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A DESIGN ANALYSIS OF MOCHE FINELINE SHERDS  
FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF GALINDO, MOCHE VALLEY, PERU

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INTRODUCTION

Museum displays and coffee table books on the ceramics of complex ancient societies are dominated throughout the world by whole pots. The vast majority of ceramics recovered from archaeological excavations, however, are sherds. Although the complete artistic composition of many decorated sherds cannot be determined, the designs on sherds still have the potential to shed light on a wide range of cultural issues of interest to archaeologists. For this reason, it is essential that archaeologists develop and utilize techniques that allow for the analysis of designs on sherds. Design analyses of sherds generally focus on the identification of design motifs and/or elements, and the comparison of the frequencies of these motifs and/or elements in distinct samples. These analyses focus on motifs and elements because they are often easily identifiable on sherds. Motifs can frequently even be identified on very small sherds, when the motif has first been identified on larger sherds. Through this kind of analysis, a variety of different sherd samples can be compared, including samples from different regions, polities, or sites. Such comparisons can elucidate a number of issues of interest to archaeologists, most notably interaction (Friedrich 1970; Plog 1980; Redman 1977; Watson 1977). In the case of stylistic similarities, interaction can take the form of trade, open lines of communication, or copying from a distance (Watson 1977).

Andean archaeologists have long utilized comparisons of the artistic styles of contemporary societies to evaluate their level of interaction. In fact, such comparisons led early Andean archaeologists to formulate the concept of horizons, which are time periods of widespread interaction as indicated by similar artistic styles, including ceramic designs, across a large region of the Andes (Rowe 1960, 1962; Willey 1948). The horizon concept has been incorporated into the chronological framework that is still used by archaeologists today for the prehistory of the entire Andean culture area. The utility of comparing the ceramic designs of different societies is therefore well established in Andean archaeology, although formal ceramic design analyses are still rare. Less common still are comparisons between individual sites within the same society based on formal design analyses. Such comparisons, however, have the potential to provide valuable information concerning the level of interaction that existed between contemporaneous sites, which is the first step in establishing their political, cultural, and trade relationships. Establishing such relationships can in turn lead to a reconstruction of the history of the societies of which they were a part, which is one of the principal goals of archaeology.

The following paper is divided into three main sections. The first provides an introduction to the Moche culture, including a brief description of the site of Galindo and the Phase V/Late Moche world, as well as a definition of Moche fineline ceramics. The second section

presents a design analysis of Moche fineline sherds from the site of Galindo. The analysis is laid out in detail in the hope that it will serve as a model for future design analyses. The final section presents a review of published examples of Galindo's dominant painting tradition at contemporary sites throughout the north coast. I argue that the proportion of Moche fineline vessels decorated within this tradition reflects the level of interaction that existed between these sites and Galindo.

## THE MOCHE

In most ways, the Moche culture (c. A.D. 100-800) of the north coast of Peru represents a continuation of earlier cultural traditions. With regard to subsistence, the Moche continued to expand upon, and maintain, the irrigation canal networks built by their ancestors (Billman 1996; Willey 1953: *passim*). They also continued to exploit and consume the same maritime resources and domesticated plants as their predecessors, although they did rely more heavily on domesticated camelids (especially llamas) and maize (Pozorski 1979). The Moche tended to have a more dispersed settlement pattern than preceding populations (Billman 1996; Willey 1953). The vast majority of the Moche population, however, continued to live in small houses similar to those of their immediate ancestors, and continued to live in small rural settlements. Although the construction of monumental architecture increased substantially during Moche times, Moche monuments were similar in form and construction technique, if not function, to those of earlier Gallinazo populations (Moseley 1992:165-166). The Moche also continued to produce many of the same crafts as their ancestors. Earlier Gallinazo domestic ceramics are, in fact, virtually indistinguishable from those of the Moche (Billman 1996:293). With regard to fine-ware ceramics, it has been argued that the Moche were strongly influenced

by preceding Gallinazo and especially Salinar traditions (Kaulicke 1992).

The most significant difference between the Moche and other north coast cultures is in their political ideology and the symbols of power used to communicate this ideology (Bawden 1995, 1996). Archaeologists first defined the Moche culture by the presence of these symbols of power, and have continued to use their presence to identify Moche sites. Moche symbols of power include a number of architectural features and artifacts that survive in the archaeological record. The latter include portable objects made of gold, silver, copper, stone, shell, wood, and ceramic materials. Ceramic symbols of power include figurines and vessels with sculpted, relief, and/or painted designs that communicate ideological messages. The most complex messages are conveyed by painted designs on ceramic vessels, especially those known as Moche finelines (Alva and Donnan 1993; DeMarras *et al.* 1996; Donnan 1975; Donnan and Castillo 1992, 1994). As we shall see, however, not all Moche fineline ceramics communicated ideological messages (*e.g.*, Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999; Hocquenghem 1987).

### *The Archaeological Site of Galindo*

Galindo is a large urban settlement in the Moche Valley (Figure 1). Topography and cultural features (*i.e.*, walls and ditches) divide the site into at least six distinct zones (Bawden 1977, 1982a). Architectural remains within each of these zones are relatively homogenous and functionally differentiated from those of other areas of the site. One of the zones, designated Plain B, is dominated by two major platform mounds, the Huaca de las Abejas and the Huaca de las Lagartijas, and two smaller civic/ceremonial monuments (Bawden 1977; Conrad 1974:641-740; Lockard 2005). Another zone, Plain A1, is dominated by three large administrative structures (Cercaduras A-C) and

associated elite residences (Bawden 1977). The remaining zones are dominated by storage structures and residences, which are differentiated by status (Bawden 1982b).

### THE PHASE V/LATE MOCHE WORLD

Radiocarbon dates from civic/ceremonial and residential contexts indicate that Galindo was largely occupied during the eighth century A.D. (Lockard 2009), which falls within Phase V of Larco's (1948) Moche ceramic sequence. Recent research in the Jequetepeque Valley has led some archaeologists to conclude that the Moche world was divided into two major regions at this time: one to the north and one to the south of the Pampa de Paijan between the Jequetepeque and Chicama Valleys (Figure 1; Castillo 2001, 2003; Castillo and Donnan 1994). Due to perceived differences in the style and sequence of Moche fine-ware ceramics, these archaeologists now refer to this time as the Late Moche Period, rather than Phase V, in the northern Moche region. The northern Moche region is considered to have been politically independent from the south, and may itself have been divided into multiple polities. The Late Moche Period is contemporaneous with Phase V in the south, and may also include the later half of Phase IV. During Phase IV, the southern Moche region extended as far south as the Huarmey Valley. By Phase V, however, the Moche sphere of interaction is believed to have included only the two northernmost of these valleys (*i.e.*, the Moche and Chicama Valleys).

### A DESIGN ANALYSIS OF MOCHE FINELINE SHERDS FROM GALINDO

#### *Moche Fineline Ceramics*

Moche fineline ceramics are characterized by dark ochre slip paint applied with fine brush strokes to a light slip background (Donnan 1992:66) or, less commonly, vice versa. The

color of the dark slip paint is usually red or maroon, but can also be gray or black, especially during Phase V. The light slip paint is usually cream, but can also be grayish white (especially during Phase V) or have a yellowish tint (Donnan and McClelland 1999:162). Moche fineline painting is most commonly associated with stirrup spout bottles, but also appears on a number of other vessel forms, including spout and handle bottles, jars, dippers, and flaring bowls (*i.e.*, *floreros*) (Donnan 1992). Phase I and II fineline ceramics are generally decorated with geometric motifs or simple depictions of animals or supernatural beings. During Phases III and IV, geometric designs become progressively less common, and depictions of plants, animals, humans, and supernatural beings become more complex. During Phase III and especially Phase IV, the iconography of Moche fineline ceramics focuses heavily on the activities of elites, including "deer hunting, ritual running, combat, and the bleeding, parading, and sacrifice of prisoners" (Donnan 2001: 129; see also Donnan and McClelland 1999). The artistic canons of Phase V will be discussed in detail below.

The majority of the complete Moche fineline ceramics housed in museums throughout the world have been recovered from burials. Unfortunately, few of these burials have been excavated archaeologically. Those that have, however, demonstrate that Moche fineline ceramics "occur in graves of both males and females—almost exclusively those of high status individuals" (Donnan and McClelland 1999: 19). Usually, only one or two vessels are present. This suggests that Moche fineline ceramics "were not produced in great numbers and were seldom available to the common people" (*ibid.*). Archaeologists have excavated ceramic workshops at several major Moche sites, including the Huacas de Moche (Uceda and Armas 1997), Cerro Mayal (Russell *et al.* 1994a, 1994b), Pampa Grande (Shimada 1994:195-200), and Galindo (Bawden 1977:202-207). No

evidence has been found for the production of Moche fineline ceramics, however, at any of these workshops. Moche fineline sherds are sometimes found in Moche middens, “usually at important centers that have associated pyramid and palace complexes” (Donnan and McClelland 1999:19). At Galindo, Moche fineline sherds have been recovered from both low status and elite residences. Fine-ware ceramics have been found in increasingly greater numbers, however, in higher status residences (Bawden 1982b; see below).<sup>1</sup>

### THE GALINDO SAMPLE

Although iconographic analyses of Moche fineline ceramics are common, these have almost exclusively been confined to whole or near-whole vessels. No complete Moche fineline ceramics, however, have yet been recovered from Galindo. The sample of Moche fineline ceramics analyzed in this study (the Galindo sample) is therefore composed entirely of sherds. The Galindo sample is actually composed of two distinct sub-samples. The first sub-sample consists of 217 sherds recovered during the Galindo Archaeological Project (G.A.P.), which was directed by the author (Lockard 2001, 2002, 2003, 2005). Of these, 47 were recovered in 2000, 84 in 2001, and 86 in 2002. The second sub-sample is composed of 153 sherds recovered from Galindo by Garth Bawden between 1971 and 1973 (Bawden 1977). The actual sherds recovered by Bawden were not available for this study. During his original ceramic analysis, however, Bawden made detailed drawings of every painted sherd that he recovered. These drawings are black and white, and it is not possible to differentiate between Moche fineline ceramics and other types of painted pottery from the drawings alone. Bawden analyzed every

sherd that he recovered (over 23,000), however, and recorded, among other things, the provenience and paint colors of each sherd. The Bawden sub-sample in the present study includes all drawings that could be correlated with these data (*i.e.*, their provenience and paint colors could be determined from Bawden’s notes) and which meet the color criteria for being Moche fineline ceramics as defined above. This sub-sample includes the majority of the Moche fineline sherds recovered by Bawden, although it is impossible to determine the exact proportion represented. The sample is not biased to any particular proveniences or motifs, although it may be slightly biased toward larger sherds.

During the G.A.P., every sherd recovered (4,296) was assigned a number that includes the sherd’s provenience designation (P.D.), field sample (F.S.), and a consecutive sherd number within the F.S. During Bawden’s work at Galindo, all of the sherds recovered were given a provenience code, which includes the excavation unit (denoted by a capital letter), feature or room number, and artifact bag number. For the purposes of the present study, Moche fineline sherds from each sub-sample were sorted by provenience and then consecutively assigned new sherd numbers. Fineline sherds recovered during the G.A.P. were numbered from L1 to L217. Sherds L1 through L47 were recovered in 2000, L48 through L131 in 2001, and L132 through L217 in 2002. Fineline sherds recovered by Bawden that were included in this study were numbered from B1 to B153.

The sherds in the Galindo sample come from a variety of contexts, including residences, civic/ceremonial and administrative structures, and surface deposits. In all cases, sherds that conjoin were counted as a single sherd, even if they were found in different proveniences. Sherds that do not conjoin were always counted separately, even if their context, paste, surface treatment, and designs suggest that they were

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Bawden did not differentiate between Moche fineline ceramics and other types of Moche fine-wares in his analysis.

part of the same vessel. In this paper, drawings of select sherds in the Galindo sample are provided. Each sherd is labeled with its new sherd number and its original sherd number (G.A.P. sample) or provenience (Bawden sample).

The majority of the Moche fineline sherds in this study are of the Phase V artistic style (see Donnan and McClelland 1999:139-185). While some of the sherds have designs similar to those of Phases III and IV (see below), no diagnostic stirrup spout fragments characteristic of these earlier phases have been recovered from the site. It should be noted that a number of the sherds analyzed herein were painted on both the interior and exterior of the vessel. When this is the case, fineline painting only occurs on one side of the vessel. The other side of the vessel is always painted using a different technique, usually a white slip design painted directly on the paste. In the case of sherds that are painted on both sides, only the side with fineline painting is included in the analysis.

### *Results of the Analysis*

The results of the design analysis are presented below in four sections. In the first section, the proportion of sherds with geometric versus figurative designs is presented. The second section presents the results of a design analysis of stirrup spout fragments, a unique type of sherd decorated with distinctive artistic conventions. The third section presents the analysis of sherds with geometric designs that are not stirrup spout fragments, and the final section presents a subject matter analysis of sherds with figurative designs.

### *Geometric Versus Figurative Designs*

The first stage in the design analysis was to separate sherds with figurative designs from those with only geometric designs. For purposes of this analysis, sherds were coded as figurative

if they depicted: (1) animate objects (*i.e.*, plants, animals, humans, or supernatural beings) or clearly identifiable parts thereof (*e.g.*, a mouth); (2) human artifacts (*i.e.*, tools or accoutrements); or (3) complex, non-repetitive designs without clearly definable geometric elements. Sherds were coded as geometric if they depicted: (1) clearly identifiable, repetitive motifs composed of simple geometric elements (*i.e.*, lines and shapes); or (2) geometric elements that are not part of a larger, complex, non-repetitive design. Sherds in the latter category either depict lines and/or solid areas only (often framing lines, see below), or are very small sherds that most likely depict only a small portion of a larger, unidentifiable geometric motif.

It should be noted that sherds coded as geometric do not necessarily bear designs devoid of meaning. On the contrary, it is well established that in many societies, including the Moche, simple geometric designs may symbolize complex concepts. It has been argued, for example, that repeating wave motifs symbolize the ocean and/or rivers, and step patterns represent mountains and/or platform mounds in Moche iconography (De Bock 2003). Such meanings are not explicit, however, and therefore cannot be universally applied. In other words, such shapes may have had different meanings to different artists, and for some artists may not have had any meaning at all. For this reason, inanimate objects found in nature that can be simply rendered (*e.g.*, waves) are not *by themselves* deemed to be figurative in this analysis.

While there is obviously some degree of subjectivity in any attempt to classify designs as geometric or figurative, the criteria above are easily applied and appear to follow the precepts of previous studies in Moche iconography (*e.g.*, Donnan and McClelland 1999; McClelland 1997), although standards for differentiating between figurative and geometric designs are never explicit in these studies.

Type/Subtype	Count	Percentage
<i>Geometric</i>		
Identifiable Motif	147	39.7%
Identifiable Motif (stirrup spouts)	38	10.3%
Framing lines, solid areas, and hatching	58	15.7%
Geometric elements ( <i>i.e.</i> , lines, triangles, etc.) only	17	4.6%
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>70.3%</b>
<i>Figurative</i>		
Identifiable subject matter	30	8.1%
Identifiable subject matter (stirrup spouts)	2	0.5%
Unidentifiable subject matter	15	4.1%
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>12.7%</b>
<i>Both</i>		
Identifiable geometric motif and figurative subject matter	5	1.4%
Identifiable geometric motif and unid. figurative subject matter	1	0.3%
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1.6%</b>
<i>N/A (no positive design)</i>		
Non-Stirrup Spouts	11	3.0%
Stirrup Spouts	3	0.8%
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3.8%</b>
<i>Indeterminate (too small or badly eroded)</i>		
Non-Stirrup Spouts	42	11.4%
Stirrup Spouts	1	0.3%
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>11.6%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Table 1: Geometric versus figurative sherds (n=370)

As Table 1 demonstrates, 260 sherds in the Galindo sample contain only geometric designs, while only 47 contain only figurative designs. In the case of 43 sherds, it could not be determined whether the design was geometric or figurative because the sherd was either badly corroded or too small. Fourteen sherds did not contain any designs (*i.e.*, they have only a light slip). These sherds were included in the total sample because they were thought to be part of vessels that did contain positive painting. For example, seven of the sherds came from directly on top of a prepared floor located underneath a platform mound (Platform B of the Huaca de las Lagartijas). In this particular provenience, 20 sherds were recovered. On the basis of paste, wall thickness, and surface treatment, all of the sherds appear to come from two Moche fineline vessels. No other type of sherd (*e.g.*, plainwares) was recovered from the provenience. Although the sherds were clearly part of Moche fineline vessels, they could not be conjoined to any of the sherds that contained decoration. Their design content therefore could not be determined with certainty. Finally, six sherds

contained both an identifiable geometric motif and a figurative design.

#### *Stirrup Spout Motifs*

Among the many vessel forms represented in the Galindo sample is the stirrup spout bottle. Stirrup spout bottles are characterized by the presence of a cylindrical, hollow arch and vertical upper spout that ascend from the body of the vessel (Donnan and McClelland 1999:20). Because of the distinctive form of the stirrup spout, the artistic conventions used in its decoration are unique in Moche art. For this reason, stirrup spout fragments were analyzed separately from all other sherds (*i.e.*, body sherds and the rim and base fragments of bowls, jars, and *floreiros*). Of the 370 sherds in the Galindo sample, 44 are stirrup spout fragments. Eight distinct stirrup spout motifs were identified, three of which have at least one identifiable type (defined on the basis of minor variations within the motif) (Table 2, Figure 2). In addition, two of the stirrup spout fragments in the sample have no positive design, being covered only by a light

slip, and one stirrup spout fragment is too corroded to determine what if any motif it once contained. By far the most common stirrup spout motif in the Galindo sample is the single line motif, and the second most common is wavy lines. All other motifs occur on three sherds or fewer.

Name	Description	Count	Pct.
Single Lines	A single, thick line decorates two to four sides of the arch and/or upper spout	21	47.7%
Wavy Lines	Wavy lines decorate the arch and/or upper spout; Type A is a negative design with perpendicular wavy lines (n=2), Type B is a positive design with perpendicular wavy lines (n=2), and Type C consists of a repeating motif of parallel wavy lines (n=2)	6	13.6%
Wave Motif	Repeating wave motifs decorate the arch and/or upper spout; Two sherds (Type A) do not include interstitial elements, while one sherd (Other) does	3	6.8%
Wavy Ovals	Ovals created with wavy lines decorate the arch and/or upper spout; Two sherds (Type A) have parallel long wavy ovals, while one sherd (Other) has perpendicular short wavy ovals	3	6.8%
Solid	Thick bands of dark paint decorate large portions of the arch and/or upper spout	3	6.8%
Double Lines	Two thin lines decorate two to four sides of the arch and/or upper spout	2	4.5%
Beans	A repeating bean motif decorates the arch and/or upper spout; these stirrup spout fragments are considered to be figurative	2	4.5%
Step	A step pyramid decorates the base of both sides of the arch (where they meet the body)	1	2.3%
None	No decoration	3	6.8%
Indet.	Motif could not be determined due to corrosion	1	2.3%

Table 2: Distribution of stirrup spout motifs (n=44). Note: one sherd has two motifs.

### Design Analysis of Geometric Sherds

The goal of the third stage of the analysis was the identification of repeating motifs on geometric sherds that are not stirrup spout fragments. Only those sherds containing designs that are clearly geometric were included in the analysis. Of the 326 sherds that were not identified as stirrup spout fragments, 45 contained only figurative designs and were thus excluded from this stage of the analysis. Six sherds contained an identifiable geometric motif and a figurative design and were included in this, as well as the next stage (figurative subject matter) of the analysis. An additional 42 sherds were excluded from the analysis because they could not be classified as geometric or figurative, either because they were badly corroded or too

small. Another 11 sherds were excluded because they did not contain any designs.

The remaining 228 sherds (the geometric sample) are not stirrup spout fragments and have designs identified as geometric. Eight recurrent motifs were identified in this sample. One or more of these recurrent motifs were identified on 149 of the sherds in the geometric sample. Of the remaining 79 sherds, four contain a repeating motif unique to that sherd (classified as “other repeating motif”), 58 contain lines and/or solid areas only, and 17 could not be classified (due to corrosion or size; Figure 3).

*Motif 1.* By far the most common motif in the geometric sample is Motif 1, which occurs on 94 sherds. Motif 1 is a band with a repeating square



panel. Each panel is divided into either two triangular halves or four triangular quarters by single or multiple straight and/or wavy lines. Five Motif 1 types were identified on the basis of how the panels are divided (Table 3 and Figure 4). There were several cases, however, in which sherds were identified as containing Motif 1 but not enough of the design was present (as a result of corrosion or size) to assign it to a type. Another characteristic of Motif 1 is the presence of solid or open interstitial elements within the triangular halves or quarters of the panels. Interstitial elements associated with Motif 1 are solid and open triangles, solid and open “L” shapes, solid, open, and mixed step elements, solid and open serrated triangles, and circles (Figures 4 and 5).

Type	Description	Count	Pct.
Type A	The panel is divided into triangular halves by a single wavy line	19	20.2%
Type B	The panel is divided into four quarters by two perpendicular wavy lines	16	17.0%
Type C	The panel is divided into triangular halves by two parallel wavy lines	17	18.1%
Type D	The panel is divided into triangular halves by three parallel wavy lines or a central straight line flanked on either side by parallel wavy lines	13	13.8%
Type E	The panel is divided into triangular halves by two central, parallel straight lines flanked on either side by parallel wavy lines	5	5.3%
Indet.	Type could not be determined due to size and/or corrosion	24	25.5%

Table 3: Distribution of Motif 1 types (n=94)

**Motif 2.** The second most common motif in the geometric sample is Motif 2, which occurs on 24 sherds. Motif 2 is a repeating wave that forms a band around the exterior or interior of the vessel. Three Motif 2 types were identified (Figure 6). A single, continuous line forms the repeating wave motif in Type A (Figure 7a-d), and several, discontinuous lines form the motif in Type B (Figure 7e). Types A and B are both associated with interstitial elements that, when present, are at regular locations and intervals along the repeating waves. Interstitial elements associated with Motif 2 are solid and open

triangles and solid “V” elements (Figure 6). One sherd classified as Motif 2 was unique and therefore could not be typed (Figure 7f). This sherd has a negative design in which solid, light-colored waves appear on a dark background. The waves on this sherd, more than any other wave motif identified in the geometric sample, appear to be an ocean “locator” (Donnan and McClelland 1999:59). In Moche iconography studies, locators are objects used in figurative designs to indicate the setting or location in which the activity depicted takes place. If this is the case, the waves on this sherd indicate that the activity depicted on the vessel takes place on or near the ocean. The sherd was not classified as figurative, however, because only waves are visible. Unlike the wave motif on this sherd, most of the designs identified as Motif 2, and especially those with interstitial elements, are highly stylized and occur in bands alongside other repeating geometric motifs, and are thus clearly geometric as defined above.

**Motif 3.** Motif 3, a repeating circle that forms a band around the vessel, was identified on 10 sherds. Three types were identified (Figure 8). In Type A, smaller circles are found along the edge of larger circles (Figure 9a). If the smaller circles are interpreted as holes, Type A appears to depict medallions, reminiscent of the gold (Alva and Donnan 1993: figures 33, 41, 62, 97, 169, 206, 219 and 226) and copper (Uceda *et al.* 1994: figure 8.25) medallions used by the Moche to decorate clothing, earrings, headdresses, and other elite accoutrements. Type A is usually a negative design in which light-colored medallions appear with dark “holes” on a dark background. Type B is composed of repeating, plain circles. This type occurs on only two sherds, both of which have light-colored circles on a dark background. In both cases, the sherds are small and probably in fact depict portions of Type A medallions in which the “holes” are absent (Figure 9b). One sherd classified as Motif 3 was unique and

therefore could not be typed (Figure 9c). It has plain circles located within the center of slightly larger circles (*i.e.*, donut-shapes).

*Motif 4.* Motif 4, a repeating spiral motif composed of straight lines at right angles, was also identified on 10 sherds (Figure 9d).

*Motif 5.* Motif 5, of which two types were identified, occurs on 7 sherds (Figure 8). Type A is composed of repeating solid triangles (Figure 9e) and Type B is composed of repeating open triangles (Figure 9f).

*Motif 6.* Motif 6 is a repeating step motif that occurs in a band. Motif 6 has three types (Figure 8). Only in Type A, however, does the motif form a major part of the overall design of the vessel. In Type A, the upper (or outer) step of the motif is everted and is usually larger than the other steps (Figure 9g). The step motifs are either solid or open, and their interiors are decorated with open triangles. Type B is a simple, open, repeating step. The motif forms a thin band around the vessel that divides the overall design into separate areas, which often contain figurative designs (Figure 9h). Type B therefore functions more like a framing line than a major part of the overall design of the vessel (*c.f.* Donnan and McClelland 1999: figure 1.15). Type C is equivalent to Type B in that it is composed of simple repeating steps and functions like a framing line. In Type C, however, the step motif occurs along the rim of *floreros* (Figure 9i). Most *floreros* at Galindo have rims that are notched in a step pattern. When the rim is smooth, however, the notched step pattern is often replaced by a painted version of the same pattern along the rim of the vessel (Motif 6C). Type C is therefore a rim decoration associated with a specific vessel form, the *florero*.

*Motif 7.* The remaining two recurrent motifs identified in the geometric sample occur on very few sherds, and therefore should not be consid-

ered major motifs in the fineline painting tradition at Galindo. Motif 7, which occurs on three sherds, is composed of repeating principal and secondary (or interstitial) elements (Figure 9j). The principal element consists of a subdivided triangular pattern attached to a series of rectangles (containing dots) that form an “L” shape. This element has the appearance of a spear or scepter. The secondary (or interstitial) element, which appears below each of the principal elements, is a subdivided triangle that has the appearance of a shell. The design was classified as geometric because it is repetitive, stylized, composed of simple geometric elements, and the intent of the artist to depict a spear and/or shell is unclear.

*Motif 8.* The final recurrent motif identified in the geometric sample is Motif 8, which occurs on two *florero* fragments. These fragments are from the same provenience and may therefore be parts of the same vessel. The sherds contain a series of light-colored scallops on a dark background in a band around the interior of the *florero* (Figure 9k). The design gives the vessel the appearance of a flower. Once again, however, the motif is stylized, repetitive, and the intent of the artist to depict a flower is unclear.

Of the remaining sherds in which none of the above recurrent motifs were identified, four contained identifiable repeating motifs not identified on any other sherd (*e.g.*, Figure 10a). Of the remaining sherds on which no repeating motif could be identified, 58 contained lines and/or solid areas only. Many of these sherds are small fragments containing what appear to be framing lines (lines that appear above, below, or between repeating panels and form the perimeter of repeating panels; *e.g.*, Figure 10b) and/or solid areas (thick bands of solid dark paint; *c.f.* Pimentel and Paredes 2003: figure 9.14c). Others, however, are simple line decorations (*e.g.*, Figure 10c).

In summary, 19 types of eight recurrent motifs were identified in the geometric sample. As argued above, however, some of these motifs appear to be either specialized or rare. Of the 19, twelve types of six motifs occur on multiple sherds from different contexts, appear in large, broad bands or panels, and co-occur with other recurrent motifs. These are Motif 1, Types A-E; Motif 2, Types A and B; Motif 3, Type A; Motif 4; Motif 5, Types A and B; and Motif 6, Type A. These major motifs form the parts in a geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo. This tradition includes standards of design layout in which major motifs were utilized together in varying combinations, and appear in two to five bands or panels around the exterior (stirrup spout bottles and jars) or interior (*floreros*) of fineline vessels.

Usually two different motifs were utilized, which alternate when there are more than two bands or panels on the vessel. Sometimes, however, a single motif will occur in multiple bands or panels or more than two motifs will occur on the same vessel. As Table 4 demonstrates, several of the many possible combinations of motifs were identified on sherds in the Galindo sample.

	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Motif 6	Motif 7	Motif 8	Other	Figur.	TOTALS
Motif 1		3	5		1	1					10
Motif 2	3			1	1	2					7
Motif 3	5					1*			1*	1	7*
Motif 4		1									1
Motif 5	1	1					1				3
Motif 6	1	2	1*						1*	5	9*
Motif 7					1						1
Motif 8											0
Other			1*			1*					1*
Figurative			1			5					6
											22*

Table 4: Sherds with more than one motif (n=22). Note: one sherd (\*) has three motifs.

*Figurative Subject Matter Analysis*

The final stage of the design analysis of the Galindo sample consisted of an interpretation of the subject matter of figurative sherds. First, the subject matter of each sherd was determined. Then, sherds depicting the same or similar subjects were classified into three main categories (animals, plants, and human/ anthropomorphs) and various subcategories (Table 5).

Over half of the sherds in which a subject matter could be determined depict animals. Of these, birds are the most commonly depicted. Within the bird subcategory, two sherds depict simply rendered bird heads (e.g., Figure 11a). Another two sherds depict elaborately rendered birds, one of which is clearly depicted drinking from a small bowl (Figure 11b). The other is also most likely drinking from a bowl, although most of this portion of the design is missing (Figure

11c). All four of these sherds depict birds in a naturalistic manner (*i.e.*, they do not share the attributes of other animals and are not anthropomorphized). There are also a large number of sherds in the figurative sample that depict patterns used by Moche artists to represent bird feathers (*e.g.*, Figure 11d). Feathers rendered in this manner are associated with naturalistic and anthropomorphized birds, as well as with supernatural beings having bird attributes.

Subject matter	Count
<b>Animals</b>	
Birds	
Feathers	9
Bird head (simply rendered)	2
Bird (elaborately rendered, drinking from bowl)	1
Bird (elaborately rendered, drinking from bowl?)	1
Fish	3
Shell	2
Crayfish (supernatural)	1
Deer	2
<b>Animals Subtotal</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>Plants</b>	
Bean(s)	7
Fruit ( <i>ulluchu</i> ?)	1
<b>Plants Subtotal</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Human/Anthropomorphs</b>	
<b>Humans</b>	
Human hand	1
Human wearing a headdress (other accoutrements are also visible)	1
Human (ritual runner?)	1
Nude male ritual runner (prisoner?)	1
Ritual runner (carrying bag)	1
<b>Anthropomorphs</b>	
Unidentified anthropomorph (part of torso and neck visible)	1
<b>Tools/Accoutrements</b>	
Headdress (with hand and leg)	1
Headdress (with leg)	1
Earspool	1
<b>Human/Anthropomorphs Subtotal</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Indeterminate</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>53</b>

Table 5: Subject matter of figurative sherds ( $n=53$ ).

Fish are depicted on three sherds in the figurative sample (*e.g.*, Figure 11e), shells are depicted on two sherds (*e.g.*, Figure 11f), and a crayfish is depicted on one sherd (Figure 11g). Lastly, two sherds depict a deer. One is a small fragment that only depicts the deer's ear (B23,

not pictured). The second depicts a deer surrounded by vegetation (Figure 11h). This vegetation is a locator, and indicates that the activity depicted on the vessel takes place in a scrub forest (Donnan and McClelland 1999:104). All of these animals are naturalistic, with the exception of the crayfish.

Eight sherds in the figurative sample depict plants. Beans are the most commonly depicted, appearing on seven sherds (*e.g.*, Figure 11i). Based on morphology, the designs depict Lima beans (*Phaseolus lunatus*). The eighth sherd depicts what appears to be a fruit (Figure 11j). Although only half of the fruit is visible, it appears to be the fruit known in Moche iconography studies as the *ulluchu*. The *ulluchu* is often associated with sacrificial themes in Moche iconography (Alva and Donnan 1993:134), and is clearly distinguishable from other objects. Nevertheless, the modern species that the *ulluchu* depicts has yet to be convincingly identified (Wassén 1989).

The remaining nine sherds on which a subject matter could be determined depict humans, anthropomorphs, or objects related to humans and anthropomorphs (*i.e.*, tools and accoutrements). Five of the sherds contain naturalistic depictions of humans or human body parts. One of these depicts the hand of a human figure behind what may be the headdress or regalia of another figure (Figure 12a). The second depicts the head of a human figure wearing an elaborate headdress (Figure 12b). Other accoutrements are also visible on the sherd. The third depicts both legs and the lower torso of a human figure (Figure 12c). The fourth depicts the face and right side of a human figure (Figure 12d). This figure is nude, and can be clearly identified as male. The man carries a thin, straight object in his outstretched right hand. The last sherd depicts the face and left hand of a human figure (Figure 12e). This person carries a small bag in his or her out-

stretched hand. In front of the person is the hand of another individual and a flower or star-shaped object, which may be a locator. These last three sherds all appear to depict ritual runners. Ritual runners are generally portrayed in long lines, and carry bags, branches, or in rare cases nothing, in their outstretched hands (Donnan and McClelland 1999:128). One of the ritual runners is clearly carrying a bag (Figure 12e), while another may be carrying a branch (Figure 12d). The last sherd is from the same provenience (and probably the same vessel) as the ritual runner carrying the possible branch, and is therefore also likely a ritual runner. This is uncertain, however, as the upper half of the body is not present (Figure 12c). Ritual runners first appear, but are extremely rare, in Phase III (Donnan and McClelland 1999: figure 3.13). They become one of the most common themes in Moche fineline painting during Phase IV, and continue to be popular in Phase V (Donnan and McClelland 1999:128, 180). Based on the fact that he is nude, the person in Figure 12d may be a prisoner. If this is the case, this sherd depicts a scene in the Warrior Narrative, in which warriors were captured, stripped of their clothing, and ultimately sacrificed in rituals such as the one depicted in the well-known Sacrifice Ceremony (Alva and Donnan 1993:127-138; Donnan 1975, 1978:158-173; Donnan and McClelland 1999:69, 130-131).

One sherd in the figurative sample was classified as an anthropomorph. This sherd depicts a figure that cannot be identified because only its upper torso and neck are visible on the sherd (Figure 12f). Finally, three sherds in the figurative sample depict tools or accoutrements, which were included in the human/anthropomorph category because of their association with these figures (*i.e.*, they are made and used by humans). Two sherds depict head-dresses. A human hand and leg are also visible on one of these sherds (Figure 12g), and a

human leg is visible on the second (Figure 12h). The last sherd depicts a round earspool (Figure 12i).

The subject matter of the remaining 15 sherds in the figurative sample could not be firmly identified. In most cases, the designs on these sherds resemble figurative objects in Moche iconography. The sherds are very small, however, and not enough of the design is therefore present to firmly establish what is depicted. In some cases, objects could be partially identified, but due to the small size of the sherds the object's context could not be determined. For example, one sherd depicts the left side of a mouth and lower half of a left eye (B12, not pictured). It could not be determined, however, whether this face belongs to an animal, human, or anthropomorph.

As the above analysis demonstrates, the majority of sherds in the figurative sample at Galindo contain naturalistic depictions of plants and animals. Nevertheless, several sherds depict themes, figures, and objects commonly depicted during Phases III and IV that have ideological connotations and/or are related to the activities of elites. As mentioned above, at least one sherd (Figure 11b) and probably a second (Figure 11c) depict a bird drinking from a bowl. According to Donnan and McClelland (1999:136), this theme is related to the Warrior Narrative and symbolizes "the drinking of the captive's blood" in sacrificial rituals. Another sherd with a design that may be related to sacrifice depicts what is most likely an *ulluchu* fruit (Figure 11j). Ritual runners are also thought to communicate an ideological message, and appear on two sherds (Figures 12d-e) and possibly a third (Figure 12c) in the Galindo sample. According to Donnan and McClelland (1999:128), ritual runners are one of the most common themes during Phase IV, appearing on 13 percent of the vessels from this phase in the Moche Archive. One of the ritual runners is a nude male, and may be a

prisoner (Figure 12d). If so, this sherd depicts a scene in the Warrior Narrative, which culminates in the human sacrificial rituals that legitimated the authority of Moche rulers. Finally, there are at least four sherds in the Galindo sample that depict elite accoutrements (Figures 12b, g-i). The presence of these designs in the Galindo sample demonstrates that, although considerably less common than in Phase IV, the depiction of elites and elite activities continued into Phase V at Galindo.

*The Context: Moche Fineline and Figurative Sherds Recovered During the G.A.P.*

The proportion of fineline sherds and fineline sherds with figurative designs from G.A.P. contexts (before refits) is presented in Table 6 (see Bawden 1982b for a discussion of the proportion of Moche fine-ware ceramics in the residential contexts he excavated). Not surprisingly, high and moderate status Moche residences had the highest proportion of fineline sherds. Fineline sherds were considerably less common in low status Moche residences. This indicates that although few of the fineline ceramics at Galindo communicated traditional Moche ideological messages, Galindo elites still maintained tight control over their production and distribution.

The proportion of fineline sherds with figurative designs was extremely low in all contexts but one, Room 1 of Structure 52 (Area 311). Structure 52 is a large, moderate status residence located on Plain A2. Four units were excavated just inside the southern entrance. This area was utilized, presumably after the residence was abandoned, as a midden. Within the midden, 62 fineline sherds were encountered. This amounts to 25.2 percent of the total number of fineline sherds that were recovered during the G.A.P.. Of these, 50 percent were classified as figurative. It is likely that this proportion would have been even higher if it were

not for the fact that many of the fineline sherds are very small, making it difficult to determine what is depicted on them. In some cases, multiple sherds appear to be from the same vessel. Based on the color of the slip paints and the designs on the sherds, however, at least several different vessels are represented. No more than one figurative sherd was encountered in any other area excavated during the G.A.P., despite the fact that a significant number of fineline sherds were encountered from several of these areas. It is unclear why such a high proportion of fineline sherds and particularly figurative sherds were encountered in Room 1 of Structure 52. What is clear, however, is that the proportion of fineline sherds with figurative designs varies considerably by context at Galindo.

*Summary*

The design analysis of Moche fineline sherds from Galindo has revealed that two basic painting traditions were utilized in the decoration of this ware. One of these is a figurative painting tradition in which themes and figures characteristic of Phases III and IV were depicted. The number of these themes and figures were greatly reduced, and naturalistic depictions of plants and animals dominated. Some themes and figures thought to communicate ideological messages were retained, however, most notably ritual runners and birds drinking from bowls. This Phase V painting tradition is hereafter referred to as the figurative painting tradition. The vast majority of Moche fineline ceramics at Galindo, however, were decorated with a geometric painting tradition in which a small number of major motifs were utilized. This tradition also included standard principles of design layout in which the major motifs were combined to form the overall design of the vessels.

Area	Total Count	Total Diagnostics	Fineline Sherds		Figurative Sherds		
			Count	Percentage of Diagnostics	Count	Percentage of Diagnostics	Percentage of Finelines
Area 101 (MLSR)	473	473	8	1.7%	0	0%	0%
Area 102 (MLSR)	452	452	28	6.2%	0	0%	0%
Area 103 (SC)	322	322	18	5.6%	0	0%	0%
Area 201 (HL)	100	100	32	32.0%	0	0%	0%
Area 202 (HL)	29	29	6	20.7%	1	3.4%	16.7%
Area 203 (MHSR)	318	318	44	13.8%	1	0.3%	2.3%
Area 204 (MHSR)	213	213	18	8.5%	1	0.5%	5.6%
Area 301 (HA)	58	58	0	0%	0	0%	N/A
Area 302 (HA)	40	40	4	10.0%	0	0%	0%
Area 303 (O)	14	14	1	7.1%	0	0%	0%
Areas 304, 305 & 306 (HA)	30	30	2	6.7%	0	0%	0%
Area 307, SA 1 (MLSR)	716	283	10	3.5%	1	0.4%	10.0%
Area 307, SA 2 (CR)	203	203	1	0.5%	0	0%	0%
Area 307, SA 3 (CR)	164	164	2	1.2%	0	0%	0%
Area 307, SA 4-6 (CR)	901	901	0	0%	0	0%	N/A
Area 308 (MLSR)	24	24	5	20.8%	0	0%	0%
Area 309 (O)	0	0	0	N/A	0	N/A	N/A
Area 310 (MHSR)	78	78	5	6.4%	0	0%	0%
Area 311 (MHSR)	161	161	62	38.5%	31	19.3%	50.0%
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>4296</b>	<b>3863</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>14.2%</b>
Stratigraphic Cut 101 (SC)		322	18	5.6%	0	0%	0%
Huaca de las Abejas (HA)		128	6	4.7%	0	0%	0%
Huaca de las Lagartijas (HL)		129	38	29.5%	1	0.8%	2.6%
Moche residential contexts (MHSR & MLSR)		2002	180	9.0%	34	1.7%	18.9%
Chimu residential contexts (CR)		1268	3	0.2%	0	0%	0%
Other (O)		14	1	7.1%	0	0%	0%
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>3863</b>	<b>246</b>	<b>6.4%</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>14.2%</b>
Moche high and mod. status res. (MHSR)		770	129	16.8%	33	4.3%	25.6%
Moche low status residences (MLSR)		1232	51	4.1%	1	0.1%	2.0%
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>2002</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>1.7%</b>	<b>18.9%</b>

Table 6: Percentage of fineline and figurative sherds from Galindo contexts. Note: counts are before refits.

## A COMPARISON OF THE PAINTING TRADITIONS USED AT GALINDO TO DECORATE MOCHE FINELINE CERAMICS WITH THOSE OF CONTEMPORANEOUS MOCHE SITES

### *Pampa Colorada*

A review of design analyses and published examples of ceramics from other Moche sites has revealed that the geometric painting tradition was not unique to Galindo at this time. On the contrary, ceramics with designs of this tradition have been recovered from a number of Phase V/Late Moche sites throughout the north coast. Their presence is most striking at a small site (ISCH.206:3) associated with several prehistoric roads on the Pampa Colorada, located between the Santa and Chao Valleys in the southern Moche region.

Pimentel and Paredes (2003: figure 9.14) have published two near complete (Table 7), and one partial, Phase V stirrup spout bottles recovered from the site. The body of one of the nearly complete vessels is decorated with only thick bands of dark paint on the lower third of the body and upper third of the arch and spout (Pimentel and Paredes 2003: figure 9.14c). The other nearly complete bottle has more complex geometric designs (*ibid.*: figure 9.14b). The decoration of the vessel's body comprises two repeating motifs, both of which are major motifs identified in the Galindo sample. The stirrup spout is decorated with thick bands of dark paint, a stirrup spout motif (solid) that was also identified in the Galindo sample.

No.	Reference	Form	Stirrup Spout Motif	Body Motifs/IEs
1	Donnan 1973, Plate 7E; republished in McClelland <i>et al.</i> 2007, Figure 3.169b	Stirrup spout bottle	Geometric (shield and clubs)	Motif 1D with Double Open Triangle IEs (2 bands) Motif 2A with Double Open Triangle IEs (1 band)
2	Shimada 1976, Figure 41; republished in Shimada 1994, Figure 8.11	<i>Florero</i>	N/A	Motif 1D with Open Step IEs (1 band) Repeating "S" Motif with Open Triangle IEs
3	Shimada 1976, Figure 51; republished in Shimada 1994, Figure 7.35a	Stirrup spout bottle	N/A	Motif 1C with Open Step (1 band) and Open Triangle (1 band) IEs Repeating Crescent Motif
4	Ubbelohde-Doering 1983, Plate 56.3	Stirrup spout bottle	Solid	Motif 1A with Solid Triangle IEs (2 bands)
5	Shimada 1994, Figure 8.12c	Stirrup spout bottle	Single Lines	Motif 4 (1 band)
6	McClelland 1997, Figure 3	Stirrup spout bottle	Wave Motif (Type A)	Motif 1E with Open Step IEs (4 bands)
7	McClelland 1997, Figure 5; republished in Donnan and McClelland 1999, Figure 6.133	Stirrup spout bottle	Wave Motif (Type A)	Motif 1C with Open Step IEs (2 bands) and Motif 3A (2 bands)
8	McClelland 1997, Figure 6	Stirrup spout bottle	Wavy Ovals (Type A)	Motif 1D with Solid Step IEs (2 bands) and Motif 5A (2 bands)
9	Donnan and McClelland 1999, Figure 1.8	<i>Florero</i>	N/A	Motif 1A with Open Serrated Triangle IEs and Motif 2A with Open Triangle IEs
10	Donnan and McClelland 1999, Figure 6.132	Stirrup spout bottle	Wavy Lines (Type C)	Motif 1A with Open Step IEs (2 bands) and Motif 3A (2 bands)
11	Donnan and McClelland 1999, Figure 6.134	Stirrup spout bottle	Wavy Ovals (Type A)	Motif 1E with Solid Triangle (2 bands) and Solid Step (1 band) IEs Motif 3A (2 bands)
12	Donnan and McClelland 1999, Figure 6.135	Stirrup spout bottle	Single Lines	Motif 1E with Solid Step IEs (2 bands) and Motif 3A (3 bands)
13	Pimentel and Paredes 2003, Figure 9.14b	Stirrup spout bottle	Solid	Motif 1C with Serrated Triangle IEs (1 band) and Motif 2A with Solid Triangle IEs (1 band)
14	Pimentel and Paredes 2003, Figure 9.14c	Stirrup spout bottle	Solid	Solid Area Only (bottom third of vessel)
15	McClelland <i>et al.</i> 2007, Figure 3.169a	Stirrup spout bottle	None	Motif 1C with Solid Triangle IEs (2 bands)

Table 7: Published complete or near-complete Late Moche/Phase V fineline vessels with only geometric designs ( $n=15$ )

The partial vessel contains at least two bands of Motif 1A with open serrated triangle interstitial elements (*ibid.*: figure 9.14a). In addition to these vessels, Pimentel and Paredes (*ibid.*: figure 9.12) provide a photo of several fineline sherds from the surface of the same site. In the photo, geometric motifs can be identified on the five largest sherds. All five depict Motif 2A, and at least three include solid triangle interstitial elements. These sherds provide evidence that Phase V fineline vessels decorated with the geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo were either traded or produced by people living well to the south of the Moche Valley, an area previously thought to have been abandoned by the Moche at the end of Phase IV (Bawden 1996:263; Shimada 1994:118).

### *Pacatnamu*

In order to best evaluate the differences between Galindo fineline ceramics and those of

other Moche sites, it is necessary to have comparable samples from these sites. To be comparable, however, the sample must include all Moche fineline sherds recovered from a site, including those with geometric designs. A great deal of literature has been devoted to the study of Moche fineline iconography, but the vast majority of this work focuses on figurative designs on complete or near complete vessels (*e.g.*, Donnan 1975, 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1979, 1999; Hill 1998; Hocquenghem 1987; McClelland 1990). Unfortunately, very little attention has been given to geometric designs, and even less to the design analysis of sherds. After an extensive review of the literature on the Moche, only a single design analysis was encountered in which all Moche fineline sherds recovered during archaeological excavations were included. This analysis was performed by Donna McClelland (1997) on a sample of all Moche fineline sherds recovered during excavations at the site of Pacatnamu in the Jequete-



peque Valley between 1983 and 1987 (Donnan and Cock 1997). The sample is composed of 65 sherds, the vast majority of which are of the Phase V style (McClelland 1997:277). The Pacatnamu sample is therefore composed of sherds that are roughly contemporaneous with those of the Galindo sample. The Pacatnamu sample is also comparable to the Galindo sample in terms of context, with no sherds having been directly recovered from burials. According to McClelland (*ibid.*:265), some of the sherds “may have been from vessels that were associated with burials that had been looted, but others clearly were found in Moche refuse.” The following is a reporting of McClelland’s analysis of the Pacatnamu sample, which is very similar to my analysis of the Galindo sample, and a comparison of her results to those reported above. The most significant difference between McClelland’s analysis and the one presented above is that stirrup spout fragments were not analyzed, because no sherds of this type were found.

#### *Geometric Versus Figurative Designs in the Pacatnamu Sample*

In her analysis of Moche fineline sherds from Pacatnamu, McClelland first divided her sample into three categories: sherds with geometric designs, sherds with figurative designs, and sherds with unidentified elements (mostly very small sherds, classified herein as indeterminate). Table 8 presents the distribution of sherds in each of these categories in the Pacatnamu sample.

Type	Count	Percentage
Geometric	11	16.9%
Figurative	24	36.9%
Indeterminate	30	46.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 8: Geometric versus figurative sherds in the Pacatnamu sample (n=65)

Geometric sherds make up only 16.9 percent of the sample, while figurative sherds comprise 36.9 percent of the sample. I performed a chi-square analysis on the number of geometric versus figurative sherds in the Galindo and Pacatnamu samples. I excluded undecorated sherds from the Galindo sample, because McClelland did not include these sherds in her sample. I considered sherds with both geometric and figurative designs in the Galindo sample to be figurative, in order to make the test more conservative. The test was performed twice, first on all remaining sherds ( $\chi^2=78.3$ ;  $p<.01$ ) and again on all remaining sherds excluding stirrup spout fragments, because the Pacatnamu sample had none ( $\chi^2=67.6$ ;  $p<.01$ ). Both analyses demonstrate a statistically significant difference between the samples at the .01 level.

In addition to a significantly greater percentage of figurative designs in the Pacatnamu sample, the proportion of indeterminate sherds (46.2%) is also significantly greater than in the Galindo sample (11.6%). Although the reason for this difference is uncertain, it appears to be because of the nature of figurative versus geometric designs. Figurative designs in Moche iconography are often complex, and either cover the entire surface of the vessel, or are repeated only a few times around the vessel’s surface. Moche geometric motifs, on the other hand, are often small, occurring numerous times as repeating panels or bands. Furthermore, Moche geometric motifs appear to be highly standardized, with only a few geometric motifs (with various types) occurring on numerous vessels. Moche figurative designs, on the other hand, are more varied. As a result, it is typically easier to identify a geometric motif from a small sherd than to determine the subject matter of a small sherd that was part of a large and complex figurative design. The vast majority of McClelland’s indeterminate sherds (McClelland 1997: figures 38 and 39) appear to be parts of complex figurative designs. These sherds were not considered to be

figurative, however, because the sherds are too small to determine what is depicted. As a result, the proportion of sherds from vessels with figurative designs is likely to be substantially higher than the 36.9 percent of sherds in which a figurative subject matter could be determined. Under the standards I employed in the analysis of the Galindo sample, only one of the sherds in McClelland's "unidentified elements" category would have been classified as geometric (the sherd depicts a spiral motif, see McClelland 1997: figure 39), while several would have been classified as figurative with indeterminate subject matter.

#### *Design Analysis of Geometric Sherds in the Pacatnamu Sample*

Despite the fact that the Galindo sample is significantly different from the Pacatnamu sample in terms of the proportion of geometric versus figurative designs, a comparison of the geometric motifs present in both samples suggests that similar artistic conventions were employed at the two sites in the painting of geometric designs. All 11 sherds classified by McClelland as geometric depict major motifs identified in the Galindo sample (Table 9).

Type	Count	Percentage
Motif 1	8	72.7%
Motif 2	2	18.2%
Motif 3	1	9.1%
Motif 4	1	9.1%
Motif 5	1	9.1%

*Table 9: Distribution of geometric motifs in the Pacatnamu sample (n=11). Note: two sherds have two motifs*

As is the case in the Galindo sample, Motif 1 is by far the most common, appearing on eight sherds. Among these, one is Type C, three are Type D, and the type of the remaining four could not be determined. Three have solid triangle interstitial elements, two have open

triangles, and the interstitial elements of the remaining three could not be determined. Motif 2A appears on two sherds, both with open triangle interstitial elements. Motifs 3A, 4, and 5A are also present, each appearing on a single sherd. Two of the sherds in the Pacatnamu sample contain two motifs. One contains Motif 1C and Motif 2A, and the other contains Motif 1 (type indeterminate) and Motif 3A. The geometric sherds in the Pacatnamu sample also share the design layout characteristics of the geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo. It is unclear at this time whether these ceramics were produced at Pacatnamu or are trade-wares from Galindo or another Phase V/Late Moche site. In either case, the presence at both sites of Moche fineline ceramics decorated with the geometric painting tradition suggests that the two sites had some degree of interaction.

#### *Figurative Subject Matter Analysis of the Pacatnamu Sample*

As part of her analysis, McClelland identified the subject matter of the sherds with figurative designs in the Pacatnamu sample. There are two sections in the analysis. In the first, she uses the Moche Archives at U.C.L.A. to match sherds to specific themes and figures in Moche fineline iconography. According to McClelland, the Tule Boat theme is depicted on six sherds, the Strombus Monster is depicted on four sherds, and the Triangular Head and Running Figures are each depicted on one sherd. All of these sherds, which make up 18.5 percent of the total sample, can be argued to depict ideological themes or figures, especially the Tule Boat theme, Strombus Monster, and Running Figures (see Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999; McClelland 1990). McClelland classified an additional ten sherds as depicting "nonspecific design elements". These sherds could not be correlated with specific Moche themes or figures, but their content could be determined to varying degrees. These sherds, according to

McClelland, depict an additional possible Strombus Monster, a lower leg, a flower, a possible runner, feline pelage markings, feathers (on two sherds), fox-headed snakes, a human/anthropomorphic head, and a possible anthropomorphized fish. If her interpretations of the subject matter of these sherds are correct, at least five additional sherds could be argued to depict ideological themes or figures (the possible Strombus Monster, the possible runner, the fox-headed snakes, the anthropomorphic head, and the possible anthropomorphized fish). McClelland classified an additional two sherds as figurative with indeterminate subject matter.

The majority of the sherds in the Galindo figurative sample depict naturalistic plants and animals. The majority of the sherds in the Pacatnamu figurative sample, on the other hand, depict portions of complex supernatural themes and figures. Some of these designs appear to be part of the traditional figurative painting tradition (e.g., a ritual runner; McClelland 1997: figure 21). Other sherds in the Pacatnamu figurative sample, however, are characteristic of another Late Moche figurative painting tradition, known as the “Moro Style,” which is unique to the northern Moche region (Castillo 2001:319-320, 2003:101-102; Donnan and McClelland 1999:139; see below).

### *Pampa Grande*

The geometric painting tradition was also utilized in the decoration of ceramics recovered from the site of Pampa Grande, although their prevalence is still unclear. All of the geometric designs on Moche fineline ceramics from Pampa Grande published by Shimada (1994) in his book on the site, however, are motifs that occur on sherds from Galindo (Table 7). All but one of the motifs in this admittedly small number of ceramics are major motifs in the Galindo sample. Only three vessels with geometric designs are published in the book. The first is a stirrup

spout bottle with two bands of Motif 1C, one of which has open triangle and the other of which has open step interstitial elements (*ibid.*: figure 7.35a). In between is another repeating motif, composed of repeating crescents, which has been identified at Galindo but is not in the Galindo sample (the drawing could not be correlated with provenience and/or paint color data). The stirrup spout on the vessel does not appear to have been decorated. The second vessel is a *florero* with a single band of Motif 1D with open step interstitial elements (*ibid.*: figure 8.11). A second band below depicts a repeating “S” motif (identified on only a single sherd in the Galindo sample) with open triangle interstitial elements. The final vessel is another stirrup spout bottle (*ibid.*: figure 8.12c). The stirrup spout is decorated with single lines, and the body is decorated with only a single band of Motif 4. It is unclear at this time what percentage of the geometric motifs that decorate Pampa Grande fineline ceramics are major motifs in the geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo. The above analysis of the three vessels published in Shimada’s book on Pampa Grande does demonstrate, however, that at least some geometric motifs were utilized at both sites. Galindo and Pampa Grande therefore appear to have had at least some degree of interaction.

### *San José de Moro*

Interestingly, Moche fineline ceramics decorated with the geometric painting tradition are almost completely absent at the Late Moche site of San José de Moro. McClelland *et al.* (2007) have recently analyzed a sample of 255 Moche fineline vessels or large sherds that are attributable to San José de Moro with varying degrees of certainty.<sup>2</sup> Of this sample, only two

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<sup>2</sup> For 21 percent of the sample, the vessel or sherd was excavated at San José de Moro. For 43 percent of the sample looters recall finding the vessel and could describe its context and/or location at the site. For 5 percent of the

stirrup spout bottles (less than one percent) contain solely geometric designs (*ibid.* 2007: 151). Furthermore, only one of these bottles was recovered from San José de Moro. This bottle has two bands of repeating Motif 1C panels with solid triangle interstitial elements (*ibid.*: figure 3.169a). The second bottle in the San José de Moro sample, which was recovered from a grave at the site of Cenicero in the Santa Valley, has two bands of repeating Motif 1D panels with double open triangle interstitial elements on either side of a band of repeating Motif 2A designs with the same interstitial elements (*ibid.* Figure 3.169b). The lack of Moche fineline ceramics with designs of the geometric painting tradition at San José de Moro may indicate that Galindo did not have as much interaction with the site as it did with other sites on the north coast. Alternatively, it may be the result of the fact that most, if not all, of the ceramics in the San José de Moro sample were recovered from tombs or caches (*ibid.*:7), whereas none of the sherds in the Galindo sample are from these sorts of contexts.

Almost all of the fineline vessels recovered both illegally and archaeologically from San José de Moro were decorated with the Moro Style of fineline painting. According to Luis Jaime Castillo (2001:319-320; see also Castillo 2003:101), the Moro Style differs from the Phase IV figurative painting tradition in the southern Moche region in the following ways: (1) a reduction in the number of iconographic themes; (2) a new emphasis on maritime themes; (3) a high frequency of depictions of the “Priestess” or “Supernatural Woman”; and (4)

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sample the vessel was painted by an artist who had painted another vessel that was excavated at the site. For 7 percent of the sample the vessel was recorded in the hands of a dealer or knowledgeable collector who was confident that it was from the site. For the remaining 23 percent of the sample, no provenience was available, but the vessel form and painting style are consistent with known vessels from the site. (McClelland *et al.* 2007:7).

an almost complete disappearance of human beings in favor of supernatural beings. In addition, the scenes depicted are “few and repetitive: the Burial Theme, the combat between supernatural beings, the navigation of the reed rafts, the Priestess on a crescent moon, and the anthropomorphized wave” (Castillo 2001:320; see also Castillo 2003:101). None of the figurative sherds in the Galindo sample could be identified as depicting any of these scenes. In the Pacatnamu sample, on the other hand, McClelland identifies five sherds (1997: figure 11) as being part of tule boat scenes (the “reed raft” of Castillo), and identifies another sherd (*ibid.*: figure 13) as being part of a “rayed crescent tule boat” (the “crescent moon” of Castillo). Both of these scenes are associated with the Priestess in the fineline painting tradition at San José de Moro (Castillo 2003:102).

In addition, the Moro Style is characterized by extremely elaborate decoration. Background filler elements were often used to fill in the empty spaces around the principal figurative designs. In general, the figurative designs in the Galindo sample are not as elaborate as those of San José de Moro. The figurative designs in the Pacatnamu sample are generally more elaborate than those of Galindo, but not as elaborate as those of San José de Moro. Background filler elements are absent in the Galindo sample, present but rare in the Pacatnamu sample, and common at San José de Moro.

#### *Non-provenienced Phase V/Late Moche Fineline Vessels with Only Geometric Designs*

Despite the fact that hundreds of complete or near complete Phase V/Late Moche fineline vessels have been published to date, very few of these contain only geometric designs (Table 7). In addition to the vessels described above (McClelland *et al.* 2007: figures 3.169a and 3.169b; Pimentel and Paredes 2003: figures 9.14b and 9.14c; Shimada 1994: figures 7.35a,

8.11 and 8.12c), a review of Moche literature found only three publications with such vessels. In her design analysis of fineline sherds from Pacatnamu, McClelland (1997) publishes, as comparatives, three complete Phase V stirrup spout bottles with only geometric designs. As all of the geometric designs identified by McClelland in the Pacatnamu sample are major motifs in the geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo, it is not surprising that all of the geometric designs on the comparative vessels are as well. In addition, however, the stirrup spouts on these three vessels are all decorated with stirrup spout motifs identified in the Galindo sample. An additional whole vessel from Pacatnamu, which depicts two bands of Motif 1A with solid triangle interstitial elements, has been published by Ubbelohde-Doering (1983: Plate 56.3).

In their seminal work on Moche fineline painting, Donnan and McClelland (1999) publish five complete Phase V vessels with only geometric designs, one of which (figure 6.133) is the same vessel as one of the comparatives in McClelland's (1997: figure 5) analysis of Pacatnamu sherds. Four of these are stirrup spout bottles attributed to a single artist (the "Geometric Painter"). All of the designs on the bodies of these bottles are major motifs identified in the Galindo sample. All four vessels also contain stirrup spout motifs utilized by Galindo artists. In addition to these stirrup spout bottles, Donnan and McClelland (1999: figure 1.8) also publish a complete *florero* with only geometric designs. Both of the motifs on this vessel are major motifs identified in the Galindo sample.

Unfortunately, the context of all but one of these vessels (Ubbelohde-Doering 1983: plate 56.3) is unknown. It is possible that all seven of these vessels came from Galindo itself. As a result, these vessels unfortunately provide little information on the distribution of the geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo.

## CONCLUSION

The preceding literature review indicates that there were at least three painting traditions utilized in the decoration of Phase V/Late Moche fineline vessels. Two of these, the geometric painting tradition and the traditional figurative painting tradition, were utilized at Galindo. The Moro Style was not utilized at Galindo, and appears to be unique to the northern Moche region. The preceding literature review also indicates that the geometric painting tradition was widespread, although never as dominant at other sites as it was at Galindo, with the possible exception of the small site (ISCH.206:3) on the Pampa Colorada. Because Moche fineline sherds are rarely analyzed or published, however, it is unclear exactly how far to the north and south the tradition extended, and how extensive it was in these areas. Its frequency at most of the sites in which it has been documented is also unknown. The presence of the geometric painting tradition in the decoration of Moche fineline ceramics at sites such as Pacatnamu and Pampa Grande, however, indicate that there was at least some degree of interaction between Galindo and these sites. As more data on the presence and prevalence of the various painting traditions utilized to decorate Moche fineline ceramics at different Phase V/Late Moche sites are obtained and published, the extent of this interaction will no doubt become increasingly clear.

The form of interaction that existed between Moche sites with fineline ceramics decorated with the various Phase V/Late Moche painting traditions also remains unclear at this time. In order to address this issue, compositional analyses are required to first determine whether sherds decorated with these traditions were produced at a single or multiple locations. If the analyses indicate that ceramics decorated with a certain tradition were produced at a single location, then trade is indicated. If trade

is indicated, the preponderance of the geometric painting tradition at Galindo relative to other major sites indicates that they were most likely produced at or near Galindo. If compositional analyses indicate that fineline ceramics decorated with a particular painting tradition were produced at multiple locations, on the other hand, then open lines of communication and/or copying from a distance are indicated. The degree of standardization in motifs and design layout indicates that the former is more likely the case for the geometric painting tradition.

While compositional analyses are crucial to understanding the form of interaction that existed between sites with fineline ceramics decorated with the various Phase V/Late Moche painting traditions, more chronometric dates are required to understand their origin and spread. Chronometric dates are in fact completely lacking at some Phase V/Late Moche sites, and inadequate at others. More chronometric dates from Phase V/Late Moche contexts will help elucidate the origin and spread of the various painting traditions of this time, which will lead to a better understanding of the political, cultural, and trade relationships that existed between the sites that produced them. Establishing such relationships will in turn aid archaeologists in their quest to write the final chapters in the history of the Moche people.

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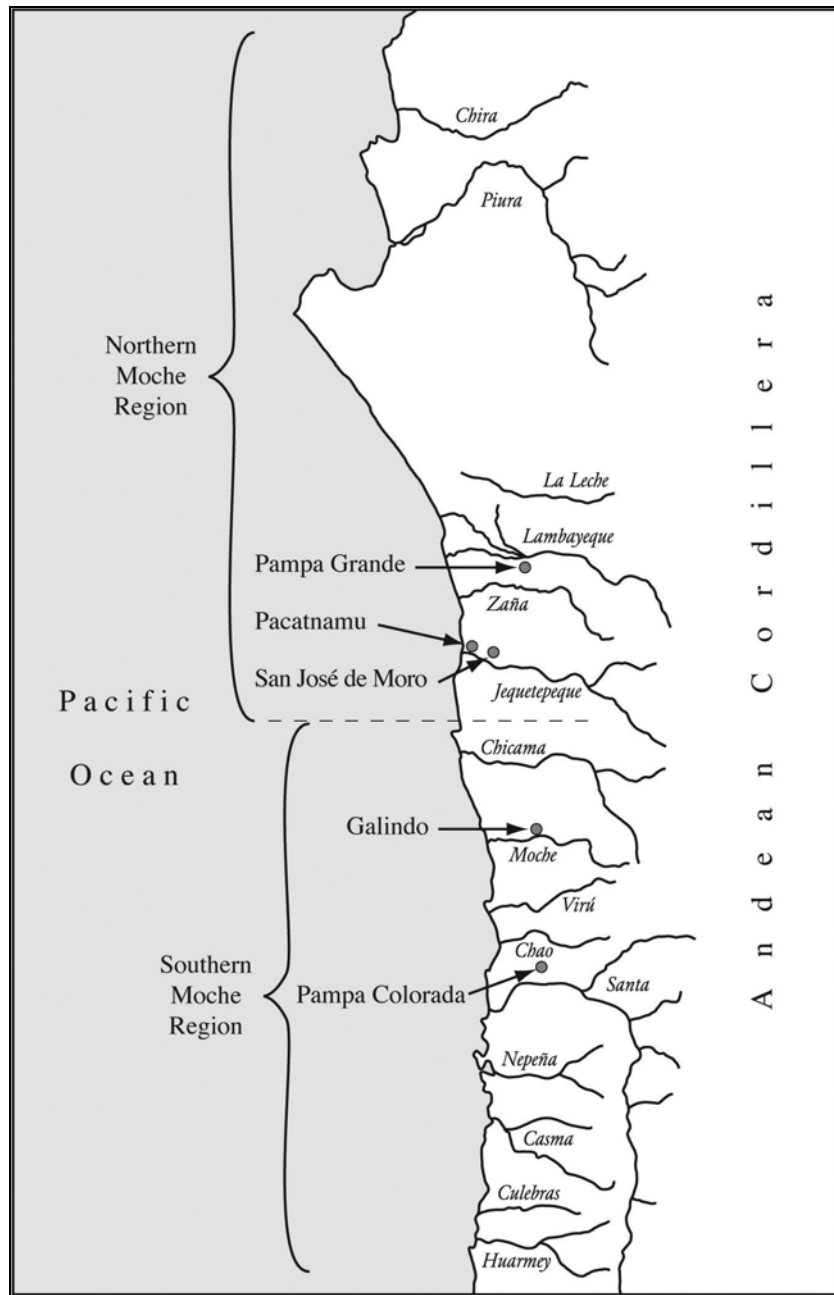


Figure 1: Map of the north coast of Peru, indicating the location of sites mentioned in the text.

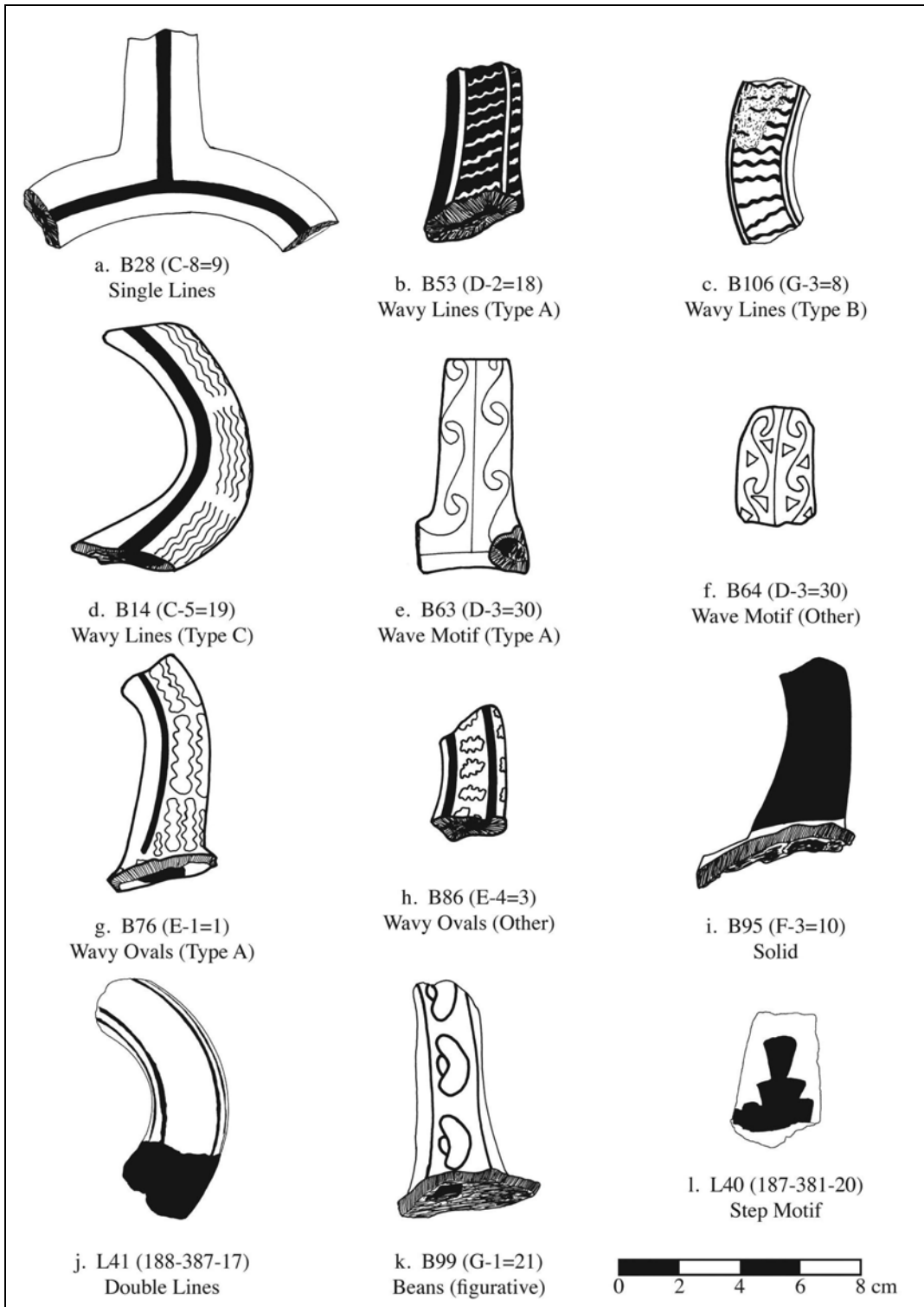


Figure 2: Examples of stirrup spout motifs and their associated types.

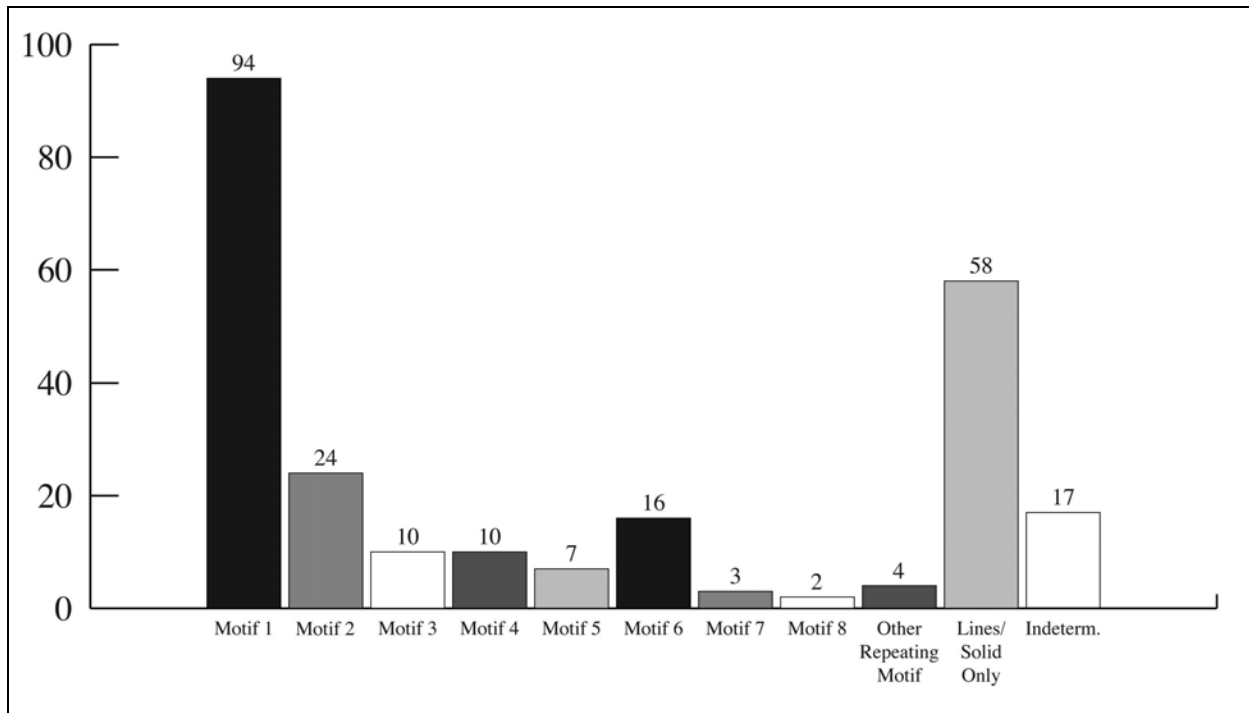


Figure 3: Distribution of motifs in the geometric sample (n=228).  
 Note: Some sherds have more than one motif (see Table 4).

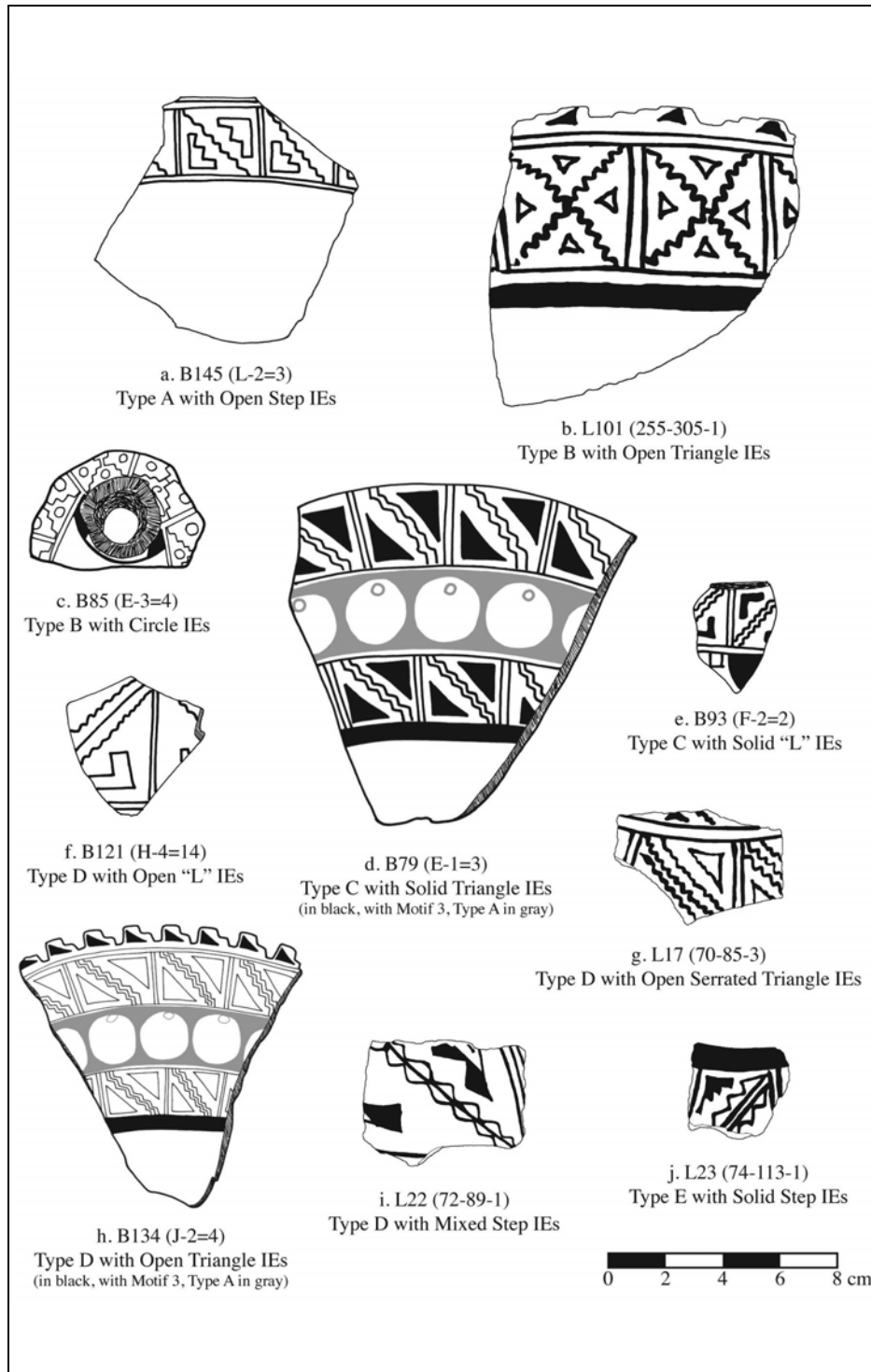


Figure 4: Examples of Motif 1 types and interstitial elements.

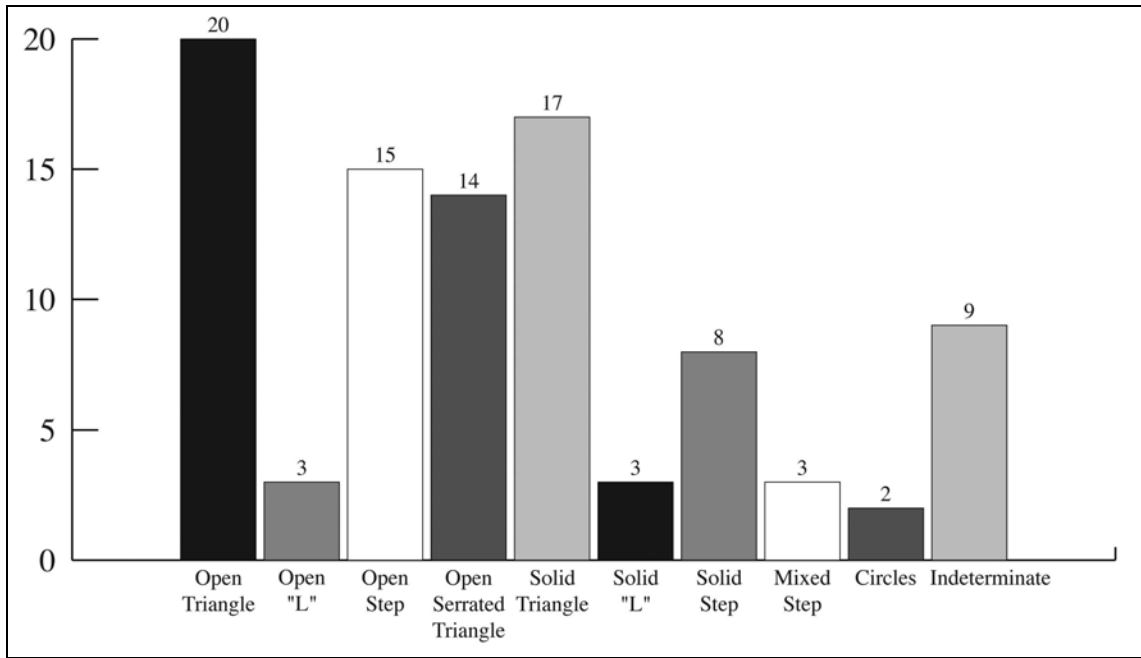


Figure 5: Distribution of Motif 1 interstitial elements (n=94).

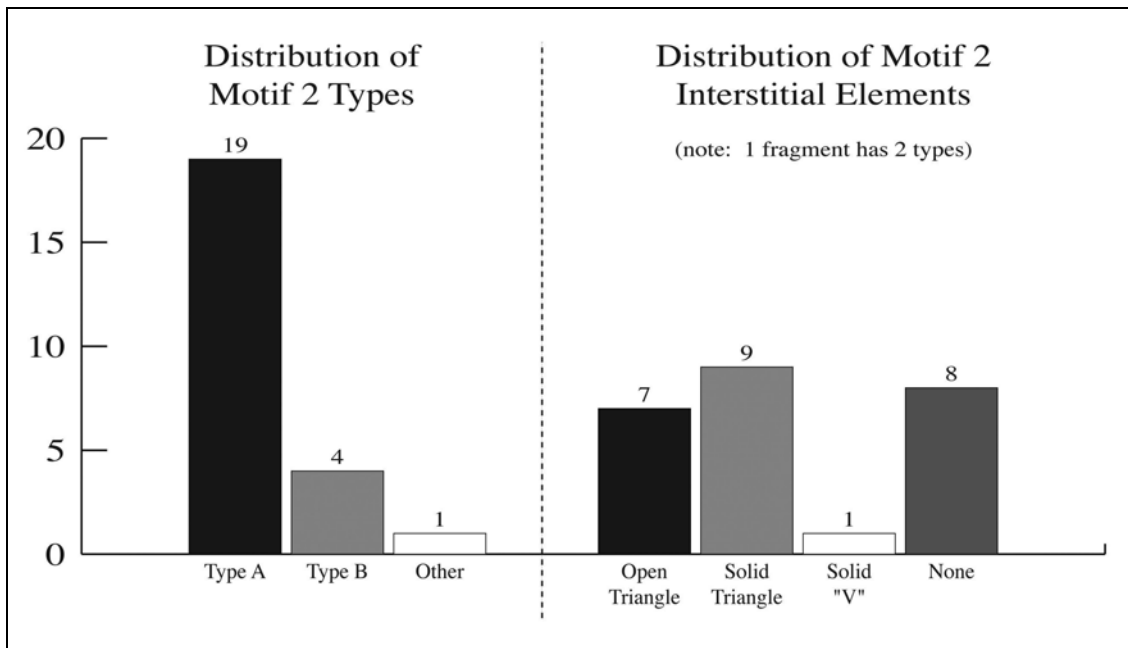


Figure 6: Distribution of Motif 2 types and interstitial elements (n=24).

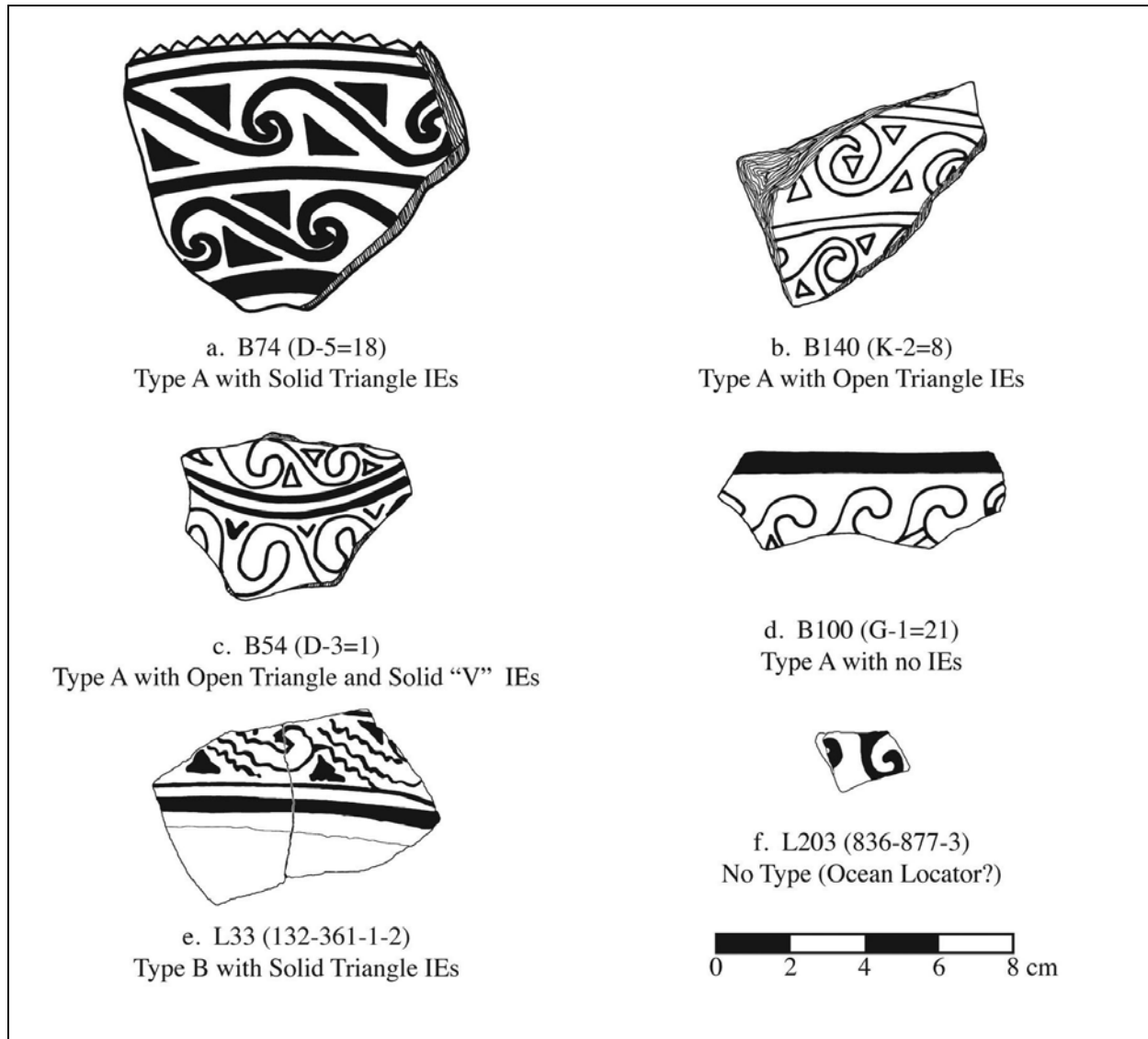


Figure 7: Examples of Motif 2 types and interstitial elements.

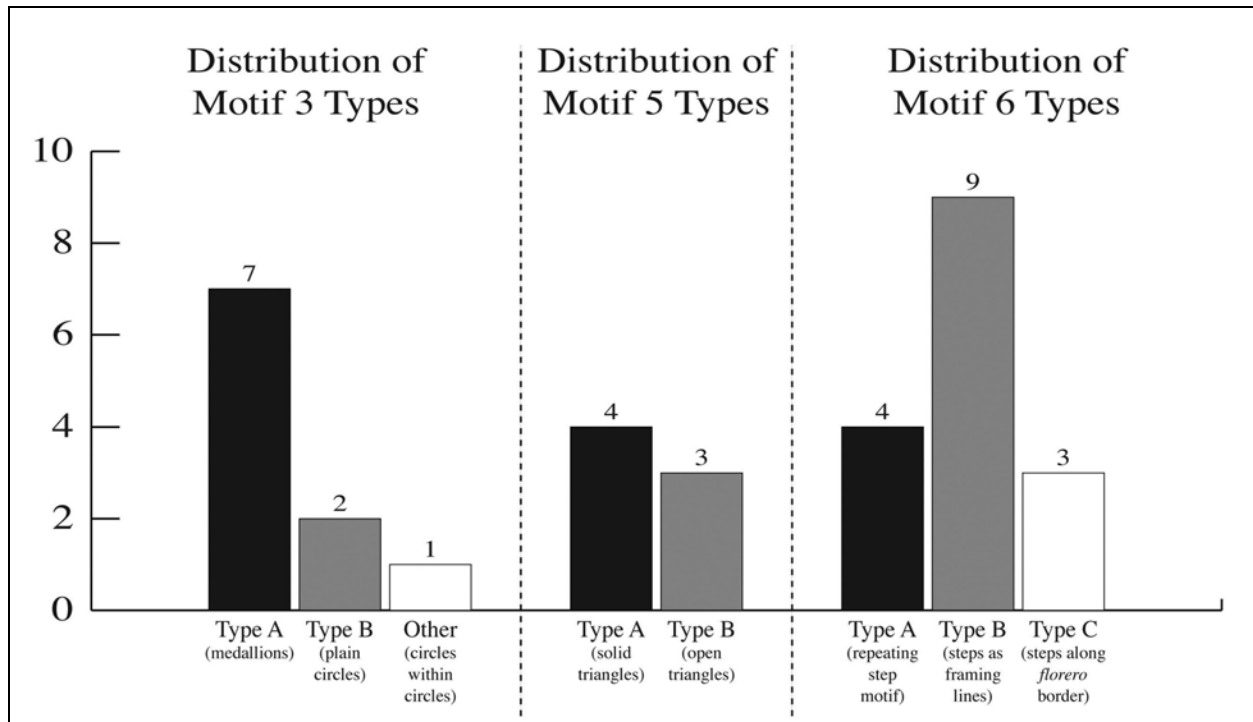


Figure 8: Distribution of Motif 3 (n=10), Motif 5 (n=7), and Motif 6 (n=16) types.

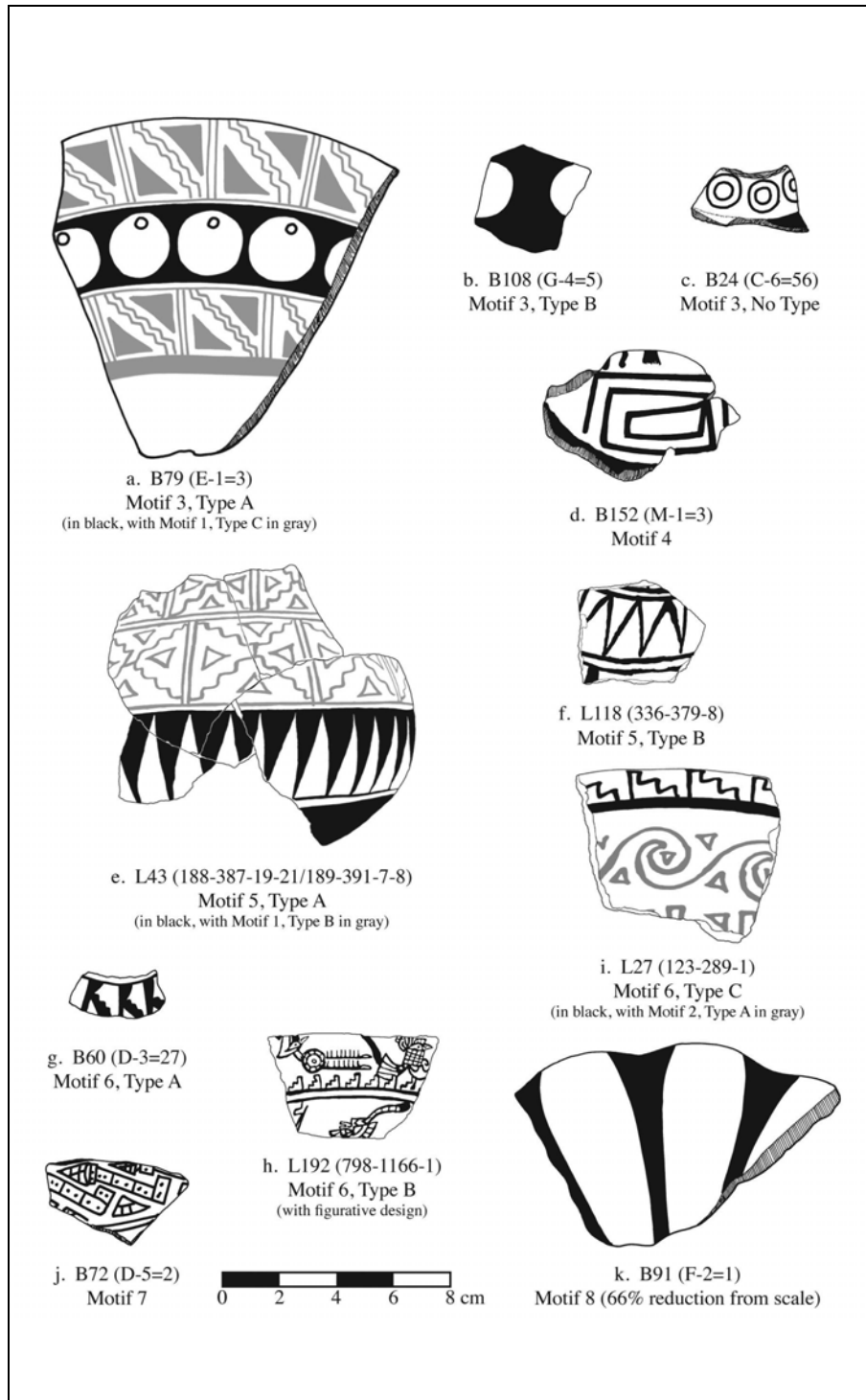


Figure 9: Examples of Motifs 3-8 and their associated types.



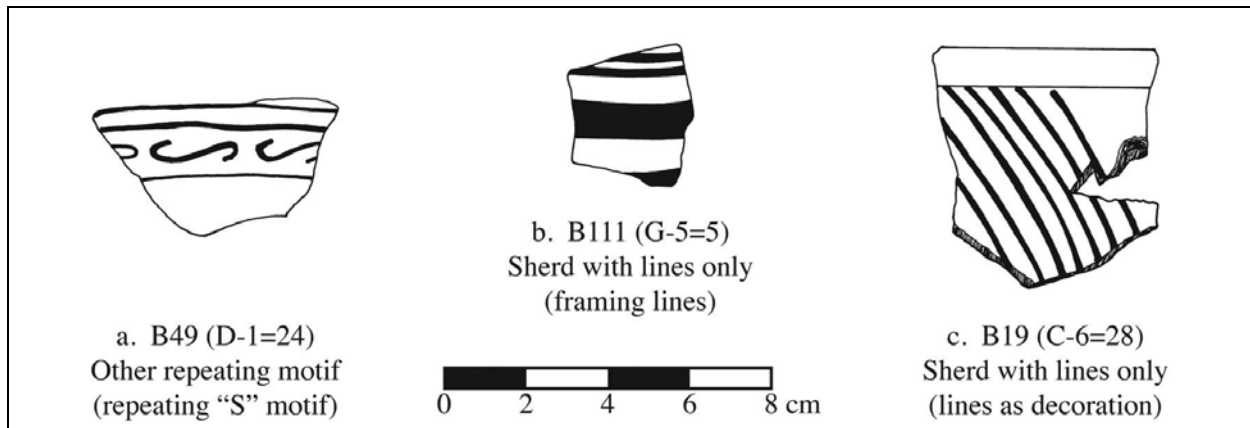


Figure 10: Examples of sherds with other repeating motifs and sherds with lines and solid areas only.

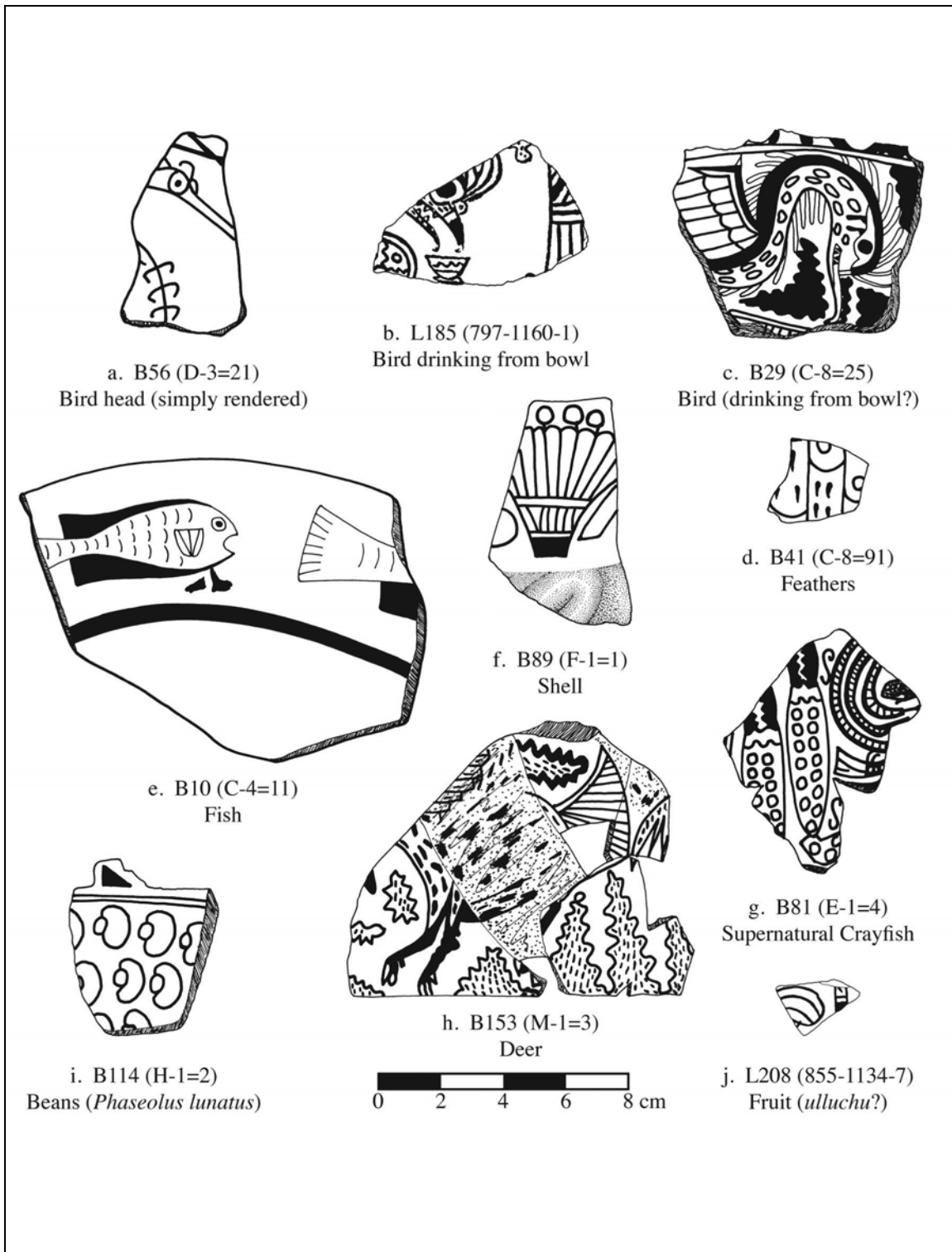


Figure 11: Examples of sherds depicting animals and plants.

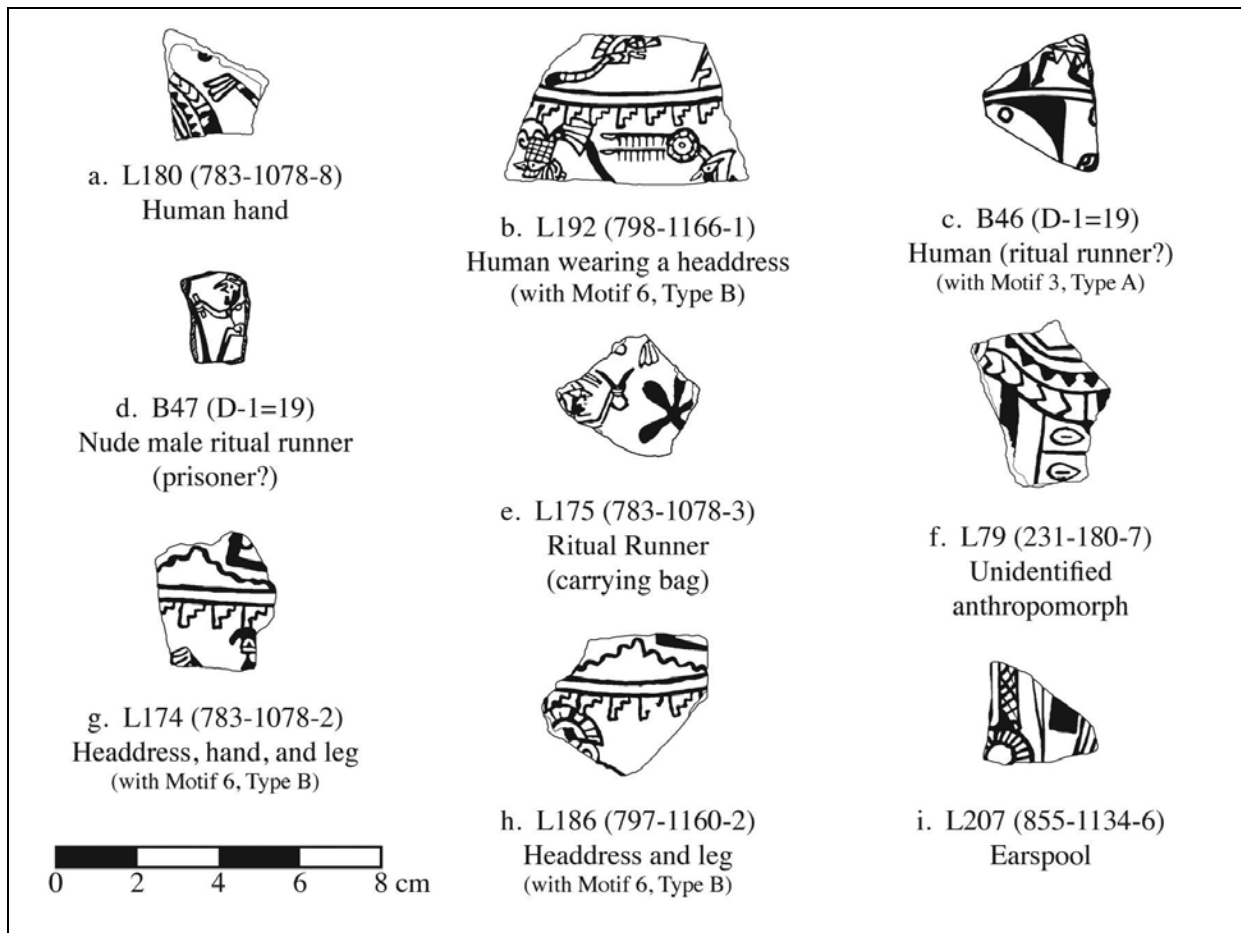


Figure 12: Examples of sherds depicting humans, anthropomorphs, and tools/accoutrements.