle looped under the left shoulder and tied over the right. His ears have three holes, but no ornaments. He either wears a cap and flap or has hair styled to look like this.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



662. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00602

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing wrist cuffs, a conical helmet with a flap down the back, and a chin strap with triangular ruff, placed over a headcloth. There is very little slip left on the vessel.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



663. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00603

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic and with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left shoulder. He either wears a circlet with a flap down the back or has a tonsure-like hairstyle.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout tip is modern.



664. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00604  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and either a cap and flap or hair styled to this shape.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



665. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00605  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic divided between light and dark halves, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or has hair styled in this manner.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



666. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00608  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a plain collar, earspools, and a cap with a flap down the back. The piece has a rough, unfinished surface with cracks and large inclusions, as well as fire clouding  
 Provenance: Unknown.



667. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00609

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a plain broad collar, and earspools with a dot design. He also wears an animal circlet with limbs and tail down that back. The piece is poorly formed and fired, with fire clouding and slumping

Provenance: Unknown.



668. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00610

Description: Vessel depicting a seated achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, a short tunic with an inverted step design, and a circlet with diagonal stripe design.

Provenance: Unknown.



669. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00611

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad, plain collar, and earspools with an outer line design. He wears a crown or circlet with a horizontal line design and a flap down the back. The piece has some fire clouding, and may have had post-fire black but it is difficult to tell.

Provenance: Unknown.



670. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00612

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with a circle-and-dot design, a mantle tied at the chest, and earspools with a crossed line and dot design. He also wears a circlet with rounded, paw-like projections at the sides. The piece is partially restored and cursorily painted. The bottom of the vessel is rounded.

Provenance: Unknown.



671. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00616

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic, a collar composed of rectangular elements, and pendant crescent earrings. He also wears a circlet with a knob-like projection and two broken elements to the sides. His hair is in a club-like ponytail in the back. He holds a small feline with both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



672. Institution: MNAAHP  
Accession number: C-00617

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical line design, and a circlet with a dot design.

Provenance: Unknown.



673. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00618

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth and a medium-length tunic with vertical stripe design. He wears a feline circlet with limbs and a tail down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



674. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00621

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design and a twisted circlet. A small feline sits on his left shoulder, with a rope around its neck which is held in the figure's left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



675. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00622

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with a small trapezoidal shape at the neck, and a band wrapped twice around the head. The hair underneath appears to be short. He holds a round object in his right hand, which has short lines radiating from the edge. The left hand appears to point to the object.

Provenance: Unknown.



676. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00623

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a cap and flap. He holds a branch in his hand which is laden with *ulluchu* fruits. No lower garment is depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



677. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00624

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic of undetermined length and a circlet placed over a kerchief and head cloth, tied at the chin. The lower half of the body is not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



678. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00627

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic with inverted step design at the neck, and a pointed kerchief underneath a circlet with a circle design. He also wears wrist cuffs. The lower half of the body is not clearly depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.



679. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00628  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, with a geometric design at the neck. He wears a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



680. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00629  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, a mantle tied at the chest, ear cylinders, and a pointed kerchief over a headcloth. The lower lip is asymmetrical.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



681. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00630  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle draped over the shoulders and a bundle at the back of the neck. He wears an elaborate headcloth with long tasseled flap, with a tape wrapped around the head and tied on top of the head. The right side of the headcloth has two relief elements depicting owl and shorebird heads.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



682. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00632

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a step. He wears a kilt with a dot pattern, a short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He also wears ear spools with a concentric circle design, and a kerchief, tied at the chin and placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout tip is modern.



683. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00633

Description: vessel depicting a figure seated on a throne or step. He wears a tunic, with a mantle draped over his shoulders. He wears a necklace of round beads, ear spools with a dot design, and a plain circlet placed over a cap and flap. He appears to have a bowl in his lap. On the base, to his left, is a dart or lance head, as well as an animal depicted in relief, most likely a dog or fox. The lower portion of the man's body is not visible.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



684. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00636

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with an inverted step design variant, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He has ear holes but no ornaments, and wears either a circlet and flap or has his hair styled in a similar shape. He has no arms in his sleeves.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III





685. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00637

Description: Vessel depicting a man holding a tunic with both hands. The tunic has an inverted step design at the yoke and a wave design at the hem. The man wears a medium-length tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in a similar shape. The piece has been broken and reassembled.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



686. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00638

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a mantle tied at the chest. He appears to have a rope tied around the neck, which trails to the left rear shoulder. He also wears wire-and-drop trapezoid earrings, and a hood with a large tassel or plume-like object on top. The back of the hood ends in a broad edge with a fringed hem.

Provenance: Unknown.



687. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00639

Description: Vessel depicting a man holding a tunic with both hands. The tunic has an inverted step design in the upper half of the garment. The man wears a loincloth, a tunic, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He also wears a circlet with pawlike extensions and a flap down the back. His right leg has sock-like painting in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is not original



688. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00640

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a platform or bench. He wears wrist cuffs, a collar with vertical stripe pattern, and a thin, flattened circlet. The circlet is placed over a headcloth with fringed ends. No other garments are depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



689. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00642

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a step or throne. He wears wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and a thin, narrow circlet. The circlet is placed over a headcloth with fringed ends and a flap down the back. Very similar to CR 688.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



690. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00643

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe design, and either a circlet and flap or hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



691. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00644  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a small tunic with both hands. The tunic has an asymmetrical bird design. The man wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a circlet with pawlike projections at the sides.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is not original.



692. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00645  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design and ear spools with a radiating curved-line design. He wears an unusual diamond-shaped headband. The arms are not visible.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout probably not original to vessel.



693. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00646  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a medium-length tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He has ear cylinders, and wears either a cylinder and flap or hair styles in a similar shape. There is a three-dimensional representation of a mustache and goatee on his face. His arms are inside his tunic, with the hands visible on the knees.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: IV



694. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00647

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He has ear holes with no ornament, and either wears a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form. He holds a parrot, perched on a stick in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



695. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00648

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He has ear holes with no ornament, and wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. His arms are inside his tunic, the hands visible on his knees.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



696. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00649

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He appears to have a pair of bracelets on his left wrist, and wears plain earspools. He wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form, and holds a lime container in his left hand and a dipper in his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



697. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00651

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt, long tunic, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. There are three small dots painted on the ear cartilage with cream slip, but no indication of whether these are ornaments, holes, or body paint. He wears either a circlet with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece is heavily overfired.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



698. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00652

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the chest. He has wire-and-drop circle earrings and wears either a circlet with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece has some fire-clouding.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



699. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00653

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt, long tunic, and *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He has ear holes with no ornaments, and wears either a circlet with flap or has hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



700. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00656  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, ear cylinders, and a hooded mantle with a vertical stripe pattern. A wedge-shaped forelock is visible from beneath the hood. The piece is crudely painted with post-fire black  
 Provenance: Unknown.



701. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00657  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He has wire-and-drop circle earrings, and wears either a circlet with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece is poorly fired, with a rough surface and some fire-clouding.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



702. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00659  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe pattern, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. His arms may be in his tunic.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.



703. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00660

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt, long tunic with a vertical stripe design, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a circlet with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece is partially reduction-fired or heavily fire-clouded.

Provenance: Unknown.



704. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00661

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt, medium-length tunic with step design, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings and either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form

Provenance: Unknown.



705. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00662

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with serrated line design, and a mantle tied under the left shoulder and over the right. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece is unevenly fired and has some fire-clouding.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



706. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00663  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt with vertical stripe pattern, a long tunic with a stripe and zigzag pattern, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings and either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece is sloppily painted in thin cream slip.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



707. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00664  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe pattern and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He also wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II-III



708. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00665  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II-III





709. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00666

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece has extensive fire-clouding.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



710. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00667

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a long tunic divided into quadrants of light and dark slip, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form

Provenance: Unknown.



711. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00668

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic divided into quadrants of light and dark slip, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He has ear holes but no ornaments, and wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is damaged.



712. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00669

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt with a horizontal stripe design, tunic with vertical stripe design, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. The left ear has a mark for an ear hole. He wears either a cap with flap or has hair styled in a similar form. The piece has a very worn surface.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout may not be original.



713. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00670

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a short tunic with a variation of the wave spiral, a mantle draped over the shoulders, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earpools with a concentric circle design, and a conical helmet with a flap down the back and a chinstrap ruff composed of octopus-arm shapes. The helmet is placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



714. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-00671

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior wearing a kilt, a belt supporting a plain backflap, and a short tunic with a wave spiral design. He also wears wrist cuffs with a dot design, earpools with a wedge design, and a conical helmet with a tiered flap in the back. The helmet is placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout may not be original.



715. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00672  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design, and either a cap with flap or hair styled in a similar form. The arms may be inside the tunic.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II



716. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-00673  
 Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt, tunic with vertical stripe design, and a circlet with flap or hair styled in a similar form. The left side is fire-clouded and damaged, with surface missing and a large chunk gone from left hip area.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: II-III



717. Institution: MNAAHP  
 Accession number: C-03119  
 Description: Vessel depicting a modeled figure seated above painted depictions of two stacked gourd containers and a stirrup-spout vessel. The figure wears a long tunic with the indication of a fringed rectangular element at the neck. He also wears a cap and flap. The hands are painted with post-fire black.  
 Provenance: W.D. Strong, Site V-162, Huaca de la Cruz.  
 Phase: IV



718. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-03301

Description: Vessel depicting a mountain sacrifice with six human figures. They wear loincloths and short tunics with an inverted step design. Their hair is uncovered, with the exception of the prone figure at the mountain base, who wears a cap. A seventh large figure has no head and may be a supernatural.

Provenance: W.D. Strong, Site V-162, Huaca de la Cruz.

Phase: IV



719. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-54636

Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a kilt with dot design, a plain belt with the ties flapped down in the back, and a short tunic with dot design that matches the kilt. He also wears wrist cuffs, earspools, and a tiered conical helmet with matching flap down the back, also with dot designs. The helmet is placed over a headcloth, with two tapering ends tucked into the belt in the back. The figure is painted with strong post-fire black on the legs, arms, hands, and face.

Provenance: W.D. Strong, Site V-162, Huaca de la Cruz.

Phase: III-IV



720. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-55072

Description: Vessel depicting two hunters pursuing deer. They wear kilts, plain belts supporting backflaps with bells, and short tunics. They also wear wrist cuffs, ear cylinders, and circlets supporting a *tumi* crest, a feather fan with two long plumes emerging from it, and two upright projections. They hold square shields and lances or spears.

Provenance: W.D. Strong, Site V-162, Huaca de la Cruz.

Phase: IV



721. Institution: MNAAHP

Accession number: C-62377

Description: Figurine depicting a figure wearing a post-fire black tunic which appears to extend past the crotch, a broad, plain collar, and ear holes with no ornaments. The hair is either close-cropped or covered with a fitted cap.

Provenance: W.D. Strong, Site V-162, Huaca de la Cruz.



722. Institution: Museo Tumbas Reales de Sipán (MTRS)

Accession number: HR IC-R3 80

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a short tunic, a broad, plain, collar, and a pointed kerchief covered with a circlet or crown. He holds a mace in his left hand and a round shield in his right. Mold made piece with a relatively fine clay body, but with cracked surface areas. Thick-walled and heavy; relatively little detail. No burnishing. Provenance: Repository 3



723. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HR IC-R3 94

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a collar composed of rectangular elements, pendant crescent earrings, and a circlet or crown. He holds a headless feline with both hands. Mold made piece, of the five multiples examined none of the felines had a head. Better quality, finer clay and smoothed surface, but still unslipped and unburnished. Provenance: Repository 3



724. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HR IC-R3 108

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic, with a crown or circlet on the head. He holds a drum in his left hand and a drumstick in his right. This piece is mold made and one of 29 examined. Relatively fine clay body, but a very worn mold impression. No slip or burnishing.

Provenance: Repository 3



725. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HR IC-R3 143

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs and a crown or high circlet. This mold made piece is one of five examined. There is the imprint of textile on the front of the piece. Very poorly made, with a prominent mold seam and low detail.

Provenance: Repository 3



726. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HR IC-R3 219;317;318

Description: Figurines depicting a woman wearing a long tunic, plain collar, earpools or ear cylinders, and braids which they hold in their hands. Relatively good quality, but not high in detail. Unslipped, unburnished. The pieces have different clay body colors.

Provenance: Repository 3



727. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HR IC-R3 259

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, broad, plain collar, and a crown with a flap down the back. Mold made piece, one of five examined. Coarse clay with large inclusions. Mold seam is visible.

Provenance: Repository 3



728. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HR IC-R3 319

Description: One of nine mask effigies examined, with the indication of a circlet or crown on the head and face paint in a swirling design. Relatively fine clay.

Provenance: Repository 3



729. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: HRIS IC:R4 105

Description: Vessel depicting a figure kneeling on the right knee. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a circlet supporting three cupped bosses, placed over a pointed kerchief. One of three examined. Poorly made piece, with a rough and cracked surface.

Provenance: Repository 4



730. Institution: MTRS  
 Accession number: HR:IS IC:R4 139  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic and a crown with a flap falling down behind. The arms appear to be inside the tunic. Mold made piece, one of approximately 40. Rough surface.  
 Provenance: Repository 4



731. Institution: MTRS  
 Accession number: S/R3 C:167  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a short tunic, with a crown or high circlet. A belt may be depicted, but it is unclear. The piece is mold made, one of approximately thirteen. Medium-quality piece, with a smoothed surface.  
 Provenance: Repository 3



732. Institution: MTRS  
 Accession number: S/R3 C:189  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, with a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form. The piece is mold made, and one of fourteen examined. Relatively well-made and light, with some surface smoothing.  
 Provenance: Repository 3





733. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S/R3 C:385

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, with a crown or high circlet. The piece is mold made, one of 18 examined. The figure has no arms, which may be inside the tunic. The piece is very poorly made from heavy, coarse clay with inclusions.

Provenance: Repository 3



734. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S/R3 C:413

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic and a crown with a flap down the back. Piece is mold made, one of seven examined. Fine-particle clay body, with some surface cracking.

Provenance: Repository 3



735. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S/R3 C:437

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, ear cylinders, and a circlet with two rounded projections at the sides. The arms are not depicted. Relatively well-made piece, with a fine clay body and lightweight with a slightly smoothed surface. The mold seam is visible, it is one of 35 pieces examined.

Provenance: Repository 3



736. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S/R4 C:1

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic and a circlet with rounded projections to the sides. The top of the vessel is treated like a tall crown inside the circlet. The piece is mold made, one of eight pieces. The arms are inside the tunic. Very poorly made and fired piece.

Provenance: Repository 4



737. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S/R4 C:5

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tall circlet or a crown. No other costume elements are depicted. Mold made, one of eleven pieces examined. Poorly made of coarse clay with inclusions. Some evidence of burnishing.

Provenance: Repository 4



738. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S:I(H-1) T:9 C:5

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* of indeterminate sex, possibly male. The figure wears a tunic with a vertical line design, ear cylinders, and a tumpline over the forehead. Medium-quality clay body. Chalky light-colored slip is painted over with red-orange. The surface is badly worn. Provenance: Tomb 9



739. Institution: MTRS

Accession number: S:I (H-1) IB T:9 C:16

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargador* of indeterminate sex, possibly male. The figure wears a tunic with a vertical line design, wrist cuffs, ear cylinders, and a tumpline over the forehead. The piece is similar to CR 738, with slightly different slip design and some pieces missing.

Provenance: Tomb 9



740. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1224-90

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic and a mantle wrapped under the left shoulder and tied over the right shoulder. He also wears a narrow collar, and a headcloth wrapped around the head.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



741. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1224-102

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with a diagonal stripe design, and a mantle tied at the waist and falling down behind. He wears a circlet with a flap in the back, placed over a pointed kerchief. The figure is missing nose cartilage, similar to the “Leishmaniasis” deformation. The piece is heavily fire-clouded.

Provenance: Unknown.



742. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1224-140

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt and *ticpis* at the shoulders. She has a tumpline across the forehead. The piece is very crudely executed.

Provenance: Unknown.



743. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1240-45

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a kneeling figure wearing a tunic, which may have a belt, and a necklace of round beads. He has a headcloth tied in the back, and another textile band tied around the head. He holds an unidentified object in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



744. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1240-91

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a tunic with a checkerboard design, earpools with a crossed line design, and a crown or high circlet. The arms may be inside the tunic. It appears as though the checkerboard pattern was once cream and black.

Provenance: Unknown.



745. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1240-92

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a kilt, a tunic with an inverted step design, and a crown or high circlet with a diagonal stripe pattern. The arms appear to be inside the tunic. The piece has some fire-clouding.

Provenance: Unknown.



746. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1240-100

Description: Rattle depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic with a plain belt, a necklace of round beads, and possibly the indication of a mantle at the shoulders. The hair appears to be short but is not well defined. The piece is made from a rough paste, and is ill-fired.

Provenance: Unknown.



747. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1240-105

Description: Whistle depicting a musician playing a horn or trumpet. He wears what appears to be a long tunic, a mantle tied at the neck, and earspools with a center dot design. He also wears a conical helmet, with a *tumi* crest.

Provenance: Unknown.



748. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1240-106

Description: Whistle depicting a musician playing a horn or trumpet. He wears what appears to be a long tunic with a tabbed hem, a mantle tied at the neck, and earspools with a center dot design. He also wears a circlet, which supports two circular bosses and a *tumi* crest.

Provenance: Unknown.



749. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1244-119

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure holding a large jar on top of the main vessel body. The jar has a rope tied around its neck. The figure wears a tunic with a tabbed hem, and a hooded mantle.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



750. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1244-142

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He wears earspools and a cap or helmet with a flap down the back, over a headcloth with long, tapered flaps down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



751. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1384-9

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel depicting a figure with a rope around the neck, which drapes over the left knee. The hands are tied behind the back, and he has ear holes with no ornaments, and long hair parted in the back.

The piece is very poorly painted and unevenly fired, with fire-clouding.

Provenance: Unknown.



752. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1384-13

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, and a collar composed of four large rectangular elements. He wears ear spoils with a dot design and a feline circlet with limbs and a spotted tail down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



753. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1376

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe design, wrist cuffs, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. There are holes through the upper ear but no ear ornaments depicted. He wears a crown or high circlet with a horizontal stripe motif.

Provenance: Unknown.



754. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1417

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and broad, plain collar. He also wears a high, rectangular element tied on the head with a pointed kerchief.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



755. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1522

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a smaller figure to her right side. She wears a long tunic, a *chuspa* slung on the heck and resting at her left hip, and a tumpline over a headcloth. The small figure holds a *chuspa* to the front of the body. There is no indication of costume, and the hair appears to be short.

Provenance: Unknown.



756. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1523

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a thin necklace, wire-and-drop trapezoid earrings, and a plain headcloth covered by another with geometric designs and fringed ends. He holds a short stick with flattened ends in his right hand, and an object which may be a bag with his left.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV





757. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1524

Description: seated, cross-legged

Provenance: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a kilt, plain belt tied in the back, and a short tunic with a wave spiral motif. He also wears wrist cuffs, earspools with a swirling line motif in post-fire black, and a conical helmet with flap down the back, placed over a headcloth.

Phase: III, spout may not be original



758. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1525

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, with wrist cuffs and a plain, broad collar. He also wears an animal-headed circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back. Underneath the circlet is a pointed kerchief with chin tie and a headcloth with a flap.

Provenance: Unknown.



759. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1526

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a rolled mantle tied at the chest and slung under the left arm and over the right. He wears a circlet that appears to be a bird effigy, placed over a pointed kerchief. He holds a jar in either hand, and a stirrup-spout vessel is threaded on the rolled mantle on the left-hand side. The face is distorted, with the nose exhibiting the “Leishmaniasis” deformation and the right half of the mouth missing the lips.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



760. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1527

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder with closed eyes wearing a kilt, short tunic, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. A mantle is draped over his head. He holds a pair of rattles in his right hand, and a dipper vessel or bag in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



761. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1528

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior seated on a throne or step. He wears a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and ear spools with a set of dots on the outer edge. He also wears a conical helmet. The throne-like seat completely envelops the rear of the body.

Provenance: Unknown.



762. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1530

Description: Vessel depicting a seated prisoner. The hands are tied behind the back, and a rope is tied around the neck, trailing to the left hip. He wears a circlet supporting a broken semicircular element. The ears have holes but no ornaments.

Provenance: Unknown.



763. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1531

Description: Face-neck jar depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, plain collar, and pendant crescent earrings. He also wears a circle with dot design, and the hair is in a club-like ponytail in the back. He holds a small animal, probably a feline, with both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



764. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1532

Description: Vessel depicting a whistling figure wearing a tunic and a hooded mantle. He holds a small figure with his right hand, and an unidentified object in his left.

Provenance: Unknown.



765. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1403-1536

Description: Head effigy vessel wearing earpools with a crossed line design, and a circlet with an effigy head and cupped bosses at the sides. The effigy head is too worn to identify, but there is a tail-like element in the back. The circlet is placed over a headcloth with a flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



766. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-1

Description: Head effigy vessel wearing ear cylinders and a wrapped textile on the head. The piece is crudely made, with a rough surface.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.



767. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-2

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, a vertically-striped tunic, and a hooded mantle with a crossed line design. He also wears ear cylinders, and a wedge-shaped forelock emerges from under the hood. He holds a lime jar and dipper in his left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



768. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-3

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with hands bound behind the back. The rope around his neck does not have a trailing end and is painted but not modeled. The hair is long in the back. An erect phallus with testes is also painted on rather than modeled.

Provenance: Unknown.



769. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-4

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the right shoulder. The hair is styled in a wedge-shaped forelock. He holds a small feline in his lap.

Provenance: Unknown.



770. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-7

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a mantle, tied at the neck. There seems to be the indication of a rope emerging from under the mantle, and the phallus is exposed. The hair appears to be uncovered. Very crudely finished piece, with very little detail.

Provenance: Unknown.



771. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-8

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, with a mantle fastened at the chest. He wears ear spools with a spiral design, and a circlet with a protrusion in the front that appears to be a bird head. The top of the vessel is treated like a crown, with a stepped design around the edge. He holds a small feline under his right arm.

Provenance: Unknown.



772. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-9

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, broad, plain collar, and earspools with a center dot design. He wears a feline headdress with limbs and a tail down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.



773. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-11

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, and a mantle tied at the chest. Diagonal stripes have been painted across both the mantle and tunic. He wears a headcloth with a geometric design and a narrow cloth tied beneath the chin. The legs, hands, and face have been painted with post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.



774. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-13

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, with the remnants of a vertical stripe design. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a crown or high circlet with vertical stripes. There is a flap down the back of the crown or circlet. The arms are not visible, and may be inside the tunic.

Provenance: Unknown.



775. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde  
 Accession number: 1872-14  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, broad, plain collar, and earspools. The figure also wears an animal circlet, with a tail hanging down the back.  
 Provenance: Chicama Valley.  
 Phase: III-IV



776. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde  
 Accession number: 1872-18  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing wire-and-drop circle earrings, with a narrow band tied around the head.  
 Provenance: Chicama Valley.



777. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde  
 Accession number: 1872-25  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing what appears to be a close-fitting cap, although the ears are visible. The cap and face paint are all in a fading post-fire black. The piece is of indifferent quality.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



778. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-28

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, a mantle tied at the chest, and a pointed kerchief tied at the chin. The piece is of overall low quality and does not have a lot of detail.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.

Phase: III



779. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-30

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora* with *ticpis* indicated at the shoulders and extending to the middle body. A tumpline rests on the forehead and the tump bundle itself has a netted pattern. The piece is very low in detail, with only the *ticpis*, eyes, and tump bundle painted with cream slip.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.



780. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-31

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a plain belt, tied at the front, and possibly *ticpis* at the shoulder, although this is difficult to discern. A tumpline rests on her forehead. The piece has very little detail.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.





781. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-34

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a llama. He wears a tunic of indeterminate length, and a wrapped cloth or circlet with a dot design. The piece is very crudely made, with surface cracking and a sloppy application of slip.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.



782. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-90

Description: Vessel depicting two hunters and deer. The hunters wear kilts with tabbed hems, the tabs decorated with a fret design, and short tunics with fringed hems. They wear plain belts with long ties in the back, and wear wrist cuffs, earspools, and circular nose ornaments with roundels at the edge. One hunter wears a headcloth with geometric design, topped with a feather fan held in place by a chin tie. He holds a hunting club in his right hand and a spear-thrower and spear in his left. The other hunter wears a conical helmet with an animal head at the front and two feather fans, one at the front and one at the back. He carries three darts in his right hand and a spear-thrower in his left. Both hunters have leg and face paint.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.

Phase: V



783. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-114

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle tied at the chest which may hold a child figure on the back, although the object in the mantle is too abstracted to definitively identify. This mantle is tied over a hooded mantle, over which is placed a circlet with two short projections in the front. The figure holds a lime jar and dipper in the left hand, and an unidentified object in the right.

Provenance: Chicama Valley.

Phase: IV



784. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-120

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, tunic, and a plain belt. He also wears a broad, plain collar, earspools, and a hemispherical helmet with a transverse crest along the top and a flap down the back. The helmet is placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



785. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde

Accession number: 1872-126

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a pointed kerchief tied over a cap. The eyes are sunken and closed, indicating blindness, and the mouth is large and opened to show the teeth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



786. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde  
 Accession number: 2668-3038  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing ear cylinders, and a narrow band tied around the head, which may be placed over a headcloth. The piece badly collapsed in firing, resulting in warping as well as fire-clouding of the paste and slip.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



787. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde  
 Accession number: 3277-3  
 Description: Portrait-head vessel depicting a man wearing a cap covered by a band with a step and fret design, wrapped twice around the head and tied in the back with the flaps draping down. A thin band is also tied over the cap and under the geometric band, fastened at the chin.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: III



788. Institution: Museum Volkenkunde  
 Accession number: 3286-1  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with vertical stripe design, earspools with a faint spiral decoration, and a circlet or crown with traces of a diagonal stripe pattern.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



789. Institution: National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI)

Accession number: 048896

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a broad, plain collar, ear spools with a dot design, and possibly a helmet, with a tiered flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. He holds a mace in the right hand and a square shield in the left.

Provenance: Unknown.



790. Institution: NMAI

Accession number: 072741

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with a wave design at the yoke, ear spools with a concentric circle design, and a conical helmet with feline-serpent effigies at the sides and a flap down the back. The figure may wear a loincloth but there is very little surface detail from the chest down, due to surface abrasion.

Provenance: Unknown.



791. Institution: NMAI

Accession number: 084718

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the right hip. He has ear holes but no ornaments, and the hair is loose down the back. His face is painted in the tripartite design, and the phallus is exposed.

Provenance: Unknown.



792. Institution: NMAI  
 Accession number: 232287  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design, a broad collar with a step and fret design, and earspools with a spiral design. He wears a feline circlet, with limbs and a tail down the back.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



793. Institution: NMAI  
 Accession number: 238951  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar, earspools with a center dot motif, and a tiered circlet with blocks of alternating cream slip, clay body, and post-fire black, with rounded projections at the sides. He holds a mace in the right hand and a square shield in the left.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



794. Institution: NMAI  
 Accession number: 243052  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure with ear holes but no ornaments. His hair is either loose and short or covered by a cap. The piece is unevenly fired and has some fire-clouding.  
 Provenance: Unknown.  
 Phase: Spout may not be original.



795. Institution: NMAI

Accession number: 243055

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He also wears earspools, and a plain circlet placed over a headcloth, part of which trails down to the collar. He holds a mace in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



796. Institution: NMAI

Accession number: 248878

Description: Trumpet horn depicting a warrior wearing a kilt, short tunic, necklace of round beads, and plain earspools. He also wears a conical helmet with a *tumi* crest on top, and carries a round shield in the left hand and a mace in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



797. Institution: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology (PAHMA)

Accession number: 4-177

Description: Hollow vessel depicting a *cargadora* with a long tunic, a belt with traces of white dots, and a tumpline across the head.

Provenance: Uhle Site G, Grave 1



798. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-180  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora*, whose body emerges from the vessel body. A tumpline is across her forehead and she appears to wear a headcloth.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site G, Grave 1



799. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-181  
 Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure wearing a tunic, possibly a loincloth, and a mantle tied at the neck. He also wears a circular nose ornament, a cap, and a feather fan which appears to be held on the head with a chin tie.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site G, Grave 1



800. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-222  
 Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, and a plain circlet over a pointed kerchief. The figure's hands are painted with post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site G



801. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-223

Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth and short tunic. The head is broken but appears to have a pointed kerchief. The piece seems to be from the same mold as CR 800.

Provenance: Uhle Site G



802. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-224

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a woman nursing an infant. She wears a long tunic, a necklace of round beads, and has her hair in braids. The piece is unslipped and does not appear to have been burnished.

Provenance: Uhle Site G, Grave 2



803. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-225

Description: Figurine depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a short tunic, necklace of diamond-shaped pendants, and drop crescent earrings. He also wears either a close-fitting cap or very short hair. The genitals are visible.

Provenance: Uhle Site G, Grave 2





804. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-243

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, with a mantle wrapped around the body under the left shoulder and over the right. He wears ear cylinders and a headcloth with a flap, tied in the back.

Provenance: Uhle Site G



805. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-248

Description: Figure on an interior rim fragment of what looks like a florero vessel. The exterior is painted with basket weave and step-and-curl designs. The interior has a cream band, red lip, and paste interior. The figure wears a loincloth, a plain belt with two round objects attached, and a circlet with two vertical projections at the front.

Provenance: Uhle Site G



806. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2528

Description: Vessel depicting a group of warriors, some of whom are facing each other in combat while others are alone or are prisoners. The surface is filled between the human figures with geometric shapes, leaving no blank space. The painting style is loose, and many details of costume are difficult to discern.

Provenance: Pacasmayo

Phase: V



807. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2546

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a woman holding a child figure that may be nursing. She wears a long tunic and round bead necklace, and her hair appears to be long in the back. The piece has a rattle element inside.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



808. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2547

Description: Hollow reduction-fired figurine depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, thin necklace, and with long hair in the back. The piece has a rattle element inside.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



809. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2568

Description: Partial reduction-fired vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic, with a plain belt, *ticipis* at the shoulders, and a tumpline with a netted texture.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



810. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2579

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a set of twins, wearing kilts, tunics with triangular-tabbed hem, and earspools. They wear circlets with *tumi* crescent elements, and they hold panpipes. The piece appears to be from a worn mold, and is hard to read clearly.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



811. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2583

Description: Whistle depicting a standing figure wearing a tunic, necklace of rectangular elements, and earspools. He also wears a circlet which may have an animal head, supporting two circular bosses and a *tumi* element. He holds a *Strombus* shell with both hands.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



812. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2588

Description: Figurine or whistle depicting a figure wearing a kilt, collar of rectangular elements, and earspools. He also wears a circlet which may have an animal head, two circular bosses, and a *tumi* crescent. There are two protuberances by the shoulders, not like breasts but it is not clear what they are. The incising is dull.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



813. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2589L

Description: Fragment depicting a figure wearing a tunic with plated hem, collar of rectangular elements, and ear spools. He also wears a circlet with a circular front piece, and an unknown object in the right hand.

Provenance: Uhle Site A



814. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2647

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, broad collar with a step and fret design, and ear spools with a spiral motif. He also wears a feline circlet with forepaws and the tail down the back.

Provenance: Uhle Site F Grave 1



815. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2651

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic, wide plain belt tied in the front, and *ticpis* at the shoulders. She has a tumpline across the forehead. The looped end of the tumpline is folded around itself behind the right shoulder. The piece is heavily fire-clouded.

Provenance: Uhle Site F



816. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2652

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with a step design at the cuffs and a fringed hem, and a mantle tied at the neck. He also wears earspools, and a headcloth tied around the head, with the ends of the tie projecting forward over the face like a fan. He holds a small bowl in his right hand. The face is very finely sculpted; almost portrait quality.

Provenance: Uhle Site F



817. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2658

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a small figure to her left. She wears a long tunic fastened with *ticpis* at the shoulders, and a *chuspa* slung across the body and resting on the right side. A tumpline resting on a headcloth sits on her forehead. The small figure wears a long tunic with a belt, and short hair. The left side of the object has an ochre-colored encrustation on it, making details on that side unclear. Otherwise, the piece is well-made and clearly modeled.

Provenance: Uhle Site F

Phase: IV



818. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2661

Description: Head-effigy vessel wearing a pointed kerchief with a dot pattern, over a wrapped headcloth.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 2

Phase: II



819. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2677

Description: Vessel depicting two pairs of figures. The pairs face each other, one pair with a parrot between them, the other with a similar parrot sitting on a round bundle with a net texture. The figures wear loincloths and short tunics. The left-hand figures in both pairs have mantles wrapped around the body, and the right-hand figures wear tunics with extra elaboration: one has a tunic with a catfish design and the other has a broad collar with dot design and pendant tabs, which are echoed by tabs at the hem of the tunic. All figures wear feline headdresses, those of the figures with mantles have pelage marks. Three of the circlets have the forepaws held up and to the sides of the circlet, all of them have plume-like projections at the top. The men with mantles wear wire-and-drop circle earrings, the figure with the collar has ear holes but no ornaments, and the figure in the catfish-design tunic has no ear holes. The men with mantles hold thin pointed objects in their left hands, the men with fancy tunics hold rounded objects with a rectangular projection. Their gestures seem to indicate negotiation or trade, but this is only a conjecture.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 3

Phase: III



820. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2680

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with checkerboard design, a mantle wrapped under the right and over the left shoulders, and a *chuspa* resting on the right rear shoulder. He wears a circlet with a flap or hair styled in a similar manner. The hands are clasped together as though holding something.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 3.

Phase: III



821. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2693

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure on top, depicting a seated figure with a prosthesis on the right leg. He wears a long tunic, with a scarf wrapped twice around the chest and draped over the shoulders to the back. A circlet that appears to be of wrapped reeds or similar material is placed over a pointed kerchief. The base of the piece is painted with representations of a whip, a mantle, a fancy fringed bag with pinwheel spiral design, a *florero*-style vase with basket weave and lazy-S designs, a stirrup-spout vessel with a feline face wearing a bead necklace sgraffitied onto it, and what appears to be a walking stick—straight and blunt with a knob at one end.

Provenance: Uhle Site F Grave 5

Phase: III



821. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2694

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a throne. He wears a tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad, plain collar. He wears earspools with a dot design, and a tall, flared crown with geometric design, held on the head with a chin strap. The crown is placed over a headcloth, with two long, trailing elements which end in tassels.

Provenance: Uhle Site F Grave 5

Phase: III



822. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2700

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt with a step design, a long tunic split between a solid field and a field with bicephalic serpents or catfish, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a circlet and flap or hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Uhle Site F Grave 4

Phase: III



823. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2711

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior kneeling on his left knee. He wears a loincloth, a short tunic with a pinwheel design and a serrated hem, and wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe pattern. He also wears a conical helmet with a flap down the back. He holds a mace in his right hand and a round shield in his left. The piece's light slip was originally cream, and appears to have been fire-clouded or otherwise turned grey.

Provenance: Uhle Site F

Phase: Spout is broken.



824. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2712

Description: Vessel depicting two pairs of warriors running towards each other, all wearing different costume. All, however, wear wrist cuffs, and conical helmets with *tumi* crest elements. One warrior running to the right wears a loincloth, belt with *ulluchu* pattern supporting a backflap with bells, a tunic with plated hem, and earspools with a center dot design. His face paint is in the tripartite design, and he holds a mace in his right hand. The other warrior running to the right wears a kilt and tunic with matching step design and plated hems, earspools with center dot design, and tripartite face paint design. His conical helmet has a step and fret design panel in the front and may have tiers in the back. A feather fan is attached to the back of his helmet. He holds a spear thrower in the right hand and a round shield and two spears in his left. One warrior running to the left is wearing a kilt with plated hem and split into light and dark halves, with a short tunic which also has a plated hem, and a plain backflap visible. He wears earspools with a center dot design, and his conical helmet has a tiered flap and a crest of rectangular elements around the perimeter. He has the muscoid fly pupa design painted on his jaw line, and holds a circular shield in his right hand and a mace in his left. The other warrior running to the left wears a matching tunic and kilt with a step and circle design and plated hems. A plain backflap is supported by a plain belt. He wears earspools with a center dot design, and has the tripartite face paint design. He holds a mace with both hands.

Provenance: Uhle Site F





825. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2751

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior lying on a hill covered in plants. He wears a loincloth, plain belt supporting a backflap with large bells, and wrist cuffs. A tunic is implied but not depicted. He also wears a broad collar with dot design, and a headcloth with dot design elements, with a wide headband wrapped around it with a matching dot design. A long tiered flap falls down the back.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 6

Phase: III



826. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2756

Description: Whistling vessel depicting a whistling figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe design and a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck. The face is somewhat skeletal, with eyes sunk deep into large, dark hollows.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 6

Phase: Spout is broken.



827. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2758

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, with a scarf wrapped around the shoulders. He wears a cap and flap, and may also have a headband wrapped around the cap. The face is heavily distorted, with a distorted left cheek, and a nose that appears to be broken.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 3



828. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2776

Description: Piece which may have been a whistle, depicting a standing figure playing a trumpet with an animal-headed bell. He wears a long tunic with a step design and a tabbed hem. Over the tunic is a mantle, fastened at the neck, with a circle pattern. He also wears a large, round bead necklace, and earspools with roundels at the edge. He wears a conical helmet, with a transverse crest, a *tumi* element, and two feather fans. While the main body appears to be mold-made, the step detail on the tunic appears hand-incised and is very crisp.

Provenance: Uhle Moche

Phase: IV



829. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2778

Description: Head effigy vessel wearing a pointed kerchief over a cap and flap, with the tripartite face paint design.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 7

Phase: III-IV



830. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2827

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, with a small rectangular fringed element at the neck. The head appears to have been covered by a hood, although as the front of the head is incomplete there may have been other elements. The eyes are sunken in, indicating blindness. The piece was badly broken and reconstructed, many pieces are missing.

Provenance: Uhle Site F



831. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2837

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck, and ear cylinders. A circlet with two curved projections is placed over the hood, and a wedge-shaped forelock is visible from under the hood. He holds a lime container and stick in his right hand, and a jar or bag in his left.

Provenance: Uhle Site F

Phase: III



832. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2840

Description: Face-neck jar depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic divided into light and dark quadrants, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a crown or high circlet. One of four nearly identical pieces (CR 833-836).

Provenance: Uhle Site F



833. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2842

Description: Face-neck jar depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic divided into light and dark quadrants, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a crown or high circlet, with a flap in the back. One of four nearly identical pieces (CR 833-836).

Provenance: Uhle Site F



834. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2843

Description: Face-neck jar depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic divided into light and dark quadrants, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a crown or high circlet with a flap in the back. He holds a lime container in his right hand and a stick in his left. One of 4 nearly identical vessels (CR 833-836), this is the only one with objects held in the hands.

Provenance: Uhle Site F



835. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2849

Description: Face-neck jar depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic divided into light and dark quadrants, a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a crown or high circlet with a flap in the back. One of four nearly identical pieces (CR 833-836).

Provenance: Uhle Site F



836. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2856

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe design, ear holes with no ornaments, and either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 10

Phase: III



837. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-2857  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar with a step and fret design. He also wears a high rectangular element, with a step design in the front and a design of dots and lines in the back, with a long flap trailing behind. This is held in place by a thin textile band with a dot pattern, tied at the chin.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 10  
 Phase: III



838. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-2874  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure wearing a pointed kerchief with dot design, over a high cap with dot design and serrated edge. The cap has a flap down the back, which also has serrated edges. Face paint is indicated with red slip.  
 Provenance: Site F, Grave 10  
 Phase: IV



839. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-2918  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a double amputee figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, and a mantle bundled and tied at the waist. He wears a wrapped headcloth with concentric diamond design and a pointed kerchief.  
 Provenance: Site F, Grave 11  
 Phase: III



840. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2932

Description: Mold-made vessel depicting two pairs of warriors in combat. The warriors wear loincloths underneath tunics, short tunics, and broad, plain collars. They wear wrist cuffs, earspools, and conical helmets with flaps down the back. The victorious warriors grasp the forelock of their victim, which emerges from the front of the helmet. The victims carry spears and spear throwers, and the victors carry maces. One of the victors holds a square shield in one hand. The figures are executed in low relief.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



841. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2933

Description: Mold-made vessel depicting two pairs of warriors in combat. The warriors wear loincloths underneath tunics, short tunics, and broad, plain collars. They wear wrist cuffs, earspools, and conical helmets with flaps down the back. The victorious warriors grasp the forelock of their victims, which emerges from the front of the helmet. The victims carry spears and spear throwers, and the victors carry maces. One of the victors holds a square shield in one hand. The figures are executed in low relief. Identical to CR 840.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



842. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2935

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, a short tunic, and a mantle bundled and tied at the waist. A second mantle holds two jars on his back. He also wears ear cylinders, a circlet with cylindrical projections at the forehead and temples, and a pointed kerchief underneath the circlet.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12

Phase: III



843. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2937

Description: Vessel with a modeled depiction of a ritual runner on the top. He wears a loincloth and a plain belt tied in the back, supporting a backflap with bells and an *ulluchu* design. He also wears wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design, a circular nose ring, and an animal circlet with limbs and a tail down the back, supporting a circular element with indented dots around the edge. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. The eye sockets are empty, and may have been intended for inlay.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12

Phase: III



844. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2938

Description: Vessel depicting a whistler figure wearing a loincloth, tunic with disks at the hem, and a hooded mantle. The figure's face is heavily wrinkled, with large, staring eyes. He has leg paint depicted in red slip. The figure holds a small figure under the left arm, wearing a long tunic with horizontal stripe design and fringed hem. No hair is depicted, and the figure's eyes are closed.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12

Phase: III



845. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-2943  
 Description: Vessel depicting a modeled figure on the top of the vessel, wearing a long tunic, with a bundled mantle tied at the chest. He also wears a wrapped headcloth placed under a pointed kerchief which is tied at the chin. His hands are clasped together. A spotted dog is depicted on the body of the vessel.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12  
 Phase: III



846. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-2944  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with a design of circles and horizontal lines in post-fire black. A tumpline is across the forehead. The piece is thick-walled and heavy.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



847. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-2945  
 Description: Vessel with a modeled *achumera* on the top, and two painted versions on the body of the vessel. They wear long tunics, one with a vertical stripe design, the other two are plain with designs at the cuffs. They wear mantles over their heads, with a plated, visor-like attachment over the eyes. They wear earspools with center dot designs, and the two painted figures hold lumpy objects in one hand, probably San Pedro cactus tips. The modeled figure is missing the left hand, which may have been similar to the painted versions.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12.  
 Phase: Spout is broken.





848. Institution: PAHMA  
Accession number: 4-2946

Description: Vessel depicting a modeled figure, crouching with knees bent, on top of the main body. He wears a loincloth, and a wide belt with incised dots, tied at the back with two large tassels. He wears a pointed kerchief, placed underneath a plain circlet and headcloth and fastened with a chin strap wrapped twice. Part of the front of the headdress is broken off. The eye sockets are empty, and may have been intended for inlay, along with the belt.

Provenance: Site F, Grave 12  
Phase: Spout is broken.



849. Institution: PAHMA  
Accession number: 4-2948

Description: Vessel depicting a seated healer with a small figure on her lap. She wears a long tunic, fastened by *ticpis* with large “nail-head” style ends. She has a plain belt at the waist, and wears a necklace with rectangular pendants. It is difficult to discern whether her hair is loose or covered by a headcloth. Her face is painted with red and cream slip, in a manner which gives her an animal appearance.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12  
Phase: III



850. Institution: PAHMA  
Accession number: 4-2956

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth and a medium-length tunic with a step and fret pattern at the hem and cuffs. A geometricized manta or catfish design is at the neck and shoulders. His arms are not visible and may be inside the tunic. He wears three pairs of wire-and-drop circle earrings (one has broken off the right ear). He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in the same form.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12  
Phase: III



851. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2963

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a triangle and dot design at the hem. He wears a mantle wrapped under the left shoulder and over the right, and a *chuspa* resting in the middle of the back. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form. He holds a lime container in his left hand and a dipper in his right.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12

Phase: III



852. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2964

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a triangle and dot design at the hem. He wears a mantle wrapped under the left shoulder and tied on the right, and a *chuspa* resting in the middle of the back. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form. He holds a lime container in his left hand and a dipper in his right. The piece is nearly identical to CR 851, and so most likely mold-made although no seam is visible.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12

Phase: III



853. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2967

Description: Vessel depicting several figures, only three of which are readable. A pair of figures depicts a warrior and captive, with the warrior wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with tabbed hem, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a plain, broad collar. He also wears earspools with a center dot design, and a conical helmet with flap. He holds a round shield in his right hand and the rope around the prisoner's neck with his left. His captive is nude, and has shorn hair with the exception of a wedge-shaped forelock. He holds the rope around his neck with one hand. The third readable figure also appears to be a warrior, wearing a kilt with vertical stripe design, a medium-length tunic with checkerboard design, wrist cuffs, and wire-and-drop circle earrings. He wears a plain circlet supporting a feather fan in the back and two long plumes in the front. He holds a square shield in his right hand, and a human arm strung through the elbow is slung on his right arm. He holds a spear with a serrated tip, loaded into a spear thrower, in his left hand.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12

Phase: III



854. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2968

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle wrapped around the shoulders. He also wears wrist cuffs, earspools, and a circlet with a diagonal stripe design. The circlet is placed over a wrapped headcloth with a flap down the back. The left cheek is disfigured by two large bumps, and the left eye droops.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



855. Institution: PAHMA  
Accession number: 4-2976

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle wrapped around the shoulders. He also wears wrist cuffs, ear spools, and a circlet with a diagonal stripe design. The circlet is placed over a wrapped headcloth with a flap down the back. The left cheek is disfigured by two large bumps, and the left eye droops. The head is fire-clouded. Nearly identical to CR 854.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



856. Institution: PAHMA  
Accession number: 4-2976

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle wrapped around the shoulders. He also wears wrist cuffs, ear spools, and a circlet with a diagonal stripe design. The circlet is placed over a wrapped headcloth with a flap down the back. The left cheek is disfigured by two large bumps, and the left eye droops. Nearly identical to CR 854 and CR 855.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



857. Institution: PAHMA  
Accession number: 4-2981

Description: Mold-made vessel depicting two pairs of warriors in combat. The warriors wear loincloths underneath kilts, short tunics, and broad, plain collars. They wear wrist cuffs, ear spools, and conical helmets with flaps down the back. The victorious warriors grasp the forelocks of their victims, which emerge from the front of the helmet. The victims carry spears and spear throwers, and the victors carry maces. One of the victors holds a square shield in one hand. The figures are executed in low relief. Identical to CR 840 and CR 841.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 12



858. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2990

Description: Dipper vessel with a human head on the handle, wearing a high rectangular element, covered by a pointed kerchief with a dot motif. What appears to be either a collar or a triangle ruff similar to those worn by sleeping warriors is depicted around the neck.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 13



859. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2995

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping figure wearing a kilt, medium-length tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and either a circlet and flap or hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 14

Phase: II



860. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-2999

Description: Miniature vessel (approximately 2" tall), depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe pattern and wrist cuffs. He has either stylized ears with holes or earspools with a central hole. The face is painted with a pattern of spirals, and the top depicts what appears to be either short hair or a cap and flap.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 14



861. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3001

Description: Miniature vessel (approximately 2" tall), depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe pattern and wrist cuffs. He has either stylized ears with holes or earpools with a central hole. The face is painted with a horizontal line and a "mask" around the mouth, and the top depicts what appears to be either short hair or a cap and flap. Similar to CR 860

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 14



862. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3002

Description: Miniature vessel (approximately 2" tall), depicting a figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe pattern and wrist cuffs. He has either stylized ears with holes or earpools with a central hole. The top depicts what appears to be either short hair or a cap and flap. Similar to CR 860 and CR 861.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 14



863. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3021

Description: Vessel depicting a head effigy on crouching legs. The head has a complex face paint decoration in red slip and short, unbound hair.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 14

Phase: II



864. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3033

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in a similar form. He holds a round shield in his right hand and a club with a round mace head hafted on a straight shaft. Appears to be from the same mold as CR 1036-1038.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 15

Phase: III-IV



865. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3035

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in a similar form. He holds a round shield in his right hand and a club with a round mace head hafted on a straight shaft. The piece appears to be mold made, and nearly identical to CR 864, appears to be from the same mold as CR 1036-1038.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 15

Phase: III-IV



866. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3048

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure with face paint in cream slip and a high circlet or crown. The piece is roughly made and very poorly finished.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 15



867. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3066

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a medium-length tunic, wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design, and a broad, plain collar. The tunic was painted in post-fire black. He also wears a headcloth wrapped in a tall rectangular shape, with a pointed kerchief underneath. The tunic was painted in post-fire black, now badly faded.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 16

Phase: III



868. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3068

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a loincloth, tunic with vertical stripe design, and a mantle with stripe pattern wrapped around the body. He wears a circlet with a diamond design, over a pointed kerchief. The right hand held an object which is now broken off.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 16



869. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3069

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, wearing a long tunic, with a mantle draped over the back and fastened at the chest. He may wear a kilt, although that portion of the piece is modeled in a such a way as to suggest a platform rather than a garment. He wears earspools with spiral design, a circlet with two rounded projections at the sides, and has a modeled mustache and long beard.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 16

Phase: II-III





870. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3070  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with dark and light halves, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 16  
 Phase: II



871. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3076  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe motif, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. He also wears ear spoons with a design of small dots around a larger central dot. On his head he wears a circlet with a step and diagonal line motif, placed over a high rectangular element with step design and a kerchief tied at the chin, and a flap in the back with a chevron design.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 16  
 Phase: III



872. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3100  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure with an implied tunic, with a fringed rectangular element at the neck. He wears a circlet that may be constructed of reeds, with a cap underneath. The eyes are sunken, indicating blindness.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 19.  
 Phase: III



873. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3116  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated blind figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic, and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head. The kerchief is underneath a plain circlet. He holds a cup or small bowl in the left hand, and a jar with a rope tied around the neck in his right.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 19  
 Phase: III-IV



874. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3117  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs and a broad, plain collar. A tunic is implied but not depicted. He wears ear spools with a concentric circle design, and a high circlet or crown with a diagonal stripe pattern.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 19



875. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3118  
 Description: Heavily fire-clouded vessel depicting a head effigy with crouching legs. It has face paint and the hair appears to be loose and short.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 20  
 Phase: II



876. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3119  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, and a plain necklace. He either wears ear spoils with a center hole or has stylized ears with ear holes. He wears a high circlet or crown with a diagonal stripe design. The surface is badly eroded.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 20



877. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3129  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck, resting on the left rear shoulder. The arms are inside the tunic and the hands are visible, emerging from under the hem of the tunic. He wears a circlet and flap or hair styled in a similar manner.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 21  
 Phase: III



878. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3132  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which trails to the left hip. The chest is incised with a pattern similar to CR 1040 and the painted ones on CR 1073-1076. The hair is uncovered, long, and parted in the back.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 22



879. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3141  
 Description: Vessel depicting a kyphotic and achondroplastic figure wearing a short tunic, with ear holes and either short hair or a close-fitting cap. The feet are placed with soles touching. A rounded object is held in the right hand.  
 Provenance: Site F, Grave 23  
 Phase: IV



880. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3186  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated *cargadora* with a small figure at her left side. She wears a long garment, fastened at the shoulders with chisel-shaped *ticpis*. A *chuspa* is slung across her body and sits at her right side. A tumpline rests on her headcloth. The small figure wears a long tunic, and has a wedge-shaped forelock. He holds what appears to be a *chuspa* held to the front of the body.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 23  
 Phase: III-IV



881. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3247  
 Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure holding a smaller figure. The large figure wears a long tunic, a scarf draped over the left shoulder, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. The hair appears to be shoulder-length and uncovered. The small figure has no depicted costume. The piece appears to be mold made. There is fire clouding at the right shoulder and to the left of the head.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 25



882. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3248

Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure holding a smaller figure. The large figure wears a long tunic, a scarf draped over the left shoulder, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. The hair appears to be shoulder-length and uncovered. The small figure has no depicted costume. The piece appears to be mold made. There is fire clouding at the right shoulder and to the left of the head. A firing hole is placed between the legs. The piece is nearly identical to CR 881.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 25



883. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3249

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, a broad, plain collar, and earspools. A kilt with backflap may be depicted, but it is unclear. He wears a conical helmet with transverse crest and a flap down the back, over a headcloth. He holds an unidentified object in his lap with the right hand, and a short stick with the left. The piece appears mold made, with a seam at side.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 25



884. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3250

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a seated figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, a broad, plain collar, and earspools. A kilt with backflap may be depicted, but it is unclear. He wears a conical helmet with transverse crest and a flap down the back, over a headcloth. He holds an unidentified object in his lap with the right hand, and a short stick with the left. The piece appears mold made, with a seam at side. Nearly identical to CR 883, but fire-clouded.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 25.



885. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3251

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic. There may be an indication of male genitalia under the hem, but this is not clear. The figure also wears a necklace with bean pendants, pendant crescent earrings, and an animal circlet with limbs. The piece has a rough, unburnished surface, and sloppy application of slip.

Appears to be mold made.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 25



886. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3252

Description: Hollow figurine depicting two seated figures. The figure on the right wears a long tunic with a vertical stripe design, and a hood placed over a cap. The figure on the left is smaller but wears the same costume. The piece is heavily blackened, with bright orange-red slip. Details of the piece are difficult to read.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 25



887. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3256

Description: Vessel depicting a head effigy on crouching legs with short, uncovered hair.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26



888. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3259

Description: Vessel depicting two pairs of warriors (one victor and one vanquished), and a fifth figure running. The victors wear loincloths, short tunics, wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, and earspools. They also wear conical helmets with flaps, one has snake effigies at the sides of the helmet; they may also have tabbed ruffs on the helmet chinstraps. Both hold shields (one round, one square), and maces. The vanquished warriors wear kilts, short tunics, and wrist cuffs. Their hair is long and loose, and they are depicted with facial wounds. They carry shields (one round, one square) and maces. One victim has a tiered conical helmet and flap with attached earspools near him on the ground, the other has a spear-thrower nearby. The fifth figure wears a tabbed kilt, short tunic with a step design that splits the tunic into triangles, wrist cuffs, and earspools with a center dot design. He also wears a circlet which supports two feather fans, over a headcloth with flap down the back. He carries a square shield and two spears in the left hand.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave26

Phase: III



889. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3261

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic that has a rectangular, fringed element depicted at the neck, and a geometric design at the cuffs. He wears ear cylinders, a plain circlet over a pointed kerchief, and a headcloth underneath the kerchief. He holds a cup or small bowl in the right hand. A pattern of triangles is painted on his face in post-fire black.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26

Phase: III



890. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3262  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure seated on a platform. He wears a tunic, which may have a plated hem. No lower garment is indicated. He also wears wrist cuffs, a collar composed of rectangular elements, and earspools. On the head is a circlet with two cupped bosses, in front of a large semicircular element which may be a feather fan. The circlet is placed over a headcloth.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: III



891. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3269  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The genitals may be depicted by a bump towards the bottom front of the piece, but this is unclear. The hair is long and appears to be uncovered.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26



892. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3270  
 Description: Head effigy vessel on crouching legs, with loose, short hair. Cream slip face paint in two pairs of horizontal lines is badly faded.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26





893. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3271  
 Description: Vessel depicting a pair of men with deer. They wear loincloths, wrist cuffs, and appear to have uncovered hair. They hold *tumis* in the right hand and the necks of male deer in the left. The figures are disproportional and crudely made.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: III



894. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3272  
 Description: Vessel depicting two men holding a fox or similar animal by the tail, while a deer looks on. The figures wear kilts with tabbed hems, one of which has a loincloth visible underneath it. They wear tunics with similar designs composed of lines and S-curves. They also wear ear spools with dot designs, and animal circlets, possibly foxes, with tails down the back, supporting multiple feather fans, placed over headcloths with trailing elements. Both figures hold a fox-like animal in the left hand, and in the right a bundle containing spears and a round mace hafted onto a shaft with a point and a curved guard at the distal end.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: III



895. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3278  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting the head on crouching legs, with loose, short hair, and a face paint design in cream slip. Similar to CR 892.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: III



896. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3281  
 Description: Head effigy vessel on crouching legs, with loose, short hair.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: III



897. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3282  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting the head on crouching legs, with loose, short hair, and a face paint design in cream slip. Similar to CR 892 and CR985.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: III



898. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3303  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure being devoured by an animal. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe design, and uncovered hair which appears to be long. The head is turned 180 degrees from the torso, and the eyes appear to be closed in death.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 26  
 Phase: II-III



899. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3305

Description: Vessel depicting a female figure holding a smaller figure in her lap. She wears a long tunic, wrist cuffs, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. Her hair is in two braids or sections, and her left hand is painted in post-fire black, although the same may have worn off of the right hand. The small figure wears a tunic with vertical stripe design, and its eyes are closed. The main figure may have once had the same face paint design as CR 900.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 27

Phase: II-III



900. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3307

Description: Vessel depicting a female figure holding a smaller figure in her lap. She wears a long tunic with a design of concentric circles, wrist cuffs, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. Her hair is in two braids or sections, and her left hand is painted in post-fire black, although the same may have worn off of the right hand. The small figure wears a tunic with vertical stripe design, and its eyes are closed. Nearly identical to CR 899

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 27

Phase: III



901. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3310

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 28

Phase: III



902. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3344  
 Description: Face-neck vessel wearing a short tunic with inverted step design, and either ear spools with a center hole or ears with holes. He wears a crown or high circlet with diagonal stripe design. The arms are not visible.  
 Provenance: Uhle Site F, Grave 32



903. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3345  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe design, with a mantle draped over the back and fastened at the chest. He may wear a kilt, although that portion of the piece is modeled in a such a way as to suggest a platform rather than a garment. He wears ear spools with a sea urchin or octopus design, a circlet with two rounded projections at the sides, and has a modeled mustache and long beard. Nearly identical to CR 869.  
 Provenance: Site F, Grave 32  
 Phase: II



904. Institution: PAHMA  
 Accession number: 4-3371  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe pattern, with ear holes but no ornaments and either a cap with flap or hair styled in a similar form. There are traces of post-fire black but they are very faded.  
 Provenance: Site F, Grave 33  
 Phase: III



905. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3385

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a vertical stripe design, and possibly a patch or other adornment. A *chuspa* is slung on the neck and rests of the right rear shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar fashion.

Provenance: Site F, Grave 33

Phase: II-III



906. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3386

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He wears either a cap and flap or has hair styled in a similar fashion.

Provenance: Site F, Grave 33

Phase: III



907. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 4-3420

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar with vertical stripe design. He wears a wrapped textile element on top of the head, held in place with a pointed kerchief, which ties at the chin and has long, horizontally-striped ties trailing down the chest.

Provenance: Site F, Grave 16



908. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 16-9029

Description: Vessel depicting six ritual runners. The runners wear loincloths, five of which appear to be under kilts with *ulluchu* designs, although these may be broad belts. A sixth wears a kilt with a dot design. The same figure may wear a tunic with a geometric design, or has body paint. Four runners wear wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, and all have face paint. The runners all wear circlets with a chevron design and a matching flap down the back; three have oblong elements attached and three have a round element with a face in the center, two of those have roundels at the edge of the circle. All carry bags in their left hand, which have a single dot painted on them.

Provenance: Unknown

Phase: IV



909. Institution: PAHMA

Accession number: 16-9909

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, medium-length tunic with a vertical stripe design, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He wears either a circlet and flap, or hair styled in a similar form.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



910. Institution: Programa Arqueológico San José de Moro (PASJM)

Accession number: 10238

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing woman wearing a short tunic, wrist cuffs made of rectangular elements, and a matching collar. She also wears pendant crescent earrings, and has hair prominently parted in the middle, short in the front and long in the back. The vent hole for the piece has been placed at the vulva.

Provenance: San José de Moro



911. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: 10255

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a head wearing ear cylinders and with short hair. Two protrusions at the sides have holes, possibly for transporting or carrying the vessel.

Provenance: San José de Moro



912. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: 11317

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, broad, plain collar, and ear spools. The head appears to be covered with a cap but this is unclear. The piece has an evident mold seam. The firing vent is placed at the anus.

Provenance: San José de Moro



913. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: 11318

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, broad, plain collar, and earspools. The head appears to be covered with a cap but this is unclear. The piece has an evident mold seam, and the firing vent is placed at the anus. Nearly identical to CR 912.

Provenance: San José de Moro



914. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: 11336

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, collar composed of rectangular elements, and earspools. The hair is short and parted in front, and long in the back.

Provenance: San José de Moro



915. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: 12004

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing woman wearing a long tunic, wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, and a matching collar. She has earspools, and holds her braids in her hands.

Provenance: San José de Moro





916. Institution: PASJM  
 Accession number: 12571  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. He also wears earpools with roundels at the edge, and a crown or high circlet with a cord tied around it, over a headcloth.  
 Provenance: San José de Moro



917. Institution: PASJM  
 Accession number: 12609  
 Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing female figure wearing a short tunic, wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, and a matching collar. She wears earpools, and has short, parted hair in the front and long hair in the back. There may be breasts indicated, but this is not clear. A vent hole is placed at the vulva.  
 Provenance: San José de Moro



918. Institution: PASJM  
 Accession number: 12822  
 Description: Vessel with a fineline depiction of the Burial Theme. It contains several depictions of the Mythical Feminine Personage, in a highly abstracted style. The figures wear tunics with a net design and a vertical stripe in the front with circle designs. They wear earpools, and the headdress is depicted as a set of vertical plume-like elements, with a ridged or tiered element trailing down the back.  
 Provenance: San José de Moro  
 Phase: Late Moche



919. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: 12825

Description: Mold-made vessel, each side with a depiction of a warrior with wave and bird designs at the margin. The warriors wear loincloths, double-wrapped belts, and short tunics. They also wear two sets of earspools: one plain, one with roundels at the edge, and animal circlets on the head. They hold clubs made from round mace heads hafted onto shafts in the left hand, and an animal with the right.

Provenance: San José de Moro



920. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: M-A9-M-U-725-C01

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a collar with an elaborate geometric design. A tunic is implied but not depicted. The figure wears either earspools with a center hole, or has ears with holes and no ornaments. These protrusions were originally about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a circle. He wears a crown or high circlet with a diagonal stripe pattern.

Provenance: M-A9-M-U-725-C01

Phase: Middle Moche



921. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: M-U602-C5

Description: Vessel with two depictions of the Mythical Feminine Personage. She is shown wearing a tunic with a netted design, which has a plain edging on one side and on the other has an edging with a dot design. She wears earspools and a circlet supporting upright elements that have a wedge-like shape. There is a thin protuberance from her mouth.

Provenance: M-U602-C5

Phase: Late Moche



922. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: M-U813-C01

Description: Vessel depicting two sets of warriors engaged in combat. The victors wear loincloths, plain belts, and short tunics. They also wear plain earspools, and conical helmets with flaps. They hold shields in their left hands (one circular and one rectangular), and maces with both hands. The defeated warriors wear loincloths, plain belts, and short tunics, and have earspools. Their hair is depicted loose and of medium length, and their headdresses float in the upper left of each scene; in one it is a conical helmet and flap, the other appears to be a circlet with two feather fans and a flap down the back.

Provenance: M-U813-C01

Phase: Middle Moche



923. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: M-U813-C02

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing what may be a tunic or a collar with an inverted triangle form design. He wears earspools with a center circle design, and a crown or high circlet with a faded design of diamond shapes.

Provenance: M-U813-C02

Phase: Middle Moche



924. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: M-U1043-C01

Description: Vessel with two depictions of the Mythical Feminine Personage. One side of the vessel is heavily damaged. On the other side, she is shown wearing a tunic with a netted design, with a plain center panel that has two vertical strips in the middle. The tunic has an edging with a dot design. She wears earspools with outer roundels and an inner circle design. She wears a circlet supporting upright elements that have a wedge-like shape, and is fastened with a chinstrap. A tiered train or headcloth falls behind. She may have the tripartite face paint design, but this is unclear. She is surrounded by an emanation of thin lines, which appear to terminate in animal or reptile heads.

Provenance: M-U1043-C01

Phase: Late Moche



925. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: M-U1058-C05

Description: Vessel with two depictions of the Mythical Feminine Personage. She is shown wearing a tunic with a netted design, with a plain center panel that has a vertical stripe in the middle. The tunic has a plain edging, which terminates in a bird head at the ends. She wears earspools with a center circle design, and a circlet supporting upright elements that have a wedge-like shape. A tiered train or headcloth falls down her back.

Provenance: M-U1058-C05

Phase: Late Moche



926. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: SJM1-6-509-C1

Description: Vessel with two depictions of the Mythical Feminine Personage. She is shown wearing a long tunic with what appears to be a plain yoke with a center stripe, a netted main body, and a solid lower portion, with a field with circle designs that is either a belt or part of the tunic. There are inverted triangles near the shoulders, which may be a part of the tunic or depictions of *ticipis*. She wears ear spools with a concentric circle design, and a circlet which supports wedge-shaped elements. A long tiered train or headcloth trails down her back. Her arm is painted with stripes and a dot at the elbow, reminiscent of warrior leg paint, and she holds a triangular object, possibly a stylized depiction of a cup or goblet.

Provenance: SJM1-6-509-C1

Phase: Late Moche



927. Institution: PASJM

Accession number: SJM1-97-6-509-C4

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with vertical stripe design. There is no indication of arms or arm holes. He wears either ear spools with a center hole or has stylized ears with ear holes. A crown or high circlet with a diagonal stripe pattern is on his head.

Provenance: SJM1-97-6-509-C4

Phase: Late Moche



928. Institution: Proyecto Arqueológico Huaca Cao Viejo (PAHCV)  
 Accession number: CV91 E92-4  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs made of rectangular elements, and a broad collar with a design of concentric diamonds. He wears ear spools with a grid design, and a circlet which supports two hemispherical projections and a feather fan. The circlet sits on a headcloth with a flap hanging down the back and terminating in a fringed hem.  
 Provenance: CV91 E92-4  
 Phase: III-IV



929. Institution: PAHCV  
 Accession number: CV92 E25-01  
 Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on a step platform. He wears a loincloth underneath a kilt with an abstracted fret design at the hem, short tunic, and wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design. He also wears a broad collar with traces of a checkerboard pattern in faded post-fire black, and a conical helmet with flap down the back.  
 Provenance: CV92 E25-01  
 Phase: III



930. Institution: PAHCV  
 Accession number: CV95 E15-3  
 Description: Vessel depicting two hunters pursuing deer. The hunters wear loincloths with *ulluchu* belts, the ends of which are visible in the back. They wear an unusual leg paint design consisting of three stripes on the shin. They wear ear cylinders, and conical helmets or headcloths tied in a similar shape, held with a chin tie which supports a feather fan at the top of the head. Headcloth ties emerge from under the helmet or wrapped cloth. They hold spear-throwers in their left hands and two spears or darts in their right. The deer have antlers but testes are not depicted.  
 Provenance: CV95 E15-3  
 Phase: IV



931. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: Ent. Moche, Plat. Superior

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure seated on the main body. He wears a long tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar composed of rectangular elements in a vertical stripe pattern. A pointed kerchief is tied in the back over a high cap or cloth with a dot pattern. The figure has a mustache and goatee modeled in relief.

Provenance: Moche gave, upper platform.

Phase: II



932. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-00614

Description: Vessel depicting a healer and patient. The healer has closed eyes and wears a kilt, short tunic, and a plain belt which supports a plain backflap. He also wears earspools with a dot design, and an animal circlet (perhaps a bat) with limbs and a tail-like flap down the back, supporting a large hemispherical projection. The circlet is placed over a headcloth. He has the tripartite face paint design, and has a pair of joined rattles with an attached cord slung over his right shoulder. The patient is nude, with the exception of a broad collar with a design of vertical flecks. Her hair is in braids or sections. The vessel is slumped badly on one side from overfiring, which has also affected the color of the slip.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: IV



933. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4513

Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman with a child figure on her lap. She wears a long tunic which is divided into two fields, one plain and one with a concentric circle design in faded post-fire black. She also wears wrist cuffs and a collar composed of rectangular elements, and has her hair in two unbraided sections down her back. The small figure has closed eyes and wears a long tunic. No hair is depicted.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: III



934. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4530

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar with a fret design, and earspools with a concentric circle design. A tunic is implied but not depicted. He also wears a crown or high circlet with a dot design.

Provenance: Not given.



935. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4533

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure who holds a broad-billed duck with both hands. He wears a tunic of undeterminable length, over which a mantle is wrapped. The mantle has a circle design which may suggest tie-dye. He wears a collar of rectangular elements, and pendant crescent earrings. A circlet with rounded projections at the sides and a diamond design on the main arc is placed on the head. The hair is in a club-shaped ponytail in the back.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: II-III



936. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4535

Description: Head effigy vessel on a base which may be meant as a collar with step and fret design. The muscoid fly pupa design is depicted on the jaw line with slip and incised line. The head wears a circlet with feline pelage marks and two sets of paws at the sides, with a tail down the back. The base is perforated with small holes on the bottom and contains a rattle element.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: II-III





937. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4546

Description: Vessel depicting two human prisoners of avian supernaturals. They have ropes around their necks but their hands are unbound. They have conventional warrior leg paint, and their right arms (with the exception of the hand) and phalluses are also painted in red slip. They also have face paint, one design in two dark stripes separated by a light one under the eye, the other is also under the eye but is a thick dark stripe bounded by two lighter ones. The supernaturals hold the ropes attached to their necks with one hand and hold a *tumi* attached to a bird-headed cord in the other.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: IV



938. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4717

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a broad-billed duck with both hands. He wears a tunic of indefinite length with stripes composed of light and dark blocks, underneath a mantle with a design of toothed lines. He also wears a narrow collar composed of thin rectangular elements, ear cylinders, and a crown or high circlet. His hair is gathered in a club-shaped ponytail in the back.

Provenance: Not given.



939. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4718

Description: Reduction-fired head effigy vessel. The head has ear holes but no ornaments, and a monkey circlet with limbs and a tail down the back.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: III



940. Institution: PAHCV

Accession number: I-4791

Description: Reduction-fired vessel with a modeled figure seated on top of the vessel body. He wears a long tunic, covered by a mantle tied at the chest. A rope is tied around his neck and trails to his right knee. He wears a kerchief over a wrapped headcloth that terminates in the back with three long flaps, one wide and two narrow, with fringed hems.

Provenance: Not given.

Phase: Spout is broken.



941. Institution: Proyecto Arqueológico Huacas de Moche (PAHM)

Accession number: CA25-044

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a long tunic, and a bundled mantle wrapped across the body, under the left shoulder and over the right, and tied at the chest. A stirrup-spout vessel is slung on the mantle bundle. The figure also wears ear cylinders, and an owl circlet over a headcloth.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 25

Phase: IV



942. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA25-047

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic of undetermined length and a mantle tied at the back of the neck. He wears his hair in the wedge-shaped forelock style. He holds a lime container in his left hand and a dipper in his right, a *chuspa*-style bag is slung on his right wrist. There is a slight bulge in his right cheek, indicating coca chewing.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 25

Phase: IV



943. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA25-058

Description: Head effigy vessel wearing a wrapped pointed kerchief, with a flap hanging down the back from underneath.

The upper lip is deformed, with the teeth visible. The nose seems to have the “Leishmaniasis” deformation.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 25

Phase: IV



944. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA25-059

Description: Vessel depicting a seated prisoner, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, which trails to the left hip. He wears a short tunic with a triangular hem, with indications of plating on the tunic body. The hair is loose and short.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 25

Phase: IV



945. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA25-068

Description: Vessel depicting a seated ritual runner. He wears a loincloth with a plain belt, a feline circlet with a tail flap down the back, and a large oblong projection held on the circlet by a chin tie. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief, and a headcloth with two trailing elements which extend to the belt.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 25

Phase: IV



946. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA25-152

Description: Vessel depicting a standing whistler figure with a child figure in its arms. The large figure wears a long tunic and a hooded mantle with a crossed-line design placed over it, with a cap visible underneath. The figure appears to wear one wrist cuff on the right wrist. The face is heavily wrinkled, with pursed lips. The small figure appears to have closed eyes.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 25

Phase: IV



947. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-178

Description: Vessel depicting a head effigy on crouched legs. The figure wears a loincloth, and has short, uncovered hair. Leg and face paint are faintly visible in post-fire black.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



948. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-179

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling double amputee figure, wearing a loincloth, with a mantle bundle tied at the waist like a belt. He also wears a short tunic, and a pointed kerchief tied over a wrapped headcloth. The face is heavily lined, and has the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



949. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-180

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, with a mantle tied at the waist and hanging down the back, and a short tunic with a starfish-like design at the neck. On his head he wears a plain, rounded circlet, placed over a pointed kerchief, tied at the top of the head.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



950. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-182

Description: Vessel depicting a standing woman wearing a long tunic, with a mantle bundle tied at the chest. Her hair is in braids, which fall inside her tunic. She holds a circular object in her right hand.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



951. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-211

Description: Vessel depicting a figure holding up a tunic. The tunic has a step design at the hem and cuffs, with an inverted step design at the yoke. The tunic bearer wears a tunic of undetermined length, with a mantle tied under the right shoulder and over the left shoulder. A *chuspa* is slung on the neck and rests on the left rear shoulder. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in the same form.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



952. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-214

Description: Vessel depicting two seated figures in low relief. They wear loincloths, short tunics, and plain belts. They also wear either earspools or wire-and-drop circle earrings, the details are unclear. They have either cap and flaps or hair styled in the same shape. Each figure places their right hand on a seated feline.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35



953. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-215

Description: Vessel depicting a seated *achumera*. She wears a long tunic, plain narrow collar, and plain earspools. A mantle covers her head, with a veil-like covering over the eyes. She holds four-lumped objects in each hand, most likely San Pedro cactus tops.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



954. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-562

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders. He wears ear cylinders and a pointed kerchief. The piece appears to be heavily fire-clouded.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



955. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-563

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling warrior with a heavily wrinkled face, and eyes inlaid with shell and stone. He wears a loincloth, belt with attached bells, and a short tunic. He also wears wrist cuffs, earspools with inlay, and a circlet supporting two hemispherical projections and a feather fan. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief and a headcloth. He wears what appears to be a human effigy on his back. He carries a square shield in the left hand, and may have had a mace in the right.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



956. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-564

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, tunic, and a broad collar with a step motif. He also wears earspools with a design of curls surrounding a central circle, and a crown or high circlet with diagonal stripes.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: IV



957. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-1294

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic with vertical stripe design. The arms are not depicted and may be inside the tunic. He wears a crown or high circlet.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



958. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA35-1298

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth covered by a kilt with a step and fret design, a tunic with what may be a simplified inverted step at the yoke, and wrist cuffs. He wears a short necklace of rectangular elements, pendant crescent earrings, and an animal circlet with limbs and a tail flap down the back. He appears to have a ponytail in the back. In his right hand he holds a lime container and dipper.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: III



959. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA36-049

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic, necklace with triangular pendants, and pendant crescent earrings. The head appears to be covered with a close-fitting cap. A firing vent is located between the legs under hem of tunic, perhaps indicating a vulva.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35



960. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: CA36-053

Description: Solid figurine depicting a standing figure wearing a medium-length tunic and a broad, plain collar. Hair is not indicated, and may be covered.

Provenance: Conjunto arqueológico 35

Phase: IV





961. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: CBLS-068  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure with a necklace of rectangular plaques, and what appear to be small ear plugs or cylinders. The face is painted with an elaborate set of geometric designs, including concentric circles on the bulging cheeks. The hair appears to be short and uncovered.  
 Provenance: Cerro Blanco Ladera Sur, Tomb 1  
 Phase: IV



962. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: CBLS-072  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long and parted into two sections in the back. The nipples and navel are depicted.  
 Provenance: Cerro Blanco Ladera Sur, Tomb 1  
 Phase: IV



963. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: CBLS-073  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck which trail to the left hip. The hair is long and parted into two sections in the back.  
 Provenance: Cerro Blanco Ladera Sur, Tomb 1  
 Phase: IV



964. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-001

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling warrior, with inlaid details. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, a belt which supports *tumi*-shaped ornaments, wrist cuffs, and a collar of thin rectangular elements. He also wears earspools with an inlaid center, and a band wrapped around the head which supports two hemispherical projections, placed over a pointed kerchief. He has a heavily wrinkled face, and inlaid eyes. A human effigy is worn on his back. He holds a square shield in his left hand, and likely held a mace in his right.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



965. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-002

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure playing a *quena*, which he holds with both hands. He wears a mantle, draped over his shoulders, wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, and a matching collar. He also wears earspools with an inlaid center, a circlet with two projections at the sides, and underneath a pointed kerchief. The eyes are inlaid. The feet may be amputated, but this is unclear. A tunic is implied but not depicted.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



966. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-362

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a short tunic, with a mantle draped over the shoulders. He also wears wrist cuffs, and a collar made from inlaid plaques of stone, turquoise, *Spondylus*, and white shell. His earspools are inlaid in the center with stone, and he wears a circlet with inlaid design with two projections at the sides. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. He holds an oblong object in the right hand, the left may have held an object once as well.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



967. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-781

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting two figures, one seated above the other. The larger figure wears a kilt with dot design, short tunic, wrist cuffs with a dot design, and a matching collar. He wears earspools with inlaid centers, and a circlet supporting two hemispherical projections, also with a dot design. The circlet is placed over a headcloth with an edging of fringe or bells. An element is broken off from the back of the circlet. His face is wrinkled, the eyes inlaid. He holds a square shield in the left hand and a mace in the right. A spear-thrower and three spears are on the ground nearby. The small figure wears a kilt with dot design, a belt supporting a plain backflap, and short tunic. He also wears earspools which had a center inlay, and a headcloth underneath a conical helmet with flap. He holds a round shield in the left hand.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



968. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-784

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic of indeterminate length, with a mantle draped on the shoulders. He wears a headcloth tied on the top of the head, and with a flap down the back. The eye sockets are empty, and the mouth is open. The whole head is a whistle, and a hole in the throat is part of the whistle mechanism.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



969. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PL1-818  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar with step and fret design, and a pointed kerchief with a dot design. A tunic is implied but not depicted.  
 Provenance: Platform 1  
 Phase: IV



970. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PL1-838  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure playing a *quena*, which he holds with both hands. He wears a mantle draped over his shoulders, short tunic, wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements, and a matching collar. He also wears earspools with an inlaid center, a circlet with two projections at the sides, and a pointed kerchief underneath. The eyes are inlaid. Similar to CR 965.  
 Provenance: Platform 1  
 Phase: IV



971. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PL1-839  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a short tunic, with a mantle draped over the shoulders. He also wears wrist cuffs, and a collar made from rectangular plaques. His earspools are inlaid in the center with stone, and he wears a circlet with inlaid design with two projections at the sides. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. He holds an oblong object in the right hand, and another unidentified object in the left. Similar to CR 966  
 Provenance: Platform 1  
 Phase: IV



972. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-890

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with stripes at the shoulders, with a broad belt at the waist, decorated with a dot and vertical line design. The hair is covered by a headcloth, and the broad strap of a large *chuspa* or similar bag is placed across the forehead, the bag rests in the center of the back.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



973. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-902

Description: Dipper vessel handle depicting a head wearing ear spoons and a tiered helmet with flap down the back, placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



974. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-927

Description: Vessel depicting three deer hunters. They wear kilts with step and fret designs, belts with ties visible in the back, and short tunics. Two of the tunics have a step and fret design at the hem, the third has an inverted step at the yoke. The two figures with step and fret design tunics also wear wrist cuffs, one set plain and one set with a matching step and fret. All three wear earspools, two with concentric circles and one with a center dot design. One figure wears a conical helmet, with a hemispherical crest in the front and a fan of three long plumes in the back. The other two wear circlets over headcloths, one with two feather fans (one front and one back), and one with a feather fan topped with three long plumes. The figure in the helmet carries a club with rounded head, while the other two figures hold spear-throwers in one hand and a pair of spears in the other.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



975. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-928

Description: Dipper vessel handle depicting a woman's head, with braids hanging at the sides of the head and neck.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



976. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-967

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, and collar with step and fret design. He also wears earspools with a dot and circle design, and a tiered head covering which is likely a conical helmet, with a matching tiered flap down the back.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: IV



977. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-030

Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure wearing a headcloth with a dot design and serrated edge, covered by a pointed kerchief with a matching dot design, tied at the chin.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: III



978. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-031

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a broad collar with vertical stripe design, with a folded headcloth placed on the head, and a flap down the back. A tunic is implied but not depicted.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: III



979. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PL1-032

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a broad collar with vertical stripe design, with a folded headcloth placed on the head, and a flap down the back. A tunic is implied but not depicted. Almost identical to CR 979.

Provenance: Platform 1

Phase: III



980. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLII-149

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, broad collar with alternating triangle design, and ear spoils with an outer ring design. He also wears a tiered helmet or crown with a matching flap down the back, placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Platform 2

Phase: IV



981. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLII-150

Description: Dipper vessel handle depicting a head wearing ear spoils and a tiered helmet with flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. Nearly identical to CR 973.

Provenance: Platform 2

Phase: IV





982. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLII-151  
 Description: Dipper vessel handle depicting a head wearing earspools and a tiered helmet with flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. Similar to CR 973 and CR 982.  
 Provenance: Platform 2  
 Phase: IV



983. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLII-235  
 Description: Vessel depicting a modeled figure seated on the vessel body. He wears a kilt with dot design, a belt supporting a plain backflap, and a tunic with a dot design that matches the kilt. He also wears wrist cuffs, earspools with an outer rim design, and a conical helmet and flap with the same dot design. The helmet is placed over a headcloth. He holds a rounded hunter's club in his left hand. There is faded body paint on his arms and legs in post-fire black. The piece is heavily fire-clouded and shows signs of beginning to slump.  
 Provenance: Platform 2  
 Phase: IV



984. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLII-238  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated ritual runner, wearing a loincloth, belt tied at the back, and wrist cuffs. He also wears ear cylinders and an animal circlet with chevron design and a tail flap down the back. On top of the circlet is an oblong element. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief, tied at the chin, and a headcloth with two long elements trailing to the belt.  
 Provenance: Platform 2  
 Phase: IV



985. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLII-239  
 Description: head effigy vessel depicting a figure wearing a headcloth with flap down the back, tied at the front of the head. The nose and mouth have the “Leishmaniasis” facial deformation.  
 Provenance: Platform 2  
 Phase: IV



986. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLII-241  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back, and a rope around the neck which terminates in a feline serpent head devouring the phallus. The ears have holes but no ornaments, and the hair is short. The navel is indicated, and there is a post-fire black checkerboard design visible on the front of the torso but not on back.  
 Provenance: Platform 2  
 Phase: IV



987. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLII-242  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back, and a rope around the neck which trails to the left hip. The ears have holes but no ornaments, and the hair is short.  
 Provenance: Platform 2  
 Phase: IV



988. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLII-243

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back. He wears a short tunic and broad, plain collar, with the hair long and parted into two sections in the back.

Provenance: Platform 2

Phase: IV



989. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-043

Description: Vessel depicting a seated blind figure wearing a loincloth, medium-length tunic with vertical stripe design, and a mantle wrapped at the neck. The mantle rests over a collar composed of trapezoid plaques. He also wears a narrow circlet with a fret design, supporting a large hemispherical projection divided into light and dark quadrants. The circlet rests on a pointed kerchief, tied at the chin. The face is covered in incised designs of panoplies, animals, and human genitalia.

Provenance: Plaza 2B

Phase: II-III



990. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-044

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic with stripe design, and a mantle passing under the left shoulder and over the right, tied at the chest. A *chuspa* is slung on the neck and rests on the left rear shoulder. The hands are inside the tunic and visible on the knees. He wears either a cap and flap or has hair styled in the same form. Face and hand paint, as well as textile details, are executed in post-fire black.

Provenance: Plaza 2B

Phase: II-III



991. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-065  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs composed of rectangular elements and a broad collar with a wave design. He also wears earspools with a spiral design and a cap with geometric design, with a flap down the back.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



992. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-073  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated sleeper wearing a long tunic with vertical stripe design and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He wears either a circlet and flap or has hair styled in a similar manner.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



993. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-076  
 Description: Vessels depicting human prisoners of supernaturals with scorpion tails. They are nude, with a rope around the neck held by the supernatural. The hair is loose and long.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



994. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-084

Description: Small face-neck vessel, approximately 4 inches tall, depicting a figure wearing a tunic with vertical stripe design, wrist cuffs, and a crown or high circlet with vertical stripe design. He wears either earspools with a center hole or has ears with holes and no ornaments. Similar to CR 860-862.

Provenance: Plaza 2B

Phase: III



995. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-085

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, medium-length tunic with vertical stripe design, and ear holes with no ornaments. He wears a crown or high circlet with a diagonal stripe design. The arms are not depicted and may be inside the tunic.

Provenance: Plaza 2B

Phase: III



996. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-091

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, wrist cuffs, and a broad collar. He also wears earspools, and a fox circlet with a stylized representation of the limbs and a tail flap down the back. The circlet supports a hemispherical projection with an incised spiral design, and is placed over a folded headcloth with two trailing tapes with fringed ends. The eyes, earspools, headdress elements, collar and wrist cuffs all appear to have been intended for inlay.

Provenance: Plaza 2B

Phase: II-III



997. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-217  
 Description: Dipper vessel handle depicting a figure wearing a collar of triangular elements, with the ties visible in the back. He also wears a pointed kerchief, and has face paint in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



998. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-218  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure with bulging cheeks and elaborate face paint depicting a manta ray-like design on the nose and a swirling serrated form on the cheeks.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



999. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-219  
 Description: Dipper vessel handle depicting a figure which may be wearing a collar with horizontal stripe design, and a pointed kerchief over the head.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



1000. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-220  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting a figure with bulging cheeks and elaborate face paint depicting a manta ray-like design on the nose and a swirling serrated form on the cheeks. Nearly identical to CR 998.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



1001. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-223  
 Description: Head effigy vessel on crouching legs. He wears a loincloth, and has face and leg paint in post-fire black. The hair is loose and short.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: III



1002. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PLZ2B-224  
 Description: Vessel depicting four warriors. They wear loincloths with belts, and short tunics. They also wear ear spools with a center dot design, and conical helmets with *tumi* crests on top and flaps down the back. The helmets are placed over headcloths. They hold shields (two round and two square) and maces. Two of the maces have a flange towards the bottom end, the other two are plain.  
 Provenance: Plaza 2B  
 Phase: IV



1003. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-227

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a short tunic, wrist cuffs, broad collar, and ear spools. The cuffs, collar, and ear spools were all formerly inlaid, along with the eyes. On his head he wears a circlet, which supports two hemispherical projections in the back, along with a feather fan, the top of which has been broken off. The circlet sits on a headcloth with a long flap trailing down the back, decorated with a chevron design.

Provenance: Plaza 2B



1004. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ2B-243

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure wearing a kilt with horizontal stripe design, tunic with vertical line design, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting in the middle of the back. He wears what appear to be very long ear cylinders with a grooved design, and a circlet of twisted elements, with a bundled portion at front and four upright projections. The hair is gathered into a ponytail in back. The eye sockets are empty, and may have been intended for inlay. He holds a lime container in the right hand, and a bulge in one cheek most likely indicated coca chewing. The left hand is missing.

Provenance: Plaza 2B

Phase: III



1005. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ3C-093

Description: Head effigy vessel with short, uncovered hair. There are traces of face paint in post-fire black.

Provenance: Plaza 3C

Phase: III





1006. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ3C-094

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure seated on the top, wearing a kilt with vertical stripe pattern, plain belt, and short tunic. He also wears wrist cuffs, a broad collar composed of trapezoidal plaques, and earpools with a concentric circle design. On his head he wears a hemispherical helmet with a transverse fan-like crest, over a headcloth with two tapered elements which trail to the belt. He holds a circular shield in his right hand.

Provenance: Plaza 3C

Phase: III-IV



1007. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PLZ3C-103

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a medium-length tunic under a mantle tied at the chest. The genitals are exposed, and a rope is tied around the neck, trailing down the back and then draping over the left knee. He also wears a necklace of ovoid pendants with a chevron texture and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head. His right hand has traces of post-fire back, and the left appears to have a matched design. The legs have a typical leg paint design.

Provenance: Plaza 3C

Phase: III



1008. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-001

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure on top of the main vessel. The vessel has the depiction of a looped piece of fabric, with a fret design, serrated edge, and a trapezoidal element at the front. The figure on top of the vessel wears a long tunic, wrist cuffs, and a necklace that may be of *espingo* seeds. He wears two sets of wire-and-drop circle earrings, at the top and bottom of the ears, and either a circlet and flap or hair styled in the same shape.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1009. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PT-002  
 Description: Head effigy vessel depicting an individual missing the left eye and wearing a headcloth with flap down the back and tied at the top of the head.  
 Provenance: Parada Turística  
 Phase: IV



1010. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PT-003  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic with geometric design at the cuff, and a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck. He wears ear cylinders and has a wedge-shaped forelock. He holds a lime container and dipper in the right hand, and has a bulge in the right cheek, indicating coca chewing. A bowl is held in the left hand.  
 Provenance: Parada Turística  
 Phase: IV



1011. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PT-005  
 Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora*, wearing a long tunic with plain belt, and a tump line across the forehead.  
 Provenance: Parada Turística  
 Phase: IV



1012. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-006

Description: Vessel depicting an act of fellatio. The male is seated on a step or throne and wears a loincloth, thin belt wrapped twice around the waist, and a short tunic with inverted step design. He wears ear cylinders and a crown over a headcloth with a flap down the back. His mouth is open, exposing the teeth, and the left hand is held in a fist. The female is depicted as emerging from the ground before the male, and wears a long tunic with stripes at the shoulders and down the back. As discussed in the dissertation, these long stripes may stand for braids. The hair is otherwise short and uncovered. Her head is on a pivot, so that her mouth can move up and down on her partner's exposed phallus. Mold made, one of three found.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1013. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-007

Description: Vessel depicting an act of fellatio. The male is seated on a step or throne and wears a loincloth, thin belt wrapped twice around the waist, and a short tunic with inverted step design. He wears ear cylinders and a crown over a headcloth with a flap down the back. His mouth is open, exposing the teeth, and the left hand is held in a fist. The female is depicted as emerging from the ground before the male, and wears a long tunic with stripes at the shoulders and down the back. As discussed in the dissertation, these long stripes may stand for braids. The hair is otherwise short and uncovered. Her head is on a pivot, so that her mouth can move up and down on her partner's exposed phallus. Mold made, nearly identical to CR 1012, although more fragmentary.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1014. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-008

Description: Vessel depicting an act of fellatio. The male is seated on a step or throne and wears a loincloth, thin belt wrapped twice around the waist, and a short tunic with inverted step design. He wears ear cylinders and a crown over a headcloth with a flap down the back. His mouth is open, exposing the teeth, and the left hand is held in a fist. The female is depicted as emerging from the ground before the male, and wears a long tunic with stripes at the shoulders and down the back. As discussed in the dissertation, these long stripes may stand for braids. The hair is otherwise short and uncovered. Her head is on a pivot, so that her mouth can move up and down on her partner's exposed phallus. Mold made, nearly identical to CR 1012 and CR 1013.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1015. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-010

Description: Vessel depicting a standing *cargador* holding the hand of a smaller figure. He wears a loincloth and a medium-length tunic with a checkerboard design. A mantle bundle is tied at his chest. He wears a hood, ear cylinders, and a wedge-shaped forelock emerges from the hood. There is a bulge in his right cheek, perhaps indicating coca consumption. The small figure wears a long tunic with vertical stripe design and a hooded mantle, underneath which a wedge-shaped forelock is visible.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1016. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-022

Description: Vessel depicting four ritual runners. They wear loincloths and broad belts, two have a chevron design and two have a serpent design. They wear wrist cuffs, wrapped headcloths with geometric designs, and feather fans tied at the top of the head with a chin tie. Loops and trailing elements from a headcloth underneath the patterned one are visible. The figures all have two right hands, and do not carry the bags usually associated with runners. They have typical leg paint designs. Hummingbirds and landscape elements are depicted around the figures.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1017. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-036

Description: Fragment of a solid figurine depicting a female (the vulva is visible). She wears a necklace composed of rectangular plaques, and may wear a cap.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1018. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PT-037

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a woman with her right hand held to her cheek. She wears a tunic and a double-strand necklace of round beads. Her hair is in braids.

Provenance: Parada Turística

Phase: IV



1019. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-001

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left buttock. He has ear holes but no ornaments. The nipples and navel are depicted, and body paint on the legs, chest, and head is depicted in post-fire black. The hair is long and uncovered.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1020. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-025

Description: Face-neck vessel wearing a tunic of indeterminate length, with a mantle tied at the neck. He has ear holes with no ornaments, but wears a circular nose ornament. He also wears a band wrapped around the head and tied at the top, supporting a feather fan. This textile is placed over another headcloth, which hangs in a flap down the back. He holds a bowl in his left hand.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle.



1021. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-106

Description: Mold-made whistle depicting a standing figure wearing a kilt and short tunic with matching triangular-tabbed hems, and a two-strand necklace of round beads over a broad collar. He wears ear cylinders, and an animal cirlet with forelimbs visible and two circular bosses at the sides. The cirlet also supports a *tumi* crest, and is placed over a headcloth. The hands are not visible, most likely they are meant to be tied behind the back.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1022. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-111 (12)  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back. He wears a tunic and a broad, plain collar, with long hair parted into two sections in back. The top of the vessel is broken and so it is unclear whether he once had a head covering.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1023. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-111 (13)  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back. He wears a kilt and short tunic with matching tabbed hems and incised line dividing the garment into halves. He wears a necklace of large, round beads placed over a collar with a tabbed edge matching the tunic and kilt. He also wears ear cylinders and a cap and flap with a tabbed hem at the forehead which matches the collar and garments. There are traces of red pigment on the head, the left side of the tunic and the right side of the kilt.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1024. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-111 (23)  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing pendant crescent earrings and with a wedge-shaped forelock. The mouth is open, with the teeth showing.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1025. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-111 (24)  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing pendant crescent earrings and with a wedge-shaped forelock. The mouth is open, with the teeth showing. Very similar to CR 1024.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1026. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-111 (56)  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with a puffy face, wearing pendant crescent earrings and with parted bangs depicted. The piece is rather crude and heavy, and appears to be mold made.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1027. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-116  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck. There is an indication of ear holes. The hair is long, parted at the back into two sections, and is painted with cream slip at the ends, like the edging on a flap. The navel is visible.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV





1028. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-151

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, ending in a serpent head devouring the exposed phallus. He has ear holes with no ornaments, and the hair is medium length and uncovered. The mold seam is barely visible.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1029. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-224

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a modeled figure on top of a vessel. The figure wears a short tunic, broad, plain collar, and ear spools. He also wears a plain circlet which supports two cupped bosses and a large semicircular element, placed over a headcloth. No lower garment is depicted.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



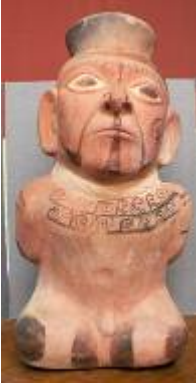
1030. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-388

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with the hands tied behind the back, with a rope around the neck and trailing to the left hip. He has ear holes with no ornaments, and the hair is long and separated into two sections in the back. Body paint on the legs, torso, and face is visible in faded post-fire black.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1031. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-389  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing down the back to the wrists. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel is depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1032. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-390  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel is depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1033. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-391  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with a rope around the neck, trailing to the left knee. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel is depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black. He holds a bowl or cup in the right hand.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1034. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-392  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1035. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-394  
 Description: Handle of a dipper vessel depicting a head wearing a headcloth tied over a cap. Face paint is indicated with red slip.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: II-III



1036. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-422  
 Description: Partial vessel depicting a figure wearing a short tunic, *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder, and a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar shape. He holds a circular shield in the right hand and a staff with a circular mace head hafted onto it. Appears to be from the same mold as CR 864 and CR 865.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1037. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-423

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a short tunic, *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder, and a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar shape. He holds a circular shield in the right hand and a staff with a circular mace head hafted onto it. Nearly identical to CR 1036. Appears to be from the same mold as CR 864 and CR 865.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1038. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-425

Description: vessel depicting a figure wearing a short tunic, *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder, and a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar shape. He holds a circular shield in the right hand and a staff with a circular mace head hafted onto it. Nearly identical to CR 1036 and CR 1037. Appears to be from the same mold as CR 864 and CR 865.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1039. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-475

Description: Vessel depicting a *cargadora* wearing a long tunic with plain belt, and triangular *ticpis* at the shoulders. A tumpline is placed over her headcloth.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1040. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-499  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long, and parted into two sections in the back. The navel and nipples are indicated, while a pattern is incised into the torso similar to those painted depictions of plated garments depicted on other effigies.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1041. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-500  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel is indicated, with incision detail on the torso similar to CR 1040.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1042. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-581  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a scarf wrapped twice around the shoulders. He wears a pointed kerchief, tied at the top of the head, and a cap appears to be visible underneath the kerchief. There is a triangular pattern incised on the cheeks of the figure, which appears to have been made post-firing. He holds an object in the left hand, which may be a bag.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1043. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-582  
 Description: Head effigy vessel wearing a wrapped headcloth with a flap down the back, fastened with a textile passing under the chin.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III-IV



1044. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-585  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle fastened at the neck and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He wears a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar form. The eyes appear to be open, despite being in a sleeper's pose.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1045. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-604  
 Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with tabbed hem, and wrist cuffs. He appears to have a rope around his neck, the end of which he holds in his left hand. He wears a headcloth with a flap, and a chin strap with triangular ruff. The piece is difficult to read.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1046. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-646  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, and earspools. He also wears a tiered helmet with matching flap, over a headcloth.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1047. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-647  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a tunic, wrist cuffs, and earspools. He also wears a tiered helmet with matching flap, over a headcloth. Similar to CR 1046 but not as big nor as well-made.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1048. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-652  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated woman on top of the main vessel body. She wears a long tunic, with a mantle bundle tied at her chest. The bundle supports a cylindrical object with a strap around it. Her hair is in two braids, which appear to be wrapped. She has a heavily wrinkled face, and holds a pair of rattles in her right hand. The left arm is broken off at the elbow.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1049. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-653  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck, over a tunic with a geometric design at the cuffs. He wears a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He has ear cylinders, and a wedge-shaped forelock.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1050. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-654  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with a disproportionately large head. He wears a long tunic, with ear cylinders and a wrapped headcloth over a pointed kerchief.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1051. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-728  
 Description: Reduction-fired head effigy vessel with a heavily distorted face, especially the mouth and nose. The figure appears to have a harelip and does not seem to have a septum. The hair appears to be uncovered and short.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV





1052. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-730

Description: Vessel depicting two hunters pursuing deer. The hunters and the deer's bodies are in low relief with the deer's heads in high relief. The hunters wear kilts with a horizontal stripe pattern and belts with ties visible in the back. They wear wrist cuffs and short tunics, one with a vertical line design, the other with a dot design near the yoke. They wear broad collars with similar designs, earspools with a center dot design, and feline circlets with limbs and tails down the back, supporting feather fans with two longer plumes emerging from the top. Their face paint designs match.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1053. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-784

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with tabbed hem, and wrist cuffs. He appears to have a rope around his neck, the end of which he holds in his left hand, and he holds a stick or baton in his right. He wears a headcloth with a flap, underneath a circlet with a flat front, fastened by a chin strap with triangular ruff. Similar to CR 1045.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1054. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-787

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure holding a small feline on his lap. He wears a long tunic with a checkerboard design, and a mantle wrapped under the right shoulder and over the left. He wears a necklace of large round beads with simplified faces on them. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and a circlet supporting a large hemispherical projection in the back, along with two curved and two straight projections in the front. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. The piece appears to have been intended to be inlaid.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1055. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-792

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. He wears a short tunic which exposes the phallus. The hair is long, and may have a circlet indicated, but this is not clear.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1056. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-793

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left shin. He has ear holes but no ornaments. The hair is long, and the navel and nipples are indicated.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1057. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-794  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel and nipples are indicated. Very heavy, thick-walled and crude, the piece appears to have a mold seam.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1058. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-795  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left shin. He has ear holes but no ornaments. The hair is long and uncovered. The navel and left nipple are indicated  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1059. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-810  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long and uncovered. The navel and nipples are indicated. There are traces of post-fire black on the torso, mostly in a grid pattern with a triangle around the navel.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1060. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-811  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long and uncovered. The navel and nipples are indicated. Similar to CR 1059.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1061. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-812  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long and uncovered. The navel and nipples are indicated. Similar to CR 1059 and CR 1060.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1062. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-818  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, wide belt tied in the back, and short tunic. He appears to have a bag of some sort slung over his right shoulder and held in his lap. He wears wrist cuffs, a broad, plain collar, and a crescent nose ornament. He has ear holes but no ornament, and wears a headcloth, wrapped twice with a cord which ties in the back. What appears to be a folded piece of textile is laid over the head from ear to ear, and there are flaps in the back of the headcloth which end in tassels or fringe.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1063. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-832  
 Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure wearing a medium-length tunic, a mantle tied at the chest, and a necklace of rectangular elements. The hair is either close-cut or covered with a fitted cap.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV-V



1064. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-933  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a double amputee figure lying on the stomach with the head lifted and the hands at the chest. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head and worn over a cap. The nose and mouth have the “Leishmaniasis” deformation.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1065. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-934  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a double amputee figure lying on the stomach with the head lifted and the hands at the chest. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and a pointed kerchief tied at the top of the head and worn over a cap. The nose and mouth have the “Leishmaniasis” deformation. Nearly identical to CR 1064, but more evenly fired.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



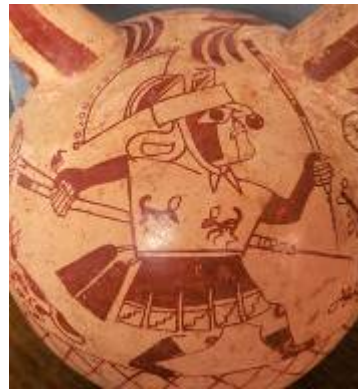
1066. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-937

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth, plain belt, and short tunic with inverted step design. He wears a necklace of large beads, and wire-and-drop earrings depicting animal heads, possibly feline serpents. A short mantle or headcloth is placed over the head. The piece appears over-fired; the surface is grey and the cream slip has yellowed.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1067. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-941

Description: Vessel depicting two deer hunters. They wear kilts, one with a plated hem and one with a tabbed hem, and belts with ties visible in the back. They wear short tunics, one with a deer design and one plain. The hunter in the plain tunic wears a broad, plain collar. They both wear plain circlets supporting feather fans with long plumes at the top. The circlets are held by chin ties, and the loops of a headcloth are visible at the back of the head. They wear circular nose ornaments, and have the tripartite face paint design. They carry spear throwers and darts. Both figures have two left hands.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1068. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-982

Description: Vessel with a modeled figure on top of the main vessel. The figure wears a long tunic with a checkerboard design of plain squares and squares with a step design. The figure wears a necklace of large, round beads, earspools with dots around the outer edge, and a headcloth with a flap over the eyes with a design of curled and straight lines. The figure holds rattle-bells in the right hand. A stirrup-spout vessel and a tall vessel with a volute design are depicted in two dimensions on the vessel body below the figure.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: IV



1069. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-985

Description: Vessel depicting a modeled warrior sitting on top of vessel with mountain scene painted on it, in which two-dimensional warriors seem to stumble and fall. The three-dimensional warrior wears a loincloth, a belt supporting a backflap with bells, short tunic, and a tiered conical helmet with matching flap. It is fastened with a chin strap with a lobed ruff, and placed over a headcloth. The two-dimensional warriors are rather crudely executed, and wear loincloths, belts with backflaps, and short tunics with designs of lines and dots. They wear conical helmets with flaps down the back and *tumi* crests on top. Both carry maces, one also holds three darts or spears in his left hand.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1070. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-986

Description: Vessel depicting a modeled figure sitting on top of the vessel body. He wears a loincloth underneath a kilt with a design of inverted triangles and dots, and earspools with designs around the outer edge. The nipples are depicted, indicating he is shirtless. He also wears a tiered cap with flap, the front of which has a row of plating. A mace, rectangular shield, and two barbed darts or spears are depicted below his on the vessel body.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1071. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-987

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing down to the right hip. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel is depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1072. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-988

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing down to the right hip. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel and left nipple are depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black. Similar to CR 1071.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III





1073. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-989  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing across the left shoulder to the back. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel and nipples are depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1074. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-990  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the chest. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. Leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1075. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-991  
 Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back. The navel is depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black. Similar to CR 1074.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1076. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-992

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel, with the hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. The hair is long, and parted into two sections in the back. The navel is depicted, and leg, body, and face paint is depicted in post-fire black. Similar to CR 1074 and CR 1075.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1077. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-994

Description: Vessel depicting a standing achondroplastic figure wearing a kilt, belt with ties in the back, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools and an animal circlet with limbs and pelage marks and a tail down the back. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1078. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-995

Description: Vessel depicting a standing achondroplastic figure wearing a kilt, belt with ties in the back, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools and an animal circlet with limbs and a tail down flap the back. The circlet is placed over a pointed kerchief. Similar to CR 1077.

Provenance: Platform Uhle

Phase: III



1079. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1017  
 Description: Effigy vessel depicting a head on crouching legs. Face paint is depicted in red slip. The hair is uncovered and appears short.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: II-III



1080. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1136  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a design of vertical stripes with a key design inside, and a plain circlet on the head. Incised designs on the tip of the nose and at the corners of the mouth and eyes are painted with post-fire black.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1081. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1137  
 Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a design of vertical stripes with a key design inside, and a plain circlet on the head. Incised designs on the tip of the nose and at the corners of the mouth and eyes are painted with post-fire black. Nearly identical to CR 1080.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1082. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1138

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a small feline on his lap with both hands. He wears a kilt with zigzag line design, medium-length tunic with a bent-line design, and wrist cuffs. He wears ear spools with a line around the outer edge, and a circlet with two curved elements in front and two rounded projections at the sides. There are some faded post-fire black pelage marks on feline.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: II-III



1083. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1150

Description: Vessel with depictions of figures in low relief holding a ribbon or rope. The figures wear loin cloths, short tunics with tabbed hems, and wrist cuffs. They also wear bead necklaces, ear spools with a center dot design, and a headdress of two stepped elements facing each other, with a *tumi* crest in between, held by a chinstrap. The figures are separated by a design of concentric diamonds.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1084. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1151

Description: Vessel with depiction of figures in low relief holding a ribbon or rope. The figures wear loin cloths, short tunics with tabbed hems, and wrist cuffs. They also wear bead necklaces, ear spools with a center dot design, and a headdress of two stepped elements facing each other, with a *tumi* crest in between, held by a chinstrap. The figures are separated by a geometric design. The figures are outlined with post-fire black, and the leg paint is depicted with cream slip.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1085. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1152

Description: Vessel with depiction of figures in low relief holding a ribbon or rope. The figures wear loincloths, short tunics with tabbed hems, and wrist cuffs. They also wear bead necklaces, earspools with a center dot design, and a headdress of two stepped elements facing each other, with a *tumi* crest in between, held by a chinstrap. The figures are separated by a geometric design. The figures are outlined with post-fire black, and leg paint is depicted with cream slip.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1086. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1163

Description: Prisoner effigy vessel with hands tied behind the back and a rope around the neck, trailing to the left hip. He has ear holes with no ornaments. The hair is long, parted into two sections in the back, and uncovered.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1087. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1176

Description: Vessel depicting standing prisoner, with hands tied behind the back. He wears a kilt and short tunic with matching inverted step design. He also wears a broad collar, earspools with roundels at the edge, and wire-and-drop trapezoid earrings. On his head is a circlet with a triangular fringe at the front, supporting a *tumi* crest, placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1088. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1335

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure holding a smaller figure in a mantle. The larger figure does not have any discernible garments other than a hooded mantle, which appears to have a fringe or tassel at the top. The spine of the figure is visible in the back. The large and small figures both have facial deformation, with "Leishmaniasis" noses and mouths that protrude. The mouth of the large figure sags to the left.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle

Phase: III



1089. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1361

Description: Vessel depicting a dressed prisoner effigy with the hands tied behind the back. He wears a long tunic with a checkerboard pattern and a serrated hem, and a circlet or helmet, which once had an additional element at the front which is now missing.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1090. Institution: PAHM

Accession number: PU-1736

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee figure on all fours, wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical line design, and a pointed kerchief tied at the chin. He has the "Leishmaniasis" facial deformation. The right leg is broken off.

Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1091. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1737  
 Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and a mantle tied at the chest. It is unclear whether the figure wears a headcloth or has loose hair. The figure has a wrinkled or grimacing face, and may have the “Leishmaniasis” deformation of the mouth, with the teeth exposed.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: II-III



1092. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1743  
 Description: Head effigy vessel crouching on legs, wearing a loincloth and with loose, short hair. Face paint is depicted in red slip.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: IV



1093. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1744  
 Description: Vessel depicting an achondroplastic figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with inverted step design, and a crown with a dot design. The tip of the nose appears to be missing cartilage, but not as much as in the “Leishmaniasis” deformation.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1094. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1745  
 Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, broad collar with fret design, and a crown with meander design. A tunic is implied but not depicted. Face paint is depicted in red slip.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle



1095. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1747  
 Description: Vessel depicting a man catching a lobster. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and may have wrist cuffs. He also wears a circlet with a vertical projection in the front, over a pointed kerchief with a checkerboard design, tied at the chin.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1096. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1751  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III





1097. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1752  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1098. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1753  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair and wearing a loincloth. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1099. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1754  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair, and wearing a loincloth. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1100. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1755  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1101. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1756  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip, darkened through overfiring. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1102. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1757  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip, some darkening due to fire-clouding. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1103. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1758  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104, however this piece's facial paint pattern is a mirror-image of the others  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1104. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: PU-1759  
 Description: Head effigy vessel with short, loose hair, and wearing a loincloth. Face paint and leg paint are depicted in red slip. Part of a set consisting of CR 1096-1104.  
 Provenance: Plataforma Uhle  
 Phase: III



1105. Institution: PAHM  
 Accession number: TAM-285  
 Description: Solid figurine depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, a collar composed of rectangular elements, and pendant crescent earrings. The figure's hair may be covered by a close-fitting cap, but this is unclear.  
 Mold-made.  
 Provenance: TAM  
 Phase: IV



1106. Institution: Tropenmuseum

Accession number: 2344-16

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad collar with vertical stripe design, and earspools with a crossed line design. The figure wears either a cap and flap or has hair styled in the same shape. Garments are not depicted. There is a vent-hole at the anus.

Provenance: Unknown.



1107. Institution: Tropenmuseum

Accession number: 3842-2

Description: Vessel depicting a figure wearing a kilt with circle design and a short tunic with matching circles at the hem. He wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in the same form. He holds a square shield on his left wrist and holds a club with a star-shaped head in his right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1108. Institution: Tropenmuseum

Accession number: 3842-33

Description: Vessel depicting a figure seated on throne or step. He wears a short tunic and a broad collar with raised serpent head motif. He also wears earspools with a concentric circle design, and possibly a helmet on his head, which is placed over a pointed kerchief. The helmet-like element is fastened with a chinstrap.

Provenance: Unknown.



1109. Institution: Tropenmuseum

Accession number: 4133-255

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure holding a small feline with both hands. He wears a long tunic, with a narrow necklace and pendant crescent earrings. He wears a circlet which once had some projections, which have now broken off. The circlet is placed over a headcloth, and the hair is gathered in a ponytail in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1110. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 723

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a woman wearing a long tunic, wrist cuffs, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. She wears earspools or cylinder, and holds her right braid with both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.



1111. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 32709

Description: Vessel depicting a whistler-like figure, seated, leaning over at the waist with the head resting on the hands. He wears a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and possibly a hooded mantle. His eyes bulge, and the mouth is pursed in a whistling gesture.

Provenance: Unknown.



1112. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 34955

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a medium-length tunic, wrist cuffs, and ear cylinders. The figure also wears a headcloth with a ray design, held by a chin strap, along with another cloth draped over the head with a starfish-like design.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



1113. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 34956

Description: Vessel depicting a kneeling warrior wearing a loincloth, plain belt with backflap, short tunic with dot design, and wrist cuffs. He also wears a circular nose ring, and a rounded helmet with a transverse crest and a flap down the back. The helmet is placed over a headcloth. He holds a mace in both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is not original



1114. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 55898

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a mantle, tied at the waist and hanging down the back, with a short tunic and a necklace of round beads. He also wears a headcloth wrapped around his head and tied in the back with two loops, a flap down the back, and a textile strip holding it on, tied at the top of the head.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is missing.



1115. Institution: Tropenmuseum  
 Accession number: 5888-18  
 Description: Broken solid figurine depicting a woman wearing a tunic, necklace with diamond-shaped pendants, and holds the ends of her braids with her hands.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



1116. Institution: Tropenmuseum  
 Accession number: 5888-19  
 Description: Broken solid figurine depicting a figure wearing a tunic, narrow necklace, and ear cylinders. A cap appears to be covering the head.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



1117. Institution: Wereldmuseum  
 Accession number: 70713  
 Description: Vessel depicting a modeled figure on top of the vessel body. The figure wears a tunic, divided diagonally between light and dark sides. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and appears to either wear a circlet with a flap or has hair styled in the same form. He holds a strand of *espingo* seeds in his hands, and a strand of *espingo* seeds is depicted below him on the vessel.  
 Provenance: Unknown.



1118. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 70782

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic with vertical stripe design, and a *chuspa* slung on the neck and resting on the left rear shoulder. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and wears either a cap and flap or hair styled in the same shape. He holds a jar or similar container in his left hand.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1119. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 70783

Description: Vessel depicting a whistler-related figure holding a smaller figure with both hands. The large figure wears a long tunic and a hooded mantle tied at the back of the neck. A cap is visible under the hood. The small figure's costume is not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1120. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 70786

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* slung on the neck, resting on the left rear shoulder. He also wears a collar of rectangular elements, wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a circlet with flap or hair styled in a similar form. He holds a lime container in the right hand, and a dipper in the left hand. An unidentified object is held under the left arm.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III





1121. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 71678

Description: Vessel with a modeled warrior kneeling on the top. He wears a belt supporting a plain backflap, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. A loincloth is implied but not depicted. He also wears earspools, and a conical helmet with a flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. He holds a mace in the left hand and a circular shield in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: Spout is broken.



1122. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73150

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a tunic with a serrated hem, wrist cuffs, and collar with a vertical stripe and dot design. He also wears earspools with an outer stripe, and a headdress with facing step elements and a *tumi* crest, held by a chin strap. There are triangular rays with a dot pattern radiating from the body. A double-headed serpent arch is on the top back side of the vessel.

Provenance: Unknown.



1123. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73210

Description: Vessel depicting a rattle-bell holder wearing a loincloth, tunic with vertical stripe pattern, and wrist cuffs. He also wears a collar with vertical stripe design, earspools with dots around a larger center dot, and a mantle placed over the head. Underneath the mantle a circlet with diagonal-line design is visible. He holds the rattle-bells in the right hand.

Provenance: Unknown.



1124. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73216

Description: Vessel depicting a warrior in a mountain scene. He wears a kilt with a triangle and dot design, belt supporting a plain backflap, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools with a line around the edge, and a tiered conical helmet with matching flap. He holds a mace in his right hand and a circular shield in his left.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1125. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73218

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a wiry, muscular figure with a wrinkled face. He wears a loincloth and a square cap or crown.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I



1126. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73219

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure holding a small feline with both hands. He wears a medium-length tunic, and a circlet with two rounded projections at the sides and two sets of plume like projections at the temples. There appears to be a flap in the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1127. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73220

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a kilt, short tunic, and a circlet with two sets of large, plume-like projections. He holds a small animal with both hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



1128. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73221

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure holding a tunic. The tunic has a geometricized ray or catfish motif. The figure wears a tunic, with a mantle tied at the left shoulder and passing under the right arm. A *chuspa* is slung on the right shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, and either a cap and flap or hair styled in a similar shape.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



1129. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73223

Description: Vessel depicting a figure lying face-down, with the head raised and the arms crossed at the chest, in the same manner as some double-amputee figures. He wears a tunic with long sleeves, and a hooded mantle with a peaked hood. A cap is visible under the hood, and a mantle bundle is tied at the neck. A cord or rope passes around the figure's body, which he holds with his hands.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



1130. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73224

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a mantle over the back. The figure wears a kerchief with a fringed flap in the back and a serrated edge, with a ray design. A headcloth with matching ray design is underneath the more elaborate cloth. Face and hands are painted in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



1131. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73275

Description: Face-neck vessel depicting a figure wearing wrist cuffs, a broad, plain collar, and earspools with a center dot motif. He also wears a circlet composed of two bird bodies, perhaps ducks, with a head and wing visible at either side of the head. The circlet has a flap down the back, and is fastened by a chin tie. He holds a mace in the left hand and a round shield in the right.

Provenance: Unknown.



1132. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73277

Description: Head effigy vessel, with a *tumi* crescent nose ornament, earspools, and a cap or circlet fastened with a triangular ruff.

Provenance: Unknown.



1133. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73347

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, wrist cuffs with a vertical stripe design, and a broad collar which matches the wrist cuffs. A tunic is not depicted. The figure also wears a folded cloth on top of the head, with another cloth wrapped around it decorated with a circle design.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I



1134. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73348

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, who may be holding a feline in the lap. He wears a long tunic with a trapezoidal element near the neck opening. He also wears a collar with a dot design, and earspools with a design that divides them into dot-filled wedges. He wears a cap and flap with a geometric design, with a crossed band wrapped around the head and another flap down the back.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



1135. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73349

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, tunic, and what appears to be a netted collar. He also wears ear cylinders, and has the hair styled in the wedge-shaped forelock design. He holds an object in his hands which may be a *Strombus* shell.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: V



1136. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73350

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, short tunic, and a scarf wrapped around the chest. He also wears a twisted circlet with a slight point at the front, over a pointed kerchief with a dot pattern. The nose seems distorted, but is not missing cartilage.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I-II



1137. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73386

Description: Vessel with a modeled pair on top of the vessel. It depicts a figure seated next to an anthropomorphic owl or owl impersonator who is whistling. The human figure wears a loincloth, tunic, and a headband which may be a twisted textile.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1138. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73405

Description: Vessel depicting a double amputee figure lying face down with the head raised and hands crossed at the chest. He wears a loincloth, short tunic, and may wear ear cylinders. He also wears a pointed kerchief, with a plain circlet placed over it.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV-V



1139. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 73416

Description: Vessel depicting two pairs of warriors in combat. The warriors wear kilts, backflaps and short tunics, with earspools and wrist cuffs. The victors wear conical helmets with *tumi* crests on top. One vanquished warrior wears a circlet with two circular bosses and a *tumi* crest, the other has a conical helmet, both knocked to the back of the head, and their hair is grasped by the victors. Leg paint is depicted in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.



1140. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 74727

Description: Vessel depicting a roughly simplified figure wearing a rope around the neck, with long, unbound hair.

Provenance: Unknown.



1141. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 74755

Description: Vessel with a kneeling figure on top of the main vessel body. A panoply design may be depicted in faded cream slip on the front of the vessel body. He wears a loincloth, visible underneath a kilt, a belt supporting a backflap, and a short tunic with a dot design. He also wears wrist cuffs, earspools with a center dot design, and a conical helmet with a tiered flap placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.



1142. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 74756

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, which appears to have metal disks attached all over. He also wears earspools with a design of small dots around a larger center dot, and a circlet made from a rolled textile, over a pointed kerchief. The face is painted in the tripartite design. The large figure holds what may be a smaller figure, but which has a rounded lower portion and more closely resembles a mummy bundle or anthropomorphized drum.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



1143. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 74757

Description: Head effigy vessel with a cap underneath a pointed kerchief with a design of circles, dots, and stripes.

Provenance: Unknown.



1144. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 74758

Description: Vessel depicting a figure with a disproportionately large head. He wears a tunic with a mantle over it, and a cap or headcloth with a tie at the back. The face appears to be painted in the tripartite design. The face is elongated, lower jaw-heavy, with lipless mouth. The left foot may be amputated. The right foot is damaged.

Provenance: Unknown.





1145. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 74788

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic with a design of stripes and serrations. He wears a mantle tied at the chest, a collar composed of square plaques, and pendant crescent earrings. He also wears a circlet with paw-like projections at the sides, and wears his hair in a club-like ponytail at the back of the neck.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



1146. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 75615

Description: Head effigy vessel with lipless mouth exposing the teeth, and a design of curved lines inside of rectangular frames painted in cream slip. Hair is not depicted.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1147. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 75619

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a loincloth, tunic with vertical stripe motif, and a twisted circlet. The arms are inside the tunic and emerge from beneath the hem. The left eye is damaged or blind.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



1148. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 75620

Description: Vessel depicting a sleeping warrior, wearing a mantle, wrist cuffs, and ear spools. He also wears what appears to be a cap with a flap, although the front has a “headband” element similar to those on helmets. This head covering is placed over a headcloth.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



1149. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 75621

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure, who wears either a long tunic or a tunic and kilt with fret design. A *chuspa* is slung on the neck and rests on the right rear shoulder. A mantle is wrapped around the body, passing under the right shoulder and over the left shoulder. He wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, with either a cap and flap or hair styled in the same form. The arms appear to be inside the tunic.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III



1150. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 75622

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure with a small feline looking over his right shoulder. He wears a loincloth, tunic with crossed line design, and a collar of rectangular elements. He also wears ear spools, a headcloth tied in the back and a thin cord wrapped around the headcloth. The headcloth also supports an element shaped like a flower, projecting from the back of the head.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1151. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 75623

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic, with a *chuspa* slung around the neck and resting on the right rear shoulder. He also wears wire-and-drop circle earrings, with either a cap and flap or hair styled in the same manner.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II



1152. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: 77321

Description: Vessel depicting a standing figure wearing a loincloth underneath a kilt with a vertical line design, short tunic, and wrist cuffs. He also wears a plain collar, earspools with a center dot, and an animal circlet with the forelimbs visible. The circlet supports a *tumi* crest, and is held in place with a chin strap.

Provenance: Unknown.



1153. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m50

Description: Vessel depicting a seated warrior wearing a loincloth with dot design, short tunic, and plain wrist cuffs. He also wears earspools with a design of circles and dots, and a conical helmet with a flap down the back, placed over a headcloth. He holds a square shield in the left hand and a mace with his right.

Provenance: Unknown.



1154. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m51

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a long tunic and hooded mantle. The face is distorted, with protruding lips and large, deep eye sockets.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: I



1155. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m52

Description: Reduction-fired vessel depicting a figure seated on a platform or step. He wears a tunic, wrist cuffs, and a collar composed of rectangular elements. He also wears ear spools, and a circlet, with a cloth draped over the top of the head and ending in tassels. These elements are placed over a headcloth, which has tasseled ends.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



1156. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m54

Description: Vessel depicting a couple in an act of intercourse. The male wears a loincloth, and a pointed kerchief tied over a headcloth. His face is painted with the tripartite design. The female appears to wear some form of necklace, and may have braids, although this is unclear. The piece in general has very little detail.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: IV



1157. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m55

Description: Vessel depicting a seated figure wearing a collar with vertical stripe design, and a circlet supporting two large circular bosses with a design like owl eyes. A pointed kerchief with concentric diamond pattern is placed over the circlet and tied at the chin. The face is heavily wrinkled, and there appears to be a modeled indication of a mustache and goatee. The lower body and clothing are undefined, although it appears the figure has arms inside of a tunic.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: II-III



1158. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m56

Description: Vessel depicting a living human female figure seated with a skeletal figure. The female wears a long tunic, collar composed of rectangular elements, and hair in two bundles or braids down the back. She has a stripe painted on her face in post-fire black.

Provenance: Unknown.

Phase: III-IV



1159. Institution: Wereldmuseum

Accession number: m66

Description: Hollow figurine depicting a woman holding a small figure. She wears a long tunic and a necklace of rectangular elements, and has what appears to be short hair. The small figure appears to wear pendant crescent earrings, a loincloth, and short tunic.

Provenance: Unknown.