

**Elite Mortuary Practices at San José de Moro during the Transitional
Period: the Case Study of Collective Burial M-U615**

by

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ABSTRACT

JULIO RUCABADO-YONG: Elite Mortuary Practices at San José de Moro during the Transitional Period: the Case Study of Collective Burial M-U615. (Under the direction of Brian Billman)

This paper present a study of elite mortuary practices in the north coast of Ancient Perú, specifically at the regional cemetery of San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Transitional period (circa A.D. 800–1000). During this period, the local elite mortuary tradition experienced changes and continuities as part of a major process of sociopolitical transformations during and after the collapse of the local Moche polity. As a case study that exemplifies this process, I present a description and analysis of Burial M-U615, an Early Transitional collective tomb associated with successive interments of local ceremonial leaders and members of their elite group. Comparing diverse characteristics of Burial M-U615 with previous Late Moche elite burials also allow me to explain elite mortuary practices as ideological mechanisms used in the legitimization of ceremonial leadership at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase.

Para Anita, gran mujer lambayecana



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adult
Be	Beads
Br	Bracelet (made of beads)
Cb	Carved Animal Bone
Ch	Chalk
F	Female
f	Fetus
Go	Goblet
He	Headdress
I	Indeterminate
In	Individual
In-S	Individual without Skull
Kn	Knife-like artifact
LDD	Level of Deposition and Displacement
Li	Lithic
M	Male
Mo	Moon Animal Adorno
Ne	Necklace (made of beads)
nb	Newborn
Oth	Other
PASJM	Proyecto Arqueológico San José de Moro

Pe	Pendants
S	Sub-adult
Sh	Shell
Sp	<i>Spondylus</i> Shell
Sw	Spindle Whorl
Tw	Tweezers

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the last two decades, scholars have conducted archaeological research which focused on the collapse of the sociopolitical organizations of the diverse Moche polities on the north coast of Ancient Perú (see for example Bawden 1982, 1996, 2001; Castillo 2001, 2003a, 2004a; Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Dillehay 2001; Shimada 1994a; Swenson 2004; Uceda and Mujica 1994, 2003). In these studies, scholars have characterized the complexity of this phenomenon by recognizing and analyzing a variety of scenarios, causes, impacts and responses within diverse spheres of social interaction of local communities in the different valleys or geographic regions under Moche regimes. In the process, scholars have recovered archaeological evidence from residential, ceremonial, and mortuary contexts, recording diverse aspects of sociopolitical collapse, from stylistic changes in Moche ceremonial art to the abandonment of public architecture or the destruction of elite residential areas.

A similar situation has taken place in the study of the Lambayeque and the Chimú states, later political formations in the Peruvian north coast. In these particular cases, scholars have recreated with more precision diverse aspects of the historical development of these two multi-valley states. Based not only on abundant archaeological evidence but also on ethnohistorical records, scholars have been able to reveal details about social organization, economics and trading networks, politics and the success of specific

leaders, religious beliefs, and diverse aspects of cultural development in different regions of the north coast (see for example Donnan and Mackey 1978; Moseley and Day 1982; Moseley and Cordy-Collins 1990; Netherly 1977; Ramirez 1995; Rostworowski 1977; Shimada 1995).

However, the transition from the “collapse” of the Moche polities to the consolidation of these later states has not yet been fully explained. The possible connections between the Moche polities and the Lambayeque and Chimú states have been mostly reconstructed through comparative studies that have primarily relied on ceramic styles and monumental architecture. In most of the cases, scholars have usually based their inferences on archaeological data recovered from surface collections or excavations at single-component sites. The lack of stratigraphic studies at multi-component sites with long and continuous sequences of occupation has prevented scholars from properly identifying archaeological contexts from this critical transition, and consequently, make an adequate reconstruction of the processes that conditioned the foundation of the later polities. Moreover, some scholars have usually interpreted the absence of highly visible expressions of state or chiefdom organization during the Moche-Lambayeque/Chimú transition as a time ruled by chaos based on the illusory assumption that institutionalized leadership can survive only through complex forms of political organization.

Archaeological research conducted by Luis Jaime Castillo at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region has been focused in a diachronic reconstruction of the local mortuary practices as a mechanism for understanding long-term processes of sociopolitical development in the region (Bernuy 2004; Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Castillo

1993, 2000a, 2003a, 2004a, 2004b; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Del Carpio 2004; Holmquist 1992; Lena 2004; Rucabado 2004a, 2004b, 2006; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). Unlike many archaeological sites, San José de Moro presents a long history of occupation as a ceremonial center and cemetery from the Middle Moche to the Chimú-Inca period, covering at least a thousand years of prehispanic history in one of the most important regions of the central Andes. Moreover, a combination of stratigraphic and stylistic data from primary contexts has allowed the archaeological identification of a period of cultural transition from the collapse of the local Moche polity to the incorporation of the region into the Lambayeque state. This Transitional period, as it is called, was originally characterized not only by a stylistic heterogeneity based on the presence of various local and foreign styles but also the absence of the highly standardized Moche corporate fineline painted vessels on the ceramic mortuary assemblages (Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Rosas 2000; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). After several years of archaeological research at San José de Moro, scholars have begun to characterize the possible impact of highland traditions on local sociopolitical developments during the Transitional period, proposing new ideas about mechanisms of interregional long-distance trading networks. Further, researches have begun to examine the possible presence or direct participation of highland people in mortuary and ceremonial events at this cemetery (Castillo and Rengifo 2006; Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Rucabado 2006).

During the 1998–1999 fieldwork campaigns at San José de Moro, archaeologists discovered Burial M-U615, an elite chamber tomb that challenged all previous assumptions about local mortuary patterns during the Transitional period. This particular

tomb constituted the first unambiguous example of an elite mausoleum with multiple collective burials at San José de Moro. Dozens of skeletons, many of them partially or fully disarticulated, were found in association with personal ornaments, labor markers and mortuary offerings, including ritual paraphernalia and more than two hundred ceramic vessels, all of which were placed inside a subterranean structure as part of various burial events. The characteristics of the ritual paraphernalia found in Burial M-U615, related to ceremonial roles previously observed in Late Moche elite female burials, may suggest that some of the traditional ideological mechanisms did not disappear abruptly and the local high-status ceremonial elite continued burying their members in this cemetery for at least a few generations during the Transitional period.

The main objective of this paper is to characterize and discuss some of the local elite mortuary practices as cultural manifestations of the process of sociopolitical transformations at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase. In particular, I propose that the construction, use and maintenance of Burial M-U615 were part of the strategies of social control adopted by leaders of the Moche ceremonial elite from the Jequetepeque-Chamán region. These leaders apparently exercised their power through the control of ritual performance as previous leaders did during the Late Moche phase. However, during a period of social and political instability, ritual practices, such as complex elite burials, must have been an integral element in the strategies conducted by leaders in order to legitimize their power and leadership. A combination of traditional and new ideological mechanisms, expressed through mortuary practices, may have created an adequate strategy of control for the ceremonial elites at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase.

To scrutinize these propositions, first I will apply a methodological procedure that includes description, analysis and interpretation of contextual information from a careful excavation of Burial M-U615. Moreover, in order to demonstrate the changes and continuities of local elite mortuary traditions manifested in Burial M-U615, I will include a comparative analysis between this collective tomb and a sample of earlier high-status chamber burials from San José de Moro.

Finally, I will discuss the possibility that Burial M-U615 constituted an important mortuary landmark that internally reproduced rules of social organization, affiliation and segregation, previously inscribed in public architecture at Late Moche household sites. In addition, I will discuss the nature of Burial M-U615 as a by-product resulting from a conscious combination of traditional mortuary practices and worldviews possibly adapted from contemporary highland traditions. During the Transitional period, a new tradition of coastal “open graves”, antecedent to later Chimú elite mausoleums and facilities related to the cult of the ancestors, may have begun with Burial M-U615. This particular innovation in the mortuary practices at San José de Moro will be discussed in relation to the principle of hereditary succession as part of a strategy applied by the ceremonial leaders during the Early Transitional phase.

CHAPTER II

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT PERUVIAN NORTH COAST

Before Inca Pachacutec subjugated the Chimú Empire in A.D. 1472 (Garcilaso de la Vega 1991[1609]), the long histories of the various ethnic groups from the north coast of Ancient Perú were already inscribed in monuments, tombs, artifacts and the memory of people. From the rise of the pristine Moche states during the Early Intermediate period (200 B.C.–A.D. 550) to the consolidation and imperial expansion of the Chimú during the Late Intermediate period (A.D. 1100–1472) (Figure 1), various groups settled in the coastal valleys and developed particular mechanisms and strategies for sociopolitical organization that were expressed through cultural diversity and unequal development. The present research focuses on historical processes in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Figure 2) during the Transitional period (circa A.D. 800–1000), an interval that includes the final demise of the local Moche polity and the sociopolitical transformations that occurred before the assimilation of the region by the northern Lambayeque state.

In this chapter, I present a brief review of the archaeological studies of the processes of sociopolitical transformation of the north coast polities from the collapse of the Moche states to the transition to later states. Next, I focus on particular developments in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Late Moche phase and the Transitional period, especially reviewing both stylistic and mortuary interpretations derived from archaeological research conducted by Luis Jaime Castillo, Christopher Donnan and other



Figure 1 Chronological correlation for the north coast of Perú (adapted from Rowe and Menzel 1967; Shimada 1990; Castillo 2003a; Moseley 1982).

scholars in the *Proyecto Arqueológico San José de Moro* (PASJM) between 1991 and 2005. Finally, I discuss the elite mortuary practices at San José de Moro during the Transitional period by describing the different types of mortuary structures, the treatment of the deceased, and the offerings associated with the groups that were buried in this cemetery.

The Late Moche Phase: The Collapse of the Moche Polities

The Moche constitute one of the most studied complex societies in the prehistory of the Peruvian north coast. As one of the first pristine states in the Central Andes, scholars have focused on creating models or explanations that elucidate the nature and diverse stages of development of Moche sociopolitical organizations (circa A.D. 200–800). Based on the prolific representation of supernatural beings in the Moche art and the ritual paraphernalia recovered from elite burials, some scholars have suggested that the Moche polity was a unified theocratic state ruled by warrior-priests who expanded their territory based on secular warfare (Larco 2001; Strong and Evans 1952; Steward 1948). Others have proposed a secular multi-valley expansionist state model, an interpretation based on the changes in settlement patterns and monumental architecture as well as the intrusion or replacement of the local ceramic styles by the corporate Moche style in the conquered valleys (Moseley 1983; Proulx 1973; Strong and Evans 1952; Topic 1982; Willey 1953; Wilson 1988). On the other hand, Richard Schaedel (1984) has argued that Moche organization constituted a multi-valley complex chiefdom supported by ideological or military control over subjugated populations, but without a highly centralized political

organization. All these models have mostly relied on the assumption that the Chicama and Moche Valleys constituted the political core of the Moche state, an assumption based on the territorial circumscription of the archaeological sample in Max Uhle's pioneer research and Rafael Larco's stylistic chronology (for extensive critiques see Castillo 2004a; Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Shimada 1994a).

Based on archaeological evidence recovered during the last two decades in the Jequetepeque-Chamán, Lambayeque, Piura, Virú and Santa Valleys, some scholars have proposed the existence of several and autonomous Moche polities (Bawden 1996; Billman 2002; Bourget 2003; Castillo 2004a; Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Chapdelaine et al. 2005; Kaulicke 1992; Makowski 1994; Shimada 1994a, 1994b). Castillo and Donnan (1994a), as well as Shimada (1994a) in a separate analysis, proposed a division of the Moche territory in two geographical regions: the Southern Moche, which is viewed as a locus of the formation of an expansionist, unified state, and the Northern Moche, which included three different major polities in the Jequetepeque-Chamán, Lambayeque and Piura regions (Figure 2). Moreover, recent investigations focused on Moche-related archaeological sites in the Virú and Santa regions (Bourget 2003; Chapdelaine et al. 2005), originally considered as peripheral areas of the Southern Moche state, have revealed cultural and political idiosyncrasies that may entail a reconsideration of the traditional model of territorial expansionism and state integration under a unified Moche regime. However, there is a general consensus among most of the scholars that single-valley or multi-valley Moche polities were apparently interrelated through a complex system of political ideology, including widespread sacrificial rituals conducted by religious-political leaders (Bawden 1996; Castillo 2000c).

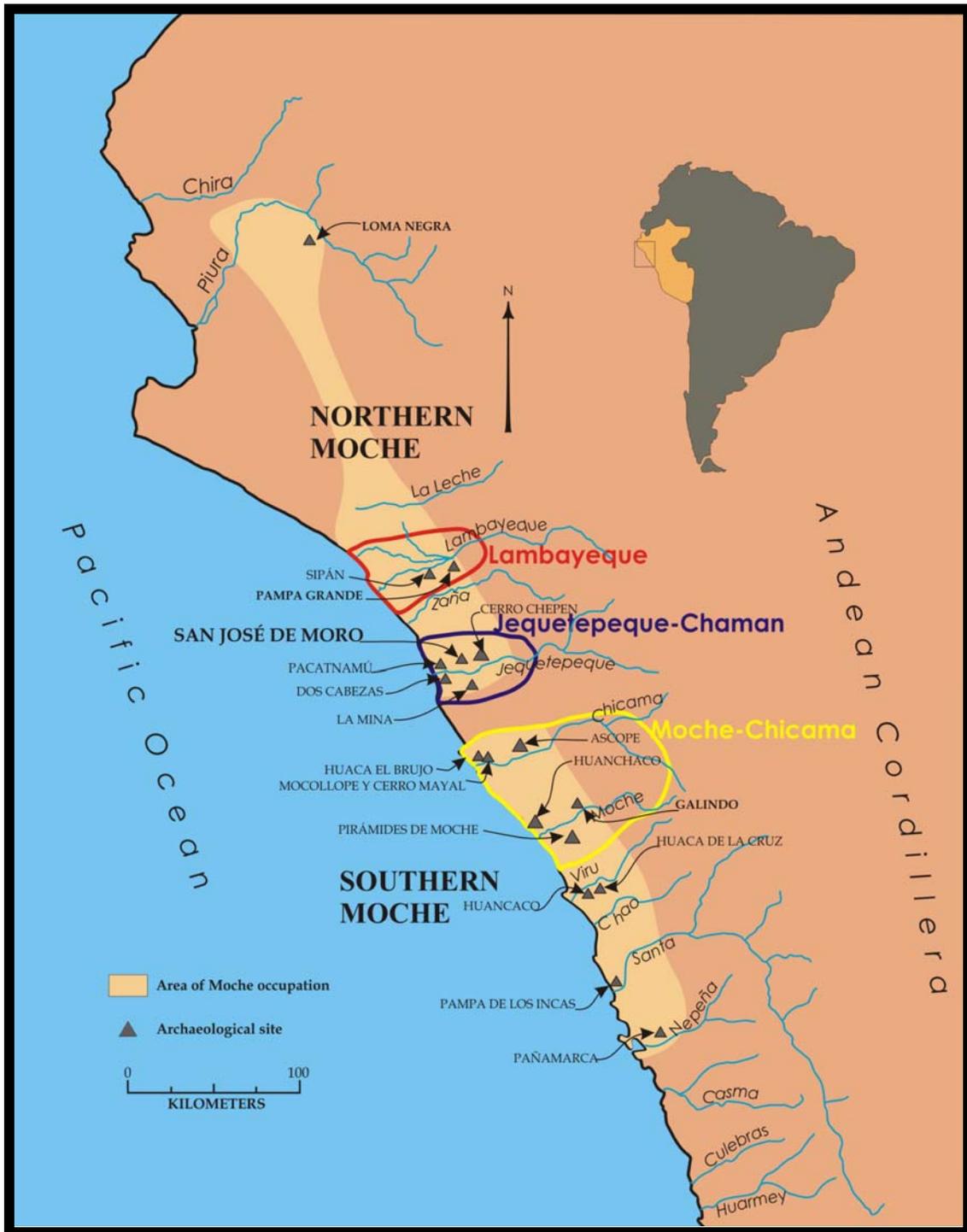


Figure 2 Map of the north coast of Perú including territorial divisions between the Northern and the Southern Moche areas, the most important Moche archaeological site mentioned in the text, and the three major Late Moche polities (PASJM Archives).

Many recent studies in Moche archaeology have focused on the collapse of Moche polities. Some of these studies derived their interpretations from intra-site analysis of the main urban ceremonial-residential centers such as Galindo (Bawden 1977, 1982, 2001; Lockard 2004) and Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley (Uceda 1997; Uceda and Mujica 1994, 2003; Uceda et al. 1997, 1998, 2000) and Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque region (Day 1982; Shimada 1994b). In the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, the collapse of the local Moche polity has been studied using settlement patterns and intrasite analysis in hinterland communities (Dillehay 2001; Johnson 2004; Swenson 2004) as well as mortuary and stylistic analysis of elite burials and ceremonial contexts at San José de Moro (Castillo 1993, 2000c, 2001, 2003a; 2004a, 2004b; Castillo and Donnan 1994b).

These investigations have allowed scholars to construct more critical and contextual explanations of the Moche collapse as a historical process with multiple causal factors and consequences dependent on particular developments within diverse contemporaneous polities. Scholars have proposed different causes or factors in the explanation of the Moche sociopolitical and ideological deterioration. These factors include catastrophic environmental instability, the external influence of foreign polities over the local elite groups, and internal social conflict (Bawden 1995, 1996, 2001; Castillo 2000c, 2001, 2003a; Donnan and Cock 1986; Moseley and Richardson III 1992; Shimada 1990, 1994a, 1994b; Shimada et al. 1991).

In the last twenty years, authors have argued about the impact of environmental catastrophes on prehispanic polities on the Peruvian north coast (Huertas 2001; Moseley 1982; Moseley and Richardson III 1992; Shimada et al. 1991). A critical period of

environmental instability after a severe ENSO (El Niño Southern Oscillation) in the A.D. 500s apparently had repercussions in the social and political configuration of the Moche polities, leading them to a final process of institutional deterioration and internal conflict. Archaeologists have also realized that researches should avoid macro-regional generalizations of the ENSO phenomenon, and instead focus on studying environmental effects on local populations using evidence from archaeological deposits directly affected by the ENSO (Huckleberry and Billman 2003). As in modern times, ENSO phenomena may have affected specific regions or sites in many different ways and in to different degrees. Moreover, human responses to major environmental disruptions may have varied from community to community, probably affecting the balance between social and political cohesion and fragmentation at different organizational levels.

In the same perspective, the influence of the highland Huari state over the north coast polities is now viewed as just one of the factors in the process of Moche collapse. Many scholars originally proposed that the expansion of Huari, a central Andean empire or expansive state, caused the collapse of regional coastal and highland societies as well as developed new spheres of interaction and control (Larco 1948; Lumbreras 1969; Menzel 1964, 1977; Rowe 1963; Schaedel 1985; Shady 1982; Willey 1953). In the last two decades, the notion of Huari as an expansionist political organization has been studied from different perspectives, including settlement patterns and urban planning, architecture, ceramic styles and iconography, mortuary practices, and bioarchaeology (see for example Czwarno et al. 1989; Isbell 1997, 2000; Isbell and McEwan 1991; Isbell and Schreiber 1978; Kaulicke and Isbell 2000; Schreiber 1992; Tung 2003). The presence of Wari in various areas of the central Andes and the actual boundaries of its political

territories beyond the Ayacucho Basin and the southern highlands are still in debate (Kaulicke and Isbell 2000).

Some researchers have re-evaluated the role ascribed to the Huari state in the political disintegration and subsequent transformation of the north coast polities (Bawden 1996, 2001; Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a; Shimada 1994a). Currently, there is no physical evidence to support a Huari conquest of north coast polities. Researchers have not detected typical Huari-like orthogonal monumental architecture that could indicate a physical presence or political control of the Huari state over local populations (Isbell and McEwan 1991). In fact, the main evidence supporting a Huari influence is the presence of artifacts with Huari or Huari-related styles in very few archaeological sites (Castillo 2000a; Prumers 2000).

The Huari influence may have produced considerable variation in the decisions made by different local Moche elite groups. Considering the abundant stylistic evidence from ceramic vessels included as mortuary offerings in elite burials at the San José de Moro regional cemetery (Castillo 2000a), the Jequetepeque-Chamán polity seems to have developed closer relationships with foreign groups than other polities in the Lambayeque and the Moche Valleys during the Late Moche phase. Castillo (2000a, 2001, 2003a) suggests that the presence of considerable amounts of imported artifacts of Huari or Huari-related styles recovered from local elite burials at San José de Moro may have resulted from a non-coerced elite decision to import wealth goods and create alliances with successful foreign polities such as the Huari. Castillo (2001) considers these mechanisms as an advantageous strategy for the elite's own agenda of political control during times of internal social conflict. The stylistic changes that occurred in the

Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Late Moche phase constituted an expression of a dynamic process of local political transformation that continued in the Transitional period. During the Late Moche phase, this process not only included the importation or copying of foreign ceramic vessels, but also the creation of diverse stylistic by-products (Castillo 2000a: 168, Figure 25). Moreover, the inclusion of ceramic vessels with Huari or Huari-like characteristics as mortuary offerings constituted a common practice at San José de Moro during this period. However, no major transformations that could be associated with a Huari influence occurred in the sphere of the elite mortuary practices. No Huari or Huari-like burials have been found at San José de Moro or other cemetery in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region that would suggest the presence of Huari groups (Castillo 2000a).

Archaeological evidence indicates an increase in social conflict at major urban centers during the Late Moche phase. In the Moche and the Lambayeque regions, this process of social deterioration is exemplified by the abandonment of Galindo (Bawden 1995) and the physical destruction at abandonment of Pampa Grande (Day 1982; Shimada 1994b). According to Tom Dillehay (2001), in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, a similar social phenomenon is expressed through the presence of fortified or strategically located household clusters and defensive features. Edward Swenson (2004) proposes that political fragmentation in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during Late Moche times is expressed in a non-centralized distribution of ceremonial architecture in major hinterland communities like San Ildefonso. Castillo suggests that factionalism and conflict in the region probably started at the end of the Middle Moche phase in association with the processes of hydraulic and agricultural expansion and the territorial

division of the Jequetepeque-Chamán into various independent polities (Castillo 2001, 2004a). According to Castillo, fluctuant cycles of supra-communal integration of the various communities in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, based on a ritual organization centralized at San José de Moro, constituted the basis of the local Moche political organization. Castillo suggests that local independent polities were regionally organized as an “opportunistic state”, a kind of political organization that temporarily took place to carry specific functions, control possible threats or take advantage of certain circumstances (e.g. regional rituals, defensive mechanisms against common enemies, water management) (Castillo 2004a). These mechanisms of political organization, ranging from regular factionalism to sporadic cohesiveness, may have created particular social and political conditions that determined institutional transformations, changing mechanisms of social control and diverse responses from the people in the Jequetepeque-Chamán during the final stages of the Late Moche phase and the beginning of the Transitional period.

After the Collapse: The Rise of Lambayeque and Chimú Polities

The study of continuities and discontinuities between the Moche and the later Lambayeque and Chimú polities has been addressed from diverse theoretical and methodological perspectives (Moseley and Day 1982; Moseley and Cordy-Collins 1990; Shimada 1990, 2001). During the late seventies and the early eighties, surveys and excavations at the urban centers of Galindo, Chan Chan, and Pampa Grande resulted in comprehensive intrasite studies. In some cases, scholars offered possible explanations

about the Moche-Lambayeque and the Moche-Chimú cultural and political transitions, mostly based on comparative analysis of urban architecture and site configuration (Bawden 1982, 1996, 2001; Conrad 1982; Day 1982; Kolata 1982; Moseley 1982; Topic 1982).

A major transformation in the north coast traditions during the late Middle Horizon, after the demise of the Moche polities, was the change in some mortuary practices. People began to bury individuals in a seated position, typical of highland traditions and contrary to the coastal Moche dorsal extended positioning of the body (Mackey 1982). However, this process of assimilation of foreign mortuary traditions was gradual, showing different outcomes in the north coastal populations. According to Bawden (1982), the Huari factor conditioned the emergence of the Chimú Empire, which he interprets as an amalgam of regional traditions with a strong highland influence. Nevertheless, as Keatinge (1982) suggests, the lack of contexts containing Moche V style (Late Moche phase) and Early Chimú ceramics in the Moche Valley impedes a clear definition of the nature of this period of transition.

An obstacle to gaining a clear picture of the Moche-Chimú transition is the scarcity of material from well-defined stratigraphical contexts and radiocarbon dates for this particular period. Donnan and Mackey (1978) created a chronology based on periodic changes in stylistic traditions that are linked to isolated funerary contexts. In this stylistic sequence, the Moche period and the Huari influence are directly followed by an Early Chimú phase. During this time, the ceramic styles produced in the Moche Valley were influenced by the Huari and Huari-related styles, the regional Red-White-Black or Huari Norteño style, from the north-central coast area, and the traditional Moche local

style (Larco 1948; Mackey 1982, 2001: 134–136; Wilson 1988). Some Lambayeque stylistic attributes also appear in ceramic vessels found in the Moche Valley (Donnan and Mackey 1978; Mackey 2001: Figure 26; Uhle 1998: 223, Plate V). Furthermore, the political scenario becomes more complicated when one considers a group of Lambayeque burials found in post-Moche strata at the top of the Huaca Cao at El Brujo Archaeological Complex in the Chicama Valley (Franco et al. 1994), which originally was an important Southern Moche ceremonial center. As a result, both stylistic and mortuary evidence suggest an important Lambayeque presence in the Southern Moche area right before the consolidation of the Chimú state (Figure 1).

In the last two decades, archaeological studies in Lambayeque and Jequetepeque-Chamán regions have revealed new evidence concerning the nature of the collapse of the local Moche polities and the later consolidation of the Lambayeque core polity (Castillo 2000c, 2001, 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Heyerdahl et al. 1995; Mackey 2001; Shimada 1990, 1994a, 1994b, 1995). Originally centered at the Batán Grande complex in the Lambayeque region (Shimada 1990, 1995), the Lambayeque polity expanded into to the southern Jequetepeque-Chamán area, circa A.D. 1000, before the Chimú Empire conquered those territories (Castillo 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Conrad 1990; Mackey 2001; Moseley 1990; Shimada 1990; Topic 1990). According to Shimada's research, the collapse of the local Moche polity at Pampa Grande during the Moche V phase (Late Moche) was followed by the development of the local "Sicán" (Lambayeque) state polity in the Batán Grande area (Shimada 1990, 1995). This new sociopolitical organization appeared as a consolidated polity at the beginning of the Middle Sicán phase (circa A.D. 900–1100). The Early Sicán phase (circa A.D. 750–900) constitutes a sort of

transition between the collapse of the Moche polity at Pampa Grande and the rise of the Lambayeque polity at Batán Grande. Shimada briefly characterizes the Early Sicán phase as a time of “political disarray [with a] concomitant absence of any notable political centralization, perhaps until the final portion of this period” (Shimada 1990: 337). Shimada’s interpretation is based on a small sample of ceramic fragments and isolated primary contexts. Further research based on contextualized data from stratified deposits in multi-component sites will be necessary to develop a better picture of the Early Sicán phase in the Batán Grande area.

Another two important sites to consider in the recognition of a Late Moche-Lambayeque transition in the Lambayeque region are Huaca Chotuna and Huaca Chornancap. According to the results presented by Christopher Donnan after his excavations on both sites, the early phase of occupation dated circa A.D. 750–1100, and is associated with ceramic vessels and sherds that can be compared with specimens from ceramic assemblages of San José de Moro and other contemporary sites from the Middle Horizon 3 phase (Donnan 1990a: 251–256). In addition, a courtyard at Huaca Chotuna shows murals with a distinctive iconography that can be compared with friezes at Huaca El Dragón in the Moche Valley (Donnan 1990b: Figures 2–15). As Donnan has demonstrated, the depictions in the murals also resemble some motifs observed in ceramic vessels from the Press Molded blackware tradition, a widespread style in the north-central coast during the final phases of the Middle Horizon, circa A.D. 1100. Some of the iconographic elements in this particular artistic tradition have apparently earlier antecedents in Moche III-IV themes (Donnan 1990b: 290, Figure 16–17). Donnan suggests the possibility that the designs in the Huaca Chotuna’s friezes were copies of

designs previously developed in the southern area of the north coast (Donnan 1990b: 294).

Both Huaca Chotuna and Chornancap remained controversial and enigmatic. They may have played an important role in the foundation of Lambayeque as they may have been Naymlap and Ceterni's palaces mentioned in the ethnohistorical sources (Cabello de Balboa 1951 [1586]; Rubiños y Andrade 1936 [1781]; see also Donnan 1990a). Donnan proposes that the arrival of Naymlap to the Lambayeque coast correlates best with the evidence provided by the early phase of occupation at Huaca Chotuna, before its friezes were created (Donnan 1990a, 1990b: 290). Comparing dates presented by Shimada (1990) and Donnan (1990a, 1990b), the arrival of Naymlap may have roughly occurred during the Middle Horizon 2B epoch, within a lapse of time between circa A.D. 750 and 900, just before the consolidation of the Sicán (Lambayeque) State during the Middle Sicán phase.

Any reconstruction of the formation or reorganization of the later Lambayeque and Chimú polities must include local and regional analysis at the core of these polities, the Lambayeque and the Moche Valley respectively. Current archaeological evidence from multi-component sites at Pampa Grande and Huacas de Moche reveal few clues about the process of cultural transition after the collapse of the Moche polities on these regions (Shimada 1994b; Uceda 1997). In this particular situation, archaeological data from the regional center at San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, probably considered by many scholars as a “peripheral” region in the process of the Lambayeque and Chimú state formation, may help to understanding this cultural and sociopolitical transition.

CHAPTER III

SOCIOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE JEQUETEPEQUE- CHAMÁN REGION: CERAMIC STYLES AND MORTUARY PRACTICES AT SAN JOSÉ DE MORO DURING THE LATE MOCHE AND THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

In the last fifteen years, the gap of archaeological evidence in the regional sequence between the Moche collapse and rise of the Lambayeque polity has been filled in with new data from the San José de Moro site in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Castillo and Donnan 1994a, 1994b; Castillo 2000c, 2001, 2003a; Rosas 2000; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). San José de Moro was a regional ceremonial center and elite cemetery with multiple prehispanic occupations beginning during the Middle Moche phase (circa A.D. 400's) and extending to the Chimú-Inca period (until A.D. 1532) (Castillo and Donnan 1994b). It is located on a non-irrigated sandy plateau on the right margin of the Chamán or Rio Seco River in the Department of La Libertad, Province of Chepén, District of Pacanga (Figures 3 and 4). The Chamán River shows an irregular flow pattern; however, it artificially receives water from the southern Jequetepeque River. Both the Jequetepeque and the Chamán valleys were consolidated as a cultural area, the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, during a process of hydraulic expansion probably starting during the Middle Moche, Subphase B (Castillo 2004a; Del Carpio 2004). The total area of San José de Moro is approximately 10 ha and is bounded by modern agricultural lands on the west and the remains of an algarroba wood on the east. In the last century, activities such as looting, agricultural expansion and the urban growth of the modern

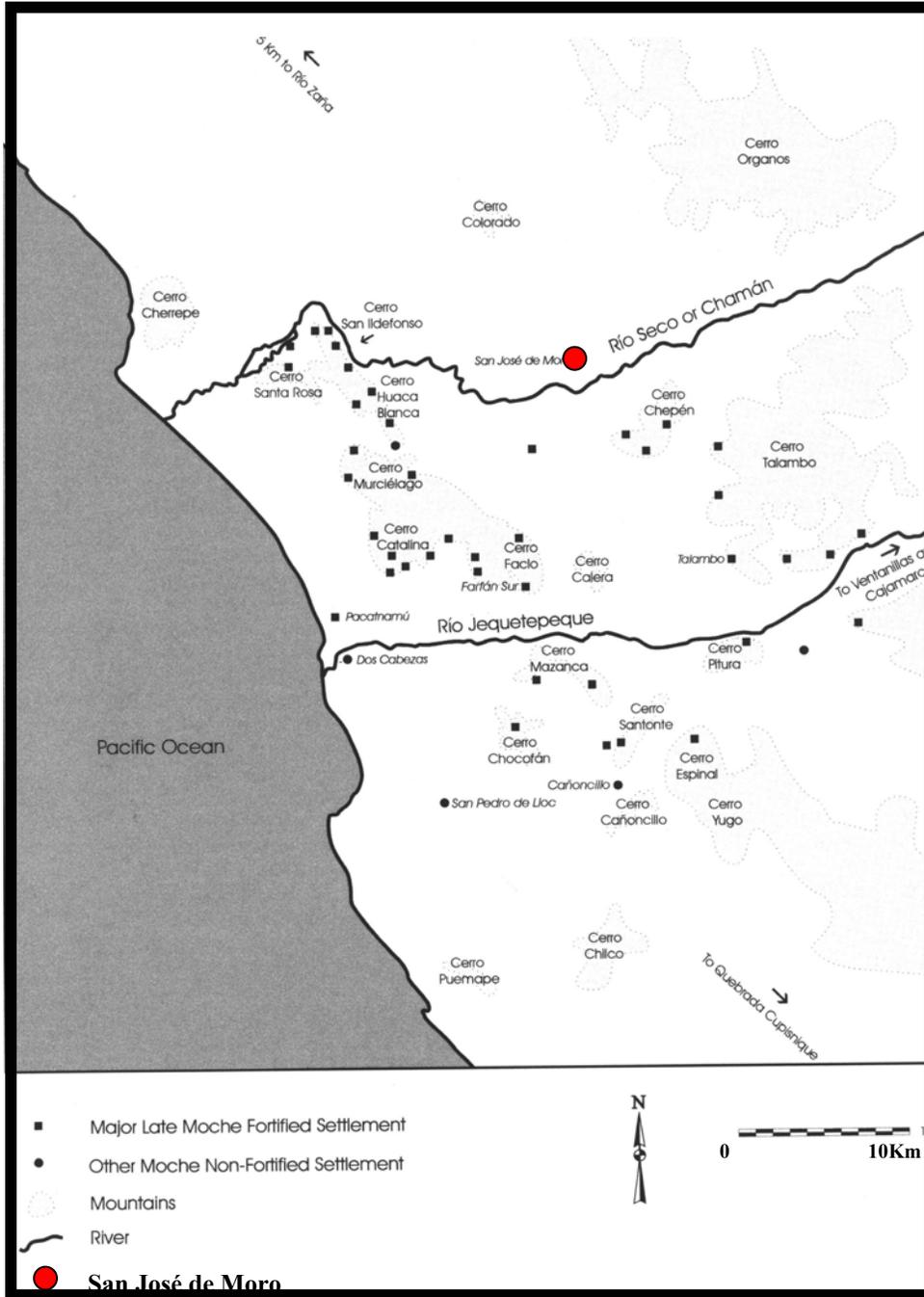


Figure 3 Distribution of Moche archaeological sites, including San José de Moro, in the lower valley of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (adapted from Dillehay 2001: 261).

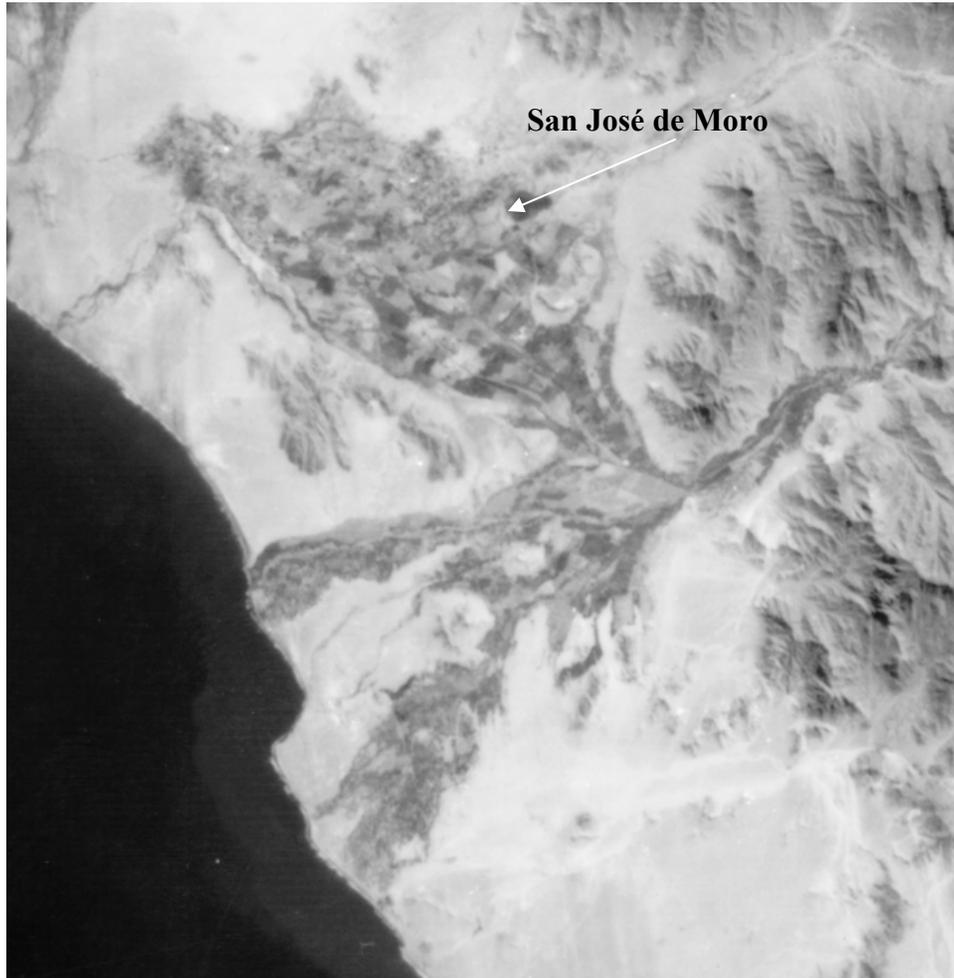


Figure 4 Satellite photograph of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional del Perú).

town of San José de Moro have damaged portions of the archaeological site (Castillo and Donnan 1994b).

The climate in this area of the lower valley is extremely dry with strong winds that come from the southwest. Rainfall dramatically increased during periodical ENSO events affecting the local environment in several ways: destruction of agricultural fields and irrigation canals, landslides (*huaycos*), increased of low subterranean water, and the erosion of archaeological monuments. However, in cemeteries like San José de Moro, where some of the burials are almost 8 m below the modern surface, damage occurs only sporadically with the rise of the water table (Castillo and Donnan 1994b).

The San José de Moro archaeological site is composed of several artificial mounds and terraced platforms that surround a flat area that was dedicated to mortuary purposes and ceremonial activities, including the dispensing of maize beer (*chicha*) during feasting or ceremonial events (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Castillo 2000c, 2001, 2003a; Delibes and Barragán 2004; Figure 5). The stratified mounds were created from cultural deposition of architectural fill and occupational features (surfaces, floors, hearths, postholes and small adobe walls). These mounds were occupied from the Moche to the Chimú-Inca period (Figures 6a and b). In contrast, the terraced platforms were apparently used only during the Moche period. The most important mounds and platforms are Huaca Cuadrángulo, Huaca Suroeste, Huaca Alta, Huaca Chodoff, and Huaca La Capilla (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Figure 5). The stratigraphic analysis of these mounds and the study of mortuary practices allowed Castillo and Donnan to determine a complex sequence of occupations as well as delineate mortuary and stylistic variation through time (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Rosas 2000; Figure 7). In recent

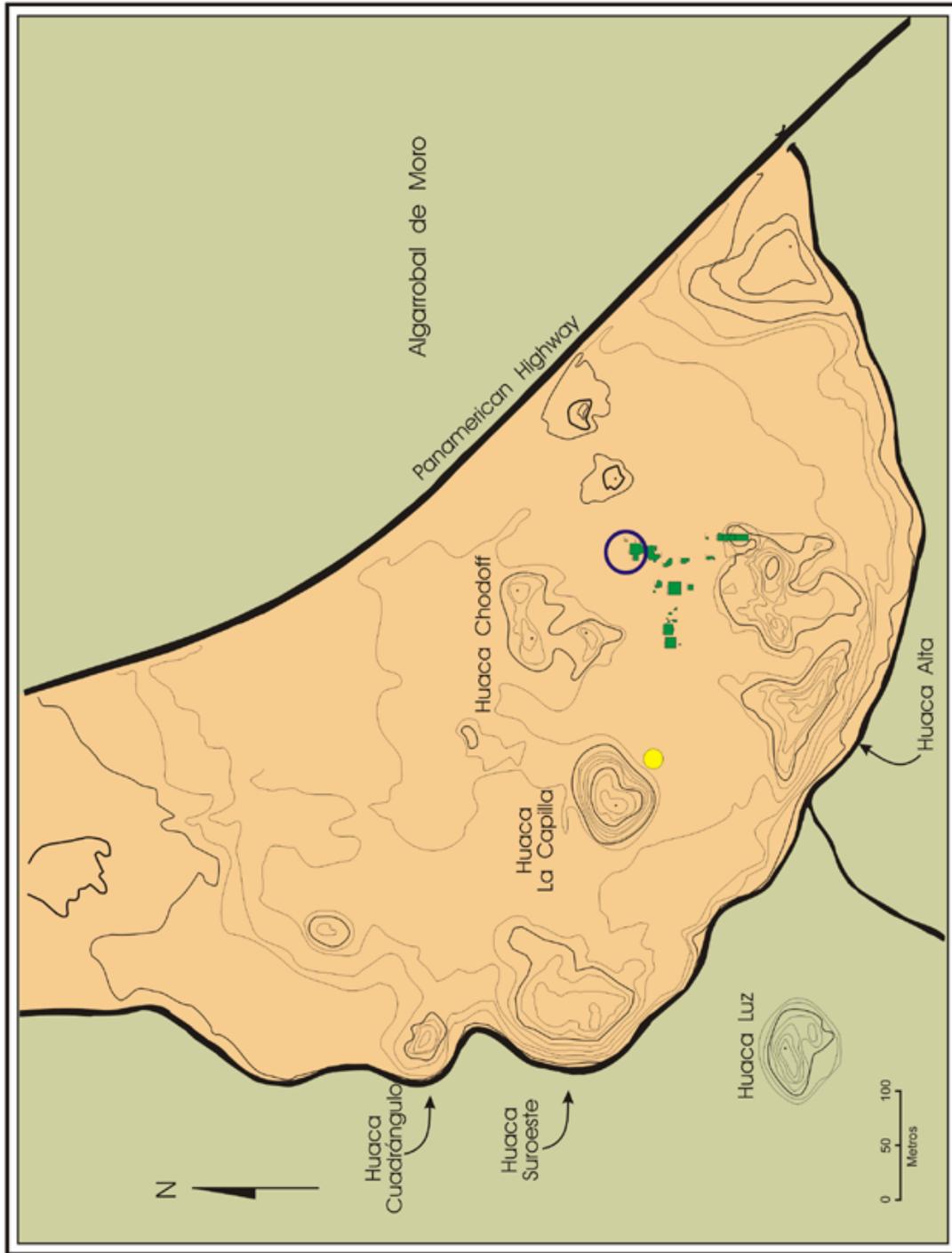
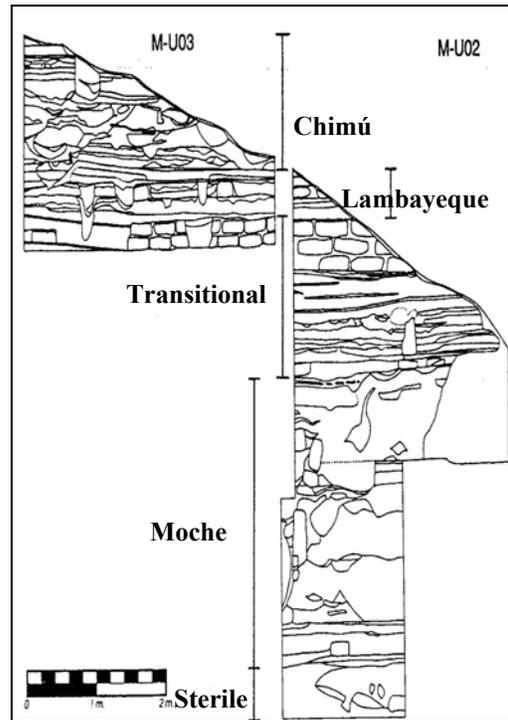


Figure 5 Map of San José de Moro. Mound, burial clusters (La Capilla cluster in yellow and Chodoff cluster in blue) and areas of excavation (1996-2005) are indicated in the map (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 6 Stratigraphic profiles in mounds at San José de Moro: (a) General view (PASJM Archives). (b) Profile drawings of two contiguous units of excavation at Huaca Suroeste (adapted from Castillo and Donnan 1994b: 103).

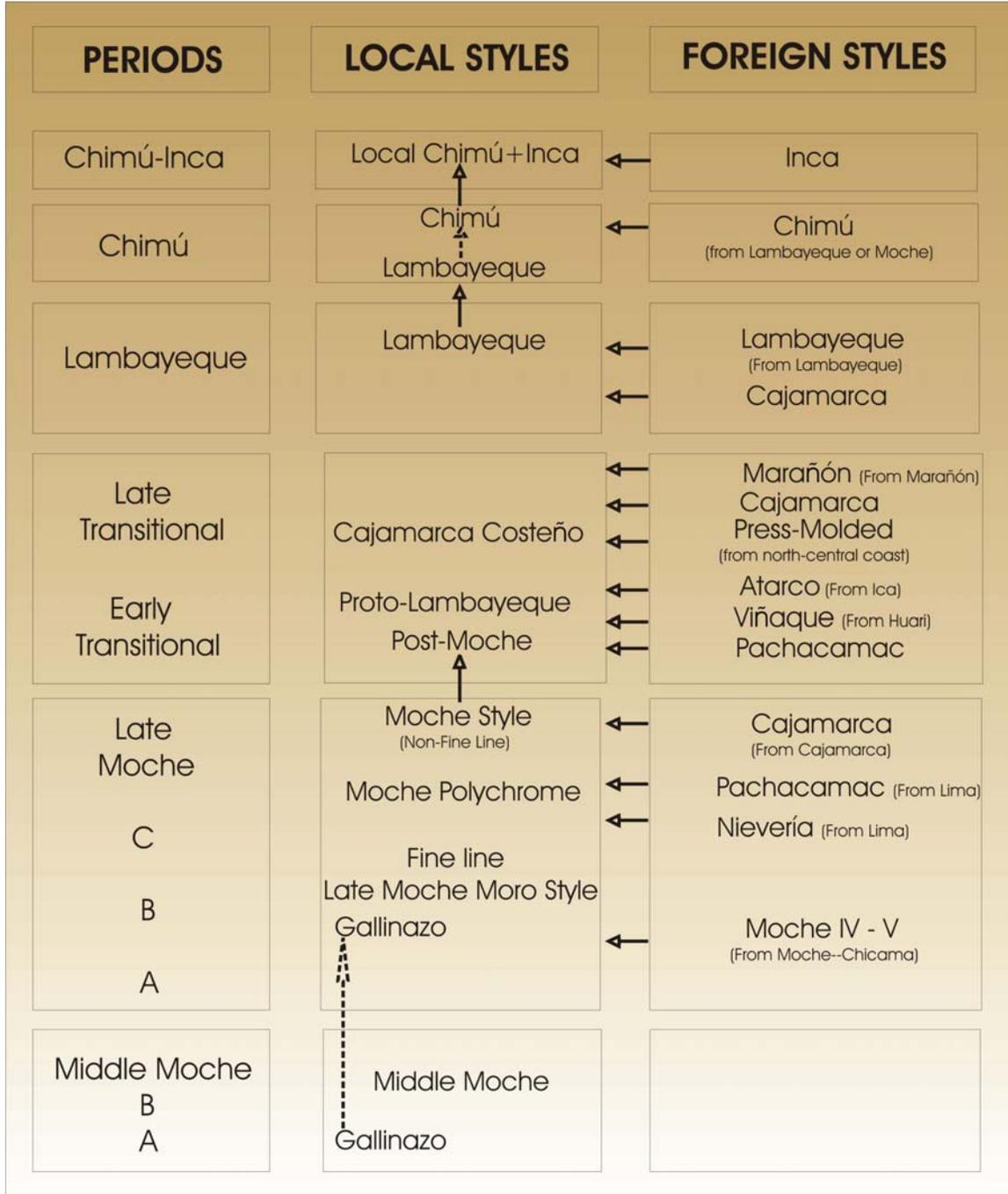


Figure 7 Stylistic sequence at San Jose de Moro, based on the presence of diverse local and foreign ceramic styles during the different periods of occupation (adapted from Castillo 2000c: 147).



a



b

Figure 8 Excavations at San José de Moro: (a) 1998–1999, (b) 2005 (PASJM Archives).

years, with a considerable increase of the local mortuary sample and the total area of stratigraphic excavations, Castillo has been able to develop a more detailed interpretation of the occupational sequence, the stylistic and mortuary variation and the sociopolitical events that affected the local polities in each period of occupation (Castillo 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2003a; 2004a; Figures 8a and b).

The Late Moche Phase in San José de Moro

Between 1991 and 1992, Castillo and Donnan, former co-directors of the PASJM, made one of the most remarkable discoveries in Moche archaeology. They excavated a cluster of five contemporaneous high-status elite burials that were in an area adjacent to the Huaca La Capilla (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Figure 9). Three of these burials have captured the attention of many researchers. These burials belonged to two adult women (M-U41, M-U103) and a child (5–7 years old) (M-U30), all of whom were interred in rectangular adobe brick structures with a large quantity of sumptuary goods, ritual paraphernalia and human and animal sacrifices (Figures 10a and b).

Similar elite burials of two high-status adult males were previously recorded in a Moche funerary platform at Sipán in the Lambayeque region in 1987 (Alva 1994; Alva and Donnan 1993). An iconographic analysis of the ritual paraphernalia directly associated with the principal individuals in these burials has allowed scholars to interpret their social identities (Alva and Donnan 1993; Holmquist 1992). The mortuary paraphernalia associated with these high-status individuals show morphological similarities with the clothes and ornaments worn by two deities depicted on Moche art. In certain scenes these deities are directly involved in human sacrificial activities (Figure

11). Alva and Donnan propose that the two male burials from Sipán belong to local leaders who played warrior-priest's roles in the local Moche polity, representing a solar deity and performing ritual sacrifice to legitimize their power in life (Alva 1994; Alva and Donnan 1993). Recently, some scholars have tried to demonstrate possible kinship affiliation among the Sipán's leaders by performing a Mitochondrial DNA analysis on teeth from these individuals (Shinoda et al. 2002). Even though the results of these analyses are not yet conclusive, the spatial grouping and physical proximity among individuals within the same chamber tomb or at the same mortuary mound at Sipán suggests some kind of close affiliation of the individuals.

In the case of San José de Moro, Holmquist (1992) proposes that the high-status female burials discovered by Donnan and Castillo (1994) belong to local leaders who represented the most important supernatural female figure depicted in the Moche art, called by a variety of names such as the *Goddess*, *Feminine Deity*, *Supernatural Female*, *Priestess*, or just the *Figure C* or *Deity C* (see for example Benson 1972; Cordy-Collins 1977; Donnan 1978; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Hocquenghem 1987; Hocquenghem and Lyon 1980; Holmquist 1992; Lieske 1992; Lyon 1978, 1981; Makowski 2000). Castillo and Donnan (1994a) have proposed that the women at San José de Moro were priestesses in ceremonies of human sacrifice (Figure 11). These women were apparently local ceremonial leaders who legitimized their political power by embodying the role of the Moche female deity, either during their lives or after death (Castillo 2000b; Castillo and Holmquist 2000; Donnan and Castillo 1994). The status derived from these roles must have conferred a privileged social standing to these individuals as well as the possibility of receiving a wealthy mortuary ritual. More recently, Castillo and Holmquist (2000: 31–

32) have suggested a combination of achieved and ascribed elements in the sources of power manifested in the Late Moche ceremonial leadership at San José de Moro. Both the supernatural status related to the character of the leaders and the belief that leadership is transmitted by association (i.e. marriage) may have supported the local Moche supra-communal political organization by royal lineages during this period.

Analogous to the pattern of vertical clustered burials at the Sipán's mound, the high-status burials at San José de Moro show a horizontal clustered distribution next to Huaca La Capilla. This physical proximity may have resulted of sharing specific ceremonial roles (among leaders) or being related to someone with specific ceremonial functions (in the case of the attendants), and/or by being affiliated to a specific elite lineage. Burial M-U30 includes a 5–7 year old child as the principal individual directly associated with ritual paraphernalia and many mortuary offerings (Figures 10b and 12). The strong similarity between this child burial and the female adult burials M-U40 and M-U103 may suggest that the former should have inherited the ceremonial roles related to the latter. If so, by the time of the child's death burial practices usually associated with ceremonial adult leaders should have been reproduced, including the recreation of their roles as the *Goddess*. An alternative scenario, as in many historical cases, is a system of elite marriage that did not have age restrictions.

During the Late Moche phase, San José de Moro was used as a cemetery by different groups, probably from diverse communities in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region. According to differentiated patterns of interment, scholars have determined differences in status among these groups. Castillo and Donnan (1994a) have proposed that the social position of individuals interred at San José de Moro may correlate not only

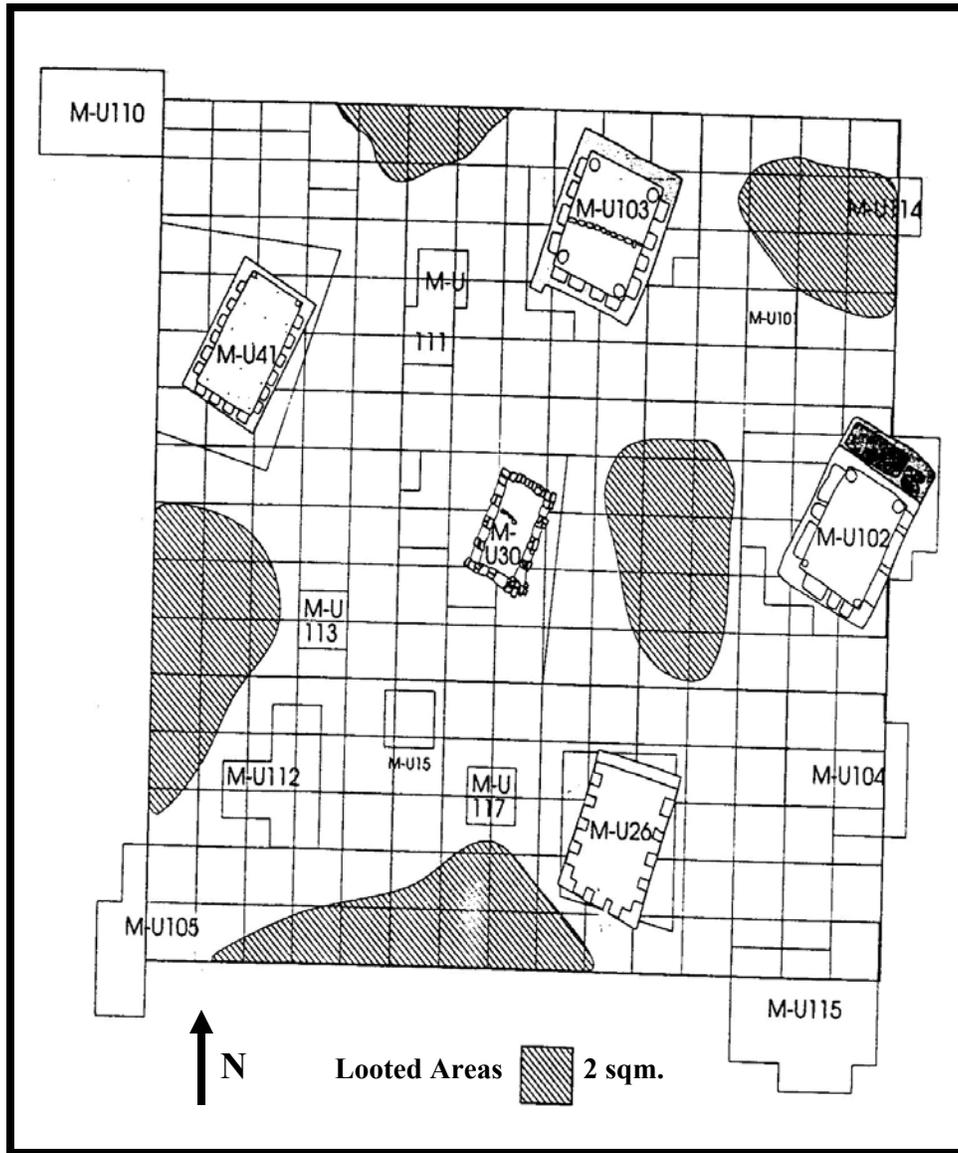
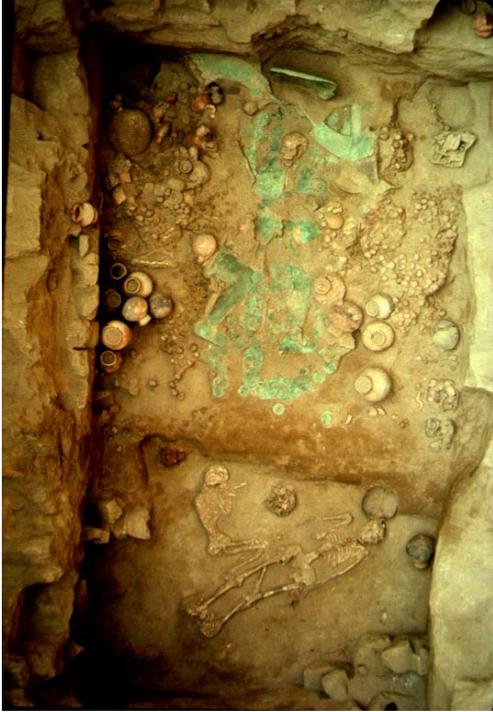
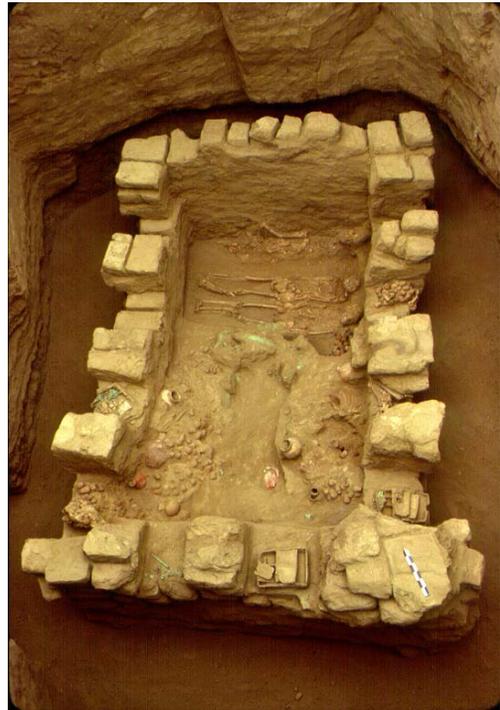


Figure 9 Cluster of Late Moche high-status elite burials adjacent to Huaca La Capilla, San José de Moro (adapted from Castillo and Donnan 1994b: 112).



a



b

Figure 10 Typical Late Moche elite chamber burials, (a) M-U41; (b) M-U30 (PASJM Archives).

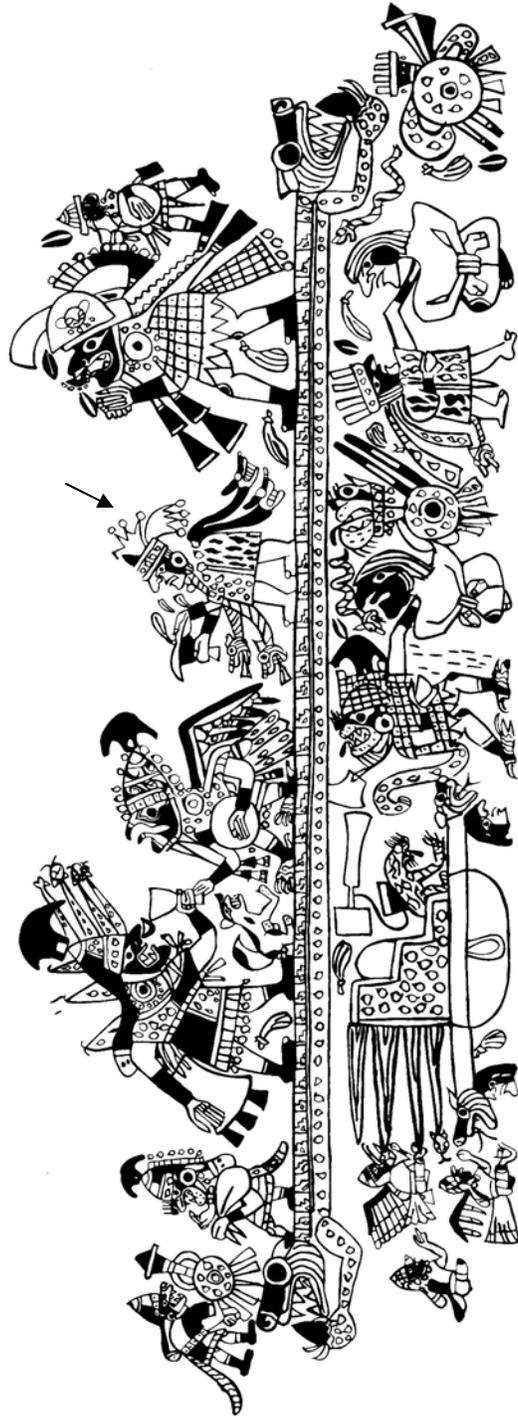


Figure 11 The *Sacrifice Theme* or *Presentation Theme* in the Moche art. The *Goddess* is represented in the upper level carrying a goblet (second from right) (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 131).

with the amount of energy invested in the mortuary ritual, but also with their access to the diverse material sources of ideological power (i.e. ceremonial paraphernalia) (also DeMarais et al. 1996). Donnan recognizes that Moche mortuary practices show a considerable range of variability related to social differentiations where “the variations in burial procedures clearly reflect a continuum from the most simple to the most elaborate, with subtle graduations resulting from increasing amounts of time and material invested” (1995: 154).

Based on the archaeological record from the cemetery at San José de Moro, Castillo and Donnan (1994b) have identified three different mortuary formats within the local Moche tradition. They classify Late Moche burials based on the morphological structure of the grave (a category that is closely related to the energy invested), the complexity of the mortuary ritual, the presence of ceremonial paraphernalia, and the amount and quality of offerings. Castillo and Donnan propose three mortuary formats: the rectangular chamber tombs, the boot-shaped shaft tombs, and the simple burial pits (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Donnan 1995).

The first format apparently corresponds to high-status burials, probably for the leaders and their heirs with ascribed and achieved statuses and ceremonial roles (Castillo 1993; Donnan 1995; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Figures 10 and 12). The two adult female and the sub-adult burials in the Huaca La Capilla cluster belong to this first group of rectangular chambers. Individuals from this group were usually buried in big mortuary structures next to or in burial platforms with a large quantity of locally produced or imported offerings (Castillo and Donnan 1994a, 1994b; Donnan 1995; Donnan and Castillo 1994).

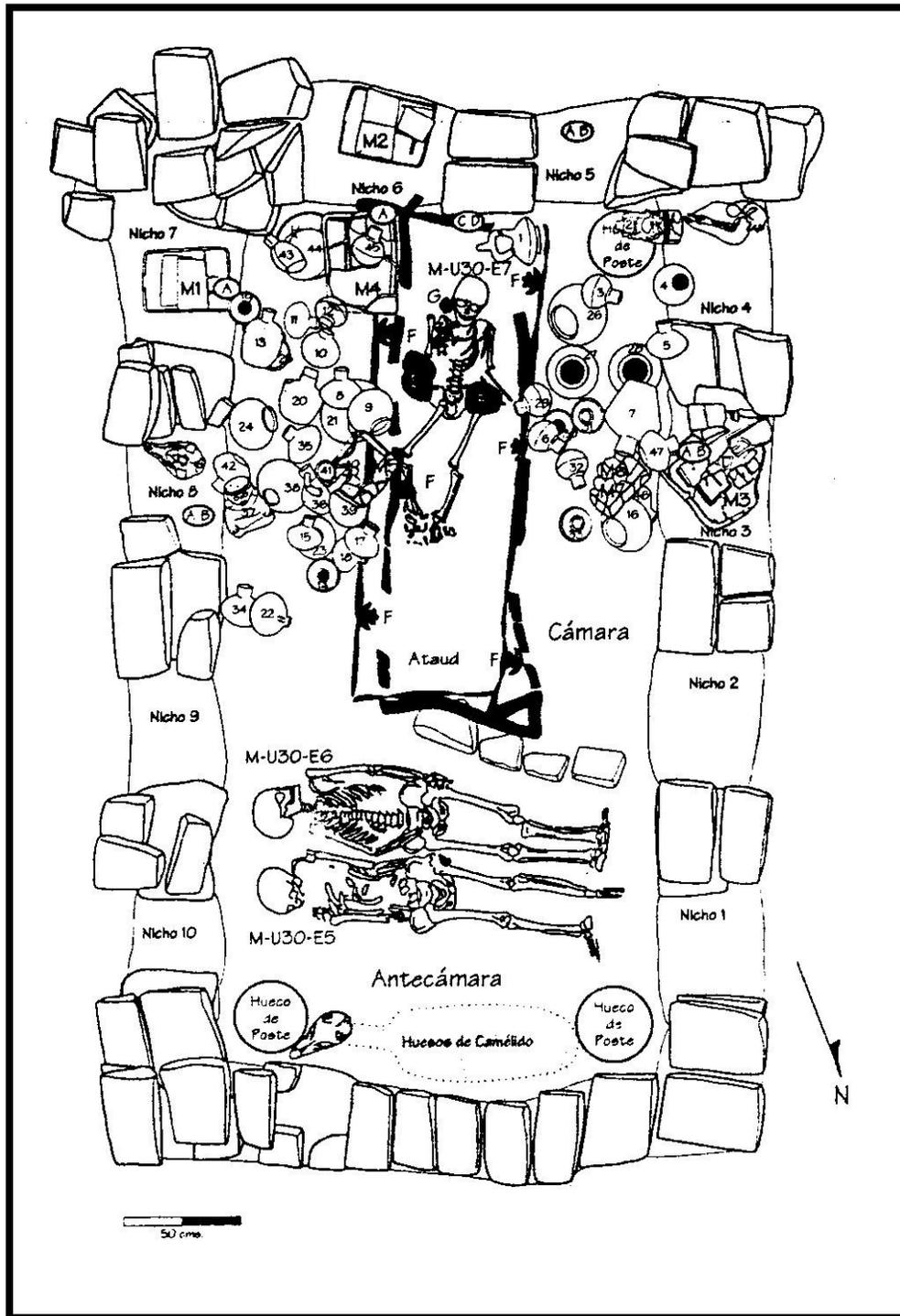
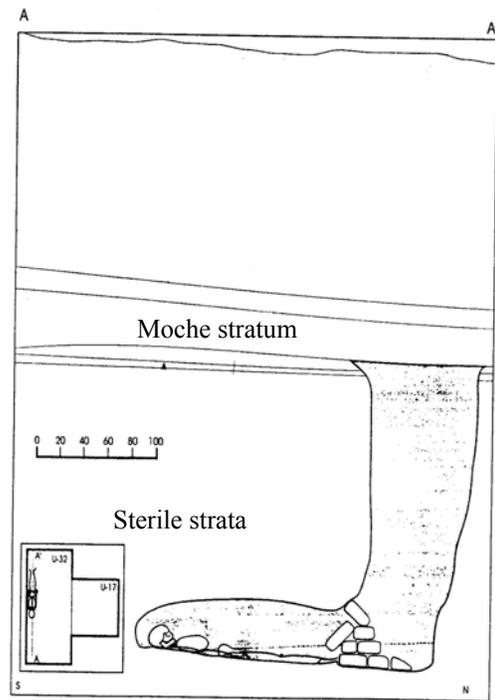


Figure 12 Reconstruction of a Late Moche elite chamber tomb, Burial M-U30 (Castillo and Donnan 1994b: 127).



a



b

Figure 13 Late Moche boot-shaped tombs at San José de Moro. (a) Zenithal picture of Burial M-U602 (PASJM Archives). (b) A profile reconstruction of Burial M-U32 (adapted from Castillo and Donnan 1994b: 114).

The second format, the boot-shaped tombs, constituted the most common format in San José de Moro during Moche times (Castillo 2003a, Figures 13a and b). This format was used in those cases where the deceased belonged to a segment of the elite groups with a lesser status than the ceremonial leaders buried in chamber tombs (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Castillo 2000a, 2003a; Donnan 1995). Although these burials may have included large quantities of ceramic offerings, there are very few cases of imported vessels. Rather, mortuary offerings usually included locally manufactured copies of foreign style vessels or vessels with hybrid styles such as the Moche Polícromo (Castillo 2000a).

The third format, the simple pit, was apparently used on those cases when the deceased belonged to a non-elite group, according to the social standing or status indicators previously defined by Donnan (1995). In most of the cases, these simple pits included sub-adult individuals with no offerings. Scholars argue (Castillo 2003a; Donley 2004), that these burials, also characterized as “informals”, may have represented commemorative burials associated with the elite’s ceremonial agenda rather than expressions of the formal mortuary rituals.

Although San José de Moro was a regional elite cemetery, there may have been other cemeteries that were dedicated to non-elite groups from the diverse communities in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Donnan and Cock 1986, 1997; Hecker and Hecker 1990). However, the links between these cemeteries and San José de Moro are not fully understood. Dillehay (2001) and Swenson (2004) have begun systematic household studies in the lower Jequetepeque valley. Their researches will yield more information relevant to understanding regional sociopolitical networks and how members of different

communities participated in or were excluded from the mortuary rituals at San José de Moro.

The Transitional Period in San José de Moro

The Transitional period observed in San José de Moro occurred between the final deterioration of the local Moche polity and the conquest of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region by the northern Lambayeque polity (circa A.D. 800–1000) (Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994a, 1994b; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). This Transitional period was originally identified archaeologically at San José de Moro through the analysis and interpretation of evidence from mortuary contexts and stratigraphical deposits from the mounds (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Rosas 2000). In both cases, the cultural features and burials were deposited between the Late Moche and the Lambayeque strata (Castillo 2001).

In the last eight years, the sample of Transitional elite burials from San José de Moro has increased considerably (Castillo 1999, 2003b, 2004b; Castillo and Rengifo 2006). The discovery of these Transitional burials has allowed Castillo to infer that there was no absence of formal positions of leadership but rather a re-composition of the elite groups during this period (Castillo 2003a). Furthermore, the restricted presence of imported sumptuary goods, especially ceramic vessels from Huari and other contemporary foreign societies, in Transitional elite burials suggests that members of the local elites were still using interregional exchange as part of their social networks (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Castillo 2004b). These networks were manifested through the

distribution of specific sumptuary goods during mortuary rituals. Castillo also inferred from the presence of Transitional burials that, after the collapse of the local Moche polity, people still considered San José de Moro an important place for placing the dead.

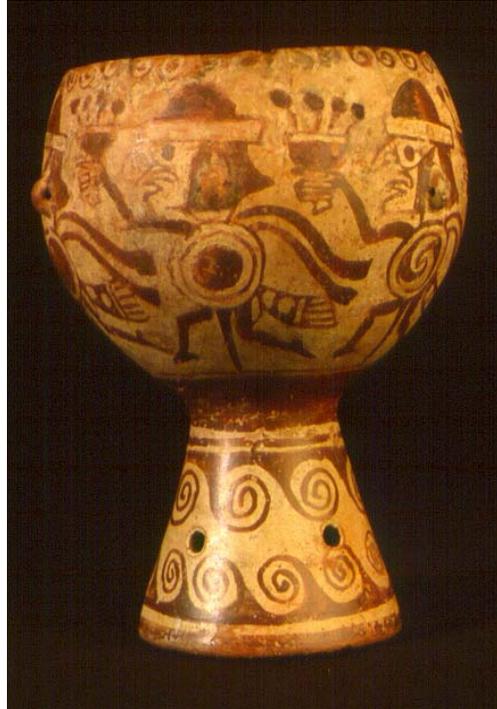
A Stylistic Approach

The Transitional period at San José de Moro, a time of cultural and historical transition, has been defined through a stylistic analysis of ceramic vessels from diverse mortuary contexts and layers of cultural deposition in the surrounding mounds. The Transitional period also has been characterized by an absence of the highly standardized Moche corporate fineline painted vessels from burial assemblages (Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Figures 14a and b). Castillo argues that this absence constitutes one of the archaeological indicators of the collapse of the local Moche polity. Changes in the mortuary practices during the Transitional period, especially the disruption of the use of boot-shaped tombs, also have been considered as an indicator of the same process (Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). This topic will be addressed below (see below in “A Mortuary Approach”).

One of the most visible changes during this transition is the stylistic heterogeneity of the mortuary vessel assemblages. Prior to the Transitional period, the ceramic assemblages in burials consisted of traditional Moche style ceramics, including, in some cases, Moche Policromo style vessels with Huari stylistic elements. Only the high-status burials included imported vessels from Cajamarca, Huari and Huari-related styles



a



b

Figure 14 Late Moche finewares decorated with Late Moche fineline Moro style (PASJM Archives).



Figure 15 Viñaque style cups from the Huari region found at San José de Moro (PASJM Archives).

(Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b). During the Transitional period, the presence of imported or copied vessels in burials included many different foreign coastal and highland styles. These styles of pottery include the Viñaque, Atarco, Pachacamac, Cajamarca Serrano, Cajamarca Costeño, and the Press Molded style (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Castillo 2001, 2004b; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). Castillo (2003a) suggests that the Transitional period was the time when the local Moche traditions and influences from foreign societies on the central coast and highlands were merging in a cultural synthesis that started during the Late Moche phase.

Styles like Viñaque from the Huari nuclear area in Ayacucho, Pachacamac from the central coast (Lima) and Atarco from the south coast (Ica) (see for example Menzel 1968; Cook 1994: Plates 13–14; Gonzáles Carré et al. 1999; Lavallo 1984; Shimada 1994b: Figure 10.1; Figure 15) are found in small quantities in Transitional assemblages (Castillo 2000a, 2003a; Rucabado and Castillo 2003).

The Cajamarca Serrano style vessels are made of white kaolin clay and have designs and forms that correspond to the Middle Cajamarca period (Terada and Matsumoto 1985; Figure 16a). Since the Late Moche phase, a coastal version of this highland style, the Cajamarca Costeño style (Disselhoff 1958), was apparently produced with local variants in the Lambayeque and the Jequetepeque-Chamán region. Scholars have found vessels of this style at San José de Moro (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Disselhoff 1958; Castillo 2000c, 2001, 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Rosas 2000) and Ventanillas (a variant known as Lambayeque Rojo sobre Blanco or Lambayeque Red on White; Ravines 1982) in the Jequetepeque Valley, and in the Lambayeque region at the Batán Grande complex (a variant known as Platos Sicán Pintados or Sicán Painted Plates

(Shimada 1990; Montenegro and Shimada 1998). According to the mortuary evidence from San José de Moro, the Cajamarca Costeño vessels became one of the most common types found in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Transitional period (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Rucabado and Castillo 2003).

Closer connections with the adjacent highland area of Cajamarca and the north-central coast can be seen in the presence of vessels from the Cajamarca Serrano and the Press-Molded styles, respectively. Castillo suggests that these external stylistic influences “...however numerous in the Transitional Period, did not lead to an annexation by an outside state or even demonstrate the presence of individuals representing foreign political entity” (Castillo 2001: 321). In some cases, the presence of these vessels may instead reflect part of the mechanisms that local elite groups used in order to consolidate social, political, or economic alliances with groups from the adjacent highland area of Cajamarca and far beyond in the north-central and central coast and the southern highlands.

The Press-Molded (Casma Impreso Local, in Rucabado and Castillo 2003) assemblage constitutes a distinctive decorative style that is found throughout the north-central coast especially from the Santa Valley south to the Supe Valley (Carrión Cachot 1959; see Donnan and Mackey 1978 and Uhle 1998: Lamina VI for press-molded variants in the Moche Valley during the Early Chimú phase). This press-molded technique constituted the main medium of expression for new variants of many traditional Moche iconographic themes (Figure 16b). Some of these themes then appear in the Chimú art as reformulated representations or archaisms of the traditional Moche art (Kutscher 1967; McClelland 1990; Rowe 1971). The examples of this style found in the

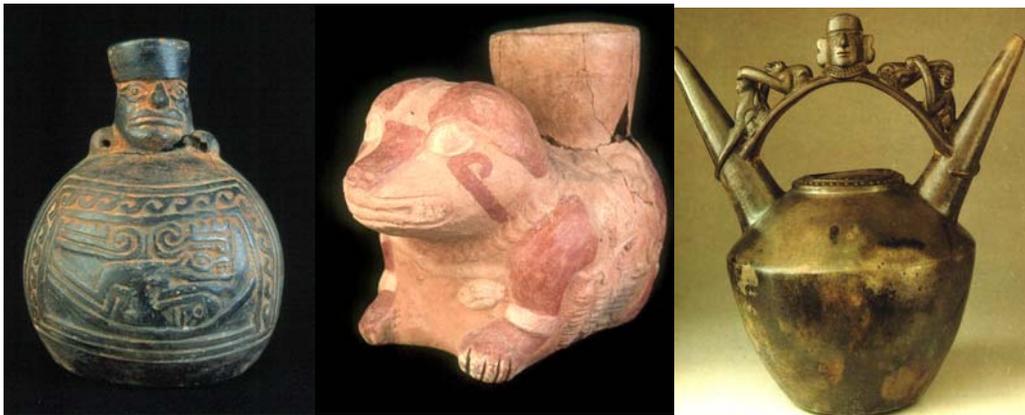
Jequetepeque-Chamán region have some stylistic variants from the traditional Southern Moche art. However, local producers adapted the press-molded technique to represent local designs, especially those related to maritime scenes that proliferated in the Late Moche art of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region and continued in the Lambayeque art (Castillo 2000a; McClelland 1990; Mackey 2001).

Although the Moche fineline style disappeared from the mortuary assemblages during the Transitional period, there still were some stylistic remnants of traditional Moche forms and designs in some Transitional elite burials (Castillo 2003a; Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Figure 16 c). This stylistic survival may indicate not only continuity in the stylistic tradition, but also an expression of entrenched identities that were not completely affected by the collapse of state institutions. On the other hand, the disruption in the production and distribution of Moche corporate fineline painted vessels as well as their exclusion from the mortuary assemblages may suggest some changes in the way people materialized specific sociopolitical networks and legitimized their status through the possession of these particular sumptuary goods. In some cases, Transitional elite burials also included vessels with traditional iconographic elements of Moche style associated with the Southern Moche polity (Castillo 2003b). This stylistic phenomenon could represent extended social networks resulting from a more opened dialogue between local and foreign elite groups and a tendency to more permeable relationships that local elite started to develop during the Late Moche crisis (Castillo 2000a, 2001, 2003a).

The Proto-Lambayeque or Lambayeque Temprano Local style constitutes another stylistic expression during the Transitional period (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Figure 16 d). Shimada's Early Sicán style from the Batán Grande area



a



b

c

d

Figure 16 Diverse ceramic styles from San José de Moro during the Transitional period: (a) Cajamarca, (b) Press-Molded, (c) Post-Moche, and (d) Proto-Lambayeque (PASJM Archives).

has both stylistic and temporal correlations with the Proto-Lambayeque style of the Transitional period in San José de Moro. Scholars have recovered Proto-Lambayeque vessels, very similar to the Early Sicán fragments previously published by Shimada (Shimada 1990: Figure 20, 1995: Figures 77 and 117), from mortuary contexts and layers of cultural deposition at San José de Moro. Unlike other styles at San José de Moro during the Transitional period, the Proto-Lambayeque style may have had local origins rather than resulted from a diffusion or importation from the Lambayeque region. Although some of the stylistic elements of the Proto-Lambayeque style originated at the end of the Late Moche phase (Late Moche C) (Castillo 2000c), it continued to develop during the Transitional period from a combination of traditional iconographic elements of the Moche style and Huari-related styles that were locally copied. Afterward, Proto-Lambayeque forms and designs evolved into the well-known corporate Lambayeque style in the Lambayeque region (see for example Heyerdahl 1995; Lavallo 1984: 149, 1989; Menzel 1968: Figure 24). According to a stylistic sequence developed from the study of contextualized mortuary assemblages (Castillo 2000a, 2003a), the Proto-Lambayeque style from San José de Moro must be considered as a local embryonic style generated during the Late Moche phase and proliferated during the Moche-Lambayeque transition (Rucabado and Castillo 2003).

A Mortuary Approach

Besides the stylistic heterogeneity of ceramic vessels that characterizes the Transitional period at San José de Moro, other cultural practices, such as the mortuary practices, lay

subtly behind the highly visible changes in the fancy pottery. The study of the development of mortuary practices has allowed scholars not only to reconstruct the belief systems of afterlife, but also to identify the correlation between changes in the mortuary tradition and the social and political developments on the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Castillo 2000b, 2004a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Del Carpio 2004; Donnan 1995).

During the Transitional period, some aspects of traditional elite mortuary rituals began to change, apparently as a result of sociopolitical transformations after the collapse of the local Moche state. However, continuities can also be observed in the local mortuary sequence from the Moche to the Transitional period. The analysis of both changes and continuities in mortuary practices, in conjunction with stratigraphic excavations, offer the possibility to subdivide the Transitional period in two major chronological phases: the Early Transitional and the Late Transitional phases. Variation in the mortuary practices and the stylistic configuration of burial assemblages also occurred during these two phases (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Castillo 2004b; Castillo and Rengifo 2006; Rucabado 2006).

During the Transitional period, social differentiation and affiliation among individuals buried at San José de Moro were expressed through mortuary practices, including the spatial distribution and placing of individuals in differentiated mortuary structures, the treatment of the individuals, and the quantity and quality of mortuary offerings. According to these variables, the mortuary population at San José de Moro during this period can be subdivided in four differentiated groups. The first group includes individuals placed in rectangular and quadrangular burial chambers made of adobe bricks. These graves were associated with single or multiple mortuary events,

sometimes including a high frequency of individuals. Although these structures were used during the Early and Late Transitional phases, during the latter they became smaller size and morphologically highly standardized (Figures 17–20). The second group usually includes single burials in simple oval pits with few exceptions like Burial M-U1221, an oval structure with multiple individuals (Castillo 2004b; Rengifo 2004; Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Figures 21a and b). Whereas the first group includes burials apparently from the high-status elite groups associated with imported vessels and large quantities of offerings, the second usually belongs to individuals placed on less elaborated structures but not necessarily with fewer offerings. Moreover, imported vessels also appeared as mortuary offerings in pit burials during the Transitional period (Castillo 2004b). Individuals from the second group may have belonged to lower level elite groups without the rights to construct and use the mausoleums as with members of the first group.

The third group includes single burials in shallow and narrow rectangular pits with adobe brick walls, usually located abutting or next to the chamber burials. The individuals buried in these structures, females in most of the cases, usually lack both complex mortuary treatment and the quality and quantity of ceramic offerings as observed in the other groups. This type of burial has been found only in direct association with the Late Transitional chamber burials (Castillo and Rengifo 2006). Castillo and Rengifo suggest that the individuals buried in these rectangular pits may belong to a low-status, non-elite group that maintained a special connection with the high-status elite families, allowing them to have a privileged place in the elite cluster but not inside the mausoleums (Castillo and Rengifo 2006).



a



b

Figure 17 Early Transitional elite chamber tomb, Burial M-U1045. (a) General view of the mortuary structure with niches and internal platforms. (b) Detail of ceramic assemblage and human bones (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 18 Semi-subterranean chamber structures from the Late Transitional phase. (a) Two chambers in Area 27, and (b) a detail of Burial M-U1023 in Area 28 (PASJM Archives).

The fourth group of burials includes shallow oval pits with infants associated with few or no offerings, a treatment previously observed during the Late Moche phase and interpreted in those cases as commemorative burials related to the ceremonial agenda of local elites (Castillo 2003a; Donley 2004). It is possible that this tradition was also preserved during the Transitional period.

The monumentality of deep chamber structures or the simplicity of pit burials may have not been exclusively related to the social status of individuals but also associated with the public manifestation of group identity or affiliation. Mortuary chambers, especially during the Late Transitional phase, constituted sacred open spaces for multiple burials, including members of the same elite lineage. These mausoleums were also clustered at positions in the mortuary landscape at San José de Moro. Scholars (Castillo 1999, 2003b, 2004b; Castillo and Rengifo 2006) have defined the physical boundaries of an important cluster of Transitional tombs southeast of the Huaca Chodoff (Figure 5). In this area, archaeologists have detected a superposition of clusters from the Early and Late Transitional phases. At least in two cases, this superposition involved a direct contact between mortuary structures from both phases (Castillo 1999, 2003a; Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Figures 19 and 20).

It is interesting to mention that despite the proximity of mortuary structures, Late Transitional chambers never destroyed or disturbed those from the Early Transitional phase. Moreover, in most of the cases, Late Transitional chambers never went deeper than Early Transitional chambers. Pit burials also were shallower than their contemporary or antecedent chamber structures. This particular distribution of mortuary structures in the vertical axis may have related to the recognition and application of a traditional rule

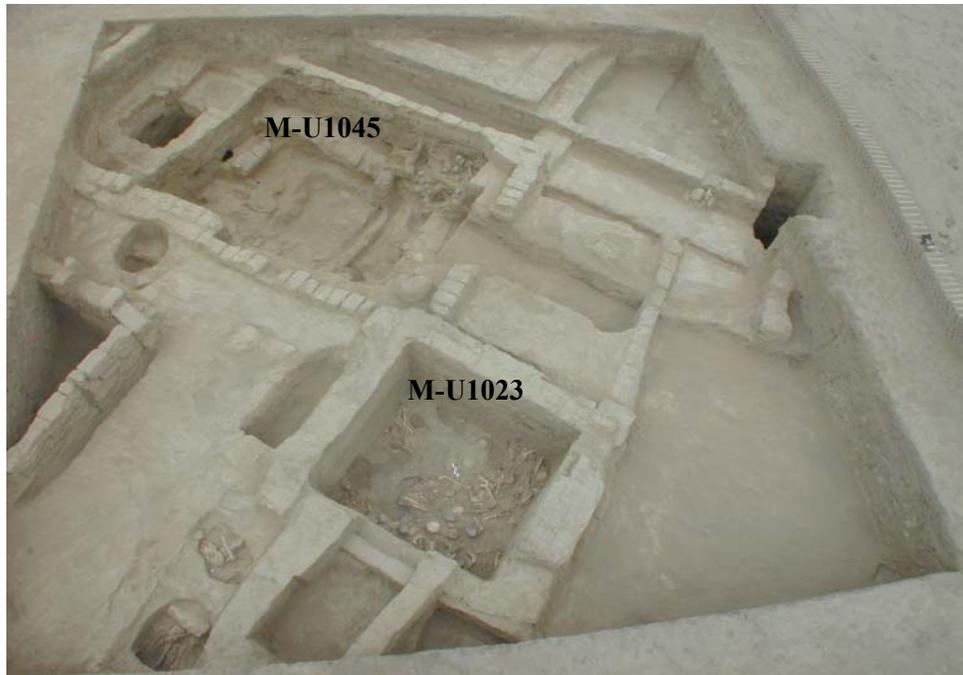


Figure 19 Panoramic view of Area 28, including two quadrangular chamber tombs, Burial M-U1045 (Early Transitional) and Burial M-U1023 (Late Transitional) (PASJM Archives).

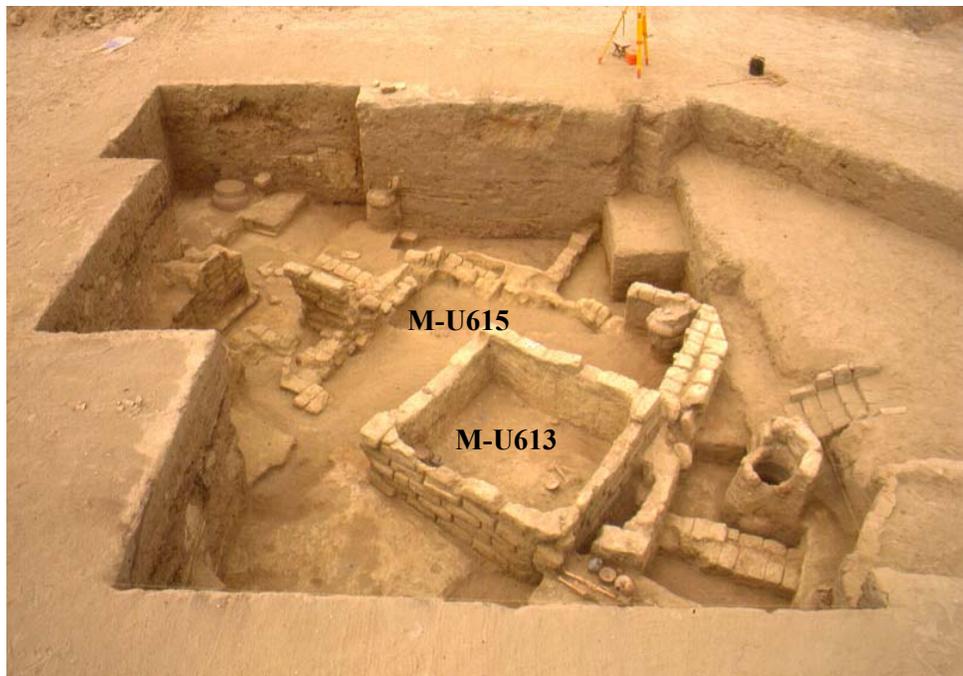


Figure 20 Superposition of mortuary structures in Area 7. Burial M-U613 (Late Transitional) superimposes Burial M-U615 (Early Transitional) (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 21 Simple pit burials from the Transitional period. (a) Burial M-U909. (b) Burial M-U607 (PASJM Archives).

of hierarchical distribution of burials previously recognized as an element of the Moche mortuary tradition (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Donnan 1995). According to this rule of hierarchical distribution, high-status elite individuals must have been buried deeper than members from other contemporary groups with lesser social status. As a result, elite mausoleums always had to be constructed deeper than any contemporary pit burial but at the same time respecting the relative depth of mausoleums from earlier periods.

This specific consideration of the depth of mortuary structures also may explain the disruption in the use of boot-shaped tombs during the Transitional period. The replacement of boot-shaped tombs by shallow pits during the Transitional period rather than being the result of “the imposition of a type that was more popular with the lower levels of society” (Castillo 2001: 323), it may have to do with the technological constraints and the perpetuation of an ideological doctrine related to the hierarchical distribution of burials.

The use of boot-shaped structures necessarily involved the construction of deep shafts that intruded all the cultural deposits and some geological strata in order to find an adequate stratum for constructed the mortuary chamber (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Del Carpio 2004; Figure 13b). The chamber was usually placed below a sterile stratum of fluvial deposition maintaining a relative solid “roof.” Technically, the chamber of the boot-shaped structures cannot be constructed in cultural strata. Furthermore, if people during the Transitional period had decided to build boot-shaped structures, these structures would have to gone through all the cultural deposits to reach the sterile strata, surpassing the average depth of the contemporaneous and precedent elite chambers. If that happened, it may have resulted in a transgression of the rule of hierarchical

distribution. In order to respect this traditional prescription and resolve the technological constraints that this prescription entailed, people during the Transitional period probably adapted the simple pit as a common mortuary structure for individuals not directly affiliated to the most important elite lineages that used San José de Moro as a cemetery.

A common mortuary practice observed in almost all the burials during the Transitional period is the general orientation of the graves and the bodies in the south west–northeast axis (Rucabado and Castillo 2003). The decision to choose this particular axis was common in many populations from different regions during Moche times (Donnan 1995), and was still applied to the mortuary rituals in San José de Moro during the Transitional period. This orientation of the mortuary structure and the bodies coincides with the prevailing direction of winds on the north coast, coming south/southwest from the ocean in direction north/northeast to the highlands.

The physical treatment of human remains shows no significant variation between individuals except if social standing criteria are introduced in the categorization of people. Without distinctions, except in very few cases, individuals interred in San José de Moro during this period were placed in a dorsal extended position (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Castillo et al. 1996–1998; Castillo 1999, 2000b, 2002, 2003b; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). This position of the body represented a traditional element in the funerary behavior of the north coast populations for hundreds of years until the introduction of burials in a seated position, which was a highland tradition (Isbell 1997; Mackey 1982; Moseley 1982).

According to Donnan's analysis of the traditional Moche mortuary practices (1995)—also applicable to the Transitional burials at San José de Moro—individuals

included in elite burial chambers may have received a better treatment than the ones placed on simple pit burials. Unfortunately, the poor preservation of organic materials at San José de Moro affects our interpretation of the status ascribed to specific individuals. There is no direct evidence for the use of burial shrouds; however, in very few high-status elite burials, there are some traces of possible cane enfolds or coffins (Castillo 2004b; Rucabado 2006). Textiles, which might have served as markers of personal identity and beautification, are not preserved in the mortuary record at the site. Personal ornamentation (i.e. necklaces, bracelets, pendants, and beads made of shell, metal, stone or ceramic) was not exclusive to individuals buried in chamber structures. Individuals buried in simple pits also wore personal ornaments. There is no exact correlation between age or gender and personal ornamentation; however, adults were generally more ornately decorated than children.

Some of the artifacts included in burials might have been considered as social markers of specific labor activities. For example, chalk balls and spindle whorls made of stone, ceramic, or copper are usually associated with female individuals dedicated to spinning and weaving (Bernuy 2004; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Del Carpio 2004; Nelson et al. 2000). Some metallic objects, such as masks, headdresses, goblets and knife-like objects also represent social markers of ceremonial activities. These artifacts may have conferred on their users the specific identity of the Moche *Goddess* in ritual performances that involved human sacrifice (Castillo 2000c; Donnan 2003; Donnan and Castillo 1994). This kind of ritual paraphernalia has been found only in Early Transitional elite chamber burials (Castillo 2004b; Rucabado 2004a, 2004b). On the other hand, in two cases (M-U1045, M-U1221), Castillo has suggested that the association between

female burials and certain objects (i.e. ceramic miniatures and spoons, musical instruments and sea shells) may reveal the presence of possible “chamanas” or female shamans (Castillo 2004b; Rengifo 2004). Other objects that can be included as labor markers are mineral pigments and a ceramic matrix, because they probably were associated with craftsmanship.

The ceramic objects, which are the most frequent artifactual offerings, include both local and foreign manufactured vessels from several coastal and highland styles. Functional forms include bottles, jars, plates, cups, spoons, cooking pots and storage containers. The spatial distribution of vessels in the mortuary contexts apparently follows no standardized pattern. In some cases, they were placed on both sides of the body; in other cases they were placed directly over the individual’s body (Figures 21a and b).

Summary

After ten years of the publication of Christopher Donnan’s *“Moche Funerary Practice”* (1995), and with new mortuary evidence to analyze, I consider the application of Donnan’s methodology and interpretations still useful in the reconstruction of possible patterns in the mortuary record. However, in the study of Transitional mortuary contexts, scholars have to consider variables that were not fully explored in Donnan’s study because of the nature of the mortuary sample he analyzed. These variables are related to the constant transformation of mortuary contexts as “open graves” or mausoleums, including the common practice of post-mortem relocation of the dead (i.e. secondary burials).

Changes in the elite mortuary practices at San José de Moro during the Transitional period involved the departure from highly visible Late Moche elite markers. However, the rejection of boot-shaped tombs may exemplify how changes in mortuary practices may not necessarily reflect changes in the underlying structures or principles. On the other hand, the hierarchical distribution of burials expressed in the vertical (superposition) and horizontal (clusters) axis, as many other traditional mortuary practices, like the orientation and position of the bodies in the mortuary structure, survived the Moche political collapse. All these practices may have responded to long-lasting rules, traditions and worldviews that may have belonged to kinship or other non-state level of organization.

Changes and continuities in the mortuary tradition constitute parallel phenomena to the stylistic heterogeneity usually recorded in Transitional mortuary contexts. Despite the departure from the production, distribution and inclusion as mortuary offerings of fineline painted bottles during the Early Transitional phase, several elements of the artistic Moche tradition survived during this phase. Specific vessel shapes and iconographic themes and characters remained the same, mutated or evolved into later versions or archaisms. The Proto-Lambayeque bottles, the Cajamarca Costeño bowls, and the Post-Moche vessels constituted the three most frequent stylistic assemblages included as mortuary offerings during the Early Transitional phase. During the Late Transitional, the Cajamarca Serrano style became the most popular style at San José de Moro.

A further study of Transitional elite burials from San José de Moro will help me to reconstruct the status, filiations and identity of the diverse groups that used this place as a cemetery, and the way these categories were consciously manifested through the

construction of collective tombs. New perspectives or interpretations about mortuary practices at San José de Moro during the Transitional period must also consider spatial and temporal variation. The existence of separate clusters of elite burials at the cemetery as well as the fact that the Transitional period covered approximately an interval of 200 years of history reinforce the possibility to detect changes and idiosyncrasies in the mortuary record. Considering this complexity, the present study is only focused on one elite tomb, Burial M-U615. Despite of this reduced sample, I consider Burial M-U615 as an important milestone to analyze in order to understand the changes and continuities in the sociopolitical organization during the Early Transitional phase, a critical stage for probably the last expression of the Moche ceremonial elites at San José de Moro.

Before focusing my attention in the description and analysis of Burial M-U615, I consider a brief discussion about the social implications of death in human groups, especially when mortuary practices can be consciously manipulated as mechanisms of social control in order to reinforce or recreate identities and legitimate leadership rights.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF DEATH: MORTUARY PRACTICES AND THEIR REPERCUSSIONS IN SOCIAL ORDER

Death constitutes a threat to social order. As a natural consequence, death reduces the number of individuals from different social groups in a community, creating a sort of temporal imbalance at different spheres of organization and human interaction. Different reactions towards death and its impact on individuals and social groups are expressed through the creation of institutionalized mechanisms and strategies that seek both physical and symbolic restoration of biological and social life. These strategies usually include a combination of diverse practices and social institutions like biological reproduction, kinship, laws, and mortuary rituals. In this context, the planning and achievement of rituals and mortuary practices tend to reconstruct or redefine social roles and relationships among members of a human group that were previously interrupted by death (Parker Pearson 2002; Schiller 2001).

Both ethnographers and archaeologists have recognized the connections between mortuary practices and the underlying structures of social organization (Binford 1971; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Parker Pearson 2002; Saxe 1971; Tainter 1978, among others). The differential distribution and materialization of symbolic indicators in a cemetery has been commonly interpreted as differential status, rank, or social standings among individuals interred. However, as Christopher Peebles suggests, status and differential treatment crafted or achieved by individuals during their own lives do not

necessarily involve similar post-mortem social indications (Peebles 1971: 68). The mortuary place, the body treatment, the quality and quantity of material offerings, and the ritual mortuary cycle as well as energy expenditure during the whole process may also vary in kind and degree according to the different social standings, social aspirations, and participation of each individual and group involved in it (Parker Pearson 2002: 46). From this perspective, the study of mortuary contexts not only pursues the reconstruction of post-mortem identities of the dead, it also allows scholars to learn more about the expectations, decisions, and actions from those who were directly involved in the preparation and performance of mortuary rituals (Parker Pearson 2002: 4). The participation of diverse individuals or corporate groups is usually motivated by diverse factors like kinship affiliation, political alliances, friendship, or the like. From my perspective, an endeavor to reconstruct the participants' voices and identities is as important as the attempt to recreate the dead's multiple identities.

Mortuary practices constitute prescribed and sanctioned social behaviors that usually follow an institutionalized formality as part of local traditions (O'Shea 1984). Consequently, people provide their dead with "items, postures and appearances which were considered as appropriate to the context of death" (Parker Pearson 2002: 10). Variation in mortuary practices and their materialized by-products in cemeteries may reflect either patterned or singular behavior. In some cases, mortuary variation may indicate social differentiation among members of a population; in others, it may represent behavior shaped by personal or communal claims or wants. Variation may result from unforeseen events that could affect convergence with or divergence from traditional practices. In this context, mortuary practices can be arenas for social competition where

people negotiate institutionalized symbols and meanings related to death in order to achieve competing interests and agendas and at the same time avoid or resolve possible conflict among participants. As a result, rituals performed during mortuary events are often transformed into a “show of power” (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:6). Speeches, personal beautification, the display and consumption of sumptuary goods including food and drinks, the construction and use of mortuary spaces, human or animal sacrifice, and other symbols of power and status constitute some of the mechanisms usually displayed during mortuary rituals in order to inscribe specific messages in the memory of the participants (Chesson 2001; Parker Pearson 2002). A highly visible public display of these mechanisms to different domestic, communal, or supra-communal audiences can result in shaping the memories of participants. Nevertheless, these mechanisms produce a positive result only if their use or display is periodically repeated through communal experiences. Thus, the sponsoring of and active participation in commemorative events reinforce and re-inscribed the symbolic message of power transmitted during funerals.

Mortuary rites usually play an integrative role for the community (Metcalf and Huntington 1991). After death comes, human groups usually tend to plan a ritualized schedule of private and public events. Participation in mortuary rituals involves not only the expression of cognitive and emotional responses to death, but also an open pronouncement of participant’s individual and corporative identity in relation to the deceased and diverse affiliated groups that participate in the rituals (Chesson 2001:1–5; Parker Pearson 2002:46). During mortuary cycles, especially in commemorative events, people try to achieve publicly both retrospective and prospective acknowledgement of the ante-mortem and post-mortem participation of the deceased in their community (Chesson

2001). As a result, the prolongation of social life of the dead in the collective memory of the group creates links between the past, the present, and the future of the group. From this standpoint, death also creates opportunities for reconstructing, strengthening, and enhancing different spheres of social organization through generations (Parker Pearson 2002; Schiller 2001).

This particular way of expressing generational links between members of a group constitutes a keystone in communities where transitions in power and leadership are founded on kinship rules and inheritance. In those cases, leaders or aspiring leaders who need to accredit, secure, or reinforce their positions may sponsor and conduct funerals and commemorative events of their predecessors thereby transforming those events into arenas for the legitimation of their leadership rights. By recasting the past and the grandiosity of their ancestors through the collective memory of the group, leaders may find a strategy for publicly re-establishing direct affinity bonds with their predecessors and demonstrating that these links never ceased despite their death (Metcalf and Huntington 1991).

Planning, constructing, using, and maintaining collective graves as permanent landmarks for several generations (i.e. mausoleums) is an efficient and highly visible mechanism by which leaders symbolically reproduce and extend social life of their kin into the mortuary sphere. This particular mortuary format as well as the practices and rituals that are implicated also reinforces the consolidation of a system of hereditary succession through the placement of the bodies of the leaders' kin in the same mortuary locus. This kind of post-mortem relationship between leaders is directly intertwined with the process of crafting social memory and the recreation of social identities between the

members of their kin community (Chesson 2001). Collective burials may attempt to create or reinforced a collective consciousness among bereaved members of the leader's kin. The scale and extension of this phenomenon of social integration beyond the limits of kinship will depend on the nature of social organization on each community. Extended familiar systems allow the extension of the leader's kinship over the social landscape of the community. Moreover, the recognition of community leaders as descendents of ancestral founders may allow the formers to strategically claim themselves as heads of a symbolic kinship extended to the whole community.

From this perspective, I will focus my research on the elite mortuary practices in San José de Moro, a regional cemetery from the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the locally identified Transitional Period. The research goals are description, analysis, and contextual interpretation of Burial M-U615, a mortuary context that may have constituted the first multigenerational collective burial in San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase. This mortuary space, analogous to what we nowadays consider as a mausoleum, was related to a high-status group of individuals who were associated with well-known ritual paraphernalia originally linked to traditional religious ceremonies in this particular region. Moreover, an evaluation of Burial M-U615, including details about its construction and use, will help to understand the importance of this collective tomb as a manifestation of a specific corporate elite identity related to social control during a critical period of sociopolitical transformations.

CHAPTER V

BURIAL M-U615: AN EARLY TRANSITIONAL COLLECTIVE TOMB AT SAN JOSÉ DE MORO

One of the main goals of this research is the characterization of the mortuary practices that were involved in the burial of ceremonial leaders and members of their elite group at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase. Particularly, how a combination of traditional and new mortuary practices, including the construction and use of a collective tomb, may represent an elite strategy that involved ideological mechanisms used to legitimize the power and leadership of ceremonial leaders during the final stage of collapse of the local Moche state organization.

Scholars have proposed that political control during Moche times was based on the control over diverse sources of power, usually supported by a combination of the leader's economic control of the means of production, the control of military forces, and an adequate use of ideological mechanisms (Bawden 1996; Billman 1996, 1999, 2002; Castillo 2004a; DeMarais et al. 1996). The Moche chiefs exercised their power as political and religious leaders. Capable leaders may have had the capacity to consolidate networks of distribution of sumptuary goods, the ability to organize feasting as part of their strategies of political commensality, and the great talent to manage ritual discourses, portraying their personae as intermediaries with the supernatural world if not as deities themselves.

However, the process of political deterioration in Late Moche times, caused by a combination of factors discussed before, may have affected the mechanisms of political control and leadership. In the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, Swenson proposes that during Late Moche times a social and political reconfiguration took place in the hinterland communities, generating a period of fragmentation at the level of ceremonial organization (Swenson 2004). Castillo (2004a) and Del Carpio (2004) suggest that major political transformations at the regional level probably began during the Middle Moche Subphase B, involving the management of hydraulic resources and reclamation projects in the Chamán Valley. According to Castillo (2004a), cycles of political centralization, shifting from or contemporaneous with longer periods of fragmentation and conflict among local polities, were probably based on opportunistic political strategies (Castillo 2004a). Even though there is evidence that supports the presence of the traditional ceremonial elite at San Jose de Moro during the Early Transitional phase (i.e. Burial M-U615, Burial M-U1242), we can not verify that the ceremonial organization was still related to a supra-communal organization of the region, especially when other traditional mechanisms of regional cohesion (i.e. distribution or ritual exchange of Moche finewares, ritualized feasting) were not manifested during this phase (Luis Jaime Castillo, personal communication 2006).

Archaeological evidence suggests that massive consumption of *chicha* in feasting events at San José de Moro abruptly stopped at the end of the Late Moche phase. Likewise, the production and distribution of emblematic finewares stopped abruptly (Castillo 2000a). However, many elements of a long tradition of ideological mechanisms and religious beliefs were preserved. Some of the major icons of traditional Moche

religious art survived the political crisis. In addition, elite groups were still using San José de Moro as a cemetery. Nevertheless, during the Early Transitional phase they may have faced an unfavorable destiny.

Local elites could have tried to cope with sociopolitical instability in several ways. Strategies may have ranged from complete political isolation to intraregional and interregional political alliances, especially with communities in adjacent highlands. It is possible that leaders may have tried mixed strategies, where options may have included a combination of orthodox and totally new mechanisms and institutions of political organization. New leaders may have experienced much risk during this process, especially when trying to legitimize their political position. To accomplish this goal, leaders may have focused their attention on traditional ideological mechanisms like the adoration of the *Goddess* and public elite mortuary rituals that memorialized their predecessors. Change and stability in the elite mortuary practices at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase may reflect the effects of the sociopolitical transformations in the region during the last crisis of the local Moche polity. At this time, Burial M-U615 was built.

Burial M-U615, an Early Transitional high-status elite burial in San José de Moro, is an archaeological example that illustrates the particular decision-makings of a local elite group during a period of sociopolitical crisis in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region. With the construction and periodical use of Burial M-U615 as a collective mortuary space, ceremonial leaders found a new way to express and reinforced a corporate identity of their group as well as legitimized their political status and leadership rights based on hereditary succession.

Preliminary Considerations: Contextual Location

The series of events that led to the discovery of Burial M-U615 can be traced back to 1996, when archaeologists from the PASJM and the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC-La Libertad) conducted a salvage excavation in a recently looted area at San José de Moro (Instituto Nacional de Cultura [INC] 1996). New archaeological findings captured the attention of those who were studying the elite mortuary traditions associated with the population of this cemetery. The crew found two looted high-status elite chamber burials, one superimposed on the other. This was the first time archaeologists registered a case like this at San José de Moro. Moreover, this probably constituted the first case ever recorded archaeologically of the direct superposition of two chamber structures at any cemetery in the Peruvian north coast. As I mentioned before, this type of rectangular structures were exclusively associated with high-status individuals interred at this regional cemetery during the Late Moche phase (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Donnan 1995). Similarities between a cluster of five chambers that were previously discovered near Huaca La Capilla (1991-1992) and the new two discovered chambers allowed an initial assessment of the chronological affiliation of the chambers. However, subsequent archaeological evidence that was collected between 1997 and 2005, including other cases of superimposed chamber burials, has allowed a reevaluation of the 1996 findings. New stratigraphical data, a refined stylistic sequence based on contextualized ceramic vessels, and a preliminary mortuary analysis, have allowed me to propose that at least one the 1996 chamber burials, the later one, apparently belonged to the Early Transitional phase rather than the Late Moche phase. Besides this improvement in the chronological

affiliation of elite burials, the analysis of cumulative data has also offered a more comprehensive characterization of complex mortuary practices during the Transitional Period in San José de Moro.

During the 1996 fieldwork at San José de Moro, the archaeological crew under the co-direction of Luis Jaime Castillo (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú), Andrew Nelson (University of Western Ontario) and Carol Mackey (California State University, Northridge) recovered three additional Transitional tombs with multiple individuals in each. According to the bioarchaeological analysis, burials M-U404, M-U411 and M-U415 included a minimum number of individuals (MNI) of 13, 17, and 17, respectively (Castillo et al. 1996–1998). Because of extensive disarticulation of human skeletons and the high frequency of ceramic fragments in these burials, they were originally considered ossuaries resulting from secondary burials. Of these three mortuary contexts, only Burial M-U415 (discovered in Area 2) corresponded to a high-status elite chamber burial. The other two cases were simple pit burials. Burial M-U415 was located less than 30 m away from the area of the two superimposed looted burial chambers mentioned above. Unfortunately, Burial M-U415 was only partially excavated, recovering only the bones and artifacts that were deposited in the western area of the chamber. However, the proximity of these chambers suggested to Castillo the possibility of finding a new cluster of elite burials like the one adjacent to Huaca La Capilla.

In 1997, Areas 6 and 7, south and north of Area 2, respectively, revealed new information about the mortuary practices and ceremonial activities during the Late Moche and the Transitional phases (Figure 22). In Area 6, archaeologists found a cluster of large storage vessels or *tinajas* placed in a semi-circle arrangement (Castillo et al.

1996–1998; Figures 23a and b). These vessels were probably associated with community feasts that involved the distribution of maize beer or *chicha* (Castillo 2001, 2003a; Delibes and Barragán 2004). These features were directly associated with floors and occupational surfaces from the Late Moche phase. A thick stratum of soil covered the entire feature. This stratum included a group of ceramic vessels stylistically related to the Transitional period (Figures 24a and b). Apparently, these vessels were placed as a sort of commemorative offering when people were ritually “burying” the area. A complete skeleton of an adult llama was placed directly over one of the *tinajas* (Figure 25a), and the remains of an infant (Burial M-U505, 1-2 years old) and a human neonate (Burial M-U504) (Figure 25b) were also associated with this stratum that covered the *tinajas* (Castillo et al. 1996–1998).

Area 7 included a complex deposition of cultural strata including floors, occupational surfaces, *tinajas* and mortuary contexts from the Middle Moche to the Lambayeque period (Castillo 1999). This area revealed a cluster of Transitional burials that allowed scholars to propose a chronological division of the Transitional period in to at least two major mortuary phases: Early and Late Transitional (Castillo 2004b). A stylistic analysis of ceramic vessels from Transitional burials has reinforced this chronological division based on stratigraphy (Bernuy and Bernal 2004). With a total of 16 excavated burials in this area, seven were from the Transitional period (Figure 26). Two of these Transitional burials were high-status elite chamber burials and were directly superimposed: Burial M-U615 from the Early Transitional phase and Burial M-U613 from the Late Transitional phase (Castillo 1999, 2003a; Rucabado and Castillo 2003).

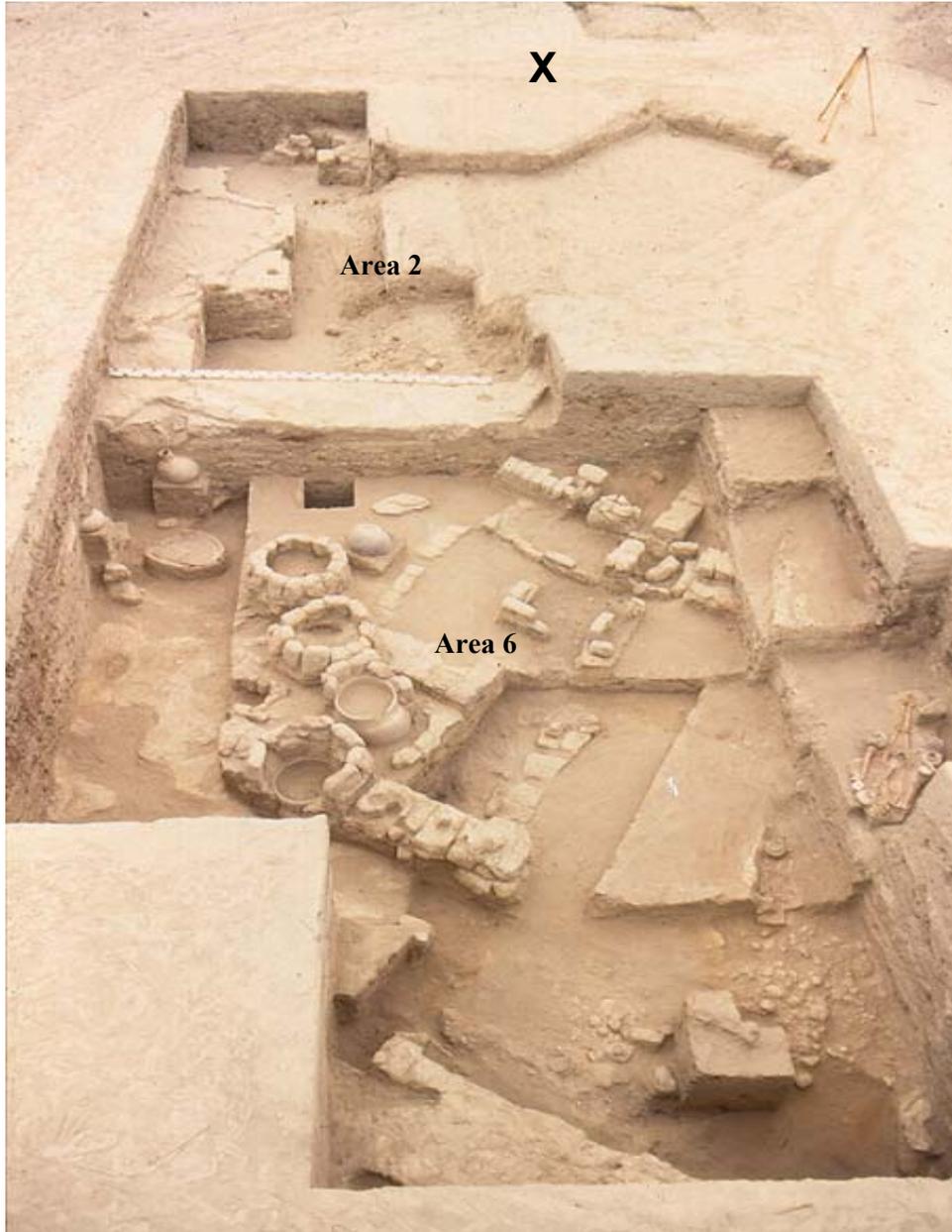


Figure 22 Area 6 (1997) and Area 2 (1996). Area 6 shows a cluster of *tinajas* and occupational floors. The "X" indicates the area where Burial M-U615 was found in 1998 (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 23 Area 6. (a) Panoramic view including the group of *tinajas* that was apparently covered during the Early Transitional phase. (b) Detail of the *tinajas in situ* (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 24 Area 6. (a) A group of Transitional vessels included as offerings during the event that covered the cluster of *tinajas*. (b) Detail of two of these vessels (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 25 Ritual offerings covering the cluster of *tinajas* in Area 6. (a) A complete llama skeleton on top of a *tinaja*. (b) An infant burial (Burial M-U504) next to the *tinajas* (PASJM Archives).

Later excavations (2000–2004) in adjacent areas significantly increased the number of burials that belong to both phases of the Transitional period (n=65). Using these data, scholars have not only refined the sequence of occupation at the cemetery, but also have recognized variability in the mortuary record, suggesting, from a contextual perspective, important transformations in local mortuary traditions as well as in the stylistic sequence (Bernal 2004; Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Rucabado and Castillo 2003).

Burial M-U613, like other high-status burials from the Late Transitional phase, has a semi-subterranean chamber that contained the remains of several individuals. This collective grave also includes evidence of bone disarticulation and partial destruction of the mortuary structure (Figures 27 a, b). Although looting has affected San José de Moro in modern times, there is no stratigraphical evidence of modern looter's pit in Burial M-U613. Contextual evidence suggests that this elite burial was destroyed and desecrated probably during the Late Transitional phase or the Lambayeque period.

Desecration during the Lambayeque period is a scenario that better fits the particular historical development in San José de Moro, if we considered the expansion of the foreign Lambayeque polity into the Jequetepeque-Chamán region. This expansion may have involved a process of social and political transformation for both local and foreign groups. This process may have included the desecration of high-status elite burials as part of an ideological strategy that sought to harm the reputation and prestige of local elites and express the Lambayeque domination over local groups (Castillo 2004b, Castillo and Rengifo 2006). It usually included the partial destruction of the mortuary structure, the disarticulation and fracture of human bones and the breakage of ceramic vessels obliterating material symbols that may have represented social identities of

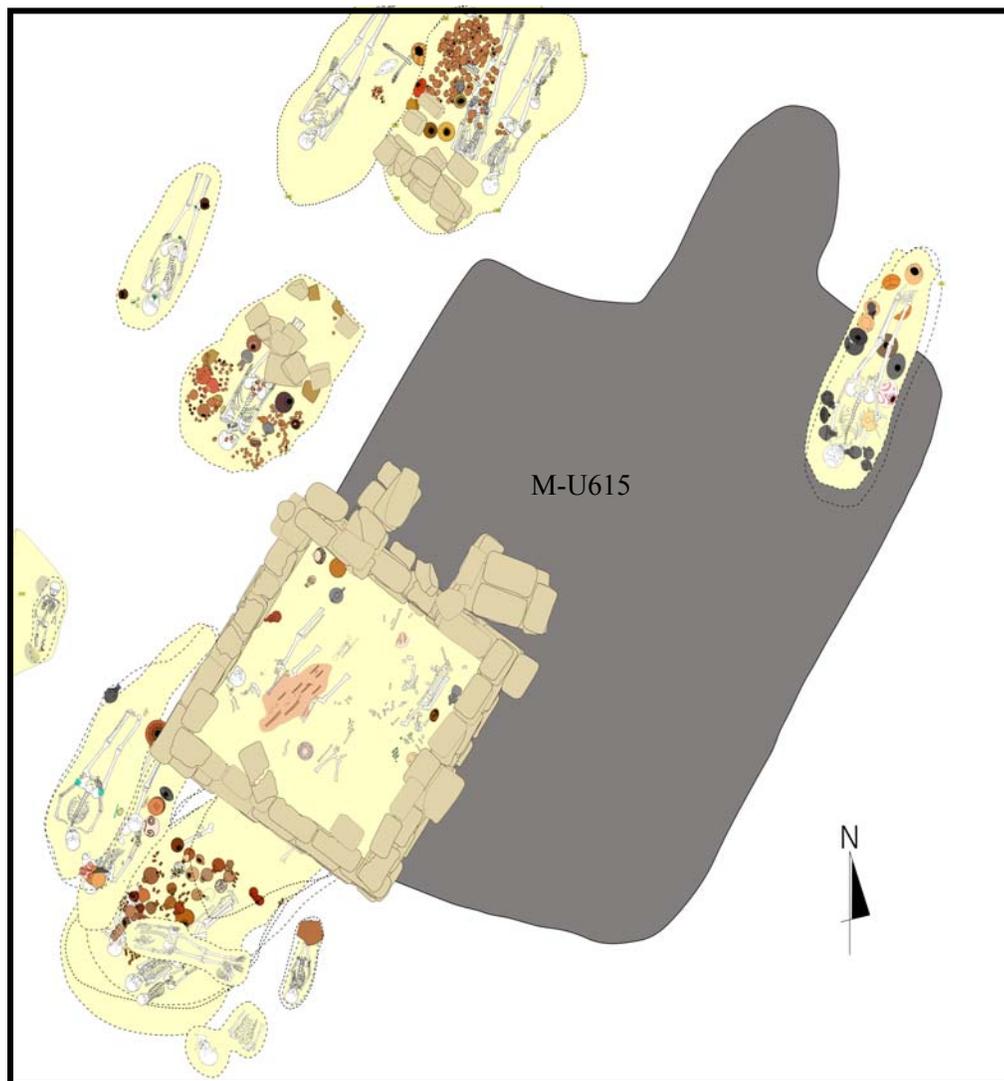


Figure 26 Reconstruction of the distribution of burials in Area 7. The area covered by Burial M-U615 is represented in grey (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 27 Burial M-U613. (a) General view of disarticulated human bones in the interior of the tomb. (b) General view of fully extended skeletons and some ceramic offerings on the chamber floor (PASJM Archives).

diverse groups (Castillo 2004b). Moreover, abrupt changes in the local mortuary traditions were expressed in San José de Moro burials after approximately A.D. 1000 (Castillo 2001, 2003a; Bernuy 2004). During the Lambayeque period, people used circular pits as mortuary structures and started burying individuals in a flexed, seated position (Figure 28a). By that time, stylistic change in the ceramic assemblage shows a prevalence of the typical Lambayeque foreign style and a considerable decrease in the number of ceramic styles included as mortuary offerings (Figure 28b).

On the other hand, Burial M-U615 had no evidence of desecration perhaps because its access to the subterranean mortuary chamber was not exposed by the time of the Lambayeque arrival. Burial M-U615 thus constitutes the first intact Early Transitional high-status chamber burial that was recovered archaeologically in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region.

The characteristics of Burial M-U615 as a collective tomb used for multiple burial events reveal changes and continuities in the local mortuary tradition that were directly expressed in the morphology of the mortuary structure, the treatment and spatial distribution of the individuals and both artifactual and ecofactual associations (Figure 29). This study includes a description, analysis and interpretation of these variables.

The reconstruction of a complex depositional process associated with this tomb will allow me to evaluate possible causes that motivated the construction, use and maintenance of this particular kind of mortuary space. A detailed description and analysis of the different elements in this mortuary context, considering their stratigraphical sequence of deposition, will allow a better understanding and reconstruction of the processes and possible circumstances that were involved in the transformation of the



a



b

Figure 28 The Lambayeque mortuary practices constituted a major change in the local mortuary tradition. (a) Typical pit burial including an individual in a seated position with offerings. (b) Lambayeque blackware bottle (PASJM Archives).

mortuary context. This transformation included the frequent deposition and displacement of bodies and associations (Figure 30).

In addition, a brief comparison to other elite mortuary contexts from the Late Moche and the Early Transitional phase at San José de Moro is examined to reveal how Burial M-U615 expressed the historical process of sociopolitical transformations that affected the elite groups in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during these periods. This process may have involved alterations of diverse aspects of local cultural traditions, including mortuary rituals and practices. These changes may be traced in the archaeological record by analyzing and comparing through time those variables that show us how people materialized continuity and innovations in their mortuary traditions.

Mortuary Structure

The mortuary structure of Burial M-U615 is a square, adobe-brick, room-like subterranean construction. Although this structure seems to match roughly with the traditional Late Moche “chamber tomb” type in San José de Moro (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Donnan 1995), there are several morphological details that are different from the Moche prototype.

A typical Late Moche chamber tomb usually was a rectangular-shaped structure with 1-m high walls, niches on three of the walls, a roof support system that included Y-shaped posts and beams and, in some cases, an adobe wall or a step that divided the structure internally in two sections. These structures were built inside rectangular pits that ranged for 2 m and 5.50 m deep (Castillo and Donnan 1994b).

The morphological characteristics of Burial M-U615's mortuary structure indicate a deviation from the traditional format. The size and general shape of the structure, the presence of a formal sloped entrance, the absence of niches, and a detail internal subdivision of the space constitute the most important features that differentiate this grave from the Late Moche pattern.

The M-U615 chamber structure was located inside of a quadrangular pit, 5 m wide (east-west) and 5.1 m long (north-south). Both the pit and the quadrangular chamber were oriented in the southwest-northeast axis. The length of the structure on this axis was extended to 7.9 m after a formal access was built. This access (2.8 m long and 1.20 m wide on average) was used to enter the chamber from the northeast (Figure 31). The pit was almost 3 m deep and intruded into at least 2 m of Middle and Late Moche cultural deposition before it reached the sterile stratum (Figures 32a and b).

The chamber structure was constructed with adobe bricks that are larger (40 x 25 x 15 cm) than traditional Moche adobe bricks. The adobe bricks were arranged forming four walls of 12 courses each. Each course of the walls contained 12 to 13 bricks, except the northern wall that included fewer adobe bricks in the upper courses because of the formal entrance to the structure. The four walls were butted against each other rather than bonded. In many cases, ceramic fragments from broken *tinajas* and cooking pots were used as chinking between the adobe bricks to fill the space between them. The walls were also reinforced with mortar and then covered with a plaster of mud. Built into the walls, there were three elevated platforms. Each platform had an adobe brick retaining wall. The platforms were filled with soil and capped with mud to create plastered surfaces.



Figure 29 Panoramic view of Burial M-U615 in Area 7 (PASJM Archives).

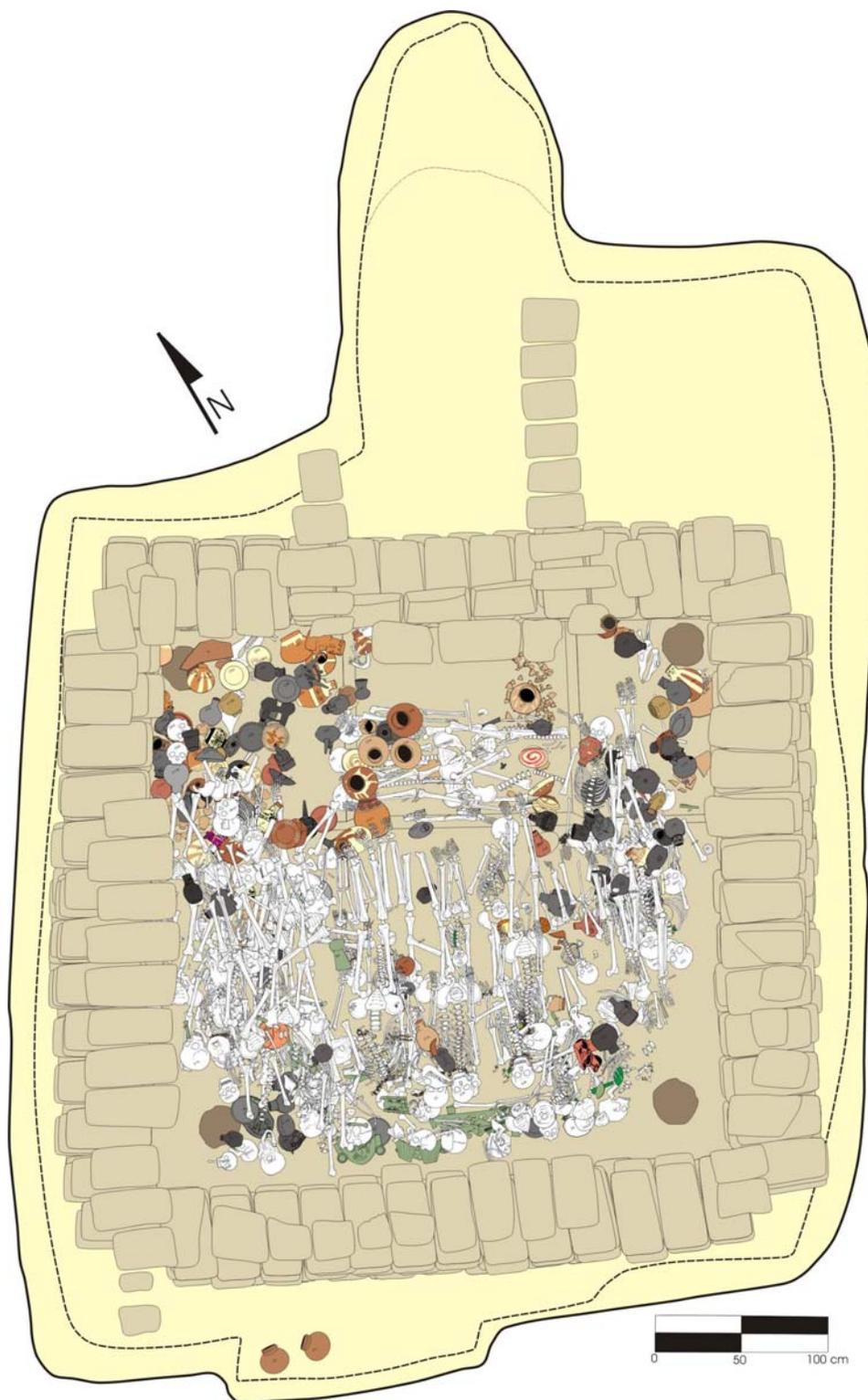


Figure 30 Burial M-U615. Reconstruction of the tomb, including the mortuary structure, individuals and mortuary associations.

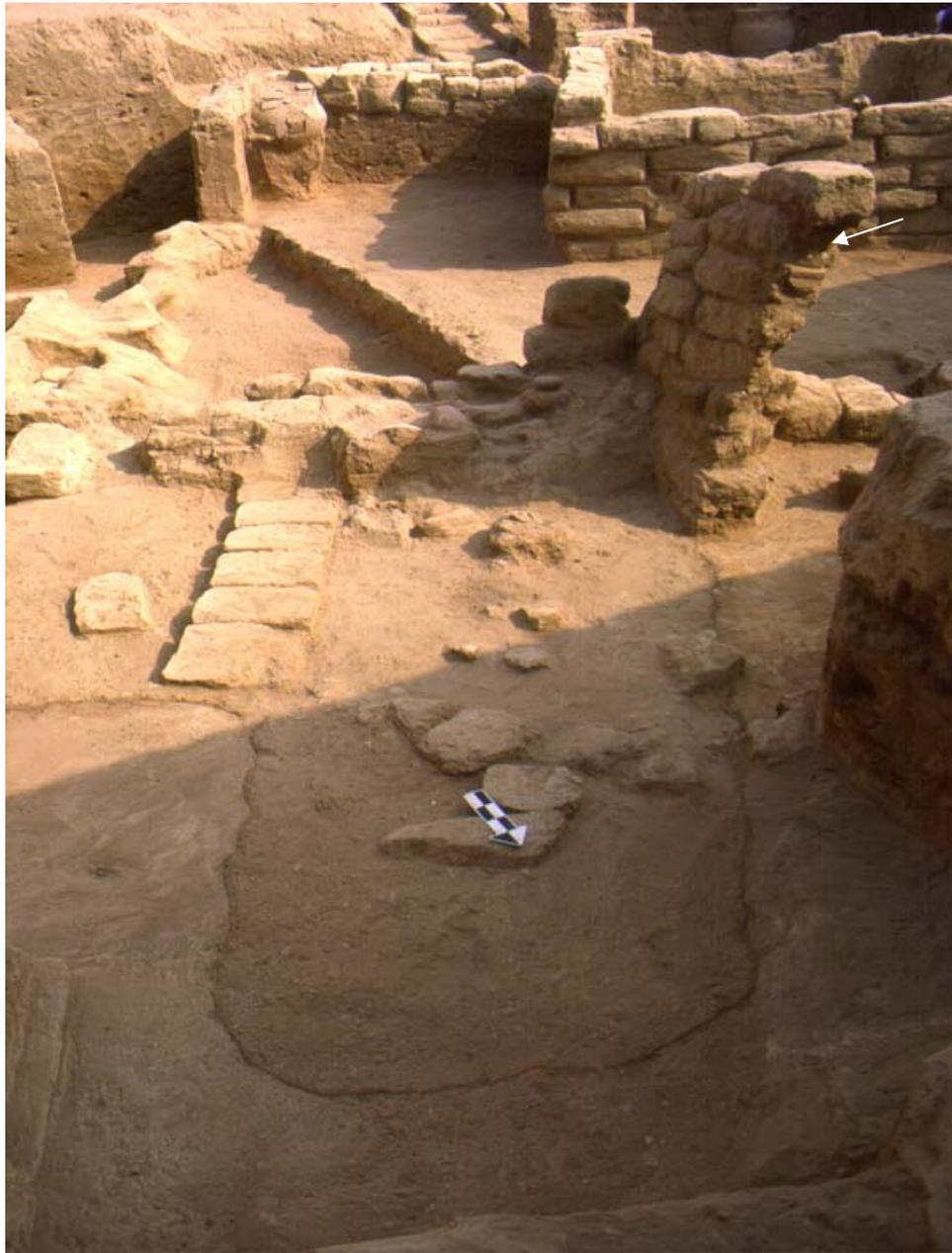


Figure 31 Burial M-U615. Detail of the sloped access to the mortuary structure. The wall on the right side was part of the U-shaped retaining wall built on top of the north wall of the chamber (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 32 Burial M-U615. (a) General view from the north. (b) General view from the southwest (PASJM Archives).

When finished, the internal space of the chamber was divided into four areas (Figures 33 and 34). The first area corresponds to the floor of the entrance area (Area A). Area A was flanked by the three platforms: two symmetrical small platforms on the west (Area C) and east side (Area D), and a third larger one on the south (Area B) (Figure 35). Both lateral platforms are elevated 15 cm from the floor of Area A, while the surface of Area B is elevated 30 cm.

In the four corners of the structure, people dug post holes for four Y-shaped posts, which were probably made of algarrobo, a strong wood that is abundant in the area. Two algarrobo cross-beams were probably tied to these posts. Both the Y-shaped post and the beams directly supported a roof. Smaller algarrobo beams lay on top of the cross-beams. These transversal beams were probably tied to a cane structure and then, covered with a thick layer of mud (Figures 36a and b). Although the organic remains of the Y-shaped posts, beams, and cane structure were poorly preserved, a comparison with Moche chamber tombs from the Jequetepeque-Chamán and the adjacent Lambayeque region allow a reconstruction of the M-U615 roof (Alva 1994; Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan 1995; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Narváez 1994; Figure 37).

The maximum height of the roof was approximately 1.70 m in Area A, which may have allowed people to stand up straight in the entrance to the tomb, which would have made it easier to carry bodies and offerings into the mortuary structure. In the case of the Late Moche elite burials, as mentioned before, the ceiling of the chamber structures were only 1 m high, which indicates that those structures were not constructed for a periodic use but only for a single mortuary event.



a



b

Figure 33 Burial M-U615. (a, b) General views of the internal subdivision (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 34 Burial M-U615. (a) General view. (b) Detail view of the platform and post hole on Area C (PASJM Archives).

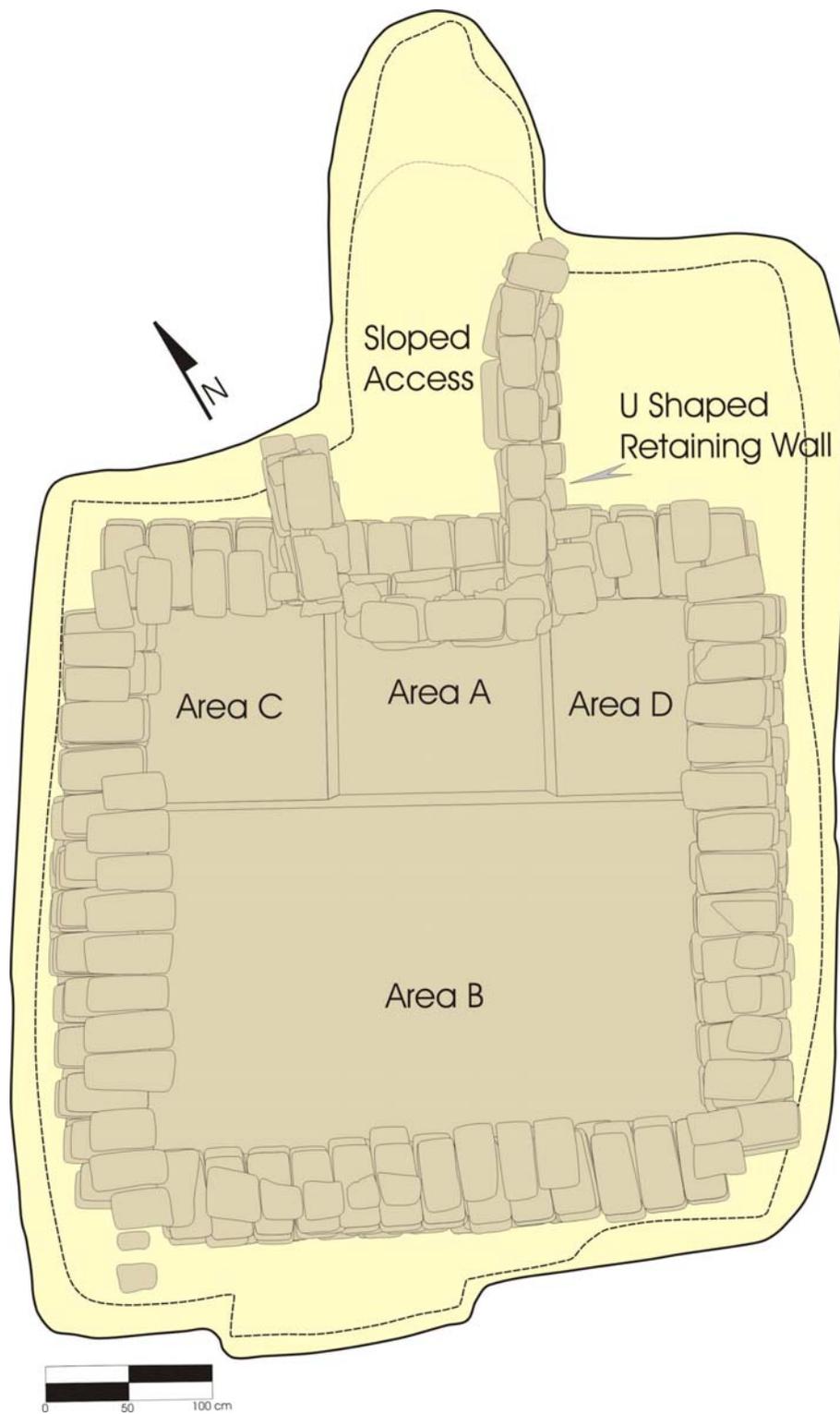


Figure 35 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of the internal subdivision of the mortuary space.

After the roof structure of Burial M-U615 was completed, the pit was refilled with a layer of 30 cm of clean soil, except for the sloped access which remained open for the future use of the mortuary structure. In order to retain the accumulation of soil placed over the roof in the quadrangular area without covering the access to the chamber, the builders created a U-shaped retaining wall. To build this feature, they apparently used adobe bricks from a dismantled wall (Figures 29 and 31). When the constructors covered the plastered roof with clean soil, they included some adobe bricks and three cooking pots; two were placed together in the south side of the chamber (almost over the first course of adobes of the south wall) and the other one close to the center area. After this, the subterranean chamber was ready for regular use, allowing people to go in and out by using the formal access while securing the mortuary activities under a reinforced roof.

Apparently after the final use of the chamber adobe bricks were placed in the entry way to seal the chamber. These bricks directly covered the access to the chamber on the north wall. Later, the roof collapsed at least 50 cm towards the interior of the chamber, probably because of the weight and pressure of the fill and later activities on top of the chamber area, including the construction of Burial M-U613's mortuary chamber (Castillo 1999; Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Figures 20 and 26).

In the Moche mortuary tradition, the location, dimensions, and particular characteristics of mortuary chambers may have been preconditioned by the status or the social role of the primary person buried in the chamber or the group that organized those burial events (Alva 1994; Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan 1995, 2003; Castillo and Donnan 1994a, 1994b; Franco et al. 2003; Narváez 1994). In the case of Burial M-U615, the decision to create a communal place for the dead of a specific group, expecting



a



b

Figure 36 Burial M-U615. (a) General view showing traces of wooden beams that originally supported the roof of the chamber. (b) Detail of a piece of solid mud with curved imprints of the beams (PASJM Archives).

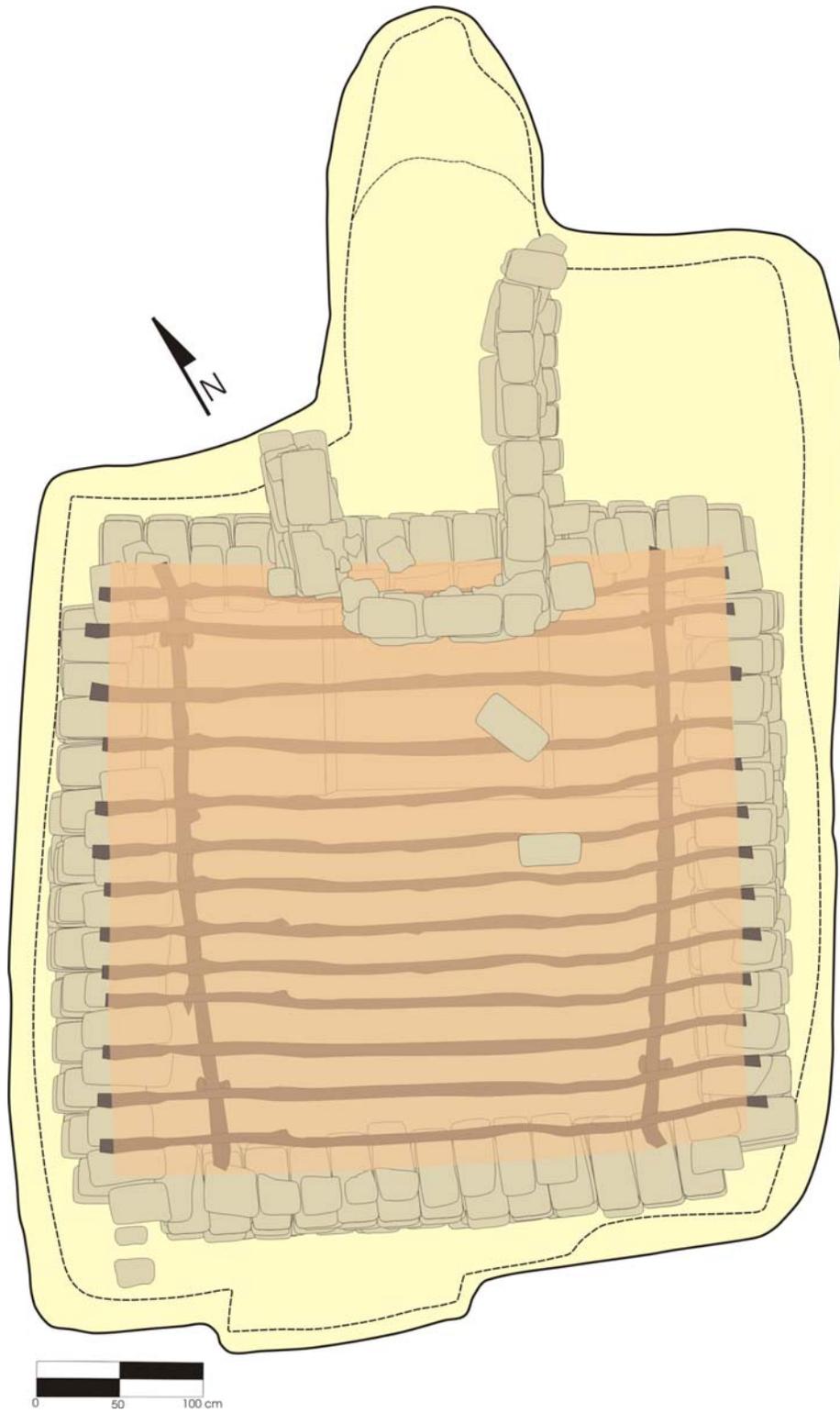


Figure 37 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of the roof system.

periodic mortuary events and a higher number of individuals than in the Late Moche burials, also may have conditioned the morphology of the mortuary structure.

Individuals

The spatial patterning of human remains indicates that M-U615 was used periodically as a communal grave. Several groups of individuals apparently were deposited in the chamber structure at different times. This section focuses on the distribution of human remains inside the mortuary chamber of Burial M-U615. Spatial analysis of the osteological remains indicates the periodic placement of individuals in the tomb as well as the repositioning of skeletal remains to make room for new burials. The latter phenomenon involved the partial or complete disarticulation and/or displacement of bodies or body parts from their original position in the chamber. Displacement was probably the result of re-organizations of the internal space in the chamber. In addition to the identification and estimation of the total number of individuals interred in this tomb, I consider the taphonomical processes that affected the configuration and final deposition of the bodies over time (Figure 38).

Five major layers of deposition of human remains and grave goods have been delineated (Figures 39–44). Each of these layers includes both articulated and disarticulated skeletons of the individuals and may have included one or more events of primary deposition of individuals. As the chamber became full people may have displaced existing bodies and grave goods as part of an internal reorganization of the mortuary space. These post-depositional events may have constituted a recurrent activity

performed right before the deposition of new bodies and grave goods inside the mortuary structure, especially in the central area of the main platform. This way, each layer of deposition and displacement (LDD) may include activities that occurred during different mortuary events. The last LDD is the only one that can be associated with a single burial event. This layer constitutes a final deposition that totally covered the mortuary pit and the sloped access; it also included ceramic vessels, a complete skeleton of a camelid, and a sub-adult individual.

Most of the bodies in Burial M-U615 were apparently moved to this mortuary locus very soon after individuals died. Although it is possible that individuals were placed into “storage” for a short period of time prior to final internment in Burial M-U615. The almost complete articulation of many of the skeletons supports this conclusion. In most of the cases, there was no evidence of a large number of missing bones per individual or the kind of pattern of bone disarticulation and displacement (a.k.a. “wandering bones”, i.e. toes or fingers displaced towards the head resulted from the transportation of bundles) previously observed in some Moche secondary burials at San José de Moro (Del Carpio 2004; Nelson and Castillo 1998).

A plausible explanation for the pattern of bone disarticulation observed in Burial M-U615 is that many of the bodies were moved within the mortuary structure to clear a space for new individuals. Some body parts were partially articulated, such as the fully articulated arms or legs that were separated from the thoracic and pelvic junctures. These may have belonged to individuals originally placed in this structure, and then displaced before total decomposition of the bodies.

The decomposition of the bodies and the subsequent preservation of the bones also may have been affected by their exposure to the variable climate and scavengers (i.e. rodents) while the grave was open. The formal access of the mortuary chamber was not sealed while the structure was periodically used as a space for the dead. Consequently, it is more difficult to calculate the time of decomposition of the bodies in this particular mortuary context.



Figure 38 Burial M-U615. General view of the internal area including human remains and ceramic offerings (PASJM Archives).

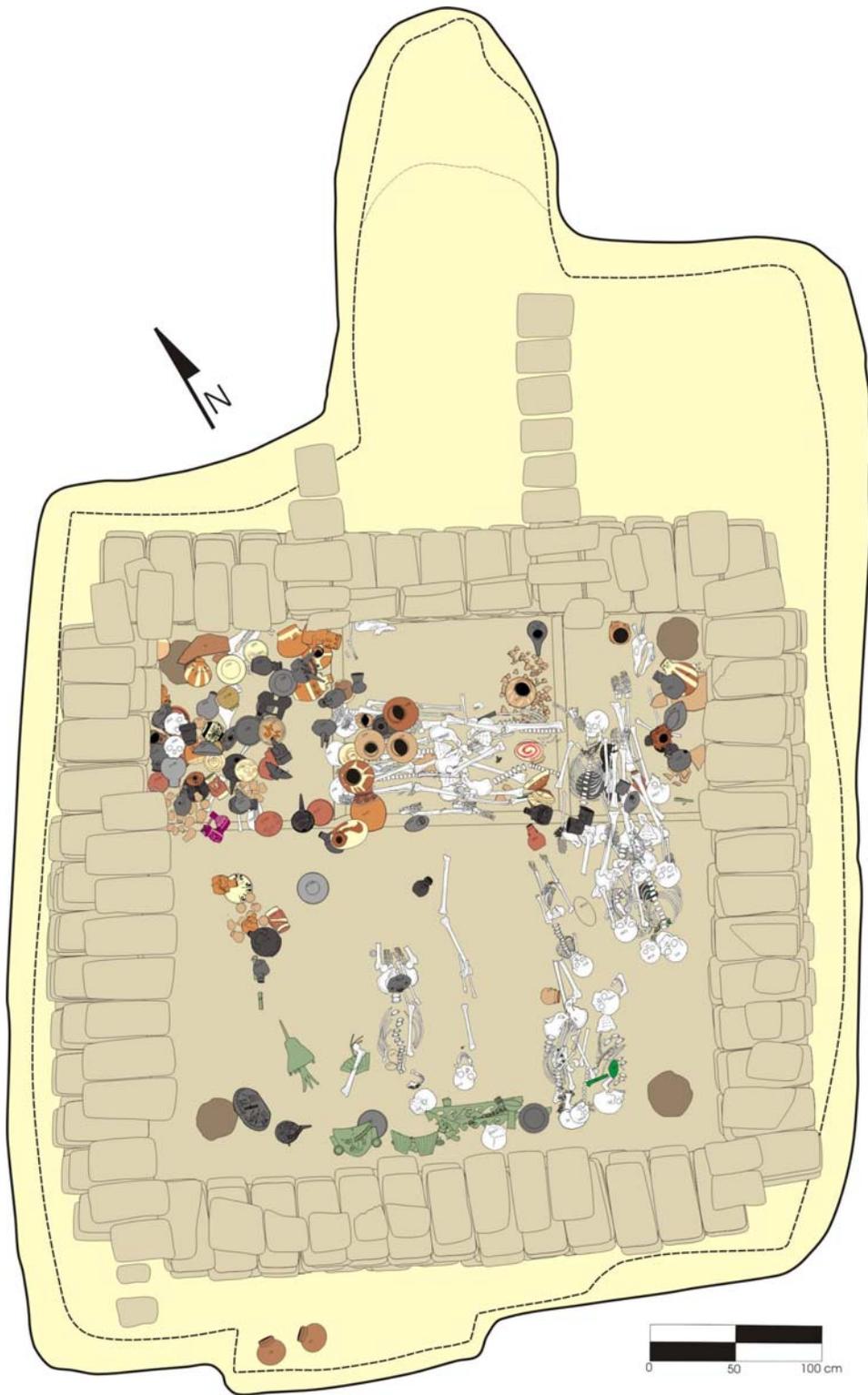


Figure 39 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of LDD 1.

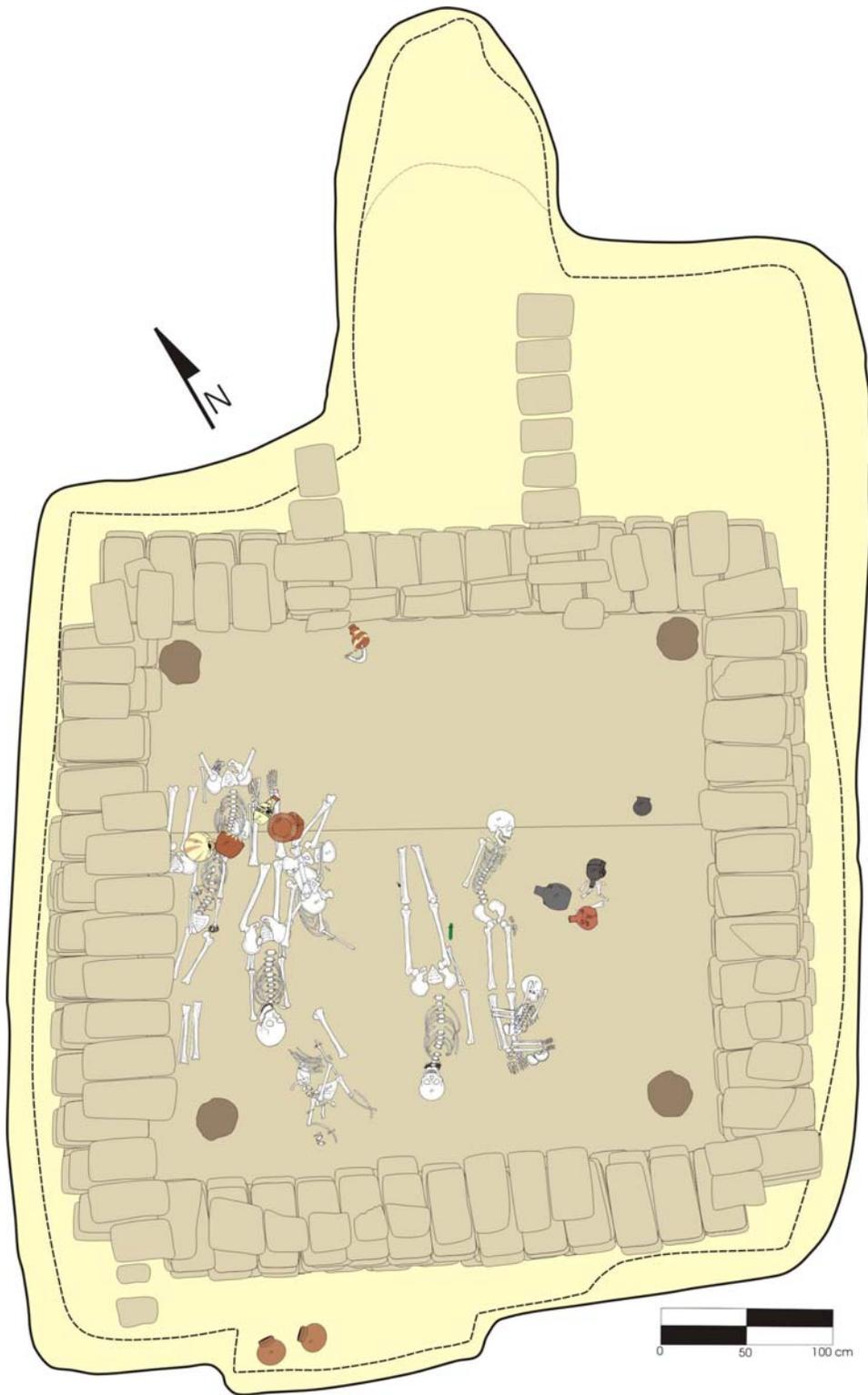


Figure 40 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of LDD 2.

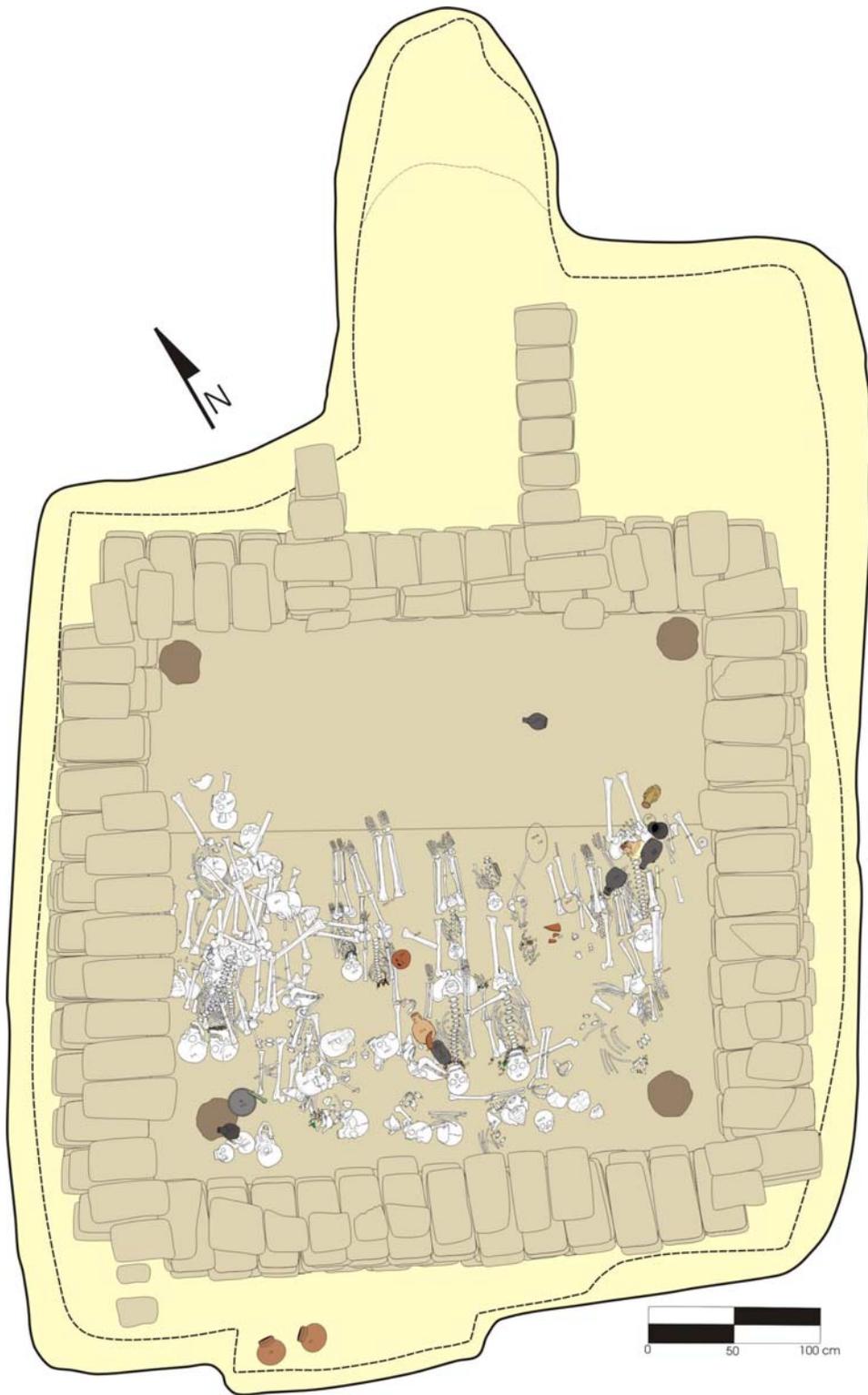


Figure 41 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of LDD 3.

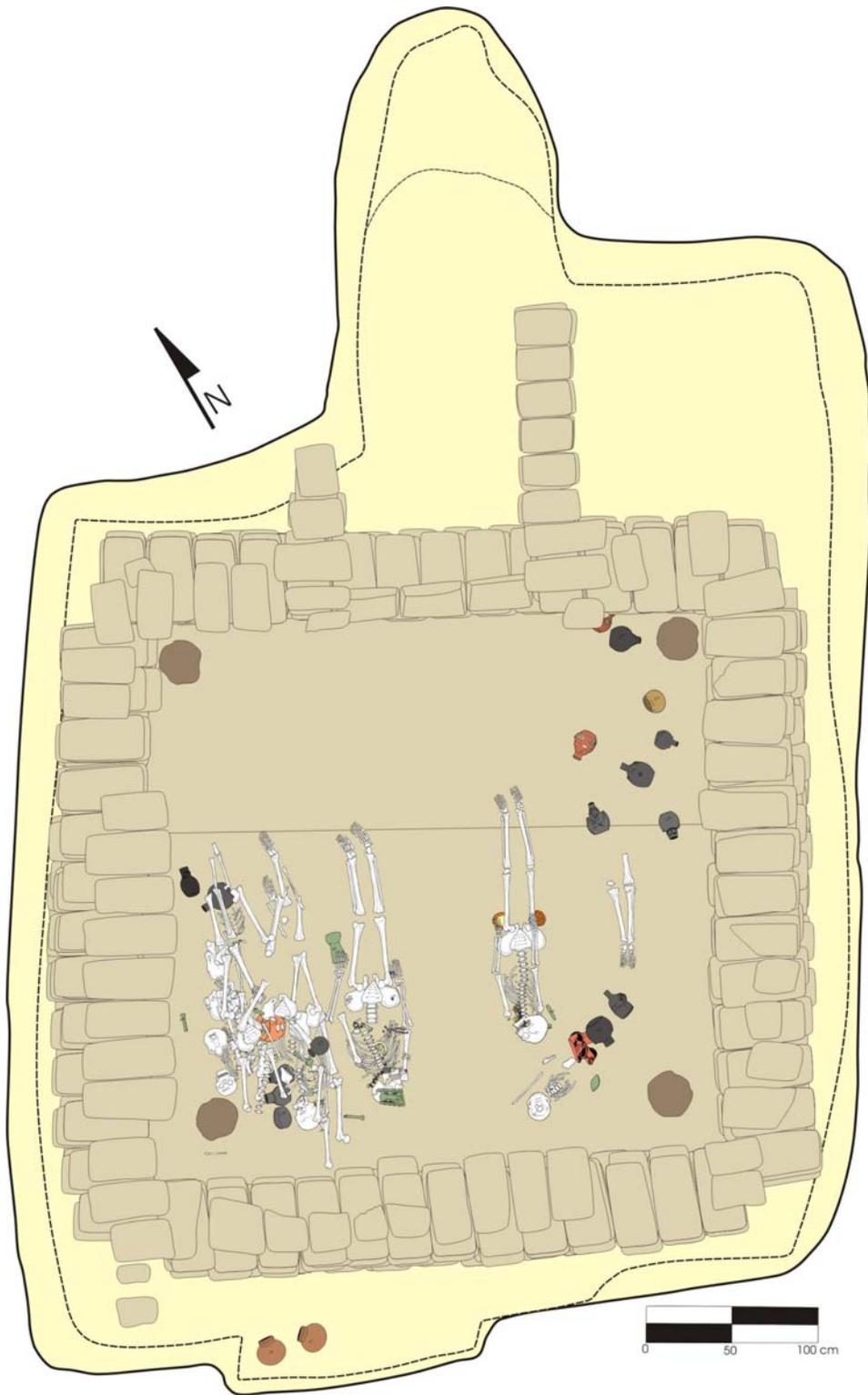


Figure 42 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of LDD 4.

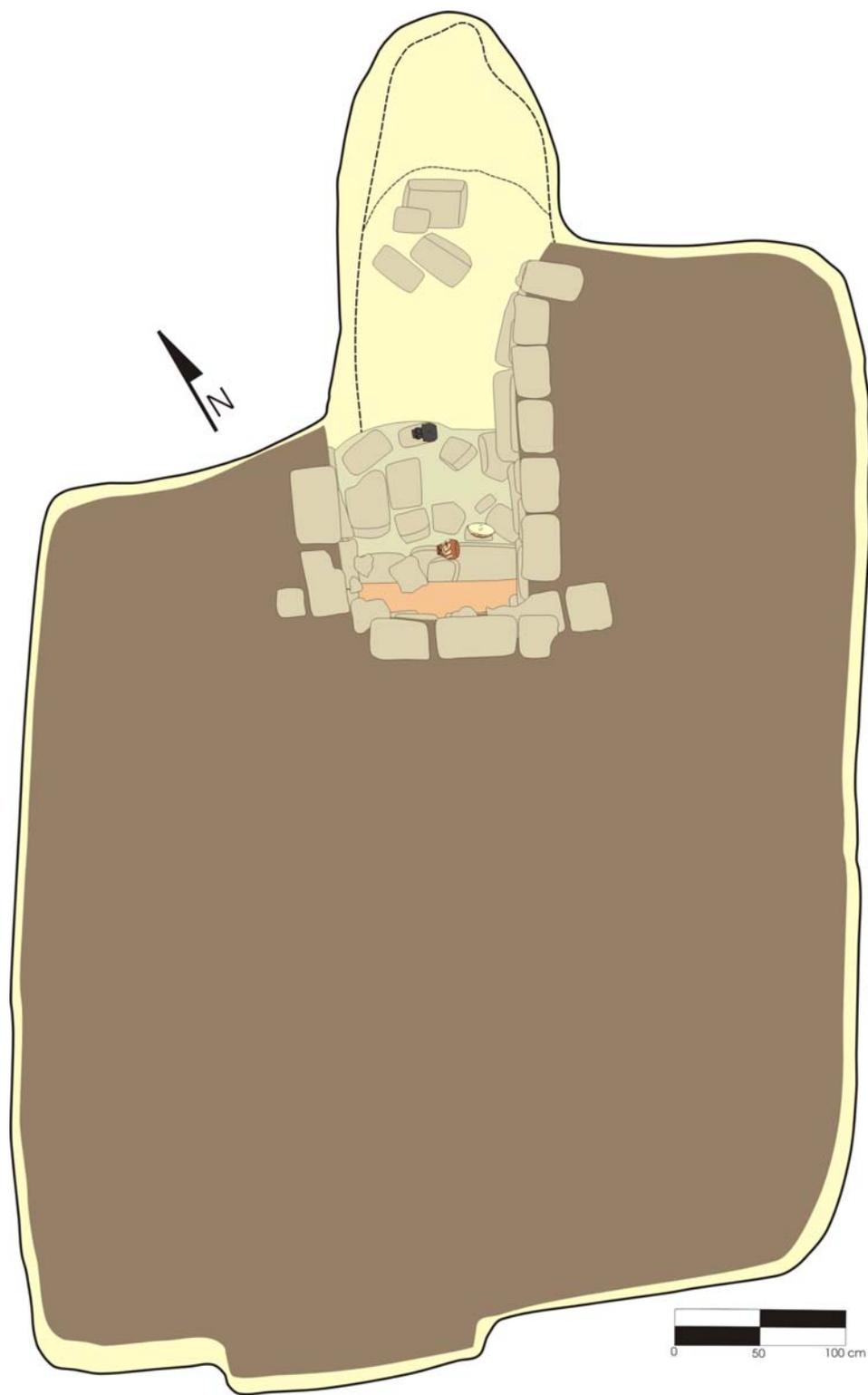


Figure 43 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of LDD 5 (Seal of adobes and offerings).

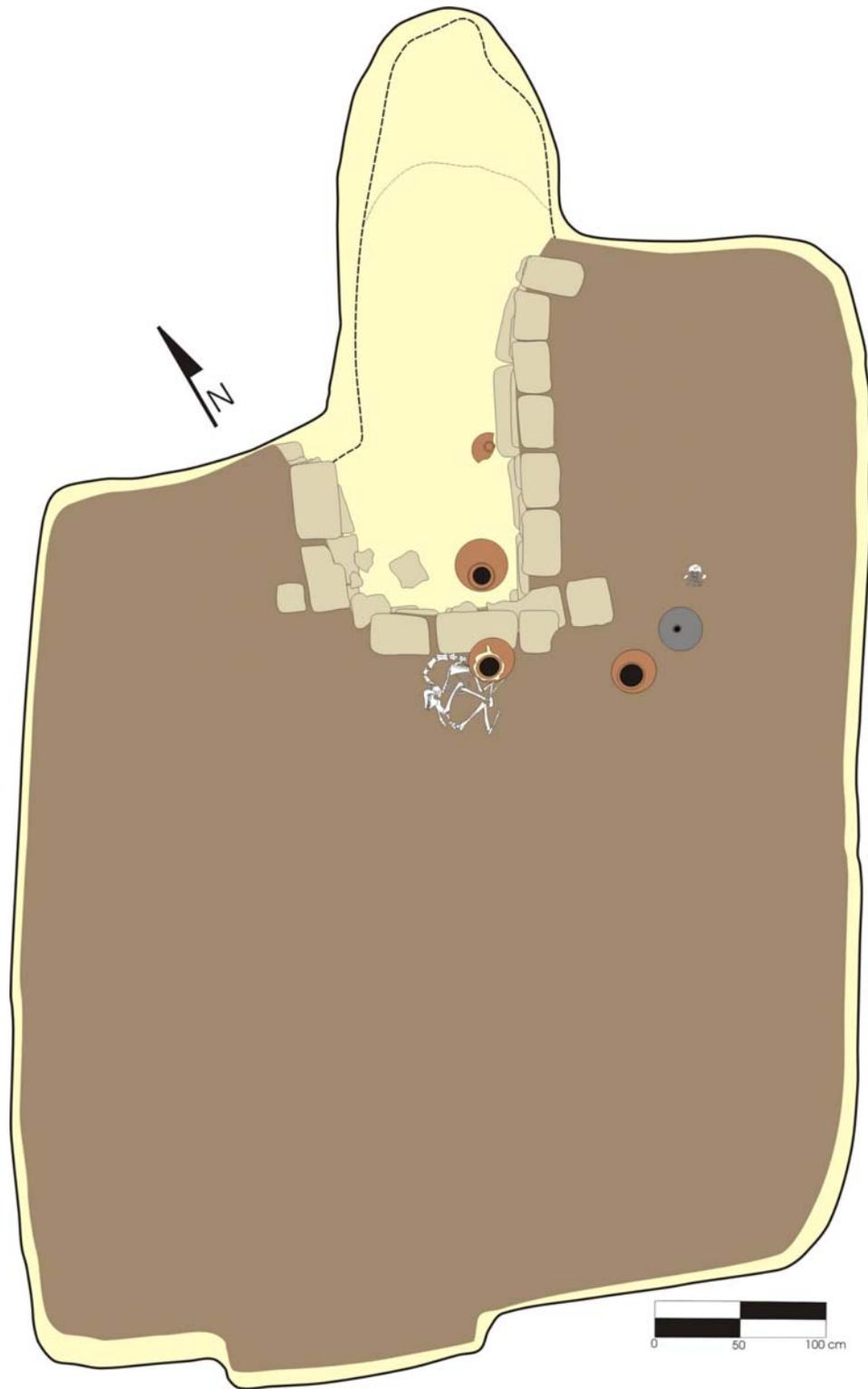


Figure 44 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of LDD 5 (Final offerings).

During excavation, preliminary “individuals” designations (E)¹ were assigned to those cases of complete or partially complete skeletons. Individuals considered as “partially complete” mainly included a complete skeleton without the skull or a skeleton missing any of its extremities.

After dividing the osteological sample according to the different LDD, I identified a minimum of 54 individuals by visual inspection during the excavation of Burial M-U615 (Appendix 1). The estimated number of individuals calculated this way for each of the five LDD was 17, 9, 18, 9 and 1. I also registered 88 samples that belonged to discrete collections of bones (OH)² that include specimens that could not be identified or considered as complete or partially complete individuals.

A preliminary osteological analysis has been conducted by Sara Simon, graduate student specialist in osteological analysis from the Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (Simon 2004). According to her preliminary results, the Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) is 77, including 51 adults (from 15 years old) and 26 sub-adults. From this sample, Simon’s analysis shows that there are 9 male, 8 female, and 34 of indeterminate sex. From the sample of discrete collections of bones (“OH”), Simon reports a MNI of 111, including 75 adults and 36 sub-adults. From this sample, there are 11 male and 13 female adults. According to these data, the total MNI for Burial M-U615 is 188 individuals. Considering a comparison between Simon’s analysis and the previous estimations made during the process of excavation, I suggest—agreeing with Simon’s observations—that the difference between the two MNI of the “E”

¹ Each set of bone that represents an individual has been identified in the archaeological record as “E” from “Esqueleto” (*skeleton*).

² Discrete collection of bones has been identified in the archaeological record as “OH” from “Oseo Humano” (human bones).

category may result from diverse problems in the collection of samples during excavation. In some cases, the sample of individuals included fragments or complete bones that originally belonged to different individuals. Mingled bones from different individuals can be expected in cases where the process of relocation of bodies inside the mortuary structures affected the final location of the bones. Moreover, in some cases, when the bodies were piled one on top of another, the excavators probably placed some “extra” bones (see *Additional Samples* in Appendix 1), specially the small ones, in the wrong sample.

Unfortunately, poor preservation effected on the preliminary results of sex and age estimates. However, for the purposes of the present research, age has been estimated in two general categories—sub-adults and adults—based on simple differences in the morphology of the skeletons. The sub-adults group includes fetuses, newborns and children (roughly from 0–15 years old, following Simon’s analysis), whereas the rest of the sample of individuals is included under the category of adults. Using this age categorization, the estimated number of individual burials calculated after excavation is divided in 21 sub-adults and 33 adults (Appendix 1).

The distribution of individuals according to their age-of-death can be presented as a first attempt to understand some aspects of differential treatment of the dead. There is a remarkable concentration of sub-adults that may belong to a single mortuary event during the third LDD (Figures 41 and 45, Appendix 1). In this case, most of the sub-adults were laid down on top of the legs of adults. Future bioarchaeological analysis of this sample will offer more details about a possible occurrence of epidemics, human sacrifice or other cause that may have conditioned this particular cluster of sub-adults. Other cases where

sub-adults were included in the burial events, the first and last LDD, fetuses and newborns were deposited in a peculiar location (Figures 39 and 44). In the first case, the individual was covered by fragments of *tinajas* on top of the surface of Area D. In the second case, the sub-adult was placed together with ceramic vessels on top of the entrance area right after it was totally covered with fill. Both cases suggest that these individuals possibly may have been human offerings for the consecration or commemoration of the burial events during the inaugural and final ceremonies of the mortuary cycle of Burial M-U615.

On the other hand, in some LDDs, the high degree of disarticulation and the spatial distribution of discrete collections of bones may suggest an intentional deposition of human remains as commemorative offerings. A remarkable case is the presence of four clusters of disarticulated crania in the third LDD (Figures 41 and 45). Alternatively, some of the primary burials originally placed in this chamber may have been taken completely or partially out. The presence of other adjacent Transitional burials (M-U513, M-U607, and M-U909) that include “extra” crania or long bones indicates that this kind of practice may have been common during this period.

Following traditional Moche practices, the bodies were originally placed in a supine dorsal (face up) extended position (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Donnan 1995; Figure 46). When the grave was excavated, some of the skeletons were found in a lateral extended or semi-flexed position as part of the second LDD. At least in two cases, the bodies were placed in a ventral position (Figure 40). These variants in the position of the body may result from a primary deposition of the bodies. However, a high frequency of individuals laying in extended position in the entire sample of Transitional burials

suggests that these variants in Burial M-U615 were the result of the process of disarticulation and intentional displacement of the bodies that affected their final position in the tomb. Some individuals, usually those placed in the central area of the main platform and associated with ritual paraphernalia and sumptuary goods, have no evidence of intentional displacement.

The bodies also follow the traditional southwest–northeast orientation with the spine and the head usually pointing towards the southwest. This orientation has been recorded consistently in almost all the skeletons from Area B in the tomb including those bodies that were apparently relocated after their original deposition. However, in very few cases, the articulated bodies or post-cranial bones of adult individuals maintained the same axis but with the head or the spine oriented towards the northeast (Figures 40 and 41). Considering the varying degree of disarticulation in some of these cases, this northeast–southwest orientation of the human remains may have resulted from a latter displacement. Any different axis of orientation in Area B may have also resulted from this process of internal re-organization of the space.

A significant exception to this typical axis of orientation was recorded in Area A. As part of the first LDD, five bodies of adult individuals were intentionally oriented northwest–southeast and southeast–northwest (Figures 39, 47a and b). This particular orientation followed a traditional scheme of spatial distribution that during the Late Moche phase was associated with individuals of very low status included as sacrificial offerings on elite chamber burials at San José de Moro (Castillo and Donnan 1994b). Although there is no direct evidence that suggests that those individuals placed in Area A were actually sacrificed, at least they can be distinguished from the rest of

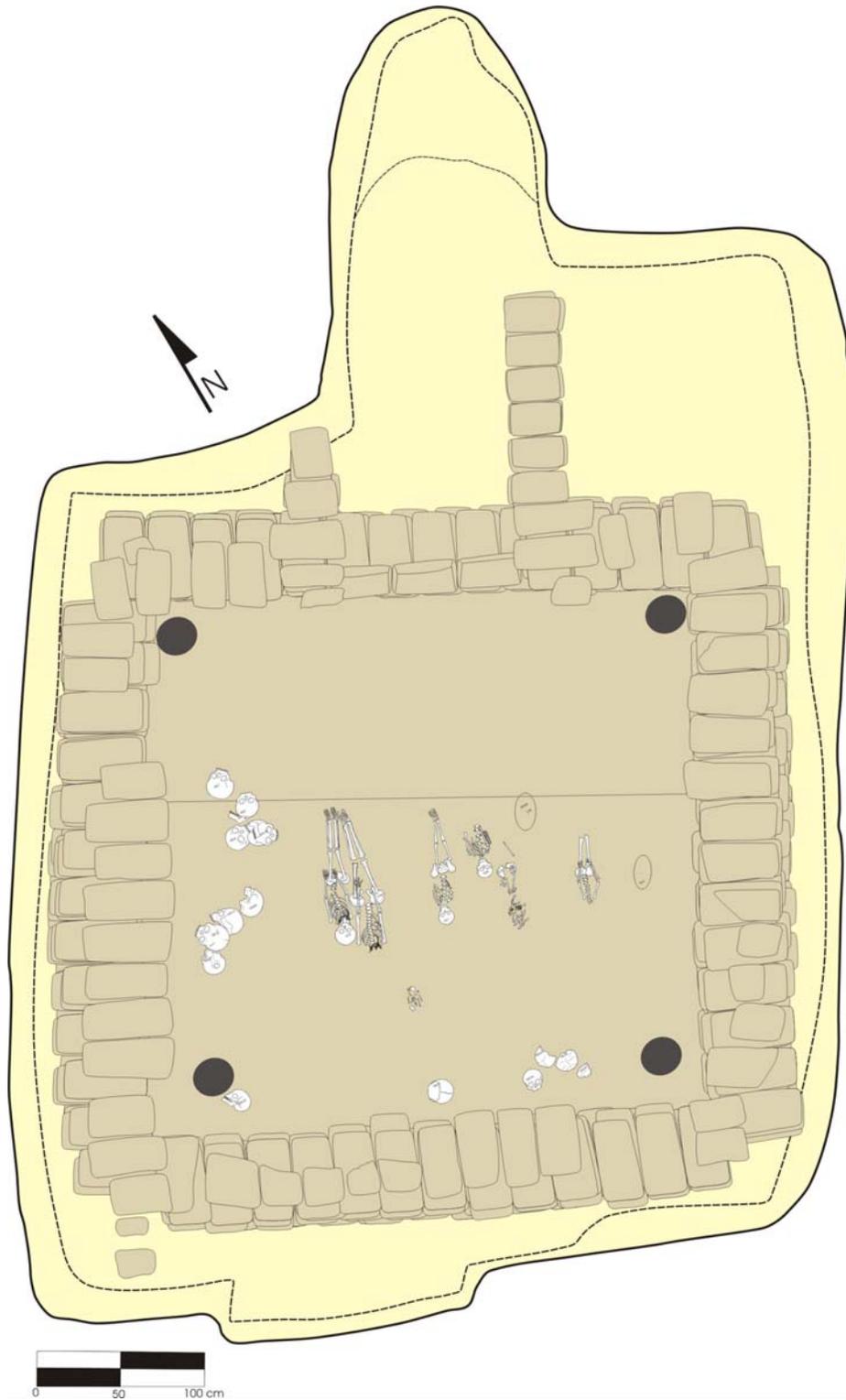


Figure 45 Burial M-U615: Reconstruction of the distribution of disarticulated crania and a group of sub-adults in the third LDD.



Figure 46 Burial M-U615, Individual E1. The individual was placed in the traditional supine (face up) extended position and oriented southwest-northeast, with the head pointing towards the southwest (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 47 Burial M-U615. (a) General view of the internal distribution of human remains and associations. (b) Detail of the individuals that were placed in Area A, next to the entrance of the chamber (PASJM Archives).

individuals that were buried as part of the first LDD. Both the peripheral location and the systematic absence of mortuary offerings in association with the individuals from Area A suggest a possible social segregation of these individuals.

As part of the treatment of the bodies, the evidence from Burial M-U615 reveals a similar basic mortuary treatment received by all the individuals. Although there is almost no physical evidence of mortuary wrappings for the bodies, the high degree of articulation of the skeletons, including in many cases the personal adornments still attached to them after displacement, suggests the presence of some sort of enfolding system. There is no direct evidence of fabrics that could reveal the use of mortuary shrouds; however, some traces of cane in at least two cases suggest the use of some kind of cane structure for wrapping the bodies. Indirect evidence about the use of a cane coffin is related to the presence of wave-like copper sheets as part of the mortuary assemblage. During the 2004 excavations, similar artifacts were found in an Early Transitional elite burial (M-U1242), showing their original functionality as ornaments that were attached to a cane coffin (Castillo 2004b; Martin del Carpio, personal communication 2004). The use of diverse cane enfolding has been previously reported in the Middle Moche and Late Moche cemeteries at Pacatnamú and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Donnan 1995; Donnan and Cock 1986; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Ubbelohde-Doering 1983). No other special treatments like cranial deformation, tattoo or the application of cinnabar or red ochre to the bones have been registered during a previous examination of the sample.

In addition to the treatment and poses of the body, the transformation of the dead may have been also expressed through different forms of *post-mortem* personal

beautification. People usually take care of the final appearance of their dead, including an adequate combination of artifacts in association with the bodies. The study of these associations, complemented with the information derived from the observation of the characteristic of the mortuary structure and the individuals, may allow us to reconstruct specific roles and identities of the people buried in Burial M-U615.

Associations

Burial M-U615's mortuary associations include a diverse collection of artifacts: ceramic, metal, shell, and stone objects. Ceramic vessels of different styles and forms constitute the most frequent associations (Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Bernuy and Bernal 2004). However, objects of ritual paraphernalia made of copper, spindle whorls (*piruros*) as well as beads and pendants also can provide clues about the individual's identity or social roles that were recreated in this particular context. Some camelid and rodent bones are also part of the archaeological record.

The artifacts and ecofacts associated with Burial M-U615 are divided into three major categories: personal ornaments, labor markers, and offerings. These categories include both objects and animal remains that may have been directly or indirectly associated with specific individuals or with a group of individuals (see Appendix 2 for artifacts in direct association with individuals). The distinction between these three categories is based on the assumption that objects like personal ornaments and labor markers may have constituted part of the dead's property, while offerings may have represented donations or gifts from other individuals.

Personal Ornaments

The first category of associations includes objects that people may have used during life to adorn their body, and then included in the mortuary assemblage. Bracelets and necklaces made of beads and pendants were included as part of this kind of mortuary ornamentation (Figure 48a).

Beads vary according to the raw material (stone or shell), shape (discoid, tubular) and size. Pendants for necklaces are usually made of shell and represent typical Moche war clubs with rounded shields, the *ulluchu* fruit, and a representation of a feline on top of a crescent moon (Rucabado and Castillo 2003: Lámina 1.4b; Figure 48b). These objects may also be considered as role or labor markers due to the display of iconographic representations that were usually associated with ritual paraphernalia used by individuals with specific ceremonial roles or functions (i.e. Sipán's warrior-priests [Alva and Donnan 1993] or the San José de Moro's priestess [Donnan and Castillo 1994]).

Personal ornaments were usually associated with adults. Differences in the *post-mortem* appearance of the dead related to the presence/absence of personal ornaments may have resulted from a differential access to sumptuary goods as well as the final decisions in the recreation of the dead's identities. Clothing and ornaments are strategic representations through which people project their personalities and values to others (Joyce 2001). At funerals and other mortuary rituals, living people make decisions about how to represent and display the deceased bodies. As Parker Pearson (2002: 9) suggests "the costume of the dead constitutes the mourner's reading or representation of the dead

person's former self-representation through dress." Unfortunately, textiles were not preserved in Burial M-U615. However, personal ornaments also may have played a major role in the social display and beautification of both the dead and the participants of the mortuary rituals. Because of their function, personal ornaments were deposited in direct contact with the bodies. Beads and pendants were found in the area of the neck, chest and wrist of the individuals. In most of the cases, the mortuary wrappings may have allowed these ornaments to remain in their original place even after the displacement of the bodies.

During the Late Moche phase, necklaces, bracelets or ear spools made of foreign raw materials (i.e. lapis lazuli, turquoise, and *Spondylus* shell) were usually included in high-status elite burials at San José de Moro (Castillo and Donnan 1993, 1994b). A preliminary comparison of the quantity and quality of personal ornaments that were included on Late Moche and Early Transitional burials suggests that high-status individuals during the later phase were usually buried with less embellishment. This change may have been related to the capability of individuals to support the production of personal wealth goods or the perpetuation of trading networks involved in the acquisition of raw materials or by-products. It is possible that the collapse of the local Moche polity may have affected the acquisition of sumptuary goods by the elites during the Early Transitional phase. It may also have resulted in changes in the way people prepared the bodies for mortuary rites and final interment.



a



b



c

Figure 48 Burial M-U615. Personal ornaments: (a) a sample of different types of beads, (b) ulluchu-like and (c) war club-like pendants (PASJM Archives).

Labor or Role Markers

The second category includes objects related to specific labor activities including the production of goods and the performance of ceremonial activities. This interpretation is based on the assumption that these particular kinds of objects may have been used by the individual during their lifetime before the objects were included on the mortuary assemblage. In Burial M-U615, stone or copper spindle whorls, sets of copper masks, headdresses, goblets, knife-like objects, and other items are included in this category. The presence of these artifacts in Burial M-U615 may have symbolized the roles and activities that originally characterized the personality or identity of each individual in their own community. Within this diverse range of symbolic representation of social functions, spinning and religious-political performance were represented in this category of artifacts in Burial M-U615.

In Burial M-U615, at least six individuals were directly associated with spindle whorls. In two cases, the spindle whorls were associated with adult males. In the other four cases, they were associated with adults of indeterminate sex. Although these artifacts were registered in direct association with the individuals' bodies, the processes of displacement of bodies and objects may have caused alterations in the original position.

According to ethnohistorical documents, spindle whorls were traditionally related to the female activity of spinning in many areas of the central Andes especially during Inca times. In the sphere of production of sumptuary and goods, spinning and weaving had important socioeconomic and political repercussions (Costin 1993; Murra 1962). The north coast of ancient Perú was not an exception to this phenomenon. In San José de

Moro, most of the burials from all periods of occupation that contain spindle whorls belong to female individuals (Bernuy 2004; Del Carpio 2004; Luis Jaime Castillo, personal communication 2003). The osteological analysis of a high-status elite female individual from the Lambayeque period has shown a pattern of physical marks on her legs, toes and fingers. Marks on these bones were apparently the result of a constant spinning of cotton or fiber in a kneeling position, an activity that was expressed in this particular mortuary context with the presence of artifacts related to spinning (i.e. spindle whorls and chalk balls) (Nelson et al. 2000). The presence of artifacts associated with the production of textiles also can be seen in one of the elite burials of female leaders in San José de Moro during the Late Moche period (Castillo and Donnan 1994b). These female leaders were buried with ritual paraphernalia associated with the Moche *Goddess*, a deity who was directly related to artifacts of textile production in the Moche iconography, i.e. *The Revolt of the Objects Theme* (Hocquenghem and Lyon 1980; Holmquist 1992; Lyon 1978, 1981; Makowski 1996, 2000; Quilter 1990, 1997; Figure 49).

In Burial M-U615, there is only one case of ritual paraphernalia directly associated with the remains of an individual (E42, in the fourth LDD; Figure 42). However, material evidence from the first LDD allows us to suggest that there is a possibility that at least two more individuals were buried with ritual paraphernalia. The evidence includes two mortuary masks and two pairs of headdress ornaments or feathers of copper. These artifacts were found directly in contact with the floor of the platform in Area B, very close to the southern wall of the mortuary chamber (Figures 39, 50 a, b). The stratigraphic deposition and the spatial distribution of these



Figure 49 The *Revolt of the Objects Theme* in the Moche art. The *Goddess* and the *Owl God* participate in this event commanding a group of anthropomorphized objects. The *Owl God* is helped by weapons while the *Goddess* is helped by artifacts for spinning and weaving (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 113).



a



b

Figure 50 (a, b) Two metal masks made of copper from the second LDD in Burial M-U615 (PASJM Archives).

objects also suggest that each set of artifacts (one mask and two copper feathers) may have been associated with two of the individuals originally placed in this area of the structure during the first LDD. It is not possible to assess their association with a single burial event; however, they may belong to two relatively contemporary events in the same major layer of deposition. Unfortunately, because of later intentional displacements of artifacts and human bodies, none of these artifacts were directly associated with any specific individual in the tomb. It is possible that in each case, the mask and the feathers were originally stuck in the mortuary wrappings and later taken out. During this process, one of the feathers also was folded before it was placed on the floor with the other pieces (Figures 51 a–c).

Adjacent to these objects, as part of the same LDD, there was a set of copper sheets with diverse shapes: little quadrangular sheets, a U-shaped object (Figure 52), broken sheets representing waves and ladder-like shapes (Figure 53a), and a little band of copper representing waves with small circular discs pending from its edge (Figure 53b). There was also a metal goblet (Figures 54a and b). These objects may have been associated with one or both of the individuals that originally had the masks and the feathers; however, these objects were also removed from their original place.

Similar sets of associated metal artifacts, like masks, feathers and goblets, have been interpreted as social markers related to the ceremonial roles of specific elite leaders buried in San José de Moro during the Late Moche phase (Castillo and Donnan 1994a; Donnan 1995; Donnan and Castillo 1994; Holmquist 1992). This specific group of metal objects has been identified as a set of ritual paraphernalia included in those burials from female individuals that performed the ceremonial roles of the *Goddess* in the local



a



b



c

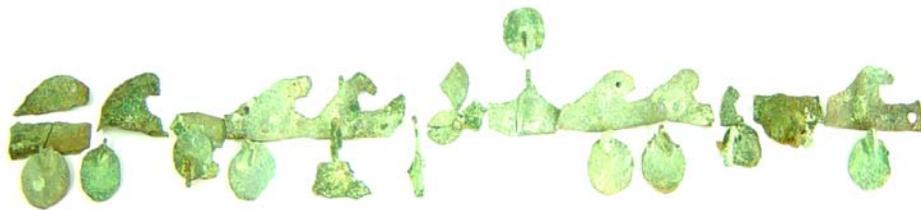
Figure 51 Metal assemblage: (a) A couple masks, and (b, c) headdress ornaments or feathers *in situ*. Each feather has three appendages on the distal end (in Figure C, one of them is missed). Similar feathers can be observed in a Late Moche depiction of the *Goddess* (compare with Figure 49) (PASJM Archives).



Figure 52 Metal ornaments made of copper including a crescent moon-like object (PASJM Archives).



a



2 cm

b

Figure 53 (a) Detail of a wave-like copper sheet. (b) Detail of copper band representing waves with circular pendants (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 54 A goblet made of copper. (a) Detail *in situ*, and (b) in the laboratory (PASJM Archives)

tradition of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region between the seventh and eighth century (Holmquist 1992; Figures 55a and b).

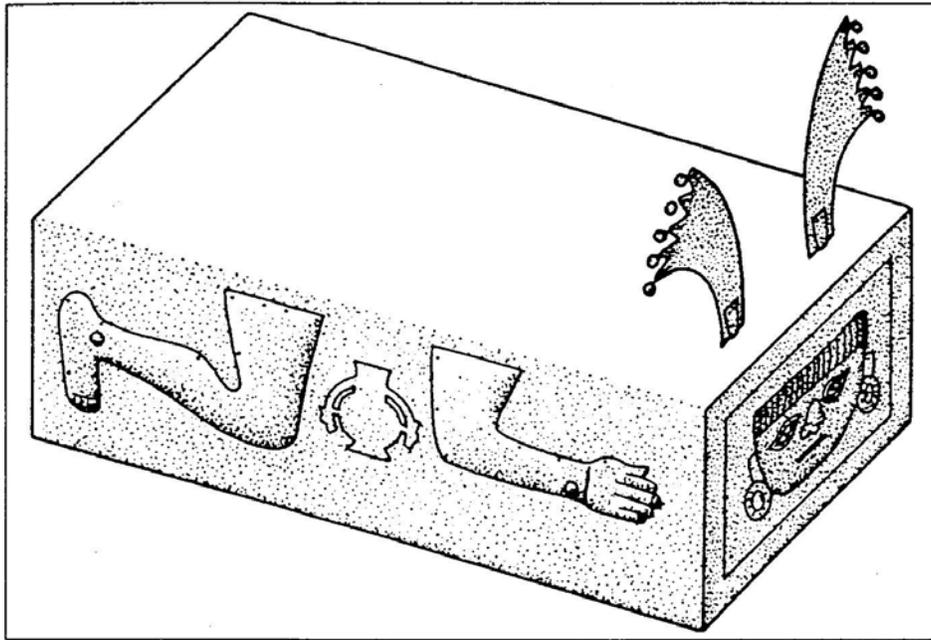
Considering important details, such as the curved shape and dimensions of both masks discovered in Burial M-U615, probably they were originally placed over the cranial area of the individuals, probably over the mortuary wrappings. In the Late Moche elite burials, the masks were stitched to the cane coffins that contained the individuals' bodies (Donnan and Castillo 1994; Figure 55b). Similar mortuary masks can be observed in all the depictions of the *Burial Theme* in the Moche art (Donnan and McClelland 1979).

The copper feathers found in Burial M-U615 are different from the ones in the Late Moche burials. The latter are identical to the ones depicted in the classic Moche IV style *Presentation Theme* (compare Figures 11 and 55b). The feathers from Burial M-U615 are very similar to the ones depicted in a Late Moche *Maritime Passage* scene, probably belonging to a later style from the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (compare Figures 51c and 56). These feathers show three appendages in the distal end rather than a serrated end with small circular pendants as in the Late Moche elite burials.

The goblet constitutes another important feature in the ritual paraphernalia associated with the *Goddess*. Some Late Moche fineline vessels depict the *Goddess* carrying or offering a goblet, apparently fill with blood from sacrificed prisoners according to the interpretation of the narrative discourse of the Moche art (Castillo 2000c; Makowski 2000), to other supernatural beings (see for example Donnan and McClelland 1999: 89, 132, 164, 178, 183, 282; Figures 11 and 56). The goblet may have symbolized the *Goddess*' roles in the ceremonies of human sacrifice as it was depicted in



a



b

Figure 55 Metal assemblage associated with Late Moche female elite burials. (a) Metal mask (PASJM Archives). (b) Reconstruction of the cane coffin with metal adornments (Donnan and Castillo 1994: 424).

the Moche art. The presence of at least one goblet, together with a pair of masks and two pair of feathers in the first LDD of Burial M-U615, may suggest the legitimacy of these rituals during the Early Transitional phase.

The other metallic objects, like the fragmented wave-like sheets, were ornaments that were usually attached to the cane coffins. The case of Burial M-U1242, an Early Transitional tomb that predates Burial M-U615, exemplifies the functionality of these mortuary ornaments (Castillo 2004b). The principal individual in this tomb was buried in a cane coffin that was decorated with metal plaques and bands of different shapes. Some of these plaques have a similar wave-like shape like the ones from Burial M-U615. Based on the presence of quadrangular plaques with the image of the Moche *Goddess*, Castillo has suggested that Burial M-U1242 corresponded to a high-status female ceremonial leader, a priestess who was buried with the traditional ritual paraphernalia of the Moche *Goddess*. However, no metal mask or feathers appeared in this particular context. Moreover, the body of the principal individual was not found inside the coffin. According to Castillo, people re-opened the grave and took the body out (Castillo 2004b). Secondary burials and practices that involved the displacement of body parts or complete skeletons from the graves have been observed during the Moche period (Nelson and Castillo 1998); however, during the Transitional period these practices became more common.

The morphological similarities of the wave-like shaped copper sheets from Burial M-U1242 and Burial M-U615 suggests the possibility that there were originally two cane coffins in Burial M-U615. If this was the case, the masks and feathers were directly attached to the mortuary wrappings that were inside the cane coffins. As the result of displacements inside Burial M-U615, the coffins were probably destroyed and removed

from the grave. However, the small number and dimensions of the fragmented wave-like sheets in Burial M-U615 and the strong evidence of secondary burials during the Transitional period suggest a different situation. It is possible that these fragmented ornaments were placed in Burial M-U615 as part of the secondary burial of a high-status female associated with the *Goddess*' role. This particular scenario will be discussed in the next chapter (see *Burial M-U615 and the Mechanisms of Hereditary Succession*).

Even though all the metal ornaments found in Burial M-U615 are associated with the *Goddess* character, the small wave-like band (Figure 53b) that possibly constituted part of a headdress may represent an attribute of another very common supernatural character, the so-called *Mellizo Marino* (*Maritime Twin*) (Hocquenghem 1987; McClelland 1990; Makowski 2000). Also known as the *Tule Boat Man*, this character is usually depicted as an anthropomorphized being riding a tule boat surrounded by a halo of war clubs in the theme known as the *Maritime Passage* (Cordy-Collins 1977; Donnan and McClelland 1999: 281–283; McClelland 1990; Figure 56). In many cases, including scenes of the *Maritime Combat*, this male deity is also depicted with wave-like hair (McClelland 1990: 91; Figure 57). The possible presence of a male supernatural character in Burial M-U615 will be discussed in the next chapter (see *Burial M-U615 and the Mechanisms of Hereditary Succession*).

Unlike the lack of association between the metal labor markers and specific individuals in the first LDD, there is evidence of ritual paraphernalia directly associated with an adult male (E42) in the fourth LDD (Figure 42). This individual was buried with a headdress adorned with quadrangular metal plaques that was placed on his head and a goblet next to his left hand. Although these artifacts were recovered *in situ*, the headdress

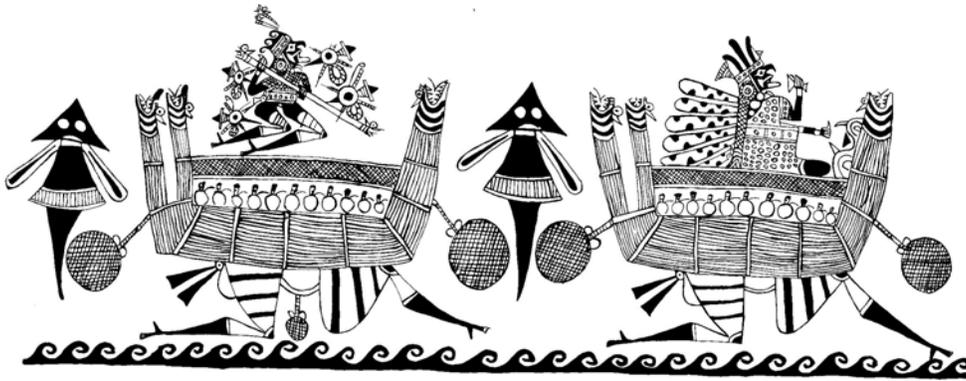


Figure 56 The *Maritime Twin* was usually represented riding a boat with the *Goddess*. Observe that in this particular scene, the *Goddess* is carrying a goblet and the *Maritime Twin* has a wave-like hair (headdress?) (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 176).



Figure 57 The *Maritime Combats Theme* in the Moche art. The *Maritime Twin* (left side in both scenes) usually appears with diverse features related to marine species (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 177).

was deteriorated and the goblet was found flattened. The particular position of the goblet has been previously observed in one of the Late Moche high-status elite female burials mentioned before (Donnan and Castillo 1994). Despite the poor preservation of the copper crown, it was possible to distinguish several circular pendant discs and a copper sheet that represented the figure of a quadruped animal with a cephalic appendage, a possible representation of the traditional Moche supernatural being known as the *Moon Animal* (Benson 1972; Bruhns 1976; Mackey and Vogel 2003). The same individual was associated with a pair of ornaments made of *nácar* shell and mineral incrustations (possibly turquoise) in the shape of a feline on top of a crescent moon, an icon also related to the *Moon Animal* (Figure 58a). The recurrent association between the individual E42 and the *Moon Animal* icon suggests that his identity or role may have been close related to this supernatural entity.

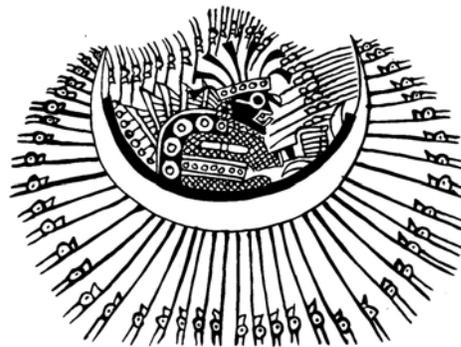
During Late Moche times, most of the depictions of the *Goddess* in finewares were apparently produced in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region. A common scene depicts her riding on a tule boat transformed into a crescent moon (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 173, 180, 280; Figure 58c), a celestial element that is also associated with the representation of the *Moon Animal* (Figure 58b). Both the *Goddess* and the *Moon Animal* in Moche iconography represented supernatural characters related to the nocturnal sky, the ocean, and the mountains as well as human sacrifice (see for example Makowski 1996, 2000, 2003). These attributes may have been expressed in Burial M-U615 with the presence of ritual paraphernalia that were related directly to or symbolically resembled the maritime environment, the night and sacrificial activities.



a



b



c

Figure 58 (a) Ornament made of *nácar* shell representing an animal (feline?) associated with a crescent moon (PASJM Archives). (b) A related icon, the *Moon Animal*, appears in the Moche art (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 180). (c) The *Goddess* is also associated with a crescent moon (c; Donnan and McClelland 1999: 280).

Individual E42 was also associated with a copper knife-like artifact. There were other 14 similar artifacts in Burial M-U615; however, eight of which were found directly associated with five individuals (Figures 59a–d). The other seven objects were not clearly related to any individual, possibly as a result of the process of displacement of the bodies inside this tomb. Preliminary analysis of these artifacts, conducted by Carole Fraresso, a specialist in Andean metallurgy from the University of Bourdeaux (France), revealed traces of use in the edges of these artifacts. This indicates that they were not originally manufactured just to be used as mortuary offerings with a symbolic value. Although different in shape and manufacture technique from the well-known Moche sacrificial knives, it is possible that Burial M-U615's knife-like objects were also related to paraphernalia used in rituals of human bleeding and sacrifice during the Early Transitional phase as it was done in the previous Moche period³.

As in other cases mentioned before, two of these knife-like artifacts were intentionally modified from their former shape by folding (Figures 59c and d). This kind of modification may represent some symbolic attitudes towards specific objects, which their primary function would have changed once they were included as mortuary offerings. Similar treatment has been observed in the ceramic assemblage. This point will be discussed in the next section.

³ For knives in mortuary contexts see Alva and Donnan 1994: 96, Figure 98; and for iconographic representations of knives see for example Donnan and McClelland 1999: 277, Figure 6.154.



a



b



c



d

Figure 59 Knife-like metal artifacts. (a) Frontal view and (b) profile view. In some cases, these objects were folded (c, frontal view; d, profile view).

Mortuary Offerings

This category of associations includes a variety of artifacts and ecofacts that can be considered as offerings for the dead. These offerings may have expressed, represented or resulted from the pre-mortem and post-mortem social relationships between the deceased and specific participants of the mortuary ritual. In all the cases, these relationships were expressed by placing a donation or “gift” of artifacts in the tomb during the burial events. In Burial M-U615, ceramic vessels and camelid bones mainly represent this category in the archaeological record. Other kinds of offerings like an obsidian flake, *Spondylus* shells, and other species of shells can be included in this category. However, they occur in a low frequency in Burial M-U615.

The frequency and quality of the offerings must be analyzed by each LDD. This way, the analysis of the offerings may reflect the specific behavior associated with each major burial event. Qualitative and quantitative comparisons of this particular kind of association between Burial M-U615 and Late Moche and Early Transitional elite chamber burials from San José de Moro will help to trace possible changes in the configuration of mortuary events from the perspective of material offerings as an expression of donor participation.

Ceramic Vessels

Ceramic vessels are the most common type of mortuary offering in San José de Moro in all the periods of occupation. During the Transitional period, a stylistic heterogeneity in the ceramic assemblage was expressed in burials with the inclusion of a variety of vessel

forms and decorations (Appendix 3). Some of them resulted from diverse stylistic expressions that were originated during the Late Moche phase, including some stylistic elements that continued during the Lambayeque period (Castillo 2000a; Rucabado and Castillo 2003). Burial M-U615 constituted an exemplary case of this stylistic heterogeneity; however, there is a predominance of traditional Moche stylistic elements (i.e. the Post-Moche style) over the other local styles like the Proto-Lambayeque and the Cajamarca Costeño. Foreign styles like Cajamarca Serrano, Press-Molded, Huari and Huari-related are not well represented in the present sample, although they were common during this period and were included as mortuary offerings in other contemporary elite graves (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Castillo 2004b). Future stylistic analysis of ceramic vessels from mortuary assemblages at San José de Moro, including variables of decoration and manufacture techniques, will reveal more information about the production, importation, and distribution of vessels, including a reconstruction of possible social networks at local, regional and interregional levels.

As part of the present study, ceramic vessels have been classified according to general morpho-functional categories. These categories are related to food processing, preparation, storage, and consumption, as it has been applied to domestic Moche assemblages in previous household studies (see Mehaffey 1998; Ringberg 2002).

A functional analysis of ceramic vessels from Burial M-U615 must consider the fact that this particular context may reflect the final resting place and perhaps the final function of the vessels as mortuary offerings. This vessel classification will not necessarily provide a complete reconstruction of the use-life of specific vessels (Rice 1987: 232–233). However, Burial M-U615 ceramic assemblage includes many vessels

that show traces of use, such as soot on cooking pots, or striations, pits, cracks or flaked surfaces in the ring bases of bowls and the rim edges of bottles (Rucabado 2004c). This evidence may offer some ideas about the possible function of the vessels previous to their inclusion in Burial M-U615. However some cases, the fractures on some vessels may have been caused by the process of displacement and reorganization in the mortuary chamber.

If some of the vessels included in Burial M-U615 were produced for specific mortuary rituals, their forms usually resembled known types from the domestic assemblages. However, there is a tendency in many Andean societies to put more labor in the surface treatment of the mortuary vessels, creating a fancier appearance. From a symbolic approach, vessels that were produced for mortuary offerings may have had a domestic functionality as tools to be used by the dead. Sometimes, vessels in mortuary contexts may have contained foodstuff or liquids as part of the meal partaken by the dead. However, there is no direct evidence of any sort of food in the vessels in the Burial M-U615's mortuary assemblage. Only in one case, a cooking pot was found with some traces that indicate that the vessel had some kind of liquid at the moment it was deposited and covered with fill. This particular vessel belongs to the last LDD as part of the final mortuary offering that possibly commemorate the sealing event of the grave.

Because of periodic displacements of bodies and artifacts, there are few cases of original associations between an individual and particular vessel offerings. For this reason, the different LDDs have been considered as basic discrete temporal and spatial units for the quantification and analysis of the vessels. The vessels included in the different LDDs represent a limited range of functional types. The assemblage includes

cooking/boiling vessels or *ollas* (n=17, 8.25 %; Figures 60 a–d) for preparation of foods and liquids, cups (n=10, 4.85 %; Figures 61 a–d) and bowls (n=29, 14.08 %; Figures 62 a–d) for serving, and bottles (n=89, 43.20 %; Figures 63 a–l) and jars (n=7, 3.40 %; Figures 64 a–d) for the short and long-term storing (including the process of fermentation) of solid food and/or liquids. Two more categories, figurative vessels (n=4, 1.94 %; Figures 65 a, b) and miniatures (n=50, 24.27 %; Figures 66 a, b) complete the assemblage.⁴ Figurative vessels may have been used as temporary storage containers for food or liquids, and, because of their capacity for visual communication, they also may have been used during public displays. Based on their morphology, miniatures may have symbolized cooking and storage vessels.

By observing the frequency of vessels in the mortuary assemblage, a drastic change is readily apparent in the total amount of vessels offerings per LDD (Table 1).

Table 1: Distribution of individuals, ceramic vessels and vessel categories by LDD in Burial M-U615

Burial LDD	Number of Individuals	Number of Vessels	Ollas	Jars	Bottles	Cups	Bowls	Figurative Vessels	Miniatures
1	17	159	11	6	55	10	24	3	50
2	9	10	1	0	7	0	2	0	0
3	18	11	1	0	8	0	1	0	0
4	9	18	1	0	17	0	0	1	0
5	1	8	3	1	2	0	2	0	0
Totals	54	206	17	7	89	10	29	4	50

The results in Table 1 may suggest that the number of vessel offerings was not directly related to the number of individuals or mortuary events associated with each

⁴ See Rucabado 2004c, for a more detailed description and classification of the ceramic assemblage.

LDD. For example, the first and the third LDD had a very similar number of individuals (17 and 18 respectively); however, the first LDD had 159 vessels, whereas the third had only 11. On the other hand, the social status and/or the role of the individuals interred may not necessarily show a direct relationship with the frequency of vessel offerings during the different LDDs. In the first and the fourth LDD (with 159 and 18 vessels respectively), ritual paraphernalia and traditional symbols of power were originally associated with specific individuals who probably shared high-status and specific ceremonial roles. By assuming the existence of a close relationship between the role and status of these individuals from different LDDs, I argue that a major change in the status of ceremonial leaders interred in Burial M-U615 (and/or the groups they belonged and represented) happened during the Early Transitional phase. It seems that their status and social networks were decreasing, directly affecting the number of vessel offerings that were deposited in the mortuary structure. This phenomenon may have resulted from either a reduction in the amount of donors on each burial event or possible changes in the capability or disposition of donation from the donors.

The frequency of functional categories varies among LDDs (Table 1). A major change can be observed after the first LDD, when offerings included all type of vessels (*ollas*, jars, bottles, cups, bowls, figurative vessels and miniatures), whereas subsequent offerings were mainly restricted to bottles. Ceramic offerings may have represented a symbolic re-creation of different corporate or individual domestic practices like cooking, serving, or storage of liquids and solid foods. Considering the possible function of each category of vessels, the presence of *ollas* and jars may represent corporate activities like the preparation and storage of food and drinks. Bottles, cups and bowls may represent



a



b



c



d

Figure 60 Burial M-U615, (a–d) cooking pots or *ollas* (PASJM Archives).



a



b



c



d

Figure 61 Burial M-U615, (a-d) cups (PASJM Archives).



a



b



c



d

Figure 62 Burial M-U615, (a-d) bowls (PASJM Archives)



a



b



c



d

Figure 63 Burial M-U615, (a-d) bottles (PASJM Archives).



e



f



g



h

Figure 63 Burial M-U615, (e-h) bottles (PASJM Archives).



i



j



k



l

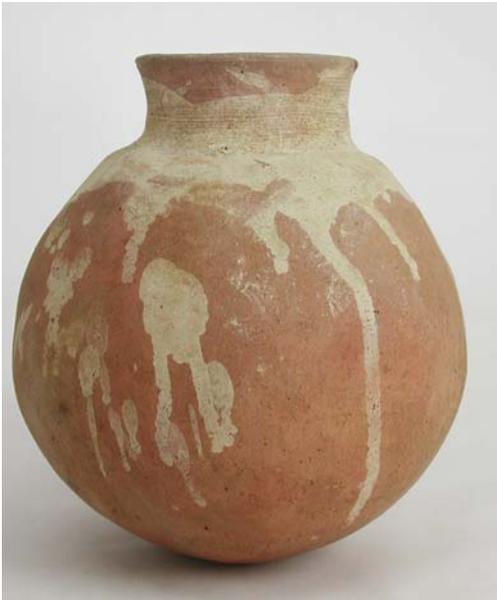
Figure 63 Burial M-U615, (i-l) bottles (PASJM Archives).



a



b



c



d

Figure 64 Burial M-U615, (a-d) jars (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 65 Burial M-U615, (a, b) figurative vessels (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 66 Burial M-U615, (a, b) miniatures (PASJM Archives).

more individualistic activities like serving and consumption. Changes in the frequency of distribution of vessel categories show that people initially included a wide range of vessels related to both corporate and individualistic functions; however, in later LDD there was almost a complete exclusion of corporate vessels from the assemblage.

Corporate and individualistic values of ceramic mortuary assemblages may duplicate some daily life practices shared by a community of people. By including specific types of vessels, people were recreating those practices that would have been repeated by the dead. In Burial M-U615, considered as a multigenerational collective mortuary space, I suspect that these changes in the frequency of functional types may have resulted from a plan to fulfill the basic symbolic needs of the dead, both individually and as a group. Whereas corporate activities may have been represented by the inclusion of ollas and jars (which increased in number if we consider the 50 miniatures that represented this type of vessels), individualistic activities may have involved the presence of vessels like bottles and bowls. In this particular archaeological context, after the mortuary space included an “adequate” or expected number of vessels that fulfilled the corporate functions for the community of dead, corporate vessels apparently were not considered as “necessary” mortuary offerings. On the other hand, vessels with an individualistic function were still included as offerings in order to satisfy personal needs of new members in the mortuary community. This way, the construction of a mortuary space that represented a symbolic landmark of a specific corporate group was also reinforced by the inclusion of specific functional types of ceramic vessels as mortuary offerings.

The presence of bottles during all the LDDs may suggest the importance that people gave specially to the storage and consumption of liquids, both in daily life and the after life. It may also reflect particular foodways and the importance of certain liquids in contexts of social interaction during the Transitional period. According to ethnohistorical documents, people in the north coast in the 1500s usually produced, stored and consumed large quantities of *chicha* (Ramirez 1995). Archaeologically, the storage and distribution of maize beer in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region has been registered both in ceremonial sites like San José de Moro (Castillo 2001, 2003a; Delibes and Barragán 2004) and in residential areas in the hinterland (Swenson 2004) during the Late Moche phase.

Scholars have also observed a variety of functional types of vessels in the group of high-status Late Moche elite chamber burials from San José de Moro. Castillo and Donnan indicate that the deposition of vessels as mortuary offerings was ruled by a “prescribed order in the funerary ritual” (1994b: 126, translated by the author), with a repeated presence of sets of vessels of different forms and styles and a preference for specific areas in the mortuary structure for finewares (Castillo and Donnan 1994b: 125–126). Although the frequency and distribution of types of vessels can be compared between these burials and Burial M-U615, several differences in the form and function of Late Moche and Transitional burial chambers must be taken into account.

Burial M-U615, unlikely Late Moche elite burials, was constituted by more than a single burial events. In addition, the distribution of vessels, especially in the first LDD of Burial M-U615 was affected by later displacements. In those cases, the archaeological record may differ from the original spatial distribution. The deposition of vessels as mortuary offerings in Burial M-U615, and possibly in many other cases, may not have

been restricted or conditioned by prescribed rules of the traditional elite mortuary practices as Castillo and Donnan have suggested. Offering assemblages associated with specific burial events may represent a conscious combination of traditional norms and idiosyncratic behavior. In both cases, multiple circumstances may have affected the final donation and arrangement of vessels in the mortuary space. However, changes in decisions and actions in personal or group participation in burial events can be interpreted from the archaeological record and changes in the frequency of vessels on each LDD.

This phenomenon can be contrasted with data from a sample of analogous local elite tombs from the Late Moche and the Early Transitional phase. This sample includes five Late Moche chamber burials from the Huaca La Capilla mortuary cluster: Burials M-U26, M-U30, M-U41, M-U102 and M-U103 (Castillo and Donnan 1993, 1994b; Table 2). It is important to reiterate that, unlike Burial M-U615, each of these contexts represents single burial events. Considering the archaeological record from San José de Moro between 1991 and 2004, there is no concrete evidence of high-status elite burials that were part of collective graves in the same scale as Burial M-U615.

Table 2: Distribution of individuals and ceramic vessels in Late Moche elite burials.

Burial	Number of Individuals	Total Number of Vessels	Miniatures	Other Vessels Categories
M-U26	7	1243	1180	63
M-U30	7	1727	1680	47
M-U41	5	1923	1850	73
M-U102	2	1124	1057	67
M-U103	8	2226	2104	244

Table 2 shows the distribution of individuals in Late Moche elite chamber burials. In all of these cases, burials include fewer individuals than Burial M-U615, even considering the segregation by LDD on the latter. On the other hand, the total number of vessel offerings that were deposited in each of these Late Moche burials exceeds the number of vessels on Burial M-U615. However, it is important to note that this difference in the amount of vessels is due to the high number of miniatures in the Late Moche burials. Each of these burials includes 1180, 1680, 1850, 1057 and 1982 miniatures, respectively. Burial M-U615 includes just 50 specimens of this vessel category in the first LDD (Table 1, Figure 67).

According to the data from all these elite burials, Burial M-U615 included a smaller number of vessels despite the fact that there were more individuals in this grave. This significant difference may be a clue to understanding some of the social transformations that were behind the changes in local mortuary practices from the Late Moche period and the Early Transitional phase, especially those related to the donor's participation and the status of the dead.

Other Early Transitional tombs like Burial M-U1045 and Burial M-U1242 may offer more clues about the difference in the number of ceramic offerings in elite burials. Burial M-U1242 apparently predated Burial M-U615 whereas Burial M-U1045 may have been partially contemporaneous. Both tombs were apparently the result of single burial events. The analysis of both contexts is still in process (Castillo 2004b). Although the exact number is not yet known, these tombs include more ceramic vessels and fewer individuals than Burial M-U615.

The difference in the number of ceramic offerings between Burial M-U615 and the other Early Transitional contexts may suggest that this phenomenon was not only based on a temporal difference but may have resulted from a process that affected elite groups in different ways during the Early Transitional phase. This process may also have affected the elite mortuary practices, especially the status of the participants or donors that finally decided to materialize their relationships with the dead or their group through placing offerings. As a way to support this argument, I consider the change in the frequency of miniatures on the mortuary sample.

In different publications, these miniatures have been denominated previously as “*crisoles*” (Castillo 2000a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b: 125; Castillo et al. 1997). However, the category *crisoles* has been traditionally used to designate small ceramic containers associated with the process of melting copper in prehispanic times (Tylecote 1980). Scholars have not found evidence of metal residues or any traces that would indicate a use of these vessels in processing metals at San José de Moro. Nevertheless, scholars have suggested that these miniatures may have symbolically represented *crisoles* used in metal production (Castillo et al. 1997). The presence of these small vessels in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Moche period has been documented at Dos Cabezas, Pacatnamú and San José de Moro (Castillo 2000a; Donnan 2003; Donnan and Cock 1986). In the latter case, some vessels include incised decorations representing animal or human faces as if they were copying the decoration of the typical face-neck bottles or jars (Castillo 2003a: Figure 22). An alternative interpretation is that, rather than representing *crisoles*, these small vessels may have been attempts to reproduce bottles, jars and cooking pots. Based on their morphology, miniatures in Burial M-U615 may

have represented vessels for cooking, fermentation and storage, including *ollas*, jars and large storing vessels or *tinajas*. In the latter case, the original size of these vessels would have taken up too much space in the mortuary structure, a matter of concern and a plausible alternative explanation for their reproduction in a smaller symbolic scale.



Figure 67 In many cases, miniatures represented large storing vessels or *tinajas* (PASJM Archives).

The technology used in the manufacture of these miniatures is simple, involving modeling (pinching) and a low firing temperature, probably involving a brief exposure of the pieces in open fires or bonfires. The low cost involved on the manufacture of these miniatures suggests that their production may have not been restricted to specialized craftsmanship (Costin 1999). From this point of view, miniatures may have represented simple mortuary offerings from those people that could not necessarily afford a donation of standard vessels but wanted to participate in the burial events with a symbolic offering.

By placing these miniatures in the graves, people may have demonstrated publicly their bonds with the high-status members of their community. If these vessels represented the participation of people who were unable to contribute standard ceramic vessels, then it could be argued that the decreased in the number of vessels in Burial M-U615 may have resulted from a dramatic decreased in the number of people participating in the mortuary events staged at Burial M-U615.

The reduction in the frequency of other types of ceramic mortuary offerings also is apparent. Both frequencies of finewares and intermediate-quality vessels show a considerable decrease. Unlike in the cases of Late Moche high-status elite burials, Huari and other foreign styles were not well represented in Burial M-U615. Moreover, Burial M-U1045 and Burial M-U1242 also included foreign style finewares, especially Huari and Cajamarca Serrano vessels (Castillo 2004b). This reinforced the idea that the decrease in the frequency of ceramic offerings was probably the result of a political phenomenon that affected, apparently negatively, the elite group related to the maintenance of Burial M-U615.

Ceramic offerings from Burial M-U615 also show signs of intentional modification, including drill holes and intentional breakage (Rucabado and Castillo 2003: Figure 1.4f). Some bottles from Burial M-U615's mortuary assemblage, especially face-neck bottles, had a drill hole in the frontal face of their bodies (Figures 68a–d) (for a similar case see Donnan and Mackey 1978: 233, Figure 1). Partial mutilation of the spouts and bridge handles of Proto-Lambayeque bottles also was a common practice (Figures 69a–d). Analogous mutilations have been recorded in most of the Late Moche fineware bottles that were included in many burials at San José de Moro. People intentionally removed the single spout and the stirrup-like handle system from the body of these bottles, maybe as part of the rituals associated with mortuary events. This behavior also can be compared to certain Huari ceremonial practices that involved the destruction and ritual burial of vessels (Castillo 2001).

Both intentional perforation and mutilation of ceramic offerings may express the way people transformed these vessels into unusable or “dead” objects by “mutilating/killing/sacrificing” them before they were placed in the mortuary context. However, the modification of vessels was not only expressed in broken or drilled vessels. In Burial M-U615, some vessels have post-fire incised marks that are located on the internal walls, the base or the bottom of bowls or the bodies of bottles (Rucabado and Castillo 2003: Figure 1.4d; Figures 70a and b). These marks show various patterns of geometric forms (Appendix 3, i.e. M-U615 C2, C23, C57, C59, and C62). An ample repertoire of marks has been recorded from vessels from many different mortuary contexts and stratigraphical layers of cultural refuse from the Transitional period (Castillo 1999, 2003a, 2003b). These marks may not have been incised by the producers but by



a



b



c



d

Figure 68 Burial M-U615: Bottles with drilled holes (a-d) (PASJM Archives).



a



b



c



d

Figure 69 Burial M-U615: Broken double spout-and-bridge bottles (a-d) (PASJM Archives).



a



b

Figure 70 Burial M-U615: Post-fired marks. (a) In the external walls and (b) the base of bowls (PASJM Archives).

diverse users as a mark of ownership (Donnan 1971). In a few cases, these marks were clearly incised prior to firing. Similar cases of post-firing marks have been detected on plates of the Cajamarca Serrano and Huari styles elsewhere (Anders 1996, Figure 7.60; Gonzáles Carré et al. 1999). It is possible that this tradition of marking vessels was the result of highland influence on coastal groups during the Transitional period (Bernuy and Bernal 2004). In future analysis, the observation of the frequency and variation of specific post-firing marks in mortuary vessels will allow scholars to reconstruct tentatively the participation of specific individuals or groups in the mortuary events as they possibly are represented through distinctive marks.

Food Remains

In mortuary contexts, animal remains and liquids are usually considered symbolic food for the dead (Goerpfert 2004). In the Andean tradition, camelids were slaughtered and maize beer was prepared to feed not only the dead but also the participants of the mortuary rituals. Feasting, related closely to the consumption of maize beer and the sacrifice and/or offering of llamas, has been recorded in ethnohistorical documents and archaeological contexts as an important component of social interrelationship intimately linked to the ancestor cult in many prehispanic Andean societies (Cobo 1990 [1658]; Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 2000).

In Burial M-U615, this category of food offerings mainly includes the presence of skulls, metatarsals and phalanges from camelids. A taxonomic analysis has to be done in order to determine the specific species in the sample. These animal remains were associated with the first LDD in Areas A, C and D (Figure 39). Two more skulls were

registered in Area B as part of the third LDD (Figure 41). The particular selection of camelid skulls and lower legs has been registered before in burials from other periods at San José de Moro (Castillo 2003a; Castillo and Donnan 1994b). However, it must be noted that in Burial M-U615, unlike many other burials, the metatarsals and the phalanges were not articulated. This may suggest some ideas about the nature of food offerings and the possibility of taphonomical transformations in this particular context.

Feasting associated with the mortuary cycle of Burial M-U615 may have been sponsored by the mourners from the kin group or other participants related to the dead or his/her corporate group. While guests and sponsors may have consumed the parts of the animals containing most of the meat, the symbolic meal for the dead included those parts that had less meat (i.e. head and lower legs) (Goepfert 2004). In the case of Burial M-U615, the actual amount of food offerings for the dead was probably very low.

In addition to camelids, there are some collections of bones recovered from diverse LDDs that belong to small rodents. Although guinea pigs were commonly used as mortuary offerings in many areas of the central Andes including the north coast, the remains in Burial M-U615 have not yet been identified to validate this hypothesis for this Early Transitional context. Considering that the tomb remained open for a long period of time before it was sealed, it is possible that other species, such as mice or rats, were entering the chamber to consume the food or other organic residues. This may explain the absence of direct evidence of other kinds of food or liquids deposited in the ceramic vessels as part of the mortuary offerings. Moreover, small rodents may have also consumed the remains of flesh and tendons attached to the bones, and displaced them.

Future analysis must look for evidence of rodent gnawing on camelid and human bones to corroborate this idea.

Direct evidence of liquid offerings is totally absent in archaeological record of Burial M-U615. Just in one case, a cooking vessel placed over the seal of adobes as part of a final offering event showed some indirect evidence of liquids. Solid fill was observed in the lower portion at the interior of this vessel. This evidence suggests that this particular vessel contained some kind of liquid at the time it was covered with soil. Future residue analysis of the vessels could determine if the liquid deposited on this vessel was maize beer, as suggested by ethnohistorical and ethnographical sources about production and consumption of maize beer in the north coast of Perú.

Both kinds of offerings—ceramic vessels and food—were essential components of events associated with the life-cycle of Burial M-U615. They also were part of the final offerings that were included in the fill that covered the sloped entrance to the chamber structure, a process that has been considered as the fifth LDD. People sealed the entrance to the chamber with adobe bricks and mud, and placed three ceramic vessels over the seal (Figures 43, 71a and b). Then, the area of the sloped access was also covered with soil. Before the soil covered the access, people made a final offering that included five ceramic vessels (three *ollas*, a jar and a bowl), the body of an infant that was placed in seated position, and a complete skeleton of a camelid (Figure 44). Other complete skeletons of camelids have been registered in one of the Late Moche elite chamber burials (M-U30). In that case, one of the camelids was placed on top of the coffin that contained the body of the primary individual whereas the other was placed in an antechamber, close to the entrance area (Castillo and Donnan 1994b).



a



b

Figure 71 Burial M-U615: Seal of adobes. (a) Seal on the north wall, view from inside the chamber. (b) Ceramic offerings over the seal of adobes (PASJM Archives).

In both Late Moche and Early Transitional burials, it is possible that mortuary offerings of complete camelids, were not related to food and feasting. Moche art provides an alternative explanation for the function of complete camelids in the context of elite mortuary cycles. Moche images show complete camelids as mortuary offerings that were used as means of transportation when the dead came into life again. In one of the versions of the *Awakening of the Dead Theme* (see Donnan 1982: 94; Figure 72), by the time the dead come out from their graves, camelids also were re-animated and ridden. It is possible that these kinds of depictions may have represented what people considered part of their life after dead, a final trip of the dead to a different place away from the grave.

If this life-after-death ideology persisted during the Early Transitional period, it is possible that the presence of a complete camelid skeleton over the entrance area of Burial M-U615 may have represented this kind of symbolic transportation for the dead. This way, Burial M-U615 may have also represented a sort of liminal and temporal place for the dead before they reached the world of the ancestors. Graves like Burial M-U615 may have been considered as landmarks in the sacred topography of the community, representing the link and the boundary between the living and the ancestral worlds.

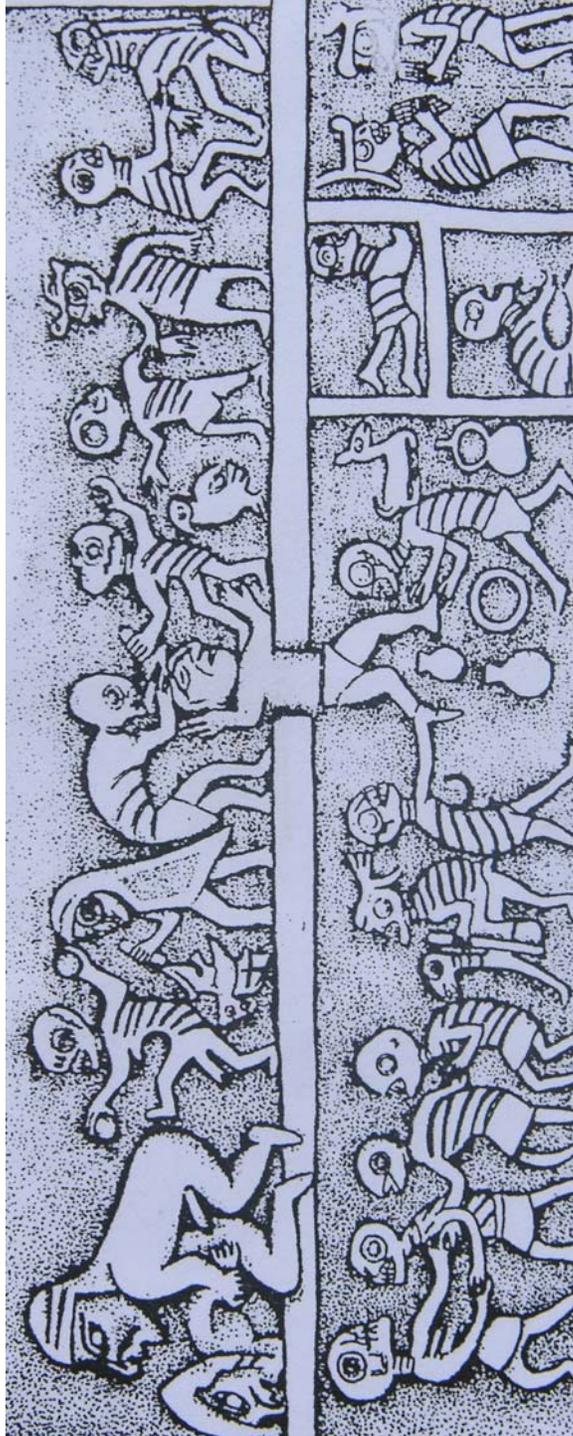


Figure 72 *The Awakening of the Dead* (Donnan 1982: 94).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The processes of change and continuity in the sociopolitical organization of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Late Moche and the Early Transitional phases may have included new and traditional mechanisms and strategies of social control directed by local elite groups. The present study is focused specifically on the reconstruction of those mechanisms of social control that were expressed in mortuary practices directly associated with a specific elite group in the region. The leaders of this elite group were apparently in charge of the religious ceremonies that may have taken place in the ceremonial center at San José de Moro, a place also chosen as an elite cemetery in Moche times.

In this chapter I discuss data that are relevant to the interpretation of Burial M-U615 as a landmark of social and political organization in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Early Transitional phase. Archaeological data from public architecture at hinterland residential sites, iconographic representations in the Moche art and architectural models recovered as mortuary offerings at San José de Moro are important evidence to consider for this interpretation. A second part of the discussion is focused on the nature of Transitional coastal mortuary practices manifested in Burial M-U615 and other similar contexts. During this period, a process of assimilation of foreign mortuary practices from highland traditions shaped the local mortuary expressions resulting in the

creation of mausoleums for periodical collective burials. In the final part, the discussion turns to a reappraisal of elite mortuary practices as mechanisms for the consolidation of hereditary transmission of power. These mechanisms may have played an important role in the public demonstration of kinship between the new leaders and their predecessors, creating the opportunity to neutralize a possible loss of legitimization after some of the traditional sources of acquired power became outdated, probably resulting of the final disarticulation of Moche state institutions.

Burial M-U615 as a Landmark of Social Organization

Diverse manifestations of human behavior towards death, such as mourning, placing, and honoring the dead usually involve the re-creation of individual and group identities in a community (Parker Pearson 2002). This re-creation can be expressed in several different ways, combining visual display, discourse and emotions. Moreover, in many societies people decide to maintain a close connection with their dead. In those cases, the mechanisms that help to reinforce the collective memory of the dead usually involve periodic commemorative events and the perennial inscription of the dead's identities in mortuary monuments or sacred landmarks.

The construction and periodic use of mortuary structures is probably one of the best expressions of group identity represented in the archaeological record. For this reason, the morphological configuration of the mortuary structure and the spatial distribution of individuals and associations in Burial M-U615 may help to understand

how people reproduced social identities, including differentiation and affiliation of individuals.

An important characteristic of Burial M-U615 is the internal subdivision of the mortuary space. This intentional subdivision involved the construction of formal platforms that delineated bounded loci for placing the dead and mortuary offerings. This kind of formal distribution of the internal features of mortuary space has a direct antecedent in the local elite mortuary tradition during the Late Moche phase.

Some of the Late Moche elite chamber burials at the Huaca La Capilla cluster illustrate the internal subdivision of the mortuary space. The mortuary structures were usually divided in two main sections, the main chamber and the antechamber, using an alignment of adobe bricks or by using an elevated platform or bench (Castillo and Donnan 1994b). According to the Moche elite mortuary tradition, the main chamber was considered an appropriate locus for high-status individuals and their companions or attendants; the antechamber section was dedicated to individuals treated as “human offerings.” This social differentiation was also expressed in the way the dead were placed in mortuary structures as well as the quality and quantity of materials that were associated with them. The traditional extended position with a southwest-northeast orientation of the bodies and a central and higher location inside the chamber structures were common attributes of well-ornamented individuals. A flexed or semi-flexed position and a northwest-southeast axis of orientation were associated with individuals with no clear evidence of ornamentation and who were usually placed in the antechamber.

The distribution of ceramic offerings also was determined apparently by this status differentiation of the dead. Most of the pottery vessels were placed in the chamber

area with the principal individuals; those individuals with a different status had few vessels and camelid offerings. In addition, personal ornaments and ritual paraphernalia as well as the most important offerings, such as finewares and architectural models made of clay, were deposited in niches constructed in the chamber walls (Castillo and Donnan 1994b; Figures 10, 12). This way, individuals with higher status with valuable offerings remained spatially segregated from those with a lesser status.

In the case of Burial M-U615, the spatial subdivision of socially differentiated individuals and mortuary offerings is expressed by the elevation of the main platform (Area B) from the floor of the entrance (Area A). This spatial configuration conditioned the placement of bodies and diverse artifacts and ecofacts during the different mortuary events. Thus, the location and orientation of the bodies resulting from primary depositional or subsequent displacement events always depended on the particular configuration of the mortuary space. Like in Late Moche elite burials, individuals with similar status shared a specific locus inside M-U615. During the different LDDs, principal individuals were usually placed in the center area of the main platform. Even after intentional displacements, these individuals mostly remained in the main platform except for those that were originally placed in Area A, close to the entrance.

All the individuals that were located in Area B were placed there with their ornaments, ritual paraphernalia and offerings. Although I found most of the vessels, including the finewares, on minor lateral platforms (Areas C and D), this was apparently the result of periodic reorganizations of the internal space. This relocation of almost all the vessels may have occurred during the second LDD, when people tried to make more space for placing new burials once the platform was almost full and inadequate for

further burials. However, some of the vessels remained in Area B, as occurred in the rest of LDDs. Ornaments and ritual paraphernalia remained close or attached to the individuals. This may reflect not only a practical decision that was associated with the volume occupied by these artifacts, but also to their nature, as they were symbols that may have expressed social roles and identity of the users. While these personal ornaments and labor markers were possibly intended to stay attached to the bodies, offerings like ceramic vessels may have not received the same considerations. It is possible that ceramic vessels as mortuary offerings had a different value, less personal than ornaments and labor markers, as most of these ceramic offerings may have belonged originally to other individuals, usually the mortuary donors.

At the same time, Burial M-U615 constituted probably the first mortuary context at San José de Moro that constantly recreated a specific elite corporate identity by a periodic use of its sacred space. Burial M-U615 constituted a collective tomb used several times by members affiliated with the same elite group. The placement of bodies and offerings in this mortuary space may have reinforced not only the possible filiations among the dead but also between them and a specific living community. Moreover, mortuary rituals and commemorative events related to Burial M-U615 may have helped leaders to reinforce social relationships within their community. In this way, mourning and the celebration of the dead and the ancestors may have carried a positive effect in the preservation of social cohesiveness.

Social differentiation and hierarchical organization are also expressed or represented intentionally in the mortuary sphere. Both mortuary spaces and commemorative events usually constituted important arenas where these social

phenomena can be openly expressed. However, both social affiliation and segregation are usually expressed in other spheres of social interaction before they are reproduced in the mortuary sphere. Ritual spaces constitute social environments where individuals generally interact, usually manifesting, manipulating or negotiating their social identities as members of specific groups.

Research in Late Moche residential sites, especially in those that include public spaces dedicated to ceremonial activities provide some clues to social and political organization in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the final stages of the Moche political collapse (Dillehay 2001; Johnson 2004; Swenson 2004). It is possible that the social environment reconstructed from public areas at Late Moche sites may also give a hint to understand the succeeding sociopolitical configuration during the Early Transitional phase that were re-created in Burial M-U615. Mortuary practices constitute phenomena that are sensitive to social and political changes, and Burial M-U615 may represent part of the elite mechanisms for social control that resulted in response to the social and political transformations in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Early Transitional phase.

Similarities between public architecture and the organization of platforms in Burial M-U615 can be observed in some architectural models made of unfired clay recovered from Late Moche tombs at San José de Moro (Castillo et al. 1997; Castillo 2000c, 2003b). Scholars have suggested that these clay models may have represented miniature versions of major Late Moche structures (Castillo et al. 1997). If so, the inclusion of these models in elite burials may suggest a possible connection between the high-status individuals buried with these miniatures and the function or the activities

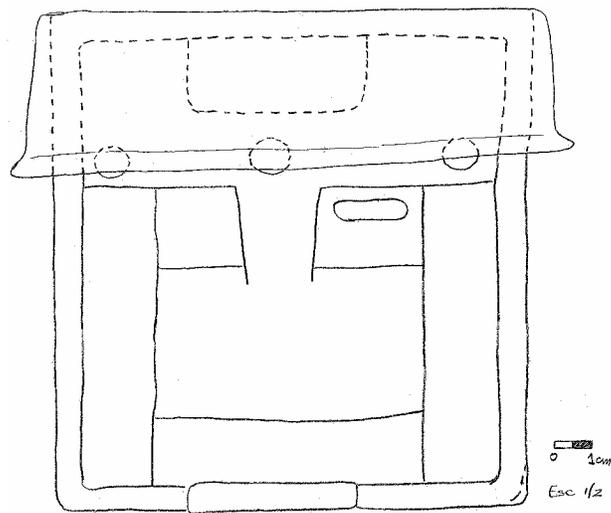
performed on the real public buildings. One of the clay models found at San José de Moro represents a platform structure with a courtyard flanked by lower benches (Figures 73a and b).

Structures with analogous plans have been recorded at contemporary Late Moche sites in other valleys of the north coast. Garth Bawden (1977, 1982) studied a group of raised dais-like platforms with perpendicular ramps, also known as *tablados*, at Galindo, a major Late Moche urban center in the Moche Valley. Some of these ramped structures were associated with enclosed central patios flanked by two smaller platforms or benches (Figure 74). For Bawden, the *tablados* may have represented places for controlling access to the major elite residential compounds (Bawden 1982). Similar structures were studied by Izumi Shimada (1994b) at Pampa Grande, a Late Moche residential center in the Lambayeque region. Both Bawden and Shimada have suggested that this particular type of ramped structures constituted an important symbol of political and religious authority usually located on the civic-ceremonial areas of residential centers like Galindo and Pampa Grande (Bawden 1982, 2001; Shimada 1994, 2001).

Bawden also suggested that these ramped structures were represented in the Moche art as roofed dais-like platforms associated with secular activities and the supervision of rituals. As Bawden argued, these dais-like platforms appear to be miniature versions of the massive Moche pyramids (Bawden 1982), traditional Moche symbols of the dominant ideology and hierarchical power and sociopolitical organization. Moreover, an analogous platform system has been reported in the archaeological complex at site of Moche, the most important ceremonial regional center in the Moche Valley and the center of the Southern Moche state. Adjacent to the main plaza in front of the Huaca



a



b

Figure 73 Architectural model made of clay found as a mortuary offering in a Late Moche burial at San José de Moro. (a) General view. (b) Plan drawing (PASJM Archives).

de la Luna, archaeologists have excavated a small-scale *tablado*-like structure. According to Santiago Uceda and Moisés Tufinio (2003), this construction controlled the access to temple where rituals were performed. Like Bawden, they also propose, based on the Moche pictorial representations of architecture, that this particular structure was probably used to collect offerings from people who participated in ritual performance at this major center (Uceda and Tufinio 2003).

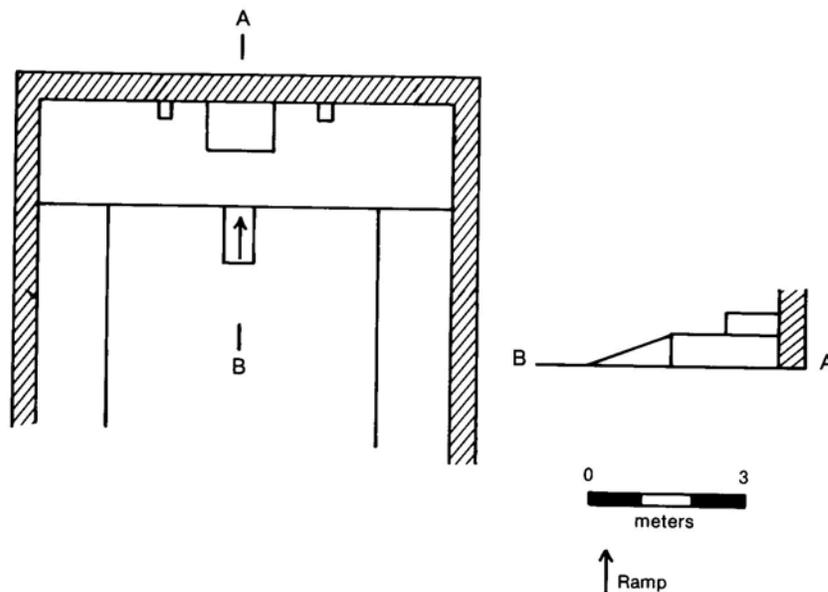


Figure 74 *Tablado* structure at Galindo, Moche Valley (Bawden 1982: 303).

Both Bawden's and Uceda and Tufinio's interpretations were probably inspired by Christopher Donnan and Donna McClelland's former study of the Moche art. Donnan and McClelland (1979) analyzed several representations of the *Burial Theme* depicted in Late Moche vessels, most of them apparently produced in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Castillo 2000c). This complex iconographic theme includes several scenes

represented on the same vessel surface. In one of these scenes, a male deity seated under a double-roofed structure receives shell offerings (Figure 75). In the same scene, this male deity also collects models or miniatures of double-roofed structures that have represented major constructions like the one he is using to receive offerings. It is possible that double-roofed models depicted in the *Burial Theme* may have represented the kind of unfired clay models included as mortuary offerings in Late Moche burials at San José de Moro.

Some terraced structures in hinterland sites of the lower Jequetepeque valley also may be similar to Burial M-U615. A structure with a similar plan to Burial M-U615, including a main platform and lateral benches associated with a courtyard, was recorded by Wolfgang and Giesela Hecker at Portachuelo de Charcape, a residential site located several kilometers to the northwest of San José de Moro (Hecker and Hecker 1990: 68–69; Figure 76).

More recently, Edward Swenson has studied analogous Late Moche platform structures in the hinterland area of the lower Jequetepeque valley, especially at San Ildefonso, one of the largest residential sites in the region (Swenson 2004). For Swenson, the platform structures at San Ildefonso were analogous to the *tablados* from Galindo and Pampa Grande and may have had similar functions associated with political and ceremonial organization at the household level. According to Swenson, the presence of several similar *tablado*-like structures at San Ildefonso suggests that diverse groups were congregated at this site to perform ritual activities on each platform. Worshiping and small-scale feasting rites may have involved up to 50 to 75 people. For Swenson, these rituals were most likely sponsored by patrons or lineage groups rather than state-

coordinators (Swenson 2004). Like Pampa Grande, San Ildefonso and other hinterland sites with ramped structures in the lower Jequetepeque valley were associated with a high proportion of face-neck jars used to prepare and serve *chicha* as part of ritualized commensality (Swenson 2004).

In this context, if the similarity between Burial M-U615's spatial configuration and the Late Moche *tablado*-like structures from the lower Jequetepeque valley resulted from conscious recreation, it may suggest a close relationship between the ceremonial areas at residential sites and the mortuary sphere. This relationship apparently occurred during the Late Moche and the Early Transitional phases. The platform system used in the internal subdivision of Burial M-U615 was directly inherited (and modified with the addition of lateral benches) from the pattern observed in the internal organization of Late Moche elite burials. The ceremonial elite group associated with the construction and use of Burial M-U615, also related to the Late Moche ceremonial leaders who represented the Moche *Goddess*, may have decided to alter the original subdivision (antechamber-main chamber) by adding lateral benches as in the plan of the courtyards in some ceremonial structures at residential sites. The constructors of Burial M-U615 may have intended to re-create a sacred space that morphologically and symbolically reproduced the ceremonial functions originally inscribed in platform structures at residential areas. If so, ceremonial organization and diverse ritual practices, including hierarchical relationships and commonalities originally associated with the use of these platform structures, may have been reproduced in Burial M-U615.



Figure 75 The *Burial Theme* in the Moche art (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 167). Observe the objects, apparently architectural models, below the roofed structure in the left side of the scene.

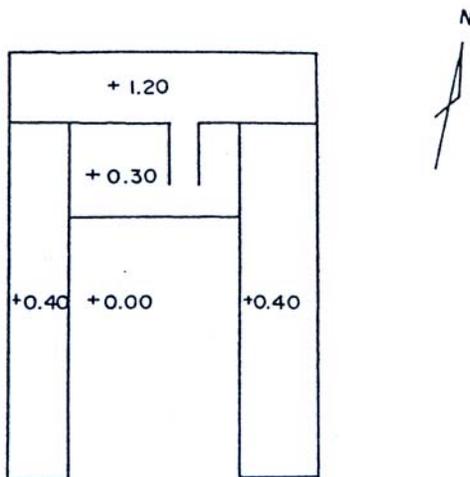


Figure 76 Structure at Site 258, in Cerro Huaca Blanca, lower Jequetepeque valley (Hecker and Hecker 1990: 68).

Residential sites in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region have been mostly documented by surveys, surface collections and limited excavations. Therefore, it is not clear if *tablado*-like structures were still in use during the Transitional period. Surveys and excavations indicate that some of these sites show evidence of a Lambayeque residential reoccupation (Dillehay 2001; Johnson 2004; Swenson 2004; Karim Ruiz, personal communication 2003). Further intensive excavations on hinterland sites may reveal a possible occupation during the Transitional period.

According to Swenson's interpretation, San Ildefonso's public architecture, including the *tablado*-like structures, reveals an ongoing intrasite process of fragmentation and decentralization of the political and ritual organization that had a strong effect in the configuration of the region by the end of the Late Moche phase (Swenson 2004). If this process represented an important change in the lower

Jequetepeque hinterland, and possibly to be extended to the Chamán valley during the Late Moche phase, it may have also conditioned the mechanisms and strategies operationalized by the ceremonial elites in the process of political reorganization during the succeeding Early Transitional phase. The ceremonial elite associated with Burial M-U615 apparently decided to reproduce a well-known architectural pattern that people may have recognized as a traditional symbol of a ceremonial order in the public landscape of daily life.

Burial M-U615 and the Highland Factor

Material evidence from Late Moche *tablado*-like structures at San Ildefonso and other hinterland communities may suggest a direct association with some kind of ritual performance that involved the consumption of *chicha* (Swenson 2004). Although is not suggested by Swenson, these ramped structures also may have been used by people during some stages of mortuary cycles, especially pre and post interment rituals. These structures may have constituted areas for performing rituals associated with the recognition and memorialization of the dead at residential settlements. In many prehispanic societies, ritual feasting constituted an important element on burial events and posterior commemorative activities. It involved the consumption of food and drinks, music performance, and many other activities that included communal participation (see for example, Gero 1990; Lau 2000, 2002; Morris 1979; Murra 1960). The Late Moche art includes depictions of roofed platform structures in direct association with scenes of burial events and presentation of mortuary offerings. However, mortuary courtyards with

platforms were apparently used for mortuary rituals and ancestors worship in the north coast during the Chimú period after the Transitional period (Uceda and Tufinio 2003).

The manipulation and periodical transportation of mummy bundles as part of the mortuary cycles in diverse regions of the central Andes has been inferred from archaeological contexts and ethnohistorical documents from late prehispanic and colonial times (see for example Dulanto 2002; Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 2000; Salomon 1995; Zuidema 1973). The fabrication of bundles involved the transformation of the body into a ritualized object that could be periodically transported from the grave to different places in order to change their physical appearance or celebrate with them in commemorative rituals (Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 2000). At some of the compounds at Chan Chan, the Chimú capital in the Moche Valley, mortuary platforms, where the Chimú leaders were apparently buried, include adjacent forecourts with ramped platforms and lateral benches (Conrad 1982; Figure 77). The association of these forecourts with the mortuary cycles and the ancestor cult during the Chimú period has been reinforced with the discovery and analysis of a wooden architectural model that was recovered from a looted Chimú burial at Huaca de la Luna (Uceda 1997; Figure 78). This wooden model represents a structure with a pattern of platform subdivisions where a group of carved wooden figures participate in ritual activities related to the ancestor cult (Uceda 1997). The activities represented by this miniature include playing of music, consumption of *chicha* and

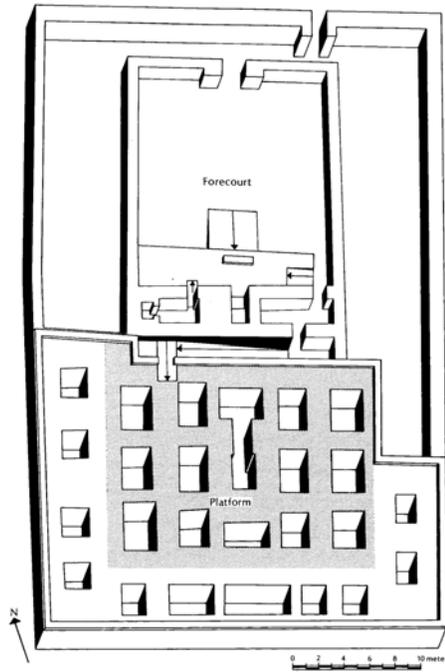


Figure 77: Chimú burial platform at Huaca Las Avispas, Chan Chan (Conrad 1982: 89).



Figure 78: Chimú wooden model found at Huaca de la Luna.

eneration of mortuary bundles. These miniatures recreate a commemorative event in the mortuary cycle of Chimú leaders, a ritual that involved feasting and the physical manipulation of bundles.

Although scholars have identified some evidence of post-interment manipulation of corpses (i.e. secondary burials) in many mortuary contexts from the Moche period (Del Carpio 2004; Gutierrez 2004; Nelson and Castillo 1998), it seems that this practice did not include the periodical physical transportation of human remains in-and-out of the graves as it has been described for the Chimú and Inca cases. This particular practice was apparently adopted in north coast societies as a result of the influence of highland traditions (i.e. Huari, Recuay and Cajamarca) during the Middle Horizon. Mortuary highland traditions included flexed-seated burial position and fabrication of portable mortuary bundles that allowed people to manipulate and carry human remains from the grave to other places. This mortuary tradition also involved the construction of “open graves”, also known as *chullpas*, which facilitated the periodic transportation of bundles (Lau 2000; Paredes et al. 2000).

These mortuary practices were apparently fully assimilated in the coastal tradition by the Lambayeque and Chimú during the Late Intermediate period. During this period, rulers at Chan Chan were buried in open mausoleums at burial platforms, which permitted the transportation of the mortuary bundles in and out of graves (Conrad 1982, Uceda and Tufinio 2003). However, the first evidence of coastal “open graves” or mausoleums in the fashion of highland *chullpas* may belong to the mortuary traditions developed in San José de Moro during the Transitional period. Similar mortuary constructions have also been reported at contemporary coastal sites like San Nicolas and

Chimú Capac in the Supe Valley (Uhle 1925; Prumers 2000), Hacienda Poctao in the Casma Valley, Huaca El Campanario and El Castillo in the Huarmey Valley and sites in the Culebras Valley (Paredes et al. 2000; Prumers 2000).

Highland influence, mainly from the Huari tradition, on coastal regions is best represented in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region in Late Moche times. Ceramic evidence that reinforce this assessment is abundant at San José de Moro (Castillo 2000a, 2004b). However, this highland tradition of “open burials” or mausoleums predated the Huari influence in many areas of the northern highland of the central Andes. Areas like Huamachuco, Chota and the Callejón de Huaylas show this kind of open mortuary structures before the Huari presence during the Early Intermediate period (Isbell 1997; Topic and Topic 2000). John and Theresa Topic (2000: 197) have presented radiocarbon dates that demonstrate that the mausoleum at Cerro Amaru was occupied at least for 200 to 350 years. Other mortuary sites with similar mausoleums are Piquijirca and Pampirca in the Callejón de Huaylas (Paredes et al. 2000), showing a constant use during the Middle Horizon.

According to stylistic comparisons, the ceramic evidence from these sites corresponds to the Middle Horizon 2B-3 epochs, contemporary to the Transitional Period at San José de Moro. Coastal and highland sites associated with this mortuary tradition in the north-central area of the Peruvian Andes like Chimú Capac (see for example Kroeber 1925; Prumers 2000: Figures 4-7, 9), Cerro Amaru (Topic and Topic 1982) and Pampirca (Paredes et al. 2000: especially Figures 28-30), include ceramic assemblages with coastal stylistic elements similar to the ones observed at San José de Moro (for example compare with vessels from Burial M-U1242, in Castillo 2004b).

A discussion about burial traditions can help us to understand the process of sociopolitical transformations and its link to the internal-external driven influences in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during and after the final deterioration of the local Moche state. Similarities in mortuary practices and ceramic styles may illustrate just two of the different ways coastal-highland interregional interactions were manifested during the Transitional period. However, not all the practices associated with the highland mortuary tradition were fully assimilated in San José de Moro during this period. There is no clear evidence of primary burials with individuals buried and wrapped in a seated position during the Transitional period. Coastal mausoleums, like Burial M-U615 and the subsequent tradition of Late Transitional standardized chamber burials, had individuals that were buried in a fully extended position with traditional Moche orientation. Although secondary burials were common during the Transitional period, especially during the Late Transitional phase, there is no clear evidence that bundles were transported in and out of the graves. These secondary burials may have resulted from regular relocations of the dead from primary contexts to new mausoleums, a practice that scholars have identified previously in some mortuary contexts from the Moche period (Del Carpio 2004; Nelson and Castillo 1998). Moreover, most of these Late Transitional tombs were heavily looted right before Lambayeque mortuary traditions began to be assimilated in San José de Moro. Looting affected most of the internal configuration of these contexts, scrambling and scattering human remains. Future contextual analysis of untouched Late Transitional burials will help to detect possible practices that involved transportation of bundles as part the cult of the ancestors.

Based on this evidence, Burial M-U615 may represent a mix of traditional local mortuary practices and new ideas that were assimilated from highland traditions. Although local elites may have decided to adopt the concept of “open graves” from these foreign traditions, the kind of principles that ruled the mortuary practices involving the placement involving the placement and treatment of the dead may have been rooted in local traditions. Moreover, during the Early Transitional phase there were still some elite chamber burials that did not follow the “open grave” system (e.g. Burial M-U1045). The system of open collective tombs was apparently fully assimilated by local lineages at San José de Moro during the Late Transitional phase. Nevertheless, it was during the Late Intermediate period that groups in the Jequetepeque-Chamán began to bury people in bundles using a seated position, when the power of a new ruling group from the Lambayeque region cast its shadow over the land of the old *Moon Goddess*.

Burial M-U615 and the Mechanisms of Hereditary Succession

In some of the Late Moche hinterland sites of the lower Jequetepeque valley, as well as in the regional center at San José de Moro in the next Chamán valley, ritual feasting was associated with practices of political commensality as part of the mechanisms involved in securing sociopolitical networks during Moche times (Castillo 2001; Delibes and Barragán 2004; Swenson 2004). These networks may have combined strategies that included both hierarchical and cooperative relationships not only in the communal sphere but also through a supra-communal level. However, conflicting endeavors and agendas among different communities or local polities, previously those evident in the Middle and

Late Moche defensive settlement pattern, may have increased during the latter phase resulting in dissatisfaction and instability. At that point, the Moche ceremonial elite from San José de Moro may have faced a major challenge trying to maintain a regional political cohesiveness.

Edward Swenson has proposed a process of decentralization and fragmentation of the political and ritual organization during the Late Moche phase (Swenson 2004). In the long term, this phenomenon of ritual fragmentation may have affected, directly or indirectly, the organization of the state-level religious ceremonies at San José de Moro. The ceremonial leaders of this particular group, female individuals dressed like the *Goddess*, may have seen political and ritual decentralization as a menace for their ritual leadership. However, mortuary evidence from San José de Moro shows that, despite the instability and political fragmentation in the region, the San José de Moro ceremonial elite still continued assuming their ritual functions at least until the Early Transitional phase. Evidence from Burials M-U1242 and M-U615 suggests that the ceremonial elite from San José de Moro survived for at least a couple of generations even with the absence of the old local state-level institutions. The success of this particular elite group may have involved a strategy that secured temporarily the transmission and legitimization of their leadership.

According to Castillo and Holmquist (2002), the leaders of the San José de Moro elite may have justified their privileged position through the control of the mechanisms of ceremonial organization during the Late Moche phase. Moreover, their roles seem to have involved the distribution of massive amounts of ritual beverage as part of the rituals performed at San José de Moro. Evidence of ritual feasting has been recorded

archaeologically in different areas of this cemetery (Castillo 2000a, 2000c, 2001; Delibes and Barragán 2004; see Figures 22 and 23). Over several generations, the cemetery area in front of the ceremonial platforms was the scene of massive meetings that may have involved members from diverse communities in the region. A distribution of large *tinajas* dominated the mortuary landscape, creating the perfect landmark for practices of feasting and political commensality.

During the early days of the Transitional period a major event occurred in San José de Moro that marked the end of those ritual feasts. This event has been trapped in time in the stratigraphy of the cemetery. At many different spots of the cemetery, archaeologists have found a thick layer of soil that systematically covered all the areas originally dedicated to the distribution of maize beer. All the *tinajas* were apparently “buried” as part of a ritual event. For example, less than 30 m south from the location of Burial M-U615, people deposited cooking and storing vessels as well as infant burials and animal offerings as part of this ritual fill. Almost all the vessel offerings included belonged to Late Moche style vessels. However, a set of bottles related to local styles that correspond to a production from the Early Transitional phase also was found.

After this massive ritualized burial of *tinajas*, no major traces of facilities dedicated to the distribution of maize beer have been observed for the Transitional period. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that these facilities were moved to other restricted areas in the ceremonial center or even to the hinterland household areas, as a result of a major political fragmentation during the Late Moche phase. If there was a disruption of these practices of ritual feasting at San José de Moro, I suspect that it also may have had an effect on the San José de Moro ceremonial elite. Disruption of

traditional feasting practices based on the distribution of *chicha* or the loss of centralized control over mechanisms of political commensality may have endangered their power and social position. If the importance of alcoholic beverage was really decisive at different levels of social organization and interaction, then the acquisition of wealth goods—material sources of prestige—may have also been threatened.

In reaction to this phenomenon, leaders may have tried to find mechanisms to assure their social position and validates their ceremonial roles without depending on the mechanisms of leadership by achievement. A system predominantly based on inherited leadership would have fit with their new aspirations. One of the strategies involved in the consolidation of the inheritance system may have included changes in the local elite mortuary practices and the construction of mausoleums. The latter involved the construction and periodic use of a singular mortuary space, Burial M-U615, resulting in a *post-mortem* physical proximity between individuals inside the same structure. The recognition and memorialization of roles, hierarchies and commonalities of the individuals placed on this collective grave, may have resulted initially from the personal interests of those who wanted to demonstrate publicly their close affinity with previous leaders.

Even though there is evidence of an intentional arrangement of the dead showing some physical proximity among individuals inside the same mortuary structure or among graves forming clusters during the Moche period, it is still uncertain if this particular distribution resembled a possible consanguineal kinship. It is possible that this physical proximity between burials may have involved some sort of link based on the roles and functions that specific individuals had in common or shared (Donnan 1995). In places

like Sipán in the Lambayeque area, and San José de Moro in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, members of the elite groups with political/ceremonial roles were buried usually with other related individuals (“*acompañantes*” or secondary individuals) in the same mortuary structure. In some cases, the “*acompañantes*” have been assumed as possible concubines, wives, or retainers (Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan and Castillo 1994).

On the other hand, the formation and development of the Lambayeque and Chimú polities were apparently founded on the transmission of political power based on royal kinship. Two ethnohistorical texts from the sixteenth and eighteenth century in the north coast of Perú, the *Miscelánea Antártica...* (Cabello de Balboa [1586] 1951) and the *Sucesión Cronológica...* (Rubiños y Andrade [1781] 1936), reveal that kinship played a major role in the transmission of power and leadership in Lambayeque, creating a royal lineage that descended from Naymlap and Ceterni. A fragmentary account, the *Historia Anónima de Trujillo* (1604; published by Vargas Ugarte 1936: 232-233), contains information about the foundation and development of the Kingship of Chimor (or Chimú) by Tacaynamo and his descendants. Many scholars have discussed extensively about historicity of these stories and personages, trying to reconstruct the dynastic list of rulers that governed both polities, the geographic and cultural origin of their founders and the location of major constructions mentioned in the accounts (Cordy-Collins 1990; Donnan 1990a, 1990b; Kolata 1990; Means 1931; Moseley 1990; Shimada 1990). Ethnohistorians, such as Tom Zuidema (1990), Patricia Netherly (1990) and Susan Ramirez (1990), have proposed that, besides the historicity of the events, the kind of political organization described on the written records may have lasted until the conquest and early colonial period in the north coast, when it was recorded by Spanish intellectuals interested in the

local traditions of the New World. However, Zuidema takes a more skeptical approach about possible sources for these records, suggesting a correspondence between some elements of the *mythical* stories about Naymlap and Tacaynamo and stories in “Andean cultures”, primarily focusing on parallels with the Incas and their political organization (Zuidema 1990: 498-503).

In this context, the ideological mechanisms developed by the ceremonial elite at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional may be considered as an effort to manifest publicly, if not establishing for the first time, an institutionalized system of inherited leadership based on specific mortuary practices. These practices were materialized through the construction and use of Burial M-U615, when new ceremonial leaders were able to legitimize their positions through the maintenance of a mortuary cycle and the worship of previous dead rulers in a single sacred space.

This collective mausoleum resulted from the perpetuation of traditional mortuary practices and the incorporation of new elements from foreign traditions. Traditional ideological mechanisms previously identified in Late Moche elite burials at San José de Moro (i.e. the personification of supernatural characters like the *Goddess*) demonstrates that local ideology was not completely obsolete during the Early Transitional phase. The ceremonial elites at San José de Moro were still celebrating rituals where they represented the *Goddess* and, quite possibly, the *Maritime Twin*.

Various factors may explain the reason for this continuity. Probably by this time, within the specific historical context of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region and not necessarily applicable to other coastal regions, religious and political roles split into two separate entities. Perhaps the accumulated prestige of this specific lineage of ceremonial

leaders or the possible relevance of the local religious ideology that transcended the political crisis allowed the continuity of the cult of the traditional deities. Although there is no exact explanation for this phenomenon, many scholars have observed that some of the traditional Moche supernatural beings and themes of the Moche art were still depicted, sometimes in a very similar fashion, in the later Lambayeque and Chimú arts (see for example Larco 1948; Kutscher 1967; Mackey and Vogel 2003; McClelland 1990; Means 1931). Furthermore, Father Antonio de la Calancha also recorded in his *Crónica Moralizada...*(1638) the importance of the cult of *Si*, the Moon, and *Ni*, the Ocean, among the natives from the Pacasmayo valley, known as the Jequetepeque nowadays, during the late prehispanic and early colonial times (Means 1931).

If the Moche deities were considered as supernatural ancestors that were directly associated with specific communities or regions, as Yuri Berezkin (1980) originally proposed, then it may suggest that the *Goddess* and the *Maritime Twin* as well as the supernatural elements they represent (the moon and the ocean) were still worshiped in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Early Transitional phase. The association of these opposite but complementary forces (i.e. female-moon-up / male-ocean-down) has been studied through the images in the Moche narrative art (Benson 1972; Makowski 2003). It is interesting to note the interaction of these forces in the natural environment, especially how the tidal waves of the ocean are affected by the cycles of the moon. The local importance of the Moon over any other deity was observed by Calancha (1638) in the seventeenth century, when he recorded the existence of *Sian* or the “House of the Moon” in the Pacasmayo valley. Although there is no certainty about the exact location

of *Sian*, the importance of the *Moon Goddess* at San José de Moro during the Late Moche and Early Transitional phases is undeniable.

As I mentioned before, the association between the *Goddess* and the *Maritime Twin* in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region also can be supported by many artistic representations of the local Late Moche art (i.e. the *Maritime Passage*, *Maritime Combats*, and *Presentation* themes). Iconographic studies have suggested the relevance of the *Goddess* and the *Maritime Twin* or *Tule Boat Man* to a major change in the Late Moche art in regard to the maritime environment and the possible connection with later Lambayeque or Chimú artistic expressions (McClelland 1990). Moreover, Donna McClelland (1990) and Alana Cordy-Collins (1990), based on their assessment of ethnohistorical documents about the foundation of Lambayeque, have suggested the possibility that Naymlap's legend tells a story situated during the Late Moche period. If the foundation of Lambayeque occurred as the chronicles tell us, it may have happened between the abandonment of Pampa Grande during the Late Moche phase and the consolidation of the Lambayeque State during the Middle Sicán phase. Future studies will have to consider and test possible sociopolitical networks between the Jequetepeque-Chamán and the Lambayeque regions during the Transitional period (Early Sicán phase in the chronology of the Lambayeque region, according to Shimada 1990).

As part of the present study, a tentative reconstruction of the religious-political organization in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Early Transitional phase indicates that the local elite associated with ceremonial roles may have lived a dramatic process of deterioration of their prestige. Part of this process was materialized in various aspects of Burial M-U615. The local ceremonial leaders apparently tried to legitimize

their leadership rights by demonstrating royal kinship ties between living and dead rulers. Although this new strategy may have worked in the beginning, a reduction of power and effective control over ceremonial functions may have finally resulted in the lack of authority and support from subordinated groups, and the rise or consolidation of other competing groups or lineages. This phenomenon can be observed in a dramatic reduction of the participants that actively donated offerings during the diverse mortuary events associated with Burial M-U615. In addition, the lack of imported Huari and Cajamarca Serrano style finewares, common offerings in preceding and contemporaneous Early Transitional burials (e.g. M-U1242, M-U1045), also may suggest a deterioration of social networks or alliances between the local ceremonial elite and foreign groups. Considering the public and communal nature of high-status elite burial events, I suggest that this kind of alteration in the mortuary participation and donation of offerings may have threatened the prestige and deteriorated the image of the elites, and finally affected negatively the capability to legitimize the power and ritual leadership of these rulers. Moreover, the lack of massive distribution of *chicha* as part of traditional ritual feasting may have reduced the possibility of maintaining important social alliances. The experimentation with a collective burial may have been positive at the beginning as an ideological mechanism; however, without the support of an economic source of power, the maize beer, the strategy may have failed. In this process, the fate of this local elite lineage associated with the mortuary cycle of Burial M-U615 may have had a dramatic ending.

Later on, during the Late Transitional phase, the elite mortuary practices at San José de Moro experienced new transformations. Changes in elite burials include a remarkable increase in the frequency of Cajamarca Serrano vessels as mortuary offerings.

This phenomenon has been interpreted as either a more active participation of highland groups in the mortuary events performed at San José de Moro or the consolidation of stronger alliances between local and foreign groups during the Late Transitional phase (Bernuy and Bernal 2004; Castillo and Rengifo 2006). On the other hand, archaeological records show no evidence of ritual paraphernalia that may allow the identification of traditional rituals associated with the Moche *Goddess* or any other deity at San José de Moro during the Late Transitional phase. Future research must try to identify the possible mechanisms of sociopolitical differentiation and ritual organization that were manifested through mortuary practices at San José de Moro during this phase. In addition, regional studies including not only ceremonial but also residential areas from the Jequetepeque and the Chamán Valley will bring the opportunity for disentangle the mysteries about the Transitional period at different spheres of social interaction. The effects of the post-Moche political and religious transformations, previously inferred from the elite practices observed in the ceremonial center at San José de Moro, may have also a distinctive manifestation in non-elite groups at different hinterland residential sites that is yet unknown. Even though the voices of the elites sound strongly in temples and sacred lands of the dead, the murmurs of the people still make echoes waiting for our attention.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The description, analysis and comparative interpretation of Burial M-U615 has allowed me to outline a preliminary reconstruction of the mortuary practices associated with the ceremonial elites at San José de Moro during the Early Transitional phase. This particular mortuary context involved the design, construction, periodical use and maintenance of a multigenerational collective space that secluded the bodies of several high-status individuals, including ceremonial leaders identified with the traditional role of the Moche *Goddess*.

Burial M-U615 is characterized by a subterranean quadrangular structure with an access system prepared for periodic burial events that included a mortuary population of at least 58 individuals of different age and sex. These individuals were placed in the mortuary structure in five major levels of deposition which included diverse personal ornaments, labor markers like ritual paraphernalia, and ceramic and animal offerings. The original disposition of the bodies and the associations were constrained by the subdivision of the mortuary chamber in four areas. However, there is clear evidence of intentional displacement of the bodies and associations inside the chamber during different mortuary events as its internal capacity decreased with the increase of bodies and artifacts.

A comparison of Burial M-U615 with Late Moche and contemporary elite burials from San José de Moro has allowed me to recognize a combination of changes and continuities in the local tradition of elite mortuary practices during the Early Transitional phase. These changes and continuities can be traced in all the elements associated with Burial M-U615, from the morphological configuration of the structure to the composition and treatment of the mortuary population and the associations. Continuities are manifested in the way the ceremonial elite adjusted local traditions to new circumstances generated during the final collapse of the local Moche polity. Changes in the mortuary tradition, less common than continuities, may have resulted from a combination of strategies triggered by local and external causes. The most important innovation consisted of the construction and use of “open graves” or mausoleums, probably resulting from external influences or reconfiguring ideological mechanisms from contemporary highland traditions.

Burial M-U615 represents a unique case of a multigenerational collective grave, one of the first mausoleums at San José de Moro that included members of an elite lineage. The mortuary practices and Burial M-U615 itself may have constituted part of the ideological mechanisms that local ceremonial leaders strategically applied to legitimize and preserve control over ritual institutions that secured their prestige and status. The collective nature of this mortuary space may have allowed the new leaders of this group to demonstrate publicly their kinship or affinal bonds with their predecessors, validating the transmission of leadership as part of a system of hereditary succession. At the same time, an adequate care of this mausoleum and the schedule of periodic commemorative events as part of a major elite mortuary cycle may have also reinforced

the corporate aspect of this elite group as a community that extended their social boundaries to the realm of the dead.

The corporate character of Burial M-U615 can also be traced through the vessel assemblage. Although the presence of cooking and storage ceramic vessels in this context may represent mortuary offerings, they may have also be a symbolic reproduction of traditional rules of communal feasting, including the preparation, storage and serving of food and drinks.

Burial M-U615's mortuary structure may have represented a re-creation of previous Late Moche public constructions that displayed a similar architectural plan based on a system of platform and benches. This kind of architecture has been related to ceremonial organization and ritual feasting at residential sites in the lower Jequetepeque valley. Similar roofed, platform structures has also been observed in depictions of the Late Moche art and clay models included as offerings in Late Moche elite burials at San José de Moro. Burial M-U615 may have constituted another way to represent these ceremonial structures, standing as a landmark through which leaders tried to relocate the ritual space and its ascribed roles into the mortuary sphere. A later configuration of a similar platform system in Chimú mortuary courtyards at Chan Chan in the Moche valley may also suggest that Burial M-U615 at San José de Moro constituted an expression of a long-lasting tradition within macro-regional boundaries.

The construction and use of “open graves” was locally readapted from contemporary highland traditions. During the Middle Horizon, the influence on Huari and Cajamarca traditions and even the presence or participation of highlanders in mortuary rituals at San José de Moro was publicly manifested through the adoption of specific

mortuary practices by the local groups, including the construction of “open graves” and the inclusion of numerous, imported mortuary offerings. The elite lineage related to the performance of traditional religious ceremonies adopted the mausoleum format; however, there is no clear evidence to support periodic transportation of mortuary bundles in-and-out of the grave *a la* highland model. All this evidence suggest that leaders from this particular lineage adopted the idea of collective tombs from their highland neighbors and combined it with local mortuary traditions, preserving important and meaningful practices like the orientation and position of the bodies in the mortuary structure.

The worship of the dead had local expressions that were carefully inscribed in different features of Burial M-U615. Moche worldviews related to the conception of death as part of a life cycle can be observed in the orientation of Burial M-U615’s mortuary structure according to the daily direction of the winds and presence of a complete camelid as part of a final mortuary offering on top of the entrance area. These characteristics of Burial M-U615 suggest the importance and legitimacy of traditional ideological mechanisms despite the possible absence of the supra-communal Moche polity in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region during the Early Transitional phase. However, Burial M-U615 stands as probably the last expression of traditional elite mortuary practices directly related to the worship of local deities. Some traditional cultural expressions successfully survived major political reorganization; but the veneration of supernatural characters under the sign of the crescent moon and the ocean, personified by a group of individuals who represented the old Moche religious-political system, finally vanished or during the Late Transitional phase.

Future household studies in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region will allow scholars to clarify the regional impact of local ceremonial transformations at San José de Moro during the Transitional Period, not only including a reconstruction from the standpoint of elite mortuary practices but embracing a broader approach from the daily life of the commoners. A regional study will also help to identify the possible presence of highland groups or communities living in the lowlands during this period, and how their active participation in the mortuary events at San José de Moro may have changed the course of the local mortuary tradition and ceremonial organization as well as major sociopolitical transformations. In a similar way, parallel studies in neighboring regions, especially in the Lambayeque and the Moche Valley, will help scholars to better understand the role of transitional stages in the process of sociopolitical and religious reorganization and the foundation of the Lambayeque and the Chimú State.

Appendix 1
List of Individuals (E and Oh) by LDD*

Sample	LDD	Area	Sex	Age	Additional Samples	In	In-S	S
E21	1	B	F	A (25-50)		X		
E7	1	B	F	A (15-19)	IA	X		
E22	1	B	I	A (24-37)	S (f-0.5)	X		
E47	1	A	I	A (24-31)	IA		X	
E18	1	B	I	A (24-31)		X		
E46	1	A	I	A (21-30)	S (f-0.5)	X		
E45	1	A	I	A (20-30)		X		
E44	1	A	I	A (16-25)		X		
E48	1	A	I	A (15-19)	IA (18+), S (5-7), S (f)		X	
E8	1	B	I	A (13-16)	IA	X		
E9	1	B	I	A		X		
E19	1	B	I	A		X		
E51	1	A	I	S (1-2)	IA		X	
E6	1	B	I	S (0.5-1.5)	IA	X		
E20	1	B	I	S		X		
Oh32	1	B	F	A (25-30)	S (nb-1)			X
Oh20	1	B	F	A (16-19)	S (5-10)			
Oh26	1	B	F	A (15-16)				
Oh74	1	A	F	A	S (f-1)			
Oh25	1	B	I	A (21-24)				X
Oh9	1	B	I	A (20-22)				X
Oh8	1	B	I	A (15+)				X
Oh23	1	B	I	A				X
Oh27	1	B	I	A	S (1-2)			X
Oh73	1	A	I	A				
Oh76	1	A	I	A	S (1-4)			
Oh77	1	A	I	A	S (f-nb)			
Oh79	1	A	I	A	IA, IA, IA			
Oh24	1	B	I	S (8-12)				X
Oh28	1	B	I	S (2-5)	S (nb-2)			
Oh30	1	B	I	S (f-1)				
Oh33	1	B	I	S (f-0.5)	S (1-5)			
Oh29	1	B	I	S				
Oh81	1	A	I	S				
E5	2	B	M	A (34-42)		X		
E13	2	B	M	A (21-22)	IA (21-22), IA (21-24), S (nb-1)	X		
E16	2	B	M	A (18)			X	
E4	2	B	F	A (17-18)	S (4)	X		
E11	2	B	F	A (17-20)			X	
E15	2	B	F	A (16-20)	IA (24-27)	X		
E12	2	B	F	A (14-19)	FA (21+)		X	
E23	2	B	I	S (5-7)			X	
E3	2	B	I	S		X		
Oh19	2	B	F	A (21-23)				
Oh56	2	B	I	A (25-50)				

Sample	LDD	Area	Sex	Age		In	In-S	S
Oh7	2	B	I	A (23+)	IA			
E30	3	B	M	A (25+)		X		
E34	3	B	M	A (24-31)	IA	X		
E14	3	B	F	A (21-24)	IA	X		
E36	3	B	I	A (25-40)	S (3-5)	X		
E17	3	B	I	A (24-31)			X	
E10	3	B	I	A		X		
E35 + Oh42	3	B	I	A	IA (25-50), S (10-13), S (4-8)		X	
E28	3	B	I	S (4-6)	S (f-nb), IA		X	
E38	3	B	I	S (3-5)	IA		X	
E25	3	B	I	S (2-4)			X	
E27	3	B	I	S (2-4)	IA (18+)		X	
E39	3	B	I	S (1-3)		X		
E32	3	B	I	S (1-3)		X		
E24	3	B	I	S(nb-1)	IA		X	
E29	3	B	I	S (nb-1)	S (2-3), IA	X		
E31	3	B	I	S		X		
E37	3	B	I	S			X	
Oh54	3	B	M	A (25-35)				X
Oh15	3	B	M	A (20-23)				
Oh14	3	B	M	A				
Oh21	3	B	M	A	S			
Oh45	3	B	F	A (23-59)				
Oh17	3	B	F	A (17-23/ 24-31)	MA (17-23/24-31), S (f-2)			
Oh5	3	B	F	A (24-31)	MA (40-60)			
Oh18	3	B	F	A (20-23)				
Oh38	3	B	F	A (15-19)				
Oh66	3	B	F	A				
Oh44	3	B	I	A (30-60)				
Oh65	3	B	I	A (25-50)				
Oh78	3	B	I	A (25-50)	S (nb-3)			
Oh87	3	B	I	A (33-46)	S (5-9)			
Oh52	3	B	I	A (25-35)				
Oh41	3	B	I	A (24-31)	S (4-8)			
OH62	3	B	I	A (22+)			X	
Oh48	3	B	I	S (2-5)			X	
Oh12	3	B	I	A (21-35)				X
Oh40	3	B	I	A (21-30)				
Oh47	3	B	I	A (21-24)	S			
Oh4	3	B	I	A (21-22)				X
Oh3	3	B	I	A (21+)				X
Oh22	3	B	I	A (21+)	IA			X
Oh6	3	B	I	A (20-50)				X
Oh53	3	B	I	A (20-40)	S (3-5)			X
Oh34	3	B	I	A (20-40)	S (8-12)			X
Oh49	3	B	I	A (20-22)	S			
Oh31	3	B	I	A (15-20)	MA (20-28), IA (24-31), IA , S			X
Oh60	3	B	I	A	S			
Oh46	3	B	I	A				

Sample	LDD	Area	Sex	Age		In	In-S	S
Oh59	3	B	I	A	A			
Oh11	3	B	I	A				X
Oh67	3	B	I	A				
Oh13	3	B	I	A				X
Oh1	3	B	I	A				X
Oh10	3	B	I	A				X
Oh16	3	B	I	A				X
Oh39	3	B	I	A				X
Oh61	3	B	I	S (10-12)				
Oh63	3	B	I	S (4-8)				
Oh51	3	B	I	S (4-8)				X
Oh35	3	B	I	S (0.5-1)				X
Oh68	3	B	I	S				X
Oh43	3	B	I	S				X
Oh36	3	B	I	S				X
Oh37	3	B	I	S				X
E41	4	B	M	A (24-30)			X	
E49	4	B	M	A (24-30)				X
E42	4	B	M	A (18+)	IA	X		
E33	4	B	I	A (24-31)		X		
E1	4	B	I	A (21-24)		X		
E43	4	B	I	A (14-17)	IA (16-20)	X		
E50	4	B	I	A	S (10-14)		X	
E26	4	B	I	A				X
E2	4	B	I	S (1.5-2.5)	S (4-6)	X		
E40	4	B	I	S (f-nb)	S (1-3), S (5-8)	X		
Oh55	4	B	M	A (35-50)				X
Oh69	4	B	M	A (35-50)				X
Oh15	4	B	M	A (20-23)				
Oh71	4	B	M	A (18+)				
Oh70	4	B	I	A				
E52	5	fill	I	S (f-nb)		X		

*Samples in **bold** style (i.e. **E52**) represent human remains that were recognized as complete or partially complete individuals.

Appendix 2
List of mortuary associations by LDD*

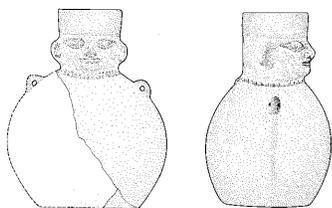
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E21	1	X	X		X												
E7	1																
E22	1	X				2		2									
E47	1																
E18	1	X												X			
E46	1			X													
E45	1	X															
E44	1			X													
E48	1																
E8	1	X			X		3										
E9	1							2		X							X
E19	1						X										
E51	1																
E6	1	X															
E20	1			X												X	
Oh32	1																
Oh20	1																
Oh26	1																
Oh74	1																
Oh25	1																
Oh9	1																
Oh8	1																
Oh23	1																
Oh27	1																
Oh73	1																
Oh76	1																
Oh77	1																
Oh79	1																
Oh24	1																
Oh28	1																
Oh30	1																
Oh33	1																
Oh29	1																
Oh81	1																
E5	2	X					X			X			X	X			
E13	2	X															
E16	2																
E4	2																
E11	2			X													
E15	2	X	X														X
E12	2																
E23	2																
E3	2																
Oh19	2																

Sample	LDD	Ne	Br	Be	Pe	Tw	Sw	Ch	He	Kn	Mo	Go	Cb	Li	Sp	Sh	Oth
Oh56	2																
Oh7	2																
E30	3	X			X												
E34	3												X				
E14	3	X															
E36	3	X	X			X	3										
E17	3		X														
E10	3																
E35 + Oh42	3			X												X	
E28	3																
E38	3	X															
E25	3																
E27	3			X													
E39	3	X															
E32	3																
E24	3																
E29	3																
E31	3																
E37	3																
Oh54	3																
Oh15	3																
Oh14	3																
Oh21	3																
Oh45	3																
Oh17	3																
Oh5	3																
Oh18	3																
Oh38	3																
Oh66	3																
Oh44	3																
Oh65	3																
Oh78	3																
Oh87	3																
Oh52	3																
Oh41	3																
OH62	3																
Oh48	3			X													
Oh12	3																
Oh40	3																
Oh47	3																
Oh4	3																
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Oh22	3																
Oh6	3																
Oh53	3																
Oh34	3																
Oh49	3																
Oh31	3																

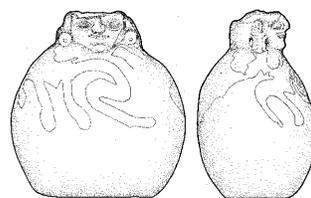
Sample	LDD	Ne	Br	Be	Pe	Tw	Sw	Ch	He	Kn	Mo	Go	Cb	Li	Sp	Sh	Oth
Oh60	3																
Oh46	3																
Oh59	3																
Oh11	3																
Oh67	3																
Oh13	3																
Oh1	3																
Oh10	3																
Oh16	3																
Oh39	3																
Oh61	3																
Oh63	3																
Oh51	3																
Oh35	3																
Oh68	3																
Oh43	3																
Oh36	3																
Oh37	3																
E41	4																
E49	4																
E42	4	X	X		X		5	X	X	X	X	X				X	
E33	4									X							
E1	4	X						X		3					2		X
E43	4																
E50	4	X				X				X							
E26	4																
E2	4																
E40	4																
Oh55	4																
Oh69	4																
Oh15	4																
Oh71	4																
Oh70	4																
E52	5			X													

* The present list only includes artifacts that were found in direct association with specific individuals.

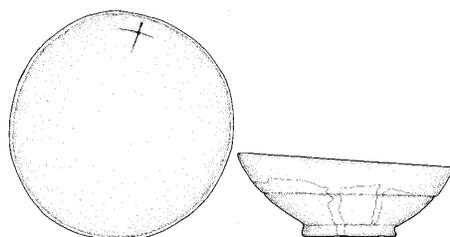
Appendix 3
Burial M-U615: Ceramic Assemblage



M-U615-C1



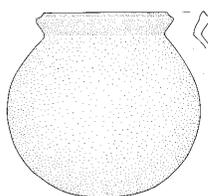
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M-U615-C3



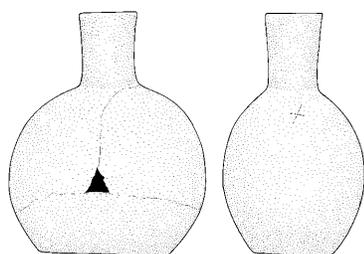
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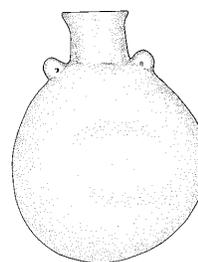
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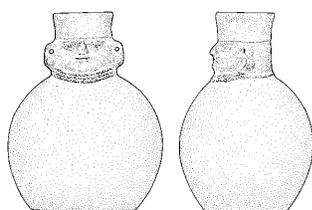
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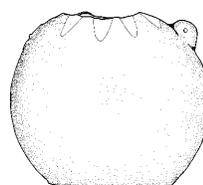
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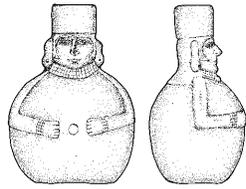
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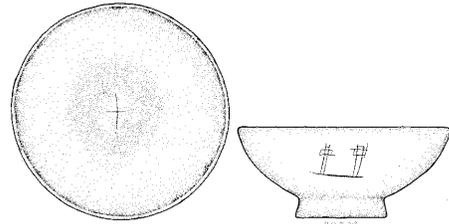
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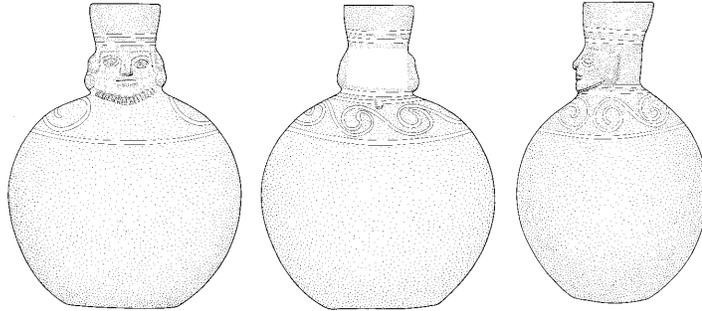
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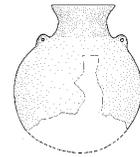
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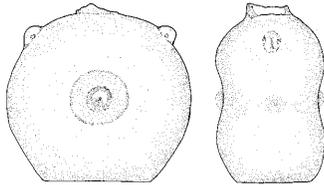
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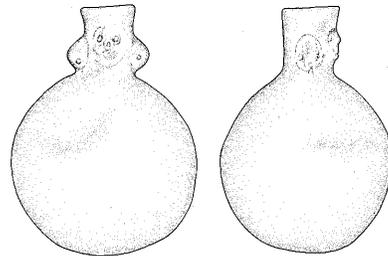
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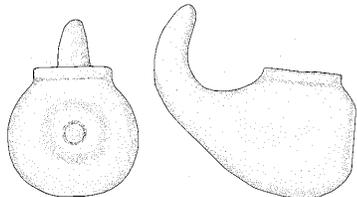
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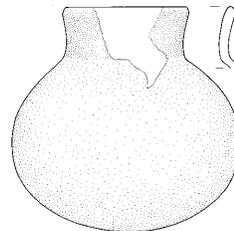
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M-U615-C16



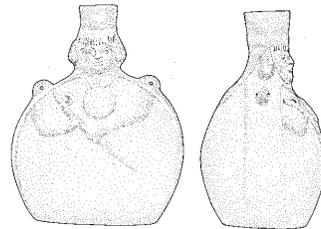
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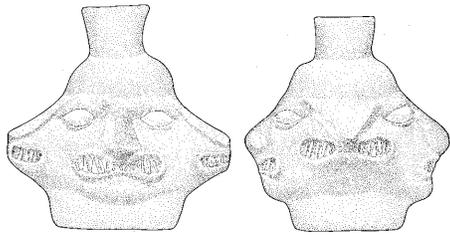
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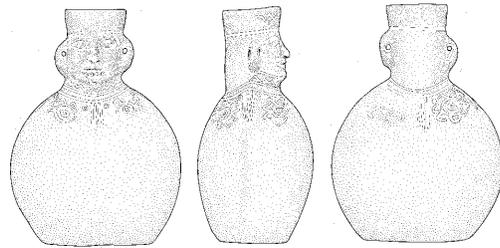
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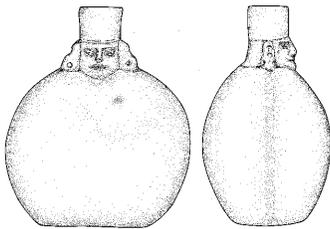
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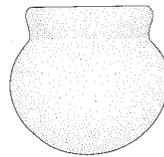
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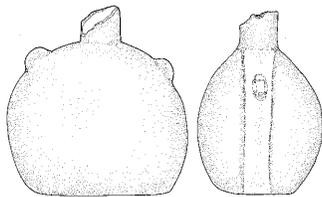
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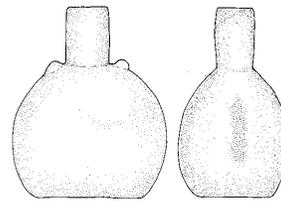
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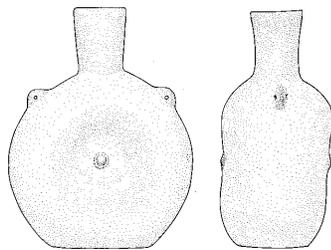
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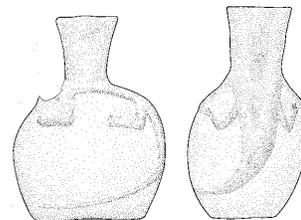
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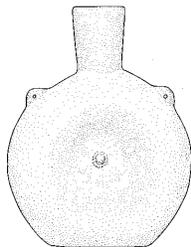
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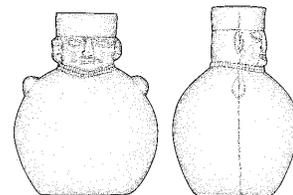
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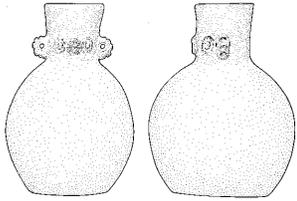
M-U615-C28



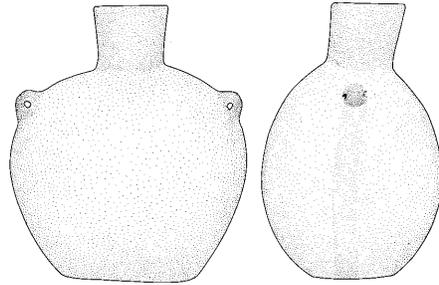
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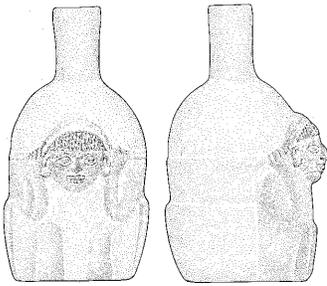
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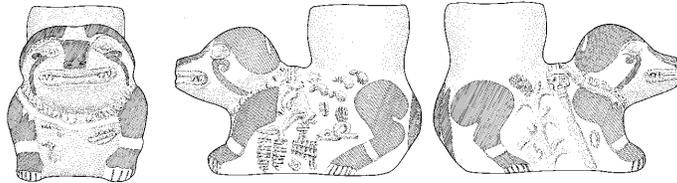
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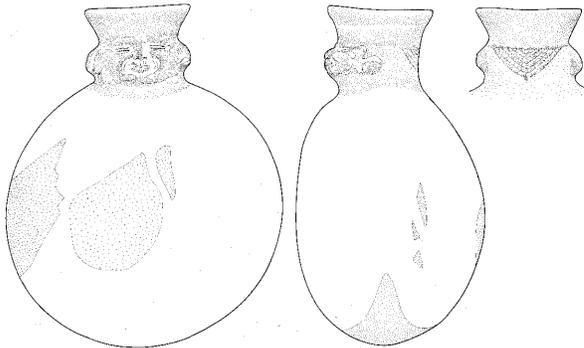
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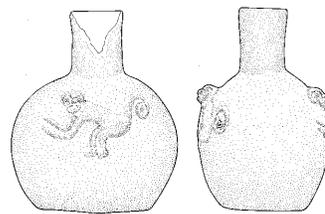
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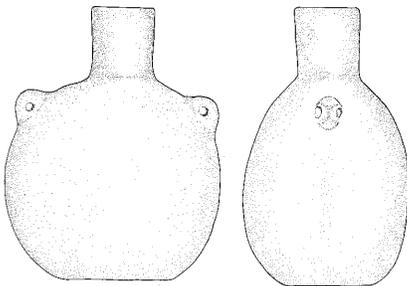
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M-U615-C35



M-U615-C36



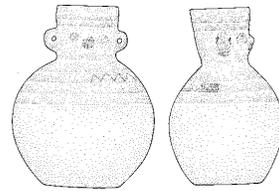
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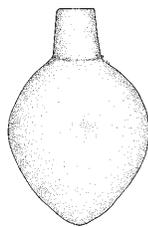
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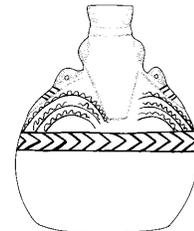
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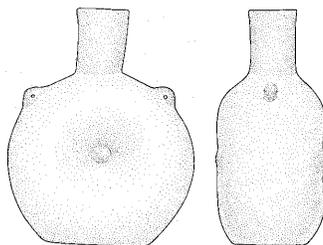
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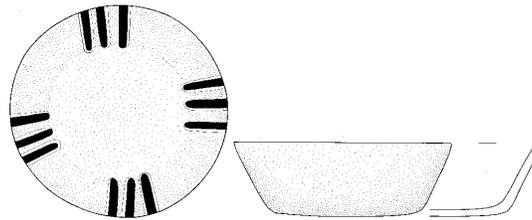
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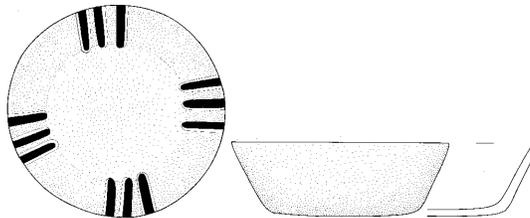
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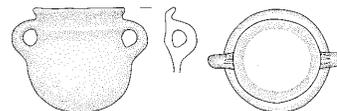
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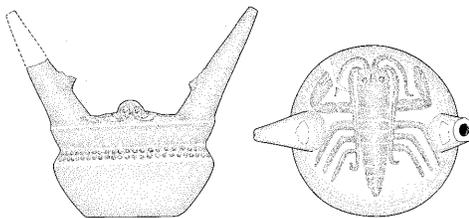
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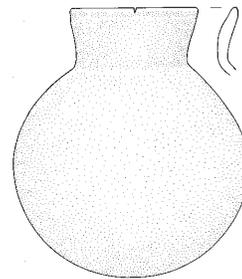
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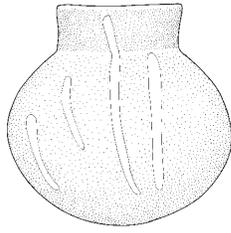
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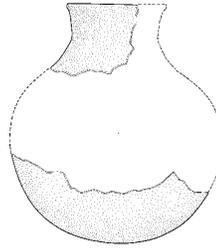
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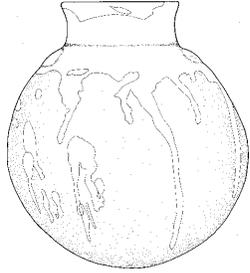
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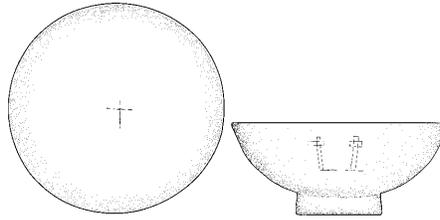
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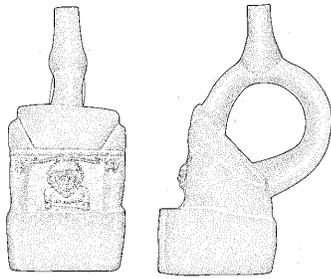
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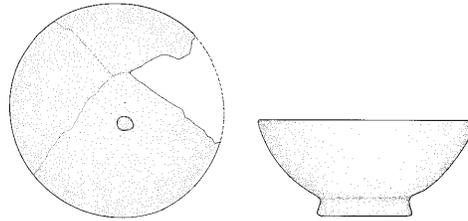
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M-U615-C52



M-U615-C53



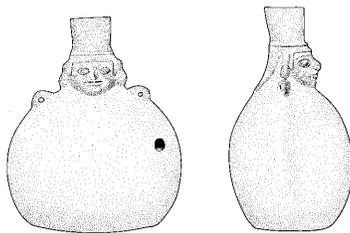
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M-U615-C55



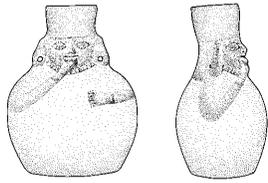
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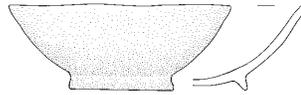
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M-U615-C58



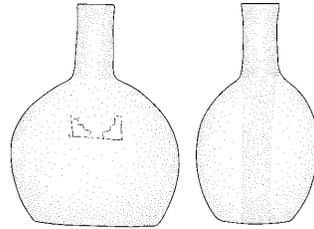
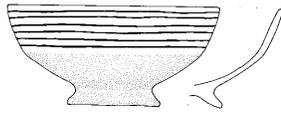
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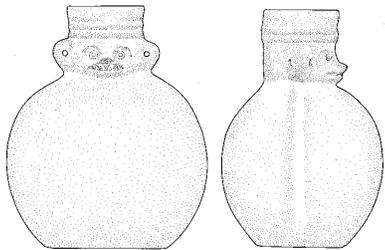
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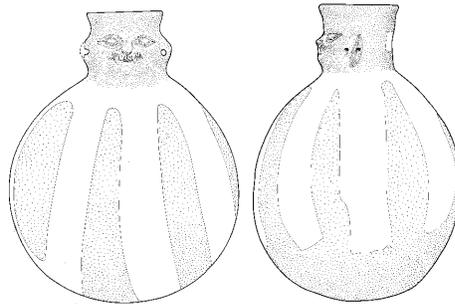
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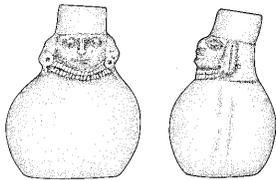
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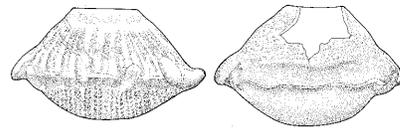
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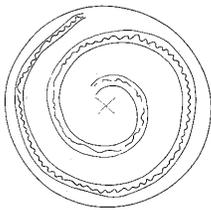
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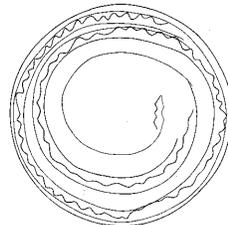
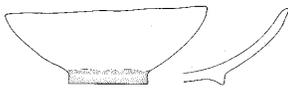
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M-U615-C66

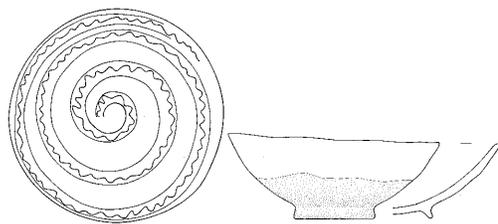


M-U615-C67



M-U615-C68





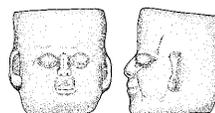
M-U615-C69



M-U615-C70



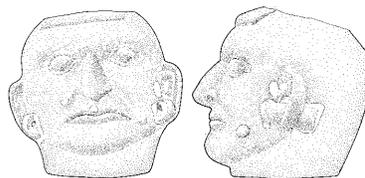
M-U615-C71



M-U615-C72



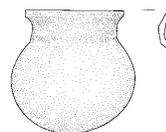
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M-U615-C74



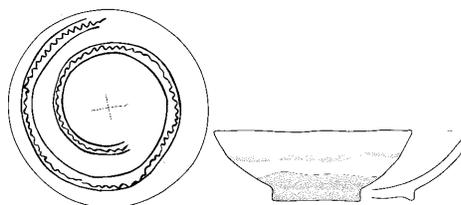
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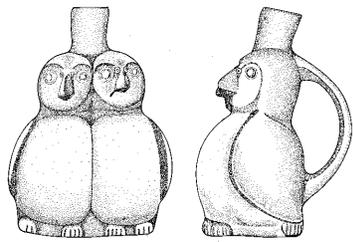
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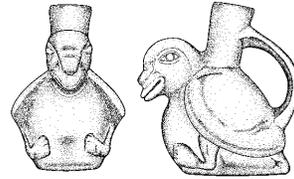
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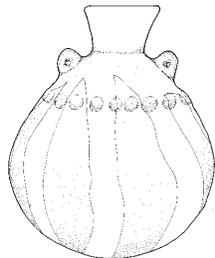
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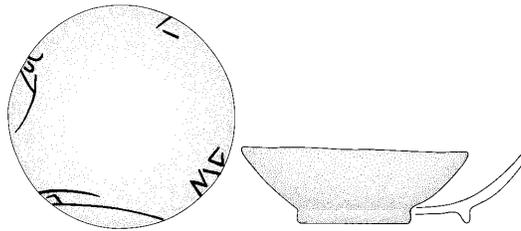
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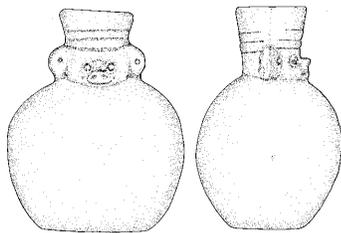
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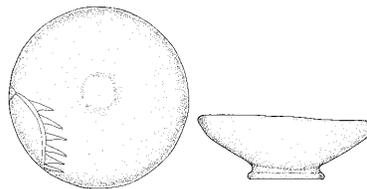
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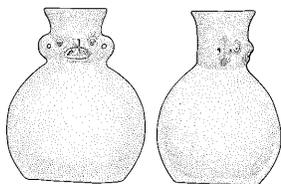
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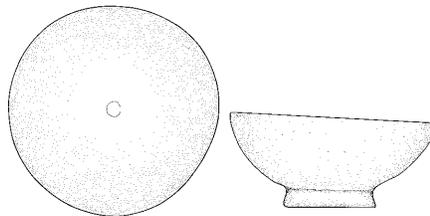
M-U615-C83



M-U615-C84



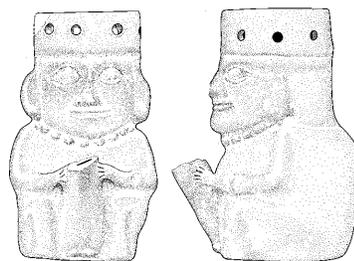
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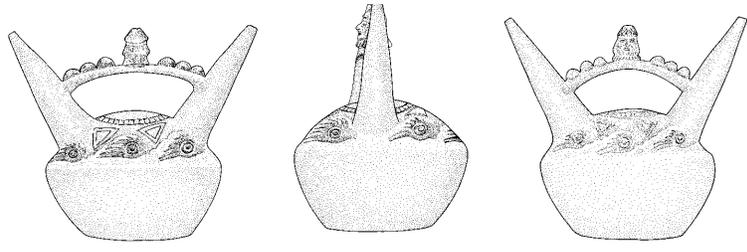
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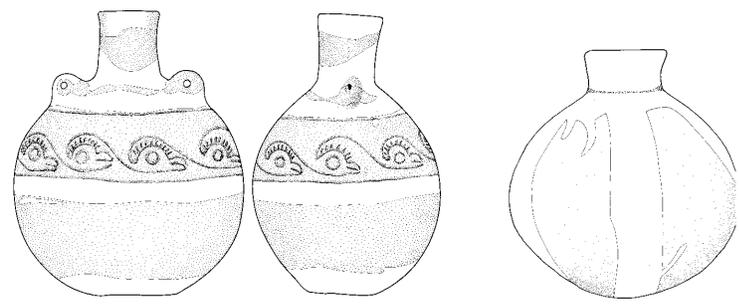
M-U615-C87



M-U615-C88

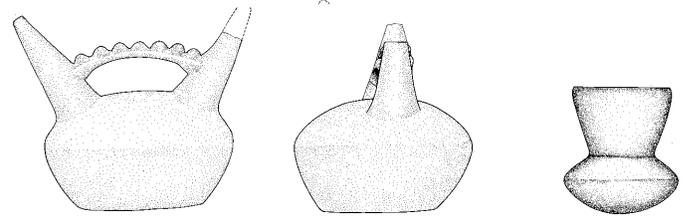


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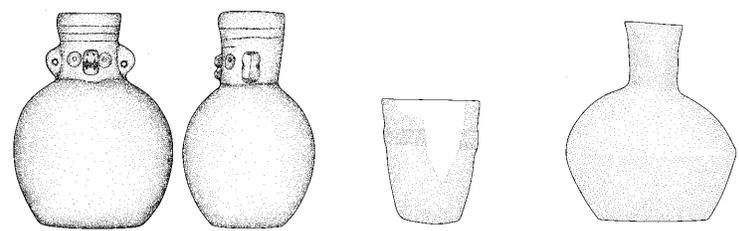
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M-U615-C89



M-U615-C93

M-U615-C94



M-U615-C92

M-U615-C95

M-U615-C96

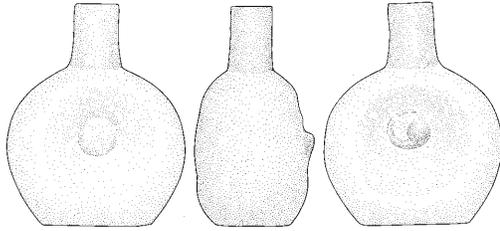


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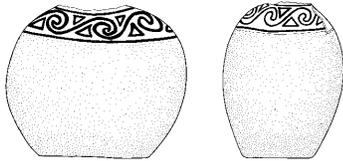
M-U615-C98



M-U615-C101



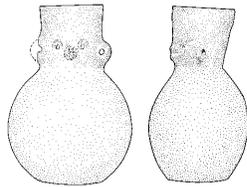
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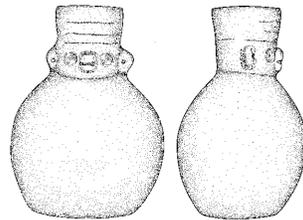
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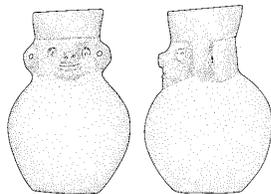
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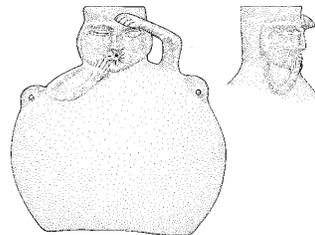
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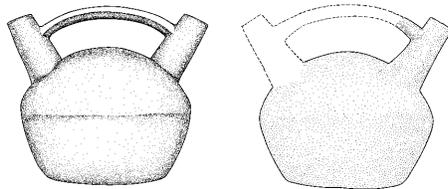
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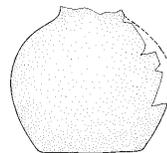
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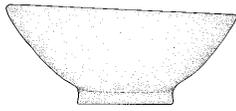
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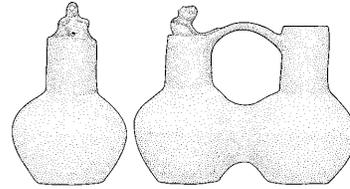
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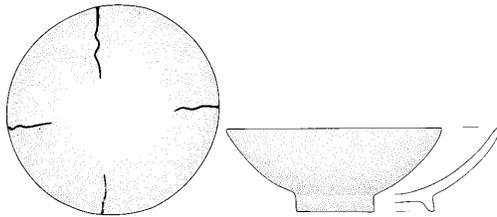
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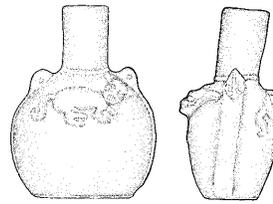
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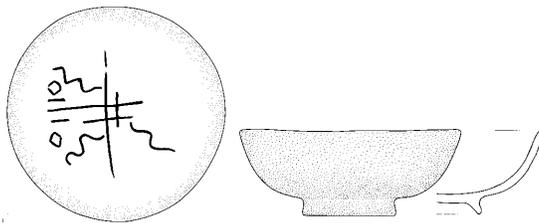
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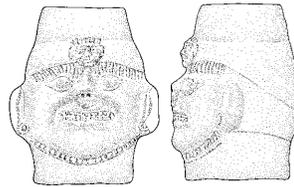
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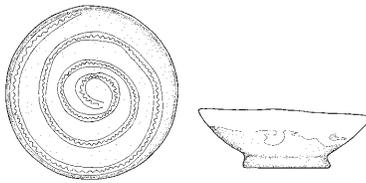
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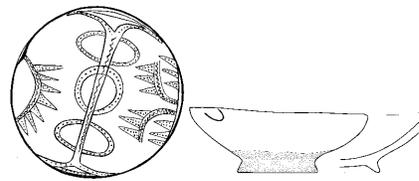
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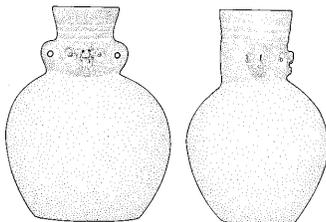
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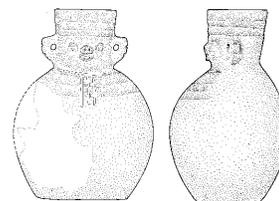
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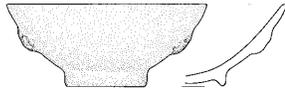
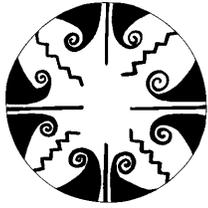
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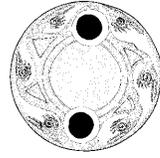
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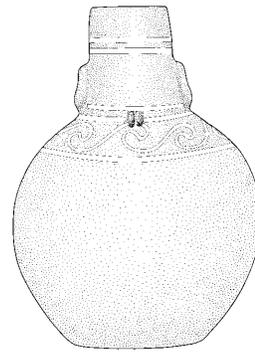
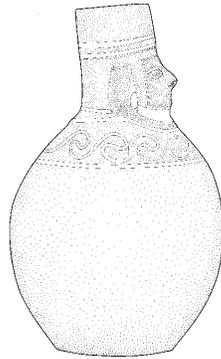
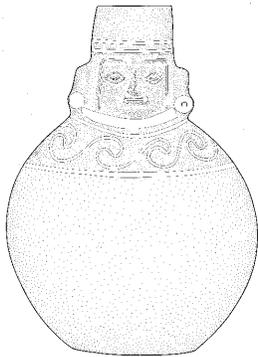
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M-U615-C119



M-U615-C120



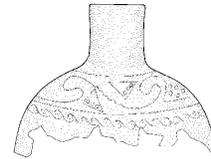
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M-U615-C122



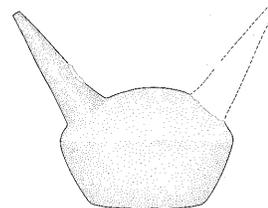
M-U615-C123



M-U615-C125



M-U615-C124



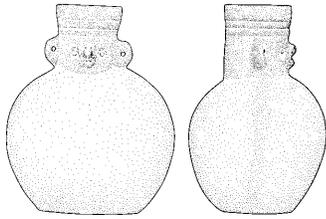
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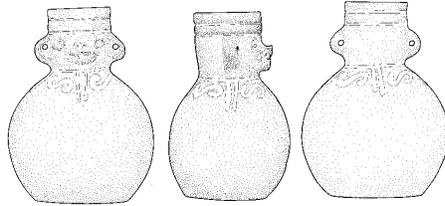
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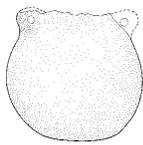
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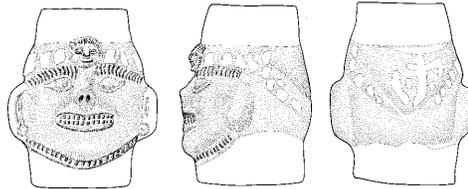
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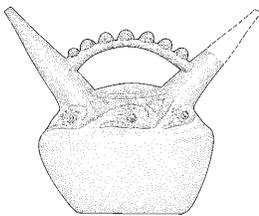
M-U615-C130



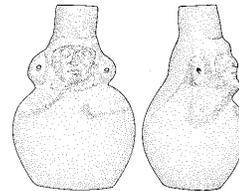
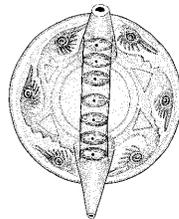
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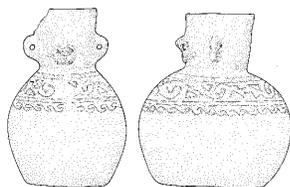
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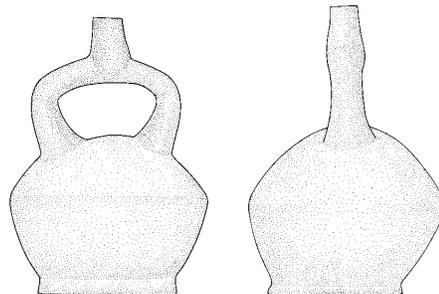
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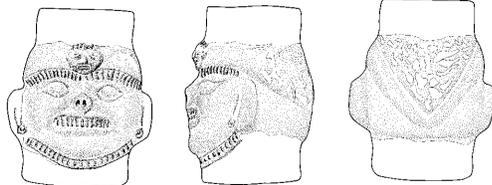
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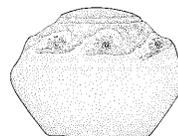
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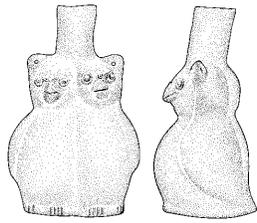
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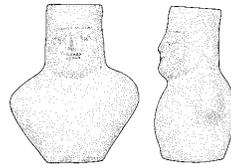
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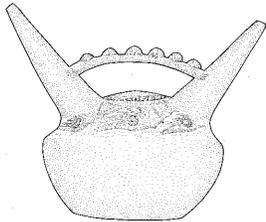
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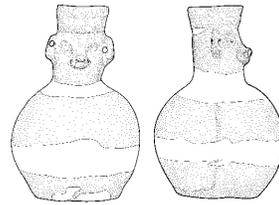
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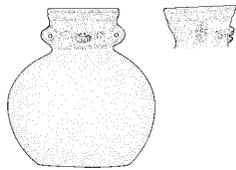
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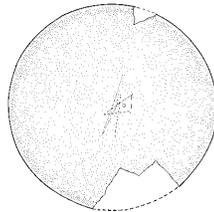
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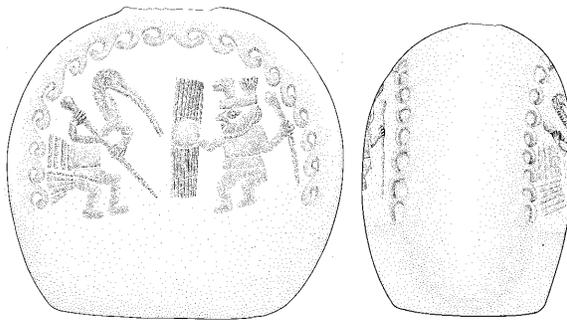
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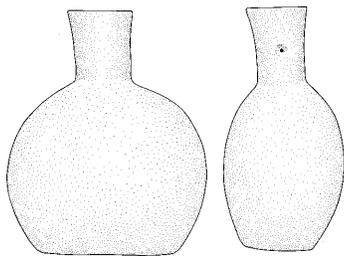
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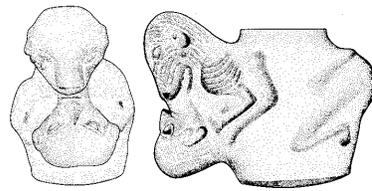
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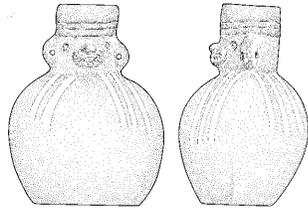
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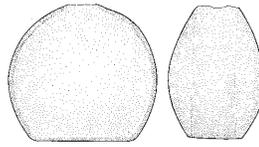
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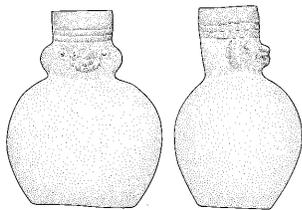
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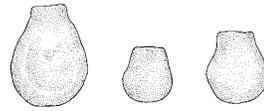
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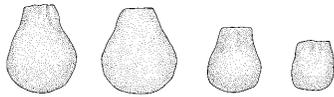
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M-U615-C151



M-U615-Cr1



M-U615-Cr2



M-U615-Cr3



M-U615-Cr4



M-U615-Cr5

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