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Moche Marks of Distinction:

Time and Politics in Painted Pottery Substyles
of the Moche Culture, North Coast, Peru AD 100-900

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Art History

by

Ethan Michael Cole

2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Moche Marks of Distinction:
Time and Politics in Painted Pottery Substyles
of the Moche Culture, North Coast, Peru AD 100-900

by

Ethan Michael Cole

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Cecelia F. Klein, Chair

This dissertation proposes, on the basis of an iconographic and stylistic analysis of Moche fineline painted decorations on ceramic vessels from the Moche, Jequetepeque, and Chicama Valleys in north coastal Peru, a new chronology for, and an enhanced understanding of, the political landscape of Moche culture during the Late Moche period (AD 600-900). I, like others before me, see Moche ceramic vessel paintings as manifestations of the dominant ideology of the polities that created them and as belonging to distinct regional artistic substyles. This dissertation reevaluates these paintings through the lens of regional variation. A formal and iconographic comparison of two previously identified substyles, one called the “Huacas de Moche substyle” and other the “San José de Moro substyle,” as well as a new one, which I label the “Late Chicama substyle,” reveals evidence that the Huacas de Moche fineline painting

tradition preceded that of the Late Chicama tradition and that the Late Chicama substyle came before the San José de Moro tradition. Examination of the roles these substyles played in elite power strategies at each polity indicates that certain major changes took place over time in Moche ideology and political organization.

The first chapter reviews previous studies of Moche fineline painting and argues for the use in subsequent chapters of certain theories of style, political economy, and agency in establishing temporal connections between fineline pottery and political change. The second chapter outlines previous models of Moche political organization, from the older single-state hypothesis, in which all Moche sites were subject to a capital established at Huacas de Moche, to the current model of multiple polities, each with its own capital. Chapter Three, which compares the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro styles of Moche fineline painting, is followed by Chapter Four, in which the Late Chicama fineline painting substyle is compared to the other two. By tracing the development of fineline boat imagery across the three substyles, Chapter Five reveals a temporal progression from the Huacas de Moche substyle to the Late Chicama substyle, followed by the San José de Moro substyle. In Chapter Six, on the basis of these iconographic changes, I argue that the Late Chicama polity grew out of the Huacas de Moche polity and propose that the San José de Moro polity was founded by an elite family responsible for impersonating the so-called Priestess—a possibly mythological figure in Moche art whose real-life correlates, high status human ritual impersonators—have been discovered archaeologically at that site.

The dissertation of Ethan Michael Cole is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2012

DEDICATION

For Louis and Julia Cole and Arthur and Miriam Goldbaum

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Introduction

Stirrup spout bottles with fineline painted decorations provide tantalizing avenues for investigating aspects of Moche culture. The Moche, who settled the North Coast of Peru from around AD 100 to 900, had no identifiable written language and left no recorded oral history. As a result, our knowledge of this ancient people and their art is limited and our understanding fluid, changing with the results of each year's new archaeological excavations and advances in analyses of their objects.

The naturalism demonstrated in the decorations of stirrup spout bottles provides a high degree of accessibility to modern viewers (Figure 1.1). The easily recognizable objects in its imagery led Wendell Bennett (1963: 102) to call Moche art "a picture book of the culture." Perhaps as a result of this accessibility, the study of Moche culture has relied heavily on analysis of its art, especially that of fineline painted decorations. Here, "fineline painting" is used both for the name of a ceramic category as well as a technique for brushing on slip prior to the object's final firing. This study takes a new look at Moche art by incorporating data from recent archaeological findings into an analysis of Moche fineline painting.

Although there is no agreement on the range of dates for the Moche culture, the Moche are generally believed to have lived on the North Coast from around the beginning of the Common Era to around AD 900. A chronology for the Moche is currently a subject of debate, but the Moche occupation of the North Coast is generally divided into three periods: "Early Moche" (AD 100-300), "Middle Moche" (AD 300-600) and "Late Moche" (AD 600- 900) (Bawden 2001, 2004; Castillo and Quilter 2010; Lockard 2005). This dissertation deals mainly with the art and politics of the Late Moche period.

Despite receiving over a century of scholarly attention, the political and social history of the Moche is still poorly understood. However, recent large-scale archaeological excavations

have greatly advanced the study of this ancient Andean culture, and have provoked the reevaluation of long held beliefs about their history. The corpus of data on the Moche expands with each archaeological field season, but many questions remain unanswered. These questions include how the Moche were organized socially and politically, and whether there was a single Moche art style or multiple artistic traditions.

In this dissertation, I will compare recently identified regional substyles¹ (Castillo 2009a; Donnan 2007, in press; Donna McClelland et al. 2007) of fineline painting and interpret their similarities and differences as reflections of interaction between the polities² that were responsible for their production. In the past, differences in fineline painting have been attributed to evolution through time (Larco Hoyle 1948; Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999), or seen as identity markers of distinct Moche populations (Donnan in press). But since scholars generally believe that the production and distribution of fineline painted ceramics were controlled by governments, an analysis of the points of agreement and disagreement among different fineline painted substyles provides an opportunity to examine the particular messages and belief systems promoted by different Moche ruling regimes.

The Moche and Moche Art

¹ In this dissertation the term “substyle” is used to describe the fineline painting program of a Moche polity in the context of the greater corpus of Moche art (i.e. “the Huacas de Moche substyle of Moche fineline painting”). Alternatively, “style” is used in reference to the particular fineline painting program of each polity on its own (i.e. “the Huacas de Moche style of fineline painting,” or simply the “Huacas de Moche style”).

² My use of “polity” throughout this dissertation is informed by that produced by Colin Renfrew (1986). Renfrew (1986: 2) stated that this term “is not intended to suggest any specific scale of organization or degree of complexity, but simply to designate an autonomous socio-political unit.” In this way, it is possible to speak of the characteristics of different Moche socio-political units without attempting to place them within the complex and ever-changing debate over the definition of a “state.”

The Moche represent but a single episode in the continuous human occupation of Peru's North Coast, which began around the third millennium BCE and persists to the present day (Figure 1.2). They inhabited river valleys running east-west and extending from the Casma Valley in the south to the Piura Valley in the north. While most communities were rural and of modest size, the Moche also developed urban settlements complete with monumental architecture and dense domestic zones. These settlements tended to be positioned along the coast or in the middle of the valley. Although there are a few Moche occupational sites located in the upper valley abutting the Sierra Negra mountain chain (such as Galindo), there are no examples of Moche settlements in the highlands, which were inhabited by, among others, the Recuay and Cajamarca cultures at that time (Shimada 2010).

From wonderfully intricate ear ornaments of silver and gold to grand, wall-sized murals of painted plaster, Moche artists created extraordinary works in a variety of decorated media including precious metals, wood, shell, stone, and most important to the present study, ceramics (Figure 1.3). The subject matter of Moche imagery is also extremely diverse. The images that fill the surfaces of Moche portable artifacts and decorate the walls of monumental structures range from domestic subjects, such as a group of women weaving at backstrap looms, to scenes of ceremony, involving elaborately costumed participants that demonstrate a high degree of pageantry. The canon of subjects remained unchanged across media. That is, similar scenes appeared on and in painted ceramic designs, carved plastic wooden figures, painted wall murals, and embossed metal objects (Figure 1.4).

In this study, I focus on painted vessels for several reasons. First, these represent the most numerous Moche artifact type that we have access to today; tens of thousands of painted ceramics are now housed in private collections and museums around the world. Nearly 50 years of research conducted by Christopher Donnan and long time collaborators Donna and Don

McClelland has resulted in the accumulation of photographs of the world's largest collection of Moche painted designs in the Moche Archive at UCLA. Access to this valuable resource has permitted me to work with a substantial sample. A second benefit of examining painted ceramics is that they present an ideal opportunity for identifying regionality in Moche art. Unlike ceramics that were decorated with modeled surfaces, which were often made in standardized molds, those with hand painted decorations facilitate the ability to identify the work of individuals. It is believed that Moche potters and painters worked in communal workshops and could have cross-influenced one another (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 189). Although at present we are unable to attribute Moche painted designs to particular workshops, several examples can be identified as belonging to the hand of a single artist (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999; Donna McClelland et al. 2007). Thirdly, the study of painted ceramics offers a great deal of accessibility to these designs. Decades of work by Donna McClelland, who meticulously converted designs painted on curved surfaces to flat two-dimensional forms known as "roll-out drawings," substantially expedites comparison of painted designs. The study of these drawings by Donnan, Donna McClelland, and Don McClelland resulted in the publication of several books, and numerous articles on Moche fineline painting, which have laid the foundation for the present study (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1979, 1997, 1999; Donna McClelland et al. 2007). By comparing the artistic categories identified by Donnan and Donna McClelland with fineline painting examples excavated by archaeological projects, it is now possible to interpret this media in regards to regional trends.

A final reason for selecting painted ceramics as a subject of study is that they are widely discussed in the current literature. Painted designs have recently been used to address the nature of Moche warfare (Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan 1997; Quilter 2008; Verano 2001), religion (Bourget 2006; Donnan 2010; Uceda 2008), and state formation (Quilter 2002; Chapdelaine

2011), and most recently, brought to bear on substyles leading to the identification of individual polities (Donnan in press). In keeping with current scholarly trends, I analyze painted ceramics as a means to identify differences among distinct Moche polities. Instead of attempting to interpret the meanings of Moche images purely for their cosmological significance, I view the differences between substyles as indicative of the distinct governing regimes that created them. I propose that comparing one substyle to another provides the opportunity to discuss the relationship of, and differences within, the political organizations among Moche polities.

Moche as a Single State Model and Its Legacy

Rafael Larco Hoyle (1901-1966), a native of the Chicama Valley is regarded as the “father” of Moche Archaeology (Castillo and Quilter 2010: 5; Chapdelaine 2011: 2). Larco Hoyle was introduced to Moche artifacts at an early age. His father, Rafael Larco Herrera, amassed a collection of Moche artifacts, which he later donated to the Museo del Prado in Madrid. The collection is now on display at the Museo Arqueológico in Lima (Evans 1968: 233).

Among his many accomplishments, Larco Hoyle is credited for assigning the name "Moche" to this culture and creating the first chronology for Moche ceramics. His extensive analyses led to a large number of publications (1938, 1941, 1944, 1945a, 1945b, 1948, 1962a, 1962b, 1965), many of which were summarized in a two-volume set identifying the various characteristics of the ancient group, which ranged from ideas regarding their political organization to subsistence and religious practices, and which was published by the Museo Larco Herrera in Lima in 2001. It is noteworthy that Larco Hoyle’s analyses set the stage for much of what we know about the Moche today. Although several of his ideas remain relevant to modern research (see, for example, Quilter 2008), recent scholarship has found others to be oversimplified explanations, or inaccurate accounts, of the Moche past.

Larco Hoyle (2001) was, for example, the first to claim that the Moche were organized a single, unified imperialistic state, with a capital at Huacas de Moche and its immediate environs in the Moche Valley. He explained the presence of Moche artifacts throughout the North Coast as evidence of the Moche's expansive militaristic intrusion into these areas, which they conquered. Larco Hoyle's concept of the Moche as a single, unified group had a profound impact not only on our concept of Moche political organization but also on our understanding of Moche ceramics. Because he viewed the Moche as a unified entity, his chronology of Moche ceramics, which he based on observed differences in the shapes of stirrup spout vessel bottles and the content and style of their painted decorations, was explained as the result of linear evolution through time. Thus, Larco Hoyle's ceramic categories were assigned to temporal periods instead of being seen as semi-contemporaneous regional variations.

Recent Advances in Moche Studies and New Opportunities for Study

The notion that the Moche were a single state persisted until the mid-1990s. By then, large-scale archaeological projects in the northern valleys such as Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque Valley (Shimada 1976, 1994) and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley (Donnan and Castillo 1992) had made it clear that Larco Hoyle's seriation was not applicable to all Moche sites (Castillo and Donnan 1994; Shimada 1994). For instance, at the Jequetepeque Valley site of San José de Moro, Donnan and Luis Jaime Castillo found an absence of ceramic forms common to sites south of the 40 kilometer desert known as the Pampa de Paiján. These findings led them to introduce a chronology specific to the northern sites (Castillo and Donnan 1994).

Subsequent work at sites north of the Pampa de Paiján has indicated, however, that the two-Moche model is also overly simplistic. Castillo and Santiago Uceda (2008) cite regional

variation in Moche burial patterns, construction techniques and ceramics as evidence that Moche populations living in different river valleys across the North Coast evolved separately, according to unique local conditions. This emphasis on the differences in Moche material culture has also been recently transferred to Moche painted pottery. In 2007, Donna McClelland et al. identified what they referred to as the San José de Moro substyle of Moche fineline painting. They argued that the attributes of certain ceramic objects suggest that they represent a subgroup of fine line paintings overall.

While Donna McClelland et al. (2007) provide a convincing argument for the existence of a San José de Moro-based substyle, they do not identify its origins or discuss its relation to other substyles, nor do they discuss what these may tell us about the interaction between different Moche polities. In this dissertation I outline and compare the attributes of three substyles of Moche fineline painting: those known as Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro. In doing so, I will analyze their development and provide evidence of interaction among the three polities that supported and controlled their production and distribution, which I label the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities.

Methodology

Due to the sparse archaeological data on Moche ceramic workshops, which prevents concrete evidence of the various Moche governments' hands in pottery production, I employ a multifaceted theoretical approach to support the notion that governing regimes controlled the production and distribution of fineline painting. I do this by first arguing that, in general, fine pottery (and material culture at large) is often intimately tied to political processes, a relationship that I then demonstrate is specifically pertinent to the case of Moche fineline painting. One way in which finely decorated pottery can be associated with political authority is through the notion

that artistic styles are connected to social or political identity. This idea has previously been argued not only in relation to ceramics (Bowser 2000; Janusek 2002; Stark 1997), but also in relation to the stylistic attributes of stone tools (Sackett 1982) and arrowheads (Wiessner 1983).

A second way in which material culture may be associated with political processes is through an analysis of political economy. This line of reasoning suggests that an analysis of the role of the government in the economy of a given society provides an opportunity to discuss its hand in the production and distribution of goods (Earle 1997). Those societies in which the governing elite controlled the production of material culture are thought to have had a centralized political organization, whereas those where the elites had little control are seen to indicate the existence of a decentralized political organization (Halperin and Foias 2010: 394). The relation of Moche ruling regimes to the production of fineline pottery thus may provide glimpses of Moche political processes.

Agency theory is the third pillar in my argument for the relationship between Moche fineline pottery and politics. Agency theory suggests that human actors play an active role in the creation of political and social processes (Dobres and Robb 2000; Patterson 2004). Recently, notions of agency have also been applied to the function of material artifacts, with the understanding that these objects are not merely reflections of social or political processes; rather, they are actively used in the formation and maintenance of social and political power (Cobb and King 2005; Halperin and Foias 2010; R. Joyce 2008; Pauketat 2000). I argue that fineline painted objects were used in feasting events and elaborate ceremonies that were the location of political negotiations, thereby suggesting that the objects themselves also played a crucial role in Moche political processes.

Finally, I will build upon previous studies of substyles within Moche art (Donnan in press; Donna McClelland et al. 2007; Wiersema 2010), especially those of objects with known

origins, to relate my analysis of the distinct features of fineline painting substyles to their points of distribution along the North Coast. By discussing fineline painting with regards to geographic origins, I have been able to recognize a greater range of substyles than was possible when dealing primarily with unprovenienced samples. In other words, the ability to recognize that vessels of seemingly different substyles came from the same site allows for a more nuanced understanding of the variations that existed within a single fineline painted tradition, and may provide clues as to the origins of, and influences among, different substyles. For instance, I propose that differences in the rendering of shared imagery in the San José de Moro style with that of the Huacas de Moche style suggest that the San José de Moro style spawned from it. Yet, I find the presence of only a fraction of the subjects depicted in the Huacas de Moche style, as well as the invention of entirely new motifs in San José de Moro fineline painted decorations, indicates it promoted a political belief system distinct from that at Huacas de Moche.

In addition, I also discuss the potential intermediary role played by an as of yet undefined third fineline substyle possibly based out of the Chicama Valley. The designs on these ceramics, which I call “Late Chicama substyle” vessels (previously known as ceramics “produced in the Southern Moche Region during Phase V”, Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 10), are argued to play a mediating role between the San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche substyles. Although the Late Chicama substyle has not been tied to a single type site (examples have been excavated at Galindo in the Moche Valley, Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque Valley, as well as a number of sites in the Chicama Valley), its designs are most similar to Huacas de Moche style. Yet important differences exist between the two as well, including a severe reduction of the range of motifs depicted in its designs and the use of new vessel forms, suggesting a clear break from the Huacas de Moche style. Late Chicama ceramics also prove to share significant traits with those from San José de Moro, including some vessel forms and subject matter. Recent radiocarbon

dates suggest that the Huacas de Moche fineline tradition preceded and was semi-contemporaneous with sites containing Late Chicama fineline painting (Lockard 2009a). Recognizing this, I argue that the Late Chicama style not only arose from the Huacas de Moche fineline tradition, but also laid the foundation for the San José de Moro style.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 1 begins with an overview of previous studies of Moche fineline painting, which are the foundations of my own analyses. This chapter also explains my definition of “fineline painting,” and discusses the archaeological contexts within which fineline painted artifacts are found. Furthermore, Chapter 1 introduces aspects of style theory, political economy, and agency, which when applied to the Moche, demonstrate a connection between fineline painted decorations and Moche politics. Thus, the analysis of Moche fineware ceramics provides important insights into Moche political organization.

Chapter 2 provides an outline of the study of Moche politics. Previous models of Moche political organization, from the single-state hypothesis to current perspectives suggesting the existence of multiple Moche polities, are compared. The idea that the images in Moche fineline painting were related to regional belief systems propagated by Moche rulers of individual polities as a means of obtaining and retaining power are also discussed. The result of this is that a comparison of the propagandistic images in fineline painted substyles presents an opportunity to compare the power strategies utilized by different ruling regimes.

Chapter 3 outlines the characteristics of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro styles of Moche fineline painting. It provides evidence that the Huacas de Moche style encompasses not only Larco Hoyle Phase IV pottery as indicated by Donnan (in press), but also includes Larco Hoyle Phase III fineline painted decorations as well. Furthermore, this chapter

describes the San José de Moro fineline painting style and concludes that similarities in vessel forms and shared subject matter indicate that it and that from Huacas de Moche are related. Nonetheless, significant differences in ceramic types, modes of representing similar subjects, and the roles of individual figures demonstrate that they are also distinct from one another.

Chapter 4 identifies and describes the Late Chicama fineline painting substyle. Analysis of my sample of Chicama Valley ceramics indicates that there was indeed a unique form of decorating and producing fineline painted pottery in this region, the strongest evidence of which comes in the prominence of geometric bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts. While the morphology of the upper spouts of these vessels led to their placement in the Phase V category along with the San José de Moro substyle, the variety of designs exhibited on the chambers of these vessels provide support that they indeed represent a distinct fineline painting tradition from that of San José de Moro. Furthermore, Chapter 4 compares similarities and differences in vessel form, subject matter, and style between Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche ceramics that also indicate that the Late Chicama polity had its own tradition of fineline painting.

Chapter 5 synthesizes the analyses of fineline painting substyles made in Chapters 3 and 4. It traces the development of boat imagery across the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles and finds that differences in vessel forms and the rendering of the human body indicate a progression from the Huacas de Moche style → Late Chicama style → San José de Moro style. I find that by comparing the ways in which they represent a single artistic motif—through vessel forms, subject matter and painting style—it is possible to produce a revised chronological sequence for Moche fineline painting.

Chapter 6 applies research of fineline substyles conducted in the preceding chapters to Moche politics. The ability to trace the development of boat imagery across substyles provides

exciting new possibilities for understanding the Moche. Once the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro painting styles can be placed in chronological order, it is possible to gain a better understanding of the polities that created them. For instance, we can now discuss the development of their painted ceramic traditions in temporal terms. In this chapter, I use the similarities and differences observed among painted substyles to interpret the relationship among the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities. I find the closer ties between Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche substyles to result from the Late Chicama polity spawning from the Huacas de Moche tradition. Furthermore, the distance observed between the vessel forms, subject matter and painting styles from San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche suggests that the San José de Moro fineline painting substyle was born out of the Late Chicama tradition.

I propose that the San José de Moro style and the polity responsible for its production, resulted from the migration of an elite family (or families) responsible for impersonating the Priestess—a figure in Moche art whose real-life correlates were discovered at San José de Moro (Donnan and Castillo 1992). Furthermore I suggest that this group came to San José de Moro from a site in the Chicama Valley. I then observe that future studies comparing the DNA of human remains from San José de Moro to those from the Chicama Valley may help us assess this hypothesis.

In Chapter 6, I also contend that the unique pantheons of the three fineline substyles discussed in Chapter 4 reflect the variant political organization of their polities. By identifying Moche deities as subjects of impersonation, and citing data from San José de Moro, suggesting that this responsibility was passed down along blood lines, I argue that the pantheon represented in each substyle reflects a family who lived at that polity. Therefore, the representation of a deity in multiple substyles of Moche art suggests that these families had ties to more than one polity.

Chapter 7, the final chapter, concludes by noting that the topics analyzed in this dissertation inspire new questions that must be addressed. For instance, once different substyles from distinct polities have been identified, it becomes clear that there was more than one way to be Moche. Therefore, we are forced to consider, “What makes something or someone Moche?” and “What does the word Moche mean?” Future studies are needed to confront these questions, but the analysis of Moche fineline painting performed in this study represents a powerful point of access to an art form and culture whose study is burdened by an unrecognizable written record and a forgotten oral history.

Chapter 1. Moche Pottery and Politics

This chapter presents an overview of previous studies of Moche fineline painting as well as its archaeological contexts, the functions of fineline painted vessels and the process of its production. Following the overview of Moche fineline painting is a discussion of aspects of style theory, political economy and agency, and how these theoretical approaches can be applied to the Moche in order to show that Moche fineline painted decorations and Moche politics were intimately related. This will be a crucial platform for the argument - presented in Chapter 2 - that fineline painted substyles provide clues to the belief systems instituted by individual Moche regimes.

Previous Studies of Moche Fineline Paintings

The study of Moche fineline painted decorations and the artifacts they populate can be traced back to the earliest underpinnings of archaeological research in Peru. Although inquiry into Peru's Pre-Hispanic past began shortly after European contact, little interest was paid to ceramic artifacts. Most early accounts, such as the *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (finished c.1615) and *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* by Father Bernabe Cobo (finished c.1653), focused instead on the dynastic history, religious beliefs and customs of the Inca Empire. One exception came from Antonio de Calancha, a friar of the Augustinian order who produced a history North Coast's Chimú Empire. With their capital at Chan Chan, the Chimú, who rivaled the Inca but eventually succumbed to imperial rule, were likely descendents of Moche culture.

Calancha's multivolume study, *Crónica moralizada de la orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, completed in 1638, extensively detailed various myths and customs of the Chimú. Like Guaman Poma and Cobo, however, Calancha failed to discuss the achievements of Andean societies existing centuries prior to the contact period.

Intellectual attention into what are now referred to as Moche artifacts began in the late eighteenth century when Baltazar Jaime Martínez de Compañón (1781-1789 [1997]) published paintings of objects in his private collection. Compañón, who served as the Bishop of Trujillo from 1779-1790, painted examples of the burial goods he found in amateur excavations, among which were Chimú and Moche ceramic vessels. Although these represent some of the earliest examples of reproductions of North Coast Pre-Hispanic artifacts, Compañón failed to differentiate between objects of Moche culture and those of the later Chimú.

Ephraim G. Squier, whose interest in the ancient Andes was born out of his work in the region as Diplomatic Commissioner for the United States, also contributed to the incipient studies of Pre-Hispanic culture. Squier, who retraced the steps of Spanish chronicler Pedro Cieza de León, used scientific instruments to systematically investigate ruins and provided the first rigorous method for analyzing ancient monuments. He attempted to explain Pre-Hispanic life based on first hand observations of ruins and artifacts, which he compared to accounts of Spanish chroniclers in his monograph *Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (1877). Squier contributed to the study of the Moche by providing some of the first examples in which Pre-Hispanic culture was interpreted through visual analysis of Moche artifacts. Even at this early date, he formed connections between painted ceramics and local culture. His intuition was curiously ahead of its time. For instance, in a comparison of the architecture depicted in the decoration of a ceramic vessel (which is almost certainly Moche in origin, although he identified it as Chimú) Squier (1877: 179) stated, "the architecture we find represented here is not unlike

that of the Indians of Moche at this day.” Despite observing similarities between these objects and the local population, Squier like scholars before him failed to identify the Moche as a distinct Pre-Hispanic culture.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, examinations into ancient Peru were also made by Arthur Baessler. In 1898, this German philanthropist and world traveler amassed a collection of 2,279 ceramic artifacts from the purchase of established collections and through his own amateur excavations during a journey to Peru. Baessler published life-size reproductions of many of these objects, which he donated to the Berlin Royal Museum of Ethnology (once known as the Museum für Völkerkunde, but today is the Ethnological Museum of Berlin) in a three-volume series titled, *Ancient Peruvian Art* (1902-1903). Unlike Squier, who used decorated ceramics purely for their ability to relinquish ethnographic data, Baessler’s discussions of these pieces focused largely on visual analysis of their compositions, although in some cases he compared the images with accounts provided by Colonial chroniclers. For instance, when discussing the wardrobe donned by embattled warriors, Baessler (1902-1903 : Notes to Plates 17 to 30) referred to Agustin de Zarate’s (1555) description of Andean dress. Baessler (1902-1903: Notes to Plates 17 to 30) proposed that one’s dress likely identified their social status and the region from which they came. Although he used Moche fineline painted decorations to interpret Pre-Hispanic activities, like Compañon and Squier, Baessler too failed to distinguish between Chimu and Moche cultures.

T.A. Joyce, an employee at the British Museum and a prolific author on Pre-Hispanic cultures at the turn of the twentieth century, continued the tradition of comparing Moche painted imagery with accounts from Spanish chroniclers in order to interpret Pre-Hispanic life. In a section describing the fishing practices of ancient Peru, Joyce complemented an account by Garcilaso de la Vegas with a Moche fishing scene. Although Joyce (1912: 125) identified the

painted scene as “Pre-Inca” and indicated that it originated from the coast, he did not discuss it in particular cultural terms. Instead, Joyce used this example in his general overview of Pre-Hispanic Peruvian cultures.

Max Uhle made his own contributions to the study of Andean pre-history at the time of Baessler and Joyce. Uhle, a German museum curator who traveled extensively throughout Bolivia and Peru, led the first scientific excavations at what is today known as a Moche site. His excavations at Huacas de Moche revealed a cemetery at the base of the Huaca de la Luna that yielded a large number of ceramics, including examples from the Moche and Chimú cultures. Paying attention to the stratigraphic levels from which objects were excavated, Uhle recognized that certain artifacts came from older contexts than others. Thus, for the first time, pieces we now call “Moche” were recognized as belonging to an independent culture from the Chimú (Uhle 1913, 1915). However, Uhle provided no significant name for Moche artifacts, and simply referred to them as “Pre-Chimú.” The objects excavated by Uhle at the Huaca de la Luna were transported to the University of California, Berkeley, at the request of his patron, Phoebe Appleton Hearst. Uhle did not publish many of his results, but the objects in the Uhle collection at UC Berkeley eventually became the foundation for several early studies on Moche art.

Alfred Kroeber (1925), then head of the Department of Anthropology at Berkeley, published Uhle’s ceramic collections. Based on his personal observations of the ceramics obtained by Uhle in addition to his own archaeological field work, Kroeber (1926, 1944) advanced the study of the Moche by further distinguishing it from the later Chimú culture. For instance, his analysis of Uhle’s objects and his personal observations at the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna, led Kroeber (1926: 12- 16) to propose that the site of Huacas de Moche belonged to a Pre-Chimú culture, whereas Chan Chan dated to a Late Chimú epoch. Yet, like Uhle, Kroeber refrained from providing a distinct name for Moche artifacts identifying them

simply as “Proto-Chimu” (Kroeber 1925) and subsequently “Early Chimu,” (1926) as he discussed this earlier population with respect to its own characteristics.

In 1938, two Peruvian scholars released the first publications devoted to what we now call Moche culture. Julio C. Tello, a native of Peru who was trained at Harvard University and remains one of the most important figures in Andean archaeology published a photographic survey of Moche ceramic artifacts that were in Lima’s museums. Significantly, Tello (1938: vii) not only discussed these objects as pre-cursors to Chimu examples, but he described them as belonging to the “Muchik civilization.” Muchik, a now extinct language, was once dominant in the Moche region, and is responsible of its namesake. Tello (1938: xiii-xxxvii) included in his study a description of the technology behind the creation of these vessels including discussions on both mold and free hand ceramic production techniques and compared them to those of modern ceramicists in the highlands of Peru.

Despite the fact that Tello introduced the Moche as a distinct culture, and investigated their ceramics as an individual academic unit, he did not describe Moche society. In 1938, Rafael Larco Hoyle distinguished himself as the preeminent Moche scholar by creating the first in-depth study of the Moche. Larco Hoyle, whose interpretations of his expansive private collections of vessels decorated with fineline painting or sculpted imagery led him to propose various theories on aspects of Moche life, ranging from governance to punishment, and from foods to craft production. These studies were originally planned to be published in an eight-volume series. Larco Hoyle released the first two works in a pair of publications titled *Los Mochicas Volume I and II. Los Mochicas* (1938), included chapters on the geography and origins of the peoples of the North Coast, in addition to discussions on Moche language, writing and government. In addition to providing an initial description of this ancient people, Larco Hoyle coined the term “Mochicas,” which has been adopted as the preferred nomenclature for this culture in the

Spanish language (in contrast “Moche” is preferred in English language literature). Soon after releasing *Los Mochicas*, Larco abandoned his pursuit of the eight-volume series. Although he continued to produce notes describing his thoughts on the Moche, he began to work on placing the Moche within a greater cultural sequence along the North Coast (Museo Rafael Larco Herrera 2001: xxii). As a result, Larco published a series of books devoted to other local cultures including the Cupisnique (1941), Salinar (1944), Virú (1945a), Lambayeque (1962), Santa (1962) and Vicús (1965). In 1945, he returned to the Moche with a new monograph titled, *Los Mochicas: (PRE-CHIMU, de Uhle y EARLY CHIMU, de Kroeber)*. Building largely upon ideas that were first laid out in 1938, Larco Hoyle’s 1945 publication expanded his interpretation of Moche social and political organization. Rather than providing a detailed history on the origin of the Moche people, as was done in 1938, here, Larco Hoyle focused on explaining the achievements of Moche crafts, religion, warfare practices and cosmological beliefs. In 2001, the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera released a two-volume set also titled *Los Mochicas*. This twenty-first century edition supplemented word-for-word reprints of chapters from the 1938 publication with Larco Hoyle’s unpublished manuscripts. The Museo Rafael Larco Herrera’s edition of *Los Mochicas* brought into fruition Larco Hoyle’s dream of an expansive multi-volume series devoted to the Moche.

German scholar, Gerdt Kutscher, also studied Moche art in the mid-twentieth century. Like Larco Hoyle, Kutscher (1950, 1954, 1955) believed that fineline paintings were valuable sources of ethnographic data and set forth describing various aspects of Moche life according to his interpretations of painted compositions and stirrup spout bottles with modeled chambers. Among the greatest contributions Kutscher made to the field of Moche studies was his identification and detailed analysis of an activity he labeled, “Ceremonial Badminton.” Kutscher (1958) described and illustrated three examples of this artistic motif, which involved the ritual

launching into the air of spears ornamented with flowers. This marked the first time in which several examples of a single artistic motif had been amassed and investigated as its own scholarly unit; a method that would come to dominate Moche studies in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Art historian Elizabeth Benson contributed to our understanding of Moche culture with her 1972 monograph, *The Mochica: A Culture of Peru*. Benson presented a description of this ancient people largely through interpretations of their artistic imagery with chapters devoted to such aspects of Moche life as “The God who came down from the Mountains,” “Messengers and Monsters,” “Livelihood,” and “Death and Life.” *The Mochica* (1972), was the first book on the Moche written in English and was the most widely circulated Moche publication to that point. Thus, its release aided in the growing popularity of the Moche as a subject of scholarly study.

In the 1970s, Christopher Donnan at UCLA made an important breakthrough in the study of Moche fineline painting. He recognized that fineline paintings tended to depict only a couple dozen subjects and argued that Moche designs belonged to set “themes.” Dubbed the “thematic approach,” Donnan (1977, 1978) proposed that there existed but a small number of repeated scenes within Moche art that were referenced again and again. He demonstrated that larger stories could be represented using only fragmentary scenes that symbolized the whole. For instance, he suggested that parts of the so-called “Sacrifice Ceremony” (once referred to as the Presentation Theme; Figure 1.1) could be illustrated using partial representations. The Sacrifice Ceremony depicts an elaborate rite in which a central figure receives a procession of elaborately adorned individuals and climaxes with the reception by the central figure of a goblet thought to hold the blood of sacrificial victims (Donnan 1977: 408). Donnan named the main figure “Figure A,” while secondary participants were labeled “Figure B,” “Figure C,” etc. Donnan argued that decorations that only depict parts of the scene, such as bloodletting, or the transfer of the goblet

functioned as symbolizing the scene as a whole. Following his study on the Sacrifice Ceremony, Donnan published treatises on a number of themes including the “Burial Theme,” in which a series of actions results in a particularly lavish burial (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1979); and the “Deer Hunting Theme,” in which hunters fling spears at deer (Donnan 1997).

The 1970s also provided a revolution in our ability to recognize gender in Moche art. Ann Marie Hocquenghem (1977) and Patricia Lyon (1979) had both written on potential representations of females, but in 1980, they co-wrote the first article that described supernatural females in Moche art. Until this point, all supernatural figures in painted decorations and modeled imagery were thought to be male. Hocquenghem and Lyon (1980: 28-36) found that figures, which often featured fanged teeth, long braided hair, tasseled headdresses and long one-piece dresses, appeared in scenes depicting a relatively small range of activities. This character, who was found to be “Figure C” of the Sacrifice Ceremony, was also present in the Burial Theme, the Revolt of the Objects, and appeared on reed and crescent-shaped boats, but was not found to take part in the other activities portrayed in Moche art. Significantly, their hypothesis that Figure C in the Sacrifice Ceremony represented a woman was later supported by excavations less than a decade later, and paved the way for additional studies on Moche gender (see for example Scher 2010).

Russian scholar Yuri Berezkin also expressed interest in understanding the Moche pantheon. Berezkin’s greatest accomplishment may have been his concern for the changing pantheons among Phase III, Phase IV and Phase V decorations. He observed that there was a shift in the deities present in fineline compositions among vessels of different phases and proposed that these might reflect the existence of rival lineages, each of which had their own patron deity (Berezkin 1978).

Another breakthrough in the study of Moche fineline painting occurred in the aftermath of the discovery and excavation of lavish tombs at Sipán in the Lambayeque Valley and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley. At Sipán, the tombs of several important Moche figures—including one of the richest tombs in the New World—were initially uncovered by looters and subsequently excavated by Walter Alva. Hundreds of artifacts finely crafted in gold and silver were unearthed, in addition to many more composed of valuable stones, exotic shells, and feathers. Several of the artifacts in the tombs at Sipán were easily recognizable as artistic elements common to Moche fineline paintings. For example, the presence in Tomb I of backflaps, crescent-shaped headdress ornament and a metallic scepter enabled Donnan (1988) to identify its occupant as the central figure (Figure “A”) in the Sacrifice Ceremony. Likewise, Tomb II yielded a headdress with an owl ornament that allowed for its identification of Figure “B.”

Excavations at San José de Moro revealed the presence of elaborate burials featuring female occupants (Donnan and Castillo 1992). Like those at Sipán, entombed artifacts were found to correspond to elements featured by an individual in the Sacrifice Ceremony. In this case, tasseled headdress ornaments and the presence of goblets allowed Donnan and Luis Jaime Castillo (1992) to identify these females as Figure “C” (corroborating Hocquenghem and Lyon’s earlier proposal that this figure was female). As a result, Donnan and Castillo suggested that rather than representing a mythological scene, the paintings and artifacts related to real life rituals. This brought a new wave of interest to Moche art, as it was revealed to have more power to inform us of Moche behavior than was previously recognized.

In addition to his work in correlating fineline painted images to lived events, Castillo (1989) also provided some of the most detailed studies of Moche supernatural figures. He examined variant forms of individual mythical characters and recognized that instead of

representing a seemingly limitless pantheon, there were only a handful of prominent figures who could take on secondary attributes. The notion that individual figures could be traced to participation in a range of activities led Castillo to recognize that Moche iconography should be discussed in terms of a narrative belief system.

In the 1990s, Jeffrey Quilter also proposed a narrative approach to Moche iconography. Quilter (1997) suggested that several themes in Moche art were related and that, when combined, they may belong to longer narratives that can better inform us of Moche cosmogeny. Walter Alva and Donnan (1993) used this approach to describe what they called the Warrior Narrative, which they argued comprised scenes depicting the events that led up to the Sacrifice Ceremony. Representations of battling warriors and prisoner capture, when viewed in concert with the Sacrifice Ceremony, provide an almost cinematic understanding of Moche life.

Steve Bourget's (2001) excavations of Plaza IIIA at the Huaca de la Luna and his subsequent comparison to Moche art furthered the connection between Moche art and lived events. Bourget's discovery of more than 70 sacrificial victims of men ranging from 15 to 39 (Verano 2001: 118), some with extensive mutilation, which were accompanied by unfired modeled vessels depicting bound captives and provided additional evidence that scenes of human sacrifice illustrated in fineline painted decorations were carried out in real life. Osteological analyses revealed cut marks on the upper vertebrae on several individuals, which provided evidence that throat-slitting present in Moche art was acted out in real life (Verano 2001: 119).

In 1999 Donnan and Donna McClelland produced the first encyclopedic study of Moche fineline painting. Conceiving fineline painting as belonging to a single tradition, they traced its evolution from Larco Hoyle Phase I through Phase V. Although Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 21) generally adopted Larco Hoyle's chronology, they combined Larco Hoyle's Phases I and II arguing that they could find no significant distinction between the fineline painting

techniques or designs of these two categories. Another innovation that resulted in their study was the identification of individual Moche artists. Donnan and Donna McClelland found that products of individual craftspeople could be distinguished when details such as hands, noses and faces were compared. In *Moche Finesline Painting: Its Evolution and its Artists*, Donnan and Donna McClelland were able to recognize 48 artists.

Recent work by Krzysztof Makowski and Jorge Golte have also strengthened our understanding of the Moche. Makowski's (1994) comparisons of Moche art to artifacts originating in Peru's most northern valleys have called into question our definition of Moche culture. Golte recently problematized scholarly studies of Moche culture. He observed that the most Moche studies involve the analysis of finesline painted compositions that have been redrawn into two dimensions. While two-dimensional drawings facilitate scholarly study, Golte (2009) noted that these decorations were originally experienced by the Moche on spherical chambers and thus painted scenes were never viewed in their entirety by their ancient audiences.

The latest achievement in Moche finesline painting scholarship has been the recognition that Moche finesline painted decorations can be divided into regional substyles. This notion has come largely through the observation by Donnan, Donna McClelland, Don McClelland, and Luis Jaime Castillo that finesline paintings from San José de Moro have characteristics unlike those attributed to ceramics from other sites. Although brief mention is made to the potential for a San José de Moro finesline painted substyle in their 1999 monograph (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 139), Donna McClelland et al. devoted a monograph to the San José de Moro style of finesline painting in 2007.

In *Finesline Painting from San José de Moro*, Donna McClelland et al. (2007), described the techniques in the production of these decorated ceramics as well as the subject matter, vessel forms and recognized artists associated with San José de Moro finesline painting. Their study is

the basis for much of the discussion of this fineline tradition described in Chapter 3. Although they provided a thorough description of this substyle, they refrained from discussing its origins or its potential for unraveling the enigmatic world of Moche politics. Castillo, who has continued to excavate San José de Moro since the early 1990s, also investigated its unique form of fineline painting. Unlike Donna McClelland et al., Castillo (2009a) explored possible origins of San José de Moro fineline painting. Recognizing that no clear antecedents for San José de Moro's fineline painting tradition have been identified in decades of excavations, Castillo suggested the Chicama Valley as a possible location for its inception. This notion is also discussed in further detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6.

Recently, Donnan (in press) expanded his identification of substyles in Moche art. In a brief article titled "Moche Substyles: Keys to Understanding Moche Political Organization," he proposed that ceramics from Huancaco in the Virú Valley, Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley, and San José de Moro and Dos Cabezas in the Jequetepeque Valley each represent an individual style of Moche art. He argued that these different manners for creating and decorating artifacts were the product of individual polities and called for further examination of substyles to reveal differences in the governance of distinct Moche groups. This dissertation is a heed to that call.

Defining Fineline Painting

Before fineline painting can be properly evaluated as a means for interpreting Moche political organization, the term must be clearly outlined. Although "fineline painting" is employed extensively in studies of Moche art (Bawden 1996; Benson 1972; Bourget 2001; Castillo 2000, 2001, 2009; Donnan 1976, 1992, Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Donna McClelland et al. 2007; Shimada 1994), defining it remains a difficult task. Donnan (1992: 66)

described fineline painting as, “a method of applying slip with fine brush strokes to create complex scenes on chambers of ceramic vessels,” although a quick survey of Moche artifacts demonstrates that there is actually a wide range of line thickness, and that the complexity of fineline painted compositions varies greatly (Figure 1.2). Similarly, in his description of fineline painting, Castillo (2009: 211) noted that unlike several other South American painted ceramic traditions, the Moche generally utilized a limited palette with the majority of examples exhibiting a red pigment on a cream undercoating. Yet, a survey of Moche artifacts also demonstrates that there are many examples in which additional colors such as purple, yellow, and aqua were used. Throughout this study, the term “fineline painting,” will be used in its loosest sense to refer to all painted ceramic decorations regardless of line thickness or color.

It must also be noted that the images discussed here are not all unique to fineline painted decorations. The Moche were adept artists who worked in a variety of media. In some cases similar artistic motifs were rendered in metal, painted in murals, modeled in the chamber of stirrup spout bottles or painted on ceramics with the fineline technique. Since this dissertation is concerned only with variation within Moche fineline painting, unless otherwise stated, the imagery described in this dissertation comes from examples of fineline painted decorations.

The Archaeological Contexts of Moche Fineline Ceramics

In order to gain a better understanding of the differences in the decorations of Moche painted ceramics, it is helpful to have a sense of the archeological contexts in which they have been discovered. Unfortunately, the systematic looting of Moche sites has persisted since the first days of European contact. This activity was normalized by the Spanish Crown, which dispensed official licenses to commercial companies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to “mine” Pre-Columbian structures (Zevallos Quiñones 1994: 18-30). Although today tomb

robbing is limited to clandestine operations sometimes funded by foreign collectors, the five hundred year heritage of extracting Andean artifacts by any means necessary and without regard to their original contexts has resulted in the fact that most Moche artifacts populating museums and private collections worldwide are without known archaeological provenance. This, in turn, has traditionally forced scholars to speculate on the contexts in which these artifacts were originally found (for an example, see Bourget 1994). An influx of archaeological excavations throughout the Moche area over the past 30 years, however, now permits an unprecedented understanding of the contexts from which Moche artifacts originated. We now know that Moche fineline painted artifacts come from a number of contexts, including burials, ceremonial precincts and domestic structures.

Fineline Decorated Objects in Burial Contexts

Fineline decorated artifacts used in burials of people of both sexes and all ages have been found by the Huaca de la Luna Project (Uceda et al. 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008), the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project (Donnan and Mackey 1978) and the San José de Moro Archaeological Project (Castillo 2000a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010a, 2010b; Castillo et al. 2009; Donnan and Castillo 1992), among others, suggesting that fineline decorated vessels were employed across gender lines and upon the death of individuals of all stages of life. For instance, the Huaca de la Luna and San José de Moro excavations each revealed the remains of infants or small children (aged 5-7) buried with fineline painted objects (i.e. SJMAP MU-30, SJMAP MU-624 and HLAP 30.22.2 Tomb 3), as well as numerous examples of adults of both sexes whose tombs contained fineline ceramics.

Jean-Francois Millaire (2002: 137) observed that in Moche society, individuals of a

raised social status tended to receive greater labor investments in their interment than those of lesser status. Yet at the Huaca de la Luna, examples of fineline painted ceramics had been found in simple tombs as well as those requiring greater labor investments, indicating that a wide range of Moche social classes received fineline vessels as funerary offerings. On Platform B, for instance, a series of burials was found between building Phase B and Phase C (Tufinio 2006). Several burials were in the form of a simple pit-tomb, while others were more elaborate chamber tombs with niches. The fact that these burials appeared within the same phase of construction suggested that the differences in tomb types cannot be attributed to changes in time; rather they likely indicate varying statuses within a social hierarchy. It is noteworthy that fineline painted vessels of high quality were found in the simpler pit tombs, which suggested that members of different social classes were able to possess these choice ceramic objects (Tufinio 2006: 38-9).

Similarly, at San José de Moro, fineline painted ceramics were found not only in the more labor intensive chamber tombs, but in the middle range boot and shaft tombs (also known as “boot-shaped” tombs) variety, as well as in simple pit tombs (Castillo et al. 2009: 11, personal communication, 2011). Castillo et al. (2009: 11) noted that the presence of fineline decorated pottery in boot and shaft tombs was further evidence of their use by the elite, as these tombs required a great deal less labor in their construction than did the most elaborate chamber tombs. Boot and shaft tombs, the most popular burial type during the Moche occupation of San José de Moro, were characterized by vertical shafts connected to a horizontal cavity (Castillo et al. 2009: 16). Although boot and shaft tombs often contained a single body, some held as many as two adults and two children (Castillo et al. 2009: 16). The variety and high quality of associated grave goods suggests that those interred in boot and shaft tombs were privileged members of society. However, chamber tombs at San José de Moro were larger and more elaborate than boot and shaft tombs, and were reserved for only the top echelon of society. Chamber tombs, some of

which held individuals identified as Figure “C” from the Sacrifice Ceremony, contained adobe walls with inset niches that held rich offerings of shells, large metal masks and fine ceramics (Castillo et al. 2009: 16). The fact that individuals interred in chamber tombs at San José de Moro can be linked to figures in the art such as Figure C, while those in boot shaped tombs cannot, further suggests that they were of a raised social status (Castillo et al. 2009: 16).

Fineline painted vessels in pit tombs at San José de Moro and Huanchaco, a fishing village outside of the modern day city of Trujillo reveal that fineline painting objects were also interred with members of the lowest levels of Moche society. At Huanchaco, Donnan and Carol Mackey (1978) unearthed a series of pit-tomb burials complete with fine line painted vessels. Despite the fact that the majority of these objects were decorated with simple designs and lacked the complexity common to the most outstanding fineline painted compositions, the vessels discovered at Huanchaco indicated that the use of fineline objects as burial offerings spanned all levels of Moche society.

Although fineline painted objects were found in burials that bridge gender, age and social lines, they were not distributed equally. Millaire analyzed the contents of 655 interments from the Lambayeque, Jequetepeque, Chicama, Moche, Virú, Santa, and Casma Valleys and concluded that the quantity of ceramics interred in Moche burials is correlated to the energy expended in the construction of the tomb. For instance, chamber tombs tended to have more numerous examples of ceramics than pit tombs (Millaire 2002: 133). Millaire observed that the quality of ceramics used as grave goods varied greatly. In some instances burials with large amounts of ceramics included only a few examples of fineware objects. In contrast, some burials produced only a few ceramic objects, but these were all of fineware, yet, overall he found an association between quantity and quality of ceramic burial goods as few graves contained only large amounts of midgrade and low grade ceramics or only one fineware vessel (Millaire 2002:

131). Unfortunately, Millaire's study did not distinguish between fineline decorated ceramics and other types of fineware. Nevertheless, his results demonstrate that a positive correlation between the ownership fineware ceramics and raised social status within Moche society.

Castillo's work at San José de Moro led him to find no clear association between social class and the presence of fineline painting. He noted that burials requiring more energy to construct do not tend to include markedly increased numbers of fineline painted ceramics compared to less elaborate burials (Castillo 2009a: 216). For instance, Castillo (personal communication 2009) observed that one of the site's richest chamber tomb burials (M-U41) contained over 73 pieces of pottery, only two of which were decorated with fineline painting. Another chamber tomb (M-U102) was not found to contain a single example of fineline decorated ceramics. Likewise, in some cases boot-shaped tombs contained a fineline painted vessel of immaculate quality, while in other instances no fineline objects were present (Castillo 2009a: 216). Castillo concluded that since the presence or absence of fineline painted vessels was inconsistent among burial types, that these objects are not accurate indicators of social status at San José de Moro.

Despite contrasting evidence in regards to the use of fineline painted objects in burials as indicators of social status, this section recognized that these vessels were utilized by the Moche as grave goods across a wide swath of Moche society. Their presence in the richest burials of the elite as well as simple pit tombs belonging to lower social classes alludes to the use of these vessels by all levels of the Moche population. Significantly, the presence of prestigious objects in commoner burials possibly alludes to the ritual distribution of these wares. Potential for the ceremonial gifting of fineline painted ceramics is discussed below.

Fineline Decorated Objects in Non-Burial Contexts

Recent excavations have also revealed the presence of fineline decorated objects in a range of non-burial contexts, including domestic architecture (Chiguala et al. 2004; Chapdelaine et al. 2004; Johnson 2010; Lockard 2005; Mehaffey 1998; Shimada 1976, 1994; Topic 1977) and ceremonial architecture (Lockard 2005; Swenson 2004). Greg Lockard's field work at Galindo in the Moche Valley also revealed that ceramic fragments containing fineline painting not only were found in residences whose occupants were of high and moderate status, but also among the remains of domestic architecture of the commoner class (Lockard 2005: 306). As with the presence of fineline ceramics in middle class tombs at the Huaca de la Luna, Huanchaco and San José de Moro, here we have evidence that the possession of fineline painted vessels were not restricted to the highest levels of Moche society.

Fineline sherds were also found to be associated with the ceremonial architecture at Galindo, where Lockard (2005: 286) noted the remains of fineline painted vessels on a floor at Platform B. Similarly, Ed Swenson (2004: 132) observed that ceramic fragments were among the objects he discovered in proximity to ceremonial platforms at San Ildefonso and other sites throughout the Jequetepeque Valley. The presence of fineline painted ceramics on these platforms, along with musical instruments and ceramic figurines as well as animal remains and evidence *chicha* production, indicated that the platforms were the locations of ceremonial feasts that likely included the consumption of massive amounts of alcohol.

Examples of stirrup spout bottles with fineline painting were discovered in the "Las Tinajas" area of Huaca Cao Viejo at the site of El Brujo (Mujica et al. 2007: 85). Las Tinajas contains two Moche cemeteries as well as a funerary platform and a kitchen. This area was believed to have supported feasts associated with burials, as camelid bones and various other species of animals were found in close proximity. Several large ceramic containers known as

“tinajas,” for which the site received its name, were present in the area. Elías Mujica et al. (2007: 84) noted that these were buried up to their rims, indicating their use as *chicha* storage vessels. The appearance of stirrup spout vessels at Las Tinajas in association with evidence of feasting events further evidences the use of these vessels in elaborate ceremonies.

The Functions of Fineline Decorated Ceramics

The discovery of fineline decorated ceramics in varied archaeological contexts suggests that these vessels served multiple functions in Moche society. Furthermore, although they are most often found in burials, Donnan (2004: 10) observed that signs of wear on the edges and bottoms of Moche ceramic vessels indicated that they did not solely function as burial goods. Organic remains in fineline painted ceramics from burials provided essential evidence of the function of these vessels. For instance, Donnan and Donna McClelland (1997: 77) reported that a Moche burial from the site of Pacatnamu contained a stirrup spout bottle with a ball of unspun cotton in its mouth and organic residue on its interior walls. Millaire (2002:130) asserted that the unspun cotton acted as a stopper, which he suggested indicates that the bottle was filled with a liquid. At San José de Moro a stirrup spout bottle was found at the bottom of a *chicha* storage container, establishing a concrete connection between this ceramic form and the indigenous brew (Bernuy 2005; Castillo et al. 2009). Thus, the organic residue preserved in the bottle from Pacatnamu was likely corn beer. Michael Moseley (2001: 77) supported such a function for these objects when he likened stirrup spout bottles to a vessel form known as the *kero*, from which libations of corn beer were consumed during Inka festivals.

The few known representations of fineline pottery in Moche iconography offer clues to their usage. Figure 1.3 depicts a ritual referred to by Bourget (2006) as the Copulation Ceremony. In this scene two figures are copulating underneath an *ulluchu* tree, with supernatural

creatures bearing witness to the event. A stirrup spout bottle and a flaring bowl, each with fineline decorations, hover next to the female's head. The proximity of the vessels to the action indicates their association with the ritual, although their particular function cannot be determined from this scene. The pairing of different ceramic forms is found in other examples, and may relate to a symbolic (or practical) ceramic "set."

The so-called "Whistler," a figure who Donnan (1978: 156) identified as a shaman, also suggests that different ceramic types were meant to be used in concert. One particularly masterful example housed in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera (Figure 1.4), features a man with a dipper in his right hand and a flaring bowl tucked under his right arm. He holds a stirrup spout vessel in his left hand and a rolled up textile in his left arm. In addition to carrying these objects, the figure's pursed lips identify him as a Whistler figure. Fineline painted decorations are clearly visible on the stirrup spout bottle and flaring bowl. The bowl features pairs of vertical lines along the flattened edge of its interior, while the bottle exhibits cross-hatched lines around the circumference of its chamber. As in the Copulation Ceremony, this piece indicates that fineline decorated ceramics were not only used by the Moche as burial goods, but were utilized in other ritual contexts.

In her 2003 study of Inca ceramics, Tamara Bray observed that a vessel's morphology can give clues to its usage. As opposed to larger vessels, such as *paicas* or *tinajas* that were likely used as storage containers, or vats for producing large quantities of *chicha*, the stirrup spout bottle holds about the same amount of liquid as a canteen - approximately the amount that can be comfortably carried and consumed by an individual. Furthermore, the "stirrup-shape" of the spout would have aided in preventing evaporation and could have facilitated "hands-free" transport. For example, Figure 1.5 depicts a figure wearing a sash that passes through the stirrup-shaped spout of a stirrup spout bottle. Carrying the vessel in this manner would have

enabled the individual to have his hands free to perform other tasks.

Although they are most often found in burials, it is clear that the practical function of stirrup spout bottles in the Moche world extended to their use in ritual. This proves especially significant when coupled with the fact that they were found in contexts associated with feasting events. Thus, these were likely personal containers used at feasts, which, as we will see, were important venues for political negotiations.

Production of Fineline Painted Objects

Analysis of ceramic workshops discovered at a number of Moche sites across the North Coast, such as Cerro Mayal (Chicama Valley), Galindo (Moche Valley), Huacas de Moche (Moche Valley) and Pampa Grande (Lambayeque Valley), provides clues as to how Moche ceramic objects were made, as well as to the lives of those who created them. At the southern end of Sector D at Pampa Grande, Izumi Shimada (1994: 195) excavated evidence for a ceramic workshop. He found 13 identical unused cooking vessels in several small agglutinated rooms, and within a single layer of subfloor nearby he also found a variety of vessel types in different stages of the burnishing process. These same excavations revealed implements for creating pottery, such as mold fragments, smooth river cobbles and a stamp fragment, which further supported the identification of the area as a ceramic workshop (1994: 196-7). Shimada (1994: 197-8) noted that the location of these rooms near the center of Pampa Grande, as well as the presence of molds used to create replicable identical artistic designs, indicated that this was a centralized workshop producing ceramics that promoted the ideological program of the site's ruling regime.

In contrast, at Galindo, Garth Bawden (1977: 200) discovered a potters' workshop which he suggested had no "formal state function." Bawden's (1977: 193) excavations revealed an

open-air kiln in addition to a storage pit containing llama dung (believed to have been used as fuel), and mold fragments, which led him to interpret the archaeological feature as a ceramic workshop. Its location on the periphery of the site and the absence of decorated ceramics suggested that this workshop did not function like the midgrade pottery production center at Pampa Grande (Shimada 1994: 198). In both locations, however, all of the activities surrounding the production of ceramics, from the preparation of clays to firing, took place within the workshop. This suggests that the Moche performed all of the processes for their construction at a single location regardless of whether or not pottery production was performed under the auspices of a central authority and indicates the use of specialized labor (Shimada 1994: 198).

A large-scale workshop that was involved in the production of medium range pottery—objects decorated with ideological artistic motifs but not of “fineware” quality—was discovered at Cerro Mayal in the Chicama Valley (Russell et al. 1998). The absence of domestic ceramics within the workshop suggests that its sole function was to produce ceremonial ceramics (Russell et al. 1998: 70). The discovery of domestic architecture immediately adjacent to the workshop also indicated that the potters who worked there had a specialized occupation (Russell et al. 1998: 70). Furthermore, the remains of beans and corn, which were noted as being foods that could be easily stored, were found in the workshop and could be evidence of staple foods distributed to the artists by the site’s governing body in exchange for their labor (Russell et al. 1998: 86). Russell et al. argued that one and three-piece molds discovered at the Cerro Mayal workshop were not used for their efficiency, but rather were a way to recreate identical images used in the spread of centralized ideology (Russell et al. 1998: 85).

A workshop discovered at the Huacas de Moche provides the best glimpse of the production of fineline painted decorations to date. Located between the monumental structures Huaca de la Luna and Huaca del Sol, the pottery workshop contains evidence of the production

of a wide variety of Moche ceramic wares. Like those at Pampa Grande and Galindo, excavations of the workshop at the Huacas de Moche site indicated that all of the activities related to ceramic production, from the mixing of clays to firing, took place within a single compound (Uceda and Armas 1998: 108). This workshop contained higher quality ceramics than Pampa Grande, Galindo and Cerro Mayal, suggesting that it served an elite population. Examples of unfired fineline painting, as well as relief sculpture and molds for appliqué depicting major themes in Moche art, were discovered within its confines (Uceda and Armas 1998: 103). Uceda and José Armas argued that the workshop not only produced wares *for* the elite, but that it was utilized *by* members of the elite. They cited the location of the workshop between the Huaca de la Luna and Huaca del Sol as indicative of its special social significance.

Two burials within the vicinity of the workshop provided further proof of the raised status of its potters. Tomb I from the main patio of the second phase of construction of the workshop contained the remains of a male approximately 40-years-old at his death. Osteological analysis of his remains provided evidence of rheumatism in his hands and arthritis in his back, injuries consistent with the repetitive movements of a potter (Uceda et al. 2003: 199-200). Overall, however, the bones indicated that the individual was of good health, evidencing an ample diet and elite social status. Tomb II from the first phase of construction provides further evidence that the potters were elites. Tomb II contained the remains of a female aged 40-50 years. Analysis suggested that she, too, had arthritis in her hands, back and knees. She was interred with an elaborate offering consistent with those associated with members of the Moche elite; it included 42 ceramic vessels, copper objects and a guinea pig (Uceda et al. 2003: 201).

Although ceramic workshops have not been discovered at the Jequetepeque Valley sites of Dos Cabezas and San José de Moro, compositional analysis of ceramic samples by Agnés Rohfritsch have been telling. A researcher at the archaeometric laboratory at the University of

Bordeaux, Rohfritsch found evidence that that potters at Dos Cabezas and San José de Moro utilized local clays. For instance, her comparison of fineline painted ceramic fragments from both sites revealed that calcium carbonate, the biotite and amphibole were only present in samples from San José de Moro (Rohfritsch 2006: 91). This indicated that the clay used in their manufacture came from a different deposit than those from Dos Cabezas (Rohfritsch 2006: 91). Rohfritsch also observed that the compositions of fineware ceramic samples demonstrated a great deal of homogeneity within each site. Her analysis revealed only a single example (Dos Cabezas 3) that was chemically distinct from the rest. Such consistency among different fineline painted ceramics at San José de Moro and at Dos Cabezas suggests that both sites created ceramic objects using standard clay sources.

A number of observations can be made from the archaeological evidence of ceramic workshops and Rohfritsch's analytical study of ceramic fragments. The fact that all the activities related to the creation of fine ceramics at Huacas de Moche and Pampa Grande took place in a single location in the center of the ceremonial districts suggests that this activity was supervised by a government apparatus (Shimada 1994: 198). The Galindo workshop's location on the periphery of the site presents a contrasting case, but the absence of fineware ceramics there suggests that more than one type of ceramic workshop may have existed at Moche sites. Perhaps the peripheral workshops were dedicated to domestic and lesser-grade ceramics, whereas fineline painted ceramics were produced in centrally located workshops where the ruling regime could oversee production. Rohfritsch's chemical analysis of fineline painted ceramics from Dos Cabezas and San José de Moro also provided evidence of standardized production practices. Although a fineline painting workshop has yet to be excavated, currently available evidence suggests that Moche potters who created these objects did so in communal conditions that were likely under the auspices of local governments.

The Connection between Art and Politics

Mary Braithwaite (1984: 93), former Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge University, rightly observed that “the significance of material symbols in social practices, particularly those of political importance, cannot be assumed *a priori* and is a problem for investigation into any given social and historical context.” In other words, it is important that we do not uncritically assume that a culture’s material objects reflect characteristics of its social or political organization. The following sections address this issue by demonstrating that in the case of Moche fineline painting there is sufficient evidence to justify its link to Moche political processes.

Style as a Reflection of Political Organization

The notion that the style in which an object was decorated speaks to the sociopolitical organization of the society that produced it is well established and has been argued by a number of authors (Conkey and Hastorf 1993; Halperin and Foias 2010; Sackett 1982; Wiessner 1983; Wobst 1977). While such lines of research have proven useful in studies of Paleolithic European lithics (Sackett 1982) and Kalahari projectile points (Wiessner 1983), their application to Maya painted ceramics has been particularly remarkable. As a result of multidisciplinary research involving the use of archaeology, art history, epigraphy and chemical analyses of ceramic pastes, Maya scholars now argue that particular painting styles of polychrome pottery relate to individual polities (Reents-Budet 1994; Reents-Budet et al 2000).

Investigators of Maya vase painting face several of the same issues encountered by those studying Moche decorated ceramics. Centuries of looting have resulted in the fact that the great majority of Maya specimens in modern collections lack provenance. To combat this problem,

researchers working on the Maya Polychrome Ceramics Project at the Conservation Analytical Lab of the Smithsonian Institution have created an ingenious method for classifying Classic Maya painted decorations into substyles, which in some cases can be attributed to individual sites. This has been done by combining visual and chemical analyses of the vessels. The team, which is led by Dorie Reents-Budet and Ronald Bishop, first groups potentially related vessels together according to decorative elements such as the inclusion of emblem glyphs in the vessels' hieroglyphic inscriptions. Next, a small hole is drilled into the vessel, providing a sample of its clay. The clay is then analyzed for its chemical signature through a process known as Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA). Essentially, INAA exposes the clay sample to radiation, and the particular blend of isotopes created provides a unique signature of its chemical composition.

The results of the Maya Polychrome Ceramics Project have proved extremely useful. Not only have different decorations been verified as belonging to the same regional style, but in several instances they have been identified as coming from a specific site. One case in which this type of study has been particularly successful is that of the so-called Codex Style ceramic vases. This collection of painted vases received its name for the close resemblance of its painted hieroglyphic inscriptions to those in painted manuscripts such as the Madrid Codex or the Dresden Codex (Coe 1978: 16). Analysis of the chemical composition of Codex Style examples found them to be associated with ceramic artifacts coming from the Mirador Basin in northern Guatemala, particularly of El Mirador and Nakbe. Reents-Budet et al. noted that these sites were successively the regional powers in the Mirador Basin from the Preclassic to the Terminal Classic periods. Despite their abundance, Codex Style ceramics were highly localized, only rarely found outside of the Mirador Basin.

One notable example in which Codex Style ceramics were discovered outside the Mirador Basin, however, came from Calakmul (Reents-Budet et al. 2010: 5). The chemical composition of these ceramic fragments indicated that the majority of them had actually been manufactured at Nakbe, although there was also a small number of locally produced reproductions. Reents-Budet et al pointed out that despite the presence of Codex Style ceramics at Calakmul, no significant cache of Calakmul ceramics has been discovered at El Mirador or Nakbe. They interpreted this as evidence that the ideology created at El Mirador and Nakbe was the basis for that at Calakmul. In other words, the reason that the Codex Style appears at Calakmul is that the members of Calakmul's ruling elite attempted to associate themselves with the locations from which they borrowed their belief systems. This in turn supported their right to rule (Reents-Budet et al. 2010: 10).

The successful investigation of painting styles by the Maya Polychrome Ceramics Project has shed light on our understanding of the sociopolitical organization within a single site as well as its relationship with neighboring polities in the Maya region. This dissertation represents a preliminary step towards a similar study for the Moche. Before it is possible to compare painted substyles and chemical analyses, we must first identify and substantiate the existence of subsets within Moche art. Although it is not yet possible to create the multidisciplinary approach pioneered by Bishop and Reents-Budet, their research provides a prime example in which the study of painted ceramic substyles demonstrates a clear connection to a society's political organization.

Fine Ceramics and Political Economy

Another way to assess a connection between pottery and politics is through an examination of political economy. Political economy, a concept that largely resulted from

observations on late eighteenth and early nineteenth European capitalism, involves the study of a ruling regime's relationship to its society's economy (Stanish 1992: 10). Those regimes that demonstrate a high degree of control over their economies are considered to be "centralized," whereas those that have little control over the production and distribution of material goods are "decentralized" (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Costin 1991; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1997, 2002; Sinopoli 1988).

Here again an analogy to Classic Maya vase painting proves useful. In general, it is believed that production of Maya domestic ceramics was not under the control of the ruling regime (Foias and Bishop 1997, 2007; Hammond and Harbottle 1976; Rands 1967; Rands and Bishop 1980; Rice 1987; Sabloff 1975; West 2002). Christina Halperin and Antonia Foias (2010: 394) noted that "classic Maya pottery economics, in general, were only weakly tied to political rises and falls." Utilitarian wares, which include storage and cooking vessels and make up the majority of Maya pottery, were believed to have been produced at the household or village level, and not by a centralized authority.

In contrast, painted polychrome ceramics and other fineware objects are believed to have been manufactured by the elites (Ball 1993; Foias and Bishop 1997, 2007; Reents-Budet et al. 2000). The discovery of production centers, known as "palace schools," within elite domestic compounds at sites such as Aguateca in Guatemala lent support to this notion, suggesting that elites not only controlled the production of fineware ceramics, but were also actively involved in their manufacture (Ball 1993). This, in turn, indicates that fineware ceramics were intimately tied to the health of the ruling regimes. A number of parallels can be made between this assessment of Maya political economy and what we know about Moche pottery production. For instance, although at present we still have a poor understanding of Moche economics, there is evidence that not all pottery production was wholly controlled by the ruling regime.

Domestic ceramics from Moche sites, as well as sites attributed to the Gallinazo culture across the North Coast, share striking similarities with one another, suggesting that these wares were not tied to the local political environment. Traditionally, these close similarities have been used in discussions of ethnicity, as the existence of domestic Gallinazo ceramics at Moche sites had been interpreted as evidence for earlier Gallinazo occupations (Bennett 1950; Willey 1953; Fogel 1993; see Millaire 2009 for an in-depth historiography of Gallinazo studies). Recently, however, Donnan (2009) argued that Gallinazo domestic ceramics in actuality represent a long lasting and widespread tradition for creating utilitarian wares. In other words, instead of having associations with Gallinazo culture, the domestic ceramics once called “Gallinazo” simply represent the local traditions for creating utilitarian wares that were common to North Coast peoples. The presence of these similar domestic ceramics across time and space suggests that this was a conservative tradition along the North Coast that had roots deep in its Pre-Moche history. In contrast, fineware ceramics appear to have been limited in scope, both in time and space, and were unique to Moche and Gallinazo occupations of North Coast sites. Not only do Moche fineware styles appear to have had relatively short life spans, but their concentrations at specific sites suggest that they were individualized according to local preferences. Castillo (2009a) noted that the limited range in time and space of San José de Moro fineline painted ceramics facilitated the study of politics and population movement using this category of Moche artifact.

Like the Maya, it appears that Moche domestic ceramics were not tied to Moche politics, and that only fineware vessels had intimate links to ruling regimes. Thus, it appears that the Moche had a “decentralized” political economy. This is significant because, as in the case of the Classic Maya, weak control of Moche economy suggests that Moche rulers did not rely on it to maintain power. Instead, control of a government-sanctioned religion seems a more likely source of their ability to assert political authority.

Yet, the spread of the government-sanctioned religion through fineline painted ceramics evinces the presence of some degree of government control over manufactured goods. Timothy Earle (1997) proposed that economic control may be done through either staple finance or wealth finance. Staple finance refers to an economic program in which individuals are required to make payments of the fruits of their labor (generally a percentage of the yield of their agricultural crops) to the government in order to fund government projects (Earle 1997: 70-1). In contrast, wealth finance involves the distribution of “special objects” (i.e. prestige goods) to members of a society in order to retain political loyalty (Earle 1997: 73). Wealth finance was found to be a manner in which a government’s ideology could be spread easily across great distances by controlling its manufacture and dissemination from a central location (Earle 1997: 74).

The production and distribution of Moche fineline ceramics appear to conform to Earle’s notion of wealth finance. As noted above, the centralized nature of ceramic workshops at Pampa Grande and Huacas de Moche, as well as the homogeneity of clays identified in fineware ceramic fragments from Dos Cabezas and San José de Moro indicate that the process for creating these ideology-laden objects was controlled by Moche elites. This, in turn, suggests that ceramic vessels were utilized in Moche power strategies. The presence of high quality ceramics in burials of lower social classes also supports the notion that the Moche were involved in a wealth finance political economic system. Millaire (2001) has shown that among the Moche, one’s social status correlated to the amount of labor invested in their internment. Yet, Castillo found that the site of San José de Moro simple pit-tombs—related to the lowest class of Moche society— yielded examples of quality fineline painted ceramics. A wealth finance political economy would resolve these seemingly contradictory findings. If the production and distribution of fineline painted vessels were controlled and distributed by the government, then exquisite examples could even find their way into the possession of Moche of a low class rank.

Political Agency

Another way in which material culture such as fineware pottery may be connected to political power is through its utilization in activities related to the political process. Agency is a term implying that social power is obtained and retained through acts initiated by individuals as opposed to other factors, such as technology or control of the environment (Brumfiel 1992; Dobres and Robb 2000; Patterson 2004). While this theory generally explains social change as the result of human actions, by considering the role played by material objects in activities related to political processes, it becomes possible to conceive them as agents as well. For instance, in regards to Maya polychrome pottery, Halperin and Foias (2010: 394) argued that rather than merely being the result of political processes, their use in feasting events and other important ceremonies resulted in Maya polychrome ceramics functioning as active participants themselves. In other words, beyond their significance as locations for propagandistic iconography and texts, fine ceramics may be viewed as actors in the political process.

The notion that Classic Maya polychrome pottery may have played an active role in politics is also supported by its distribution in acts of ritual gift giving. Among the Maya it has been demonstrated that ritual gifting of polychrome ceramics was essential to the political process, where their distribution was connected to the creation of “debt and alliances” (Halperin and Foias 2010: 394 also in Foias 2007; LeCount 1999; Reents-Budet 1998). In this manner the controlled production and distribution of polychrome ceramics by elites were found to demonstrate that the Maya economy, politics and religion were integrated (Halperin and Foias 2010; McAnanany 2008; Wells 2006; Wells et al. 2007).

The utilization of fine ceramics in arenas of political negotiation further alludes to their role as social actors. Their use as personal receptacles during feasting events, where policies of economy, alliance and marriage were negotiated, represents a case in which they were physically

part of these important events and thus functioned as political actors. This notion was supported by the excavation of polychrome vases at Xunantunich, Belize, in isolated, non-residential areas. The private contexts from which these vessels were found led Lisa LeCount (2001: 947) to argue that such objects were used by elite males as chocolate-drinking receptacles as they executed “affairs of state or lineage.”

Michael Dietler (1996: 90) described feasts as the location of “commensal politics” due to the negotiation and confirmation of political and social identities that took place there. John Janusek (2004) noted that “commensal politics” through feasting was practiced by Tiwanaku culture. He observed that feasts “served to build or intensify status differences by creating social debt among those who consistently participated as guests. Thus while establishing relations of reciprocity, feasts were prime arenas for building followings and enhancing prestige among those who successfully hosted them” (Janusek 2004: 196).

Although separated in time and space from the Tiwanaku, evidence suggests that Moche fineline pottery played a similarly active role in “commensal politics.” As noted above, fineline decorated ceramics were discovered in archaeological contexts of feasting events by Swenson (2004, 2006) at sites throughout the Jequetepeque Valley. Additionally, Henry Gayoso (2009: 425) identified a plaza in the urban sector between the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca del sol at Huacas de Moche as a location where feasts took place. Evidence of chicha production and distribution, food preparation, animal remains (camelids, guinea pigs, fish and shell fish), and fineware ceramics decorated with fineline painting in a 15m x 15m open space within an elite compound led Gayoso to suggest that politically-charged feasts were held there.

As in the case for the Maya, it is believed that feasting events marked important political negotiations. Castillo (2010a: 106) argued that ceremonies held at San José de Moro, were opportunities for rulers from neighboring sites to come together, discuss economic issues and

arrange marriages. Thus, the utilization of Moche fineline painted ceramics at feasts would have offered the vessels an opportunity to function as actors. Furthermore, DeMarais et al. (1996) argued that objects such as Moche fineline ceramics were not merely representations of political ideology, rather they were physical manifestations of political ideology. This distinction is important as it alters the role of Moche fine ceramics from merely echoing political messages to being active participants in the political process.

Summary:

This chapter has demonstrated that aspects of style theory, political economy, and agency each lend support to the notion that there was an intimate connection between Moche politics and Moche fineline painted ceramics. As a result, it is possible to argue that the analysis of Moche fineware ceramics provides meaningful insights into Moche political organization. Chapter 2 provides an outline of the study of Moche politics, from previously held beliefs related to the single state model to present perspectives involving multiple Moche polities. Once an understanding of the fragmented Moche political landscape has been established, it will be possible to discuss the differences in Moche political regimes through a comparison of their fineline painted substyles.

Chapter 2. Moche Political Organization and Power Strategies

In Chapter 1, I posited that Moche fineline painted ceramics were intimately related to Moche politics. In this chapter I build upon that notion by supporting the link between fineline painted substyles and individual Moche polities. I do so by first reviewing previous models of Moche political organization based on the single state hypothesis to current perspectives that suggest the existence of multiple Moche polities. Next, I discuss the relation of the images in Moche fineline painting to the regional belief systems propagated by Moche rulers of individual polities as a means of obtaining and retaining power. Past studies, in accordance with the single state model, perceived the Moche belief system to be monolithic in nature. With the new model, the value of studying fineline painting extends beyond its use as a resource for understanding Moche political processes at large; rather, it becomes a means of identifying distinct characteristics of individual Moche governments.

Previous Perspectives on Moche Chronology and Political Organization

Interpretations of Moche political organization have been intimately tied to understandings of the temporal sequences of Moche material culture. This section traces the evolution of ideas about Moche political organization while concurrently tracking changing attitudes towards Moche ceramic sequencing. Rafael Larco Hoyle (1938) was the first to put forth a detailed description of the political organization of the Moche. In his opinion, the Moche were a single unified culture (see Figure I.2; Larco Hoyle 1938: 53-54). This assumption was largely formed through his observation of the presence of monumental architecture, irrigation canals, and road networks in the Moche region, as well as military scenes and the depiction of

prominent individuals thought to represent leaders in Moche art (Larco Hoyle 1938: 131-32; 1945: 22, 36). Since he considered the Moche to be a single political group, Larco Hoyle assumed Moche art belonged to a unified style.

Larco Hoyle (1948), whose interpretation of Moche art and culture came through an analysis of the artifacts in his collection of ceramics largely obtained in and around his Chicama Valley hacienda, observed a number of differences in their construction, form and decoration. As mentioned in Chapter 1, he attributed these differences to the result of evolutionary change through time, and organized his sample into five temporal phases (Phases I-V). Although he was able to attribute a range of ceramic types (such as flaring bowls and dippers) to temporal categories, the most easily classified examples were stirrup spout bottles (See Figure 2.1).

Phase I, the earliest according to Larco Hoyle (1948: 28-29), was characterized by stirrup spout bottles with short upper spouts and thick lips. The decorations of Phase I ceramics were generally found to consist of geometric shapes using thick lines. The upper spouts of the subsequent period, Phase II, were taller than those of Phase I, and their lips were less pronounced (Larco Hoyle 1948: 29-30). Phase II designs continued to depict geometric forms, but these were rendered with more precise lines. In addition to geometric shapes, repeated zoomorphic motifs, such as lizards and iguanas, were introduced. In Phase III, upper spouts had no lips and flared out towards the top (Larco Hoyle 1948: 31). The use of geometric designs decreased in Phase III as figurative scenes came to dominate Moche artistic design. Larco Hoyle (1948: 32) observed that common subjects of Phase III decorations included warriors, battle, fishing, deities, iguanas, snakes and a variety of birds. Phase IV stirrup spout bottles were characterized by their tall, upper spouts with even parallel walls (Larco Hoyle 1948: 33). The lines in painted decorations became thinner and more precise, and there was a considerable increase in the subjects that were depicted. In addition to the warriors, battles and fishing activities illustrated in Phase III

examples, Phase IV designs included scenes of ritual as well as those related to what Larco Hoyle (1948: 35) called a “cult of the dead.” Phase V upper spouts were shorter than those of Phase IV, and tapered-in towards the top in what Larco Hoyle (1948: 35) described as a “triangular” fashion. Phase V decorations were found to be more “stylized and idealized” than those of Phase IV (Larco Hoyle 1948: 36). In contrast to the naturalistically rendered subjects of the previous phase, those of Phase V tended to be more abstract. Yet, Larco Hoyle (1948: 36) found the increasingly complex designs of Phase V to be a “fountain of information” on Moche religion, writing and their calendar. The belief underlying his five-phase chronology—that the Moche created a single art style—not only affected Larco Hoyle’s own interpretations, but also influenced Moche studies for nearly half a century.

Larco Hoyle’s hypothesis that the Moche were a single polity with a single ceramic sequence was initially supported by excavations and surface collections carried out in the Virú Valley in the 1940s. As part of a larger research program named the Virú Valley Project, Gordon Willey (1953) conducted a survey of sites within the valley. He found that Moche artifacts were superpositioned over those of the Gallinazo culture and suggested that this resulted from a swift Moche conquest of Gallinazo sites (Willey 1953: 397). Furthermore, the upper spouts of stirrup spout bottles collected by Willey and fellow members of the Virú Valley project were consistent with those discussed by Larco Hoyle, and fit nicely within Larco Hoyle’s seriation (Bennett 1950; Ford and Willey 1949; Strong 1947; Strong and Evans 1952; Willey 1953)

Support for the single-culture and single chronology models also came from the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project led by Michael Moseley in the 1970s. Although this endeavor focused on uncovering the history of the later Chimú culture, whose empire dominated the North Coast until the Inca invasions of the fifteenth century, excavations were also conducted at the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna at Huacas de Moche. Again, data collected by the

project supported the notion that the Moche were a single unified society. The Huaca del Sol was determined to be the administrative center of the site and the Huaca de la Luna, the religious center (Topic 1982). Evidence of flooding and the inundation of Huacas de Moche with sand deposits that covered the settlement were believed to be related to El Niño events that had taken place around AD 600. This flooding was seen as causing the site's collapse and was used to explain why almost no examples of Larco Hoyle Phase V pottery were discovered at Huacas de Moche (Moseley and Deeds 1982).

Although the single Moche model would remain dominant into the 1990s, cracks began to form in it in the late 1960s, when artifacts from a looted cemetery at Loma Negra in the northern Piura Valley came to light (Castillo and Quilter 2010: 11). Ceramic objects from Loma Negra were Moche-like in appearance, but were not manufactured with the same aesthetic sophistication that commonly characterizes Moche art. Loma Negra ceramics appeared to be a hybridization of the Moche, Salinar and Virú styles, and were most similar to Larco Hoyle's Phase I and II ceramic categories (Makowski 1994). According to Larco Hoyle's chronology, the presence of Phase I and II ceramics would place Moche influence on this northern valley early in the culture's history. This was contradicted, however, by metal objects from Loma Negra that were of a higher quality than what were thought to be contemporary examples discovered at Huacas de Moche. The technical skill exhibited in Loma Negra metal objects suggested a later period of manufacture (Jones 1992, 2001). The fact that the metals appeared to come from a later date than Larco Hoyle Phase I and II ceramics provoked the first suspicion that Larco Hoyle's chronology may not be equally applicable across all Moche sites, although at the time this discrepancy did not lead scholars to entertain the possibility of multiple Moche polities.

It was not until excavations were conducted in northern valleys that contradictory data emerged to seriously challenge Larco Hoyle's chronology and the single state model.

Archaeological projects at Pampa Grande (Shimada 1994), Pacatnamu (Donnan and Cock 1997), Sipán (Alva 1988, Alva and Donnan 1993), and San José de Moro (Castillo and Donnan 1994; Donnan 1992; Donnan and Castillo 1994) as well as the 1983 publication of Heinrich Ubbel-Doering's excavations at Pacatnamu in 1937 and 1938, revealed that these sites did not conform to the chronology outlined by Larco Hoyle. An alternative explanation was required.

For instance, of the 67 burials excavated in cemetery H45 CM1 by Christopher Donnan and Guillermo Cock at Pacatnamu, only two vessels (one from Burial 20 and the other from Burial 64) took forms that could be dated using Larco Hoyle's chronology; the rest belonged to ceramic categories not discussed previously (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1997: 36). The two aberrant objects were both stirrup spout bottles with upper spouts that conformed to Phase III of Larco Hoyle's seriation. The fact that the remaining 65 ceramics could not be assessed using traditional dating methods indicated that there was something amiss with the Larco Hoyle chronology.

Ubbel-Doering (1983), who conducted excavations at Pacatnamu in 1937 and 1938, also uncovered a number of Moche burials. He failed, however, to publish his findings. It was not until 1983, when his former students, Gisela and Wolfgang Hecker, compiled and analyzed his materials, that these data entered the debate. Significantly, Ubbel-Doering (1983) discovered a tomb (M-XII) that contained both Larco Hoyle Phase IV and Moche Phase V stirrup spout bottles. This further complicated the Larco Hoyle chronology, as the vessels suggested that there was contemporaneity between Moche Phase IV and Phase V pottery styles.

The 1987 discovery of the rich tomb of the so-called "Lord of Sipán" at the site of Sipán in the Lambayeque Valley further complicated the single-Moche hypothesis. Walter Alva's excavations of this tomb yielded numerous precious metal objects that were among those of the highest quality known for South American prehistory. Yet, of the thousands of ceramics yielded

by Alva's excavations, very few were decorated with fineline painting (Alva 1988; Alva and Donnan 1993). The only fineline decorated vessels from Sipán belonged to Phase III; no examples dated to Larco Hoyle Phases IV or V. This discrepancy followed the trend noted at Loma Negra and Pacatnamu where ceramics from the northern valleys were found to be more similar to each other than to those at Huacas de Moche and other sites south of a barren desert known as Pampa de Paiján. This too called into question the accuracy of the Larco Hoyle chronology in this area (Castillo and Quilter 2010: 12).

Subsequent excavations at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley dealt perhaps the final blow against the single-Moche model. Excavations first conducted by Donnan and Luis Jaime Castillo, and later by Castillo, through the San José de Moro Archaeological Project (SJMAP) revealed an absence of several Larco Hoyle Phase IV pottery forms (Donnan and Castillo 1992, 1994; Castillo 2000a, 2001a). For instance, Castillo and Donnan (1994: 159) observed that several ceramic types frequently found at sites south of the Pampa de Paiján, such as stirrup spout bottles with Phase IV upper spouts, flaring bowls, and dippers, were either wholly absent from San José de Moro or were discovered in small quantities.

These authors further cited the discovery of stirrup spout bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase I upper spouts at La Mina as further evidence that the Larco Hoyle chronology did not accurately model the development of ceramics north of the Pampa de Paiján (Castillo and Donnan 1994: 162). La Mina, also located in the Jequetepeque Valley, was found by looters (Narváez 1994). Subsequent excavations yielded stirrup spout bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase I upper spouts but had intricately modeled chambers of an uncharacteristically high quality. Like the pottery from Loma Negra, La Mina ceramics were of a quality unmatched by Early Moche pottery in the South. They therefore challenged the accuracy of the Larco Hoyle chronology.

The discrepancies between ceramic types discovered at San José de Moro, Pacatnamu and Sipán and those of Southern Moche sites led Castillo and Donnan (1994) to create an independent ceramic sequence for what they called the “Northern Moche Region.” The Northern Moche Region comprised sites north of the Pampa de Paiján. In 1994, Castillo and Donnan produced a three-phase Northern Moche chronology consisting of Early Moche, Middle Moche and Late Moche periods. The Early Moche period corresponded to Larco Hoyle Phases I and II; the Middle Moche Phase corresponded to Larco Hoyle Phases III and IV; and the Late Moche Phase corresponded to Larco Hoyle Phase V. In effect, they argued that the Moche were not a single entity; rather, there were distinct Northern Moche and Southern Moche factions (Figure 2.2).

Yet, recent research in the Virú Valley indicates that even the notion of a monolithic Southern Moche state is overly simplistic. For instance, excavations by Steve Bourget (2004, 2008) at the site of Huancaco suggested that the Southern Moche did not exert full control over this area. Bourget proposed that Huancaco ceramics were sufficiently different from the Moche pottery tradition that they represented an independent culture. In contrast to Willey (1953), Donnan (1973, in press) and David Wilson (1988), who identified Huancaco as a Moche site, Bourget (2010) has found that Huancaco was, instead, a polity unto itself and was outside the Southern and Northern Moche spheres of influence.

Present Perspectives on Moche Political Organization

Whereas twentieth century studies typically agreed that the Moche belonged to a single polity, or possibly two polities, one in the Northern and the other in the Southern region, twenty-first century investigators are presenting a fractured view of the Moche political landscape that has caused considerable discord among scholars. Two recent surveys of the state of Moche

political organization (Castillo and Quilter 2010; Chapdelaine 2011) have noted that there is no longer a generally accepted single model of Moche political organization. Instead, the authors have observed, the organization of Moche politics is conceptualized in many different ways.

In a particularly influential study, Jeffrey Quilter (2002: 160-1) argued that there are four likely models of Moche political organization. He observed these to be 1) the single state model, 2) the dual state model, 3) a “royal courts” model in which each valley had its own Moche polity, and 4) contemporary confederations of sites in which Huacas de Moche would have been the “*primus inter pares*” or “first among equals” (Quilter 2002: 161; Chapdelaine 2011: 204). The first model is now uniformly rejected; the second is considered increasingly untenable (Chapdelaine 2011: 204-5).

Evidence that sites in the Northern Moche Region did not constitute a single, unified polity comes in differences between the fine ceramics discovered at San José de Moro and Pampa Grande. Despite the fact that both sites are predominantly associated with ceramics featuring Phase V upper spouts, and are thus believed to be close in time, the fineline ceramics discovered at San José de Moro are unlike those excavated at Pampa Grande. At San José de Moro, excavations revealed ceramics executed in the San José de Moro style of fineline painting. Although San José de Moro ceramics have been discovered throughout the Jequetepeque Valley (discussed with more detail in Chapter 3), they are not found in significant quantities at Pampa Grande or elsewhere in the Lambayeque Valley (Johnson 2010; Shimada 1976, 1994). If sites in the Northern Moche region belonged to a single state, they should demonstrate similarity in their fine ceramics and they do not.

In addition to differences in fine ceramics, the presence of elite burials at several northern sites—Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2007), San José de Moro (Donnan 1992; Donnan and Castillo 1994), Sipán (Alva 1988; Donnan and Alva: 1993) and Ucupe (Bourget 2008)—lend

support to a model in which power was exerted locally rather than being tied to a single, central capital. The fact that each site has its own lavish tombs suggests that each was home to individuals of high status (Benson 2010; Chapdelaine 2011).

In Quilter's innovative third model, each valley had its own polity and "royal court" (Quilter 2002: 161). According to this model, each site would have controlled its own local resources and the smaller settlements throughout its valley. The evidence presented above that Northern Moche sites were autonomous best adheres to Quilter's "royal courts" model. Yet, differences in the materials coming from Pacatnamu and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley indicate that each valley could contain more than a single polity. Thus, it is a modified version of Quilter's third model that best describes the Northern Moche region.

Despite the evidence for multiple "royal courts" in the north, similarities among sites in the Chicama and Moche Valleys, along with recent evidence obtained by Claude Chapdelaine (2010, 2011) in the Santa Valley, suggest a strong interconnection among Southern Moche sites that reinforces the existence of a powerful, multi-valley southern polity based at Huacas de Moche. Evidence that the Chicama Valley was under the influence of Huacas de Moche comes from the existence of monumental structures and murals at El Brujo that share many attributes of those at Huacas de Moche, as well as the presence of Huacas de Moche ceramics at Chicama Valley sites.

The Huaca Cao Viejo complex at El Brujo demonstrates architectural elements similar to that of the Huaca de la Luna. Both are composed of platform mounds with large adjacent plazas on the north side of their respective structures (Figure 2.3; Galvez and Briceño 2001; Uceda 2001). Measuring 118m by 113m, the Huaca Cao Viejo complex is a single platform that is roughly square in shape, with six tiered levels created in seven phases of construction. The Huaca de la Luna is composed of three platforms that are each associated with adjacent plazas.

Platform 1, which approximates the Huaca Cao Viejo complex, measures 95m by 95m and is also square in shape (Uceda 2001: 50). The plaza at Huaca Cao Viejo, which abuts the northern side, measures 140m by 80m and provided access to the main building by means of a long ramp (Galvez and Briceño 2001: 148; Franco 1998: 104; Mujica et al. 2007: 102). Similarly, Plaza 1 at the Huaca de la Luna measures 180m by 90m, is located to the north of Platform 1, and was also accessed along a long ramp (Uceda 2001: 50, 51).

Each tier of the northern face of the Huaca Cao Viejo was decorated with wall murals. The bottom-most mural, which relates to the last phase of construction and for which we have the most evidence, depicts a Moche warrior leading a procession of bound, nude prisoners. The next tier has frontally portrayed men holding hands, and the mural on the level above, contains depictions of spiders (Galvez and Briceño 2001: 150-151). Significantly, the murals on the northern wall of Platform 1 of the Huaca de la Luna mirror those found at the identical part of Huaca Cao Viejo. Here, as at Huaca Cao Viejo, one tier of murals features male figures portrayed frontally, holding hands, and the next higher up depicts arachnids (Tufinio 2004, 2005).

Further testament to the likeness of these two monumental structures comes from similarities in their layouts and decorations. For example, the southwest corner of Phase D of Huaca Cao Viejo contained rooms with pillars of adobe bricks, both of which were painted white (Galvez and Briceño 2001: 154). Platform 1, in the southwest corner of the Huaca de la Luna, was found to have rooms that also have pillars of adobe bricks (Uceda 2001: 51). As at Huaca Cao Viejo, the walls of the rooms and adobe pillars at the Huaca de la Luna were painted white. Despite the fact that these sites were separated by about 100 km, they had monumental structures with similar architectural layouts and decorations. Overall, the close similarity of the Huaca de la

Luna to the Huaca Cao Viejo alludes to an intimate relationship of the artistic programs of both sites, and suggests that they belonged to the same polity.

This connection is also expressed in ceramic vessels that have been found at Huacas de Moche and in the Chicama Valley. The ceramic collections at the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera contain 163 fineline painted bottles that have been variously attributed to the sites of Ascope, Facalá, Paiján, and Sausal in the Chicama Valley, and that demonstrate similarities to those discovered at Huacas de Moche. This is evident in Figure 2.4, where a stirrup spout bottle attributed to Sausal contains a vessel shape and painted design closely resembling that of a specimen from the Huaca de la Luna. Unfortunately, the archaeological context of the vessel from Sausal is currently unavailable. Larco Hoyle obtained his collections through a variety of methods, including the purchase of smaller collections, *huaqueros*, and his own excavations. Larco Hoyle kept extensive notes on his excavations but his notebooks have only in rare instances been made available to the public. The attribution to the site of Sausal has been made because the site's name was written on the artifact's base. Figure 2.4b was excavated from Tomb 22 in the southern sector of the Uhle Platform at the Huaca de la Luna (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2005: 110).

Although not identical, the two pieces demonstrate a strong resemblance. Both vessels feature Larco Hoyle Phase III upper spouts, rotund spherical chambers and a ringed base. In addition, their painted decorations are divided into segments by thick vertical lines. Each segment features a lizard. The lizards in both versions are similarly formed in profile with meshed lines across their bodies. Such striking similarities in these ceramic vessels suggest that despite the fact that they originated in different valleys, they belonged to the same artistic program.

Figure 2.5 illustrates a second example in which a Chicama Valley site yielded a vessel similar to one discovered at Huacas de Moche. The pot on the left was excavated from the Huaca de la Luna (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2002: 75) and that on the right is registered in the Museo Larco Hoyle's collections catalogue as coming from Facalá in the Chicama Valley. Like those in Figure 2.4, these vessels feature a number of corresponding characteristics. Although the upper spout on the example from Huaca de la Luna is missing, both ceramic artifacts are of the stirrup spout bottle variety. The shapes of the chambers on both vessels are nearly identical. They have flat bases (lacking the ringed bases in Figure 2.4), are bulbous and widen towards the top of the chamber. The painted designs are also similar on these two vessels. Their fineline decorations are not segmented as were those in Figure 2.4; rather, these compositions are open. Both depict a similarly rendered bird warrior with an avian head but a human torso and appendages. Their heads, which are portrayed in profile, are dominated by an oversized eye. Furthermore, both exhibit white tear-shaped elements extending from the side of their eyes, which may represent feathers. The fact that these vessels share chamber forms and present the same subject executed in similar styles supports the notion that they are examples of the same ceramic tradition.

In addition to the observed similarities between the Moche and Chicama Valley ceramic styles, Claude Chapdelaine found evidence that the Southern Moche state extended into the Santa Valley. Chapdelaine noted that similarities in architecture, burial practices and ceramic assemblages lent credence to the idea that Moche based at Huacas de Moche controlled this region, as had been proposed by Larco Hoyle (2001) and Gordon Willey (1953). For instance, Chapdelaine (2008: 138-144) observed that ceramic types common to Huacas de Moche, such as stirrup spout bottles, spout and handle bottles, dippers and flaring bowls, were also present at Santa Valley sites. Based on these findings Chapdelaine (2011: 206) concluded that the Santa Valley was a "Moche province under direct control of the southern Moche state."

The correspondence between Huacas de Moche, and sites in the Santa and Chicama valleys has led Chapdelaine (2011: 14) to question the applicability of Quilter's fourth socio-political model. He has noted that the confederacy model requires a large degree of decentralization, which he suggested would have produced a weak political system. He pointed out that this type of unstable political climate would have made it difficult to maintain over the course of several centuries the shared artistic programs that we allot to the reign of the Southern Moche (Chapdelaine 2011: 14).

Others have proposed that Moche political organization was likely fluid, with relationships among different settlements constantly changing (Bawden 1996; Gummerman and Briceño 2003). Castillo (2010a) has recently argued that the political landscape was fluid in the Jequetepeque Valley, which lies to the north of the Pampa de Paiján. He observed that the chronology of local ceramics and the design of its irrigation system supported the idea that this region was organized into multiple polities with varying degrees of autonomy and independence. Castillo labeled these settlements "opportunistic states," which he defined as societies that were independent but would band together to cooperate for short periods of time when advantageous. Such occasions would have occurred when large labor pools, such as the construction of irrigation canals, were needed (Castillo 2010a: 108). Thus, Castillo's hypothesis generally conforms to the notion that the Northern Moche were politically fragmented.

The fluidity and variability of the Moche political landscape make it difficult to discuss Moche political organization in general terms. In this dissertation, I focus on fineline painting of the Late Moche period which I attribute to distinct Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities. I argue that the Huacas de Moche polity, with its capital at Huacas de Moche, was what has been formerly described as the Southern Moche state. Huacas de Moche sites are identified by the presence of Lacro Hoyle Phase IV, but not Larco Hoyle Phase V,

stirrup spout bottles. What I call the Late Chicama polity had its capital somewhere in the Chicama Valley due to the concentration in that region of sites with Late Chicama ceramics. Although Late Chicama sites may or may not also contain evidence of Huacas de Moche pottery, they are distinguished by the presence of prodigious quantities of Late Chicama pottery. Finally, the San José de Moro polity was centered at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley and was composed of sites that yielded mostly San José de Moro pottery.

Studies of Moche Power Strategies

The foregoing review of past and present perspectives on the Moche political landscape indicates that there has been a shift from viewing the Moche politics as unified to seeing them as a multifaceted group of autonomous and semi-autonomous polities. If the Moche are now viewed as multivariate, then we may expect a similar shift to occur in our notions of the strategies the Moche employed to obtain and maintain political power. In this section, I review the evidence for Moche power strategies before making a case for a more complex approach to understanding how political power was achieved.

A number of different strategies exist by which a ruling regime may obtain hegemony over its population. These include the use of military force, control of the economy, political control, and the institution of a dominant ideology (Mann 1986). Michael Mann (1986: 25-26) observed that control over a society's military allows its elites to "obtain collective and distributive power." Described as the "most concentrated" of all power strategies, military power is also one of the most difficult to maintain (Mann 1986: 26). Military coercion is noted for its effectiveness in wartime and in the construction of large work projects such as the erection of monumental buildings, but it is not effective when attempting to motivate workers to perform more quotidian tasks. Economic control is another power strategy used to obtain hegemony,

whereby a single group oversees the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods (Mann 1986: 24). In this power strategy, elites obtain control by monopolizing their society's economy. According to Mann, political power involves the regulation of social relations through the creation of a centralized state (Mann 1986: 26). He observed, "those who control the state, the state elite, can obtain both collective and distributive power and trap others within their distinctive 'organization chart'" (Mann 1986: 27). Mann noted that one's perception of the world involves applying meaning to their surroundings and behaving according to set norms (Mann 1986: 22). Thus, a group who controls the "meaning, norms, and aesthetic and ritual practices" will have the ability to "possess considerable extensive and intensive power" (Mann 1986: 23).

Elizabeth DeMarais, Luis Jaime Castillo and Timothy Earle (1996) argued that the institution of a dominant ideology was the main power strategy employed by Moche rulers. They found social control to be primarily promulgated through the performance of ceremonies and the creation of symbolic objects (DeMarais et al. 1996: 21). According to DeMarais et al., ceremonies unified various levels of Moche society and created solidarity among them. Yet, the rituals associated with Moche ceremony were not egalitarian. The most prominent roles in these rites were reserved for the elites and functioned as a means to legitimate and display their authority (DeMarais et al. 1996: 21).

Performances in Moche rituals acted out the myths and histories that constituted Moche political ideology. The concept of "ideology" has its roots in works by Karl Marx such as *German Ideology* co-authored with Friedrich Engels (1970) and *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1968). To Marx, ideology was epiphenomenal, the result of a society's mode of production that supported the domination of the elites over the commoner classes. He viewed it as a "false consciousness" whereby the legitimation of the ambitions of the elites was

naturalized so that commoners believed an asymmetrical power balance to be a natural.

Subsequent authors have questioned the notion of a single, dominant ideology, instead arguing that societies may have numerous and contentious ideologies (e.g. Abercrombie et al.1980; Miller and Tilley 1984: 8-9).

Although informed by such criticisms of ideology, the term in this dissertation will refer to the dominant belief system instituted by a particular ruling regime in order to obtain and maintain political power. There are a number of reasons to suggest the notion that dominant ideologies were in fact essential to Moche strategies for obtaining and retaining political power (DeMarais et al. 1996). These include the centralized nature of Moche pottery production (described in Chapter 1), the Moche's use of rituals, and the prominence of mythology and ceremony in its decorative motifs, which are discussed below.

Recently, Régulo Franco, Cesar Galvez, and Segundo Vasquez (2010) have noted that excavations of ceremonial precincts and elaborate burials indicate that Huaca Cao Viejo was the locus of prescribed rituals. The discovery of the so-called "Senora de Cao" in a chamber tomb on the northwest corner of the structure demonstrated that ceremony was involved in Moche burial practices. The corpse of the "Senora de Cao" was in a mummy bundle that contained 26 layers of textiles interlaced with thousands of gilded copper sheets as well as necklaces made of precious stone and gold (Mujica et al. 2007: 226-235). Beyond her meticulous burial preparation, the "Senora de Cao's" tomb presented further evidence of the elaborate ritual that surrounded her interment, as a half-buried vessel, its neck protruding from the floor, likely received ritual libations as post-burial offerings (Franco et al 2010: 124).

In addition to the activities surrounding the burial of individuals such as the "Senora de Cao," the placement of offerings commemorating the ritual interment of buildings prior to new construction episodes also indicate that elaborate ceremonies were performed at Huaca Cao

Viejo. For instance, prior to the construction of Phase C of the Huaca Cao Viejo the Moche placed there powerful objects such as ceramic architectural elements, war clubs and human sacrifices (Mujica et al. 2007: 142). Furthermore, at this time, the burial chamber holding the tomb of the “Senora de Cao” received a similar ritual closing. The charred remains of textiles, wood and gourds on top of the tomb allude to an intentional conflagration that took place, which Elías Mujica et al. proposed occurred when Phase B of the huaca was closed (Mujica et al. 2007: 219). Franco et al. (2010: 130) have argued that ceremonial rites, such as the burial of prominent individuals and the ritual interment of the Huaca Cao Viejo, were ideologically-laden events that played a fundamental role in an elite hegemony over local lords at each subordinate site.

Santiago Uceda (2010) found that the political organization at Huacas de Moche was initially theocratic, but that it subsequently took on a more secular form. Over 20 years of excavations at Huacas de Moche have revealed that the Moche occupation of the site was composed of two phases. In the first phase, dated from about AD 100 to AD 600 and associated with Larco Hoyle Phase II, III and IV ceramics, the site was ruled by a theocracy (Uceda 2010: 134). According to Uceda, at this time a class of priestly elites was in power who performed rituals at the Huaca de la Luna, through which they obtained legitimacy to rule. The concentration of ritual paraphernalia at the Huaca de la Luna, rather than at the Huaca del Sol or the urban sector between the two monumental structures, supports this notion. For instance, Uceda (2008) observed that a pair of burials on Platform 1 at the Huaca de la Luna produced evidence of rituals that are portrayed in Moche iconography. Artifacts unearthed from Tomb 2 and Tomb 18, such as coca dippers and feline effigy pouches, correspond to those depicted in fine line scenes portraying the ritual chewing of coca leaves. Uceda proposed that these scenes were part of a larger narrative in Moche iconography that was acted out at the Huaca de la Luna by live persons. The occupants of Tomb 2 and Tomb 18 had been participants in the coca

ceremony, which was just one component of a sequence of events that began with the capture of warriors and concluded with ritual sacrifice and the imbibing of the victims' blood (Uceda 2008: 175).

Further proof that rituals took place at the Huaca de la Luna came in the discovery of over 70 mutilated bodies in Plaza 3A and Plaza 3C adjacent to Platform 2. Osteological analysis indicated that the individuals were men between the ages of 15 and 39 (Verano 2001: 118). The fact that their bones demonstrated wounds at various stages in the healing process allowed physical anthropologist John Verano (2001: 118) to identify these young men as warriors. Lead excavator Steve Bourget (2001) proposed that the remains from Plaza 3A and Plaza 3C were the result of ritual sacrifices. He likened the strewn body parts of these individuals to images in Moche art (Bourget 2001: 97-98) and suggested that leaders at the Huacas de Moche performed these ritual sacrifices at a time of climatic catastrophe (Bourget 2001: 91).

Uceda concluded that between AD 100 and AD 600, such rites were practiced only by the religious elite who controlled the activities at the Huaca de la Luna. A second phase, from about AD 600-850 and associated only with Larco Hoyle Phase IV ceramics, was induced by a particularly strong El Niño event (Uceda 2010: 140). At this time the "Old Temple" of the Huaca de la Luna was abandoned, and a "New Temple" was constructed. The second phase of Huacas de Moche also brought with it significant changes in the urban sector, which Uceda (2010) argued represents an increased political role for its inhabitants. This sector was home to elites of lesser importance during the first phase of the site. In the second phase, its elite occupants resided in more complex compounds, and were buried with more symbolic objects. For instance, in contrast to urban compounds of the first phase characterized by domestic quarters with little storage space, those of the second phase featured a residence, an administrative sector, a workshop, patios with side benches and niched walls, as well as areas for storage and cooking

(Uceda 2010: 145). Evidence of an increased presence of fine ceramics, instruments and figurines in these locations led Uceda (2010: 147) to claim that at this time the urban elites played an increased role in the rituals performed at Huacas de Moche.

Despite Uceda's claim that the second phase at Huacas de Moche was characterized by a "secular" political organization, a dominant ideology appears to have continued to be the elites' main power strategy. Ceremonies once performed atop the Huaca de la Luna were moved to the compounds within the urban sector. Similarly, those rituals, which had once been practiced by a priestly class, were suddenly conducted by elites in the urban sector. Although the location of the rituals and their participants changed, the fact that symbolic objects (such as image-laden decorated fineware ceramics, instruments and figurines) remained integral aspects of the ceremonies indicates that the use of ideology continued to be an important strategy in the maintenance of political authority at Huacas de Moche (Uceda 2010: 147).

Further evidence that ceremonies depicted in Moche imagery were performed in real life came from tombs at Sipán in the Lambayeque Valley (Alva 1988; Alva and Donnan 1993) and San José de Moro (Donnan 1992; Donnan and Castillo 1994). These tombs have been linked to "The Sacrifice Ceremony." Tombs I and II of the Huaca Rajada at Sipán contained artifacts that identified their occupants with Figure "A" and Figure "B" of the Sacrifice Ceremony. As noted in Chapter 1, these two characters play central roles in depictions of this ritual. The Sacrifice Ceremony was the most dramatic Moche ceremony of all (DeMarais et al 1996: 24), involving the ritual capture of warriors and the drinking of their blood. Although the Sacrifice Ceremony was once widely believed to have been mythical, the excavation of tombs containing men who once dressed as Figure "A" and Figure "B" at Sipán, as well as the discovery of Figure "C" at San José de Moro led scholars to recognize that the ritual activities portrayed in this fineline painted design were acted out by the Moche (Donnan and Castillo 1992).

Deity interpretation is not unique to Moche culture. The donning of masks and related paraphernalia with supernatural associations has also been recorded among the Maya (Houston 2006; Houston, Stuart and Taube 2006) and Aztecs (Townsend 1979; Klein 1986, 1988a, 1988b, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). Among the Aztecs, it was customary for slaves, war captives and elites to act as god impersonators. It is curious that such a seemingly prestigious activity would be bestowed upon the lowest social class, yet as Richard Townsend (1979), explained, a variety of ceremonial events terminated with the sacrifice of god impersonators. For instance, the coming of age rite for young traders involved obtaining slaves, whom they ritually bathed, dressed as gods, and sacrificed (Townsend 1979: 31-32). Although the use of slaves as god impersonators was widespread, Townsend (1979: 32) observed that there were also instances in which elites themselves impersonated the gods. He noted, for example, that Ahuizotl donned the regalia of Xipe Totec, Our Lord the Flayed One, when he was engaged in battle (Townsend 1979: 32).

Cecelia Klein (1988a: 246; 2000: 26, 27; 2001a: 204, 207) observed that during the end of year rites in the month of Tititl, a priest donned women's clothing to impersonate Cihuacoatl-Ilamatecuhtli, an Aztec goddess associated with midwifery. Yet, as in the trader's ritual, a slave (female, in this case) who was also dressed as Cihuacoatl-Ilamatecuhtli, was sacrificed. In the case of the Moche, all evidence points to the notion that only the elites were able to impersonate the gods. For instance, examples of blood sacrifice in Moche art portray its victims as bound and nude. Unlike the Aztecs, who would dress individuals destined for sacrifice in the attire associated with deities, people sacrificed by the Moche demonstrated no such affiliations.

Klein's (1986, 1988a, 1988b, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c) identification of the socio-political significance of Aztec deity impersonation also proves informative in a discussion of that performed by the Moche. In a particularly cogent example, she found that a special class of

priests known as Chachalmeca would don masks that represented Tlaloc, the Aztec god of rain, in ritual ceremonies (Klein 1988b). The Chachalmeca originated from one of the oldest and most prestigious neighborhoods in the Aztec capital, and the priests themselves are believed to have belonged to one of the original tribes that migrated to the Valley of Mexico from Aztlán (Klein 1988b: 28). Diego Duran (1971[completed circa 1574-1576]: 91), a Dominican friar writing in the early colonial period observed that the influence of the Chachalmeca was passed down along hereditary lines, which Klein found to be evidence that they were elite lineages similar to those of Aztec kings. It is possible, that, like the Aztecs, Moche deity impersonation was performed by members of powerful lineages. This is further discussed in Chapter 3.

Given the considerable importance placed on deity impersonation by the Moche, my use of the word “deity” is worth defining. John Monaghan (2000: 25), in a discussion of Mesoamerican religions, found that Mesoamericans did not separate faith from practice. Monaghan (2000: 26) stated, “unlike the Judeo-Christian tradition, where God is a unique and transcendent divinity, in Mesoamerica the universe is not distinct from divinity.” Thus, he found Mesoamerican religions to be of a “unitary nature.” But, how can such a monistic belief system incorporate a seemingly endless cast of characters in the form of multiple deities such as those found throughout Maya and Aztec art? Hermann Beyer (1965: 398) suggested that the vast number of Mesoamerican deities did not represent an expansive polytheistic religion; rather they were aspects of a single god. Monaghan (2000: 27) described this as “pantheism.”

There is insufficient evidence at present to determine whether Moche religion was pantheistic or polytheistic. Regardless of whether supernatural figures were conceptualized by the Moche as different facets of a monistic religion, or belonged to a polytheistic pantheon, I contend that their frequent presence in Moche art and evidence of their impersonation in Moche

rituals indicate that they were deified and that reverence of them was integral to the power strategies of Moche politics.

In addition to performances, painted ceramics also proved to be ideal vehicles for disseminating the ruling ideology, as these objects could be mass produced and exported to distant sites using relatively inexpensive materials. By supervising their production and distribution, Moche rulers would have been able to control the transfer of esoteric knowledge and keep it in the hands of their trusted friends and relatives. DeMarais et al. (1996: 25-26) argued that such control of esoteric knowledge is demonstrated by the closed iconographic repertoire and artistic style that characterized Moche ceramics. The Moche did not live in a cultural vacuum, and the presence of Moche artifacts from as far south as the Rimac Valley (Stümer 1958) and as far north as the Piura Valley (Rowe 1942) suggests that they interacted with foreign groups. Despite the wide geographic distribution of Moche artifacts, and with the exception of San José de Moro ceramics, Moche fineline painting exhibits little influence from foreign techniques or subjects. Such isolationism in terms of style and subject matter was interpreted by DeMarais et al (1996: 26) to indicate that the Moche preferred to reject outside influences because these would have lessened the impact of their own ruling ideology.

The idea first put forward by DeMarais et al. that Moche rulers utilized a dominant ideology in their power strategy has been adopted by other scholars. Like DeMarais et al., however, they have continued to treat Moche ideology as a singular, unified political ethos (Chapdelaine 2011; DeMarais et al. 1996; Donnan 2010; Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999; Jackson 2000, 2008; Quilter 1997, 2002; Swenson 2003; Uceda 2001). This was most recently demonstrated in Donnan's 2010 proposal of the existence of a "Moche State Religion." Although he did not explicitly state that Moche ideology itself was a single, uniform program, Donnan interpreted Moche art in terms of a pan-Moche religion. For instance, he found the Warrior

Narrative to be the focus of a “highly organized religious institution” (Donnan 2010: 58).

Donnan’s reference to Moche religion as singular, as opposed to plural, implies that he sees the ideological program present in Moche art as monolithic in nature.

Only in rare instances has the possibility of multiple Moche ideologies been addressed. Garth Bawden (2004) proposed that new variants of Moche ideology arose out of the collapse of Huacas de Moche during the Middle Moche period (AD 300-600).³ He argued that north of the Pampa de Paján, Moche leaders incorporated new, foreign beliefs into their ideological program in order to fill the void left by their loss in faith in the ideology instituted at Huacas de Moche. For instance, he noted that Wari-inspired motifs present in San José de Moro ceramic decorations may have resulted from an attempt by this site’s elites to retain support from its populace after the traditional belief system was found to be ineffective (Bawden 2004: 128; also in Castillo 2000a, 2001a). Changes also took place at sites within the Moche Valley, such as at Galindo, where the near-total absence of Moche narrative decorations and portrait head vessels, according to Bawden, suggests an intentional departure from the program in use at Huacas de Moche (Bawden 2001: 296). In contrast to the narrative designs that had decorated the majority of vessels from Huacas de Moche, Bawden observed, the ceramics at Galindo tended to be decorated with geometric designs. Greg Lockard’s (2009b) study of ceramic fragments confirmed this. Lockard (2009b: 200) found that 70% of recovered fineline ceramics at Galindo contained geometric designs, whereas only 12.7% had figural (narrative) motifs (discussed in further detail in Chapter 4). Bawden (2001: 298) believed that decorating fine ceramics with geometric designs, as opposed to narrative motifs, was an intentional act used to promote a new ideological program instituted by the rulers at Galindo.

³ Bawden’s (2004) reference of a collapse at Huacas de Moche here corresponds to the end of Uceda’s (2010) theocratic phase at the site.

In his discussion of small ceremonial sites in the hinterlands of the Jequetepeque Valley, Ed Swenson (2008) also presented evidence for the existence of multiple Moche ideologies. He argued that sites throughout the valley performed unique ceremonies, each of which was suited to the spread of a local ideology supporting a local power base. Although excavations and surface surveys of these sites yielded fragments of San José de Moro fineline painting, thereby suggesting participation in a pan-valley ideological program, variant designs of the ceremonial platforms at these sites demonstrated that rituals were performed according to local custom (Mauricio 2004; Swenson 2004). For instance, Swenson (2008: 417; 2006: 125, 129) observed that platforms at the site of San Ildefonso in the Jequetepeque Valley allude to linear movements of participants up the structures, whereas those at Catalina, a site of comparable size, are indicative of processions along a winding path of lateral movements along ramps and across terraces. He found this to be evidence of local leaders inventing new traditions that “constituted a viable ideological strategy” for their polity (Swenson 2008: 418). Swenson (2008: 408) even suggested that local variations in ideologies were endemic to the Moche area and that the Jequetepeque Valley was but a “microcosm” of the Moche’s utilization of ideology as a whole, although he never applied this to the differences in Moche fineline painting styles.

Methods for Using Fineline Painting Substyles as a Resource for Understanding Moche Political Organizations

In accordance with the argument set forth by DeMarais et al. (1996) that decorated ceramics are manifestations of Moche political ideology, I argue that the regional substyles of Moche fineline painting should be interpreted as manifestations of *different political ideologies*. From this it follows that the analysis of fineline painted ceramics provides an opportunity to begin to reconstruct the ideologies of various Moche polities.

Mary Braithwaite (1984: 94) rightly observed that, “The exact content of belief systems may be irretrievable from the archaeological record, but their operation is not. Through awareness of the significance of prestige in social and material practices it is possible to take account of just such a notion of belief.” Following Braithwaite, rather than analyzing fineline painted decorations in order to ascertain their symbolic meaning within an irretrievable Moche cosmology, I use fineline painting as a means to investigate the character of political regimes. I view traditions of Moche fineline painting as products of distinct Moche groups. Thus, while the particular meaning of fineline painted imagery may continue to elude us, it is possible to identify the particular characteristics of individual Moche polities through comparison of the form and content of their art.

From the perspective that the vessel forms, subject matter, and style of painting within individual substyles were tailored to the preferences of local ruling regimes, it becomes possible to identify differences among these regimes through a comparison of their traditions of fineline painting. Recognizing that the most recent studies of Moche political organization outlined above suggest that the Moche were likely organized as a number of different polities during the Late Moche Period, the remainder of this dissertation is devoted to differentiating the belief systems put forth by the governments of the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities.

I will do so by observing similarities and differences among fineline painting traditions. By analyzing and comparing the characteristics of the vessel forms and imagery of distinct fineline painted substyles, I find that it is possible to access the similarities and differences among the dominant ideologies of their governments. Correspondences of subject and form among fineline painted substyles can be interpreted as evidence for interaction and shared beliefs among their ruling regimes. For instance, the depiction of the same mythical character in two or

more substyles of fineline painting is evidence that the same deities were revered by their societies. Similarly, the portrayal of the same activities among decorations of different painted substyles alludes to the correspondence in the activities that were likely practiced by their local populations. Thus, fineline painting offers an opportunity to identify common beliefs and activities that were performed among distinct Moche polities.

Finally, another avenue through which the recognition of shared artistic elements across different substyles may be used to advance Moche studies is placement of these images in chronological order. Once related images are recognized as belonging to separate substyles, it becomes possible to analyze them in regards to which type was created first. A technique for doing so was demonstrated using ancient Greek pottery, where the development of Corinthian vase painting was identified through an analysis of vessel forms and painted decorations. In Chapter 5, I describe Humfry Payne's (1931) strategy for creating his relative chronology of Corinthian pottery and apply it to my sample of Moche fineline painting. This comparison of parallel artistic elements in the Huacas de Moche, San José de Moro and Late Chicama substyles will result in a proposed relative chronology for these Moche fineline painting traditions.

Summary:

Currently, the Moche political landscape is thought to have been fragmented, with multiple polities interacting in the Northern Moche Region and a major polity based out of Huacas de Moche, operating south of the Pampa de Paiján. Scholars believe that within these polities, the propagation of ideology played a significant role in the maintenance of power by ruling Moche elites, and that Moche decorated ceramics were manifestations of that ideology (DeMarais et al. 1996). A comparison of the propagandistic images in fineline painted substyles therefore presents an opportunity to compare the power strategies utilized by different ruling

regimes. The following chapters will identify the relationships among these distinct polities through an interpretation of the similarities and differences between their fineline painted traditions.

Chapter 3. The Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro Fineline Painting Substyles

In the previous chapter I identified the use of ideology as a main source of Moche political power. Furthermore, I observed that the recent identification of different substyles of Moche fineline painting, and their attribution to individual polities, provide a new opportunity to compare the belief systems instituted by the political regimes that produced them. This chapter solidifies that position by strengthening the case for the existence of two different artistic programs, one at Huacas de Moche and one at San José de Moro. I do so by first arguing that all fineline decorated ceramic vessels belonging to Larco Hoyle Phase III and Larco Hoyle Phase IV categories represent a single Huacas de Moche style. I then outline and describe the San José de Moro ceramic style, which I find to differ in vessel form, artistic style and subject matter from Huacas de Moche examples. As a result, I conclude that Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline painted ceramics represent two distinct traditions, each with its own unique characteristics.

The Sample

The sample used in this dissertation was collected in over two years of research in Los Angeles and Peru. The images in it come from excavation reports by members of the Huaca de la Luna Archaeological Project (HLAP), the digital archive of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project (SJMAP), the digital archive at the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera in Lima, the Moche Archive at UCLA (which has since been moved to the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections in Washington D.C.), the online catalog of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, as well as additional published specimens. In all, 66 vessels came from publications by excavators of the Huaca de la Luna Archaeological Project, 52 from the San José de Moro Archaeological Project, 163 from the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, 2,159 from the

Moche Archive at UCLA, 48 from the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, and 45 from other published sources (See Appendix A for a complete listing of these artifacts).

Because at present the corpus of scientifically excavated examples of Moche art was not sufficiently large for my analysis, I have occasionally referenced objects that are housed in private collections. In each of these cases, I have expressly stated that the object has no known context. Furthermore, I have not illustrated any vessel currently housed in a private collection. While I believe that there is scholarly value in studying all known Moche objects, the illicit looting of Moche artifacts ruins forever our ability to fully understand the context of the piece.

The Huacas de Moche Fineline Painting Tradition

Christopher Donnan (in press) has recently recognized that the decorated ceramics belonging to Larco Hoyle Phase IV belong to the Huacas de Moche substyle of fineline painting. As previously noted, the name “Huacas de Moche style” is derived from the site of Huacas de Moche, which is located 4 kilometers outside of the present day city of Trujillo (Donnan in press). Although this style of painted ceramics has been found in significant quantities at other sites in the Moche, Chicama and Virú valleys, it is found in the greatest numbers at Huacas de Moche. Previously, in the single, unilinear evolution of Moche fineline painting these ceramics, which are touted for their high degree of naturalism and wide range of subject matter, were considered to represent the “Classical Period” (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999). Due to the fact that Phase III and Phase IV fineline vessels are present at the same sites and share similarities in form, content and painted designs, I extend Donnan’s definition of the Huacas de Moche substyle to include painted ceramics with both Phase III and Phase IV ceramics.

Huacas de Moche Phase III Fineline Decorations

Decorations belonging to the Huacas de Moche Phase III category of fineline painting present a number of distinguishing characteristics. Their most diagnostic trait—that which best allows for the identification of Huacas de Moche Phase III—is the vessel form that they decorate. Specifically, as previously noted by Rafael Larco Hoyle (1948) and Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999), Phase III designs are defined by their presence on stirrup spout bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase III upper spouts. My own analysis of provenanced and unprovenanced examples has not presented any reason to revise this method for identifying Huacas de Moche Phase III decorations.

In addition to basing the identification of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decorations on the shape of the vessels they decorate, the images themselves present several distinguishing traits. First, artists of this style tended to work in silhouette. Unlike Huacas de Moche Phase IV or San José de Moro fineline designs, in which nearly all figures are painted in outline, those pertaining to Huacas de Moche Phase III are made with solid blocks of color (Figure 3.1). Second, human forms are painted in a relatively naturalistic mode, although their proportions are altered. For instance, Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 49) observed that human heads tend to be oversized in Huacas de Moche Phase III and that they often account for one-third of the overall size of human figures. In nearly all examples, the torsos are depicted in frontal view, but heads, hands, and feet were rendered in profile.

The subject matter of Huacas de Moche Phase III designs, which is more restricted than that of Huacas de Moche Phase IV, includes scenes of human activity as well as those involving mythological creatures. Some of the popular artistic motifs depict battles involving human warriors and various scenes involving a deity known today as “Wrinkle Face.” Wrinkle Face, who is the most important figure in Huacas de Moche Phase III (Donnan and Donna McClelland

1999: 64) and, arguably all of Huacas de Moche fineline painting, has a human body, but features a grotesque face with fangs. He is involved in a variety of ceremonial activities although he is most often depicted in the so-called Supernatural Confrontation scene in which he engages in one-on-one battles with anthropomorphic maritime creatures (discussed in further detail below).

The compositions of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decorations tend to be simple. Although several examples of complex scenes involving multiple figures exist, the vast majority of Huacas de Moche Phase III designs consists of a single figure repeated on the front and back of a stirrup spout bottle. Compared to Huacas de Moche Phase IV, San José de Moro and Late Chicama artists, Huacas de Moche Phase III artists used wider brushstrokes with less precision.

Huacas de Moche Phase IV Fineline Decorations

Like that of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decorations, the most diagnostic trait of Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painting is designs populating stirrup spout bottles belonging to Huacas de Moche Phase IV in the Larco Hoyle ceramic seriation. These vessels feature upper spouts with tall parallel walls (Larco Hoyle 1948; Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999; Figure 2.1). Again, analysis of the Huacas de Moche Phase IV decorated ceramics in my sample suggests that this is an appropriate manner for classifying these fineline decorations.

Huacas de Moche Phase IV decorations are known for their refined brushstrokes and the high degree of naturalism in their designs. Although the level of skill in the craftsmanship of the decorations can vary, in general Huacas de Moche Phase IV decorations are composed with even, thin lines. Huacas de Moche Phase IV decorations present the widest range of subject matter of any Moche fineline painting category (See Table 1). The subjects of Huacas de Moche Phase IV finelines cover a multitude of activities featuring human or supernatural participants,

and in some cases both. Human enterprises portrayed in Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline designs include domestic pursuits such as women weaving at looms, men hunting sea lions and deer, soldiers engaged in battle and messengers running across the mountainous or desert landscapes with pouches in their hands. Although there are numerous scenes involving humans participating in different undertakings, the planting and harvesting of agricultural crops do not appear to have warranted being recorded in fineline painting. This suggests that only certain subjects were so worthy and suggests that fineline painted subject matter was regulated.

Huacas de Moche Phase IV style fineline painted decorations also depict a range of subjects featuring supernatural figures. As was the case for Huacas de Moche Phase III, the most popular supernatural character is Wrinkle Face. In Huacas de Moche Phase IV, he is shown participating in new activities such as the Bean and Stick Ceremony, in which he and an anthropomorphic Iguana are seated across from one another manipulating beans and sticks, or the Copulation Ceremony in which Wrinkle Face copulates with a human female in front of a procession of women and anthropomorphized birds. In addition to Wrinkle Face, Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 110) noted that a wide array of new anthropomorphic animals appear in Huacas de Moche Phase IV decorations. Added to the cast of anthropomorphic characters portrayed in Huacas de Moche Phase III were over a dozen new species ranging from snakes and centipedes to bats and octopuses. These creatures are most often depicted in scenes of Ritual Running, although they are also featured in the Supernatural Confrontation scene.

Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline artists had a standard technique for depicting the human form, which was also used when portraying anthropomorphic animals. In a continuation of the Huacas de Moche Phase III tradition, with rare exception, heads and limbs are shown in profile with chests and waists depicted in frontal view. Huacas de Moche Phase IV artists also employed methods for indicating perspective. They either made distant objects smaller or used

overlap to show that one object was closer than the other (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 100; Figure 3.2).

Finally, Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted decorations demonstrate a tendency towards open compositions. The figures and decorative elements are evenly spaced and facilitate the viewer's ability to recognize them. In addition to the ease with which these decorations can be viewed, the compositions tend to wrap around the body of the vessel, which provides space for complex designs with multiple focal points. In other examples scenes are simplified, with a single motif duplicated on both sides of the chamber. Such techniques allowed Huacas de Moche artists the ability to either depict an elaborate scene or present a simple, highly focused design.

Sites Where Huacas de Moche Phase III Fineline Decorated Pottery Have Been Found

Since the vast majority of studies of fineline painting have relied almost entirely upon unprovenanced material, it is important to consider the geographic distribution of fineline painted decorations when available. Although vessels with Larco Hoyle Phase III spouts have been found at sites in the Lambayeque (Alva and Donnan 1993) and Jequetepeque Valleys (Donnan and Cock 1997; Castillo 2001a), those decorated with Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline are limited to sites south of the Pampa de Paján. The vast majority of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline pottery originates in the Moche and Chicama Valleys.

In the Moche Valley, large quantities of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline have been discovered at Huacas de Moche. Within the site, Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decorated pottery has been found inside the Huaca de la Luna structure (Uceda et al. 2002: 222), in the urban sector between the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca del Sol (Chapdelaine et al. 2001), as well as atop the Huaca del Sol (Topic 1977). It is most often found in burial contexts, although

examples of fineline fragments are also noted to have come from construction fill (i.e. Armas 2002: 190).

Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline vessels are also attributed to a number of Chicama Valley sites. Thirty-two Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decorated objects from the collection at the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera are attributed the Chicama Valley sites of Ascope, Facalá, Paiján and Sausal. Elías Mujica et al. (2007: 186) also reported the presence of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline painting at Huaca Cao at El Brujo in the Chicama Valley. Furthermore, Michele Koons (personal communication 2010) indicated that a single Huacas de Moche Phase III fragment was found at the Chicama Valley site Licapa II.

For the Virú Valley Steve Bourget (2010: 212) reported finding no Huacas de Moche Phase III pottery in his four years of excavation at Huancaco, yet earlier excavations carried out by Wendell Bennett (1939) had revealed the existence of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decorated objects at Huaca de la Cruz. In the Santa Valley, El Castillo, Guadalupito and several small sites (Guad-88, Guad-132 and Guad-127) were found to have Huacas de Moche Phase III ceramics (Donnan 1973; Chapdelaine 2010; Wilson 1988).

Sites Where Huacas de Moche Phase IV Pottery Has Been Found

Like that of Huacas de Moche Phase III, Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painting is found throughout the southern valleys of the North Coast. As noted above, Huacas de Moche Phase IV is perhaps most commonly associated with the site of Huacas de Moche. Over 100 years of archaeological excavations performed at the site have continued to produce examples of this Moche art form (Larco Hoyle n.d., Donnan and Mackey 1978, Uceda et al. 1997, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003a, 2003b, 2004, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008). Beyond Huacas de Moche, however, this pottery type has also been excavated at sites throughout the Chicama Valley:

Pampa de Chicama (Bennett 1939), Salamanca (Bennett 1939; Larco Hoyle n.d.), Sausal, Facalá, Ascope, Paiján, El Brujo (Mujica et al. 2007), Licapa II (Koons, personal communication 2010) and Casa Grande (DeBock 1999). The quality and quantity of Huacas de Moche Phase IV finelines attributed to the Chicama Valley suggest a close adherence to this art style in the area. In addition to the Chicama Valley, Huacas de Moche Phase IV finelines have been excavated at Huaca de la Cruz (Strong and Evans 1952) in the Virú Valley and at Pampa Blanca (Donnan 1973), Pampa de los Incas (Donnan 1973), El Castillo (Chapdelaine 2008; Donnan 1973) and Guadalupito (Chapdelaine 2008; Donnan 1973) in the Santa Valley. Huacas de Moche Phase IV has also been identified at Pañamarca in the Nepeña Valley (Proulx 1968, 1973; Lisa Trever personal communication 2011), while trace amounts have been found in the Casma Valley and sites to the south (Bonavia 1982; Pozorski and Pozorski 1998; Wilson 1995).

Summary of the Huacas de Moche Style:

There are several factors that suggest that Larco Hoyle Phase III and Larco Hoyle Phase IV fineline painted pottery belong to the same artistic tradition. Not only did these two ceramic categories present similarities in vessel forms, artistic style and content but they were also found to come from the same archaeological sites. The fact that Huacas de Moche Phase III examples are consistently found in stratigraphic contexts below Huacas de Moche Phase IV indicates that they preceded Huacas de Moche Phase IV in time (Chapdelaine et al. 2001; Uceda 2010). Thus, Huacas de Moche Phase III and Huacas de Moche Phase IV vessels should be considered to constitute a single substyle of Moche fineline painting that had two temporal phases.

The San José de Moro Fineline Painting Substyle

Previously considered to belong to the same category as other substyles on vessels with Larco Hoyle Phase V spouts, San José de Moro fineline painting is now thought to represent its own substyle (Castillo 2009a; Donnan in press; Donna McClelland et al. 2007). San José de Moro is located about 2km north of the modern town of Chepen, in the Jequetepeque Valley. This site, which is primarily known for its elite cemetery and as a location of periodic *chicha* production, has been largely destroyed by looting and reclamation by local residents (Castillo 2001a). Thus, we only have a fragmented perspective of its past. The site has several monumental structures, such as Huaca Chodoff, although these have been so heavily looted that nearly all attempts at archaeological inquiry are precluded.

San José de Moro is best known as the home of a series of elaborate Moche female burials. As noted above, the occupants of these burials have been identified as real-life correlates to the figure in Moche iconography referred to as “The Priestess,” or Figure “C,” of the Sacrifice Ceremony. It is noteworthy that in contrast to contemporary Moche sites in the Jequetepeque Valley, San José de Moro has no defensive architecture. This has been interpreted to signify San José de Moro’s role as a neutral location reserved for ceremonies that was chosen from other, potentially contentious sites strewn throughout the valley (Castillo 2000a, 2010a; Swenson n.d.).

As we have seen in the identification of Huacas de Moche Phase III and Huacas de Moche Phase IV designs, fineline painting styles are often identified by the vessel forms they decorate. Thus, it is not surprising that San José de Moro ceramics were once confused with the same fineline category as those of the Late Chicama tradition, since like San José de Moro finelines, Late Chicama decorations are typically found on stirrup spout vessels with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts. Despite previous misinterpretations of the material record, artifacts scientifically excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project, as well as reevaluations

of unprovenanced examples, demonstrate that several characteristics distinguish San José de Moro painted decorations from other Moche substyles.

Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 188), whose monograph *Fineline Painting from San José de Moro* provides a thorough description of the San José de Moro fineline painting style, suggested that this artistic style is best characterized by its tendency for abstraction. They noted that the naturalistic representations of real life objects popular in the Southern Moche Region and encompassing Huacas de Moche Phases III and IV and what I refer to as the Late Chicama style, were of little interest to the Moche at San José de Moro. Instead, most of the subject matter of San José de Moro fineline decorations involves supernatural activities. These include motifs such as the aforementioned Supernatural Confrontation scene, and the Bean and Stick Ceremony, in which Wrinkle Face and an Anthropomorphized Iguana holds sticks while beans are laid out between them. Unlike the Huacas de Moche painting tradition, in which a wide swath of their lives and beliefs are projected onto fineline painted imagery, the Moche working in the San José de Moro style represent supernatural subjects almost exclusively. The San José de Moro substyle nonetheless presents a much smaller iconographic repertoire than is featured in the Huacas de Moche style (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 29). In contrast to the Huacas de Moche style, in which 59 different motifs were portrayed, the San José de Moro style only had 33 different designs (See Table 1).

Another common trait of San José de Moro style ceramic decorations is the presence of an artistic motif known as the “weapon bundle.” Weapon bundles are compound elements composed of the wardrobe and accessories of warriors (Figure 3.3). They tend to have a circular or rectangular shield in their center, with a war club directly behind it. Several elements can appear around the war club, including a headdress, a backflap, a tunic, a spear, a spear-thrower, and a sling. Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 26) found that over half of all known San José de

Moro bottles have the weapon bundle on the spout. Rather than having been incorporated into the rest of the scene, the bundle's placement on the upper spout, set apart from the other images, appears to identify it as a symbol to be read on its own. Although not all San José de Moro bottles have a weapon bundle on their upper spouts, these motifs are rarely portrayed on bottles in other fineline substyles, where in most cases they are incorporated into other images in the scene.

In addition to abstraction, San José de Moro fineline painted decorations feature a penchant for *horror vacui*. San José de Moro artists covered their compositions with small “filler elements,” generally circles or dots. In the otherwise open spaces between principal images, the use of “filler elements” is so rampant that in some cases they obscure the viewer's ability to effectively read the image (Figure 3.4). This contrasts with the openwork common to Huacas de Moche designs in which evenly spaced images promotes one’s ability to clearly apprehend the painted scene.

Although human activity is generally not represented in San José de Moro fineline decorations, the rare depiction of humans and the more frequent humanoid bodies of anthropomorphic creatures allow for a discussion of their artists’ treatment of the human form. For the most part, the rules applied to the portrayal of humans in Huacas de Moche Phases III and IV were also applied in the San José de Moro style: heads and appendages are rendered in profile, whereas torsos are in frontal view. Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 76) noted that a unique way of depicting seated figures was sometimes utilized in the San José de Moro fineline style. This cross-legged seated position is featured, however, only in scenes of the Bean and Stick Ceremony (Figure 3.5). Another unique representation of the human form in the San José de Moro substyle transforms the body into an abstract “U”-shape. Most often seen in scenes of the Crescent Boat as well as the Burial Theme, this innovation by San José de Moro artists

portrays human heads in profile, with the body taking the form of an amorphous blob. A horizontal bar midway through the blob is all that separates the figure's arms from its legs and is the only indication of a torso (Figure 3.6).

Another unique feature of the San José de Moro fineline painting tradition is the vessel forms and artistic motifs adopted from the Wari culture. The Wari, whose influence spread across the Andes from their capital in the Central Highlands of Peru from around AD 650, created an art style that was partially adopted by the Moche at San José de Moro. Moche-Wari hybrids present a blend of the two ceramic traditions (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 27; Castillo 2000a). In several examples, Moche designs were found on a traditional Wari ceramic form known as the double spout and bridge bottle. Among the Moche, this vessel form is exclusive to the San José de Moro substyle, but is also found in Wari-Nasca hybrids in the Nasca region along Peru's Southern Coast, which was contemporary with the Moche. In addition to the use of Wari vessel forms, San José de Moro artists also adopted the Wari technique of polychrome painting. In contrast to the traditional Moche use of maroon pigment on a cream background, San José de Moro artists in several cases worked with yellow, black, white, red and blue to create colorful compositions.

San José de Moro's artists also introduced Wari-influenced designs into their iconographic repertoire. Two new motifs, the so-called "Chakipampa Serpent" and the "Rhombus," were used by San José de Moro artists (Castillo 2000a; Figure 3.7). The Chakipampa Serpent derives its name from the highland Wari site where similar designs were first found (Castillo 2000a: 170). This latter motif is a clear example of an imported, non-Moche element that was quickly adopted by San José de Moro. In contrast, the Rhombus has less clear origins and may be an adaptation of traditional Wari imagery. Luis Jaime Castillo (2000a: 170) suggested that it may be related to a crab-like motif at Chakipampa.

Castillo proposed different stages in the development of pottery at San José de Moro, beginning with what he refers to as Middle Moche ceramics. Middle Moche ceramics belong to the intermediary phase in Castillo and Donnan's (1994) chronology for Northern Moche pottery. These vessels, which are thought to be contemporary with Huacas de Moche Phase III ceramics in the Southern Moche region, tend to have crudely painted designs. In contrast, ceramics belonging to the subsequent Late Moche period demonstrate a prowess in skill comparable to those of Huacas de Moche Phase IV. Castillo (2000a) argued that Late Moche fineline painting at San José de Moro was composed of three subphases: A, B, and C. Late Moche "A," which marks the appearance of fineline painting at the site, also represents the appearance of imported ceramics such as those of the Wari. In Late Moche "B," San José de Moro artists began to make local copies of foreign ceramics and experimented with modifying their designs— as demonstrated in the creation of the Rhombus motif. In contrast, Late Moche "C" marks the proliferation of hybrid designs and polychrome; the Rhombus and the Chakipampa Serpent were particularly popular decorations (Castillo 2000a: 160).

It is noteworthy that Moche-Wari hybrids are present among the earliest examples of fineline painting at San José de Moro. This indicates that influence from outside cultures appeared alongside the introduction of Moche fineline painting at the site. Thus, at San José de Moro we find differences from the Huacas de Moche style, not only in the range of subjects depicted in their art, but also a willingness from its inception to incorporate foreign designs in fineline painting decorations. The inclusion of Wari designs is significant as it not only represents the adoption of foreign techniques and imagery, but also indicates that the ideological program at San José de Moro drew from outside the Moche sphere for inspiration, a trait not exhibited in any other Moche substyle.

Sites Where the San José de Moro Fineline Style Pottery Has Been Found:

Although a handful of vessels belonging to the San José de Moro substyle have been discovered at sites as far south as the Rimac Valley near Lima (Stümer 1958) and as far north as the Piura Valley (Rowe 1942), this fineline painted substyle is found in great concentrations only within the Jequetepeque Valley. San José de Moro has yielded the largest quantities of these ceramics and for that reason is the type site for this category.

To date, a ceramic workshop has not been discovered at San José de Moro, but the fact that the vast majority of examples of this substyle has been discovered in and around the site indicates that it was the heartland of the San José de Moro fineline tradition. Nonetheless, San José de Moro substyle pottery has been found at sites throughout the Jequetepeque Valley, including San Ildefonso, Portachuelo de Charcape, and Cerro Chepen, as well as numerous other rural settlements (Castillo personal communication 2010; Mauricio 2004; Swenson 2004).

In rare cases, San José de Moro style ceramics have also been attributed to sites within the Chicama Valley. Figure 3.8 presents two such examples that are housed today in the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera's collection and were presumably discovered in Larco Hoyle's personal excavations. Figure 3.8a illustrates a double spout and bridge vessel with Moche painting, which has been assigned to the site of Ascope. The painted designs identify the vessel as belonging to the Moche culture generally while its double spout and bridge form indicates its affiliation with the San José de Moro substyle. Similarly, the stirrup spout bottle in Figure 3.8b has all of the hallmarks of a San José de Moro vessel but is attributed to Paiján. This vessel, which has a Phase V spout and a ringed base, also features a weapon bundle on its spout and portrays the Crescent Boat scene—a motif unique to the San José de Moro substyle. Koons (personal communication 2010) reported that her surface survey of Licapa II in the Chicama Valley yielded several

ceramic fragments decorated with San José de Moro fineline painting as well.

The distribution of small quantities of San José de Moro style pottery across the North Coast is also demonstrated by Donnan's (1973) discovery of a stirrup spout bottle resembling this style in the Santa Valley (Figure 3.9b). Although the fact that its design is geometric is rare for the San José de Moro substyle (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 151 cited only two examples in existence) this vessel bears a close resemblance to one excavated from San José de Moro (Figure 3.9a). Both stirrup spout bottles feature Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts, chambers with angular equators and ringed bases. Furthermore, their painted designs both incorporate rectangular elements in which sinuous lines separate triangular elements. It is noteworthy that this object is unique as this indicates that there was not a large San José de Moro presence in the Santa Valley.

The resulting picture is that San José de Moro fineline painting was concentrated at the type site and elsewhere within the Jequetepeque Valley, but present in limited concentrations at other sites within and beyond the North Coast. Considering the wide distribution of Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro style ceramics, it is significant that neither style was found at both sites. This suggests that each site avoided the other's pottery style. Yet, the inclusion of San José de Moro wares in the material record at Chicama Valley sites provides evidence of these sites' interaction with San José de Moro. The relationship between the fineline painting traditions of these two Moche groups is further explored in Chapter 4.

Comparing the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro substyles

Now that the characteristics of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro substyles have been established, it is possible to compare their features. An analysis of these two fineline painting substyles makes it clear that there are significant differences between them. This

supports their identification as two distinct artistic categories. These differences are most visible in the vessel forms, painting styles and subject matter of each substyle.

Differences in Vessel Form:

In general, Moche fineline painting appears to have been limited to so-called “fineware” ceramics. Unlike coarsely made “domestic ceramics,” a category composed largely of cooking pots and storage vessels, fineline painted decorations populate the surfaces of delicate ceramics made with refined clays and having thin walls. These forms appear to have had a high degree of significance in Moche culture due to the skill used in their construction and decoration.

The specific forms of Moche “fineware” ceramics that are decorated with fineline painting appear to have varied according to regional substyles (summarized in Table 2). For instance, Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 39, 42) noted that the corpus of Phase III fineline painted ceramics, which I identify as belonging to the Huacas de Moche style, included stirrup spout bottles, dippers, jars and flaring bowls. In general, stirrup spout bottles (also known as stirrup spout vessels as well as *botellas de asa estribo*) tend to have globular chambers with a tubular handle extending from the top and ending in a vertical upper spout. Fineline decorations often circumnavigate the vessel’s chamber but can also cover the upper spout. Dippers (sometimes referred to in older publications with the inaccurate and misleading name “corn poppers” or “*cancheros*”) are vessels with an oblate chamber and a long hollow handle (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 42). On Huacas de Moche Phase III dippers Moche artists decorated the tops and/or bottoms with fineline decorations. Jars make up the most loosely defined ceramic category. They include a wide range of forms that generally have large chambers and narrow openings. Like stirrup spout bottles, fineline decorations on jars tend to circumnavigate the vessel’s chamber. Flaring bowls (also known as *floreros*) are open vessels

with small bases and walls that widen toward the top. Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 42) noted it was common for Huacas de Moche Phase III artists to decorate both the inner and outer walls of flaring bowls.

In the subsequent Phase IV period of the Huacas de Moche style, many of the same vessel forms were painted in the fineline technique, but the rules for the surface areas that could be decorated changed. For instance, whereas Huacas de Moche Phase III dippers are painted on either the top or the bottom, only the bottoms of Huacas de Moche Phase IV dippers have fineline decorations (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 76). Furthermore, the decorations on Huacas de Moche Phase IV flaring bowls tend to be on their interior walls as opposed to their Huacas de Moche Phase III counterparts, where both the inner and outer walls were painted. Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 80) observed that new ceramic forms were decorated with fineline painting in Huacas de Moche Phase IV. These included spout and handle bottles, pedestal bowls, and boxes. Huacas de Moche Phase IV spout and handle bottles have chambers similar to those on stirrup spout bottles, but instead of a curvilinear handle spout, they sport a vertical shaft. Like stirrup spout bottles, the chambers of these vessels are painted although the spouts rarely receive decoration (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 80). Huacas de Moche Phase IV pedestal bowls are small bowls with a long, pedestal-like base. The outer wall is the only surface of this ceramic form that is commonly painted. Huacas de Moche Phase IV ceramic boxes are made of a long, walled base that is covered with a matching lid. As with pedestal bowls, they are painted only on the outer walls, although the lids of these containers are occasionally decorated with three-dimensional modeled figures.

A number of ceramic types common to the Huacas de Moche style are not present in vessels decorated with the San José de Moro substyle of Moche fineline painting. Although the Moche at San José de Moro commonly decorated stirrup spout bottles and jars with fineline

painting, there are only rare examples of spout and handle bottles, and flaring bowls are wholly absent from the archaeological and art historical record (Donna McClelland et al. 2007; Castillo 2001a). Although San José de Moro artists did not utilize several of the previously established Moche ceramic types, they decorated several new forms: the double spout and bridge bottle, flasks and goblets. Double spout and bridge bottles have chambers similar to those of stirrup spout bottles, although instead of a curvilinear handle with an upper spout, they feature two tubular shafts extending at angles like television antennae and a “bridge” that connects them. The spouts are not often decorated, but the upper portion of the bridges occasionally exhibit fineline painting. Although there is a unique example of a flask decorated with purely Moche designs (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 14), other San José de Moro flasks often feature Wari-influenced painted designs. The flasks are canteen-shaped vessels with frontal and back faces, and short sides. They generally have short, wide-mouth spouts that appear to facilitate drinking.

For the San José de Moro style there is a lone example of a goblet with fineline painting. This ceramic vessel is reminiscent of that offered to the central figure in the Sacrifice Ceremony (Figure “A”). Significantly, it was excavated from a burial whose occupant appears to be associated with the Priestess, or Figure “C” from the Sacrifice Ceremony, who is discussed in greater detail below (Donnan and Castillo 1992).

Although three phases of San José de Moro style fineline painting have been identified, for the most part the same vessel types were used over time. All vessel forms decorated with fineline painting in Phases B and C were already present in Phase A (Castillo 2000a: 158, 162). The only change comes in the fact that stirrup spout bottles were no longer decorated with fineline painting in Phase C. Although unpainted examples of these vessels appear in the post-Moche, Transitional Phase at San José de Moro, Moche artists refrained from using this technique after Late Moche Phase B (Castillo 2000a: 162).

Moche vessel forms decorated with fineline painting are presented by substyle in Table 2. It is clear that there are significant differences in the types of vessel forms and the ways in which these forms were decorated. Idiosyncratic vessel forms used in the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro styles suggest that there were contrasting ways in which artists of each style and the polity responsible for their manufacture approached fineline painting. In other words, the control of fineline painting by ruling regimes to further their political ambitions was played out not only in their use of particular images they depicted and the way in they were rendered, but also in the types of vessel forms these decorations populated.

Differences in Painting Style

In addition to using different vessel forms, the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline painting styles also differ in the ways in which they represent the same subject matter. One particularly impressive example of a shared artistic element that is rendered differently in the two substyles is the so-called “Circular Creature.” This anthropomorphic deity combines traits of a human and a sea creature, which I interpret to be a snail and which is depicted battling Wrinkle Face in the Supernatural Confrontation scenes of both substyles. The Supernatural Confrontation scene is a series of painted decorations in which deities wielding ceremonial “*tumi*” knives engage Wrinkle Face in hand-to-hand combat. Not all examples of Supernatural Confrontation involve the Circular Creature, as this deity is but one of many featured in this theme. For instance, Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 118) noted that Wrinkle Face’s adversaries in Huacas de Moche Phase III examples include the following deities: Long Fish, Demon Fish, Dragon, and Split Top. In Huacas de Moche Phase IV, this range was expanded to include Circular Creature, Sea Urchin, Strombus Monster, and anthropomorphized bats (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 118). In contrast, San José de Moro designs also portrayed

Circular Creature, Strombus Monster, Sea Urchin, and Anthropomorphized Crab, but also introduced two new deities: Anthropomorphized Wave, and the Paddler (Donna McClelland et al. 2007:62). These deities, all of whom fight Wrinkle Face or, on rare occasion his accomplice, Anthropomorphized Iguana, pair up in various configurations. For instance, in some examples Circular Creature and Sea Urchin battle Wrinkle Face, whereas in others Long Fish may team up with Anthropomorphized Crab against him (Figure 3.10).

The five Huacas de Moche examples of the Circular Creatures in my sample, all of which come from Huacas de Moche Phase IV ceramic vessels, present a figure that always faces to the left, has humanoid appendages and carries a *tumi* knife in its left hand. Its head is also human-like, but its body takes a globular form with rows of hollow circles inside (Figure 3.11). In the San José de Moro fineline painting style the Circular Creature also has humanoid appendages and a head, but its body takes a different form. Instead of a globular body with rows of hollow circles, the San José de Moro Circular Creature is most often composed of empty circles within concentric circles. Twelve examples in my sample have concentric circles although, in one case the empty circles make up a spiral design while another depicts a ring of filled-in circles resembling the chamber of a revolver (Figure 3.12, Note: the spiral MA0182 and revolver MA0195 examples are in private collections and are thus not illustrated here). Like their Huacas de Moche counterparts, these figures always face to the left of the composition and wield *tumi* knives in their left hands.

The consistency with which the Circular Creature is rendered in each substyle indicates they both had unique ways for portraying it. I propose that the stylistic differences in Circular Creature are byproducts of their creation according to the preferences of two independent artistic traditions. In this dissertation, I argue that the fineline painted decorations are manifestations of Moche ideological programs, and that substyles reflect the ideological programs instituted by

individual Moche polities. Thus, the variant configurations of the Circular Creature are markers of differences not only between the artistic programs of these two polities, but also between the ideological programs of the governments that produced them.

This idea is supported by evidence of different deities present in the Supernatural Confrontation scenes of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro styles. For instance, as noted above, the set of deities portrayed in Huacas de Moche Phase III examples of the Supernatural Confrontation scene include Long Fish, Demon Fish, Dragon, and Split Top. This set was later expanded in Huacas de Moche Phase IV to include Circular Creature, Sea Urchin, Strombus Monster, and anthropomorphized bats. In contrast, San José de Moro examples shared only some of the deities in Huacas de Moche examples (Circular Creature, Strombus Monster, Sea Urchin, and Anthropomorphized Crab), and not others (Long Fish, Demon Fish, Dragon, Split Top and anthropomorphized bats, for instance are absent). Furthermore, San José de Moro examples introduce two deities—Anthropomorphized Wave and Paddler—that are not present in the corpus of Huacas de Moche art (summarized in Table 3). I propose that the unique sets of deities portrayed in this scene reflect two largely different pantheons, the one of the Huacas de Moche polity and the other of the San José de Moro polity. Although, the Supernatural Confrontation scenes do not include every deity in either substyle, the fact that this shared subject presents different casts of characters in the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro substyles indicates that there was a fundamental difference in the narratives behind this scene in each polity. The variety of deities portrayed in the Supernatural Confrontation scene may even reflect differences in the political organization of each polity. This possibility is explored in Chapter 6.

Differences in Subject Matter among the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro

Substyles

An additional difference between the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline painting styles comes in their subject matter. As noted above, the Huacas de Moche fineline tradition comprises a wide range of subject matter. From human activities such as weaving and hunting to those in the supernatural realm such as the Confrontation Scene, Huacas de Moche decorations are diverse and expansive. Previous scholars noted, in contrast, that the San José de Moro painting style presents a restricted range of subject matter compared to that of Huacas de Moche (Larco Hoyle 1948; Donna McClelland 1990, Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999; Donna McClelland et al. 2007; Castillo 2000a, 2001a, 2010a). They found that in contrast to the encyclopedic imagery featuring human and supernatural activity of Huacas de Moche style, San José de Moro decorations tend to portray images of deities and maritime activities (Donna McClelland 1990; Donna McClelland et al. 2007; Castillo 2010a). Table 1 compares the subjects present in the Huacas de Moche painted designs with those from San José de Moro. It indicates that there is a great deal of overlap among the subjects demonstrated in Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro traditions. Of the 33 motifs featured in San José de Moro style examples, all but six are also found in the Huacas de Moche style. Significantly, two of these motifs (Chakipampa Serpent and the Rhombus) are derived from the foreign Wari culture, and three of the four others feature women in prominent roles. I propose that these motifs signal a fundamental difference in the ideological programs of both polities and that these differences reflect differences in the political organization of the two polities.

Despite the fact that Huacas de Moche vessels in my sample greatly outnumber those in the San José de Moro style, there was not a single example in which a Wari design populated a Huacas de Moche ceramic object. In contrast, 16 examples were found on San José de Moro

vessels. The presence of Wari-influenced motifs is coupled with additional evidence of contact with the Wari at San José de Moro. For instance, Castillo's (2000a: 149-150) excavations at the site yielded obsidian tools that have no local precedent, but are common within Wari culture. The presence of ceramic bowls painted with designs attributed to the neighboring Cajamarca culture at San José de Moro further demonstrates that its population interacted with foreigners. In contrast, the absence of Wari and Cajamarca objects at Huacas de Moche during the Late Moche period suggest that the same interaction with foreign cultures was not practiced by this Moche polity. This notion is further attested to by the absence of foreign influence on Huacas de Moche painted designs.

Castillo (2000a, 2001a) suggested that the presence of Wari motifs in San José de Moro art reflects their adoption of foreign ideology into the system in use at San José de Moro. He proposed that foreign ideas may have been incorporated as a means to explain world order following the calamities caused by climatic events around AD 600. For Castillo, the adoption of Wari deities was a way for the elites at San José de Moro to compensate for the ineffectiveness of traditional Moche deities.

Three additional motifs that were not present in the Huacas de Moro artistic tradition are significant because they feature females who take on central roles. One such example is the so-called Burial Theme. First recognized by Donnan and Donna McClelland (1979), the Burial Theme is one of the most complex compositions produced by Moche artists. Four separate scenes, known today as "Sacrifice," "Conch Exchange," "Assembly," and "Burial," are said to make up the narrative sequence for the Burial Theme (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1979). Ethnohistoric accounts of myths present on the North Coast at the time of European Contact led Donnan and Donna McClelland (1979: 11-12) to propose that this design represents the sacrifice of a ritual healer who had failed to save the life of a very important individual whose interment is

the focus of the design. A detailed analysis of the Burial Theme is provided in Chapter 4. Here, it is sufficient to discuss the presence of an important female in this painted design. Castillo (personal communication, 2010) has proposed that although, in some examples of the Burial Theme, the recipient of the “Conch Exchange” is male, in others this figure is replaced by a female. Castillo has found that earlier versions of the Burial Theme portray a man, whereas later versions portray a woman. If Castillo’s seriation of the 17 known examples of the Burial Theme is correct, we find not only that females are depicted in prominent positions in San José de Moro art, but also that their significance in this polity’s fineline painting tradition increased over time.

Two other San José de Moro motifs that are not present in Huacas de Moche art are the Crescent Boat Theme and the Conceptual Boat Theme. The Crescent Boat Theme is characterized by the presence of the Priestess (Figure “C” in the Sacrifice Ceremony) kneeling on a crescent-shaped object. Alana Cordy-Collins convincingly argued that the crescent represents a boat due to correspondence between this scene and more naturalistic Moche nautical scenes (Cordy-Collins 1977). It is furthermore possible to identify the figure in the Crescent Boat Theme as the same being participating in the Sacrifice Ceremony on the basis of its unique, tasseled headdress. This is the only figure in the corpus of Moche art that wears this headpiece. The Conceptual Boat Theme is nearly identical to that of the Crescent Boat Theme except that instead of representing the boat with a crescent, the artist has implied it by the curvature of the vessel’s chamber (see Figure 5.20). Detailed analyses of the Crescent Boat Theme and Conceptual Boat Theme are presented in Chapter 5, where they are shown to belong to a series of successive designs depicting maritime imagery. Here, it is sufficient to point to these themes’ ability to speak to the Priestess’s popularity and importance at San José de Moro.

Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 44) observed that the Crescent Boat Theme (which in their account also included the Conceptual Boat Themes) makes up 25% of all known examples

of San José de Moro fineline decorations (Figure 3.6). Since the Priestess is the sole participant in the Crescent Boat Theme, her depiction in this most popular of San José de Moro themes indicates that she was a figure of great importance within that polity. The Priestess's prominence within the San José de Moro polity is not only supported by her frequent portrayal in its fineline painting tradition, but also in the presence of the elaborate burials excavated at San José de Moro, in which females were interred with artifacts associated with the Priestess's costume and accessories. For instance, Donnan and Castillo (1992) noted that a tomb excavated in 1991 contained several objects that identify its occupant as a Priestess. Metal ornaments that were likely at one time attached to a reed coffin take the shape of the tasseled headdress characteristic of the Priestess. Further evidence for her identification came from the discovery of a basin and a goblet within the tomb (Donnan and Castillo 1992: 40-41). These objects are carried by the Priestess in fineline painted examples of the Sacrifice Ceremony, and present a clear connection between the occupant of the San José de Moro tomb and the Priestess figure in Moche art.

The prominence of the Priestess as a popular subject in San José de Moro's fineline paintings, as well as the degree of elaboration in associated burials, suggest that she was more important in San José de Moro's ideology than in that of Huacas de Moche. This presents a significant difference from the Huacas de Moche fineline painting style in which Wrinkle Face was the most important deity and Figure A was the center of the Sacrifice Ceremony. The results of this comparison allude to fundamental differences in the subject matter depicted in San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche fineline painted decorations. In the following sections I interpret these differences, as well as those of vessel form and artistic style, as indicators of variant political organizations at these two polities.

Results of Comparison

The foregoing comparison of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline painted decorations has demonstrated that the two traditions differ in terms of vessel forms, artistic style and subject matter. It was noted that a wider range of vessel forms were produced in the Huacas de Moche style. Certain forms found at the Huacas de Moche sites, such as flaring bowls, dippers, pedestal bowls and boxes, are not present in the San José de Moro style. Conversely, there are San José de Moro style forms not present in the Huacas de Moche style corpus, namely double-spout and bridge vessels, flasks and goblets

Further distinctions become apparent in the varied treatment of shared iconography. The case of the Circular Creature demonstrated that different styles had different modes of representing the same artistic element. For instance, the body of the Circular Creature was consistently formed by rows of empty circles in the Huacas de Moche style and by empty circles within concentric circles or spirals at San José de Moro. Yet, the differing forms of the Circular Creature in the San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche styles are not the only differences in their portrayals of the Supernatural Confrontation scene. A unique cast of characters was noted in examples of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline traditions. The fact that different sets of deities played a role in the same theme suggests that the pantheons at Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro were themselves unique.

Shared deities were also found to have had different roles. This was the case with the Priestess, who as we have seen, plays a secondary role in Huacas de Moche decorations but comes to the forefront of San José de Moro designs; the Crescent Boat Theme and the Conceptual Boat Theme, in which she is the central figure, were found to make up over a quarter of all San José de Moro fineline painted designs. Additionally, the discovery of elaborate female tombs at the site further supported this deity's significance there.

Different pantheons take on renewed significance when considered in the context of deity impersonation. As noted above, impersonation of the Aztec god of rain in ritual ceremonies by a special class of priests confirmed and legitimated their raised socio-political status (Klein 1988b). The presence of accessories connected to various deities illustrated in Moche art that are found in burials indicates that deity impersonation was a power strategy also used by Moche elite. Yuri Berezkin (1978) proposed that the deities portrayed in Moche art were represented by members of individual social groups. For instance, he argued that Wrinkle Face represented a clan of “ruler-priests,” while Anthropomorphic Owls were the “lower priesthood,” although in some cases they were also associated with type of “military chief” (Berezkin 1978: 59). Yet, without supportive archaeological evidence and a greater comprehension of Moche artistic traditions, Berezkin’s notions so far have not been widely accepted.

However, a reevaluation of Berezkin’s idea using currently available archaeological evidence breeds new life into it. Excavations at San José de Moro suggest that impersonation of the Priestess was passed down along hereditary lines, where Donnan (personal communication 2011) discovered the remains of a nine-year-old female interred with the accessories of the Priestess. This led him to conclude that impersonation of the Priestess was not earned; rather, it was passed down along bloodlines.

If Moche rulers obtained and maintained political might through their impersonation of deities, and the impersonation of deities was passed down along hereditary lines, then the particular makeup of the pantheon would have been of extreme importance. The addition of new deities could have represented the introduction of a new hereditary line to power. In contrast, the subtraction of a deity from the pantheon could have represented the elimination of a lineage from the Moche power structure. At San José de Moro, the prominence of the Priestess suggests that

those who impersonated her were powerful within San José de Moro's polity, whereas those in charge of impersonating Wrinkle Face were the most important in Huacas de Moche.

Furthermore, the unique presence of Anthropomorphic Wave and Paddler in San José de Moro's art may also reflect new lineages at the site. While some lineages may have been derived from Huacas de Moche's polity, others may have come to power in the course of creating the San José de Moro polity. By demonstrating a distinct pantheon through its portrayal of the Supernatural Confrontation scene, the San José de Moro polity expressed its uniquely organized political structure through its painted designs.

Summary:

This chapter has outlined the characteristics of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro styles of Moche fineline painting. It has provided evidence that the Huacas de Moche style encompasses not only Larco Hoyle Phase IV pottery as indicated by Donnan (in press), but also includes Larco Hoyle Phase III fineline painted decorations as well. This chapter also described the San José de Moro fineline painting style and concluded that similarities in vessel forms and shared subject matter indicate that although this style and that of Huacas de Moche are related, significant differences in ceramic types, modes of representing similar subjects, and roles of individual figures demonstrate that they are essentially distinct from one another. In the following chapter I outline the Late Chicama style of fineline painting, which I also find to be distinct from, but related to, the fineline painting traditions of Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro.

Chapter 4. The Late Chicama Finline Painting Style

In their monograph devoted to the San José de Moro substyle, Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 10) contrasted the fineline decorated ceramics attributed to that Jequetepeque Valley site to those coming from the “Southern Moche Region during Phase V.” Since San José de Moro pottery is now acknowledged as being distinct from other vessels with Larco Hoyle Phase V spouts, it is necessary to identify and describe the latter category. This chapter begins with an outline of what I call the Late Chicama substyle, with discussions of its physical characteristics and geographic origins, and concluding with comparisons to the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline painted substyles.

The Late Chicama Finline Painting Substyle

Although Donna McClelland et al. distinguished the San José de Moro tradition of fineline painting from that of the Southern Moche Region, they did not specifically identify Southern Moche Phase V ceramics as a substyle. Even in his most recent study on Moche substyles, Christopher Donnan (in press), who has acknowledged the existence of a Huacas de Moche style, has not differentiated between Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Southern Moche ceramics with Phase V upper spouts as distinct substyles. I propose relabeling ceramics belonging to the “Southern Moche Phase V” category as the “Late Chicama” substyle of fineline painting. These ceramics are composed of vessels with Phase V upper spouts that do not belong to the San José de Moro style, and that also feature a unique set of subjects, as well as distinctive ways of representing shared artistic elements. The name “Late Chicama” refers to the fact that this class of Moche pottery not only dates to the Late Moche period but also comes from the region where the greatest number of examples of it have been found. In the following sections I outline the Late Chicama style, describing its characteristic traits. I then discuss radiocarbon

dating studies that give a range of dates for it before detailing its geographic range.

The Sample of Late Chicama Fineline Painted Ceramics

The sample of Late Chicama fineline painted objects utilized in this dissertation comes from provenanced and unprovenanced contexts. Provenanced examples were excavated by archaeologists. This includes examples from seven ceramic vessels from Izumi Shimada's excavations at Pampa Grande (1994), one stirrup spout bottle from Elías Mujica et al.'s excavations at El Brujo, as well as ceramic fragments discovered by Ilana Johnson (2010) at Pampa Grande, Greg Lockard (2005) at Galindo and Donnan and Cock at Pacatnamu (in McClelland 1997). Additional examples come from the collections of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera in Lima, which contains 61 Moche fineline painted artifacts conforming to the Late Chicama style that are identified as having come from various sites within the Chicama Valley. An additional source of Late Chicama pottery with known geographic origins is the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden. In 1913, the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde purchased Moche artifacts from Henry Van den Bergh, a collector who had personally obtained them from Thomas Hewitt Myring (de Bock 1999: 301). Myring, an Englishman who was living on an hacienda in the Chicama Valley (at what is believed to be Casa Grande) while recovering from an illness he contracted in Bolivia, excavated the objects from nearby ruins (likely at the site now known as Cerro Constancia) (de Bock 1999: 301). My study includes 13 objects from the Van den Bergh collection at the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde that I have identified as belonging to the Late Chicama fineline substyle.

My sample also contains examples of Moche fineline painted decorations without known origins. I have identified a total of 160 ceramic vessels belonging to the Late Chicama substyle that are on record in Christopher Donnan's Moche Archive. The distinctive features described

below as characterizing the provenanced examples support their attribution to this category of Moche fineline painted pottery.

Describing the Late Chicama Style

As was the case for the identification of Huacas de Moche Phase III, Huacas de Moche Phase IV and San José de Moro ceramics, the most distinguishing features of Late Chicama decorated pottery are the vessel forms on which they are found. The spouts on stirrup spout bottles pertaining to the Late Chicama style taper inward toward the top and conform to the shape assigned to Phase V in Larco Hoyle's seriation (refer to Figure 2.1). The form of these spouts is similar to those of the San José de Moro substyle, which explains why, in the past, Larco Hoyle and others confused these two substyles as belonging to a single category of Moche art. While the upper spouts of Late Chicama stirrup spout bottles are of a uniform shape, their vessel chambers vary.

There is a great deal of diversity in the morphology of Late Chicama fineline decorated stirrup spout bottles. In some instances their chambers take an ovoid form with a protruding equator, whereas others are spherical, and still others are almost elliptical in shape (Figure 4.1). Almost all Late Chicama stirrup spout bottles have flat bases; only in rare instances do they feature the ring bases that are often found on Huacas de Moche Phase IV and San José de Moro stirrup spout bottles. In addition to stirrup spout bottles, Late Chicama fineline decorations are also found on spout and handle bottles, jars and flaring bowls (see Table 4). Late Chicama flaring bowls tend to have tall side walls and small bases. Fineline painted decorations often populate the interior of these vessels, and in most cases the lips of these bowls have step-fret cut outs giving them the appearance of being serrated (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 146).

Fineline painted decorations on complete Late Chicama ceramics, of which there are 242

in my sample, tend to fall into one of two categories: figurative motifs (142 examples) and geometric motifs (100 examples). Although geometric designs are found in other substyles, their frequency in what I refer to as the Late Chicama tradition warrants special attention. Greg Lockard analyzed geometric motifs and “figurative” (non-geometric) motifs from ceramic fragments on what he called “Phase V” fineline decorations excavated from Galindo. Combining the sample he collected there over the 2000-2002 field seasons with those obtained by Garth Bawden through his work at the site between 1971 and 1973, Lockard (2005: 284, 2009b) calculated that over 70 % of the total were decorated with geometric designs.

Unfortunately, although the archive of Moche pottery compiled by Donnan is an unsurpassed resource for analyzing Moche art, the method he employed for selecting objects to photograph precludes our ability to calculate percentages of geometric and figurative designs. In his attempts to document as many unique designs as possible, Donnan (personal communication, 2010) did not photograph every vessel with a geometric design. As a result, his sample (which makes up the majority of my own) does not allow for an accurate count of vessels with geometric designs. Therefore, Lockard’s research at Galindo and the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera (discussed below) provide the best indicators of the ratio of geometric to figurative Late Chicama painted designs.

The Late Chicama Geometric Fineline Painting Tradition

Late Chicama geometric fineline designs come in a number of different patterns. These decorations, which most often appear on stirrup spout bottles, are best defined by their use of repetitive forms. For instance, Late Chicama geometric designs may be composed of repeated geometric shapes (such as triangles or circles) and lines, or they may involve the patterning of highly schematic elements representing animate or inanimate objects such as sea animals (i.e.

conch shells), plants (i.e. beans) or man-made objects (i.e. weapons or headdresses).

Lockard (2005, 2009b) proposed that the geometric designs belonging to what I call the Late Chicama style could be classified into eight different categories. He found that over 228 examples of geometric fineline ceramics discovered at Galindo could be grouped according to the designs with which they were decorated (summarized in Figure 4.2). For instance, the design rendered with the most frequency, his Motif 1 (41.2% of his sample), was characterized as being composed of segmented rectangular bands. The bands were divided either into halves or quarters by zigzagging lines. (Lockard 2005: 290). Motif 2 (10.5%) was defined as having continuous waves traveling around the circumference of the vessel's chamber, whereas decorations that featured bands of circles were designated Motif 3 (4.3%). Motif 4 (4.3%) was denoted as portraying bands of spirals, Motif 5 (3.1%) as bands of triangles, Motif 6 (7.0%) as bands of stepped elements, Motif 7 (1.3%) as bands of "L" shaped elements and Motif 8 (0.8%) was defined by bands of a flower-like scalloped element.

Yet, each geometric motif was found to demonstrate a great deal of variety. For instance, Lockard found that there were five distinct ways in which Moche artists divided up the segmented rectangular bands characteristic of Motif 1 designs (which he designated Type A-E, Figure 4.3). Type A versions of Motif 1 divided the panel into halves by means of a single wavy line. In contrast, Type B of Motif 1 included designs in which the panel was divided into quarters by two perpendicular wavy lines (Lockard 2005: 290). In all, Lockard registered 19 different ways that eight motifs were consistently represented in the Galindo sample.

Lockard (n.d.) subsequently applied his classification scheme to Late Chicama geometric finelines in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera in Lima. He observed that of the fineline painted ceramics attributed to Chicama Valley sites featuring Larco Hoyle Phase V-shaped upper spouts (and were not of the San José de Moro substyle), 87% exhibited the same

designs present in his sample at Galindo (Lockard n.d.). Significantly, the designs in the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera collection fell within the categories identified for the ceramics from Galindo and in the same proportions.

The consistency with which geometric designs were created at Galindo and the Chicama Valley sites indicated that they participated in a single artistic program that had set rules. Yet, the variability that was demonstrated within each motif, suggests that the artists were also interested in producing differences in these fineline painted decorations. Although there are rare examples of two or more pots displaying identical designs, the Late Chicama geometric finelines presented designs with varying degrees of complexity. Despite the fact that these designs consist of repeated geometric shapes and do not appear to represent a narrative related to the polity's dominant ideology, this does not mean they were devoid of social significance. In fact, as we shall see, the proliferation of geometric designs within the Late Chicama style may represent an alternative to the ideology promoted in Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro painted decorations.

The Late Chicama Figurative Painting Tradition:

Late Chicama figurative designs can involve a variety of subjects ranging from human activities and those involving supernatural figures to scenes from nature, and share many iconographic motifs with the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline traditions. For instance, as Table 1 indicates, 24 of 25 motifs in the Late Chicama fineline painting tradition, were shared with the Huacas de Moche tradition whereas 18 of 25 motifs were shared with San José de Moro ceramics. Although the range in subjects portrayed was greatly reduced from that exhibited in Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline decorations (of which there are 57 motifs), the objects, personages, and activities represented in Late Chicama designs included Supernatural

Confrontation scenes, warriors in combat, fish, birds, deer, Ritual Runners, boat scenes and, in one instance, the San José de Moro Burial Theme. Like the San José de Moro tradition, Late Chicama designs tend to reflect supernatural rather than terrestrial activities (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 29).

One of the most popular figurative motifs in the Late Chicama style is a naturalistic bird drinking from a bowl set in front of it. Although this motif is also present in the Huacas de Moche tradition and examples exist among the corpus of San José de Moro fineline decorations (Figure 4.4), there are 24 examples of this decoration in my sample of 244 Late Chicama vessels. Although it remains unclear what is contained in the bowl, Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 136) proposed that it was the blood of captive enemy warriors' and suggested that this motif was part of the series of martial and ceremonial scenes that made up the Warrior Narrative.

A unique example of the bird drinking from the bowl, from a Huacas de Moche Phase IV bottle in the Berlin Museum, provides the best evidence for a link to Moche warfare. Illustrated in Figure 4.5, this bottle depicts a repeated image of the bird exactly as it appears in other examples. Yet, on one side of this particular pot the bird drinks from a bowl, while the other side depicts the bird—now with human appendages— holding a weapon bundle. Despite the link this scene provides between the drinking bird and warfare, it makes no clear reference to the Sacrifice Ceremony or to prisoner capture as, one would expect if it were to be associated with the Warrior Narrative.

There are a number of other references to Moche warfare among the Late Chicama decorations. Several scenes depict battles among either human or supernatural combatants. In my sample all ten Late Chicama vessels depicting battle portray hand-to-hand combat. Although hand-to-hand combat is common in Huacas de Moche Phase IV martial imagery, there are several vessels on which larger battles that involved charging opponents are portrayed.

Significantly, however, there are no examples of the Sacrifice Ceremony or prisoner capture among the Late Chicama corpus of fineline painted images (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 178). The noticeable absence here of these scenes, which appear to have been central to the ideological system instituted at Huacas de Moche, suggests that the Late Chicama fineline painted decorations reflected a different set of beliefs.

Another common subject of Late Chicama designs is Bean Warriors. Like the bird drinking from the bowl, this subject is also present in Huacas de Moche Phase IV decorations. Bean Warriors, supernatural figures with bean-shaped bodies and human faces and appendages, are portrayed participating in a number of activities. In some instances they are engaged in battle, while in others they are seated with a weapon bundle in one hand and sticks in the other (Figure 4.6). In battle scenes, the Beans never fight one another or human warriors, rather, they are always pitted against anthropomorphic deer warriors.

Seated Bean Warriors appear to be involved in rituals related to the Bean and Stick Ceremony. Although the Bean and Stick Ceremony as rendered in the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro substyles are absent in my sample, these seated Bean Warriors appear to be Late Chicama cognates. Like other examples of the Bean and Stick Ceremony, the seated participants of Late Chicama decorations hold sticks in one hand while making a gesture with the thumb and forefinger of the other. Yet, as noted in Chapter 3, the Bean and Stick Ceremony in the Huacas de Moche substyle always involves two figures facing each other, apparently engaged in conversation, while several depictions of the Bean and Stick Ceremony in the San José de Moro substyle portray participants lying across raised platforms with both figures facing the same direction. Significantly, examples in the Late Chicama style also face in the same direction, but they do not appear atop platforms nor are they engaged in conversation. That Late Chicama Bean Warriors manipulate beans and sticks, but do so in a manner different from their Huacas de

Moche and San José de Moro counterparts, may result from Late Chicama people having practiced a different version of the Bean and Stick ritual.

Wrinkle Face, the predominant deity in Huacas de Moche Phase IV designs and a prominent figure in San José de Moro decorations, is almost always absent within the Late Chicama substyle. Whereas he was one of the most frequently portrayed characters in the other two substyles, Wrinkle Face is only depicted in Late Chicama decorations participating in two activities: the Supernatural Confrontation and the “Burial” in the Burial Theme. Although these are also the only two scenes in which Wrinkle Face is present within the San José de Moro substyle, they were portrayed with far less regularity by Late Chicama artists. Whereas the Supernatural Confrontation scene was one of the most popular designs in the San José de Moro fineline tradition, there are only four examples of these scenes on Late Chicama pots. Furthermore, there are 16 examples of the Burial Theme in the San José de Moro corpus of fineline painted ceramics, but only a single version exists within the Late Chicama substyle. If artistic subjects reflected the dominant political belief systems in Moche societies, then Wrinkle Face’s relative absence from Late Chicama designs provides further proof that this substyle manifested a belief system distinct from those at Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro.

Sites Where Late Chicama Fineline Painted Pottery Have Been Found

As noted above, Late Chicama ceramics receive their name from the Chicama Valley, which is the likely home of this tradition of fineline painted ceramics. Although it has been largely neglected by archaeologists, several contributions to the understanding of the Moche occupation of this region indicate that it is the heartland of Late Chicama style ceramics. The first comes through the work of Rafael Larco Hoyle himself. Larco Hoyle, a native of the Chiclín

Hacienda that was located in the Chicama Valley, built his collection largely through his own excavations, hired looters, and purchased local collections of Pre-Columbian pottery.

Larco Hoyle kept extensive field journals with photographs, drawings and detailed descriptions of his excavations. Although these have rarely been studied, I accessed four notebooks, numbered 1 to 4, in the archive of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera in June 2011, which provide detailed descriptions of Larco Hoyle's work and findings from the Moche and Chicama Valleys between 1933 and 1934. Notebook 2 includes notes on a burial excavated from the site of Salamanca which contained a jar and three stirrup spout bottles. Significantly, I located these objects in the catalog of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera (ML009837, ML009254, ML006924, and ML008363) and found that they had already been attributed to Salamanca, suggesting that the "site of origin" for vessels indicated by the museum catalog can be trusted.

The Museo Rafael Larco Herrera contains 61 examples of Late Chicama fineline decorated ceramics attributed to sites throughout the Chicama Valley. Forty-nine come from Paján, while three are attributed to Ascope, six to Facalá and three to Sausal. These sites are all located in the middle of the valley, away from the ocean, and are close to one another. The vessels represent the great majority of known specimens of Late Chicama style fineline artifacts, although the manner in which they were obtained by the museum remains unknown. Despite the fact that Larco Hoyle recorded in his notebooks excavations at several of these sites, I was not able to positively identify any of these 61 vessels in the four notebooks I accessed. Although it is not yet possible to scientifically prove that these Late Chicama fineline painted objects in fact came from sites in the Chicama Valley as claimed in the museum catalog, all available evidence suggests this is the case.

Recent fieldwork by Michele Koons (n.d.) at the site of Licapa II, also in the Chicama Valley, provided further proof of the importance of Late Chicama ceramics in this area and

additional evidence of interaction among the local sites. Fineline painted fragments from excavations at Licapa II and surface surveys of nearby Facalá indicated that both sites participated in the Late Chicama ceramic tradition. Furthermore, Koons found that a canal that provided necessary water to Licapa II was fed by an uptake located at Facalá; she proposed that the occupants at Licapa II were therefore reliant on cooperation with those at Facalá for their existence. Since they shared a canal, and Licapa II and Facalá both participated in the same artistic program, Koons (n.d.) proposed that there was direct interaction between these two sites. The negotiations required to sustain diplomacy between the two sites were likely facilitated by their participation in a single belief system. Like that found among Jequetepeque sites, it is likely that the Late Chicama pottery tradition propagated a shared belief system among the local rulers of different settlements.

Excavations at the El Brujo complex on the coastal edge of the Chicama Valley appear to complicate our understanding of the valley during the Late Moche period. The El Brujo complex is home to twin monumental structures that mirror those at Huacas de Moche. As noted above, Huaca de Cao contains a mural program nearly identical to that of the Huaca de la Luna, indicating that the two sites were intimately connected. Unlike the Huaca de la Luna, however, excavations at the El Brujo complex yielded an example of a stirrup spout bottle with a Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spout signaling interaction with sites associated with the Late Chicama artistic program (Mujica et al. 2007: 84). Several other ceramic objects were decorated with geometric designs in the Late Chicama tradition while others had painted figurative scenes within the Late Chicama iconographic repertoire. Like those at Galindo, the ceramics at Huaca Cao Viejo indicate that both Late Chicama decorative types were used in concert with one another. It is further noteworthy that excavations at Huaca Cao Viejo also produced an example of a San José de Moro style decoration (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 43). This suggests

interaction among the different Moche populations, as all three fineline substyles were found at the same sites.

Although Late Chicama ceramics have been attributed to many sites within the Chicama Valley, they are also found beyond the borders of this valley. As noted above, Bawden's and Lockard's excavations at Galindo, located at the neck of the Moche Valley, yielded Late Chicama ceramics. Not only was the Late Chicama substyle present at Galindo, it was also the only pottery type found in significant numbers at this site. Curiously, despite the fact that it is located in the same valley as Huacas de Moche, Galindo did not yield a substantial quantity of Huacas de Moche fineline pottery. This observation is significant because Chapter 3 observed that the spread of Huacas de Moche ceramics has been identified as far south as the distant Nepeña Valley; one would imagine it would be found at a large contemporary site within the Moche Valley. Bawden (2001) suggested that the absence of Huacas de Moche fineline ceramics at Galindo signaled the rejection of the Huacas de Moche artistic program. If he was right, the adoption of Late Chicama wares at this site indicates its participation in the Late Chicama artistic program and, presumably, its embrace of its ideology.

A cache of Late Chicama pottery was also discovered at Pampa Colorada, which is located between the Santa and Chao Valleys. Victor Pimentel and Maria Paredes (2003) found several examples of Late Chicama geometric ceramics, and which were identified by Lockard (2005: 310) as pertaining to Geometric motifs 1A and 2A of his classification scheme. Although Pimentel and Paredes's findings do not indicate a prolonged or extensive Late Chicama presence at Pampa Colorada, the discovery of Late Chicama wares at this site a great distance from the Chicama Valley speaks to the substantial geographic range enjoyed by this substyle of Moche fineline painting.

Late Chicama fineline painted ceramics were also discovered at the Northern Moche

center of Pampa Grande. This site, which is located in the Lambayeque Valley, provided scant evidence of Huacas de Moche fineline pottery, but was dominated by that belonging to the Late Chicama substyle. Pampa Grande is dominated by a monumental structure known as Huaca Fortaleza. This structure, which was constructed using a “chamber and fill” technique in which retaining walls were constructed and filled with rubble, contrasts with the adobe brick construction of the Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna (Moseley 2001: 227). Due to the sheer size of Huaca Fortaleza, Pampa Grande was thought by some to have been the capital of the Moche state after Huacas de Moche had been abandoned at the end of Phase IV (Bawden 1996). Yet, the few examples of fineline painting discovered in the course of archaeological projects led there by Shimada (1976, 1994) and Johnson (2010) correspond closely to the vessel forms, subject matter and painting style described here as Late Chicama. They are painted on Larco Hoyle Phase V vessels and depict either geometric motifs of the types recorded by Lockard at Galindo and within the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera’s collection, or they present repeated figural forms within the range ascribed to the Late Chicama artistic program. Thus, despite the fact that Pampa Grande lies beyond the borders of the Chicama Valley, like Galindo it utilized ceramics belonging to the Late Chicama substyle.

Additional evidence that sites at a distance from the Chicama Valley participated in the Late Chicama tradition of fineline painting can be found in the Jequetepeque Valley, where Donnan and Cock’s (1997) excavations at Pacatnamu, on the coast, yielded fineline painted ceramic fragments of the Late Chicama style. Over the course of five field seasons, from 1983 to 1987, Donnan and Cock discovered more than 65 examples of ceramic fragments with fineline painted decorations. Despite Pacatnamu’s location in the same valley as, and its close proximity to, San José de Moro, geometric designs, similar to those from Galindo, Pampa Grande and within the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera collection were found on 11 of the 65 fragments

discovered at Pacatnamu (Donna McClelland 1997: 266). Additionally, figurative motifs were present on Pacatnamu pottery, including reed and crescent boats, the Strombus Monster and Ritual Runners, among many that are too fragmentary to identify. The presence of the decorations with geometric patterns are the most telling, as the motifs found at Pacatnamu are characteristic of the Late Chicama tradition and rare among Huacas de Moche decorations. Yet the discovery of the crescent boat fragment at Pacatnamu is also significant, as this scene is only found on San José de Moro style ceramics. Thus, as at El Brujo, there is evidence that both Late Chicama and San José de Moro fineline painting were present at Pacatnamu.

Late Chicama fineline pottery was found at other sites in the Jequetepeque Valley as well. Recent excavations by Ed Swenson have revealed fragments of Late Chicama decorations at Huaca Colorada (personal communication 2011). Additionally, surface collections and surveys of sites within the valley conducted by Luis Jaime Castillo and the San José de Moro Archaeological Project have produced limited numbers of Late Chicama geometric fragments (Castillo, personal communication, 2011). Although future excavations will likely clarify the extent of the Late Chicama presence in the Jequetepeque Valley, these surveys indicate that Late Chicama pottery was in use within the San José de Moro heartland.

Comparing Traditions of Moche Fineline Painting

Now that the main attributes of the Late Chicama fineline painting substyle have been outlined, it is possible to compare them with those of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro artistic traditions. In the following sections, I compare the Late Chicama fineline tradition, first with the Huacas de Moche substyle and, subsequently, with that of San José de Moro. In order to explore their similarities and differences systematically, I will examine these art substyles according to three attributes: vessel form, subject matter and painting style.

Comparing the Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche Finline Painting Substyles

The Late Chicama fineline painting tradition bears a close resemblance to that of Huacas de Moche. Perhaps it is for this reason that the Late Chicama has not yet been recognized as a substyle in its own right. As we shall see, although there are similarities in subject matter and painting style, differences in vessel forms, and its iconographic repertoire support the notion that the Late Chicama substyle deserves to be classified as a distinct category of Moche art.

Late Chicama vs. Huacas de Moche Phase IV Vessel Forms:

The single greatest difference between Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche Phase IV ceramics is in the shape of the upper spouts on stirrup spout bottles. As was the case in the comparison of Huacas de Moche Phase IV and San José de Moro vessel forms, Huacas de Moche Phase IV upper spouts tend to be tall with parallel walls, whereas those of the San José de Moro and Late Chicama substyles are shorter and taper in towards the top (refer to Figure 2.1). A distinction between Huacas de Moche vessel forms and those of the Late Chicama substyle can also be made in regards to the types of ceramics that were decorated with fineline painting. As noted in Chapter 3, Huacas de Moche fineline painted decorations appear on a wide assortment of pottery types. These include stirrup spout bottles, spout and handle bottles, flaring bowls, dippers, jars and ceramic boxes. It is curious that, like the San José de Moro artists, Late Chicama artists did not create dippers, or boxes. I identified 218 Late Chicama stirrup spout bottles, 20 flaring bowls, two spout and handle bottles, one double-spout and handle bottle, and one jar in my sample, but did not come across a single dipper or box.

The stirrup spout bottle was the most popular canvas for fineline painted decorations in both the Huacas de Moche Phase IV and San José de Moro traditions. The chambers of Huacas

de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama vessels can be very similar, with the only major difference being the form of their upper spouts. Figure 4.7 illustrates such a case; it provides a rare example of vessels that belong to the Type 1 category of Late Chicama geometric patterning as identified by Lockard (2005, 2009). This patterning also appears on a vessel with a Larco Hoyle Phase IV upper spout attributed by the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera catalog to Paiján (ML011267), as well as one with a Late Chicama upper spout assigned by the same catalog to the site of Sausal (ML011264). If these artifacts were to be classified based only on their painted designs and chamber shapes, they would clearly fall into the Late Chicama style. Yet, differences in their upper spouts indicate that the stirrup spout bottle on the left in Figure 4.7 pertains to the Huacas de Moche Phase IV, while that on the right can be identified as belonging to the Late Chicama tradition.

A curious phenomenon arose out of my review of the ceramics in the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera's collections that are attributed to the Chicama Valley. Several of the vessels in that sample appear to feature hybrid styles of upper spouts that are not easily placed into either the Huacas de Moche IV or Late Chicama categories. For instance, Figure 4.8 illustrates a stirrup spout bottle whose upper spout conforms to traditional forms of neither the Huacas de Moche Phase IV nor the Late Chicama upper spout designation. It is tall like those of Huacas de Moche Phase IV but tapers inward toward the top like those of Late Chicama. This vessel could provide an important clue to the history of the Late Chicama tradition. Since it features traits of both Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama fineline substyles, it may have been produced during a transition period between these two styles. That is, objects like that illustrated in Figure 4.8 may have been produced by artists trained in the Huacas de Moche tradition who then worked in that of Late Chicama. This scenario will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Comparing Content: Similarities in the Subject Matter of Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama Finline Traditions

Examples of Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama fineline traditions demonstrate considerable overlap in regards to subject matter and the modes employed for representing shared elements. Late Chicama fineline decorations present some, but not all, of the motifs found in the corpus of the Huacas de Moche Phase IV substyle. As demonstrated in Table 1, only 24 of the 57 motifs present in the Huacas de Moche Phase IV program were incorporated into the Late Chicama style. As noted above, some of the shared motifs that are popular among Late Chicama decorations include Ritual Running, human warriors engaged in battle, anthropomorphic Bean Warriors, and the bird drinking from the bowl. Again, the relative scarcity of Wrinkle Face is one of the greatest markers of distinction between these two fineline traditions. The fact that this figure, of such immense popularity within the Huacas de Moche substyle, is rarely found in Late Chicama painted decorations suggests that the creators of the Late Chicama style distanced themselves from the Huacas de Moche artistic program.

Curiously, I have found no examples of figurative motifs that are unique to the Late Chicama substyle. Despite observing that Late Chicama decorations were distinct from those at Huacas de Moche in their painting style, there is no evidence in my sample of new figurative artistic motifs on Late Chicama ceramics. In other words, while the Late Chicama substyle demonstrates a greatly reduced repertoire of the images used in the Huacas de Moche tradition, Late Chicama artists did not create their own new motifs, nor did they alter existing scenes to create new figurative compositions.

Differences in the Geometric Designs of Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama

In contrast to the lack of invention within Late Chicama's figurative designs, several geometric designs are unique to this tradition of fineline painting. Although I found a few instances in which Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro ceramics featured Late Chicama geometric designs, these are rare. Since the Late Chicama figurative tradition utilizes only borrowed painted decorations, demonstrating no originality, the geometric designs appear to have been the main avenue through which the Late Chicama Moche expressed their own new artistic preferences.

Lockard's work with what I call Late Chicama geometric fineline designs from Galindo demonstrated that they are comprised of 19 categories. His successful application of this classification system to the collections at the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera (noted above) supports his model for studying geometric designs. Despite its accuracy in describing Late Chicama vessels from different contexts, however, overall, examples of Huacas de Moche Phase IV geometric decorations do not adhere to Lockard's categories. Of the 11 Huacas de Moche Phase IV bottles with geometric designs assigned to Chicama Valley sites in the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera's collection and that of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, only one has decorations that belong to Lockard's classification system. Figure 4.9 illustrates several examples of Huacas de Moche Phase IV geometric designs. Unlike those of the Late Chicama style, these do not exhibit the patterns identified by Lockard. Thus contrast between geometric designs from these two locations provides further support for a distinction to be made between the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama traditions of fineline painting. Whereas the figurative motifs in the Late Chicama style were entirely derived from those of Huacas de Moche, their geometric patterns demonstrate unprecedented ingenuity. It appears that within the Late Chicama tradition, an emphasis on creating new geometric designs trumped any interest in depicting figurative scenes.

Comparing the Figurative Designs of the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama Finesline

Painting Traditions:

In general, Late Chicama finesline painted figurative designs bear close likeness to those from the polity based out of Huacas de Moche. In several instances it appears as if the designs had been painted either by the same artist, or at least, by one keenly familiar with Huacas de Moche traditions. The stirrup spout bottle on the left in Figure 4.10 was excavated from the Huaca de la Luna and belongs to the Huacas de Moche Phase IV tradition (Chauchat and Gutiérrez 2002, Figure 99). Alternatively, the vessel on the right is a stirrup spout bottle characteristic of the Late Chicama pottery tradition that is attributed by the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera to the site of Ascope (ML12941). Despite the differences in their vessel forms, most notably in the shape of their upper spouts, the content and the way in which their artistic elements are rendered suggest a close relationship between these two styles. Both scenes depict anthropomorphic Bird Warriors who carry a weapon bundle. Similarities between the two images include the horizontal orientation of the figures, their conical helmets—each of which has a crescent-shaped ornament on top—as well as the fact that they are both elaborately dressed. The crescent ornament in both examples, which is a common feature on the helmets of Moche warriors, is elongated and narrow compared to the way it appears in other depictions. The anthropomorphic bird warriors portrayed in these two finesline painted decorations are also adorned with earpools, collars and garments commonly found on Moche representations of human warriors.

Despite the likenesses in the decorations of the two vessels illustrated in Figure 4.10, Late Chicama finesline painted figurative designs can also differ from those of the Huacas de Moche Phase IV style. Figure 4.11 illustrates two vessels from the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera

collection decorated with similar subject matter that demonstrate slight but significant stylistic differences. The vessel on the left, which belongs to the Huacas de Moche Phase IV style, is attributed to the site of Facalá, while the vessel on the right, which corresponds to the Late Chicama style, is attributed to Paiján. Curiously, these two painted decorations also portray anthropomorphic birds, yet they demonstrate more naturalistic avian features. In both the Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama examples, the birds are rendered naturalistically, but have human arms (although the Huacas de Moche example has human legs as well). Unlike those in the painted scenes in Figure 4.10, these anthropomorphic birds do not wear headdresses, accessories or human clothing. Instead, their avian features are highlighted.

Both decorations in Figure 4.11 portray anthropomorphized birds oriented horizontally. Their wings are similarly shaped and their breasts are decorated with hollow circles, suggesting that they likely portray the same species. Despite these notable similarities, the painted decorations also present significant differences. First, the Huacas de Moche Phase IV on the left scene contains hills and cacti, signaling that it takes place in the desert. In contrast, the groundline of the Late Chicama example on the right is decorated with a series of stepped geometric elements and does not appear to take place in a specific location. This observation supports the notion put forward by Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999: 170-171) that painted ceramics with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts do not, in general, exhibit the naturalism that is common in scenes painted on upper spouts of the Huacas de Moche Phase IV tradition. A further distinction between the two painted decorations is that the Late Chicama example is denser. In contrast to the open composition that characterizes the Huacas de Moche scene, almost all open spaces in the Late Chicama vessel are filled with decorative artistic elements. Similar to that of the San José de Moro style, Late Chicama designs present a tendency to fill much of the available surface area on their ceramics. Despite the differences presented in the geometric

designs between the Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche styles, Late Chicama figurative designs were close approximations of their Huacas de Moche counterparts.

Comparing the Late Chicama and San José de Moro Substyles

The Late Chicama fineline painting substyle bore a closer resemblance to Huacas de Moche Phase IV than it did to the San José de Moro style. Yet, there is evidence that it also shared close ties with the substyle based out of the Jequetepeque Valley. In the following sections I describe the similarities and differences between the Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles.

Late Chicama vs. San José de Moro Vessel Forms

Both substyles utilized nearly identical repertoires of pottery types. While the stirrup spout bottle was the primary form on which fineline decorations were painted, the greatest difference in the ceramic types employed by San José de Moro and Late Chicama populations concerns use of flaring bowls. Although this form was present in the Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche substyles, it was not produced by San José de Moro artists. Significantly, like that of Late Chicama, the San José de Moro tradition did not include dippers in its corpus of painted ceramics. This suggests that the Late Chicama and San José de Moro traditions both veered from the pottery program at Huacas de Moche. Given that the types of ceremonial pottery reflect those used in ritual, the fact that each substyle produced a different assemblage of vessel forms indicates that the polities that produced these ceramics practiced their own their local customs.

The stirrup spout bottles of Late Chicama and San José de Moro share several commonalities, but they also exhibit significant differences. For instance, the upper spouts of all of the stirrup spout bottles of these two Moche substyles taper in towards the top; they therefore

belong to Larco Hoyle's Phase V category. While their upper spouts are similar, the bases of these stirrup spout bottles allow for their identification with one substyle versus the other. With few exceptions, only San José de Moro stirrup spout bottles have ringed bases. In the rare instances in which a Late Chicama bottle has a ringed base, it can be identified as Late Chicama by either its painting style or their subject matter.

Figure 4.12 presents just such an example where a stirrup spout vessel, if classified solely on the basis of its morphological features, would be attributed to the San José de Moro style, but its decoration reveals that it belongs to the Late Chicama tradition. The vessel's ringed base, equatorial chamber and the shape of the handle and spout are all consistent with other examples of San José de Moro pottery. Significantly, even the painted designs on the spout and upper spout are typical of those that decorate San José de Moro style bottles. Despite these features, the geometric design painted on the chamber of the bottle suggests that it belongs to the Late Chicama tradition. Geometric motifs are extremely rare within the San José de Moro iconographic corpus. Not only were geometric motifs popular in general within the Late Chicama tradition, but the type painted on the bottle in Figure 4.12 is also unique to this particular substyle. The Late Chicama identification of this bottle is further supported by the fact that it is attributed to the site of Paiján in the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera's catalog.

The hybrid nature of the vessel illustrated in Figure 4.12 can be explained in a fashion similar to that in Figure 4.8. Figure 4.8 is another case of a vessel demonstrating attributes of both the Late Chicama style and another fineline painted substyle. Just as I argued that Figure 4.8 was the result of a Late Chicama artist who was trained in the Huacas de Moche tradition of fineline painted ceramics, I find the bottle in Figure 4.12 to be the product of an artist that was familiar with Late Chicama and San José de Moro ceramic techniques. In Chapter 6, I will discuss the significance of this notion in greater detail.

Comparison of Content in the San José de Moro and Late Chicama Substyles

In addition to the corpus of Late Chicama and San José de Moro fineline pottery shapes, similarities and differences can also be identified in the subject matter they portrayed. As illustrated in Table 1, most of the artistic motifs present in the San José de Moro iconographic repertoire are also employed in the Late Chicama fineline style. Shared content include scenes of Supernatural Confrontation, Anthropomorphized Birds, the bird drinking from a bowl, Ritual Runners, Anthropomorphized Crayfish, and boat scenes, among others. Many of the narrative motifs shared across the San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche substyles were not adopted by the Late Chicama artists. Whereas as the Bean and Stick Ceremony and Ceremonial Badminton were portrayed by San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche artists, they are not present in the corpus of Late Chicama imagery. This likely results from a Late Chicama preference for simple subjects. As noted above, complex scenes are uncommon among Late Chicama decorations. This parallels the proliferation of geometric designs in implying that the particular belief system that was propagated by the Late Chicama polity did not involve many of the rituals and myths that were illustrated through narrative scenes present in the Huacas de Moche artistic tradition.

Curiously, unlike the San José de Moro style, no figurative artistic designs were invented by Late Chicama artists. In fact, the only instance of a subject produced in the Late Chicama style that did not originate in the Huacas de Moche tradition is a single portrayal of the Burial Scene. Again, this appears to point to the notion that the importance of narrative designs was demoted in the Late Chicama fineline painting tradition.

Different Styles of Representing Shared Imagery: Example 1, The Strombus Monster

Despite the overlap in subject matter across the Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles, these categories present variant ways of representing shared imagery. For instance, Figure 4.13 illustrates a stirrup spout bottle attributed to the Chicama Valley site of Facalá in the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera's catalog. Its decoration portrays the so-called Strombus Monster, which, as noted above, is a stylized version of a *Strombus*, a sea creature commonly known as a conch. This motif is found in the iconographic repertoires of both the San José de Moro and Late Chicama styles. On San José de Moro style vessels, the Strombus Monster appears only in scenes of Supernatural Confrontation, whereas in examples coming from the Late Chicama style, it is always shown alone. This can be observed in the decoration of the vessel in Figure 4.13, which depicts an image of the Strombus Monster on each side of the vessel's chamber.

In addition to differences in the overall composition, the particular features of the Late Chicama Strombus Monsters generally contrast with those of the San José de Moro style. Figure 4.14 presents a stirrup spout bottle excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project. Whereas the Late Chicama rendering of the Strombus Monster features a long pronounced snout with four circles protruding from its top, the mouth of the San José de Moro example is more beak-like. These elements may be represented in the San José de Moro version by spiral elements that extend from the top of the Strombus Monster's snout, but this remains unclear. Another distinguishing feature of the San José de Moro representation of the Strombus Monster is the high degree of abstraction of its feet. In contrast, in the Late Chicama decoration, in which a joint can be clearly identified, the long appendages of the San José de Moro Strombus Monster simply end in claws. Additionally, while the Late Chicama example presents spikes on the tail of the Strombus Monster with a series of triangles protruding from it, the tail of the San José de Moro version of this supernatural creature is covered with spikes on both sides of the vessel.

Furthermore, the painting in Figure 4.14 includes many small elements that fill up the composition, an excellent example of the San José de Moro style's use of *horror vacui*. Although, when compared to the Huacas de Moche Phase IV style, Late Chicama fineline paintings appear to use most of the available surface area, San José de Moro decorations feature a tendency to completely fill it. This is most clearly observed in the vessel in Figure 4.14. Here, one is hard pressed to find a void anywhere in the composition.

Thus, while the renderings of the Strombus Monster in the San José de Moro and Late Chicama styles appear related, there are several clear differences in the representations of that subject in the two styles. The Strombus Monsters in the Chicama Valley and San José de Moro examples analyzed here indicate that although the same subjects were portrayed, and were depicted using similar conventions, they were constructed in accord with different styles of painting.

Different Styles of Representing Shared Imagery: Example 2, The Burial Theme

Perhaps the best example of shared imagery rendered differently in the San José de Moro and Late Chicama substyles is the Burial Theme. First recognized by Donnan and Donna McClelland (1979), the Burial Theme is one of the most complex compositions produced by Moche artists. Four separate scenes, known today as “Sacrifice,” “Conch Exchange,” “Assembly,” and “Burial,” make up the narrative sequence for the Burial Theme (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1979; Figure 15). One side of the chamber portrays what they labeled the “Burial” and “Assembly,” while “Sacrifice” and the “Conch Exchange” populate the other. The sequence is thought to begin with “Sacrifice,” in which a bound nude female figure is splayed on her back as a group of carnivorous birds peck at her body. The “Conch Exchange,” is separated from “Sacrifice” by a band of repeated war club heads that represent the roof decorations of the

“Conch Exchange.” The “Conch Exchange” is primarily composed of a figure seated atop a staired structure with a gabled roof who is presented conch shells by either the Priestess or Anthropomorphized Iguana. On the other side of the composition, which is separated by a pair of thin parallel lines, are the “Burial” and “Assembly” scenes. The intermingling of these scenes adds to the complexity of the Burial Theme. For instance, two figures (often but not always Anthropomorphized Iguana and Wrinkle Face) stand facing each other on opposite sides of an opening. They hold onto long vertical bands that appear to represent ropes used to lower a mummy bundle into a crypt. Directly below these two figures are rows of repeated figures composing the “Assembly.” The figures range from animals such as llamas and deer to humans and anthropomorphized foxes. The “Burial” continues below, where a mummy bundle attached to the ropes held by Anthropomorphized Iguana and Wrinkle Face rests in a crypt. The mummy bundle is surrounded by conch shells, plates and jars. Ethnohistoric accounts of myths present on the North Coast at the time of European Contact led Donnan and Donna McClelland (1979: 11-12) to propose that this scene represents the sacrifice of a female ritual healer who had failed to save the life of a very important individual.

At present there are 17 known examples of the Burial Scene. The theme remains the subject of much scholarly attention, with most studies devoted to placing its renditions in chronological order (Castillo personal communication, 2010; Donnan and Donna McClelland 1979, 1999; Donna McClelland et al. 2007). In this analysis, I do not set out to provide a chronological sequence of these scenes; rather, I use them as means to highlight stylistic differences between Late Chicama and San José de Moro fineline designs. One of the 17 examples of the Burial Theme in my sample is rendered on a stirrup spout vessel characteristic of the Late Chicama style (Figure 4.15). Significantly, the 16 other specimens are on stirrup spout bottles with very clear San José de Moro associations, with two examples having been

scientifically excavated at the site.

In addition to differences in vessel form, the differences in the rendering of several of the elements in the Burial Theme suggest that the example in Figure 4.15 was in fact created using Late Chicama artistic canons. In terms of subject the painted decoration on this vessel demonstrates no significant deviance from the standard representations of the Burial Theme presented in the 16 examples rendered in the San José de Moro tradition. All four scenes are portrayed in more or less the same way seen in other versions. The healer is splayed on her back, with vultures pecking at her sides and genitals in the Sacrifice section. In the Conch Exchange section, the main figure is seated under a gabled roof atop a stepped structure as conch shells are being presented. The Assembly consists of several registers of human and supernatural figures gathered around the interred. Finally, the Burial on this vessel is very similar to other representations of this artistic motif in that two figures lower the mummy bundle into the ground. Thematically, this representation of the Burial Theme demonstrates no significant differences from its counterparts.

There are important differences in how it is rendered, however. One difference among this and other examples of the Burial Theme lies in the depiction of the conchs. Although every representation of the Burial Theme depicts conch shells being exchanged, the Late Chicama version presents a procession of Strombus Monsters atop the gabled roof (Figure 4.15b). Only two other bottles (one residing in the Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino in Santiago, Chile, the other in the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología y Historia in Lima, Peru) exhibit this procession, yet their renderings of the animals are different from that in the Late Chicama example. For instance, the Late Chicama conch animals have long necks and tails. As noted above, Late Chicama representations of this creature typically have fangs and long snouts with two balls that project from their snouts like television antennae. Alternatively, among San José

de Moro examples the balls at the end of the snout are not prominent. Also noted above were the differences in the feet of the Strombus Monsters. Whereas Late Chicama depictions clearly exhibit feet with claws, those of the San José de Moro tradition present stylized claws with no real indication of feet. This trend is most visible in the upper part of the San José de Moro portrayal of the Burial Theme in Figure 4.16.

Another distinguishing feature of the Late Chicama Burial Scene is the naturalistic representation of the seated figure in the Conch Exchange. Although this figure is highly abstracted in most other representations of the Burial Theme—to the extent that its body is depicted a blob—the Late Chicama version of this figure is portrayed with a naturalistic chest in frontal view, its legs crossed beneath, and its head in profile. The chest and legs in this version demonstrate no features that are particularly distinctive of Late Chicama designs. Its crooked nose, and prominent chin present a naturalism that, while rare in the Late Chicama style, is wholly uncharacteristic of San José de Moro fineline painted decorations, and thus support the notion that the example in Figure 4.15 was created using the Late Chicama artistic canon.

In addition to the seated figure of the Conch Exchange, the representation of Anthropomorphized Iguana in Late Chicama Burial Theme decorations is stylistically different from that of the San José de Moro style. Anthropomorphized Iguana, who is present in several other San José de Moro motifs, such as the Bean and Stick Ceremony, has a fairly standardized mode of representation. More often than not, Anthropomorphized Iguana's face is decorated with several parallel lines that were likely created to give the impression of wrinkled skin, like that found on iguanas in nature. In contrast to these portrayals, the Late Chicama bottle presents Anthropomorphized Iguana with his face in silhouette. Furthermore, Wrinkle Face is portrayed with a naturalism that is uncharacteristic of the San José de Moro style. Like that of the seated

figure, his face and chin appear more life-like than is found in most San José de Moro examples of the Burial Theme.

Despite the disparity in the renderings of the Stombus Monster, the Late Chicama bottle presents all of the main elements of a typical version of the Burial Theme. This is significant, as it highlights differences between the Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles, even when the subject is the same. A second observation is that the Late Chicama example fits within the San José de Moro style of portraying the Burial Theme and may help to identify its origins. In a discussion of the subject matter portrayed in Late Chicama fineline painting earlier in this chapter, I noted that there is a highly limited range of subjects that are depicted in this substyle. There appears to have been a preference for avian imagery in the Late Chicama artistic program, and complex scenes seem to have been of limited interest. I have found in my sample no evidence for predecessors of the Burial Theme in the Late Chicama examples, nor have I found any inclination that the Late Chicama substyle portrayed any other innovative narrative scenes. In contrast, the San José de Moro substyle produced new representations of the Bean and Stick Ceremony and continued to depict activities related to the Ceremonial Badminton ritual. Both of these motifs appear in the Huacas de Moche substyle, yet they have no Late Chicama counterparts. Thus, this becomes a precedent in which San José de Moro scenes are directly influenced by Huacas de Moche designs—here, the Late Chicama style did not act as an intermediary. Recently, Castillo (personal communication, 2010) has argued that several Huacas de Moche scenes were the predecessors to the Burial Theme. My research supports this hypothesis.

I find the example of the Burial Theme in Figure 4.15 to be a Late Chicama copy of a San José de Moro design. Not only is the decoration painted on a bottle with clear Late Chicama associations as demonstrated above, but it was rendered in a Late Chicama painting style. The

question arises: how can we explain the occurrence of a Late Chicama example of a San José de Moro artistic motif? If fineline painted imagery was created and disseminated by ruling regimes to obtain and maintain political power, then why would the Late Chicama polity have any interest in their own version of another polity's propaganda? One explanation is that these vessels were produced by artists trained in the Late Chicama pottery tradition who then created works for a San José de Moro audience. This notion is further explored in Chapter 6.

Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the ceramics that I classify as belonging to the Late Chicama fineline painting substyle. Analysis of my sample of Chicama Valley ceramics indicates that there was indeed a distinct form of decorating and producing fineline painted pottery that was popular in this region. The strongest evidence for this comes from the geometric bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts. While the morphology of the upper spouts of these vessels leads me to attribute them to the Phase V category, along with the San José de Moro substyle, the distinctive designs exhibited on the chambers of these vessels provides support that they represent a fineline painting tradition distinct from that of San José de Moro.

In addition to vessel forms, the subject matter and the manner in which shared Moche imagery were represented on Late Chicama ceramics provides further reason to assign the Late Chicama substyle to a separate category of Moche art. Similarities and differences in vessel form, subject matter, and style among the Late Chicama, San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche artistic programs indicate that the Late Chicama fineline painting tradition is unique. In the following chapter I explore the consequence of this observation by attempting to place the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro painting styles in chronological order.

Chapter 5. Revising the Chronology for Moche Fineline Painting

My analyses of Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro ceramic fineline paintings in Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrates that they are three distinct stylistic categories of Moche art. Building upon this finding, in this chapter I return to the question of Moche chronology. I find that by comparing the ways in which the Moche formed their vessels and represented their subject matter, it is possible to propose a revised chronological sequence for Moche fineline painting.

Recognizing that Moche ceramics do not belong to a single, unified tradition, which was the foundation of Rafael Larco Hoyle's chronology or even two separate traditions, as Luis Jaime Castillo and Christopher Donnan (1994) proposed for the Northern Moche –paves the way for a reevaluation of the chronology for Moche pottery that can accommodate the concept of multiple substyles. Although future studies will surely include substyles not discussed in this dissertation (i.e., the Huancaco and Dos Cabezas substyles), I am concerned here only with placing the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro traditions in chronological order.

Despite the advances that have been made in Moche archaeology over the past 70 years, the chronology developed by Larco Hoyle (1948) and modified by Donnan and Donna McClelland (1999) as it relates to fineline painting is accurate for the most part. The major revision that I propose is a division of Larco Hoyle's Phase V into two categories, one belonging to the Late Chicama substyle and the other to the San José de Moro substyle. Below, I show that the San José de Moro substyle grew out of the Late Chicama substyle. This indicates a progression through time from Huacas de Moche → Late Chicama → San José de Moro.

Absolute Dating the Moche Fineline Painted Substyles

The proliferation of archaeological projects along the North Coast in recent years has produced a wealth of new radiocarbon dates. Unfortunately, radiocarbon dates are not available for all Moche sites. Nonetheless, those that exist provide clues to the locations of Moche settlements in use during the Late Moche period. The most extensive inquiry into this matter was made by Greg Lockard, who in 2009 published a comparison of radiocarbon dates from Huacas de Moche and Galindo, a site noted in Chapter 4 to have yielded Late Chicama fineline ceramics. Lockard concluded that these sites were semi-contemporaneous, as the dates associated with their Moche occupations sites were not identical but overlapped considerably. For instance, while he observed that Huacas de Moche Phase IV artifacts (~AD 436) predated Galindo (~AD 647), Lockard also found that the latest dates at Huacas de Moche and Galindo continued well into the eighth century (Lockard 2009a, Figure 10).

Recent evidence suggests that sites associated with the San José d Moro style are also semi-contemporaneous with those associated with Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama pottery. Unfortunately, a large array of radiocarbon dates has not yet been published for San José de Moro. However, Castillo (personal communication 2011) has indicated that several assays from that site are similar to those formerly obtained by Swenson (2004). Swenson (2004) took five assays from San Ildefonso (a site that neighbors San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley), which produced dates ranging from AD 490 to AD 780. Additional samples from Cerro Catalina (in close proximity to San Ildefonso and San José de Moro) produced, for Swenson, a temporal range of AD 415 to AD 720. Significantly, San Ildefonso and Cerro Catalina are not only located in the same Valley as San José de Moro, they also both yielded examples of fineline painted ceramic fragments that were decorated in the San José de Moro style. Thus, the best available

evidence at present indicates that the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro fineline painting substyles were all in use during the Late Moche period.

Relative Dating Moche Fineline Artifacts

While absolute dating techniques are helpful tools for gaining a general idea of when objects were interred, they are not yet accurate enough to distinguish small-scale temporal changes. For instance, it is common for radiocarbon assays to have an error of +/- 70 years. In contrast, relative dating techniques are helpful in identifying small changes in time, as they ascertain artifacts' relation to one another within in a relative sequence. This type of study has proven useful in the analysis of pottery in other areas of the world, most notably in Archaic and Classical Greek Vase painting.

In his seminal monograph, *Necrocorinthia*, Humfry Payne (1931) outlined a method for identifying different phases of development of Corinthian vase painting. Payne suggested that in order to determine different stages of stylistic development one must distinguish early examples from late examples (Payne 1931: 45). For Payne, this involved attempting to identify a style he labeled the Early Corinthian Orientalizing (EC) style by demonstrating that it shared attributes with the earlier Transitional Orientalizing (TO) style. He then placed categories he labeled the Middle and Late Corinthian Orientalizing styles into the sequence.

Payne described his earliest style, the EC style as having developed from the earlier TO style.⁴ He noted that the shift from the TO style to the EC style was marked by the introduction of a 'solid' incised rosette motif, a hall-mark element of Corinthian vase painting (Payne 1931: 43). In addition to the solid rosette, the EC style was characterized by changes in composition,

⁴ The term "Orientalizing," was used by Payne to describe the introduction of "Oriental" animals and floral patterns to Greek painted decorations.

and content of painted decorations. In terms of general composition Payne observed that artists painting in the EC tradition enlarged and elongated the size of their images as they increased the height of individual registers, a trend that led to a reduction of the number of registers on a given vessel (Payne 1931: 46). In addition to employing larger images, EC artists made use of a more diverse color palette and demonstrated greater freedom in the content of their decorations than was present on TO vases. For instance, Payne found the EC style to exhibit examples of new mythical creatures, some of which were borrowed from foreign decorations, while others were Corinthian inventions (Payne 1931: 51). Although most vessel types from the Protocorinthian and Transitional Orientalizing styles continued into the EC period, Payne noted that a number of new forms were introduced. These permitted him to acknowledge EC's relation to earlier styles, while at the same time providing him with a trait by which the EC vessels could be distinguished (Payne 1931: 52).

The notion that the EC style developed out of earlier styles was an essential component of Payne's method for creating a chronology of Corinthian pottery. He proposed that once the earliest and latest styles have been identified, he would be able to recognize the intermediary style that bridged the two. As a result, he followed his discussion of the EC style with one he termed the "Late Corinthian Orientalizing" (LC) style. He noted that the LC style was ushered in with the introduction of a red slipped background and observed that LC vessels were painted in both black-figure and outlined drawings (Payne 1931: 58). Payne indicated that the outline drawing technique was exclusive to the LC style, but that black-figure painting was a continuation from earlier periods. Black-figure images from the LC were noted to be more slender and rendered with less detail than those of EC. In addition, LC decorations were found to have far less diverse iconographic repertoire that Payne characterized as "almost unrelieved monotony" (Payne 1931: 59). In addition to the decrease in iconographic variety, Payne

observed that few of the vessel forms prevalent in the EC survived into the LC. Therefore, the LC not only introduced the outlined figure, but also demonstrated a dramatic decrease in painting quality, creativity, and variety of vessel forms.

For Payne, the Middle Corinthian Orientalizing (MC) style, which was composed of objects that did not fit in the EC or LC categories, was the most difficult to classify. He suggested that it represented the greatest amount of variation, as many examples were difficult to attribute to either end of the spectrum. He found that the most effective method for dating MC vessels was to compare them with examples from the better studied Attic tradition of painted pottery. For instance, Payne observed that several Corinthian cups in his sample appeared closely related to Attic counterparts thought to come from the workshop of Sophilos (1931: 62). He then proposed that other Corinthian ceramic types discovered in the same burial contexts with these cups were also from the same period. As a result, he found the MC style to include two sub-phases, I and II. MC I was composed of vessels thought to be more closely related to the EC style, and those of MC II to the LC style. In sum, Payne's method involved contrasting a subset he thought to be early with one he thought be late, and then identifying another subset that bridged the two.

To apply Payne's method to Moche fineline painting, it is first necessary to identify early, middle and late subsets of Moche imagery, which can then be compared. To place the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles in sequential order, I will examine a motif that appears in all three traditions. I have elected to use boat imagery for this purpose for a number of reasons. First and foremost, boat imagery is found in all three fineline traditions. Second, boat imagery takes up over 25% of San José de Moro fineline decorations according to Donna McClelland et al. (2007) and thus appears to have been very important within that

substyle. A final, third, reason for focusing on boat imagery is that Alana Cordy-Collins (1977) produced a chronology for boat imagery with which I can compare the results of my analysis.

I have divided Moche boat imagery into six different categories. These are 1) Huacas de Moche Phase III, 2) Huacas de Moche Phase IV, 3) Late Chicama, 4) San José de Moro Reed Boat Scenes, 5) San José de Moro Crescent Boat Scenes, and 6) San José de Moro Conceptual Boat Scenes. I describe each category below, and follow up with a discussion of their chronological placement.

Huacas de Moche Phase III Boat Scenes

Painted boat imagery is rare in the Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline style. I have encountered only two examples in my sample (Figure 5.1a, 5.1b). In both cases the boats are occupied by humanoid figures with grotesque mouths, indicating that they are of a supernatural status (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 50). Figure 5.1a shows two figures kneeling on or in boats. Both figures are engaged in fishing activities, holding lines that hook the so-called “Demon Fish” (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 67). In this scene one of the Demon Fish is in its natural form, whereas the other is anthropomorphized. The anthropomorphic Demon Fish features a human leg and arm, and wields a tumi knife. The boats, which are also animated with Demon Fish heads at the bow and the stern, wrap around the supernatural figures to left and right, forming a crescent. Both of the Demon Fish heads of these boats face the left side of the composition. Curiously, of all the boat scenes in my sample, this is the only one in which the animated heads point in the same direction.

The second Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline decoration featuring a boat also portrays a single occupant with a human body and a supernatural face (Figure 5.1b). This figure is similarly engaged in fishing activities, as he holds a net in his right hand and appears poised to

haul in a large ray floating next to the bow of the ship. Like the Huacas de Moche Phase III example in Figure 5.1a, the boat in this scene wraps around its occupant—a characteristic unique to Huacas de Moche Phase III decorations. The boats in both examples are also constructed similarly, formed by thick horizontal lines that are segmented by vertical bands. Diagonal lines on their vertical bands appear to represent the ropes that were used to tie reed bundles together in their construction. It is noteworthy that the bow and stern of the boat in Figure 5.1b do not feature Demon Fish heads. This is the only reed boat in my sample that does not portray this hallmark feature of Moche watercraft.

Huacas de Moche Phase IV Boat Scenes

In Huacas de Moche Phase IV, fineline painted boat scenes adopt forms not present in Huacas de Moche Phase III examples. For instance, Huacas de Moche Phase IV boats no longer wrap around their occupants; rather they tend to be elongated along the horizontal axis. Additionally, the bows and sterns of every Huacas de Moche Phase IV boat in my sample end in Demon Fish heads. Unlike the Huacas de Moche Phase III example in Figure 5.1a, the heads always face in opposite directions. Although Huacas de Moche Phase IV boats were rendered in a fashion similar to those of Huacas de Moche Phase III— with segmented horizontal lines bisected by horizontal bands— Phase IV artists utilized thinner brushstrokes, giving these boats a more naturalistic quality (Figure 5.2). Another similarity between Huacas de Moche Phase III and Phase IV naval scenes is that their occupants were involved in fishing activities. As in Huacas de Moche Phase III designs, the harvests of these fishing activities are rays and Demon Fish.

Unlike Huacas de Moche Phase III representations of boats, which feature a single repeated fisherman, the cast of characters portrayed onboard in Huacas de Moche Phase IV

decorations has been expanded to include deified anthropomorphized marine animals such as the octopus and Muscovy duck. Another innovation in Huacas de Moche Phase IV designs is the addition to the boats' hull of human legs or fish fins, which were likely added to represent movement (Figure 5.3) (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999: 61). In addition to human legs and fish fins, boats are also propelled by anthropomorphic avian deities that help push or pull the boats along their path (Figure 5.2). Also new to Huacas de Moche Phase IV boat scenes are large circular bundles that are linked to the boats by long ropes (Figure 5.3). These appear to have aided in balancing the boats and also appear in Late Chicama and San José de Moro examples of boat scenes (Cordy-Collins 1972). In several examples jars are depicted on the deck of a Huacas de Moche Phase IV naval vessel, suggesting that the boats carried provisions that would have allowed for long journeys at sea (Figure 5.4).

In sum, many Huacas de Moche Phase III and Phase IV boat scenes portrayed fishing scenes. The consistency with which they depict rays and the Demon Fish speaks to the importance of these animals within Huacas de Moche lore. Furthermore, the cast of supernatural characters involved in these scenes suggests that these particular deities were important to the Huacas de Moche polity and may have been the patron deities of fishermen.

Late Chicama Boat Scenes

Late Chicama boat scenes present significant differences from those of the Huacas de Moche tradition, the most glaring of which come in their depictions of the boats themselves. Whereas, in Huacas de Moche Phase IV, boats were often elongated along the horizontal axis, or gently curved, producing a slight u-shape, Late Chicama boats have pronounced angles or joints. While the keel of the boat is flat, the ends angle upwards, in some cases as much as 90° (Figure 5.5). Furthermore, some Late Chicama boats indicate the presence of a below-deck cargo hold,

which contains jars as well as bound humans (discussed below). In contrast to depictions of Huacas de Moche boats, where sailors stand on the hull of the ship, those of the Late Chicama category stand on top of this deck (see Figure 5.6). Like those of the Huacas de Moche style, the ends of Late Chicama boats take the form of zoomorphic Demon Fish heads. An additional similarity between the two styles is the presence of bird deities propelling the boat (Figures 5.6, 5.7).

Different casts of characters occupy Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama ships. In contrast to the range of supernatural creatures depicted onboard Huacas de Moche reed boats, Late Chicama examples limit these to bird deities and two characters with entirely human appearances, the Priestess (from the Sacrifice Ceremony of the Warrior Narrative) and an entirely new figure who carries a long, thin paddle and has been dubbed the “Paddler” by Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 30; Figures 5.5-5.7). Another dramatic change in these boat scenes is that fishing is no longer the main activity. Whereas the various supernatural figures portrayed in Huacas de Moche boat scenes hold fishing lines and nets, those in most Late Chicama scenes do not. Instead, Late Chicama representations portray the Paddler and the Priestess on the top of the vessel’s deck, either propelling the boat with their own paddle or resting while bird deities paddle for them. Of the five Late Chicama boat scenes in my sample, four provide no indication of fishing; rather, they appear to focus on the transport of goods and bound captives.

It is significant that Late Chicama boats feature cargo holds in which containers, likely representing ceramic jars, and bound humans are stored (see Figures 5.5-5.7). The presence of bound humans is important, especially since captives are not portrayed in Late Chicama battle scenes, and are otherwise absent from this substyle. Their portrayal as cargo, along with whatever was held in the containers, indicates that the transport of these goods likely played a major role in Late Chicama society.

A further point worth considering is the direction in which the ships travel. Whereas Huacas de Moche boats invariably head from the left of the composition to the right, the tendency for Late Chicama ships is to travel from right to left (a single Late Chicama boat in my sample faces to the right). Since these boats scenes often depict sea creatures, it can be assumed that the boats were ocean-going crafts. Thus, the change in course presented on Late Chicama boat scenes could result from one of three possible scenarios. The first is that since Peru lies on South America's western coast, and viewers of nautical vessels would presumably be on land, Late Chicama boat scenes could depict travel along the coast in a southerly direction. Thus, one could imagine that the Paddler and the Priestess were heading to the Chicama Valley from a location to the North. The second scenario is that these two figures are leaving the Chicama Valley and traveling south, perhaps to Huacas de Moche. The third possibility is that the switch from right-facing boats to those pointing to the left of the composition is not related to a naturalistic depiction of seafaring boats at all. The change may simply have been a rejection of part of Huacas de Moche artistic program. Thus, instead of representing a change in direction, the innovation in depicting boats is related to a change of Late Chicama's attitude towards traditional Huacas de Moche political beliefs. For now, this issue cannot be resolved, but future archaeological findings of Late Chicama artifacts along the coast in either direction may provide clues as to the direction in which Late Chicama boats moved.

A final characteristic of Late Chicama boat scenes is the presence of human legs under the keels of their ships. Whereas bird deities are occasionally seen in Late Chicama painted decorations propelling the reed boats, the movement of Late Chicama sea craft is also indicated by human legs bent as if in mid-stride. This way of displaying movement, as we have seen, was present in the Huacas de Moche fineline painting tradition, and it was also prevalent among San José de Moro Reed Boat scenes.

San José de Moro Boat Scenes

San José de Moro boat scenes present the greatest variation in Moche boat imagery and provide the best case for tracing the development of this theme *within* a fineline painting substyle. As noted above, there were three different categories of San José de Moro boat scenes, two of which were previously recognized by Donna McClelland et al. and one which I have identified. The first, Reed Boats, which was previously described by Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 30), depicts boats made of segmented parallel lines that are similar to those in the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama traditions. A second category, labeled “Crescent Boats” by Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 44) comprises examples in which boats are represented only as empty crescent shapes. The third category, which I call Conceptual Boats, was not identified by Donna McClelland et al. (2007). This category does not represent the boat with painted lines; rather, its presence is implied by protruding equators of stirrup spout bottles with highly angular chambers (summarized in Figure 5.8).

Reed Boats

This category of boat images, which is characterized by boats constructed with thin parallel lines in the San José de Moro style, shares many traits and artistic conventions with those of Late Chicama manufacture. As in the Late Chicama tradition, San José de Moro reed boats form angular U-shapes by means of a horizontal base and two “joints” that turn up at the ends (Figure 5.9). The joints in San José de Moro examples tend to be even more pronounced than those of Late Chicama. Like those of Huacas de Moche Phase III, Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama categories, San José de Moro reed boats feature zoomorphic Demon Fish heads. Another characteristic common to these four categories of boat imagery is the depiction of waves and sea creatures that identify the Pacific Ocean as the location of these maritime scenes. Yet, whereas oceanic life forms portrayed in Huacas de Moche designs include rays and Demon

Fish, and those of Late Chicama depicted only Demon Fish, San José de Moro reed boat scenes contain only rays.

San José de Moro and Late Chicama reed boats both have cargo holds within their ships. However, unlike Late Chicama decorations not a single example of the San José de Moro boats depicts the transportation of human cargo. Instead, they carry only jars. It is possible that the absence of human cargo is related to the fact that all San José de Moro reed boats face to the right of the composition. In contrast to their left-facing Late Chicama counterparts, the San José de Moro artistic program standardized the direction of its reed boats as being towards the right.

It is also possible that the Late Chicama and San José de Moro artistic programs catered to different political systems. In Late Chicama society, the transport of bound captives, possibly headed for sacrifice, was significant enough to warrant painted representation. The absence of this subject in San José de Moro boat scenes suggests that either 1) this activity was not practiced by the San José de Moro polity, 2) the rite was practiced, but not worthy of pictorial representation, or 3) the jars were meant to function as symbols for human captives. It is not yet possible to evaluate the first two possibilities, although the third can be dismissed. Jeffrey Quilter (1997: 128) proposed that the jars in the holds of Moche ships were filled with human blood and were analogous to captives headed for blood sacrifice. Captives, like jars, were viewed as receptacles holding precious liquids. Since not a single fineline boat scene from San José de Moro depicts human cargo, however, there is no good evidence to support the notion that San José de Moro jars were meant to symbolize captives. If this had been the case, then one would expect at least one example in which jars and captives appear together.

A further similarity between reed boat depictions of San José de Moro and Late Chicama styles pertains to the occupants of the boats. As in Late Chicama examples, the main occupants of San José de Moro scenes are the Paddler and the Priestess. Furthermore, as in the Late

Chicama examples, the occupants of the San José de Moro boats are not involved in fishing activities; rather they appear to use the ships only for transport. The bird deities that occasionally appear onboard Late Chicama sea craft are absent from this category. The Paddler and the Priestess are the only figures portrayed on San José de Moro's Reed Boats.

While San José de Moro naval imagery shares many characteristics of the Late Chicama tradition, there is evidence that it was borrowed directly from Huacas de Moche designs. For instance, with few exceptions nearly all reed boat scenes in the San José de Moro style feature floats connected to the ship with rope like those featured in Huacas de Moche Phase IV scenes. This element is notably absent from Late Chicama examples. Furthermore, as noted above, all San José de Moro boats face right, as is the case for Huacas de Moche boats.

A few words should be devoted to the representation of the human form in San José de Moro Reed Boat scenes. These scenes demonstrate the widest variety of human body depictions. These differences appear largely along gender lines. Every depiction of the masculine "Paddler" follows the standard convention for portraying humans in the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama styles, as his head, arms and legs are in profile but his torso is in frontal view. In contrast, all but a single rendering of the female "Priestess" shows her seated in profile. Curiously, the seated human form of the Priestess is subject to a much greater degree of schematization than that of the Paddler, who is shown standing, floating above the deck of the ship, or, in a few rare examples, kneeling. For instance, while in some cases we see a pronounced arm, leg and waist of the Priestess, in other images her body is simplified to a blob-like mass (Figure 5.10). In contrast, even depictions where the Paddler is kneeling on the deck of the ship show him with a pronounced torso in frontal view (Figure 5.11). The Priestess's pronounced features are rare in Crescent Boat scenes (Figure 5.12) and entirely absent in the Conceptual Boat category (Figure 5.13).

Crescent Boats

Boats that take the form of an empty crescent shape characterize this category of Moche boat scenes (Figure 5.12). Unlike the Moche boat scenes described above, these ships do not feature zoomorphic heads at the bow or stern. Another unique trait of Crescent Boats is the presence of radiating lines that not only extend from the hull of the crescent-shaped vessel but also emanate from its occupant.

In contrast to reed boat scenes of the San José de Moro style, Crescent Boats are occupied only by the Priestess. The significance of the shift from the Paddler and Priestess combination to a lone Priestess was indicated by Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 44), who noted that Crescent Boat scenes with the Priestess comprise over 25% of all known San José de Moro designs. Yet, like the Reed Boat scenes of the Late Chicama and San José de Moro styles, the Crescent Boat scene with the Priestesses imply that the main activity was transport of people. Crescent Boat scenes, like the reed boat scenes of the San José de Moro style, however, do not provide any indication of the manner in which the boat was propelled, as the Priestess holds no paddle, only what appears to be a bag (Donna McClelland et al. 2007: 44). This bag is similar to those carried by Ritual Runners, which I find to suggest that the Priestess is carrying a message of some kind.

Although most examples of Crescent Boat scenes do not feature waves like those present on Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche compositions, marine creatures, plants and spherical elements with hanging straps appear at the edges of the compositions. The spherical elements with hanging straps are the same as those portrayed in the cargo hold of reed boats, and thus likely symbolized ceramic vessels. This suggests that the crescent boats probably did not represent a new form of water craft; rather, this is a new mode of depicting the traditional reed

vessels. Rays are the most commonly depicted animal, although sea anemones, flowers and beans also populate these motifs.

Conceptual Boats

The final category of San José de Moro boat images is composed of boats that are not depicted on the surface of a ceramic vessel; rather, they are conceptually represented by the angled equator of the vessel's chamber (see Figure 5.8c). Unlike all of the other boats previously described, Conceptual Boats appear only on stirrup spout bottles with angled chambers. As in examples of Crescent Boats, the Paddler is not depicted; the Priestess is the sole sailor. Furthermore, the Priestess's body in this category is highly schematic, portrayed only as an abstract blob-like form (Figure 5.13).

There are several additional features that liken this category to that of Crescent Boats. For instance, the Priestesses in these scenes are consistently depicted with radiating lines emanating from them. Additionally, as in Crescent Boat scenes, Conceptual Boat decorations feature sea animals. Curiously, despite the fact that Conceptual Boats appear to be simplified versions of the Crescent Boat Theme, the range of animals portrayed has been expanded. Whereas both categories depicted rays and sea anemones, spiders, and birds have been added to the repertoire of sea creatures depicted in the Conceptual Boat Theme.

Cordy-Collins's Chronology for Fineline Painted Boat Scenes

In 1977 Alana Cordy-Collins created her chronology for stirrup spout bottles depicting boat imagery by combining an analysis of ceramic vessel shapes with one of the various painted representations of boats in fineline painted decorations. Building upon Larco Hoyle's five-phase ceramic sequence, which was fully accepted at the time, she proposed that Larco Hoyle Phase V

stirrup spout bottles could be further divided into four subcategories, which she labeled “a” through “d.” Cordy-Collins found that, in general, the chambers of these vessels became more angular through time (Figure 5.14). For instance, she proposed that the first phase (Va) was composed of stirrup spout bottles with tall chambers (Cordy-Collins 1977: 425). In Phase Vb, the chambers were globular. In contrast, Phase Vc chambers exhibited a “slight bulge around the equator” (Cordy-Collins 1977: 425). Phase Vd vessels, on the other hand, were characterized as having squat chambers with sharply angled equators. In addition to discussing chamber shape, Cordy-Collins (1977: 427) argued that the progression of boat imagery could be traced through stylistic changes in the representations of human forms. Specifically, she proposed that the human body became more abstract through time. For instance, she found the bodies of Phase Va examples to be naturalistic, whereas those of Phases Vc and Vd were highly compressed and took the shape of a “lazy U” (Cordy-Collins 1977: 426). Significantly, Cordy-Collins’s study of the boat scene was published at a time when Moche art was believed to belong to a single, unified style. From that perspective, differences in Phase V vessels—the latest in the Larco Hoyle seriation—represented the final developments in a unilinear evolution of Moche boat imagery. My recognition that stirrup spout bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts belong to the San José de Moro and Late Chicama substyles, forces a renewed look at the sequence of Moche fineline painted boat imagery.

Applying Payne’s Method to Moche Fineline Painting

According to Payne, once the earliest and latest categories of a sequence have been identified, the middle phases can be defined on the basis of their close likeness to one or another of them. For the case of Moche ceramics, it is possible to make a strong argument that Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline boat scenes represent the earliest category. As noted in Chapter 3,

radiocarbon dates and the stratigraphic contexts of Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline painted imagery demonstrate that the latter preceded Huacas de Moche Phase IV vessels (Chapdelaine et al. 2001; Uceda 2010). Thus, the Huacas de Moche Phase III category can be safely placed earlier than Huacas de Moche Phase IV. In Chapter 3 I also noted that Castillo (2000a, 2001a, 2009a) has found that stirrup spout bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase III upper spouts (described by Castillo as belonging to the “Middle Moche” period) predated those painted in the San José de Moro style at San José de Moro (Castillo 2000a, 2001a, 2009a). Although the Larco Hoyle Phase III vessels at San José de Moro do not belong to the Huacas de Moche tradition, they provide evidence that the Larco Hoyle Phase III stirrup spout bottle preceded the San José de Moro fineline painting substyle. The catalog of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera attributes Huacas de Moche Phase III, Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama vessels to the same sites. Although at this point there are no radiocarbon dates or stratigraphic data to demonstrate that Huacas de Moche Phase III examples came from contexts earlier than those of the Late Chicama style at these sites, there is also, at present, no data to suggest otherwise. Overall, the Huacas de Moche Phase III category appears to have predated the rest.

It is also possible to identify what was likely the latest category of Moche boat scenes. Conceptual Boats are the logical terminus of fineline painted representations of naval imagery for a number of reasons, the most convincing of which is that these scenes require the viewer to have previous knowledge about the subject in order to comprehend its decoration. Conceptual Boat scenes do not depict watercraft in fineline form; rather, this element is symbolized by the angled equator of its vessel’s chamber. In order to read the image, the viewer must already know that the Priestess is traveling on a ship.

The level of abstraction of the human form that characterized the Conceptual Boat category also suggests that it was the last category in the sequence. As noted above, the body of

the Priestess in all examples of Conceptual Boat scenes in my sample is a highly amorphous blob. In contrast, more naturalistic depictions of her form are found in Huacas de Moche Phase III, Huacas de Moche Phase IV, Late Chicama and Reed Boat scenes. Although most of the Priestesses of the Crescent Boats are blob-shaped, my sample contains four examples (out of 49) in which she is portrayed with a naturalistic body.

My suggestion that Conceptual Boats were preceded by Crescent Boats is evidenced by similarities in their compositions. For the most part, these designs are nearly identical. They both portray images of the seated Priestess facing to the right. In both, she is surrounded by radiating lines. Additionally, both scenes also include animals, plants, or inanimate objects as decorative elements that border their compositions. In fact, the main difference between these two categories concerns the presence or absence of the crescent-shaped water craft (it is probably for this reason that Donna McClelland et al. (2007: 44) placed them in the same thematic category). Although these categories are closely related, since the compositions of Conceptual Boat scenes are best understood when a viewer is familiar with the Conceptual Boat prototype, and because in every case the Priestess's body is schematized, it is likely that the Conceptual Boat category superseded that of the Crescent Boat scene. With Huacas de Moche Phase III designs recognized as the earliest category and the Conceptual Boat scene established as the latest, having come after those portraying Crescent Boats, it is possible to deduce the chronological order of the final three categories.

Visual analysis of Huacas de Moche Phase III boat imagery supports the stratigraphic data and absolute dating techniques indicating that this category was succeeded by Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted ceramics (Chapdelaine et al. 2001; Uceda 2010). Evidence for this comes in both the representation of figures in boat scenes and the activities in which they were involved. The occupants of Huacas de Moche Phase III boat scenes are supernatural

figures. Significantly, this trend is not featured in any other category except Huacas de Moche Phase IV. A second line of evidence that directly connects Huacas de Moche Phase III and Phase IV boat scenes concerns the nature of the activities they portray. The figures on Huacas de Moche Phase III and Phase IV boat scenes are fishing. The fact that Late Chicama scenes only rarely depict fishing, and that this activity is absent from all San José de Moro designs, lends further support to the notion that Huacas de Moche Phase III decorations were most closely related to those of Huacas de Moche Phase IV.

Now that a sequence has been identified in which Huacas de Moche Phase III → Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Crescent Boat → Conceptual Boat, it is possible to place Late Chicama and Reed Boats within it. Observations of vessel form, content and style indicate that the Late Chicama substyle follows Huacas de Moche Phase IV. Despite differences in their upper spouts, Late Chicama pots decorated with boat scenes generally take forms similar to those of Huacas de Moche Phase IV. They also share the overall globular form of their chambers characteristic of their Huacas de Moche Phase IV counterparts, although those of Late Chicama ceramics taper in towards the top, creating an elliptical, or oval-like silhouette diagnostic of the substyle (for an example see Figures 4.1 and 4.4).

Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama boat scenes also present a number of iconographic similarities that indicate a connection between the two categories in terms of shared artistic conventions. As noted above, bird deities are depicted propelling water craft in both styles. These figures, which are not present in Huacas de Moche Phase III or San José de Moro designs, provide a unique bond between Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama decorations.

Although the subject matter differs, especially in regards to ships' occupants, the overall composition of boat scenes in these two categories is the same. Both are dominated by repeated

images of a boat with figures onboard. Artistic conventions portraying the movement of the boat also indicate a connection between these two categories. Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama decorations often depict bird deities that push the hull of the ship. In contrast, bird deities are absent from San José de Moro Reed Boat scenes, indicating that a closer relationship existed between Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama designs.

Thus, there are stylistic connections between Late Chicama designs and Huacas de Moche Phase IV that do not exist for Huacas de Moche Phase III and San José de Moro examples. As a result it is possible to place the Late Chicama designs after those from Huacas de Moche Phase III in the following sequence: Huacas de Moche Phase III → Huacas de Moche Phase IV → Late Chicama.

Finally, there is evidence that San José de Moro Reed Boat scenes should follow Late Chicama Reed Boat scenes. First and foremost, the subject matter of these two categories of boat scenes is nearly identical. They both feature the Priestess and the Paddler aboard seafaring vessels (although additional deities may accompany them in Late Chicama designs). Similarities in painting style, such as the way in which reed boats are portrayed with “jointed” ends and human legs extending from the boats’ keels to indicate movement provide further support for the connection between Late Chicama and San José de Moro Reed Boat scenes. As a result, San José de Moro boat scenes can be safely placed after those from the Late Chicama substyle. Thus the full sequence of boat imagery is: Huacas de Moche Phase III → Huacas de Moche Phase IV → Late Chicama → San José de Moro Reed Boats → San José de Moro Crescent Boats → San José de Moro Conceptual Boats.

My chronology both verifies and expands upon that created by Cordy-Collins. The vessel forms and painting styles featured in Late Chicama, San José de Moro Reed Boats, Crescent Boats and Conceptual Boat decorations confirm the Phase Va-Vd sequence proposed by Cordy-

Collins. For instance, the tall vessel chambers and naturalistic rendering of human forms that characterize her Phase Va category describe the vessels have been defined in this dissertation as belonging to the Late Chicama fineline substyle. This is best supported by the piece Cordy-Collins (1977, Figure 9) used to illustrate an example of a Phase Va pot in her study. The object she selected is a classic example of a Late Chicama vessel. It has an tall chamber, has no ringed base, and bears a striking resemblance to a stirrup spout bottle that is attributed by the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera catalog to Facalá in the Chicama Valley (Figure 5.15). In contrast, the four examples of Phase Vb designs have spherical chambers and ringed bases, which were noted in Chapter 4 to be common features of San José de Moro style stirrup spout bottles. Figure 5.16 presents a stirrup spout bottle excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project (SJMAP) that mimics the examples illustrated by Cordy-Collins. Like those pictured in her study, the bottle discovered at San José de Moro features a spherical chamber, and a ringed base, which further links Cordy Collins's Phase Vb to the San José de Moro fineline painting tradition. Examples of Cordy-Collins Phase Vc, those with more angular chambers, also conform to the San José de Moro style. The two vessels illustrated by Cordy-Collins (1977, Figure 14, Figure 15b) also have ringed bases. Significantly, the spouts on these bottles are decorated with weapon bundles, which identify them as belonging to the San José de Moro style. Furthermore the slightly-angled chambers of these vessels, as well as the chamber illustrated in Cordy-Collins's diagram of her seriation, correspond to an example of the San José de Moro Crescent Boat scene that was excavated by the SJMAP (Figure 5.17). Finally, the examples provided by Cordy-Collins (1977, Figure 16, Figure 17, Figure 18) for Phase Vd feature ringed bases and generally conform to the San José de Moro tradition of painted ceramics. They too mirror a bottle that was excavated by the SJMAP, solidifying their attribution to this category of Moche art (Figure 5.18).

Although Cordy-Collins's chronology accurately traces stirrup spout vessels with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts through time, she did not examine these objects through the purview of regional variation. My reevaluation of Cordy-Collins's seriation with regards to fineline painting substyles finds Cordy-Collins's Phase Va to correspond to examples from the Late Chicama tradition, and those of her Phases Vb, Vc, and Vd to belong to that from San José de Moro. Thus, Cordy-Collins' and I agree that the San José de Moro substyle followed the Late Chicama substyle.

Summary

This chapter analyzed the development of boat imagery across the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles of Moche fineline painting. It found that differences in vessel forms and renderings of the human body indicate a progression from the Huacas de Moche style → Late Chicama style → San José de Moro style. The ability to trace the development of boat imagery across substyles provides exciting new possibilities for understanding the Moche. In the following chapter I discuss new avenues of research that may result from this finding.

Chapter 6. Politics in the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro Substyles

The previous chapters have compared and placed into chronological sequence the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles of Moche fineline painting. Here, I extend this analysis from fineline painting to Moche politics. If the fineline painting styles of the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities were manifestations of the dominant ideology in place at their individual polities, then a comparison of substyles translates into a comparison of the programs used by them to obtain and retain social power. In this chapter, I address the similarities and differences among the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama, and San José de Moro substyles observed in this dissertation and propose how they may inform us of the development of the Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities. Furthermore, I argue that the preceding analysis of fineline painting helps us understand the variant social organizations of these three polities. I do this by interpreting the significance of the polities' unique pantheons. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of possible avenues of future research.

Evidence of official ceremonies at the Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo, the very existence of these and other monumental structures, as well as the production of portable objects used to spread an ideology as described in Chapter 2, suggest that Moche fineline painted decorations were part of a strategy employed by Moche rulers to create and maintain social power. These decorations, in the words of Elizabeth DeMarais et al. (1996), were “manifestations” of Moche dominant ideologies. Therefore, the analysis of Moche boat scenes in Chapter 5, which placed the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro fineline styles in chronological order, translates into an argument for changes in those ideologies over time. For instance, recognizing that the Late Chicama fineline style postdated the Huacas de Moche style suggest that the Late Chicama polity invented its own ideology after the Huacas de

Moche polity had formulated theirs. In a similar vein, the San José de Moro ideology, as reflected in its fineline tradition, would have been formulated after that of the Late Chicama polity. The close connection that existed between Moche art and politics argued in Chapters 1 and 2 suggests that these ideologies can tell us much about the governments that sponsored them. Thus, by tracking the development of ceramic substyles, we can also trace the development of different Moche polities.

The temporal sequence described in Chapters 1-5 is supported by the degrees of similarity among their fineline painting substyles. For instance, a closer relationship has been found to exist between the Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche substyles than between those of San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche. This was apparent in the depiction of boat imagery. Although Late Chicama and San José de Moro styles were characterized by similar representations of this theme, the Late Chicama examples shared more attributes with those from Huacas de Moche than did the San José de Moro decorations. This resulted in the placement of the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama styles in sequential order with Huacas de Moche being earlier in time. Additionally, my analyses of vessel forms and subject matter in Chapter 4 indicated that the Late Chicama fineline painting tradition had closer ties to that from Huacas de Moche. For instance Table 1 shows that 24 of 25 motifs in the Late Chicama fineline painting tradition were shared with the Huacas de Moche tradition whereas, 27 of 33 motifs were shared by Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro. Likewise, four of the five ceramic types that were decorated with fineline painting in the Late Chicama area were used by Huacas de Moche. Alternatively, only three of the San José de Moro vessel forms were found in my sample of Huacas de Moche ceramics (see Table 2 and Table 4). These lines of evidence indicate that the Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche substyles were related, but leave open the question of the nature of their connection.

The Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama Polities:

I propose that the close correspondence between the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama fineline painting programs resulted from Huacas de Moche populations seceding from that government's authority to found the Late Chicama polity. This hypothesis is supported by evidence that Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama populations were close in both space and time. In Chapter 4 I observed that Late Chicama ceramics from the Museo Larco Herrera have been attributed to sites in the Chicama Valley that also contained examples of Huacas de Moche Phase III and Phase IV pottery. Additionally, Michele Koons's (personal communication, 2010) excavations at Licapa II have yielded both Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama fineline painted fragments in such close proximity to one another that it is unclear whether they came from different stratigraphic levels. Furthermore, the overlapping radiocarbon dates taken from Huacas de Moche and sites with Late Chicama pottery provide evidence that the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama populations could have interacted. Finally, the temporal sequence demonstrated in the relative chronology of fineline painting, as well as shared conventions for portraying reed boats also outlined in Chapter 5, unlock the possibility that these populations were one and the same. That is, those who created Late Chicama ceramics and formed the Late Chicama polity may well have been the same people who had used Huacas de Moche pottery and belonged to the Huacas de Moche polity.

The carryover of certain aspects of Huacas de Moche ideology to the Late Chicama polity would also help explain the close similarities in ceramic types, where in some cases the only discernible difference among examples of the two substyles is the shape of vessels' upper spout. As noted in Chapter 4, Figure 4.7 provides a rare example of vessels that belong to Greg Lockard's Type 1 category of Late Chicama geometric patterning, with decorations composed of

rectangular bands bisected by sinuous lines (2005, 2009b). This patterning also appears on a vessel with a Larco Hoyle Phase IV upper spout attributed by the Museo Larco Herrera's catalog to Paiján (ML011267), as well as one with a Late Chicama upper spout attributed by the same catalog to the site of Sausal (ML011264). The flattened bases and tapering chambers of both objects are nearly identical. In fact without the upper spouts, the identity of these bottles would be indiscernible. The close resemblance of these vessel shapes could result from the fact that they were created by the same artists, or by those trained in the same techniques. In other words, these objects could have been made by artists who had once been responsible for producing Huacas de Moche Phase IV pottery and were later charged with creating Late Chicama ceramics. The artists would have made a slight but visible distinction from their old wares when constructing the new "Phase V" upper spout, although they continued to use the same molds and techniques with which they were accustomed.

My suggestion that the Late Chicama polity arose out of the Huacas de Moche polity would also explain the close relationship of the subject matter of Huacas de Moche to Late Chicama ceramic styles. That the Late Chicama polity used an ideological program similar to that previously instituted by Huacas de Moche is supported by the fact that 24 of 25 of the motifs depicted in Late Chicama fineline painted designs had also been used in the Huacas de Moche style. Therefore, the elites of the Late Chicama polity actively borrowed from the iconographic lexicon of Huacas de Moche ideology. In fact, the greatest difference between the Late Chicama and Huacas de Moche painting traditions is in the treatment of geometric forms. As described in Chapter 4, Lockard (2005, 2009b) identified eight different types of geometric designs for what I call Late Chicama ceramics that were also found among Huacas de Moche fineline decorations. Significantly, Garth Bawden (2001), who also noted a preference for geometric decorations in this pottery type, suggested that it represented a substitution for the ideology in place at Huacas

de Moche. He argued that the proliferation of geometric designs was a rejection of the figurative subjects common in Huacas de Moche fineline painted decorations. I contend that even if the focus shifted from figurative to geometric, the appropriation by Late Chicama artists of 27 motifs from the Huacas de Moche tradition shows that there was a considerable degree of influence from the Huacas de Moche artistic program.

The San José de Moro Polity:

The San José de Moro substyle, on the other hand, in many respects more closely resembles that from Late Chicama than it does that from Huacas de Moche. For instance, both substyles are characterized by stirrup spout bottles with Rafael Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts. Additionally, my analysis of boat imagery in Chapter 5 showed that the way in which Late Chicama reed boats and their occupants were depicted was nearly identical to those of the San José de Moro Reed Boat category. Finally, in Chapter 4 I observed that there was a Late Chicama example the Burial Theme, which was a San José de Moro innovation, although none was found among the Huacas de Moche pots in my sample.

Despite the many similarities that exist between the San José de Moro and Late Chicama substyles, San José de Moro shares even more subject matter with Huacas de Moche. For instance, only 18 of 33 motifs were common to the San José de Moro and Late Chicama iconographic repertoires, in contrast to the 27 of 33 motifs shared by San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche. This finding is counterintuitive, for it suggests a closer alignment in San José de Moro's ideological program to Huacas de Moche despite the fact that San José de Moro shares more with Late Chicama in terms of vessel forms and painting style than does Huacas de Moche. How are we to reconcile this discrepancy?

One possible answer is that the San José de Moro substyle represents a rejection of the Late Chicama substyle. If the Late Chicama fineline painting program modified that from Huacas de Moche in order to promote its unique governing system, then the same may have been true at San José de Moro with regards to the Late Chicama style. In Chapter 3, I noted that the San José de Moro substyle included several motifs from the Huacas de Moche fineline tradition that were not used by Late Chicama artists. Given that Lockard (2005, 2009b) and Bawden (2001) have indicated that geometric decorations replaced figurative designs as being the most important in Late Chicama fineline painting, the rejection of Late Chicama geometric designs in lieu of figurative designs may represent San José de Moro's own attempt to create a unique artistic program.

The adoption of selected elements of the Huacas de Moche fineline tradition may also relate to the particular configuration of the San José de Moro polity and its fineline painted substyle. In Chapter 3 it was noted that the San José de Moro style adopted several vessel forms and subject matter from the highland Wari culture. Thus, there is a precedent that the governing regime at San José de Moro sought inspiration from foreign sources. Luis Jaime Castillo (2000a, 2001a) argued that the adoption of Wari imagery and vessel forms resulted from San José de Moro's creation of a new political belief system. He indicated that this occurred due to a lost confidence in the extant Moche ideology and a belief that the adoption of foreign ideas might allow San José de Moro's elite to build more trust among their constituents. I propose that the elites at San José de Moro drew not only from foreign Wari motifs, but also from the "foreign" Moche beliefs of the Huacas de Moche polity. That is, by bringing in motifs from the Huacas de Moche style that were not used in Late Chicama's, the San José de Moro government was able to successfully distance itself from the ideological system implemented by the elites of the Late Chicama polity.

I find similarities in vessel forms of the Late Chicama and San José de Moro styles, as well as their shared subject matter—especially with regards to the San José de Moro-born Burial Theme—to represent the close-knit bond between the two polities. That these two polities had a closer relationship than that between San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche is supported by archaeological evidence of San José de Moro vessels at Chicama Valley sites. In contrast, San José de Moro ceramics have not been found in significant quantities at Huacas de Moche and a significant quantity of Huacas de Moche ceramics have not been found at San José de Moro. Thus, despite the fact that overall, the content of San José de Moro fineline decorations was more similar to those from Huacas de Moche, the San José de Moro and Late Chicama polities were more closely linked than were San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche.

Castillo (2001a, 2009a) has suggested that a migration of Chicama Valley artists who may have been a group of specialists attached to San José de Moro's elite invented the San José de Moro substyle. This would help to explain instances such as that illustrated in Figure 4.15 in which the Burial Theme was painted on a Late Chicama vessel in the Late Chicama painting style. I agree with Castillo that the first San José de Moro fineline painters were likely trained in the Late Chicama tradition, but I contend that instead of this being the result of the invention of the San José de Moro style by emigrant craftspeople, it resulted from an exodus of elites from the Chicama Valley. Perhaps a powerful family, or groups of families, who were disenchanted by the social system put in place by the Late Chicama polity, headed for the Jequetepeque Valley to form a new one. A logical choice would be a family (or families) with ties to the Priestess.

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, ceremonial impersonation of deities may have been the responsibility of different Moche lineages. It was noted that nine Priestess burials have been discovered at San José de Moro, including that of a child. Curiously, although Priestess burials have also been attributed to post-Moche occupations of the site, none were found to predate the

appearance of the San José de Moro substyle of fineline painting there (Castillo 2005a). That is, despite the fact that San José de Moro had a significant occupation during the Middle Moche period, which demonstrated many of the traits we identify as “Moche,” neither examples of San José de Moro style decorations nor evidence of the presence of the Priestess is associated with this period. Alternatively, during the Late Moche period, which begins at San José de Moro with the appearance of the San José de Moro substyle of fineline painting, the Priestess burials are among the most impressive tombs at the site and the Priestess was one of the most frequently portrayed subjects of San José de Moro art.

Future studies may verify my hypothesis that a group of Priestess impersonators emigrated to San José de Moro from the Chicama Valley. If compared to genetic samples from burials in the Chicama Valley, physical analysis of the remains of the Priestesses could help to indicate whether or not their occupants had links to sites in that valley. DNA testing could also confirm that the Priestesses themselves were genetically related, thus supporting the notion that deity-impersonation was passed down along familial lines.

In addition to identifying their placement in time, the analysis of fineline painted substyles in this dissertation allows for interpretation of the political organizations within the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities. A correlation was proposed in Chapter 3 between the closeness of shared motifs to types of political organization in regards to Moche pantheons. Various deities represented in examples of the Supernatural Confrontation scene in Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline painted decorations indicated that these two polities associated different assemblages of gods with this subject. The significance of these different deities was found to be of further importance when linked to Moche deity impersonation. As discussed by Michael Mann (1986), and connected to Moche culture by DeMarais et al. (1996), participation in ceremonies was one way that elites obtained and retained

social power. Since archaeological evidence suggests that Moche elites impersonated deities in ceremonies and it appears impersonation was passed along hereditary lines, different pantheons may allude to the presence of different elite lineages at each polity.

Admittedly, the appearance of the same deities in the art of multiple polities suggests that some lineages may have been present at different polities. For instance, the Priestess appears in both Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro fineline decorations. However, the different roles she plays in these painted scenes allude to the varying amounts of prestige her lineage received in each polity. In the San José de Moro fineline tradition, the Priestess took on greater importance than she did in the Huacas de Moche style. Among Huacas de Moche decorations she was a peripheral participant in activities. In contrast, in the San José de Moro fineline tradition, she was often the central figure. Since impersonators conducted ceremonies in order to obtain and retain political power, identifying the deities who participated in these events and the roles they played equates to identifying the lineages and the roles they played in each polity's governing system.

At present, the notion that the pantheon of each polity represented at least some of the members of its lineages is a tentative proposition, but future research may help to confirm or deny its validity. Here again, physical analysis of the Priestesses excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project presents an excellent opportunity for study. The remains of these women may be used to test whether or not they were related by blood. Unfortunately, a Priestess burial has not been identified outside of San José de Moro, but if future excavations yield a Priestess burial elsewhere, then a comparison of its physical remains to San José de Moro's could suggest whether women associated with the Priestess at different sites were related. In contrast, burials of the so-called Owl Priest (Figure "B" in the Sacrifice Ceremony) have been found at sites that likely belonged to different polities. One was discovered at Sipán in the

Lambayeque Valley, which is not associated with Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama or San José de Moro pottery (Alva and Donnan 1993). Another Owl Priest tomb was excavated at Huaca de la Cruz in the Virú Valley and is associated Huacas de Moche style ceramics (Strong 1947). A forensic comparison of the remains of these two Owl Priests could help to answer the question of whether deity impersonators of different polities were related.

Summary:

This chapter discussed the relationships among the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities. It proposed that the Late Chicama polity was founded when its sites seceded from the Huacas de Moche polity. This notion was evidenced in the great correspondence between the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama fineline painting programs. Likewise, it found that the San José de Moro substyle represents an adaptation of the Late Chicama substyle, and suggested that the invention of the San José de Moro style resulted from the exodus of elites from the Chicama Valley. It asserted that a powerful family, or groups of families responsible for impersonating the Priestess became disenchanted by the social system put in place by the Late Chicama polity and headed for the Jequetepeque Valley to form a new one. Furthermore, this chapter recommended that future studies compare the physical remains of the Priestess burials at San José de Moro with genetic samples from burials in the Chicama Valley to help to identify whether their occupants had links to sites in that valley. Since deity-impersonators conducted ceremonies in order to obtain and retain political power, identifying the deities who participated in these events and the roles they played equates to identifying the lineages and the roles they played in each polity's governing system. Thus, this chapter demonstrated that the study of fineline painted substyles, paying particular attention to the

subject matter and the figures present in each substyle, is a successful avenue for accessing the political organization of different Moche polities.

Chapter 7. Conclusions

The previous chapters have argued that analysis of Moche fineline painted decorations can provide a point of access to a revised chronology for, and an enhanced understanding of, the political landscape of Moche culture during the Late Moche period. They have presented an overview of previous studies of Moche fineline painting as well as its archaeological contexts, the functions of Moche fineline painted vessels belonging to four Moche artistic substyles, and the process of those vessels' production. They demonstrated that aspects of style theory, political economy, and agency each lend support to the notion that there was an intimate connection between Moche politics and Moche fineline painted ceramics. As a result, the analysis of Moche fineware ceramics has provided meaningful insights into Moche political organization.

This dissertation also outlined the study of Moche politics, from previously held beliefs related to the single state model to present perspectives involving multiple Moche polities. Currently, the Moche political landscape is thought to have been fragmented, with multiple polities interacting in the Northern Moche Region and a major polity based out of Huacas de Moche, operating south of the Pampa de Paiján. Scholars believe that within these polities, the promotion of a dominant ideology played a significant role in the maintenance of power by ruling Moche elites, and that Moche decorated ceramics were manifestations of that ideology (DeMarais et al. 1996). My comparison of the images in fineline painted substyles has therefore presented an opportunity to compare the power strategies utilized by different ruling regimes.

Three substyles of Moche fineline painting, one based out of Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley, another from San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley, and a third that I call the Late Chicama substyle, based out of the Chicama Valley, were compared. A reexamination of the previously recognized Huacas de Moche substyle provided evidence that it encompasses not only Larco Hoyle Phase IV pottery as indicated by Christopher Donnan (in press), but

includes Larco Hoyle Phase III fineline painted decorations as well. Furthermore, a comparison of this substyle with the San José de Moro fineline painting substyle showed that similarities in vessel forms and some shared subject matter indicated that they are related. However, significant differences in ceramic types, modes of representing similar subjects, and roles of individual figures also demonstrated that they were essentially distinct from one another. The identification and analysis of a new substyle of Moche fineline painting—which I call the Late Chicama substyle, and which is primarily composed of ceramic stirrup spout bottles with Larco Hoyle Phase V upper spouts that do not belong to the San José de Moro tradition—revealed varying degrees of similarities and differences in vessel form, subject matter, and painting style within the San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche artistic programs.

The relationships among the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro painting styles were explored by studying a subject that was present in the fineline imagery of all three. An analysis of boat imagery across these three substyles revealed that the progression of the forms of watercraft and the rendering of the human body allowed for the establishment of a sequential order. Thus, a revised chronology of Moche fineline painting was proposed: Huacas de Moche style → Late Chicama style → San José de Moro style. When acknowledged for their role in the power strategies used at each polity, this sequence permitted the placement of these Moche polities in time. Thus, I found that the Huacas de Moche polity preceded the Late Chicama polity, which came before that of the San José de Moro polity.

This dissertation further proposed that the Late Chicama polity was founded when several of its sites seceded from the Huacas de Moche polity and instituted a new government. This notion was evidenced in the considerable correspondence between the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama fineline painting programs. The close resemblance of these ceramics is such that they may have been created by the same artists, or those trained in the same techniques.

Additionally, my contention that the Late Chicama polity arose out of the Huacas de Moche polity would explain the close relationship of the subject matter of the Huacas de Moche and Late Chicama styles. That the Late Chicama polity used an ideological program similar to that previously instituted by Huacas de Moche is supported by the fact that 24 of 25 of the motifs depicted in Late Chicama fineline painted designs had also been used in the Huacas de Moche style. Therefore, the elites of the Late Chicama polity borrowed heavily from the iconographic lexicon of Huacas de Moche ideology.

This dissertation further found that the San José de Moro substyle represents an adaptation of the Late Chicama substyle. Similarities in vessel forms of the Late Chicama and San José de Moro styles, as well as their shared subject matter—especially with regards to the San José de Moro-born Burial Theme—represent the close-knit bond between the two polities. That these two polities had a relationship closer than that between San José de Moro and Huacas de Moche is supported by archaeological evidence of San José de Moro vessels at Chicama Valley sites. San José de Moro ceramics have not been found in significant quantities at Huacas de Moche and a large quantity of Huacas de Moche ceramics have not been found at San José de Moro. However, the adoption of selected elements of the Huacas de Moche fineline tradition may also relate to the particular configuration of the San José de Moro polity and its fineline painted substyle. By appropriating motifs from the Huacas de Moche style that were not used in Late Chicama's, the San José de Moro government was successfully able to distance itself from the ideological system implemented by the elites of the Late Chicama polity.

This dissertation has contended that the invention of the San José de Moro style resulted from the exodus of elites from the Chicama Valley. I proposed that a powerful family, or groups of families, who were disenchanted by the social system put in place by the Late Chicama polity, headed for the Jequetepeque Valley to form a new one. A logical choice would be a family (or

families) with ties to the Priestess. The Priestess burials are among the most impressive at the site and the Priestess was one of the most frequently portrayed subjects of San José de Moro art. Future studies may verify this hypothesis. If compared to genetic samples from burials in the Chicama Valley, physical analysis of the remains of the Priestesses could help to indicate whether their occupants had links to sites in that valley. DNA testing could also confirm that the Priestesses themselves were genetically related, thus supporting the notion that deity-impersonation was passed down along familial lines.

Since human deity impersonators conducted ceremonies in order to obtain and retain political power, identifying those deities equates to identifying the groups and the roles they played in each polity's governing system. In my opinion, those groups were most likely high status lineages. In Chapter 6, I observed that unlike those of the Priestess, burials of the so-called Owl Priest have been found at sites that probably belonged to different polities. I proposed that a forensic comparison of these remains could help to answer the question of whether the deity impersonators at different polities were related.

A final avenue of future research could be the application of an analysis of Moche ceramic substyles to objects of Moche art in other media. For instance, the Dos Cabezas artists did not use fineline painting to decorate their vessels; rather they produced only modeled stirrup spout bottles. Although radiocarbon dates indicate that Dos Cabezas ceramics predate those of the Late Chicama and San José de Moro traditions (Donnan 2007: 199), a comparison of subject matter on Dos Cabezas ceramics with those of the Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro substyles might provide further insight into its connection to other Moche substyles and polities.

Overall, the analysis of substyles of fineline painted decorations in this dissertation has revealed that the Late Moche period was a dynamic moment in Moche history. At least three

polities with unique and complicated relationships with one another co-existed along Peru's North Coast. While this study of substyles has provided new insights into the chronology and organization of Huacas de Moche, Late Chicama and San José de Moro polities, it has also uncovered further issues that must be addressed. For instance, now that different substyles from distinct polities have been identified, and it is clear that there was more than one way to be Moche, we are forced to ask, "What made something or someone Moche?" and "What is Moche?" Future studies will need to confront these questions, but here it has been demonstrated that Moche fineline painting is a powerful point of access to the history of a culture whose study is burdened by an unrecognizable written record and a forgotten oral tradition.

APPENDIX A. List of Ceramic Vessels in the Sample				
Source of Object	Site	Style (Phase)	Subject	
			Vessel Type	
HLAP Plaza 2B Tomb 43	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP (Cuadro 23.15.5-17E/9-11S) Tomb 13	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Jar
HLAP 12.5-13E/17-19S del Cuadro Y3 Tomb 16	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Jar
HLAP 12.5-13E/17-19S del Cuadro Y3 Tomb 16	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Jar
HLAP 12.5-13E/17-19S del Cuadro Y3 Tomb 16	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP ambiente 35-1 Tomb 14	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Jar
HLAP Building D 3rd floor	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Dipper
HLAP burial from urban sector, ambiente 5-24	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Jar
HLAP Conjunto Arquitectónico 35 Tomb 10	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Conjunto Arquitectónico 35 Tomb 3	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Fragment
HLAP Plaza 2B Burial 18	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Dipper
HLAP Plaza 2B Tomb 22	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 2B Tomb 33	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Dipper
HLAP Plaza 2B Tomb 44	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 2B Tomb19	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 2B Tomb19	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3B Tomb 3	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3B Tomb 4	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3B Tomb 5	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Octopus?	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3B Tomb 6	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Octopus?	Dipper
HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb 2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb 2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb 2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb6	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Sector Ladera Sur Tomb 1	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Tomb from 15-4	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Clubs and Shields	Fragment
HLAP Uñe Platform Arquitectónico 18 element 8 Tomb 1	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 28	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 28	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 29	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

HLAP urban sector conjunto ambiente tomb 12-4	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Z3 1-2E/8.5-11S Tomb 18b	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Z3 1-2E/8.5-11S Tomb 18b	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Z3 1-2E/8.5-11S Tomb 18b	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Z3: 19.5E/9.5-12S y A3: 0E/ Tomb 17	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Dipper
HLAP Z3: 19.5E/9.5-12S y A3: 0E/ Tomb 17	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Dipper
HLAP Zona Occidental Tomb 24	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Zona Occidental Tomb 24	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Zona Occidental Tomb 27	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Zona Sur Urban Section Tomb 22	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber_1925 Plate 55 (In Moche Archive as MA07002)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber_1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA0102)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber_1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA0104)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber_1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA0106)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber_1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA2024)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber_1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA2757)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0004		HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0022		HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0043		HdM (III)	Extremities	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0058		HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0068		HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0076		HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0082		HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0107		HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0222		HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0242		HdM (III)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0308		HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0309		HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0320		HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0348		HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0348		HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0351		HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0358			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0368			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0370			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0374			HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0381			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0383			HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0416			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0422			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0424			HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0425			HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0437			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0456			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA0458			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0471			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0478			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0479			HdM (III)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0480			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0482			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Flaring Bowl
MA0485			HdM (III)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0486			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Jar
MA0488			HdM (III)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0490			HdM (III)	Clubs and Shields	Jar
MA0492			HdM (III)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0494			HdM (III)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0506			HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0513			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0518			HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0521			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0526			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0543			HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
MA0547			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Deer	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0558			HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0572			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0573			HdM (III)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0586			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0590			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0605			HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0619			HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0625			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0626			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0627			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0630			HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0647			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0649			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0650			HdM (III)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0672			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0673			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0674			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0675			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0678			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0679			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0687			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0709			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0735			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0738			HdM (III)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0788			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0788			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1003			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1023			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1025			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1062			HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1063			HdM (III)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1074			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1084			HdM (III)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1103	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1124	HdM (III)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1142	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1161	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1165	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1168	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1170	HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1187	HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Dipper
MA1189	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1222	HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1223	HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1228	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1233	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1234	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1245	HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1246	HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1282	HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1285	HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1286	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1290	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1290	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1296	HdM (III)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA1306	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1306	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2013	HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2014	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2019	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2028	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2029	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2044	HdM (III)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA2047	HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2048	HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2049			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2060			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2068			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2068			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2172			HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2182			HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2183			HdM (III)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Dipper
MA2230			HdM (III)	Monkey (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2247			HdM (III)	Sea Shells	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2249			HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2254			HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2257			HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2258			HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2261			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2266			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2274			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2288			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2305			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2316			HdM (III)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2337			HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2338			HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2364			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2425			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2459			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2461			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2468			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2471			HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2477			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2478			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2480			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2487			HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2497			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2498	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2498	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2499	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2499	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2504	HdM (III)	Geometric	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2506	HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2508	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2508	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2511	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2513	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2519	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2553	HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2576	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2578	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2583	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Jar
MA2585	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2587	HdM (III)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2589	HdM (III)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2592	HdM (III)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2594	HdM (III)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2604	HdM (III)	Fox	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2617	HdM (III)	Figure Under Arch	Figure Under Arch	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2629	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Jar
MA2643	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2669	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA2670	HdM (III)	Geometric	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2679	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2699	HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2702	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2733	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Beans (natural)	Flaring Bowl
MA2737	HdM (III)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2746	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2797	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2802	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2814	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA2819	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2826	HdM (III)	Prisoners	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2833	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2836	HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2858	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2864	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2866	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2867	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2879	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2884	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2909	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2923	HdM (III)	Headresses	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2928	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2956	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2976	HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2979	HdM (III)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2983	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2986	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2994	HdM (III)	Geometric	Dipper
MA3002	HdM (III)	Decapitation	n/a
MA3004	HdM (III)	Feline	n/a
MA3069	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3070	HdM (III)	Fishing (without a boat)	n/a
MA3114	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA3115	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3129	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3157	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA3191	HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA3199	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Stirrups Spout Bottle

MA3287			HdM (III)	Fox (Natural)	n/a
MA3288			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3299			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	n/a
MA3304			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3311			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crab	n/a
MA3316			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3336			HdM (III)	Decapitation	n/a
MA3338			HdM (III)	Decapitation	n/a
MA3421			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA7008			HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Dipper
MA7014			HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7017			HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7025			HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7047			HdM (III)	Geometric	Dipper
MA7078			HdM (III)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7090			HdM (III)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7098			HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7114			HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7135			HdM (III)	Figure Under Arch	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7150			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7151			HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7161			HdM (III)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7170			HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7171			HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7173			HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7178			HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7190			HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7216			HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7242			HdM (III)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7243			HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7260			HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7268			HdM (III)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7273		HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7286		HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7293		HdM (III)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7323		HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Jar
MA7323		HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7334		HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7373		HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7392		HdM (III)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7393		HdM (III)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7990		HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML000560	Facala	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML001733 (in Moche Archive as MA0483)	Sausal	HdM (III)	Prisoners	Jar
ML002483	Sausal	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002487	Ascope	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002489	Sausal	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002494	Sausal	HdM (III)	Beans (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003141	Facala	HdM (III)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003739	Facala	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003991	Facala	HdM (III)	Fishing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004189	Facala	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML006188	Facala	HdM (III)	Geometric	Dipper
ML006361	Ascope	HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Dipper
ML006363	Ascope	HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Dipper
ML006868	Facala	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML006965	Facala	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML006978	Sausal	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML007001	Ascope	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML007032	Ascope	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML007073	Facala	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008174	Facala	HdM (III)	Monkey (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008926	Sausal	HdM (III)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009166	Sausal	HdM (III)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

ML009181	Facala	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009435	Facala	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009439	Sausal	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009441	Facala	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009496	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009498	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009503	Huacas de Moche	HdM (III)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009624	Paiján	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Jar
ML009632	Sausal	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009679	Sausal	HdM (III)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML010539	Sausal	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011886	Paiján	HdM (III)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Jar
ML012850	Ascope	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-151	Cerro Constanca	HdM (III)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
RMV 1872-91	Cerro Constanca	HdM (III)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Mujica 2007 page 220	El Brujo	HdM (III)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Mujica 2007 page 187	El Brujo	HdM (III)	Snakes (natural and Anthropomorphized)	Jar
Mujica 2007 page 186	El Brujo	HdM (III)?	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003182	Facala	HdM (III-IV)?	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003660	Sausal	HdM (III-IV)?	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML007685	Facala	HdM (III-IV)?	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML010601	Sausal	HdM (III-IV)?	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML010801	Sausal	HdM (III-IV)?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML012795	Facala	HdM (III-IV)?	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP (Cuadro Z3 1.5.5-17E/9-11S) Tomb 14	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Ambientes of Plaza III	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Strombus Monster	Fragment
HLAP Conjunto 30 ambiente 22 subconjunto 2 Tomb 3	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Conjunto 18, edificios 9, 10, 2, 4, 5 y 33 m.	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Cuadro Z3 1.5-20E/8-12S Tomb 12	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP plataforma anexo 1 de Huaca del Sol	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3B Tomb 2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3B Tomb 2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle

HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb 8	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb 8	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Plaza 3C Tomb 8	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Tomb 4 (Canapan 2000)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Flaring Bowl
HLAP Uhle Platform Arquitectónico 18 element 23 Tomb 2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Bird Warrior	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Uhle Platform Arquitectónico 18 looked element 39	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
HLAP Uhle Platform Arquitectónico 18 looked element 39	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat	Fragment
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 21	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 24	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 27	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Unidad 16 Huaca de la Luna Tomb 29	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Foxes	Flaring Bowl
HLAP Urban Sector Conjunto 37 Tomb 37-2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
HLAP Urban Sector Conjunto 37 Tomb 37-2	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
HLAP Urban Sector Conjunto 37 Tomb 37-4	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Urban Sector Conjunto 37 Tomb 37-4	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Zona Sur Urban Section Tomb 22	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber 1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA0103)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Spout and Handle Bottle
Kroeber 1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA2579)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Kroeber 1925 Plate 57 (In Moche Archive as MA2695)	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0001		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0003		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0006		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0008		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0010		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0011		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0013		HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0015		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0017		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0018		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0019		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0020		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0021		HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0026		HdM (IV)	Architecture (weaving scene)	Flaring Bowl
MA0027		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0028		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0034		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0035		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0036		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0038		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0039		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0042		HdM (IV)	Shamanistic Healing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0044		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0047		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0049		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	n/a
MA0051		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0055		HdM (IV)	Sea Shells	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0056		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0057		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Jar
MA0059		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0060		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0062		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0064		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0065		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0066		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0067		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0070		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0071		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0072		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0073		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0074		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0075		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0078		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Ceramic Box
MA0080		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0081		HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0084	HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0087	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0088	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0089	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0090	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0092	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0098	HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0099	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0100	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0101	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0108	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0110	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0111	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0112	HdM (IV)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0113	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0115	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0116	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0117	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0118	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0119	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0120	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0121	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0122	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0123	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Monkey	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0125	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0138	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0139	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0144	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0147	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0150	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0152	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0153	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0156	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0157	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0158	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Flaring Bowl
MA0158	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	
MA0160	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0161	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0162	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0163	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0164	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0165	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0166	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
MA0167	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0168	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0169	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0170	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0171	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
MA0172	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0174	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0175	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0176	HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0177	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0178	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0179	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0180	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0181	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0183	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0190	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper
MA0202	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0206	HdM (IV)	Portrait Head	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0209	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0210	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0215	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0220		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Flaring Bowl
MA0223		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0225		HdM (IV)	Death Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0230		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0237		HdM (IV)	Shamanistic Healing	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0244		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0245		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0247		HdM (IV)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0251		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0263		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	
MA0264		HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	
MA0265		HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0267		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0273		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0282		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0297		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0298		HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0299		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0300		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0301		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0302		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Flaring Bowl
MA0303		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0304		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0307		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0310		HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0311		HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0312		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0313		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0314		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0315		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Flaring Bowl
MA0316		HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0317		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0318	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0321	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0322	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0323	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0324	HdM (IV)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0327	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0328	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0329	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0330	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0331	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0332	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0333	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0334	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0335	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA0337	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0338	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA0339	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0340	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0341	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Jar
MA0342	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Jar
MA0343	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0345	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Fragment
MA0347	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0349	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0352	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0354	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0356	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0357	HdM (IV)	Frogs and Botanical Frogs	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0359	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0360	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0361	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0362	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0364	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0366	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0376	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0377	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0378	HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0380	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0382	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0384	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0387	HdM (IV)	Architecture (weaving scene)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0398	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0408	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0414	HdM (IV)	Shamanistic Healing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0415	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0418	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0420	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0421	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0426	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0427	HdM (IV)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0428	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0429	HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0432	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0436	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0439	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0440	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0445	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA0446	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0448	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0449	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0450	HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0451	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0452	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0453	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0454	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0457	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0459	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0460	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0462	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA0463	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA0464	HdM (IV)	Beans Anthropomorphized	Fragment
MA0465	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0466	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0467	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0468	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0469	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0470	HdM (IV)	Headresses	Flaring Bowl
MA0475	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0477	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Jar
MA0481	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0484	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0487	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0489	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0491	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0495	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0496	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0497	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0498	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0499	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0500	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0501	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0502	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Dipper
MA0504	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0507	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0508	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0509	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0511		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0514		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0515		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Flaring Bowl
MA0516		HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0517		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0519		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0522		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0523		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0524		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0525		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0530		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0531		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0532		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0535		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0538		HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0539		HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0541		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0542		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0544		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0545		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0548		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0548		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0549		HdM (IV)	Erotic	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0550		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0551		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Flaring Bowl
MA0552		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0555		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0556		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0557		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0559		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0559		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0560		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper

MA0561	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0562	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0563	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0564	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0565	HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0566	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0567	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0568	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA0569	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0569	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0570	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0571	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0574	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0575	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA0576	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0579	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0580	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Flaring Bowl
MA0583	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0584	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0585	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0587	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Dipper
MA0589	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Flaring Bowl
MA0591	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0593	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0594	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0596	HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0597	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0598	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0599	HdM (IV)	Owls (natural)	Dipper
MA0602	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0603	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Flaring Bowl
MA0604	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0606	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0607	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0612	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0614	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper
MA0620	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0622	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0623	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0624	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0629	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0632	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0634	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Flaring Bowl
MA0635	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Dipper
MA0636	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper
MA0637	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0638	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0639	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0642	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Fragment
MA0643	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Fragment
MA0644	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0648	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Pedestal Bowl
MA0651	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Flaring Bowl
MA0652	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0653	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0654	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0655	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0656	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0657	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0658	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0659	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0660	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0661	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0662	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0664		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper
MA0665		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0666		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA0668		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0669		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0676		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0677		HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Jar
MA0680		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0681		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0682		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0683		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0684		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0685		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0686		HdM (IV)	Headdresses	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0688		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0690		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0693		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0695		HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0697		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0699		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Flaring Bowl
MA0701		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0702		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0706		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA0711		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	n/a
MA0712		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0713		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0716		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0721		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0723		HdM (IV)	Headdresses	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0732		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0736		HdM (IV)	Extremities	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0758		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0787		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0793		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0795		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0796		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0799		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper
MA0800		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0801		HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0802		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0803		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0804		HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0805		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0806		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA0807		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA0809		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA0810		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0811		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0812		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0814		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0990		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1002		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1004		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1005		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1006		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1007		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1008		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Iguana	n/a
MA1011		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1012		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1013		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1014		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1016		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1017		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1018		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1020	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1021	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1022	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene		Flaring Bowl
MA1024	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1026	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1026	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)		
MA1028	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1029	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1030	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1032	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1033	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1035	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1036	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1037	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1039	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1040	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1041	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1042	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1043	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1044	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1045	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1046	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1047	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1048	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1049	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1050	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1051	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1052	HdM (IV)	Prisoners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1055	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1057	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1058	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1059	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1060	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1061	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1064	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1067	HdM (IV)	Death Figures	Death Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1070	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1071	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1072	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1075	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1076	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1078	HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1079	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1080	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1081	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1082	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA1083	HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1085	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1086	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1087	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1089	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1090	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	n/a
MA1091	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1092	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Anthropomorphized Birds	Dipper
MA1093	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1098	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1099	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1100	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1104	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1105	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1108	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1109	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1112	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1113	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1115			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1117			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1118			HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1119			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1123			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1125			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1128			HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1129			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1132			HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1138			HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1139			HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1141			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1143			HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Flaring Bowl
MA1144			HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1146			HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1147			HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1148			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1149			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1150			HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1152			HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1153			HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1154			HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1155			HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1157			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1158			HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1162			HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1163			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA1164			HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1166			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1167			HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1169			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1171			HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1172		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1174		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1175		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1176		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1178		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1179		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1180		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1181		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1182		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1183		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1184		HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1185		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1186		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Dipper
MA1191		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1193		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1195		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA1197		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1198		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1199		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1202		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1205		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1206		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1208		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1209		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Jar
MA1210		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1211		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
MA1212		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA1213		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA1214		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA1215		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1218		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1219		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1220	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1224	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1225	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1227	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1229	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1230	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Jar
MA1231	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1232	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1235	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1236	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1237	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Flaring Bowl
MA1238	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1239	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1240	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1241	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Fragment
MA1254	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1255	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1256	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1257	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1258	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1259	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1260	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1261	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1262	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1263	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1264	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1266	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1268	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1269	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1270	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1271	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA1272	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1274	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1276	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1277	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1278	HdM (IV)	Architecture (weaving scene)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1280	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1283	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1284	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1287	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1288	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1289	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1291	HdM (IV)	<i>Strombus galeatus</i> (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1292	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1293	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1294	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1297	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA1298	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1299	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Dipper
MA1301	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1302	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1303	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA1308	HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1311	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2002	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2008	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2010	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Dipper
MA2021	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2022	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2023	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Jar
MA2025	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA2030	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2032	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2034	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2035			HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Jar
MA2036			HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2039			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Dipper
MA2040			HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2045			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2050			HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2051			HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2052			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2054			HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2055			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2056			HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2058			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Fragment
MA2059			HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2061			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2062			HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2067			HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2069			HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2076			HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2081			HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2085			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2087			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2088			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2090			HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2092			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2093			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2096			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2102			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2103			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2105			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2106			HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2107			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2109			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2113	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2114	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2115	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2117	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2118	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2119	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2120	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2129	HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2138	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2138	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2139	HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2140	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2142	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2143	HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2144	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2145	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2146	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2147	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2148	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2150	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2151	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2152	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
MA2153	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2154	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2155	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2157	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Dipper
MA2158	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Flaring Bowl
MA2159	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2160	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2161	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Flaring Bowl
MA2162	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2163	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2164	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Flaring Bowl
MA2165	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2166	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2167	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2168	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2170	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2171	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2174	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2175	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2177	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2178	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2179	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2180	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2184	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2185	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2189	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2191	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2192	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2193	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2194	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2197	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2198	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2199	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2200	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2201	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2202	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2203	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2204	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2206	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2207	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners Beans (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2209	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2211	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2213	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2214	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2216	HdM (IV)	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2217	HdM (IV)	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2222	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2224	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2226	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2227	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA2228	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2229	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2231	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2232	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2233	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2234	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2235	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2236	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2237	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2240	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Flaring Bowl
MA2242	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2243	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2244	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2245	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2246	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Flaring Bowl
MA2248	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2251	HdM (IV)	Iguana (natural) and Lizard (natural and supernatural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2252	HdM (IV)	Iguana (natural) and Lizard (natural and supernatural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2260	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2262	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2263	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2265	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2267	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA2268	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2269	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Jar
MA2270	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2271	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2272	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2273	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2275	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2276	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2277	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2278	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2279	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2280	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2281	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2282	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2285	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2287	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2289	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2290	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2291	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2294	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2295	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2296	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2297	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2297	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners Beans (natural and anthropomorphized)	
MA2298	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2299	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA2300	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2301	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2301	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners Beans (natural and anthropomorphized)	
MA2302	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2303	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2304	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2308	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2310	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2314	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2315	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2318	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2320	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Jar
MA2321	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2322	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2324	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2325	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Dipper
MA2326	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2327	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2328	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2329	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2330	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2331	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2334	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2335	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Dipper
MA2336	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2339	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Jar
MA2341	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2343	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2344	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2345	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2346	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2347	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2348	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2350	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2351	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2352	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2358	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2360	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Dipper
MA2361	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2362	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2363	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2365	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Dipper
MA2367	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2370	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2376	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2381	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2384	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2385	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2386	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2388	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2389	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2390	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2391	HdM (IV)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2392	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2393	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2394	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2397	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2398	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2399	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2400	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2401	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2402	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2403	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2404	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2405	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2407	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2408	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2409	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2410	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2411	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2412	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Pedestal Bowl

MA2413	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2414	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2415	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2416	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2418	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2419	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2420	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2421	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2422	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2423	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA2424	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2426	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2427	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2429	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2431	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2432	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2433	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2434	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2435	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2436	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2437	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2439	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2441	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2442	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2443	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2445	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Jar
MA2446	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2447	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Flaring Bowl
MA2448	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2450	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2450	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	
MA2451	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2452	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2454	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2455	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2456	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2457	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2458	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2462	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Dipper
MA2463	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2464	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2466	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2467	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2469	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2472	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2473	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2473	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2476	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2479	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2481	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2483	HdM (IV)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2484	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2485	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2491	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2491	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2493	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2493	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2495	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2495	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2496	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2500	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2500	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2501	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2501	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2505	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2505	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2507	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2507	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2515	HdM (IV)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2516	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2517	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2520	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2521	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2522	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2525	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2528	HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2529	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA2532	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2533	HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Dipper
MA2534	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2535	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2539	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2540	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA2541	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2543	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2545	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2552	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2554	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2555	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2556	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Dipper
MA2557	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2558	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2559	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2561	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2562	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2563	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2566	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2567	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2568	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2569	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Dipper
MA2570	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2571	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2572	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2573	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2574	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2575	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2580	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2581	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2582	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2586	HdM (IV)	Sea Lions	Sea Lions	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2588	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2590	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2593	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2595	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2596	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2597	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2598	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2600	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2601	HdM (IV)	Fox	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2602	HdM (IV)	Fox	Fox	Dipper
MA2603	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2607	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2613	HdM (IV)	Architecture (weaving scene)	Architecture (weaving scene)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2614	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2619	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2621	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2622	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2625	HdM (IV)	Headresses	Headresses	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2627	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2630	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Dipper
MA2632	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Dipper
MA2633	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2637	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2639	HdM (IV)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2641	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2642	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2644	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2645	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2646	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2648	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2649	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2650	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2651	HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2656	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2657	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2661	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2663	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2664	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2665	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2668	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2671	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2672	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2673	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2674	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2675	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2676	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2680	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2682	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2683	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2684	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2685	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2686	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2688	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2690	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2691	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2692	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2693	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2694	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2696	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2697	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2701	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2703	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2704	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2708	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2712	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2713	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2714	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Anthropomorphized Crab	Dipper
MA2720	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2721	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2723	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2724	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2725	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2726	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2727	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2728	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2729	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2739	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2740	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2741	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2742	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2744	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2745	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2748	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2749	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2752	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2753	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2754	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2755	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2756	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Geometric	Fragments
MA2759	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2761	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2762	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2763	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Anthropomorphized (Beans)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2764	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2768	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2772	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2774	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2775	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2781	HdM (IV)	Figure Holding Pottery	Figure Holding Pottery	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2786	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2796	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2799	HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2803	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Prisoners	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2808	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2808	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2809	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2811	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2813	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2815	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2816	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2817	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2822	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2823	HdM (IV)	Feline	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2827	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2829	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2830	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2832	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2834	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2835	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2839	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2842	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2845	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2849	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2853	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2854	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA2855	HdM (IV)	Figure Holding Small Figure	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2856	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2875	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2876	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2877	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2878	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA2898	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2899	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2899	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2900	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2901	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA2902	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA2904	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2906	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2912	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2916	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2921	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2924	HdM (IV)	Beans (Natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2925	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2926	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2927	HdM (IV)	Beans (Natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2931		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Dippers
MA2947		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2953		HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2957		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2959		HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2960		HdM (IV)	Prisoners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2961		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2962		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2964		HdM (IV)	Octopus		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2965		HdM (IV)	Feline		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2974		HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2977		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2978		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2985		HdM (IV)	Geometric		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2989		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2990		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2991		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)		Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2992		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2999		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		Jar
MA3003		HdM (IV)	Prisoners		n/a
MA3013		HdM (IV)	Prisoners		n/a
MA3016		HdM (IV)	Prisoners		n/a
MA3017		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession		n/a
MA3021		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		n/a
MA3023		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3025		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		n/a
MA3027		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		n/a
MA3028		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		Spout and Handle Bottle
MA3029		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields		n/a
MA3035		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting		n/a
MA3035		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting		n/a
MA3037		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)		n/a

MA3038	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3039	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3039	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3040	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3042	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3044	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3044	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3046	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Dipper
MA3047	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	n/a
MA3048	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	n/a
MA3049	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	n/a
MA3050	HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3052	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3055	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3056	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	n/a
MA3057	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3058	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3071	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	n/a
MA3072	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	n/a
MA3073	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3075	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3076	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3078	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3079	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3080	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3081	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3082	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3083	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3091	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	n/a
MA3092	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3093	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3094	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a

MA3096	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3097	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3098	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3099	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3100	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3101	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3102	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3103	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3104	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3105	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3106	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3108	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3110	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3111	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3113	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3116	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3117	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3118	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3119	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3120	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3128	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3130	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3131	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3132	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3133	HdM (IV)	Monkey (natural)	n/a
MA3134	HdM (IV)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	n/a
MA3138	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	n/a
MA3139	HdM (IV)	Octopus	n/a
MA3140	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3141	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	n/a
MA3144	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3145	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a

MA3146	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3149	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3149	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3168	HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	n/a
MA3171	HdM (IV)	Architecture (weaving scene)	n/a
MA3173	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA3185	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3186	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3187	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3198	HdM (IV)	Food Plants/ Preparation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3203	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3204	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3206	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3207	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3211	HdM (IV)	Bean and Stick Ceremony	n/a
MA3212	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	n/a
MA3215	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3216	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3217	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3218	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3219	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3220	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3221	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3222	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3223	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3225	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3227	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3228	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3229	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3231	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3235	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3236	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA3238		HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	n/a
MA3240		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	n/a
MA3249		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3250		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3253		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3257		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3259		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3260		HdM (IV)	Monkey (natural)	n/a
MA3261		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	n/a
MA3263		HdM (IV)	Ceremonial Badminton	n/a
MA3264		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3266		HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	n/a
MA3269		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3270		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	n/a
MA3272		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	n/a
MA3273		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	n/a
MA3275		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	n/a
MA3276		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	n/a
MA3277		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	n/a
MA3278		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	n/a
MA3279		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	n/a
MA3281		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	n/a
MA3283		HdM (IV)	Feline	n/a
MA3284		HdM (IV)	Feline	n/a
MA3285		HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	n/a
MA3286		HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	n/a
MA3289		HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	n/a
MA3290		HdM (IV)	Fox (Natural)	n/a
MA3291		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3292		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3293		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3302		HdM (IV)	Sacrifice Ceremony (Presentation Theme)	Fragments

MA3306	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	n/a
MA3309	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	n/a
MA3314	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	n/a
MA3320	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3321	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3322	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3323	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3324	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3325	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	n/a
MA3326	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	n/a
MA3327	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	n/a
MA3328	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	n/a
MA3329	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	n/a
MA3331	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Owls	n/a
MA3332	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3333	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	n/a
MA3334	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	n/a
MA3337	HdM (IV)	Decapitation	n/a
MA3342	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3343	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3344	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3345	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3349	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	n/a
MA3358	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3359	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3360	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3361	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3362	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3363	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3364	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3366	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3367	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a

MA3368			HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	n/a
MA3381			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3382			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3383			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3384			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3385			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3387			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	n/a
MA3389			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3391			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3394			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3396			HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	n/a
MA3398			HdM (IV)	Prisoners	n/a
MA3401			HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	n/a
MA3402			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	n/a
MA3404			HdM (IV)	Prisoners	n/a
MA3410			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	n/a
MA3417			HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	n/a
MA3418			HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	n/a
MA3419			HdM (IV)	Octopus	n/a
MA3424			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3426			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3428			HdM (IV)	Owls (natural)	n/a
MA3431			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3432			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3433			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3434			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3435			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA3442			HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA7000			HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Jar
MA7003			HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7004			HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
MA7007			HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7009	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7010	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7011	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7012	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7013	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Pedestal Bowl
MA7015	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7016	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7020	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7027	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7029	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7030	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7031	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7032	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7033	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7034	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7035	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7039	HdM (IV)	Frogs and Botanical Frogs	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7040	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7043	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7045	HdM (IV)	Sea Shells	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7046	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7048	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7050	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7052	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7053	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7057	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7059	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Dipper
MA7060	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7063	HdM (IV)	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Flaring Bowl
MA7065	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Dipper
MA7066	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7069	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7070		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7071		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7074		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7075		HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7077		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7080		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7081		HdM (IV)	Fishing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7082		HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Flaring Bowl
MA7085		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	
MA7089		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Jar
MA7091		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7093		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7094		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7097		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7101		HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7102		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA7103		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA7111		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7112		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7113		HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Flaring Bowl
MA7115		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7116		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA7119		HdM (IV)	Sea Lions	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7121		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7124		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA7125		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7127		HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7128		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7129		HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7132		HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7134		HdM (IV)	Headdresses	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7138		HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7157	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7162	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7163	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7164	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7165	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7166	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7167	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7172	HdM (IV)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7174	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7175	HdM (IV)	Sea Lions	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7176	HdM (IV)	Frogs and Botanical Frogs	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7177	HdM (IV)	Frogs and Botanical Frogs	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7180	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA7185	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7186	HdM (IV)	Deer (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7188	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA7189	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7194	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7195	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7196	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7224	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7225	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA7230	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Jar
MA7232	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Flaring Bowl
MA7232	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Flaring Bowl
MA7233	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7236	HdM (IV)	Coca Chewing	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7239	HdM (IV)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Flaring Bowl
MA7247	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7249	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7250	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7251	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7252	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7253	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7254	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7256	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7258	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7262	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Flaring Bowl
MA7263	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7266	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7269	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7270	HdM (IV)	Sea Shells	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7271	HdM (IV)	Fishing (without a boat)Scenes	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7272	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7276	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Deer	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7278	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7279	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA7280	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7281	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Flaring Bowl
MA7282	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7287	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7288	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7290	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7291	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7299	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Dipper
MA7300	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Fragment
MA7305	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7313	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7315	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7317	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7319	HdM (IV)	Composite Supernatural Scene	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA7322	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7325	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Jar
MA7326	HdM (IV)	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7327		HdM (IV)	Death Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7331		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7332		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7333		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7335		HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7336		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7337		HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7355		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7356		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7361		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7364		HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA7367		HdM (IV)	Figure Holding Miscellaneous Object	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7388		HdM (IV)	Feline	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7390		HdM (IV)	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7394		HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7395		HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA7396		HdM (IV)	Octopus	Dipper
MA7398		HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA7399		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Flaring Bowl
MA7435		HdM (IV)	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	
MA7440		HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7444		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML001848	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML001874	Paiján	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
ML002138	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002358	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002371	Facala	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002453	Facala	HdM (IV)	Bean Warriors	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003449	Facala	HdM (IV)	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003536	Facala	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003624	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crabs	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003655	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal?	Stirrup Spout Bottle

ML003672	Ascope	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003679	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003682	Facala	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003685	Facala	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003700	Facala	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003737	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003750	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003822	Facala	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003854	Facala	HdM (IV)	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003862	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003948	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003964	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003987	Facala	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004009	Facala	HdM (IV)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004013	Facala	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004016	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004019	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004020	Facala	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004022	Ascope	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004096	Facala	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004101	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004102	Facala	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML006745	Ascope	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML006753	Facala	HdM (IV)	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008063	Facala	HdM (IV)	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008155	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal?	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008534	Facala	HdM (IV)	Bird Drinking from Bowl (no bowl)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008976	Ascope	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009057	Paiján	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
ML009243	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009244	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Lizards (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML010825	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle

ML013043	Sausal	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML013361	Ascope	HdM (IV)	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML013431	Facala	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
ML013433	Facala	HdM (IV)	Clubs and Shields	Spout and Handle Bottle
ML013619	Facala	HdM (IV)	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML013629	Facala	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-100	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
RMV 1872-101	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Flaring Bowl
RMV 1872-42	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Lomas Snail (natural, Anthropomorphized, hunting)	Dipper
RMV 1872-44	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
RMV 1872-45	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
RMV 1872-46	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Spout and Handle Bottle
RMV 1872-48	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
RMV 1872-49	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
RMV 1872-50	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
RMV 1872-51	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-55	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-66	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-69	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-70	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-71	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-72	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-73	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-74	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-75	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-76	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-77	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-78	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-79	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-80	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-81	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-83	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

RMV 1872-84	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-86	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-87	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-88	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-89	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-90	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-96	Cerro Constancia	HdM (IV)	Octopus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Mujica 2007 page 83	El Brujo	HdM (IV)	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Mujica 2007 page 83	El Brujo	HdM (IV)	Prisoners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Mujica 2007 page 207	El Brujo	HdM (IV)	Crested Animal	Dipper
Mujica 2007 page 203	El Brujo	HdM (IV)	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA2453		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2526		HdM (IV)	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2584		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Jar
MA2612		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2716		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2717		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2841		HdM (IV)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Jar
MA2689		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2715		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2821		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2914		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2946		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA2997		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Jar
MA3063		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3064		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA3066		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3067		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA3068		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA3312		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3315		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3317		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a

MA3318		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3319		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3420		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3422		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA7018		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7095		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7099		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7234		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7237		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7275		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA7314		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7316		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7320		HdM (IV)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009488	Facala	HdM (IV)?	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
HLAP Ambientes of Plaza III	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Fragment
HLAP Zona Sur Urban Section Tomb 22	Huacas de Moche	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2955		HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Spout and Handle Bottle
ML002476	Sausal	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011025	Sausal	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011049	Sausal	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011267	Sausal	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-85	Cerro Constanca	HdM (IV)-Late Chicama?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0005		Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0023		Late Chicama	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0025		Late Chicama	Erotic	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0032		Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0037		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0040		Late Chicama	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0048		Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Flaring Bowl
MA0050		Late Chicama	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Flaring Bowl
MA0069		Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0083		Late Chicama	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0091	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Flaring Bowl
MA0097	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0148	Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0187	Late Chicama	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0203	Late Chicama	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0216	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0217	Late Chicama	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0219	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA0255	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0293	Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0296	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0306	Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0363	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0371	Late Chicama	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA0375	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0386	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0578	Late Chicama	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0588	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Flaring Bowl
MA0700	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0704	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0707	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0720	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0813	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1038	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1053	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1056	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1073	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1077	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1101	Late Chicama	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1121	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1136	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1145	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA1190	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1200	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1201	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1216	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1221	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1242	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1244	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1249	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1250	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1252	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Flaring Bowl
MA1309	Late Chicama	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1310	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2006	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Flaring Bowl
MA2100	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2116	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2136	Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2137	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2149	Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2221	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2223	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2238	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2239	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2241	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2307	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2313	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2323	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2354	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2355	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2356	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2357	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2368	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2369	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA2371	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2374	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2377	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2378	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2380	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2383	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2395	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2406	Late Chicama	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA2428	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2438	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2548	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2550	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2608	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2610	Late Chicama	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA2611	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2660	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2687	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2700	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2705	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2706	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2722	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2731	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2735	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2747	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2818	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2859	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2863	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2868	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2869	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2870	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2871	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2872	Late Chicama	Geometric	Spout and Handle Bottle

MA2873	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2874	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2880	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2882	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2883	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2887	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2889	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2890	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2891	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2892	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2893	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2894	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2895	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2973	Late Chicama	Geometric	Jar
MA2975	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3095	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3121	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Fragment
MA3136	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Flaring Bowl
MA3155	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3167	Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Flaring Bowl
MA3205	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	n/a
MA3378	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3423	Late Chicama	Birds (natural other than owls)	n/a
MA7038	Late Chicama	Snakes (natural and zoomorphized)	Flaring Bowl
MA7072	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7073	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7092	Late Chicama	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
MA7106	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7108	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7109	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7130	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7229	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7235		Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7248		Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Flaring Bowl
MA7306		Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7330		Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7397		Late Chicama	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002338	Facala	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002341	Facala	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002360	Facala	Late Chicama	Beans (Anthropomorphized) and Anthropomorphized Deer	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002976 (in Moche Archive as MA0379)	Paiján	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003216	Paiján	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003812	Paiján	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003823	Paiján	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003839	Paiján	Late Chicama	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003847	Paiján	Late Chicama	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003965	Facala	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003967	Paiján	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003990	Paiján	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML003999	Paiján	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004115 (in Moche Archive as MA0689)	Ascope	Late Chicama	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML007597	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
ML008160	Paiján	Late Chicama	Fox	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML008708	Ascope	Late Chicama	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009581	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML009659	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML010994	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011012	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011014	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011015	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011019	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011024	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011026	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011082	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle

ML011084	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011088	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011090	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011091	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011092	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011100	Facala	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011101	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011107	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011111	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011116	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011125	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011127	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011128	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011130	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011137	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011189	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011190	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011202	Sausal	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011211	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011213	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011216	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011218	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011220	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011227	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011256	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011257	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011259	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011263	Sausal	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011264	Sausal	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011265	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011267	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011438	Facala	Late Chicama	Geometric	Spout and Handle Bottle

ML012941	Ascope	Late Chicama	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML013618	Paiján	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-54	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-56	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-57	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-58	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-59	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-60	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-61	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-62	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-64	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-67	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-68	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-82	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
RMV 1872-94	Cerro Constancia	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Mujica 2007 page 84	El Brujo	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Lockard 2005 Figure 9.2	Galindo	Late Chicama	n/a	Fragments
Lockard 2005 Figure 9.6	Galindo	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragments
Lockard 2005 Figure 9.8	Galindo	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragments
Lockard 2005 Figure 9.10	Galindo	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragments
Lockard 2005 Figure 9.13	Galindo	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous	Fragments
Shimada 1994 Figure 9.20 (MA2026)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Shimada 1994 Figure 9.7 (MA3379)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Shimada 1994 Figure 8.11 (MA3377)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Geometric	Flaring Bowl
Shimada 1994 Figure 8.12 (MA3373)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Shimada 1994 Figure 8.12 (MA3376)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Shimada 1994 Figure 7.35 (MA3380)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Shimada 1994 Figure 7.35 (MA3374)	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 2	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragments
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 2	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 4	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragment
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 6	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragment

Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 8	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragment
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 9	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragment
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 21	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Ritual Runners	Fragment
MA0114		Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0149		Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0325		Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0379		Late Chicama	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0577		Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Flaring Bowl
MA0689		Late Chicama	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1066		Late Chicama	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1156		Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2173		Late Chicama	Deer and Deer Hunting	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Johnson 2010 Figure 8.3	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Geometric	Fragments
Johnson 2010 Figure 8.3	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous	Fragments
Lockard 2005 Figure 9.12	Pampa Grande	Late Chicama	Miscellaneous	Fragments
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 15	Pacatnamu	Late Chicama	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Fragments
Kroeber, 1925 Plate 67 (In Moche Archive as MA0105)				
MA0030	Huacas de Moche	Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0326		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0455		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0540		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Flaring Bowl
MA0691		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1127		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Flaring Bowl
MA1207		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2112		Late Chicama	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7158		Late Chicama	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML004079	Facala	Late Chicama-Moro?	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011028	Paiján	Late Chicama-Moro?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0007		Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0029		Moro	Ritual Runners	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0033		Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0053		Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0054	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0063	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0077	Moro	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0079	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0085	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0086	Moro	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0093	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0094	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0095	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0109	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0124	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0127	Moro	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0135	Moro	Burial Theme	Fragment
MA0140	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0142	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0154	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0182	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0185	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0186	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0188	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0189	Moro	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0191	Moro	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0193	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0194	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0195	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0196	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0197	Moro	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0198	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0199	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0201	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0204	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0205	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0207	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0208	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0211	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0212	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0213	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0214	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0218	Moro	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0224	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0226	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0229	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0232	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0250	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0252	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0253	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0254	Moro	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0256	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0257	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0258	Moro	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0259	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0260	Moro	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0261	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0262	Moro	Sea Lions	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0266	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0268	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0269	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0270	Moro	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0271	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0274	Moro	Octopus	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0275	Moro	Clubs and Shields	Double Spout and Handle
MA0276	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0279	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA0281	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrups Spout Bottle

MA0283	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0284	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0285	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0286	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0287	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0288	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0289	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0290	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0291	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0292	Moro	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0294	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0319	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Spout and Handle Bottle
MA0336	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0389	Moro	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0390	Moro	Processions with Musical Instruments	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0391	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0393	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0394	Moro	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0395	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0396	Moro	Ceremonial Badminton	Fragment
MA0397	Moro	Clubs and Shields	Fragment
MA0400	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0401	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0411	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0412	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0413	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0438	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0461	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0472	Moro	Sea Animals	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0473	Moro	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0474	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0476	Moro	Crested Animal	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0493	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0503	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0520	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0527	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0528	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0529	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0537	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0553	Moro	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0575	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0576	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0592	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0633	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0646	Moro	Sea Animals	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0671	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0692	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0694	Moro	Monkey (natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0698	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0698	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0703	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0714	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0715	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0717	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0724	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0725	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0726	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0728	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0733	Moro	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0734	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0737	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0741	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0742	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0743	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA0744	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0746	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0747	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0748	Moro	Decapitation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0749	Moro	Miscellaneous	Jar
MA0751	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0753	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0760	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0761	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0763	Moro	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0764	Moro	Rhombus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0765	Moro	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0766	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0767	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0768	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0769	Moro	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0770	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0773	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0774	Moro	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0776	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0777	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0779	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0781	Moro	Beans (Natural)	Double Spout and Bridge
MA0785	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0786	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0790	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA0794	Moro	Warriors in Combat or in Procession	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA0798	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Flask
MA0808	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1000	Moro	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1133	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA1204	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Spout and Handle Bottle

MA1243	Moro	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA1304	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA1305	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA1305	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA1312	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2018	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA2041	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2070	Moro	Ceremonial Badminton	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2075	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA2089	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Double Spout and Handle
MA2186	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2220	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2225	Moro	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2268	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2293	Moro	Clubs and Shields	Jar
MA2315	Moro	Beans (Natural)	Double Spout and Bridge
MA2349	Moro	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2373	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2375	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2379	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2387	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2396	Moro	Miscellaneous	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2546	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2606	Moro	Geometric	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2777	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2784	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2788	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2792	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2800	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA2801	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2804	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrups Spout Bottle
MA2837	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrups Spout Bottle

MA2847	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2848	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2850	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2872	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2903	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2920	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2922	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2939	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2942	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2945	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2948	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2949	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2966	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2980	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3135	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crab	n/a
MA3237	Moro	Clubs and Shields	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA3371	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	n/a
MA4010	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Fragment
MA4013	Moro	Sea Animals	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA4021	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA4030	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7051	Moro	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7083	Moro	Beans (Natural)	Double Spout and Bridge
MA7086	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7096	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7187	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7201	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7202	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7203	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7204	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7205	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7206	Moro	?	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7209	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7210	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7211	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7212	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7213	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7257	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7269	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7312	Moro	Clubs and Shields	Flask
MA7357	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation Scene	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7360	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7363	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7371	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7379	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7381	Moro	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7382	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7384	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7385	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7386	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7408	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7409	Moro	?	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7413	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7414	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7415	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7416	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7417	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7418	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7419	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7420	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7421	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7434	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double Spout and Bridge Bottle
MA7439	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7441	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle

MA7442		Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA7445		Moro	Sea Lions	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002298	Paiján	Moro	Crescent Boat	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002300	Sausal	Moro	Crescent Boat	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML002462	Ascope	Moro	Beans (Natural)	Double Spout and Bridge
ML002468	Sausal	Moro	Bean and Stick Ceremony	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
ML003818	Facala	Moro	Bird with a Bowl	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP A-16-C21-C1	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Sea Lions	Jar
SJMAP M-U026 E3 C02	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U026 E3 C05	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Clubs and Shields	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
SJMAP M-U030 C01	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U030 C23	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U041-C11	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U041-E1-C57	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Goblet
SJMAP M-U1003-C1b	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U103 E5 C016	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U103 E5 C229 dibujo1	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U103 E5 C240	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Birds (natural other than owls)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1036-C11	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1036-C14	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Jar
SJMAP M-U103-C15	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Flask
SJMAP M-U103-E5-C17a	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Burial Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1043-C01	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1043-C02	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U104C-E1	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1058-C02	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1058-C05	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1058-C13	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1058-C14	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAP M-U1404-C1a	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Flask
SJMAP M-U1404-C21	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
		Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle

SJMAM M-U1404-C3	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Flask
SJMAM M-U15 E2 C01	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U1512-C17	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Flask
SJMAM M-U1512-C73	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Flask
SJMAM M-U1512-C81	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Jar
SJMAM M-U1512-C83	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Flask
SJMAM M-U1525-C63	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
SJMAM M-U314 C01a	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Three figures (center figure supported)	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle? (broken)
SJMAM M-U314 C02 (in Moches Archive as MA0754)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Chakipampa Serpent	Jar
SJMAM M-U405 C02 (in Moches Archive as MA0533)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U409 C17 (in Moches Archive as MA0534)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U50 C01 dibujo1 (in Moches Archive as MA7437)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U509 C01	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U509 C14	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U509 C21	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U602 C03 (in Moches Archive as MA0745)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Supernatural Confrontation	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U602 C05 (in Moches Archive as MA0740)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U602 C28	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Miscellaneous	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
SJMAM M-U620 C04 (in Moches Archive as MA0737)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Conceptual Boat Theme	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U620 C13 (in Moches Archive as MA0775)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Miscellaneous	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U623 C05 (in Moches Archive as MA0755)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Rhombus	Double-Spout and Bridge Bottle
SJMAM M-U623 C09 (in Moches Archive as MA7368)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Chakipampa Serpent	Jar
SJMAM M-U624 C13 dibujo 1	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Anthropomorphized Birds	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U624 C26 (in Moches Archive as MA0739)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U625 C06	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle
SJMAM M-U729 C19 (in Moches Archive as MA7369)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Chakipampa Serpent	Jar
SJMAM M-U736 C15	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Miscellaneous	Jar
SJMAM M-U743 C01 (in Moches Archive as MA0748)	San Jose de Moro	Moro	Anthropomorphized Owls	Stirrup Spout Bottle
Swenson 2004 Figure 7.15	Jequetepeque Valley	Moro	n/a	Fragment
Swenson 2004 Figure 7.16	Jequetepeque Valley	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Fragments
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 11	Pacatnamu	Moro	Reed Boat Theme	Fragments
Donna McClelland 1997 Figure 13	Pacatnamu	Moro	Crescent Boat Theme	Fragment

MA2057		Moro?	Beans (Natural)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
MA2938		Moro?	Three figures (center figure supported)	Stirrup Spout Bottle
ML011089	Paiján	Phase IV-V-Moro?	Geometric	Stirrup Spout Bottle

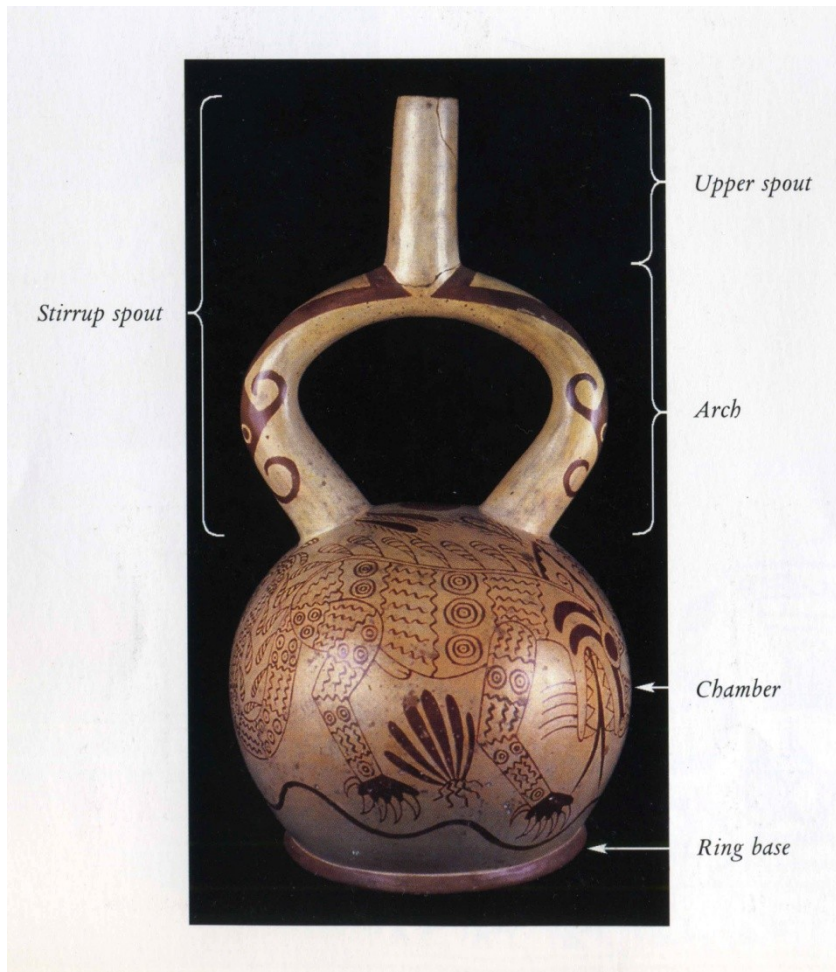


Figure I.1 Diagram that identifies the main components of a stIRRUP spout bottle (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Figure 1.16; enhanced photo by Christopher Donnan).

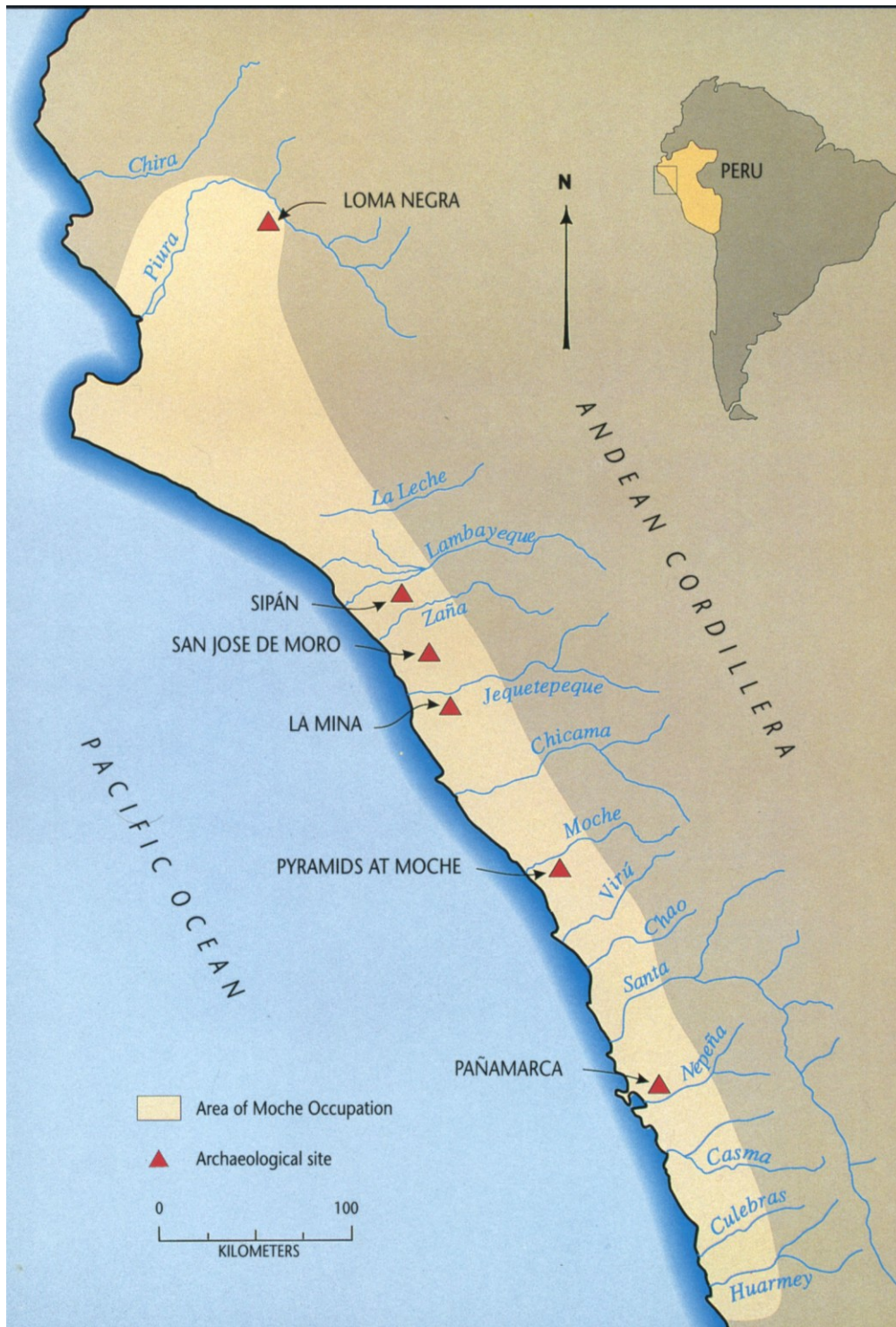


Figure I.2 Map of the area of Moche occupation along Peru's North Coast according to the single state model (Map by Don McClelland, Alva and Donnan 1993 Figure 1).

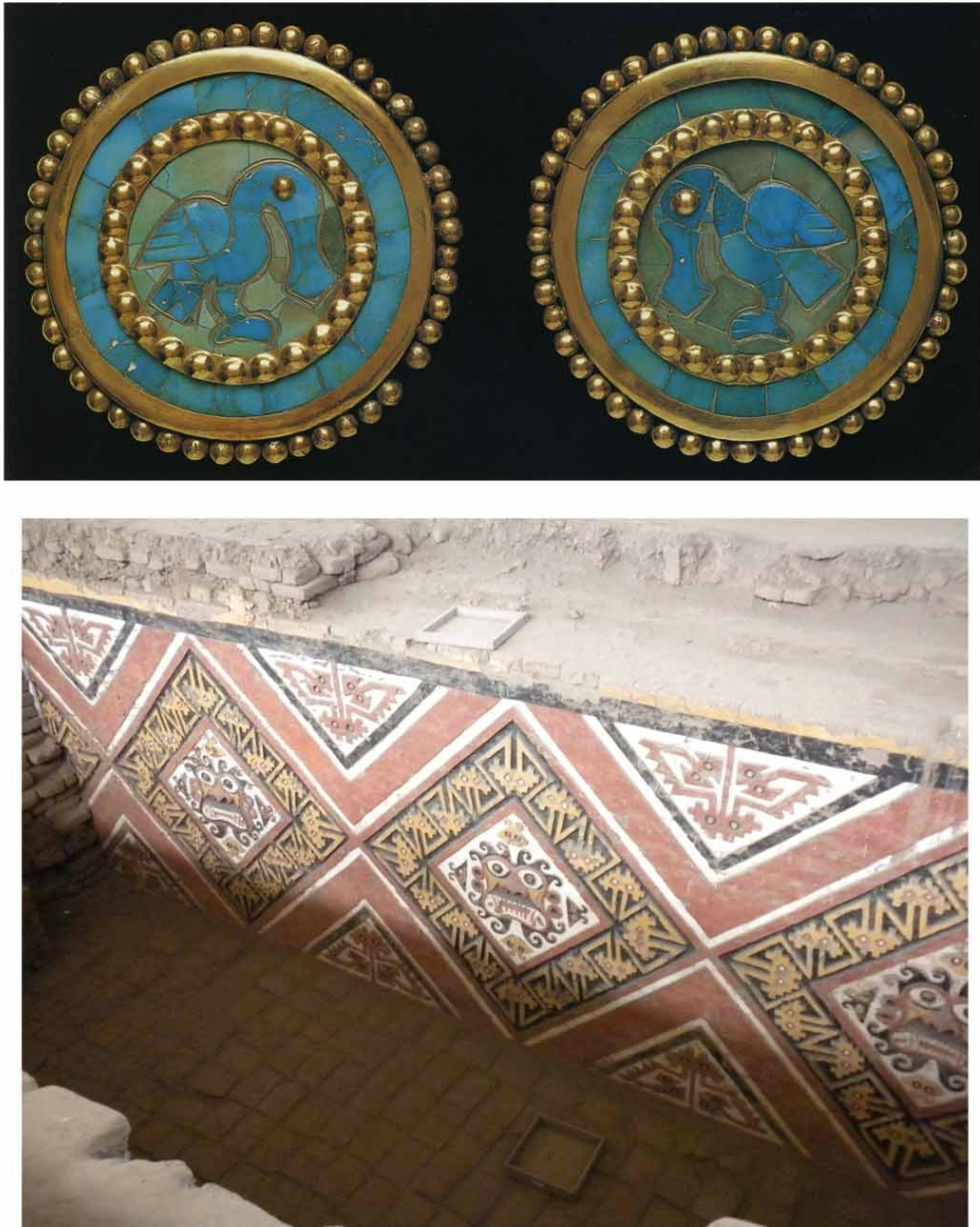


Figure I.3 Examples of Moche art in different media. Above, earspools executed in gold alloy with stone inlay portraying Muscovy ducks excavated from Tomb 1 at Sipán (Alva and Donnan 1993 Figure 85, in the collection of Museo Tumbes Reales de Sipán, Lambayeque Peru). Below, wall mural executed in painted and sculpted mud portraying the frontal face of a deity at the Huaca de la Luna at Huacas de Moche, Peru (photograph by author).

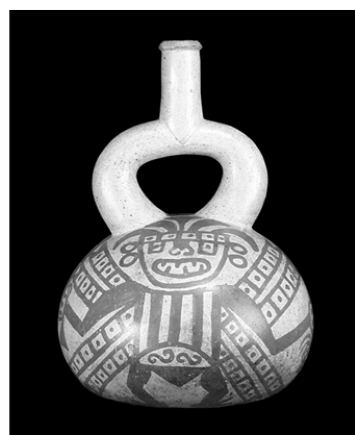


Figure I.4 Examples of similar artistic decorations in different media. Above, pen and ink drawing and gold alloy bell ornament featuring a decapitator deity excavated from Sipán (Alva and Donnan 1993 Figures 121, 152, Drawing by Donna McClelland, object in the collection of the Museo Tumbes Reales de Sipán, Lambayeque Peru). Below, pen and ink rollout drawing and a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring the same decapitator deity (Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Figure 2.20, drawing by Donna McClelland, object in the collection of the Banco de la Reserva, Lima, Peru).

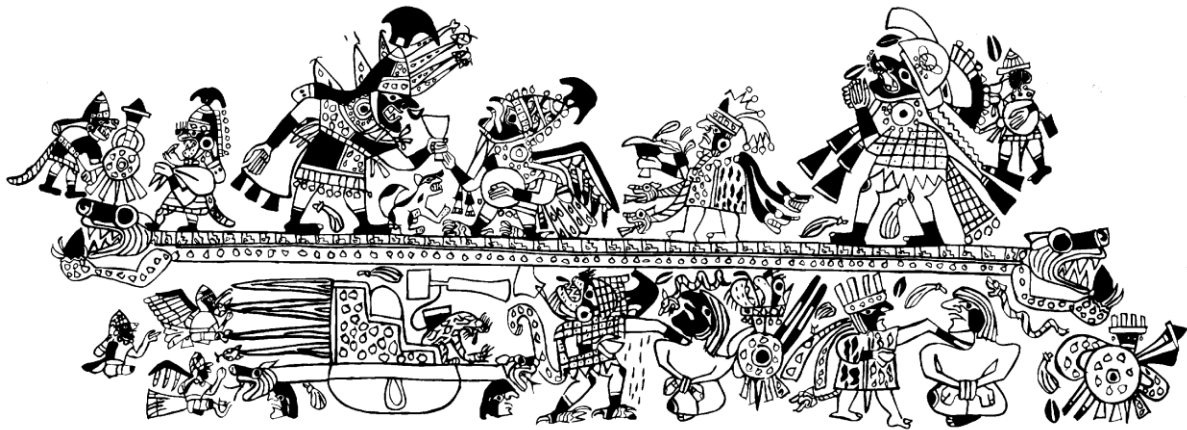


Figure 1.1 Pen and ink roll-out drawing of a fineline painted decoration portraying the Sacrifice Ceremony (formerly known as the Presentation Scene), (Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 4.102, drawing by Donna McClelland, object in the Staatliches Museum für Volkerkunde, Munich).

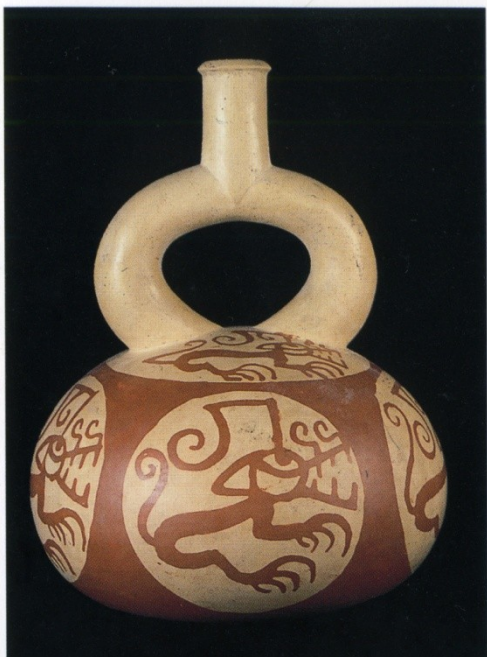


Figure 1.2 Examples of the variation in brushstroke thickness in Moche fineline painted decorations. Left, fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring wide brushstrokes. Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 2.22, object in the collection of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia). Right, fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle using thin brushstrokes (Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 6.145, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).



Figure 1.3 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a fineline painted decoration on a ceramic stirrup spout bottle, providing an example in which fineline painted vessels are represented in a fineline painted composition (Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 4.95; drawing by Donna McClelland).



Figure 1.4 Modeled ceramic stirrup spout bottle of “The Whistler” figure carrying fineline painted vessels (object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML012798).



Figure 1.5 Two views of a modeled ceramic stirrup spout bottle in which a figure rests its head on a drum and carries a stirrup spout bottle on its sash (Photographs courtesy of Christopher Donnan).

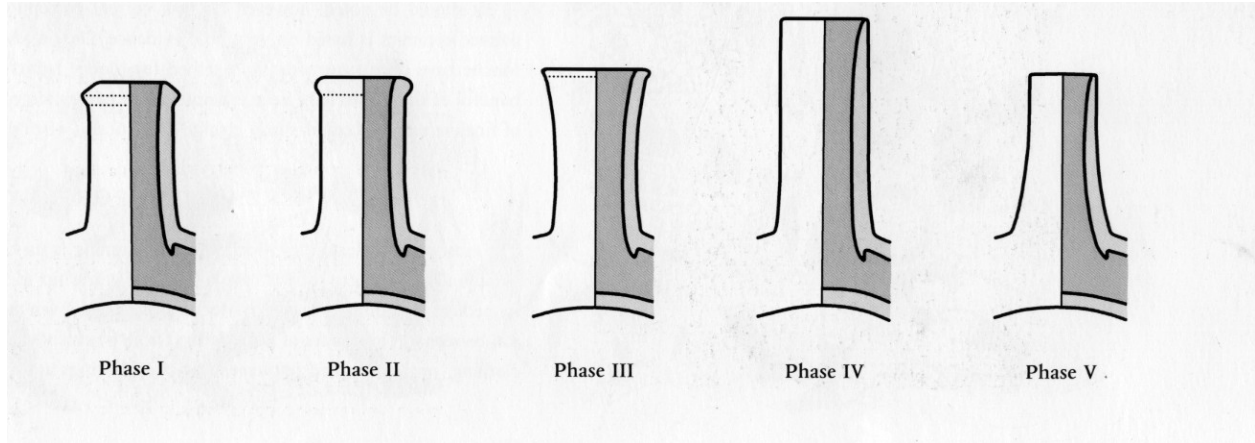


Figure 2.1 Diagram illustrating the various shapes of upper spouts that are used for classifying stirrup spout bottles into the temporal categories of the Larco Hoyle Chronology (Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 1.19; after drawing by Patrick Finnerty).

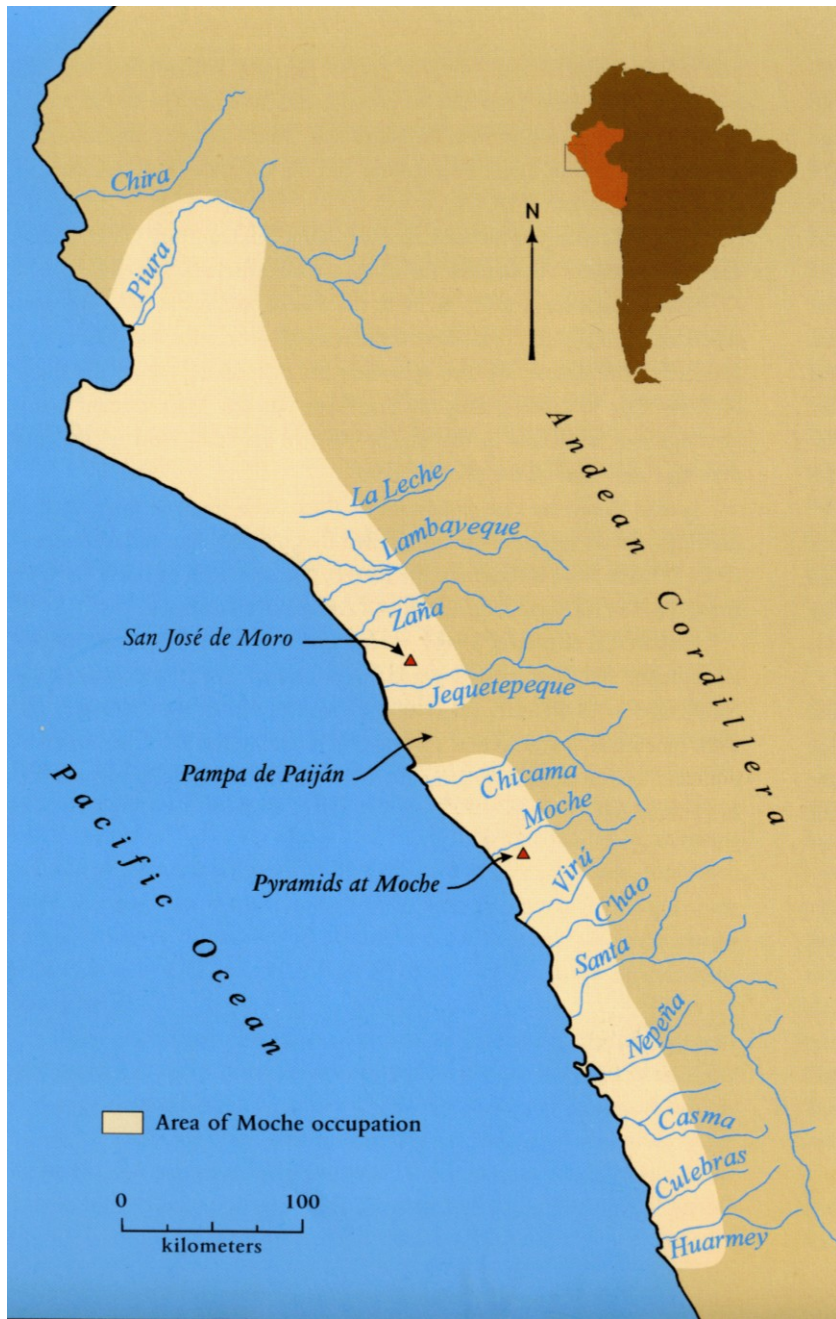


Figure 2.2 Map of the Northern and Southern Moche Regions (Map by Don McClelland, Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 1.1).

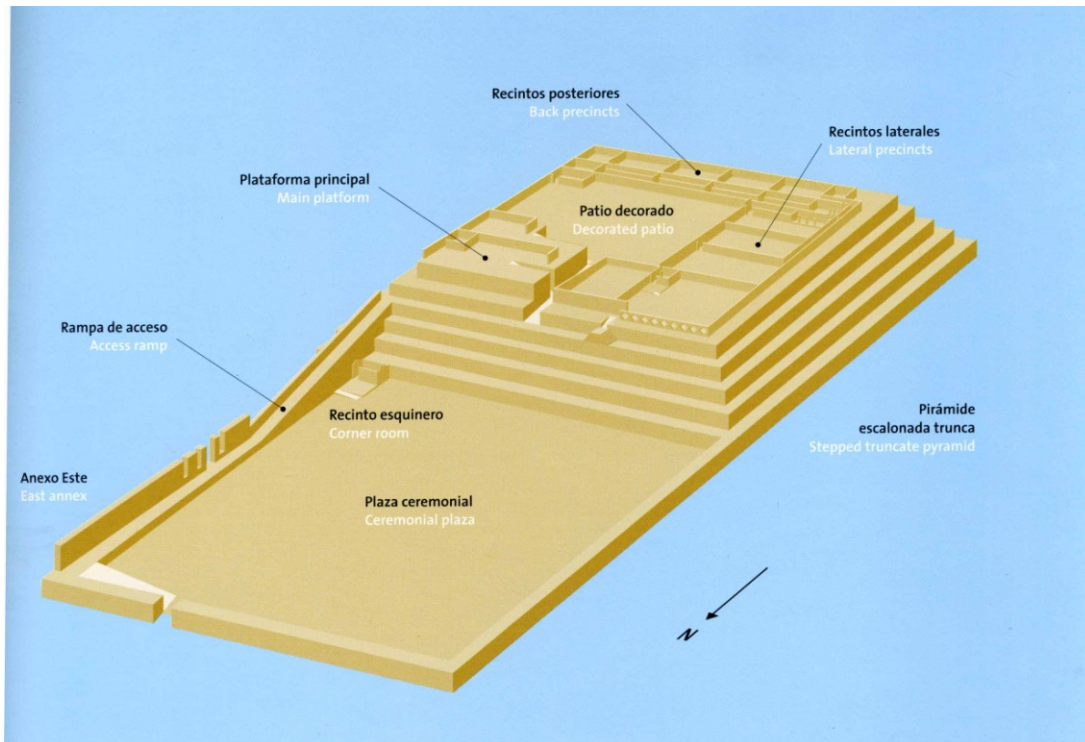


Figure 2.3 Artists' reconstructions illustrating similarities in the layout of the Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo. Above, the Huaca de la Luna (Uceda 2001 Figure 6). Below, Huaca Cao Viejo (Mujica et al. 2007: 97).



Figure 2.4 Huacas de Moche Phase III fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles from different valleys featuring similarities in vessel form and painted design. Left, a Huacas de Moche Phase III stirrup spout bottle attributed to the site of Sausal in the Chicama Valley featuring a naturalistic portrayal of lizards (object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML009166). Right, a specimen also portraying naturalistic lizards excavated at the Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley (Chauchat and Gutierrez: 2005: 110, object in the collection of the Huaca de la Luna Archaeological Project).



Figure 2.5 Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles from different valleys featuring similarities in vessel form and painted design. Left, a Huacas de Moche Phase IV stirrup spout bottle attributed to the site of Facalá in the Chicama Valley featuring an anthropomorphized bird carrying a shield (object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima- catalog number ML004020). Right, a vessel with a similar design discovered at Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley (Chauchat and Gutierrez 2002: 75, object in the collection of the Huaca de la Luna Archaeological Project).



Figure 3.1 Pen and ink rollout drawing and a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle demonstrating Huacas de Moche Phase III's use of silhouette painting. (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 3.46, object in the collection of the Phoebe Appleton Hears Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California, Berkeley).



Figure 3.2 Pen and ink rollout drawing and fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle illustrating Huacas de Moche Phase IV's use of perspective (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 4.48, object in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York).



Figure 3.3 Pen and in rollout drawing from a fineline painted decoration on a ceramic stirrup spout bottle of a weapon bundle typical of the San José de Moro Style (After McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.155, drawing by Donna McClelland).



Figure 3.4 Incomplete fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle demonstrating filler elements common in San José de Moro style fineline decorations that obscure the composition. (Photography by author, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).



Figure 3.5 Pen and ink roll-out drawing and fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle demonstrating the new cross-legged seated position featured in the Bean and Stick Ceremony scene in San José de Moro substyle fineline decorations (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.75, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).

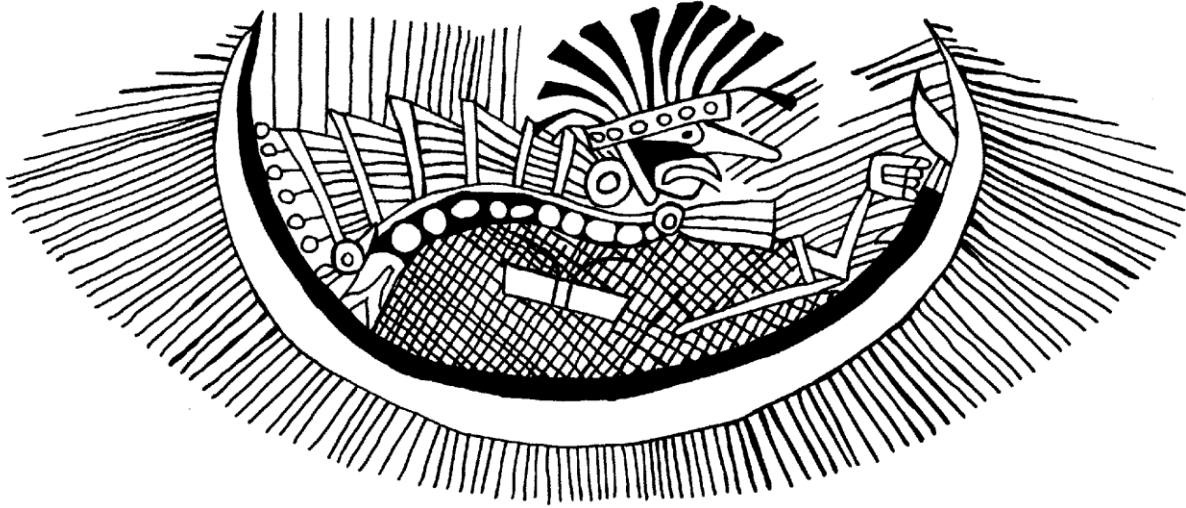


Figure 3.6 Pen and ink rollout drawing and fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle demonstrating the “U”-shaped abstraction of the human form featured in the Crescent Boat scene of the San José de Moro substyle (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 4.6, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).

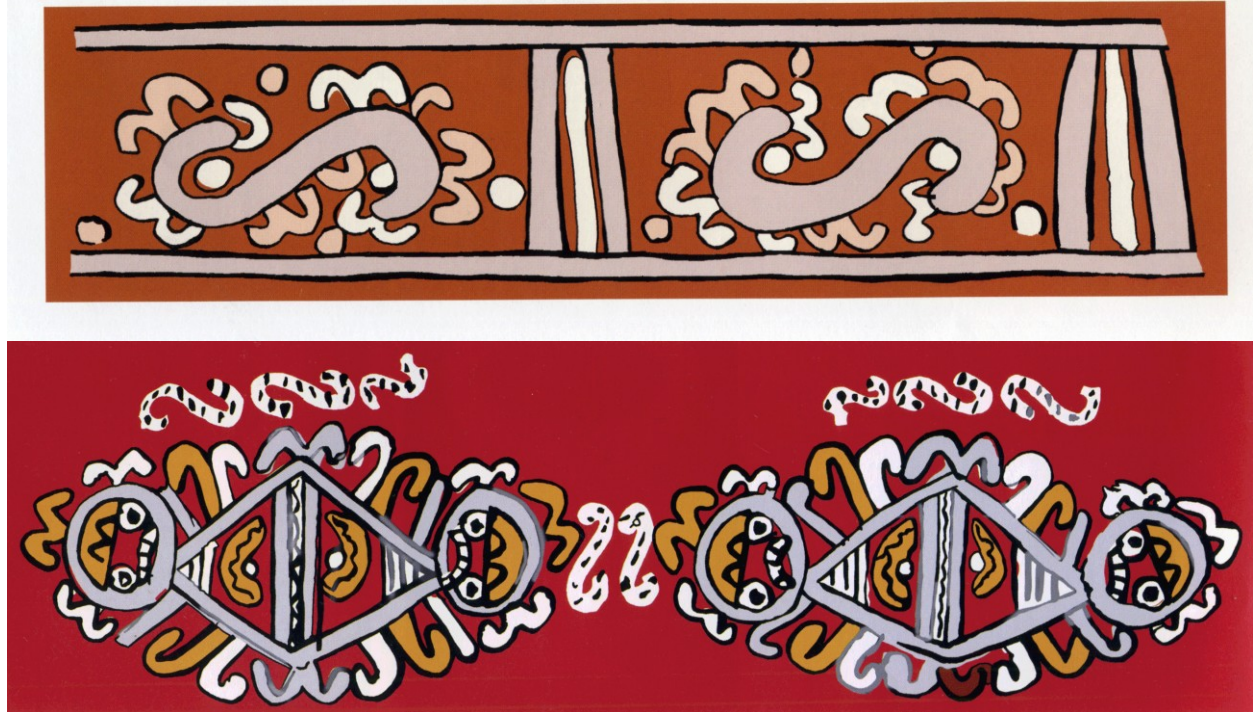


Figure 3.7 Computer-enhanced pen and ink rollout drawings of Wari influenced designs featured on ceramics of the San José de Moro substyle. Above, the Chakipampa Serpent (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.183). Below, the Wari Rhombus (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.170).



Figure 3.8 Examples of San José de Moro style ceramics attributed to Chicama Valley sites. a) Left, a double-spout and bridge bottle attributed to Ascope (object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima- catalog number ML002462) b) Right, a stirrup spout bottle attributed to Paiján (object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima- catalog number ML002298).



Figure 3.9 Examples of San José de Moro style ceramics with geometric designs discovered in different valleys. a) Left, a San José de Moro stirrup spout bottle excavated at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley (McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.169, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archeological Project) . b) Right, a similar vessel excavated from the Santa Valley (McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.169, object in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología, y Historia, Lima).



Figure 3.10 Pen and ink rollout drawing and a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring an example of the Supernatural Confrontation scene in which Circular Creature is not present (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.67, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).

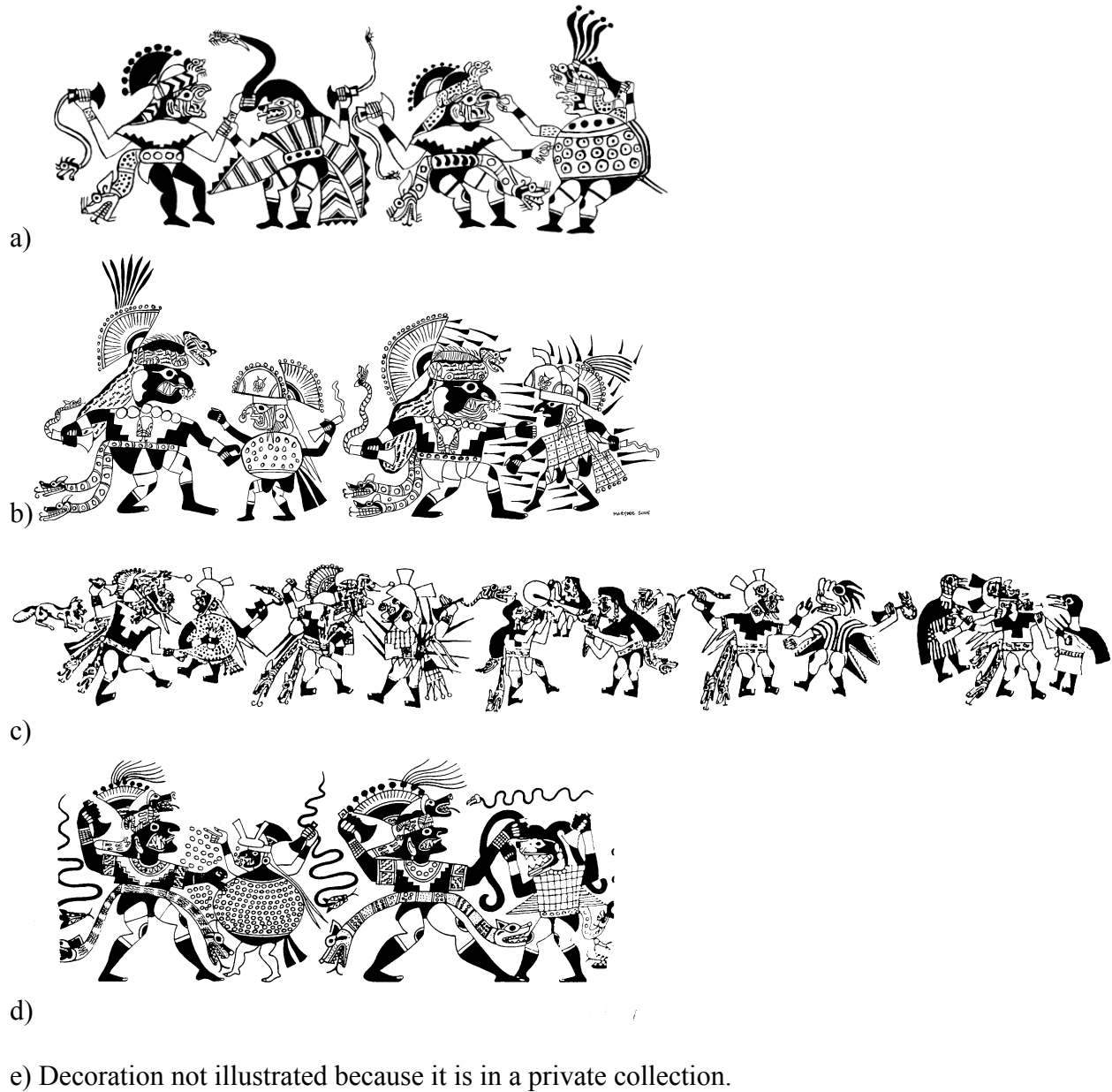
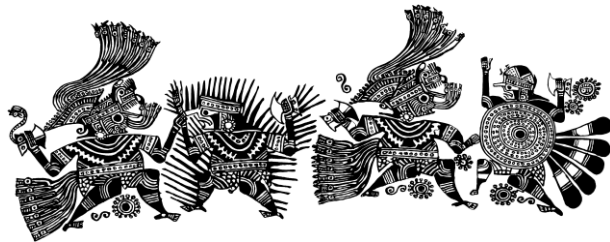


Figure 3.11 Pen and ink rollout drawings of Huacas de Moche depictions of the Circular Creature from ceramic stirrup spout bottles (Sources: a) Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 4.81, b) Drawing by Donna McClelland, Moche Archive- catalog number MA0802, c) Drawing by Elizabeth Benson, Moche Archive- catalog number MA1022, d) Drawing by Donna McClelland, Moche Archive-catalog number MA1138, e) Moche Archive-catalog number MA3333).



a)



b)



c)



d)

e-n) Decoration not illustrated because it is in a private collection

Figure 3.12 (a-c) Pen and ink rollout drawings from fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles featuring San José de Moro style depictions of the Circular Creature. (d) A fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring San José de Moro style depictions of the Circular Creature (Sources: a) Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.55, b) Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.53, c) Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.50, d) vessel from San José de Moro Archaeological Project, e-n) Moche Archive- catalog numbers MA0182, MA0195, MA0196, MA0199, MA0205, MA0207, MA0285, MA7357, MA2777, MA2801).



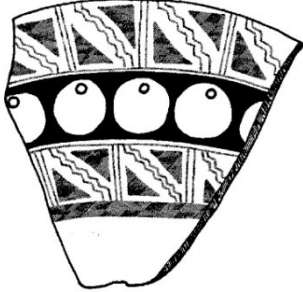
Figure 4.1 Late Chicama style fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout vessels illustrating a variety of chamber shapes (objects in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima- catalog numbers ML011256, ML011259, ML011189, ML011202, ML002341, ML003812, ML011192, ML011015, ML012797).



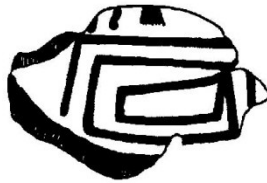
Motif 1



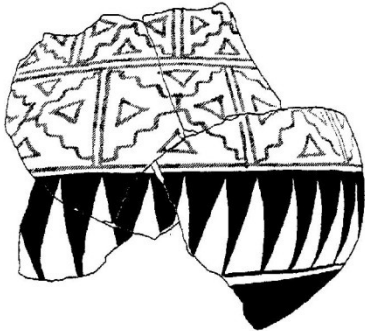
Motif 2



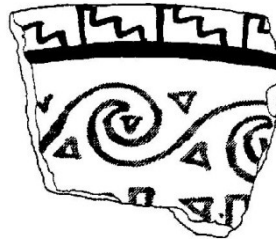
Motif 3



Motif 4



Motif 5



Motif 6



Motif 7



Motif 8

Figure 4.2 Diagram illustrating Lockard's classification scheme for what I call Late Chicama geometric fineline decorations (After Lockard 2005: 292, 295, 297).

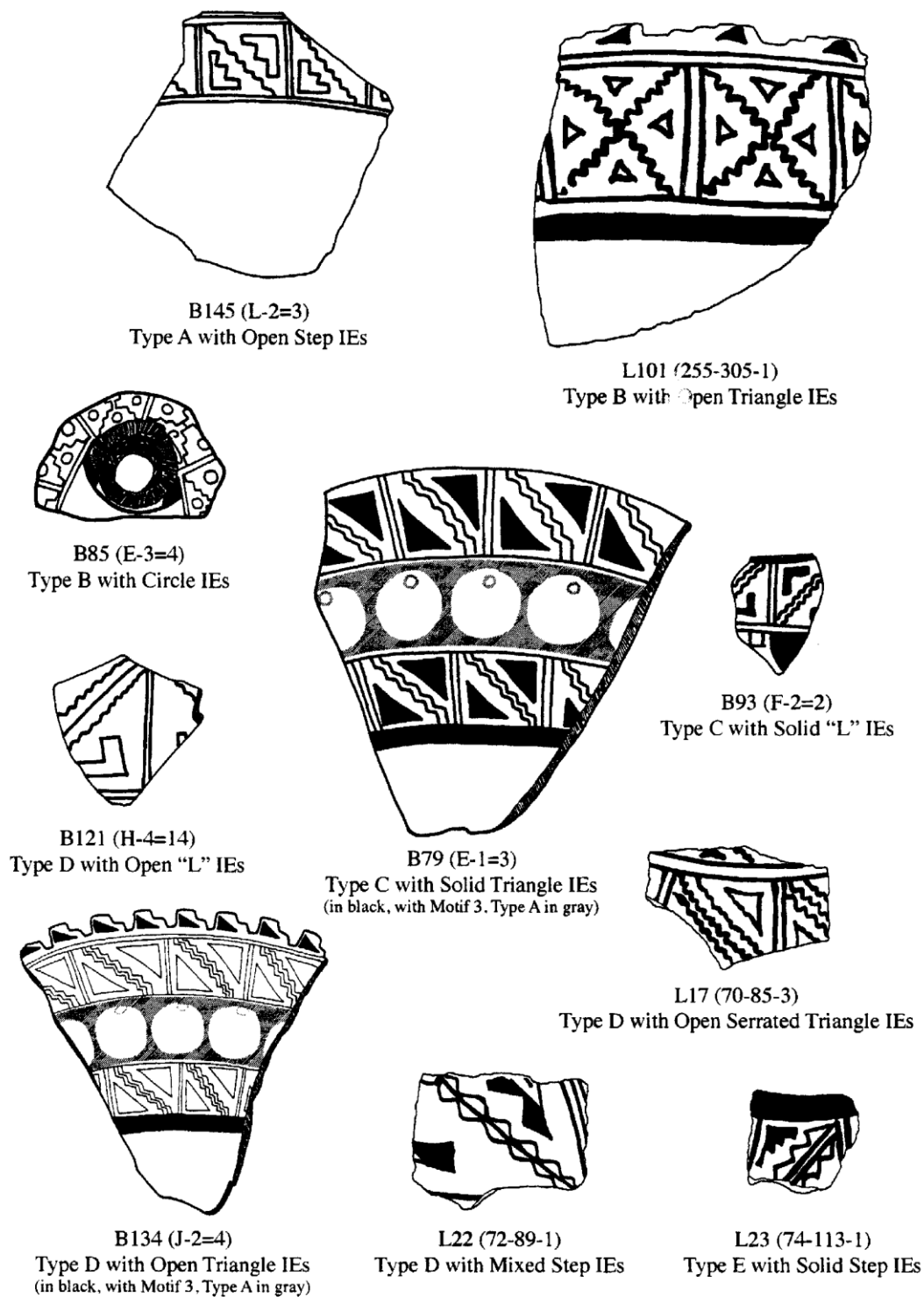


Figure 4.3 Diagram illustrating variations of Lockard's Motif 1 (Lockard 2005 Figure 9.6).



Figure 4.4 Pen and ink roll out drawing and a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a Late Chicama style example of the Bird with a Bowl motif (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and McClelland 1999 Figure 5.2, vessel in the collection of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).

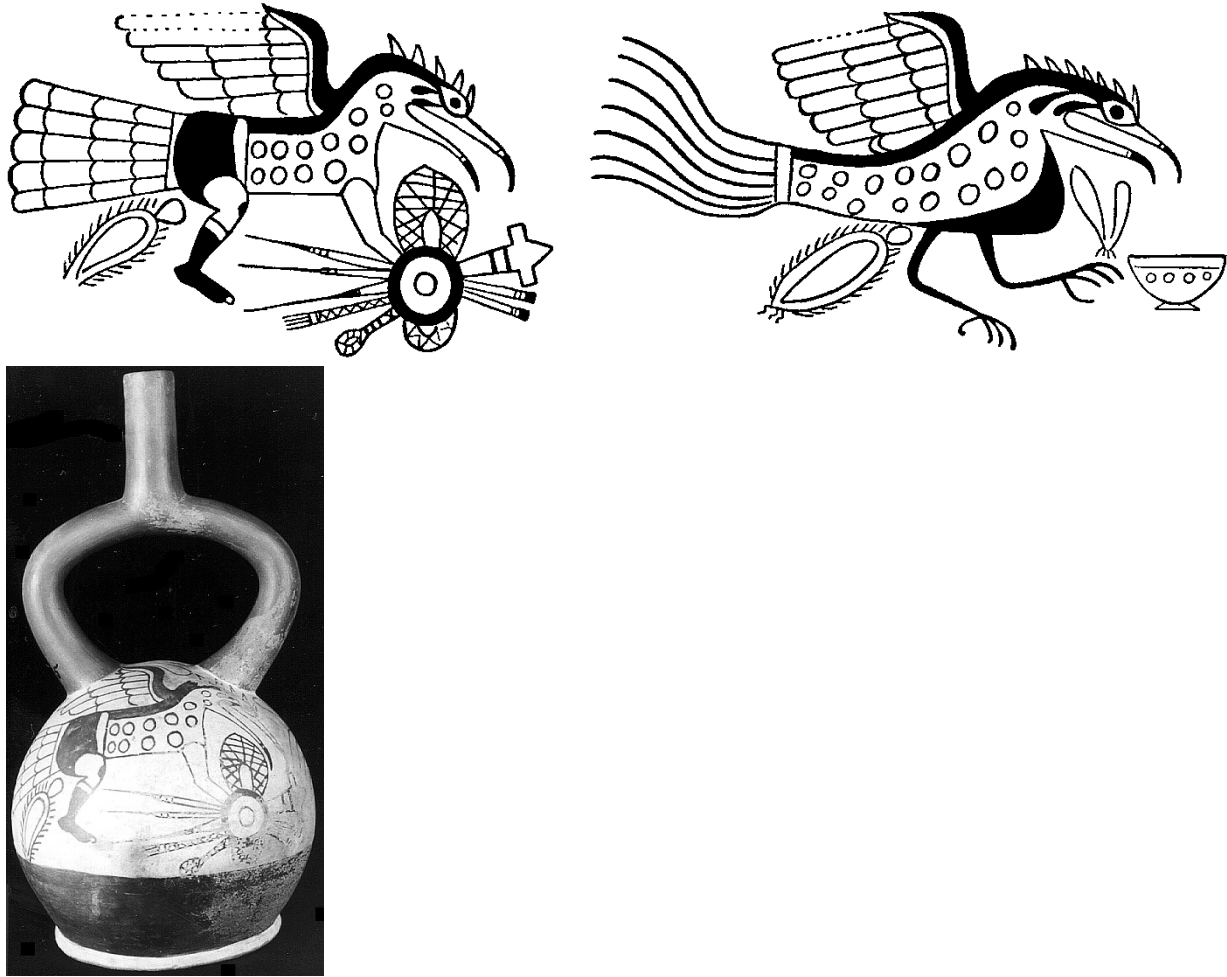


Figure 4.5 Pen and ink rollout drawing and a Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle from the Berlin Museum that provides a link between the Bird with a Bowl motif and warfare (Drawing by Donna McClelland, vessel in the collection of the Berlin Museum, Berlin).

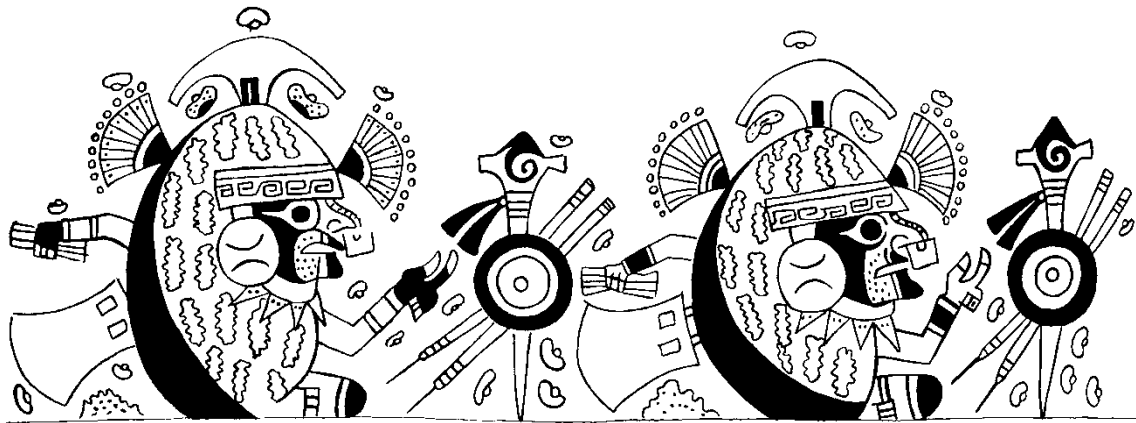


Figure 4.6 Pen and ink rollout drawing and fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring Anthropomorphized Beans holding stacks of sticks (Drawing by Donna McClelland, vessel in collection of the University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia).



Figure 4.7 Fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles that have similar chamber shapes but belong to different fineline painted traditions. Left, an example from the Huacas de Moche tradition (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML011267). Right, example from the Late Chicama tradition (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number; ML011264).



Figure 4.8 Fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle that serves as an example of a hybrid the Huacas de Moche Phase IV and Late Chicama substyles (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima- catalog number ML003854).



Figure 4.9 Examples of Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles with geometric fineline decorations (from right to left, top to bottom, photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML001848, photos courtesy of the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden-catalog numbers RMV 1872-72, RMV 1872-73, RMV 1872-81).

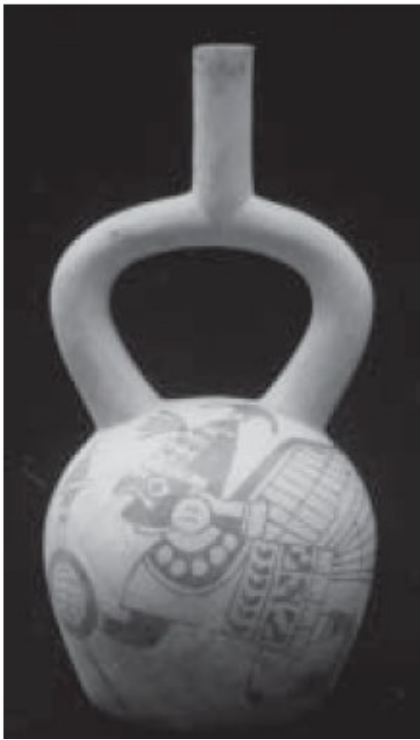


Figure 4.10 Examples of fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles in the Huaca de la Luna and Late Chicama styles with similar subject matter. Left, a bottle excavated at Huacas de Moche (Chauchat and Gutierrez 2002, Figure 99, object in the collection of the Huaca de la Luna Archaeological Project) Right, a bottle attributed to Ascope in the Chicama Valley (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML12941).



Figure 4.11 Examples of fineline painted stirrup spout bottles in the Huaca de la Luna and Late Chicama styles that feature the same subject rendered differently. Left, an example from the Huacas de Moche style (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML4013). Right, an example from the Late Chicama style (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML3999).



Figure 4.12 An example of a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle from the Chicama Valley that, based on its shape, would be attributed to the San José de Moro style but is Late Chicama according to its painted design (photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML11028).



Figure 4.13 Two views of a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle from Facalá that provides a Late Chicama example of the Strombus Monster (Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML003965).

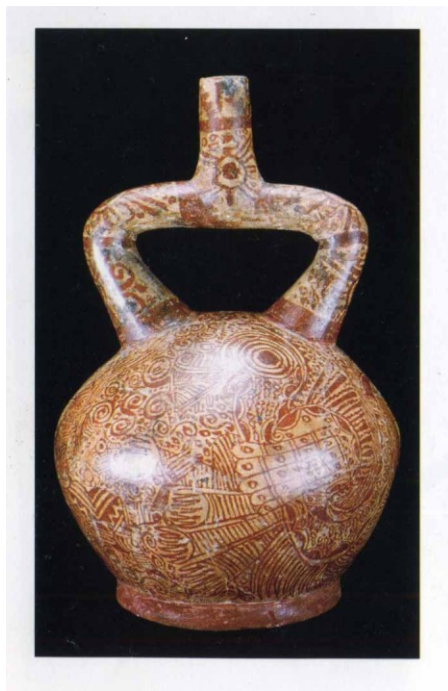
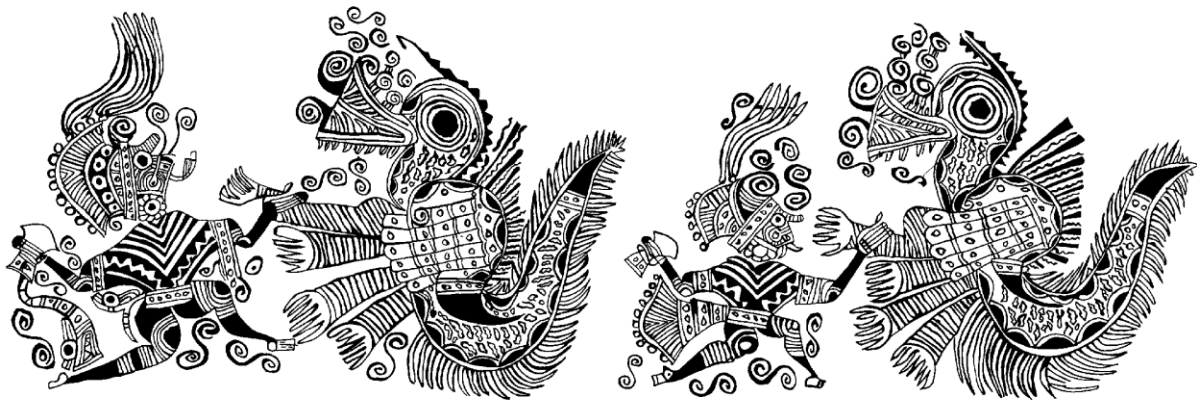
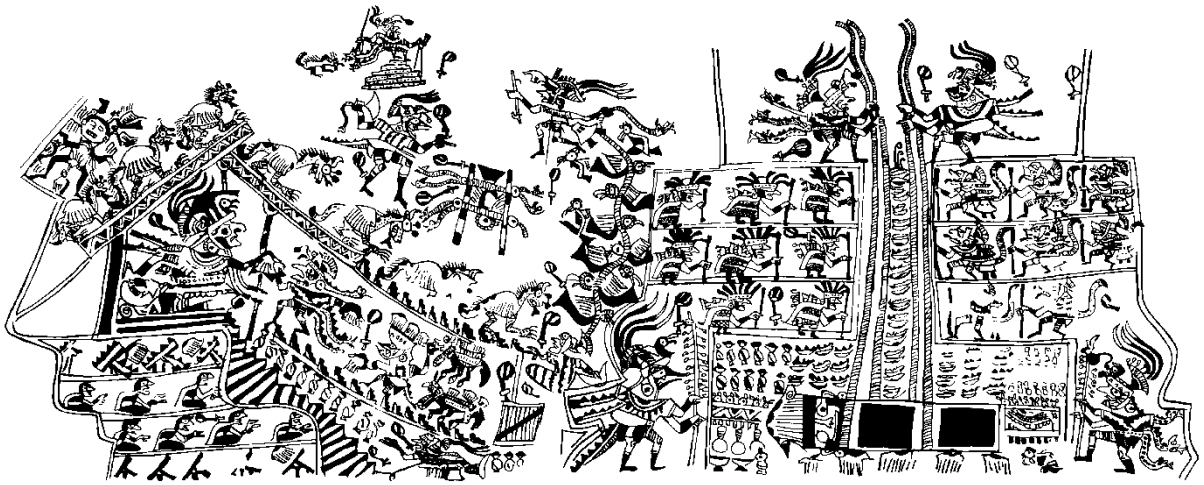


Figure 4.14 Pen and ink rollout drawing and fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle excavated from San José de Moro providing an example of a San José de Moro Strombus Monster (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.64, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).



a)



b)

NOTE: The vessel that this painting decorates is not illustrated because it is housed in a private collection.

Figure 4.15 Above, (a) Pen and ink rollout drawing of a fineline decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle that is the only example of the Burial Theme in the Late Chicama style (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.104). Below, (b) Detail of the above drawing highlighting procession of Conch Monsters on a gabled roof (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.104).

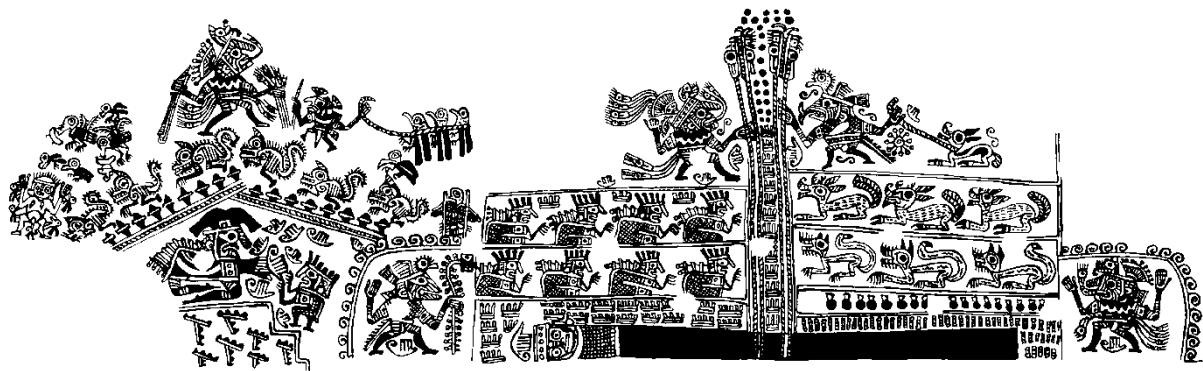


Figure 4.16 Pen and ink rollout drawings from fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles featuring the only two San José de Moro versions of the Burial Theme portraying a procession of Conch Monsters (Above, drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.112, below, drawing by Donna McClelland, Figure 3.113).



a.



b.

Figure 5.1 Pen and ink rollout drawings of fineline painted decorations on ceramic stirrup spout bottles of the only two Huacas de Moche Phase III boat scenes Above (a.), (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and Donna McClelland Figure 3.45). Below (b.)(Drawing by Donna McClelland).



Figure 5.2 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a boat scene in which the boat is elongated along the horizontal axis and has a more naturalistic representation in its construction than Phase III examples (Drawing by Alana Cordy-Collins).



Figure 5.3 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a boat scene in which human legs are used to signify movement (Drawing by Donna McClelland).



Figure 5.4 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a Huacas de Moche Phase IV fineline painted decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a boat that portrays jars on board (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Figure 4.45, vessel in the collection of the Huaca de la Luna Archaeological Project).



Figure 5.5 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a Late Chicama fineline painted decoration on a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a boat in which the “joints” on each end angle upwards (Drawing by Donna McClelland).



Figure 5.6 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a Late Chicama fineline painted decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a boat in which Paddler is on the deck of a ship (Drawing by Alana Cordy-Collins).

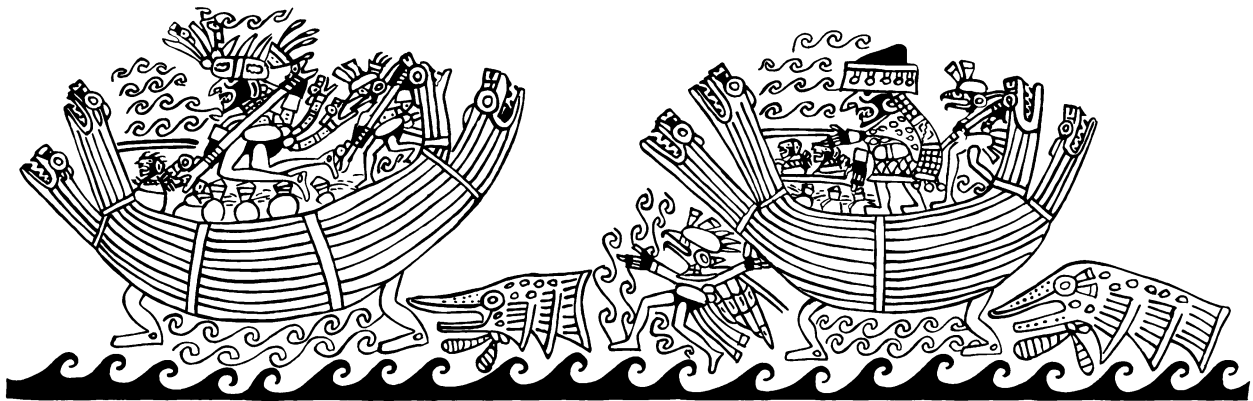


Figure 5.7 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a Late Chicama fineline painted decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a boat propelled by a bird deity (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Figure 5.52).



Figure 5.8 Pen and ink rollout drawings and fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottles presenting examples of San José de Moro boat scenes excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project: a) Reed Boat Scene (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan McClelland 2007 Figure 3.7, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project), b) Crescent Boat Scene (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan McClelland 2007 Figure 3.29, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project), c) Conceptual Boat Scene (Drawing by Donna McClelland, Donnan McClelland 2007 Figure 3.23, object in the collection of the vessel owned by San José de Moro Archaeological Project).

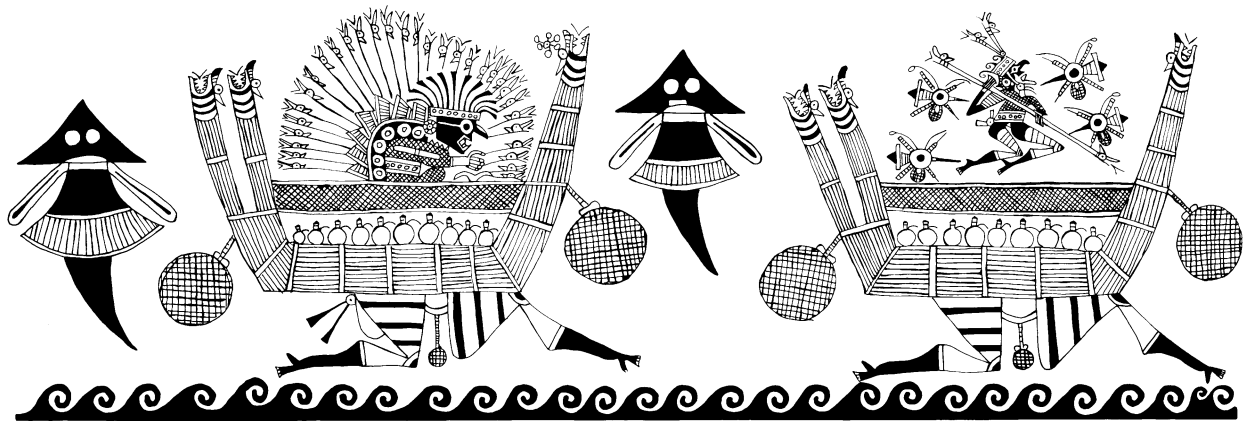


Figure 5.9 Pen and ink rollout drawing of a San José de Moro fineline painted decoration from a ceramic stirrup spout bottle featuring a reed boat exhibiting jointed ends (Drawing by Donna McClelland, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.18).

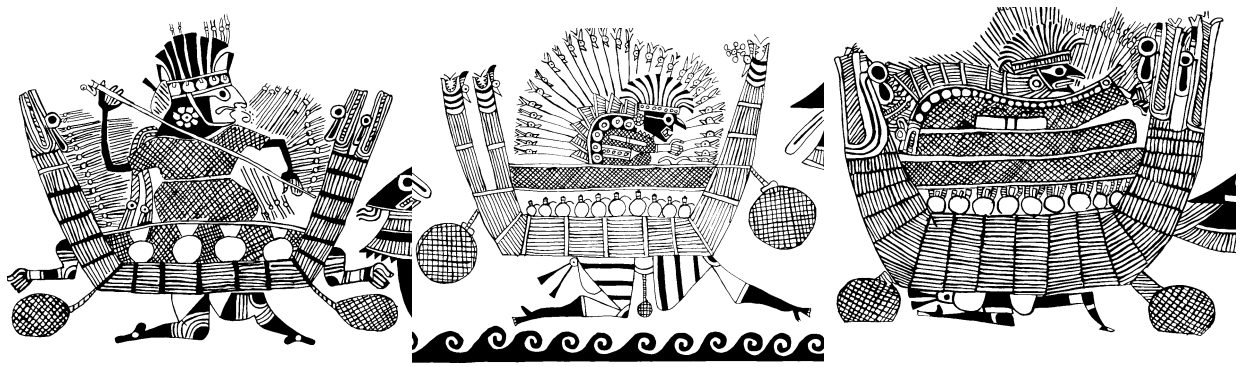


Figure 5.10 Pen and ink rollout drawings of fineline painted decorations from ceramic stirrup spout bottles presenting examples of San José de Moro Reed Boats featuring the range of Priestess body types (Drawings by Donna McClelland).

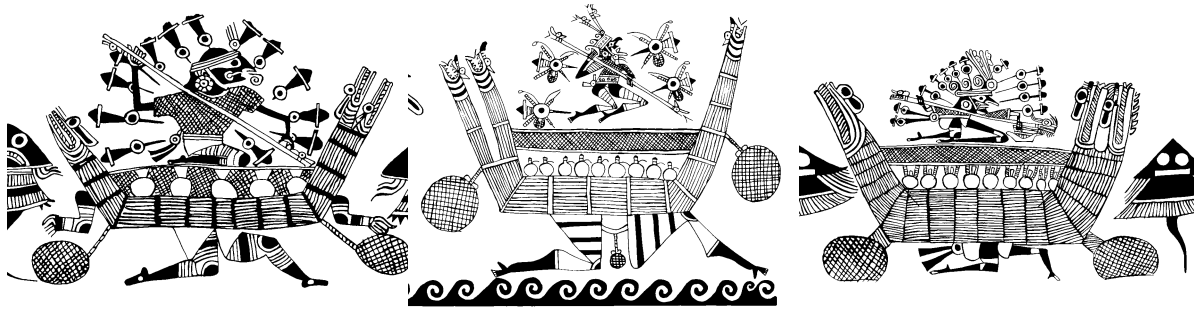


Figure 5.11 Pen and ink rollout drawings of fineline painted decorations from ceramic stirrup spout bottles presenting examples of San José de Moro Reed Boats featuring the range of Paddler body types (Drawings by Donna McClelland).

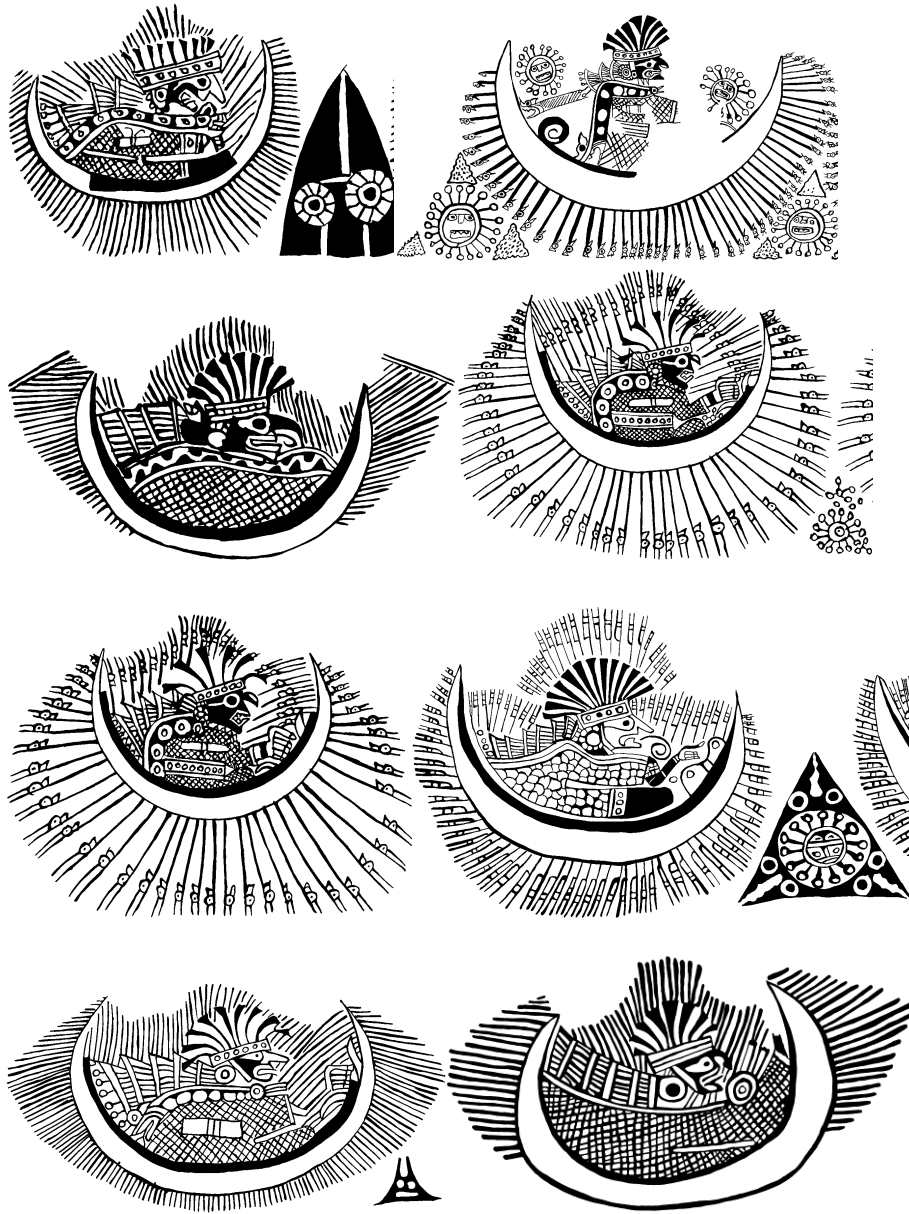


Figure 5.12 Pen and ink rollout drawings of fineline painted decorations from ceramic stirrup spout bottles presenting examples of San José de Moro Reed Boats featuring the San José de Moro Crescent Boat Theme (Drawings by Donna McClelland).

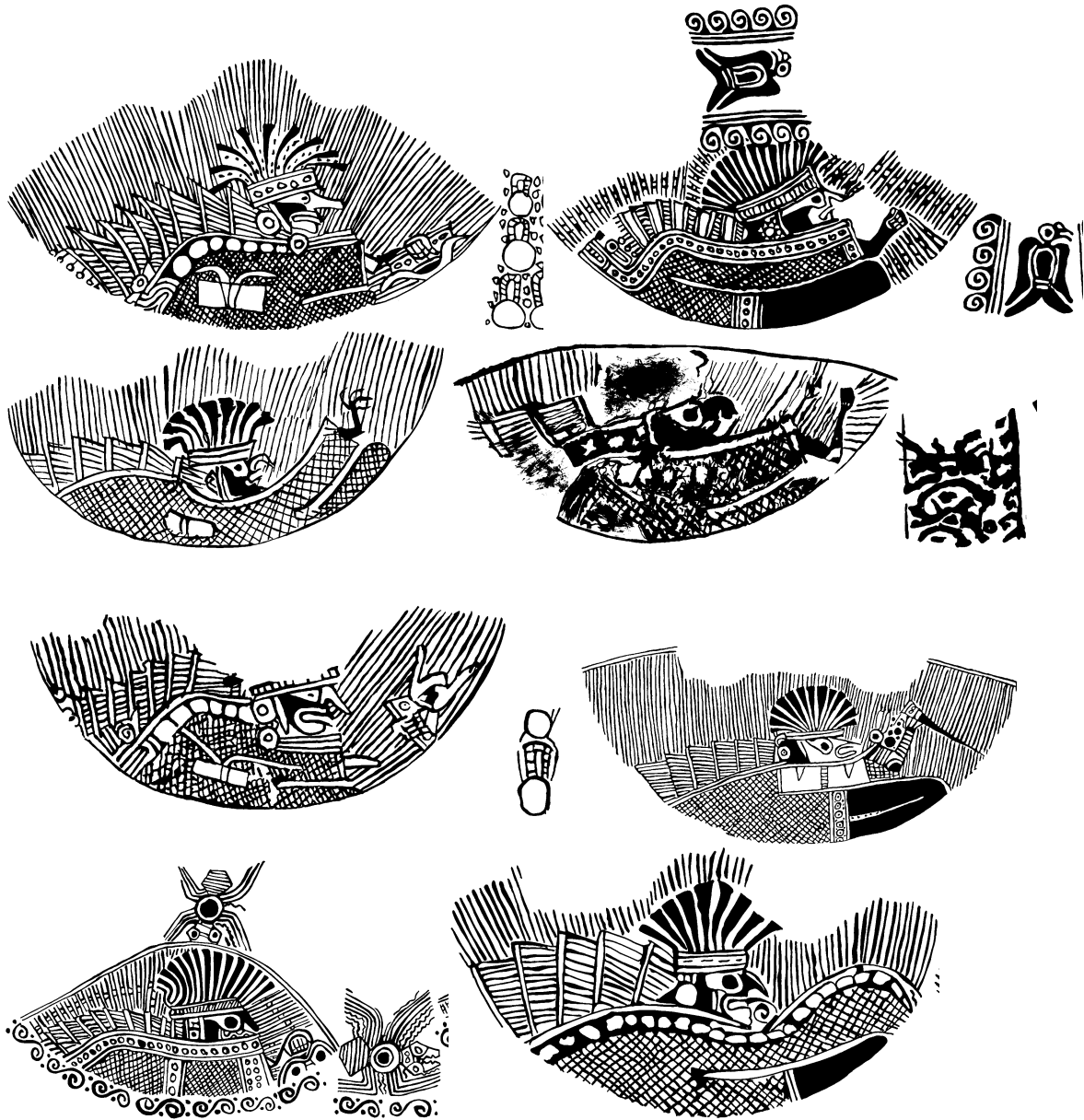


Figure 5.13 Pen and ink roll-out drawings of fineline painted decorations from ceramic stirrup spout bottles presenting examples of San José de Moro Reed Boats featuring a range of depictions of the San José de Moro Conceptual Boat Theme (Drawings by Donna McClelland).

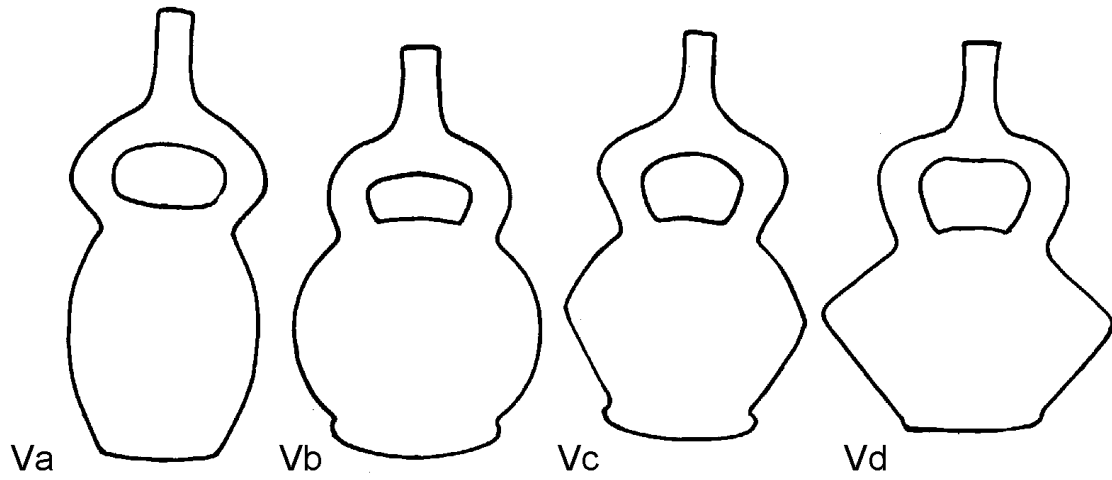
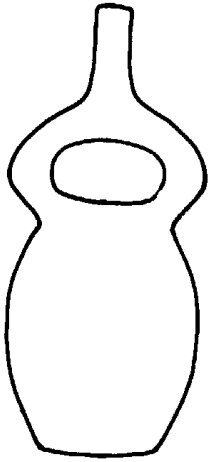
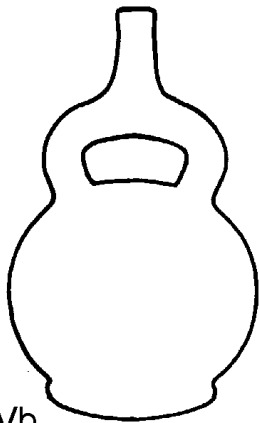


Figure 5.14 Diagram of Alana Cordy-Collins's chronology for Larco Hoyle Phase V stirrup spout bottles (After Cordy-Collins 1977, Figure 8).



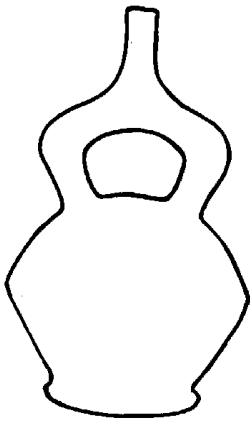
Va

Figure 5.15 Comparison of a Late Chicama style fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle from Facalá to a pen and ink drawing of Cordy-Collins's of Phase Va. Above, photo courtesy of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima-catalog number ML002341. Below, after Cordy-Collins 1977, Figure 8).



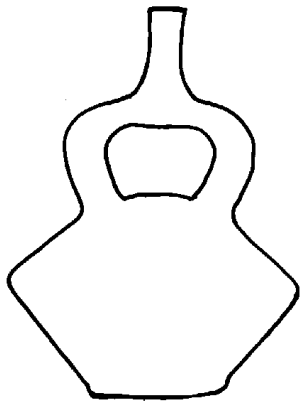
Vb

Figure 5.16 Comparison of a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project with a pen and ink drawing of Cordy-Collins's Phase Vb. Above, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.7, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project. Below, after Cordy-Collins 1977, Figure 8.



Vc

Figure 5.17 Comparison of a fineline painted ceramic stirrup spout bottle excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project with a pen and ink drawing of Cordy-Collins's Phase Vc . Above, McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 2.29, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project. Below, after Cordy-Collins 1977, Figure 8.



Vd

Figure 5.20 Comparison of a stirrup spout bottle excavated by the San José de Moro Archaeological Project with Cordy-Collins's Phase Vd. Above, (After Cordy-Collins 1977, Figure 8). Below, (McClelland et al. 2007 Figure 3.23, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project).

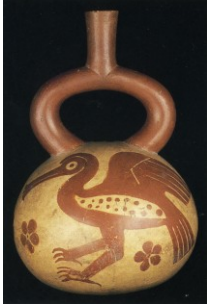


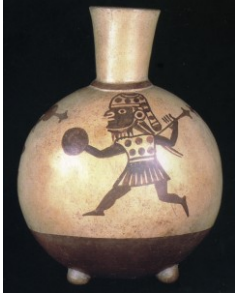

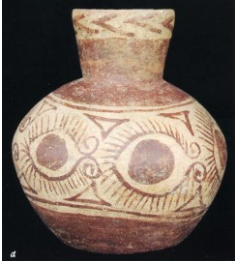


Table 1. Table presenting the presence or absence of the subject matter populating fineline painted decorations of the Huacas de Moche Phase III, Huacas de Moche Phase IV, Late Chicama and San José de Moro styles.







Phase III Huacas de Moche	Phase IV Huacas de Moche	Late Chicama	San José de Moro
-	Portrait Head	-	-
Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity	Miscellaneous Supernatural Activity
Decapitation	Decapitation	-	Decapitation
-	Figure Holding Pottery	-	-
-	Figure Holding Small Figure	-	-
-	Figure Holding Miscellaneous object	-	-
Erotic	Erotic	Erotic	-
-	Shamanic Healing	-	-
Supernatural Confrontation	Supernatural Confrontation	Supernatural Confrontation	Supernatural Confrontation
Prisoners	Prisoners	-	-
Warriors in Combat and in Procession	Warriors in Combat and in Procession	Warriors in Combat and in Procession	-
Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields	Clubs and Shields
Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	Dais and Litter Seated Figures	-
Extremities	Extremities	-	-
-	Death Figures	-	-
Deer and Deer Hunting	Deer and Deer Hunting	Deer and Deer Hunting	-
Anthropomorphized Deer	Anthropomorphized Deer	Anthropomorphized Deer	-
Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	Hunting (fox, sea lion, bird)	-	-
Fox (natural)	Fox (natural)	-	-
-	Anthropomorphized Fox	-	-
-	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)	Strombus galeatus (natural, monster, shell with figure inside)
Lomas Snail (natural, anthropomorphized, hunting)	Lomas Snail (natural, anthropomorphized, hunting)	-	-

Lizards(natural)	Lizards (natural)	-	-
Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)	Fish (natural and anthropomorphized)
Fishing Scenes	Fishing Scenes	-	-
Birds (natural other than owls)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Birds (natural other than owls)	Birds (natural other than owls)
-	Bird with a Bowl	Bird with a Bowl	Bird with a Bowl
Anthropomorphized Birds	Anthropomorphized Birds	Anthropomorphized Birds	Anthropomorphized Birds
-	Owls (natural)	-	-
-	Anthropomorphized Owls	-	Anthropomorphized Owls
Crested Animal	Crested Animal	-	Crested Animal
-	Monkey (natural)	-	Monkey (natural)
Crab and Crayfish (natural)	Crab and Crayfish (natural)	-	-
Anthropomorphized Crab	Anthropomorphized Crab	-	Anthropomorphized Crab
Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Anthropomorphized Crayfish	Anthropomorphized Crayfish
Octopus	Octopus	-	Octopus
Snakes (natural and anthropomorphized)	Snakes (natural and anthropomorphized)	Snakes (natural and anthropomorphized)	-
-	Frogs	-	-
Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)	Spiders and Insects (natural and anthropomorphized)
-	Sea Lions	-	Sea Lions
Feline	Feline	-	-
Animals (miscellaneous)	Animals (miscellaneous)	-	-
Geometric Designs	Geometric Designs	Geometric Designs	Geometric Designs
-	Architecture (weaving scene)	-	-
Figure Under Arch	-	-	-
-	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)	-	Food/Plants (natural and anthropomorphized)
Headdresses	Headdresses	-	-
Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners	Ritual Runners
Beans (natural)	Beans (natural)	Beans (natural)	Beans (natural)
-	Beans (anthropomorphized)	Beans (anthropomorphized)	-
-	Bean and Stick Ceremony	-	Bean and Stick Ceremony

Coca Chewing	Coca Chewing	-	-
-	Processions with Musical Instruments	Processions with Musical Instruments	Processions with Musical Instruments
Reed Boat Theme	Reed Boat Theme	Reed Boat Theme	Reed Boat Theme
-	-	-	Crescent Boat Theme
-	-	-	Conceptual Boat Theme
-	-	Burial Theme	Burial Theme
Ceremonial Badminton	Ceremonial Badminton	-	Ceremonial Badminton
-	Sacrifice Ceremony	-	-
-	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons	Anthropomorphized Clothing and Weapons
Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous
-	-	-	Three figures (center figure supported)
-	-	-	Wari Rhombus
-	-	-	Chakipampa Serpent
Totals: 37	57	25	33

Table 2. Table illustrating ceramic types decorated with fineline painting of the Phase III Huacas de Moche, Phase IV Huacas de Moche, and San José de Moro fineline painting categories.

	Phase III Huacas de Moche	Phase IV Huacas de Moche	San José de Moro
Stirrup Spout Bottle	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Fig 3.1, object in the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin)</p>	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Figure 4.48, object in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)</p>	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al 2007, Fig 2.2a, object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima)</p>
Jar	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 3.9, object in the collection of the Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad de Trujillo)</p>	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 4.9, object in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología e Historia, Lima)</p>	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig. 2.9, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)</p>
Flaring Bowl	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 3.8, object in the collection of the</p>	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 4.7, object in the collection of the</p>	-

	Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum für Völkerkunde, Cologne)	Museo Amano, Lima)	
Dipper	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 3.5, object in the collection of the British Museum, London)</p>	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 4.46, object in the collection of the British Museum, London)</p>	-
Spout and Handle Bottle	-	 <p>(Photo courtesy of Christopher Donnan, object in the collection of the British Museum, London)</p>	 <p>(Photo courtesy of Christopher Donnan, object in the collection of the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich)</p>
Pedestal Bowl	-	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig. 4.11, object in the collection of the Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad de Trujillo)</p>	-
Box	-	(Object not pictured because it is in a private collection)	-
Double-spout and bridge bottle	-	-	 <p>(Photo courtesy of Luis Jaime Castillo, object in</p>











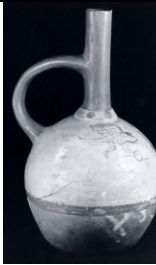




			the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)
Flask	-	-	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig 2.8, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)</p>
Goblet	-	-	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig. 2.10, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)</p>



Table 3. Table indicating the presence or absence of deities in the Supernatural Confrontation scenes of the Huacas de Moche and San José de Moro substyles of fineline painting.

Phase III Huacas de Moche	Phase IV Huacas de Moche	San José de Moro
Wrinkle Face	Wrinkle Face	Wrinkle Face
-	Anthropomorphized Iguana	Anthropomorphized Iguana
-	Circular Creature	Circular Creature
-	Sea Urchin	Sea Urchin
-	Strombus Monster	Strombus Monster
-	Anthropomorphized Crab	Anthropomorphized Crab
-	-	Anthropomorphized Wave
-	-	Paddler
Long Fish	Long Fish	-
Demon Fish	Demon Fish	-
Dragon	Dragon	-
Split Top	Split Top	-
-	Anthropomorphized Bats	-
TOTALS: 5	11	8

Table 4. Table illustrating ceramic types decorated with fineline painting of the Phase IV Huacas de Moche, San José de Moro and Late Chicama substyles.

	Phase IV Huacas de Moche	San José de Moro	Late Chicama
Stirrup Spout Bottle	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999 Figure 4.48, object in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)</p>	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al 2007, Fig 2.2a, object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima)</p>	 <p>(Photo Courtesy of the Museo Larco Herrera, Lima)</p>
Jar	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 4.9, object in the collection of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología e Historia, Lima)</p>	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig. 2.9, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)</p>	<p>(Object not pictured because it is in a private collection)</p>
Flaring Bowl	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 4.7, object in the collection of the Museo Amano, Lima)</p>	-	 <p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 5.17, object in the collection of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima)</p>

Dipper			-	-
Spout and Handle Bottle		<p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig 4.46, object in the collection of the British Museum, London)</p>		<p>(Object not pictured because it is in a private collection)</p>
Pedestal Bowl		<p>(Donnan and Donna McClelland 1999, Fig. 4.11, object in the collection of the Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad de Trujillo)</p>	-	-
Box	<p>(Object not pictured because it is in a private collection)</p>		-	-
Double-spout and bridge bottle	-			 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig. 3.69, object in collection of Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología y Historia, Lima)</p>

<p>Flask</p>	<p>-</p>	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig 2.8, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Goblet</p>	<p>-</p>	 <p>(Donna McClelland et al. 2007, Fig. 2.10, object in the collection of the San José de Moro Archaeological Project)</p>	<p>-</p>

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