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THE ENGRAVED HEAD MOTIFS ON CUPISNIQUE STYLE VESSELS:
INNOVATION AND APPROPRIATION IN EARLY ANDEAN ART

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

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Throughout my life as a graduate student, I often felt as if I were kept in a lightless cave. Writing dissertation was a huge part of the struggle to see some light again and to arrive at the end of the cave. While I was writing my dissertation, occasional big waves of loneliness and stress slammed into me. However, I did not have to deal with it completely alone. A large group of people encouraged me and helped me find the light of wisdom. Without their help, my dissertation would not have been completed.

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Abstract

THE ENGRAVED HEAD MOTIFS ON CUPISNIQUE STYLE VESSELS: INNOVATION AND APPROPRIATION IN EARLY ANDEAN ART

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2010

Director: Dr. James D. Farmer, Associate Professor, Department of Art History

This dissertation is a formal and iconographic study of a distinctive engraved motif found on Cupisnique style vessels that were excavated in what is now northern Peru. The Cupisnique style was developed approximately between 1200 – 200 B.C.E., and was mainly centered in the Jequetepeque and the Chicama Valleys in the northern coastal region of Peru. This study includes an analysis of two ceramic vessels in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (henceforth VMFA).

The purpose of this dissertation is to document and analyze the Cupisnique engraved head motifs and to argue that these motifs reflect the influence of early Formative Ecuador ceramics on the later coastal Cupisnique as

well as on the highland Chavín style. In addition to the two VMFA vessels, this study documents and analyzes an additional one hundred seventy seven (177) Cupisnique ceramics vessels that were also engraved with head motifs. These belong to various museums and private collections in South and North America. This study also presents a catalog of all documented head motifs, including those captured on photographs and in original drawings. The Cupisnique head motifs are classified by individual elements, and iconographies of Cupisnique head motifs are presented based on the origin and influence of the motifs.

Introduction

This dissertation is a formal and iconographic study of a distinctive engraved motif found on Cupisnique (koo-pis-NEE-kay) style vessels that were excavated in what is now northern Peru.¹ The Cupisnique style was developed approximately between 1200 – 200 B.C.E., and was mainly centered between the Jequetepeque and the Chicama Valleys in the northern coastal region of Peru. This study includes an analysis of two ceramic vessels in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (henceforth VMFA). The first vessel (figure 1.1), henceforth referred to as VMFA Vessel A, is 26 centimeters tall and has a modeled figure of a seated man on its front as well as an engraved head motif with an oblong fang located on the figure's left side. Because the seated man's back forms a globular shape, the seated man could be seen as a depiction of a hunchbacked man. The second vessel (figure 1.2), henceforth referred to as VMFA Vessel B, is 27 centimeters tall and has the shape of two conjoined shells, a conch and a *spondylus*. A head motif with thick lips, a rectangular eye, and a half-circle pupil is engraved on top of the conch shell. Each of the brown-colored

¹ This is the first time that the term "Peru" is used in this dissertation. Around 1000 B.C.E., the concept of the country "Peru" did not exist. The name "Peru" was first used in 1821 after the country gained its independence from Spain. However, the archaeological remains of the Cupisnique and Chavín de Huántar art objects were excavated and the archaeological sites of Cupisnique and Chavín are located on the northern coast and in the highlands of the country that is now known as Peru. Therefore, I will use the term, "Peru" throughout this dissertation in order to refer to the geographical location by its modern name.

vessels has a stirrup spout on top. The motifs on these vessels, henceforth referred to as “engraved head motifs,” were engraved after the final firing process. No clear provenance exists for the origin of these two vessels.

The ceramic vessels probably came from one of the Cupisnique sites in the Jequetepeque Valley of northern Peru.² Stylistically, they are quite similar to other documented Cupisnique vessels. These Cupisnique ceramic style vessels were widely used in northern coastal Peru from the Virú Valley to the La Leche Valley, the region where Cupisnique culture was thriving during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C.E. (ca. 1200 – 200 B.C.E.).³ The Cupisnique ceramic vessels were named after the major excavation in the Chicama Valley that was conducted by Rafael Larco Hoyle.

In fact, Larco Hoyle and Richard Burger defined the general characteristics of Cupisnique ceramics based in terms of date, color, technique, and motifs. They have argued that the Cupisnique ceramic vessels were produced between approximately 1200 and 200 B.C.E. These excavated

² The picture of the Vessel A was published in Alan Lapiner, *Pre-Columbian Art of South America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, INC., 1976), 25. In this publication, Lapiner suggested that this vessel is probably from the Jequetepeque Valley, but he could not reveal a clear provenance. The image of the Vessels B was published in Walter Alva, *Frühe Keramik aus dem Jequetepeque-Tal, Nordperu*. (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1986), 139. He suggested that the vessel B was from the Jequetepeque Valley as well.

³ The background information about the culture and time Period of Cupisnique is based on the following publications: Richard Burger, *Chavin and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 90 – 99, Richard Burger, “Like and After life in Pre-Hispanic Peru,” in *The Spirit of Ancient Peru*, ed. Kathleen Berrin (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 21 – 32, Rafael Larco Hoyle, “A Culture Sequence for the North Coast of Peru.” in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 149-175 and Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisnique*. (Lima: La Cronica y Variedades S. A. Ltda, 1941), 7 – 11

ceramics have two basic color schemes: one is a dark monochrome color, usually gray or black, and the other is a reddish color, usually bright brown. The surfaces of these ceramics are extremely well-polished. Some Cupisnique ceramic vessels include the stirrup-spout, which can be seen as another characteristic. In addition to the stirrup-spout, the Cupisnique potters used a molding technique in order to shape and depict nature and everyday life. Both Larco Hoyle and Burger acknowledged the engraving technique that was used for delineating various motifs on the Cupisnique ceramic surfaces. However, no one acknowledged the most important characteristic of the Cupisnique ceramics: the fact that the unique combination of the post-firing engraving technique and the head motifs are not found in other Andean art styles, including both preceding and subsequent cultures in the Andes. The engraving technique, painted head motifs, and carved motifs were often used throughout Andean art objects, but the post-firing engraved head motifs can only be found on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels. These post-firing engraved head motifs can therefore be considered the most important unifying and intriguing characteristic of the Cupisnique ceramic vessels. The engraved head motifs are the distinctive characteristic that differentiates the vessels from the Chavín art style, which has long been considered the most influential to the subsequent art styles in the Andes.

The two VMFA vessels, as well as the other various Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels engraved with the head motifs, reflect the stylistic sophistication

of the northern coastal culture and the creative abilities of Cupisnique artists. The VMFA stirrup-spouted ceramic vessels decorated with engraved head motifs provide evidence that the Cupisnique region is an intermediary between the earlier Ecuadorian coastal area and the later Peruvian highlands.⁴ Therefore, in this dissertation, the term “Cupisnique” shall be understood to mean not only the geographical and cultural region of the northern coast of Peru in order to distinguish it from the Chavín civilization, but also the combination of the post-firing engraved technique with the head motifs. Although the stirrup-spout shape and the post-firing engraving technique were appropriated from the cultures on the southern coast of Ecuador, the engraved head motifs and their iconography developed independently on the northern coast of Peru.

The engraved head motif is not limited to the two VMFA vessels. It also appears on hundreds of other Cupisnique vessels that are located in various museums and private collections. However, sufficient documentation and thorough research about these engraved head motifs has not yet been published. Little iconographic study on the engraved head motif has been done, and no scholarship could be found that traced its formal evolution and history. Therefore, this dissertation explores the origin and development of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. It argues that the motifs represent the cultural identity, social

⁴ In this dissertation, this is the first use of the term, “Ecuador.” Around 3000 B.C.E., the concept of the country “Ecuador” did not exist. The name “Ecuador” was first used in 1820 after the country gained its independence from Spain. However, the archaeological remains of the Valdivia, Machalilla, and Chorrera art objects were excavated along the southern coast of today’s Ecuador. Therefore, I will use the term “Ecuador” throughout this dissertation in order to refer to the geographical location by its modern name .

authority, and political ideology of the Cupisnique people, as well as the historical signature of the Cupisnique region.

Chavín, Cupisnique and Ecuadorian Traditions

Julio Tello originally linked the shallow engravings on ceramics excavated on the northern coast of Peru to the Chavín culture, which had been cited as the first great pan-Andean civilization of ancient America, and he argued that the Chavín style dominated northern coastal Peru from 900 to 200 B.C.E.⁵ After the site of Chavín de Huántar had been professionally excavated by Julio Tello in 1919, the name of the archaeological site “Chavín” was generally used to designate not only the style, but also the culture of Chavín. The fact that Chavín’s sophisticated artistic elements were adopted and reused by subsequent Andean cultures seems to support Tello’s argument that Chavín culture and its art style strongly influenced the entire Andean region from the coast to the tropical rain forest. The site of Chavín de Huántar, known as the center of Chavín civilization, has distinctive stone structures that represent the highest in cultural achievement: as opposed to other archaeological sites constructed in the early centuries of the first millennium, which use adobe bricks.⁶ Tello accurately

⁵ The information about the date (ca. 900 – 200 B.C.E.) when Chavín de Huántar was constructed and its culture flourished is based on the following publication: Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 128 – 164. Tello stated that Chavín civilization was the first Andean civilization.

⁶ Julio Tello, “Discovery of the Chavín Culture in Peru,” in *American Antiquity* 9, no.1 (July., 1943), 157 - 160.

mentioned that the stucco art on the edifices in northern coastal Peru, including the sites of Cerro Blanco and Punkurí located in the Nepeña Valley, resembles the stone sculptures of Chavín.⁷ In considering the general similarity of artistic styles and characteristics between the northern coast of Peru and Chavín de Huántar, Tello argued that the style of the former was the coastal version of highland Chavín style or simply a peripheral manifestation of Chavín culture.⁸ Tello theorized that the feline anthropomorphic deity motif, sharply incised decorations and monochromatic ceramic surfaces were typical characteristics of Chavín art.⁹ Since these artistic features and artifacts have also been found on the northern coast of Peru, he believed that the northern coastal region was a part of Chavín's cultural territory.¹⁰

In contrast to Tello's theory, other evidence suggests that the small-scale societies that flourished on the northern coast of Peru had developed independently and existed before the Chavín civilization was firmly established.¹¹ The Cupisnique society and its architecture in particular are the best

⁷ Tello, 136 – 137.

⁸ Tello, 150 – 151.

⁹ Tello, 155 – 157

¹⁰ Tello, 157 – 160.

¹¹ Edward Moseley and Luis Watanabe emphasized the independent development of the Cupisnique culture in the northern coast of Peru as being separate from the culture of Chavín de Huántar in the following article: "The Adobe sculpture of Huaca de los Reyes: Imposing Artwork from Coastal Peru," in *Archaeology* 27, no.3 (1974), 154 – 161. Burger also published the book *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, in which he argued that Chavín de Huántar could not have evolved without any knowledge of previous cultural achievements.

representational examples of the small-scale societies that used to thrive in northern coastal Peru. The Cupisnique ceramic style vessels, including the two stirrup-spouted vessels at VMFA (figure 1.1 and figure 1.2), which show the engraving technique, stirrup-shaped spouts and monochromatic black surfaces decorated with variations of the anthropomorphic head motif, exhibit similar artistic characteristics as the ones Tello attributes to the Chavín style. In fact, the engraved head motifs on the Cupisnique vessels are, for the most part, similar to the images of the anthropomorphic deities engraved on the façades and sculptures at the Chavín site. However, the Cupisnique head motifs first need to be analyzed separately from the images of the Chavín site because of their independent artistic and cultural development, which occurred approximately three hundred years earlier than Chavín's emergence.

Beginning in the 1940s, Rafael Larco Hoyle emphasized the importance of the Cupisnique culture in order to challenge Andean scholars who believed the Chavín culture and its art style were the origin of all subsequent Andean cultures. His argument conflicted with the notion raised by Tello, who suggested that the Chavín art style and its cultural traits were found throughout most subsequent Andean cultures. Although subsequent art styles have minor stylistic variations primarily due to differences in the local environments and their resources, the fanged head motifs were often adapted by subsequent cultural artists for the decoration of architectural façades and craft objects. Based on this theorizing, Tello considered the Cupisnique and other cultures developed in the Chicama

Valley “coastal Chavín” because he suggested that these art styles share variations of basic decorative techniques and motifs with the Chavín style.¹²

Llama la atención que este arte Chavin se presente tan uniforme y típico en su estilo y en sus múltiples y variadas manifestaciones en sitios alejados de sus centros de mayor desarrollo, manteniendo las características de una producción Madura, elaborada a base de normas fijas, sin modificaciones sustanciales tan comunes en otras artes que también se han propagado lejos de sus centros de origen [Chavín civilization]. En rigor, no hay diferencia fundamental entre una pieza de alfarería encontrada en Chavín y otra hallada en la Costa, en el Huallaga o en el Sur del Ecuador.¹³

In contrast, Larco Hoyle highlighted the Cupisnique culture and its style as a result of local creativity with sophisticated artistic characteristics. Both Larco Hoyle and Tello admitted that the Cupisnique art style shares basic decorative techniques and fanged head motifs with the Chavín style. However, Larco Hoyle also recognized a cultural pattern of sophisticated artistic styles, which led to the categorization of the Cupisnique culture as separate from the artistic style of Chavín de Huántar. As a result, Larco Hoyle concluded that the Cupisnique culture developed its own cultural and stylistic foundation on the coast rather than being influenced by the site of Chavín de Huántar in the highland of the Andes.¹⁴

¹² Julio Tello, *Origen y Desarrollo de las Civilizaciones Prehistoricas* (Lima: Liberia e Imprenta Gil, 1942), 89-92.

¹³ Julio Tello, *Origen y Desarrollo de las Civilizaciones Prehistoricas*, 91.

¹⁴ Richard Burger suggested another dimension in order to observe the conflicting theorizing between Larco Hoyle and Tello. He argued that their different perspectives on the Cupisnique and Chavín art styles are based on their different political backgrounds. By using one of Tello’s direct quotations and Larco’s political inclination, Burger supported his argument:

Larco Hoyle's conclusion clearly conflicts with Tello's theory. However, because of Tello's important contributions to the scholarship of Peruvian archaeology, the Cupisnique society and its artifacts, including the Cupisnique vessels and their engraved head motifs, were eclipsed by Chavín's cultural achievements and archaeological scholarship on Chavín's intricate and intriguing anthropomorphic fanged deity motifs on the façades of Chavín de Huántar, as well as on numerous additional artifacts unearthed at the site.

The value of the Cupisnique culture and artistic style was practically disregarded until William Mosley and Luis Watanabe began researching the cultural remains of northern coastal Peru and excavating the site of Huaca de Los Reyes in 1972.¹⁵ Huaca de Los Reyes is considered a part of the Cupisnique architecture. It includes adobe friezes decorated with colossal facial features and with human leg imagery alongside anthropomorphic profile head

For Tello, the study of Peruvian prehistory had revealed "a great variety of cultures and styles corresponding to the development and differentiation of only one civilization nurtured in the Andean, the Andean civilization," and the Chavín culture was the civilizational matrix out of which this one civilization grew. In contrast, Larco's arguments in support of the purely local character of the Cupisnique culture may have consciously or unconsciously reflected the powerful currents of North Coast regionalism that were and continue to be a feature of Peruvian political and cultural life. As a member of Peru's coastal oligarchy, Larco preferred to interpret the coastal Cupisnique cultural as a product of local creativity, rather than highland genius.

Burger's argument was quoted from the following publication: Richard Burger, "The Chavín Horizon: Stylistic Chimera of Socioeconomic Matamorphosis?" in *Latin American Horizon: a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 11th and 12th October 1986*. ed. Don Rice (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 45.

¹⁵ Edward Moseley and Luis Watanabe, "The Adobe Sculpture of Huaca de los Reyes: Imposing Artwork from Coastal Peru," in *Archaeology* 27, no.3 (1974), 155, 161. Thomas Pozorski, "The Early Horizon Site of Huaca de los Reyes: Societal Implications," in *American Antiquity* 45, no. 1 (Jan., 1980): 100 – 101., and Conklin, "The Architecture of Huaca Los Reyes," 139.

images, which closely resemble both the engraved head motifs on the Cupisnique vessels and the anthropomorphic fanged deity motifs on the site of Chavín de Huántar. Huaca de Los Reyes is situated on the northern side of the Moche Valley near the edge of the desert, some twenty kilometers inland from the sea (map 2).¹⁶ The structure of Huaca de Los Reyes is basically U-shaped: a central platform rises in a series of ascending tiers and two wing structures extend from a central platform to flank a large courtyard, which opens to the east. Akin to the case of the decorative motifs, the architectural plan of Huaca de Los Reyes is also very similar to that of Chavín de Huántar.

Four years after Huaca de Los Reyes had been excavated, Thomas Pozorski thoroughly researched the site and clarified the date when this architectural site had actually been built: he presented evidence that both the archaeological site and the stucco art images on the façades had been built around 1300 B.C.E., which was slightly earlier than the time during which the majority of the Cupisnique vessels were produced. This date was also much earlier than the time when the site of Chavín de Huántar had been built.¹⁷

Pozorski's research on the construction date of Huaca de los Reyes supports my

¹⁶ The background information about the site of Huaca de los Reyes is based on the following articles: Moseley and Watanabe, "The Adobe sculpture of Huaca de los Reyes," 154 - 161., Pozorski, "The Early Horizon Site of Huaca de los Reyes: Societal Implications," 100 – 110., and Conklin, "The Architecture of Huaca Los Reyes," 139 – 163.

¹⁷ Pozorski, "The Early Horizon Site of Huaca de los Reyes: Societal Implications," 104. Moreover, Pozorski collected four samples from potholes of the construction Phase 1 of the summit of mound F of Huaca de los Reyes to clarify the date of these compound structures. The date, 1730 B.C.E., is the oldest date among four results based on the samples that Pozorski carbon-dated. This result was in his Ph.D. dissertation: Thomas Pozorski, "Caballo Muerto: A Complex of Early Ceramic Sites in the Moche Valley, Peru." (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1976), 112-113.

argument that the head motifs engraved on the numerous Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels, including the two VMFA ceramic vessels, were probably appropriated from the imagery that decorated the stucco façades of Huaca de Los Reyes and that the motifs of Huaca de los Reyes predated the images of Chavín's anthropomorphic fanged deity.

Considering the chronology and the trade routes of the time, it is very possible that the engraving technique and the motifs on the Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels originated from previous cultures. Based on Pozorski's research, it can be argued that the images of the colossal facial features and the anthropomorphic profile heads from Huaca de Los Reyes were probably used as major sources for developing the Cupisnique engraved head motifs on the numerous stirrup-spouted vessels, which were in turn adapted as part of the Chavín de Huántar's anthropomorphic deity images.

While the fanged head motifs seem to originate at Huaca de los Reyes, the *physical* characteristics of the Cupisnique vessels, including the stirrup-spouts and engraving technique, seem to have been adopted from the Machalilla (ca. 1800 – 1000 B.C.E.) and the Chorrera (ca. 1300 – 200 B.C.E.) sites respectively, both of which flourished during the Middle and Late Formative Period on the northern coast of Ecuador.¹⁸ In 1965, Betty Meggers, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada published numerous images of Machalilla and

¹⁸ The information about the specific time Period of the Early Formative Ecuadorian cultures is based on the following publication: Francisco Valdez and Diego Veintimilla, ed. *Signos Amerindios: 5.000 Años de Arte Precolombino en el Ecuador* (Quito: Ecuador, 1992), 19

Chorrera artifacts from the northern coast of Ecuador. Their unearthed objects include a few fragments of Machalilla stirrup-spouts, which provide visual evidence that this unique stirrup-spouted shape was probably developed by Machalillan artists, who created their vessels a few hundred years earlier than did the Cupisnique artists.¹⁹ While it is impossible to prove the direct stylistic lineage of the Cupisnique ceramics, in her publication *Ecuador*, Betty Meggers clearly demonstrated that the Machalilla and Chorrera ceramic vessels represent highly advanced techniques that were used extensively for the production of numerous types of ceramic vessels and figurines. Their stylistic similarity to the Cupisnique vessels suggests that the Machalilla vessels were probably the source for the stirrup-spouted shape of the Cupisnique vessels and that the Chorrera ceramics probably introduced the post-firing incision and reduced firing technique.²⁰

In addition to formal and stylistic analyses, this dissertation traces the origins of the anthropomorphic fanged deity images of Chavín de Huántar. Not only are these images considered important artistic expressions in the history of Andean art, but the search for their origin has also led to a better understanding of the possible reasons why Chavín artists may have appropriated the Cupisnique engraved head motifs in order to create the images of their

¹⁹ Betty Meggers, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada, *Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador: The Valdivia and Machalilla Phases* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1965), 139.

²⁰ Betty Meggers, *Ecuador: Ancient Peoples and Places* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966), 48-50, 56-59.

anthropomorphic fanged deity. In order to support my argument that the Cupisnique vessels demonstrate the conflation of two earlier traditions: one, the original Ecuadorian technique as well as the distinctive stirrup spout shape of vessels, and two, the fanged head deity motifs that echo the imagery of the colossal facial features and the anthropomorphic profile head images decorating the stucco façades of Huaca de los Reyes, this study demonstrates and analyzes one hundred seventy nine (179) Cupisnique head motifs, which were engraved on black or brown stirrup-spouted vessels. These collected head motifs are used in order to clarify how the head motifs morphed into the images of Chavín's anthropomorphic fanged deity. In other words, the Cupisnique fanged head motifs could have been incised on the portable stirrup-spouted vessels and taken to the Sierra regions, where artists from Chavín de Huántar appropriated and transformed the Cupisnique motifs' symbolic and cultural associations in order to establish their own legitimacy and power by linking the image of their own major deity to previous artistic innovation. This dissertation documents the frequency, the distribution, the context, and the developmental history of the engraved head motif, which in turn provides insight into the origins of Chavín iconography.

Methodology

The primary methodologies of this dissertation are formal analysis and the iconographic study of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. In order to analyze and interpret the head motifs engraved on the Cupisnique ceramic style vessels,

I have documented and cataloged one hundred seventy nine (179) engraved head motifs. The Cupisnique style ceramic vessels have been collected and displayed in numerous museums of South and North America. In order to collect as many Cupisnique head motifs as possible, I visited the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, the Museo de la Nacion, the Museo de Arte de Lima, the Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Historia, the Bruning Museum, the Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, and the Museo Casinelli Mazzei located in South America, as well as the Metropolitan Museum and the America Museum of Natural History situated in North America. Moreover, a few private collectors allowed me to take pictures of their collections. I also contacted several additional museums located in North America, including the Dallas Museum of Art, the Saint Louis Art Museum, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Art Institute of Chicago, and these museums provided their images of Cupisnique ceramic vessels for my dissertation. With the generous help from the private collectors and the museums' curators, the one hundred seventy nine Cupisnique head motifs have been documented and databases of hand drawings of the Cupisnique head motifs have also been completed and are included in this dissertation.

The analysis of the Cupisnique head motifs and the cataloging of the hand drawings of the Cupisnique head motifs are crucial components of this dissertation used in order to provide insight into the iconographies of the Cupisnique head motifs. Within the large databases of Cupisnique head motif

drawings, the formal analysis of the Cupisnique head motifs resulted in the recognition of five individual facial elements that make up these engraved head motifs, along with the identification of different types of Cupisnique head motifs. With the combination of two methodologies of archaeological evidence and the formal analysis of Cupisnique head motifs, it is possible to interpret the iconography of Cupisnique head motifs from an ethnographic perspective.

George Kubler's theory of the "configurational method," which relies purely on material evidence in the form of designs, pictures, and sculptures, definitely helps to translate the imagery from the pre-historic Period into verbal language.²¹ He asserted that it is difficult to interpret the artistic motifs and expressions created during ancient times because no clear connection exists between these physical excavated items and the historical written documentation.²² Kubler theorized, therefore, that general analogies based on the examination of the physical characteristics of numerous excavated items are indeed appropriate.²³ However, Terence Grieder was not satisfied with Kubler's idea of the configurational method. He suggested that the interpretation of ancient cultures along with their artistic creations should take place somewhere between the

²¹ Terence Grieder, "The Interpretation of Ancient Symbols," in *American Anthropologists*, New Series, Vol. 77, No. 4, (Dec., 1975), 849 – 850.

²² George Kubler, *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1962), 27 – 30.

²³ *Ibid.*, 129 – 130.

cultural/ethnological context and purely pictorial analysis.²⁴ As a result, this study uses both formal analysis and iconographic study based on ethnological context to interpret the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

It is important to understand how these two methodologies have traditionally been used and how they are applied in this dissertation. Ever since it was introduced by Heinrich Wölfflin, formal analysis has been used by art historians as one of the fundamental and traditional tools for analyzing the physical characteristics of artifacts. Wölfflin particularly employed formal analysis to compare Baroque and Renaissance art by using five principal elements, including the linear versus the painterly, plane versus recession, open form versus closed form, multiplicity versus unity, and absolute versus relative clarity.²⁵ Although Wölfflin's exact categories do not apply directly to the analysis of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs and the images of Chavin's anthropomorphic fanged deity, formal analysis is the primary methodology for describing the Cupisnique vessels in terms of their shapes, materials, surface colors, decorative motifs, and firing techniques (oxidized fire versus reduced fire). This visual analysis will help with highlighting the unique visual characteristics of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

²⁴ Grieder, "The Interpretation of Ancient Symbols," 853 – 854.

²⁵ Here, I briefly summarized Wölfflin's methodologies from the following publication: Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art*, trans. M. D. Hottinger (New York: Dover Publications, 1950)

Iconographic analysis is used for understanding the significance and the symbolic meaning of the head motifs engraved on the Cupisnique vessels. Erwin Panofsky drew the basic distinction between iconography, which facilitates the search for the subject matter and the meaning of artwork, and iconology, which is the study of the fundamental symbolism in works of art.²⁶ Since these two methodologies cannot be separated and stem from the same root, both iconography and iconology need to be treated as iconographic study in my dissertation. Thus, by analyzing the physical attributes of the Cupisnique vessels, I will be able to gain greater insight into the symbolic meaning of the head motifs engraved by the Cupisnique artists, who desired to create visual representations of sacred messages. In fact, combining my formal analysis of 179 engraved head motifs on the Cupisnique vessels with the investigation of the existing archaeological and ethnographical research on Cupisnique artifacts and architectural structures will help me understand the significance and the symbolic messages of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

Previous Scholarship

The focus of this study, the engraved head motif itself, has no specific previous scholarship, but Cupisnique vessels have been well documented. The archaeological sites where most of the Cupisnique vessels were discovered have

²⁶ This is a brief summary of the first chapter from the following publication: Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), 26 - 54.

been analyzed and examined by numerous archaeologists, anthropologists and art historians, who studied the very first Peruvian societies by analyzing various types of ceramics made between approximately 1500 and 200 B.C.E. However, in these various disciplines, the two terms “Cupisnique” and “Chavín” seem to have been used inconsistently. It is important to clarify how these two terms have been applied in Andean scholarship in order to define and describe the Cupisnique style vessels.

Julio Tello first excavated the site of Chavín de Huántar in 1919, more than two decades before Rafael Larco Hoyle discovered the Cupisnique sites near the Chicama valley. Because of the passage of time, the term Chavín was well established among Andean scholars when the sites of Cupisnique were excavated. In view of this fact, the following question becomes very important: what made most scholars believe that Cupisnique sites and their artifacts were a part of Chavín culture? In one of the most popular Andean art survey books, *Art of the Andes: from Chavín to Inca*, written by Rebecca Stone-Miller, Cupisnique ceramic vessels were listed as a sub-style of Chavín art:

The best known ceramic substyle is named Cupisnique. ... In fact, both [Cupisnique and Santa Ana] of these Chavín ceramic substyles feature fanged heads connected by an undulating line, which serves as the hair of one head and the tongue of the other. These two styles fall at extremes of a continuum from heavy to light, descriptive to abstract, demonstrating the variation inherent in Chavín-related portable art.²⁷

²⁷ Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: from Chavín to Inca* (New York: Thames and Hudson World of Art, 2002), 46.

This viewpoint may well have been due to the engraved head motif, which was very similar in style to the imagery found on the façades of Chavín de Huántar. Tello and Peter Roe mentioned that many motifs and designs used at the site of Chavín de Huántar can be interrelated to the motifs engraved on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels.²⁸ These two scholars did not use the specific term, “Cupisnique,” in order to define the motifs found on the northern coast of Peru.

Because Larco Hoyle, conflicting with Tello’s widely-accepted theory, claimed the term Cupisnique as definitively separate from Chavín, Wendell Bennett, in his article *The Archaeology of the Central Andes*, specifically employed both terms “Coastal Chavín” and “Cupisnique” to explain the artifacts and architectural remains found in the northern coastal regions, which include the Nepeña, Chicama, Cupisnique, Puetro de Supe and Jequetepeque valleys. However, Bennett’s definition of “Coastal Chavín” and “Cupisnique” is still ambiguous. He argued that Coastal Chavín refers to the “Chavín coastal style” and the Chavín site on the coast, and that Cupisnique is a variant term for Coastal Chavín. Bennett defined the difference between these styles of artifacts by the local regional names, while Larco Hoyle classified Cupisnique ceramic

²⁸ Tello, “Discovery of the Chavín Culture in Peru,” 157-160., and Peter Roe, *A Further Exploration of the Rowe Chavín Seriation and Its Implications for North Central Coast Chronology* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974), 30.

vessels into two different time Periods by the different color of ceramics: one is dark monochrome and the other one is the reddish brown.²⁹

George Kubler, in his book, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, thoroughly explained the local cultures that flourished on the northern coast of Peru in each small village-sized place. Because he assumed that these cultures existed before the Chavín culture, Kubler used the specific phrase “pre-Chavín remains in the north” in order to describe these small regional cultures. Kubler treated the northern coastal cultures located at the Nepeña, Casma, and Huarmey Rivers as a part of the abundant and definitive traces of the Chavín, not the Cupisnique, style.³⁰

In 1966, Alan Sawyer published his book, *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics*, which organized and analyzed the Nathan Cummings Collection. In this publication, he explained the history of Peruvian ceramics. This included a discussion of Cupisnique culture, which he defined as the “local Chavinoid culture,” which he divided it into three Phases. Furthermore, Sawyer suggested that the stirrup-spouted Cupisnique shape might have already appeared in the

²⁹ Wendell Bennett, “The Archaeology of the Central Andes.” in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian H. Steward vol. 2 (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 75-93.

³⁰ George Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 359.

ceramic vessels from the formative Period of Ecuador. However, he is unsure of the origin of the stirrup-spouted shape.³¹

In 1976, Alan Lapiner's study employed a more provocative terminology for defining the Chavín's cultural territories and its religious influences. According to him, "Chavín religions dominated much of Peruvian cultural history, especially on the north coast, where its influence can be seen in the subsequent Salinar, Mochica, and Recuay civilizations."³² Although he explained how the term Cupisnique was established and where these Cupisnique style vessels were generally excavated, Lapiner argued that Cupisnique culture and other cultural regions that existed on the northern coast of Peru were developed under the umbrella of the Chavín religion. Most Andean art history publications, when discussing the early Cupisnique ceramic vessels, have interchangeably employed "Cupisnique," "Chavinoid," and "Coastal Chavín" to define the cultural identity of these vessels. Moreover, the Cupisnique style is already considered the sub-style of Chavín artistic expressions. However, this dissertation argues that the Cupisnique engraved head motifs seem to have developed independently from Chavín artistic styles by adopting the motifs that decorated the stucco façades of Huaca de los Reyes.

³¹ Alan Sawyer, *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: The Nathan Cummings Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966), 17 – 18.

³² Lapiner, *Pre-Columbians Art of South America*, 21.

Summary

As can be clearly seen from the summary of previous research, the term Cupisnique is still controversial, and the existing body of literature on the origin of Andean ceramics has some gaps. Although there are various arguments, ideas, and issues about the interrelationship between the Peruvian Cupisnique and early Ecuadorian Machalilla ceramic vessels, specific scholarship about the engraved head motifs on the Cupisnique vessels is almost non-existent. Nonetheless, some arguments about the origin of the Andean ceramic vessels have been published from a general perspective. For instance, Donald Lathrap suggested that the genesis of Chavín ceramics was based on the Amazonian regional styles.³³ On the other hand, Betty Meggers mentioned that early Andean ceramics were inspired by the style of Valdivian, Machalillan and Chorreran vessels from Ecuador.³⁴ However, no one has closely studied the issue concerning the conflation of the early Ecuadorian ceramic style and the Cupisnique engraved head motif, or how the Cupisnique fanged head motifs might be related to Chavín's anthropomorphic images. It is these issues and their symbolic and cultural significance on which this dissertation will focus. My dissertation argues that formal analysis and iconographic study of the engraved

³³ Donald Lathrap, "The Tropical Forest and the Cultural Context of Chavín," in *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín*, ed. Elizabeth Benson. (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection Trustees for Harvard University, 1971), 73 – 97.

³⁴ Meggers, *Ecuador: Ancient Peoples and Places*, 64. She did not directly connect Ecuadorian ceramics to Cupisnique vessels found on the northern coast of Peru, but she pointed out the similarities between the Machalilla spout form from Ecuador and the Kotosh spout form from Peru.

head motifs on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels will reveal the origin of Chavín's anthropomorphic images and their iconography.

Chapter One: Formal Analyses of the Cupisnique Vessels

In order to define the formal characteristics of Cupisnique vessels, Larco Hoyle examined their temper, firing process, shape, color, and decoration. At the same time, he classified the characteristics of Cupisnique vessels based on the differences in their production techniques and styles. However, his classifications did not fully do justice to the complexity of either the production process or the artistic style. The Cupisnique vessels were created with a combination of artistic styles and technical choices that determine their main characteristics. Recognition of the amalgamation between style and technique is important for an art historical analysis of pre-historic Cupisnique ceramic objects. It is necessary to use formal analysis as the primary methodology because of the lack of textual references and primary historical context. This methodology is particularly crucial in order to interweave the Cupisnique production techniques with their artistic styles. This chapter is divided into three sections consisting of color/firing techniques, shapes, and surface decorative techniques that express the connections between the artistic styles of the Ecuadorian regions and those of the Cupisnique ceramics. These relationships are strengthened with archaeological evidence and formal analysis.

Expanding upon Larco Hoyle's definition, this chapter aims to analyze the characteristics of Cupisnique ceramics. The main category of 'Cupisnique ceramics' can be further classified into three subcategories: color/firing techniques, shapes, and surface decorative techniques. By analyzing the reduced and the oxidized firing technique, my research will examine the vessel color as a principle component of visual analysis, as the color of the ceramic vessels may provide clues to the types of firing techniques. In addition to the colors and firing techniques used on the Cupisnique ceramics, surface decorative techniques can be recognized as important visual and technical component of the Cupisnique ceramics. Filling a gap in Larco Hoyle's analysis, which only examined the upper stirrup-spout design³⁵, this chapter also extends analysis to the shape of the vessels' lower body. Finally, this chapter examines surface decorative techniques in order to demonstrate their Ecuadorian origin.

This research further analyzes the morphology of the Cupisnique stirrup-spout ceramic vessels, which can be divided with two sections: (1) the upper part, which is the stirrup-spouted designs (151 stirrup spout Cupisnique ceramic vessels had been collected), and (2) the lower part, which is the body shapes (160 different body shapes of the Cupisnique ceramics had been collected).³⁶

When Larco Hoyle analyzed the Cupisnique vessels, he categorized them only

³⁵ Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisniques*, 34., and Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Peru*, 17.

³⁶ I collected the one hundred fifty one (151) stirrup-spouted vessels and the one hundred seventy nine (179) engraved Cupisnique head motifs found on the Cupisnique ceramics.

by examining the upper section, the stirrup-spouted design.³⁷ Larco Hoyle's original stirrup spout classification forms the basis for my analyses on both upper (151 stirrup spouts) and lower shapes (160 body shapes) of the Cupisnique vessels. Furthermore, this chapter introduces four different classifications for analyzing the body forms of the Cupisnique vessels. This analysis is necessary in order to gain insights into the relationship between the form of Cupisnique vessels and the traditional design of Ecuadorian ceramics. Finally, the surface decorative techniques used on the Cupisnique vessels will be examined in order to support the idea that the Cupisnique potters adapted and developed the various types of Ecuadorian surface decorative techniques.

Color and Firing Technique

The first and principle characteristic of the Cupisnique vessels is visible on the surface of their clay bodies: color. It usually consists of a dark monochrome that includes subtle shades of black, grey, brown, and red. This section argues that the Cupisnique potters achieved this color by using advanced firing techniques that were probably introduced from Ecuador.

Larco Hoyle classified the Cupisnique vessels into "Evolutive Cupisnique" and "Transitory Cupisnique" based on their colors. He determined that black, grey, and dark brown Cupisnique vessels, created by using the reduced firing

³⁷ Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisniques*, 34., and Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Peru*, 17.

technique were produced during the Evolutive Cupisnique Period; and the reddish earth-toned Cupisnique vessels, generally created by using the oxidized firing technique, were produced during the Transitory Cupisnique Period.³⁸ Larco Hoyle concluded that the red-colored Cupisnique ceramics created during the Transitory Cupisnique Period showed better technical development than those created during the Evolutive Cupisnique Period.³⁹ He understood that the Transitory Period developed a better firing technique, evidenced by the improved final finish on the surface of the pieces. Larco Hoyle based his conclusions on his formal analysis of the surface quality of the ceramic vessels. It is possible that these two different Periods can be considered valid, and it is also possible to speculate that the firing and production techniques were developed throughout the “Evolutive Cupisnique Period” and the “Transitory Cupisnique Period.” Formal analysis, the methodology used by Larco Hoyle for examining the Cupisnique ceramics, has potential. It also provides enough evidence to support his argument because the formal analysis on the ceramic surfaces allows for the following possibilities: (1) by analyzing the vessels’ surface color, it is possible to speculate about which kinds of firing techniques were used; and (2) by examining their surface porosity, it is possible to speculate about the approximate firing temperature of the kilns. With the obvious evidence provided by Cupisnique

³⁸ Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisniques*, 33 – 36., and Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Perú*, 18 – 19.

³⁹ Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Perú*, 18.

ceramic colors, an analysis of the types of firing techniques and the approximate firing temperatures are major concerns of this section.

The specific color of the ceramic surfaces was determined by two firing techniques: reduced or oxidized. The reduced firing technique created black, grey, and dark brown ceramics, and the oxidized firing technique produced reddish earthen-toned ceramics. The Cupisnique potters probably fired their ceramic pottery by using an earthen pit kiln. In order to make the kiln, the potters would first dig into the earth to create a large, deep pit. Then, they put in dry plants, wood sticks, and animal dung to cover the bottom of the pit. They placed the ceramics over these fuel materials, some of which also surrounded the ceramics and created black, grey, and dark brown colors on the ceramic surfaces. When potters left the top of the earthen pit kiln open, the surfaces of the ceramics became a reddish color.⁴⁰ Based on the empirical evidence of both black- and red-toned ceramic vessels found in the Cupisnique regions, it is possible to conclude that some Cupisnique potters were using highly advanced firing techniques even as early as 1200 B.C.E. They knew how to control the fire, and were able to recognize the approximate temperature inside the kilns while they were firing their ceramic vessels.

⁴⁰ The knowledge on the firing technology mentioned above was obtained when I visited the Moche village located near Huaca de la Luna. The potters in the Moche village still used the ancient Moche kiln in order to bake their ceramic vessels. Moche is not Cupisnique culture, but it is its direct antecedent of Cupisnique culture. Therefore, it is possible to make a connection between Moche firing technique and Cupisnique firing techniques.

The Cupisnique firing techniques were highly advanced procedures that created water-tight vessels without the use of glaze. In order to create the water-repelling vessels, the firing temperature must have been higher than 1000 °C inside the kiln. This technique should be considered an advanced technique for producing ceramics because this firing temperature is not easy to achieve by using a simple earthen pit and raw material fuels, and it is difficult to recognize the specific temperature inside a kiln without a thermometer. As Larco Hoyle suggested, the subtle shades of gray or black that were achieved by the reduced firing technique were the result of precise and strategic control of the firing conditions, which would have been difficult to achieve in bonfires or simple pit kilns.⁴¹ In contrast, Donnan argued that the ceramics from the northern coast of Peru were fashioned using simple procedures by potters who worked with raw materials and rudimentary tools, but he valued them only in terms of their aesthetic choices and artistic skill.⁴² Of course ancient Peruvian potters used raw materials, rudimentary tools, and simple procedures in order to produce ceramics, but their advanced skill allowed them to obtain high firing temperatures in order to produce superior vessels with water-tight surfaces, as proven by Izumi Shimada.⁴³

⁴¹ Larco Hoyle, *Cronologia Arqueologica del Norte del Peru*, 17.

⁴² Christopher Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1992), 13.

⁴³ Ursel Wagner, Rupert Gebhard, Enver Murad, Josef Riederer, Izumi Shumada, and Fritz Wagner, "Kiln Firing at Batan Grande: Today and in Formative Time," in *Archaeometry of Pre-Columbian*

Shimada and his research team experimented with the fuel materials in order to understand the glaze-like quality and extremely shiny surface of Cupisnique vessels. The smooth and shiny surfaces were created by rubbing the ceramic vessels with fine quality pebbles or smooth bone fragments before the non-fired surfaces were completely dry. This burnishing process was one of the fundamental techniques used for treating ceramic surfaces before they were fired. However, simple and rudimentary as this technique may be, it was enough to produce ceramics with high quality surfaces. Shimada also discovered a specific natural substance that was added to the firing fuel, which resulted in the shiny black Cupisnique surfaces. In his experiments with the reduced firing technique, green *bichayo* leaves proved to be most effective at creating that kind of shiny black finish.⁴⁴ He also referenced the skill of the contemporary potter, Geronimo Sosa Alache, who lives in Chulcanas and utilizes similarly waxy mango leaves to achieve the same black glaze-like surfaces.⁴⁵ The subtle shades of black, grey, and dark brown of the Cupisnique ceramic vessels' surfaces were the result of highly developed firing techniques employed by professionally skilled potters, who may have worked in specialized workshops and knew the specific substances for making the best quality liquid resistant

Sites and Artifacts. ed. David A. Scott and Pieter Meyers (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1994), 73.

⁴⁴ Shimada, Chang, Wagner, Gebhard, Neff, Glascock, and Killick, "Formative Ceramic Kilns and Production in Batan Grande, North Coast of Peru," 55.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

surfaces for containing either water or *chicha* (fermented beverage of maize and fruits).

The advanced firing techniques can also be identified by the surface colors of the two VMFA vessels. The VMFA vessel A (figure 1.1), which shows a seated man, has a heavy olive-brown color, but certain parts are covered by random black smudges that were created during the reduced firing process. The VMFA vessel B (figure 1.2), which shows two conjoined conch and *spondylus* shells, has dark brown and black colors on its surface. The black color is due to the reduced firing process, and the dark brown color indicates the original shade of the clay. The surfaces of both vessels are smooth enough to reflect light, which makes these vessels shiny. The high surface density on these two vessels, which resulted from the high temperature (around 1000 °C) during the firing process, enables the vessels to hold liquid. These two vessels are visible proof that Cupisnique ceramic potters were able to control the firing temperature in order to produce glossy exterior with a high density, water-repelling surface.

The Cupisnique potters were perhaps inspired to achieve this level of skill due to the rise in popularity of ceramic objects used as funeral offerings. Larco Hoyle's frequent discoveries of Cupisnique pottery with human remains in various Cupisnique cemeteries support the idea that Cupisnique ceramics were commonly used as offerings to dead ancestors.⁴⁶ The ceramics were likely

⁴⁶ Larco Hoyle provided the various pictures of Cupisnique vessels with human skulls and bones, which were taken during his excavation at the sites of Palenque and Barbacoa in the following publication:

treated as sacred offerings for venerating the dead. Based on the high number of Cupisnique vessels that were used as funeral objects, it can be speculated that the people of Cupisnique demanded a great number of good or superior quality ceramic vessels. Therefore, it is possible that the advanced firing techniques were developed because potters were now able to achieve professional craftsman status due to the demand for quality goods.

The firing techniques employed in the Cupisnique region were introduced from the coastal site of southern Ecuador, where the Valdivia style (ca., 3500 – 1500 B.C.E.) had thrived during the Ecuadorian Formative Period (ca., 3500 – 300 B.C.E.) (map 1).⁴⁷ The very first items unearthed at Huaca Prieta, located in the Chicama Valley, were *spondylus* shells, as well as cotton textiles and small gourd pots decorated with mythical figures. Luis Lumbreras also believed that this mythical imagery is a characteristic of the Ecuadorian Valdivia culture.⁴⁸ Additionally, Richard Burger pointed out that cotton, *spondylus* shells, and gourds were not native to the arid Peruvian coast, and they were probably introduced from the moister tropical environments of southern Ecuador.⁴⁹

Donald Lathrap also believed that the early pattern of facial motifs on the carved

Los Cupisniques, 161 – 259. Within his pictures and explanations, I concluded that Cupisnique vessels were generally used as funerary offerings.

⁴⁷ The Ecuadorian time range that I used in this dissertation is based on the following publication: Valdez and Veintimilla, ed. *Signos Amerindios*, 19.

⁴⁸ Luis G. Lumbreras, *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, trans. Betty Meggers (Washington D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), 52.

⁴⁹ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 28.

gourd bowls found at Huaca Prieta is closest to the stylization seen on stone figurines produced by Valdivian artists. It is possible that the gourds themselves were imported.⁵⁰ Based on the gourd pots, *spondylus* shells, and textiles, it can be assumed that a trade route between Ecuador and Peru had been actively used and that the basic firing techniques found in the Cupisnique regions probably originated in Ecuador. Through the trade route, both the ceramic firing technique and the ceramic-making procedures were possibly introduced to Cupisnique by Ecuadorian potters, who frequently used the oxidized firing technique. Although the Cupisnique potters probably adopted the oxidized firing technique that originated in Ecuador, they continued to develop it and were finally able to use both the oxidized and the reduced firing techniques for creating red and black/grey toned ceramic surfaces.

Shape

The second distinctive characteristic of Cupisnique vessels is the stirrup-spouted design. Although various types of black- and grey-surfaced ceramic pots, bowls, bottles, and cups, along with stirrup-spouted vessels, have been found in several Cupisnique archaeological sites, this chapter specifically focuses on the vessels with the stirrup-spouted shape in an effort to analyze their popularity and to determine the origin of this design. Compared with other types of ceramic shapes, including single-neck spouts, simple bowls, jars, and plates,

⁵⁰ Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 29.

the stirrup spouts can be seen as the most outstanding and innovative design found during the Initial (ca. 2000 – 700 B.C.E.) and Early Horizon Period (ca. 700 B.C.E. – 1 C.E.) in northern coastal Peru, and during the Formative Machalilla Period (ca. 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.) in southern coastal Ecuador. Following the Cupisnique Period, the stirrup-spout design maintained its popularity during later cultures, including the Moche and Chimú. The aims of this section are (1) to present the result of statistical analysis on the forms of the one hundred fifty one stirrup spouts and the one hundred sixty bodies of the Cupisnique ceramic vessels and (2) to argue that the Cupisnique stirrup-spout shape was probably appropriated during the Middle Formative Machalilla Period (ca. 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.) in Ecuador.⁵¹

The Cupisnique vessels have a globular body connected to a stirrup spout that has either a trapezoidal or a half circle shape. The Cupisnique potters probably assembled stirrup-spouted vessels from three parts: the body, the stirrup, and the spout (figure 2). Initially, the body of a vessel was formed by using either coiling or molding techniques. Then an elongated clay tube was curved to connect to the body. Finally, this combined body and stirrup was connected to the cylindrical spout. The procedure for making a stirrup-spouted vessel was the most complicated technique among all other Cupisnique vessels because it required the connection of three different parts into one piece.

⁵¹ All these Ecuadorian time ranges are based on the following publication: Valdez and Veintimilla, ed. *Signos Amerindios*, 19.

Therefore, because of such diversity in shapes between body and spout, it is necessary to analyze the Cupisnique vessels by dividing the upper and lower sections.

Larco Hoyle divided these stirrup-spouted Cupisnique style vessels into four different categories by analyzing the shapes of their stirrup spouts (chart 1). In this analysis, he did not consider the chronology of the stirrup-spout shapes (chart 1):⁵²

- Type 1: This vessel has a very thick and circular stirrup. Its spout is also thick and short. Its lip is slightly flared and has a sharp rim.
- Type 2: This vessel has a thin and circular stirrup. Its spout is short and its lip narrowed.
- Type 3: This vessel has a very thin and trapezoidal stirrup. Its spout part is very short and thin. Its lip is slightly flared.
- Type 4: This vessel has a thin and arch shaped-stirrup. It has a rigid, straight, and long spout, which is more extended than other types.

The four categories of Cupisnique stirrup spout form defined by Larco Hoyle can also be used to analyze the spout designs of most other Cupisnique vessels. His categorizations can easily be extended to the one hundred fifty one (151) stirrup-spouted Cupisnique vessels analyzed in this dissertation. Of the one hundred fifty one (151) stirrup-spouted vessels listed here, thirty-seven belong to the first type, twenty-five belong to the second type, twenty-two belong to the third type, and sixty seven of the stirrup-spouted vessels belong to the fourth type.

According to this statistical analysis of the one hundred fifty one (151) stirrup-spouted vessels, the fourth type is the most popular design, which constitutes

⁵² These four different classifications of the Cupisnique stirrup-spouts were summarized from the two different publications by Larco Hoyle. Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisniques*, 34. and Larco Hoyle, *Cronología Arqueológica del Norte del Peru*, 17.

about forty-five percent (45 %) of the total (151) vessels. Additionally, the two Cupisnique vessels, VMFA Vessels A and B (figure 1.1 and 1.2), are examples of the fourth type, possessing the thin and almost triangular stirrup shapes as well as long and thin spouts. These four different types of Cupisnique vessels, which generally have smooth, burnished and shiny surfaces, usually exhibit high quality surface treatment and final finishing.

In addition to four different categories of the upper section of the Cupisnique stirrup spout, it is possible to divide the shapes of the lower sections of Cupisnique ceramic bodies into the following four different categories based on the morphology (chart 2):⁵³

- Type 1: This type of Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel has a globular body shape that was created by using a coiling technique. It is the easiest form to produce among the four types. Because of its simple design created by a simple method, these Cupisnique vessels have globular body shapes. This type was usually engraved with a head motif applied after the final firing process. The engraved head motifs are generally very shallow.
- Type 2: This type of Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel has a cylindrical body shape that was also created by using the coiling technique and was usually decorated with a shallow relief and an engraved head motif.
- Type 3: This type of Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel has a flat bottom and a peculiar body shape. Two trapezoidal shaped bowls meet each other in the middle of the bodies to create a gentle angle between top and bottom halves.
- Type 4: This type of a Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel has a figurative image, produced by using a molding technique. The figurative images consist of various subject matters, including animals, plants, fishes, shellfish, and humans. This type of Cupisnique body shape represents the most advanced techniques of the Cupisnique

⁵³ When I divided the body of stirrup-spouted vessels into the four categories, the stylistic development in terms of chronological sequences was not considered. I purely used the formal analysis methodology in order to classify the different body shapes of stirrup-spouted vessels.

potters because it requires more adept and accurate techniques created with original molds, rather than the coiling technique necessary for producing the first, second, and third types.

Of one hundred sixty Cupisnique vessels, ninety-one vessels (63 %) are Body Type 1. Based on the high percentage of this design, it is possible to assume that most Cupisnique potters probably produced the simple globular body shape rather than other complicated body forms. Six vessels are Body Type 2 and fifteen vessels are Body Type 3. Although Body Type 4 has the most complex design forms and utilized the most difficult techniques, forty-eight molded bodies of the one hundred forty Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels (31 %) fit this category. The two VMFA Vessels A and B (figure 1.1 and 1.2) also fit Body Type 4 by exhibiting a seated human figure and two different conch and *spondylus* shells on each body. Because of the complicated techniques required to make body Type 4, this type of Cupisnique vessel may have been treated as a valuable item and used for special occasions or as offering for deceased ancestors. This can be assumed based on their frequent discovery in a wide range of Cupisnique burial sites. The intricate engraved head motifs that decorate the surfaces of the Cupisnique style vessels, as well as the bodies formed with the molding technique that were found at the Offering Gallery at the site of Chavín de Huántar, indicate that the high quality, adept and technically proficient Cupisnique vessels, were probably brought to the sacred highland site of Chavín de Huántar from the northern coastal site.

During the excavation in the Offering Gallery, located to the north of the sunken circular plaza, Lumbreras often unearthed many Cupisnique style vessels that exhibited the third type of stirrup spout. These ceramics consist of globular bodies engraved with head motifs and molded bodies of seashells, zoomorphic, and anthropomorphic images. Based on the fact that a large number of this type of vessel was excavated at the site of Chavín de Huántar, Lumbreras named them “Raku” style ceramics.⁵⁴ He mentioned that the Raku style vessels were influenced by the Cupisnique region based on their close stylistic resemblance to the Cupisnique vessels. Although he admitted that both the Chavín and Cupisnique potters may have been consequently able to copy each others’ forms and motifs, Lumbreras suggested that the vessels themselves were probably produced at the region of Chavín de Huántar.⁵⁵ In contrast to Lumbreras, Burger argued that these Raku vessels were physically brought from the coastal site of the Cupisnique region rather than produced at the highland site of Chavín de

⁵⁴ When Lumbreras and his colleague, Hernán Amat Olazábal, excavated the Temple of Chavín de Huántar, they attempted to subdivide the Chavín art style into the different time Periods by examining the excavated ceramic objects. Lumbreras and Amat classified the ceramics excavated both at the Ofrendas Gallery and the Rocas Gallery into two specific Phases, which have been called “Ofrendas” and “Rocas.” Then based on their excavated ceramic objects particularly at the Ofrendas Gallery, Lumbreras and Amat divided them into three different styles using the following terms: Mosna, Raku, and Wacheqsa. Since these classifications were popularly accepted, the terminology of “Raku” has been used specifically for describing the subtle black-colored stirrup-spouted vessels stylistically similar to the Cupisnique vessels. The term “Raku” was named after the name of the village located near the site of Chavín de Huántar. The explanation about Raku style ceramics are based on the following publications: Lumbreras, *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, 71, Luis G. Lumbreras, *Chavín de Huántar: Excavaciones en la Galería de las Ofrendas* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 335 – 339, Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 139, and Richard Burger, *The Prehistoric Occupation of Chavín de Huántar, Peru* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 172 – 176.

⁵⁵ Lumbreras, *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*, 71 - 72.

Huántar. He emphasized the stylistic differences of ceramics between the highland and the northern coast of Peru. He noted that “most of the vessels [all ceramic objects unearthed in the Offering Gallery] do not closely resemble the pottery recovered elsewhere in the Old Temple or in the coeval settlement surrounding the ritual precinct...”⁵⁶ Two vessels (figures 3 and 4) excavated at the Ofrenda Gallery are used as examples to support Burger’s argument that the Cupisnique vessels were brought into the highland from the northern coast of Peru.

These two vessels (figures 3 and 4) illustrate engraved head motifs that are very similar to the head motifs engraved on the surfaces of globular ceramic vessels excavated at the Cupisnique archaeological sites. The first vessel (figure 3) shows the third type of stirrup-spout design with a globular body (the first type of the body shape) that is engraved with a head motif consisting of three distinctive elements, including the basic head motif, fangs, and rows of teeth. The other vessel (figure 4) shows the first type of stirrup-spout design, consisting of a globular body (the first type of the body shape) that is engraved with a head motif that incorporates three distinctive elements, including the basic head motif, fangs, and rows of teeth. Both engraved head motifs are the typical designs found on the surfaces of the Cupisnique ceramic vessels. It is possible that the Chavín potters appropriated the design of the Cupisnique. As Burger noted,

⁵⁶ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 139.

however, since Chavín de Huántar was considered a place for sacred rituals,⁵⁷ valuable items such as the Cupisnique ceramic vessels engraved with head motifs, which probably represent a powerful symbolic meaning, were brought into the highland site by pilgrims from the northern coast.

Burger's conclusion that the Raku vessels were probably brought to the site of Chavín de Huántar from the northern coast of the Cupisnique region is reinforced by the historical status of Chavín de Huántar. This site was one of the very first ritual constructions in the history of ancient Peru. During the Early Horizon Period (ca. 700 B.C.E. – 1 C.E.), the temple of Chavín de Huántar was considered the most important religious center and the metropolis of northern Peru. Inside the Old Temple, the spear-shaped Lanzon sculpture (figure 5), carved with an anthropomorphic figure, and stands tall. The Lanzon sculpture was erected long before the Old Temple of Chavín de Huántar was even constructed. The sacred carved stone sculpture also reinforced the value of the site as the religious center during the Early Horizon Period. Therefore, as Burger already suggested, people from the northern coastal site probably brought the Cupisnique vessels to Chavín de Huántar as offering items, as evidenced by the vessels' superior quality and unique stirrup-spout forms.

The Cupisnique potters created various types of ceramic vessels based on their different uses and their different approach to style. The Cupisnique potters probably saw and appropriated the design of Ecuadorian ceramic objects that

⁵⁷ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 140.

were used as major bartering items, and they were able to innovate and alter new styles of stirrup-spouted vessels by adding engraved head motifs to their surfaces. The trade route that connected the southern coast of Ecuador with the northern coast of Peru offers the possibility that either the artistic design or the particular form on the various ceramic objects could have been imported from Ecuador.

Betty Meggers suggested that the Machalilla Phase (ca. 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.) pottery differs both in terms of shape and decorative motifs from that of the Valdivia Phase (ca. 3500 – 1500 B.C.E.), the era that small reddish hand-sized ceramic figurines were popularly produced (figure 6).⁵⁸ In addition to Valdivia ceramic figurines, Machalilla potters produced new forms of ceramic vessels with either cylindrical or stirrup spouts. In 1965, Meggers, Clifford Evans, and Emilio Estrada published numerous images of Valdivia and Machalilla ceramic objects from the northern coast of Ecuador. This publication, “Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador: the Valdivia and Machalilla Phases,” contains the results of their excavation in coastal Ecuador and includes a few fragments of Machalilla stirrup spouts that were produced eight hundred years earlier than the Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels (figure 7.1 and 7.2). The stirrup-spout fragments show that the unique stirrup shape was created by Machalilla artists. Karl Dieter Gartelmann concluded that the stirrup-spouted

⁵⁸ Meggers, *Ecuador*, 48.

design was one of the forms developed in the Machalilla Phase (ca. 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.), and this conclusion is supported by recent carbon dating results.⁵⁹ After Machalilla potters began to use this form, later it was widely distributed throughout the coast of Peru.⁶⁰ Furthermore, Gartelmann illustrated the image of an unbroken Ecuadorian stirrup-spouted vessel, which was decorated with after-firing engravings of dots and lines (figure 8). He clearly indicated that this vessel was excavated at the site of the Chico River where the Machalilla style flourished.⁶¹ This Machalilla stirrup-spouted vessel has a globular body connected to a thick, half circular stirrup. Its spout is short and thick with a flared lip. Although this vessel failed to exhibit a symmetrical body and stirrup-spout shape, it clearly supports the fact that the Machalilla potters started to use a stirrup-spout design. When the stirrup-spout design was appropriated by the Cupisnique potters, the skill for shaping the symmetrical stirrup-spout was much improved over the Machalilla Phase. Overall, the surface of this vessel has a dark black color, which indicates that the Machalilla potters were able to employ the reduced firing technique. This dark black surface became a perfect space for engraving several different geometric motifs, as can be seen in this Machalilla stirrup-spouted ceramic.

⁵⁹ Karl Dieter Gartelmann, *Digging up Prehistory: The Archaeology of Ecuador* (Quito: Ediciones Libri Mundi, 1986), 85.

⁶⁰ Gartelmann, *Digging Up Prehistory*, 85.

⁶¹ Gartelmann, *Digging Up Prehistory*, 371.

Donald Lathrap, however, has argued that the stirrup-spouted vessels originated in the Eastern Amazonian forest in opposition to Gartelmann's theory of Ecuadorian origin. According to Lathrap's theory, the stirrup-spout design as developed in the Machalilla Phase is a modification of a vessel with two spouts connected by a solid handle, which made its first appearance among the pottery of Tutishcainyo, a site located in the northern region of the Amazonian forest in Peru (figure 9).⁶² His argument has suggested a possible stylistic exchange between Machalilla culture on the southern coast of Ecuador, and Tutishcainyo in the Upper Amazon. Although Lathrap suggested that the stirrup design was probably modified from the double spout design from the Upper Amazon, he acknowledged that the stirrup design first occurred among the Machalilla potters. Therefore, it is possible that the Machalilla vessels were actually the source for the stirrup-spouted shape of the Cupisnique vessels. The stirrup-spout design is the tangible evidence to support the idea that the conventional artistic style and formal design that developed in southern coastal Ecuador were transferred to the Cupisnique region located in northern coastal Peru.

Surface Decorative Techniques

Not only was the stirrup-spout design appropriated from Ecuador to the northern coast of Peru, but the various decorative techniques used on the Cupisnique ceramic surfaces were probably also from Ecuador. The surface

⁶² Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 34.

decorative technique is the third distinctive characteristic of Cupisnique vessels. The decorative elements of Cupisnique ceramics are generally surface treatments such as engraving, patterned burnishing, punctation, stamping, slip painting, and molding. This section discusses how the Cupisnique decorative techniques probably evolved from both the Machalilla (ca. 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.) and the Chorrera Periods (ca. 1800 – 300 B.C.E.).

Various decorative techniques were employed during both the Machalilla and the Chorrera Periods (map 1), and frequent examples exist. The Machalilla Period developed during the Middle Formative Period of the Ecuadorian coast, and gave way to the Chorrera Period that thrived during the Late Formative Period.⁶³ The latter was actually a part of several pan-Ecuadorian cultural developments: remains have been found not only in the Guayas region but also further north along the Daule and the Babahoyo Rivers. The Chorrera potters, in particular, developed the after-firing engraving technique in order to decorate the body of both ceramic figurines and vessels (figure 10 and 11). These finely traced after-firing engravings were applied to the highly polished Chorrera ceramics. The decorative techniques reached maximum popularity during the Chorrera Period. However, the combing technique that was often found on the Valdivia hand-sized ceramic figurines (figure 6) was not popularly used by the Machalilla potters. In fact, it was even difficult to discover any examples of this technique from the Chorrera Period (ca. 1800 – 300 B.C.E.), the era that brought

⁶³ Gartelmann, *Digging Up Prehistory*, 85.

more advanced technical skills for decorating the ceramic vessels. Instead, the post-firing engraving techniques, which were among the most popular decorative techniques employed by the Chorrera potters, were also popularly used by the Cupisnique potters. The two VMFA ceramic vessels (figure 1.1 and 1.2) were also decorated with head motifs delineated with shallow fine lines. Because these lines reveal the light grey color of the original clay, it can be concluded that the head motifs on the two VMFA vessels were engraved after the final firing process, meaning that the potters who decorated and engraved the two VMFA vessels used the same technique that the Chorrera potters had perfected.

In addition to the after-firing engraving technique, molding was often used to shape the body of both Chorrera and Cupisnique ceramic vessels. This molding technique echoed the naturalistic imagery of animals and plants as well as humans. Burger acknowledged the importance of the molding technique by mentioning how long this tradition had been used in the Andes: “Cupisnique potters sometimes used molds to make ceramics, and this technological tradition continued on the north coast up to the time of the Spanish conquest.”⁶⁴ For instance, a comparison between the Machalilla/Chorrera ceramics and the stirrup-spouted Cupisnique ceramic vessels suggests the idea that Cupisnique potters achieved their superb artistic skills for depicting animals and daily human

⁶⁴ While he described one of the exhibition art objects, Burger emphasized the importance of molding technique in *The Spirit of Ancient Peru*, ed. Kathleen Berrin (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 73.

life after adopting the decorative techniques from the middle and late Ecuadorian Formative Period ceramics.

In order to reinforce the idea that the after-firing engraving and molding techniques popularly used during the Machalilla and Chorrera Periods were appropriated by the Cupisnique potters, formal analysis of two Ecuadorian ceramics from these two Periods is necessary. The stirrup-spout Machalilla ceramic vessel (figure 12) has a typical Machalilla stirrup design, which has a large, fat semicircular shape. Its stirrup spout ends with a thick and flared lip. This vessel has a burnished black color on its surface and is decorated by fine lines that were engraved after the final firing process. The engraved designs were accentuated by a white pigment that was rubbed into the lines. The white decorative lines, which contrast with the black burnished vessel's surface, emphasize the abstract scroll motifs and geometric designs. Lathrap specifically pointed out that these scroll motifs, which were typical decorative motifs during the Machalilla Period, were repeated on a number of engraved and carved Machalilla shards from La Ponga.⁶⁵

Chorrera potters continued to use the after-firing engraving technique to decorate their ceramics. Lathrap also pointed out that the Chorrera artists adapted various techniques from the Valdivia and Machalilla Periods: "Chorrera represents the artistic climax of the Ecuadorian Formative, but many of the

⁶⁵ Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 33.

elements which reach their most masterful elaboration in Chorrera have their roots in Machalilla or Valdivia.”⁶⁶ Because of the outstanding post-firing engraving techniques that the Chorrera potters developed, it is possible that decorations on ceramic figurines and objects produced during Chorrera Phase inspired the Cupisnique potters.

Ecuadorian ceramic figurines produced by using the molding technique have been produced continuously since the Valdivia Period (ca. 3000 – 1500 B.C.E.) (figure 6). The fact that various other ceramic figurines similar to the Chorrera figurine (figure 10) were found throughout the Valdivia and Machalilla Periods supports the idea that the molding technique was one of the most popular techniques used by Ecuadorian potters. Since the Machalilla Period (ca. 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.), the engraving technique, which was employed after the final firing process, was also used continuously during the Chorrera Period (ca. 1800 – 300 B.C.E.). For instance, the Chorrera ceramic figurine (figure 10) has short arms and legs, which contrast with the large cylindrical body. It has the red-colored surface, indicating that the Chorrera potters specifically used the oxidized firing technique. This figurine’s helmet-like head and the mask-like marking around the eyes were painted with black clay slips that were outlined after the final firing process. Its center was painted with red-colored clay slips that probably represented the lower garment, and then this garment was decorated with fine lines and small dots engraved after the final firing process.

⁶⁶ Lathrap, 34.

The stirrup-spout design, the molding technique, and the after-firing incision technique, which were popularly employed by Machalilla and Chorrera potters, were probably adapted by the Cupisnique potters and were widely found on the variations of Cupisnique vessels. This argument is supported by an analysis of three Cupisnique ceramic vessels now located at the Museo Arqueológico of Rafael Larco Herrera (henceforth MARLH) in Lima: the black-colored Cupisnique vessel consists of the stirrup-spout design and portrays a jaguar in profile that is seated beneath a curved arch that seems to represent a cave (figure 13). This jaguar and arch are shown almost identically on both sides of the vessel's body, suggesting that the molding technique may have been used. The profile jaguar head, with its rounded upright ear, looks backward. Fangs protrude from an open mouth. Its hind legs flex, and its front legs rise to show wild movement. The paws and claws are exaggerated in comparison to their actual size. The elongated jaguar tail is held upright above the rump, and the end of the tail is curved to represent the natural movement of the animal. Double circular body spots have been engraved into the well-polished black surface after the final firing process.

The second stirrup-spouted, red-colored Cupisnique vessel depicts two snakes with feline attributes (figure 14). The head of each snake is molded in high relief at the bottom of the vessel, and its body is transformed into an elongated snake-like body that bends upwards and doubles back, so that the body of the feline is located above the head. The two nearly identical snakes

facing in opposite directions on this vessel suggest that the Cupisnique potters may have used the molding technique. Each face has long upper and lower fangs, a flattened nose, and a long eyebrow line that separates the head from the body. The mouth, eyebrow, eye, and double circular body spots were painted with black-colored slips and their outlines were engraved after the final firing process. These black-colored circular body spots contrast highly with the primary red color of the jaguar's body.

The third black-colored Cupisnique vessel with a stirrup spout depicts an adult woman holding a child in her arm (figure 15). The child is suckling at her right breast; and simultaneously, the right hand of the child is grasping her breast. The woman's hairstyle depicts bangs, squared short sides, and long hair down her back delivering a careful, naturalistic representation. This everyday life scene suggests that the Cupisnique potters used the molding technique in order to represent the intimate relationship between the mother and the child. In order to depict the hair on both the mother and child, the Cupisnique potters engraved elongated lines after the final firing process. Many thin straight lines shown on both the mother's and the child's hair provide naturalistic depiction.

In addition to the three stirrup-spouted vessels from the MARLH, the two distinctive Cupisnique vessels from the VMFA show visible evidence that the Cupisnique potters used the molding technique to decorate the vessels' body parts. The body of the stirrup-spouted VMFA Vessel A (figure 1.1) is formed by a seated man with crossed legs. The man's facial appearance and each detail on

the head, nose, eyes, and ears are intricate and closely resemble actual human facial features. The potter even carefully carved the seated man's intertwined legs on the bottom of the vessel. His left leg is placed on the top of his right leg at the bottom of the vessel, and each foot end with five distinctive toes. The head motif engraved after the final firing process is located to the right of the body. The stirrup-spouted VMFA Vessel B (figure 1.2) captures the naturalistic appearance of two conjoined shells, the conch and *spondylus*, on its body. The shape of conjoined conch and *spondylus* shells was produced by using a molding technique. The Cupisnique potter also used the post-firing engraving technique in order to create the head motif that can be seen on top of the conch shell. As explained above, the sculptural molding and after-firing engraving on the body of the stirrup-spouted Cupisnique ceramic vessels were probably adapted from Ecuador. These styles and techniques excelled at capturing the dynamic quality and features of the subjects that were taken from nature or daily human life.

Summary

Before the oxidized firing technique, the stirrup-spouted shape, and the molding and the post-firing engraving techniques were used by the Cupisnique potters, all of those techniques were popularly employed during the Valdivia, Machalilla, and Chorrera Phases, and were developed during the Formative Ecuadorian Period. Ecuador's geographical location permitted the travel of

designs and decorative techniques on ceramic objects from the southern coast of Ecuador to the northern coast of Peru. Betty Meggers mentioned that the Ecuadorian coast, strategically placed to receive travelers from either north or south, was also positioned to sustain chance arrivals from both the ocean and the rain forest.⁶⁷ Lathrop also suggested that Ecuador functioned as the central location between the Upper Amazon and the northern coast of Peru.⁶⁸ Meggers further mentioned that the location of Ecuador is crucial and important even in the present day: "This route was one of the most popular traveling roads during the colonial Period and has been developed as the route of the Pan American Highway today."⁶⁹

The geographical orientation of Ecuador reinforces the argument that Ecuadorian stirrup-spout designs and pottery making technologies were probably adapted by Cupisnique potters. These Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels engraved with the head motifs were eventually excavated at the site of Chavín de Huántar in the highlands of Peru. Not only were the Cupisnique stirrup-spout designs and the ceramic surface decorative techniques adopted and adapted from Ecuadorian potters, but the many naturalistic artistic subjects used by the Ecuadorian artists inspired the Cupisnique potters, and they were often employed on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels.

⁶⁷ Meggers, *Ecuador*, 24.

⁶⁸ Lathrap, *The Upper Amazon*, 91 – 92.

⁶⁹ Meggers, *Ecuador*, 24.

Chapter Two: The Cupisnique Head Motifs

This chapter presents a formal analysis of one hundred seventy-nine (179) Cupisnique engraved head motifs documented from various museums and private collections throughout North and South America, as well as from diverse publications.⁷⁰ The extremely smooth and shiny red, grey, and black surfaces of Cupisnique vessels became an ideal surface for engraving the head motifs. The lines of the engraved head motifs are slightly lighter in color than the ceramic surfaces and let the primary color of the clay shine through. These engravings were also occasionally rubbed with red- or white-colored pigments to accentuate the motifs. In both methods, the head motifs were engraved after the final firing process. Of the one hundred seventy nine (179) head motifs that are illustrated in this dissertation, one hundred nineteen (119), i.e., more than sixty percent, were engraved after the final firing process. The post-firing engraving process is a much more difficult technique than a pre-firing carving process because it needs to be engraved on the hard surfaces of ceramic vessels by a using a sharp obsidian tool. Based on the large numbers of the post-firing engraved

⁷⁰ Diverse publications are Alva, *Cerámica Temprano en el Valle de Jequetepeque*, 101 – 195, and Lumbreras, *Chavín de Huánta*.

head motifs, it can be argued that the head motifs were probably extremely important to the Cupisnique people. In order to understand the meaning of head motifs and why the head motifs were important to the Cupisnique people, formal analysis should be employed.

Although the engraving technique was popularly used by the Ecuadorian potters during the Formative Period, the combination of the engraving technique and the head motifs can only be found in the Cupisnique region. The Cupisnique potters used this specific and unique combination of head motifs and post-firing engraving on their ceramic surfaces. By utilizing this particular combination, they were probably able to distinguish their own technique and motifs from Ecuadorian potters and northern highland artists. Therefore, collecting various types of engraved head motifs were crucial, and the analysis of one hundred seventy-nine Cupisnique engraved head motifs has become a key process necessary in order to suggest the symbolism of these motifs.

This second chapter specifically analyzes many different types of Cupisnique head motifs and separates them into eleven different categories for the Cupisnique head motifs. By categorizing the head motifs into different types, it is possible to recognize detailed elements that constitute most Cupisnique head motifs. These fundamental elements, which include eyes and mouth, suggest the origin of the Cupisnique head motifs (this argument is discussed in the chapter 3).

Cupisnique Head Motifs

The Cupisnique engravings almost always include a basic head motif (A), which is the standard template from which other types of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs were created. The basic head motif (A) generally consists of the following elements of an eye (a), a nose (b), an ear (c), hair (head) (d), and a mouth (e) often depicted with both lips and teeth. These five important facial characteristics (see chart 3) can be considered the fundamental facial elements that make up the form of the basic head motif. They are repeatedly used on the basic head motif, and so this repetition can also be considered characteristic of the basic head motifs because Cupisnique potters frequently used the same elements over and over. Among these five facial elements, the eye (a) and the open mouth (e), frequently depicted with lips and teeth, are always included in the basic head motif (A). Because of these two facial elements, the eye and the mouth, the basic head motif (A) can be considered a humanoid image.

Although the basic head motif (A) is considered the standard template for the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, each basic head motif is unique based on the combination of the fundamental facial elements (a, b, c, d, and e) (chart 3). While the Cupisnique potters almost always used these five facial elements for structuring the basic head motif (A), the actual designs of the basic head motif appear in many different styles because they were engraved by individual potters. Thus, each basic head motif displays the expression and individuality of the specific Cupisnique potter who created it.

Among the various basic head motifs, it is possible to detect five variations of the basic head motif based on the combination of facial features. As a result, the basic head motif (A) can be generally classified into the five following different variations: A1, A2, A3, A4, and A5 (chart 4). The A1 basic head motif presents the facial feature that is closest to the human face. The A2 basic head motif also shows humanoid features and includes even teeth in its open mouth. The A3 basic head motif is composed of two almost identical head motifs connected symmetrically. The A4 basic head motif shows a protruding mouth. The A5 basic head motif displays only the eye and the mouth with various lines. It cannot be seen as a humanoid head motif, unlike the other variations of the basic head motif (A1, A2, A3, and A4), yet it still suggests the representational image of the head motif.

In addition to the basic head motif (A), five additional motifs can be found on the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. These five additional motifs (chart 5) are a fang (B), rows of teeth (C), a connective band (D), an elongated body (E), and feather (F). A fang (B) is a pointed tooth motif that generally appears in the mouth of basic head motifs. Rows of teeth (C) are depicted as a series of rectangular or rounded teeth usually located on the frontal mouth area of the basic head motif. A connective band (D) is a significant element that links two almost identical head motifs. The connective band is delineated by three or four lines. An elongated body (E) is named after a sophisticated body shape that consists of an elongated rectangle that also resembles the body of a serpent. A

feather (F) is generally delineated with an elongated rectangular shape with slightly curved ends that closely resemble the sharp edges of a bird feather. The interior of this feather-like motif is decorated with small circles and stripes. These decorations are also similar to the multiple colors found on bird feathers. With these five additional motifs, the Cupisnique potters were able to develop and generate head motifs that were more complicated than the basic head motif (A).

The Cupisnique potters used the basic head motif (A) as the standard template and combined the five additional motifs of a fang (B), rows of teeth (C), a connective band (D), an elongated body (E), and a feather (F) to generate eleven different types of engraved head motifs (chart 6):

- (1) the basic head motifs (A)
- (2) the basic head motifs with fangs (AB)
- (3) the basic head motifs with rows of teeth (AC)
- (4) the basic head motifs with connective bands (AD)
- (5) the basic head motifs with an elongated body (AE)
- (6) the basic head motifs with feathers (AF)
- (7) the basic head motifs with fangs and rows of teeth (ABC)
- (8) the basic head motifs with fangs and connective bands (ABD)
- (9) the basic head motifs with fangs and an elongated body (ABE)
- (10) the basic head motifs with fangs and feathers (ABF)
- (11) the basic head motifs with fangs, rows of teeth, and connective bands (ABCD)

This chapter will initially detail the five variations of the basic head motifs (A1, A2, A3, A4, and A5) (65 of 179 vessels) (chart 4), followed by descriptions of the head motifs in each variation. Then, the remaining ten different types of head motifs (AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, ABC, ABD, ABE, ABF, and ABCD) (139 of 189 vessels) (chart 6) will be analyzed, along with the corresponding vessels' descriptions.

The Basic Head Motif (A)

The basic head motif is the standard template for the ten other types of engraved head motifs. Of the one hundred seventy-nine (179) Cupisnique engraved head motifs in this study, sixty-five (65) are basic head motifs, which were generally engraved on ceramic bowls or globular stirrup-spouted vessels. Of the sixty-five (65) basic head motifs in this study, fifty-nine (59) are engraved in profile. These profile and frontal basic head motifs often consist of the five fundamental facial elements of eye (a), nose (b), ear (c), hair (head) (d), and mouth (e), depicted with lips and teeth (chart 3). Because of the consistence of these five facial features, the basic head motifs became stylized. The shape of the eye (a) is generally rectangular, but occasionally it is depicted in a half-oval or an elongated oval shape. It usually has a pupil in the shape of a half circle that is located at either the upper or lower eyelid. The nose (b) is always represented as a small bulbous shape. This bulbous nose is one of the major characteristics of the basic head motifs, and it is depicted with either folded or

rounded shapes. The ear (c) is outlined with either a large rectangular shape or a circular form. In its large rectangular-shaped version, the lower section of the ear is usually emphasized. Occasionally, the circular-shaped ear is depicted with a double curve, resembling the shape of the number three (3). The basic head motif (A) frequently has hair (d) curved upward to a point and that shape is called “pointy hair” in this dissertation. Other basic head motifs have flat head shapes. The four variations of A1, A2, A3 and A4 have a form of either hair or head (d) that is depicted either pointy or flat. The last fundamental facial element is a mouth (e). The mouth is often depicted as open, and delineated with lips in the basic head motif (A).

As previously mentioned, the basic head motifs (A) can be further divided into five different variations (A1, A2, A3, A4, and A5) (chart 4) based on how the potters altered the five elements of the facial features (chart 3) by making slight changes in their compositions and forms. As a result, the sixty-five basic head motifs can be divided into five different variations for further analysis.

The Basic Head Motif (A1)

The A1 motif comes closest to being the standard form among the five variations of the basic head motif. It usually consists of a rectangular eye with a half-circular pupil, a small bulbous nose, a circular ear, pointed hair, and turned down lips. The compositions of these elements resemble human facial features

more closely than the other variations (A2, A3, A4, and A5). Figure (16)

illustrates the eleven examples of the A1 basic head motif (chart 7):

MARLH 17 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. profile head motif

3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at its center

4. bulbous nose

5. turned down mouth

6. circular-shaped ear

7. rectangular hair style divided in the middle



MARLH 34 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. profile head motif

3. rectangular eye with an elongated oval pupil located at the upper eyelid

4. rectangular bulbous nose

5. straight mouth

6. circular-shaped ear

7. rectangular hair divided in the middle



MARLH 50 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. profile head motif

3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid

4. rectangular bulbous nose

5. turned down mouth

6. circular-shaped ear

7. rectangular hair divided in the middle



MAL 5 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. profile head motif

3. half oval-shaped eye with a half-circular pupil located at the upper eyelid

4. curved bulbous nose

5. turned down mouth

6. small folded ear

7. pointy hair



BM 2 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. half oval-shaped eye with a half-oval shaped pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. slightly folded bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth and turned down lips
6. large double curve ear
7. pointy hair

MCM 11 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. rectangular bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth and turned down lips
6. double curve ear
7. flat head

MCM 13 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. circular bulbous nose
5. tuned down mouth and turned down lips
6. double curve ear
7. flat head

MCM 21 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. rectangular bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth and turned down lips
6. large rectangular ear
7. pointy hair divided in the middle

MCM 22 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. bulbous nose
5. straight mouth and lips
6. circular ear
7. flat head

AMNH 6 – 1. carved on the ceramic stamp before the final firing process⁷¹



2. profile head motif
3. thin concave eye
4. curved bulbous nose
5. straight mouth and lips
6. large curved ear
7. flat head

PC 34 - 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. half oval-shaped eye with half oval-shaped pupil located at the lower eyelid
4. bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth and turned down lips
6. circular ear
7. flat head

The Cupisnique potters began to use the basic head motif (A1) multiple times on the surface of each ceramic vessel. Although the A1 variation was applied multiple times on the same ceramic vessel, the style and composition of the A1 basic head motif is not changed. The popularity and repetition of the A1 basic head motif indicates that it was customarily used for decorating surfaces of

⁷¹ Both carving and engraving require the same technique for applying motifs on the ceramic objects, but engraving refers to more thin and shallow lines than carving, which utilizes thick and deep lines.

Cupisnique ceramic wares. Sixteen Cupisnique ceramics engraved with multiple A1 basic head motifs are also found among the sixty-five basic head motifs.

Figure (17) illustrates sixteen examples that are engraved with more than two almost identical basic head motifs (chart 8):

MARLH 15 - 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs⁷²



3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at upper eyelids

4. bulbous noses

5. turned down mouths

6. large curved ears

7. flat heads

MARLH 42 - 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. four almost identical profile head motifs



3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at upper eyelids

4. circular bulbous noses

5. turned down mouths and turned down lips

6. curved ears

7. pointy hair

MAR 5 - 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. three almost identical profile head motifs



3. rectangular eyes with half-circular pupils located at upper eyelids

4. curved bulbous noses

5. turned down lips

6. curved ears

7. no hair

BM 1 - 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs

3. half-oval shaped eyes with half-circular pupils located at upper eyelids

⁷² The term “multiple” is used when the exact number of heads is difficult to determine due to large quantity.



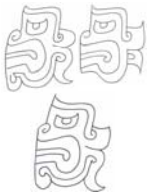
4. curved bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths
6. curved ears
7. pointy hairs

- BM 5 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs
 3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at lower eyelids



4. circular bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths
6. curved ears
7. pointy hair

- MAUNT 2 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. three almost identical profile head motifs
 3. rectangular-shaped eyes with half-circular pupils located at upper eyelids



4. curved bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. rectangular ears and sharpened elongated earlobes
7. pointy hair

- MCM 2 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. four almost identical profile head motifs
 3. rectangular-shaped eyes with straight pupils



4. rectangular bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. no ears
7. pointy hair

- MCM 5 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs
 3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids



4. flat noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. no ears
7. flat hair

MCM 18 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. four almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with slit pupils
4. flat noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. rectangular ears
7. flat hair

PC 20 – 1. engraving⁷³



2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular-shaped eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved blunt noses
5. turned down mouths
6. no ears
7. curly hair

PC 35 – 1. engraving



2. four almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. rounded ears and large earlobes
7. flat hair

PC 36 – 1. engraving



2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. curved ears with elongated earlobes
7. pointy hair

PC 38 – 1. engraving

⁷³ Some Cupisnique head motifs were collected from the publication written by Walter Alva. In this case, it would be difficult to recognize whether engraving technique was applied before or after the final firing process. Therefore, the head motifs collected from the publication of Walter Alva can simply be described as “engraving.”



2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with half-circular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths
6. circular ears
7. pointy hair

PC 41 -



1. engraving
2. four almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at lower eyelids
4. curved bulbous noses
5. slightly turned down mouths
6. rounded ears
7. flat hair

PC 43 -



1. engraving
2. four almost identical profile motifs
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. circular bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. curved ears
7. flat hair

PC 49 -



1. engraving
2. multiple, almost identical profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at lower eyelids
4. curved noses
5. turned down mouths and turned down lips
6. circular ears
7. flat hair

The Basic Head Motif (A2)

The A2 variation of the basic head motif also features a rectangular or oval-shaped eye with a half-circular pupil, a rectangular ear, a flat head, and an

open mouth. Unlike A1, it generally has an open mouth consisting of even teeth, which is a distinctive characteristic of the A2 basic head motif. In order to develop the A1 basic head motif into a different style, the Cupisnique potters added even teeth for creating the A2 basic head motif. The open mouth can be seen as representing either a grinning human mouth or a snarling jaguar mouth. According to Burger, the head motifs engraved on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels are the depiction of the decapitated human head used for religious purposes or offering items.⁷⁴ Based on Burger's interpretation, the even teeth motif can be considered the grinning human mouth. In contrast to Burger's theory, Larco Hoyle suggested that these teeth represent a jaguar,⁷⁵ although the A2 basic head motif only has teeth without fangs, and fangs are the typical denotation of a jaguar. Therefore, the characteristics of even teeth most likely delineated a humanoid feature rather than a jaguar. Figure (18) illustrates fifteen examples of the A2 basic head motif (chart 9):

MARLH 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two profile head motifs

3. both head motifs consisting of rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids

4. both head motifs do not have noses

5. turned down open mouths with even teeth



6. one consisting of a rectangular ear clearly divided in half, and the other one has no ear

7. flat hair

⁷⁴ Richard Burger interpreted two Cupisnique engraved head motifs as the decapitated head in Berrin, *The Spirit of Ancient Peru*, 79.

⁷⁵ Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisniques*, 64.

MAUNT 2 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. curved nose
5. turned down open mouth with even teeth
6. ear divided into two parts with an elongated earlobe
7. pointy hair

MCM 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil located at the lower eyelid
4. circular nose
5. straight, open mouth with even teeth
6. double curve circular ear
7. flat hair

MCM 10 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one profile head motif
3. half oval-shaped eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. flat nose
5. straight open mouth with even teeth
6. no ear
7. flat hair

MCM 12 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with half-circular eyes located at upper eyelids
4. curved noses
5. open mouths with even teeth
6. small curved ears
7. pointy hair

MCM 14 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. three profile head motifs
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at lower eyelids
4. flat bulbous noses

5. open mouths with even teeth
6. curved ears
7. round hair

MCM 17 – 1. engraving



2. one profile head motif
3. rectangular eye with a half oval-shaped pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. curved nose
5. open mouth with even teeth with the mouth emphasized by the lower jaw
6. no ear
7. curly hair

MCM 23 – 1. carved after the final firing process



2. one frontal head motif
3. oval-shaped eyes with half oval-shaped pupils located at upper eyelids
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth
6. two small triangular ears, each located on the side of each eye
7. flat head

MCM 24 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one frontal head motif
3. oval-shaped eyes with half oval shaped pupils located at upper eyelids
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth
6. two oval-shaped ears, each located on the side of each eye
7. flat head

DMA 3 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. four almost identical head motifs in profile
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved noses
5. turned down open mouths showing even teeth
6. ears with large, round earlobes

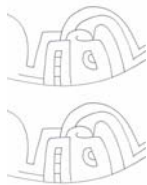
7. flat hair

MMA 3



- 1. engraved and colored after the final firing process
- 2. one profile head motif
- 3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at an upper eyelid
- 4. no nose
- 5. turned down mouth with even teeth
- 6. no ear
- 7. flat head

AMNH 3



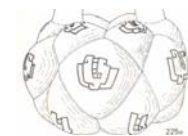
- 1. engraved and rubbed with red pigments after the final firing process
- 2. four almost identical profile head motifs
- 3. half oval-shaped eyes with half oval-shaped pupils located at upper eyelids
- 4. no noses
- 5. open mouths with even teeth
- 6. circular ears
- 7. round heads

PC 39



- 1. engraving
- 2. multiple, almost identical head motifs depicted in profile
- 3. half oval-shaped eyes with small pupils located at upper eyelids
- 4. bulbous noses
- 5. open mouths with even teeth
- 6. curved ears
- 7. pointy hair

PC 40



- 1. engraving
- 2. multiple, almost identical head motifs depicted in profile
- 3. no eyes
- 4. rectangular noses
- 5. turned down open mouths showing even teeth
- 6. rectangular ears
- 7. flat hair

PC 42

- 1. engraving



2. four almost identical head motifs depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. bulbous noses
5. open mouth with even teeth
6. ears divided into two sections with large earlobes
7. pointy hair

The Basic Head Motif (A3)

The A3 basic head motifs are the A1 variation either with vertical or horizontal symmetries. The two identical images usually meet each other to create one basic head motif and share one mouth together. Thus, this A3 basic head motif consists of two almost identical rectangular-shaped eyes, two flat heads, four bulbous noses, and two open mouths. In addition to the vessels with a repeating basic head motif, the A3 variation demonstrates that vertical and horizontal symmetries and repetition can be considered one of the conventional representations in the Cupisnique region. Figure (19) illustrates six examples of the A3 basic head motif (chart 10):

MARLH 14 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. six horizontally symmetrical head motifs depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. circular bulbous noses
5. open mouths showing even teeth
6. curved ears
7. flat heads

BM 4 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two vertically symmetrical head motifs in profile
3. rectangular eyes with half-circular pupils located at upper eyelids

4. rectangular elongated noses
5. open mouths showing even teeth
6. circular ears
7. flat hair

PC 5 –



1. engraved after the final firing process
2. one horizontally symmetrical head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and surrounded by four concentric double circle motifs
6. no ears
7. curly hair

PC 46 –



1. engraving
2. four almost identical vertically symmetrical head motifs in profile
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved bulbous noses
5. open mouths showing pointy and even teeth
6. curved ears
7. flat head

PC 48 –



1. engraving
2. one horizontally symmetrical image head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. curved bulbous noses
5. turned down open mouth showing even teeth
6. curved ears
7. flat heads

PC 58 –



1. engraving
2. one horizontally symmetrical head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at an upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. open mouths showing even teeth
6. no ear
7. flat head

The Basic Head Motif (A4)

The A4 basic head motif, depicted with a protruding mouth and a protruding nose, can be considered another variant of the A1 basic head motif. Although only two of these head motifs are found among the sixty-five basic head motifs, the style of the head motif with the protruding mouth and the protruding nose was almost always used in conjunction with other five additional motifs (chart 5) of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. This protruding mouth is often found when the basic head motif is conjoined with other motifs, specifically fangs and rows of teeth. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze separately this type of the basic head motif that has the protruding mouth and nose. Figure (20) illustrates two examples of the A4 basic head motif (chart 11):

MARLH 41 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. four almost identical head motifs depicted in profile
3. small rectangular eyes with half-circular pupils located on the left side of the eyes
4. protruding noses with sharp tips
5. turned down mouths
6. small curved ears
7. elongated heads decorated with feather-like headdresses

MAL 4 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

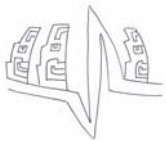


2. three slightly different head motifs depicted in profile
3. round eyes with circular pupils located at lower eyelids
4. protruding noses with circular tips
5. slightly turned down mouths
6. circular ears
7. one with a flat head and others with pointy hair

The Basic Head Motif (A5)

The A5 variation is the last variant of the basic head motif. This variation is difficult to recognize as the basic head motif because its representational style usually occurs with only eyes and mouths with various lines without many facial features. The A5 basic head motif consists of limited facial elements and generally does not contain all five facial elements (chart 3). However, an eye and mouth are always found in the A5 basic head motif. Because of these eye and mouth features, this variation can be considered a part of the basic head motif. This A5 basic head motif is occasionally found in the Cupisnique ceramic vessels whose bodies form naturalistic figures. Figure (21) illustrates nineteen examples of the A5 basic head motifs (chart 12):

MARLH 7 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. six almost identical head motifs depicted in frontal view, but each head motif cut in half vertically
3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at upper eyelids
4. no nose
5. slightly turned up mouths
6. no ears
7. flat heads

MARLH 13 - 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. multiple, almost identical head motifs depicted in frontal view
3. circular eyes with circular pupils
4. no nose
5. turned up mouths
6. no ears
7. no hair

MN 2 – 1. engraved and rubbed with colored pigment after the final firing

process



2. four almost identical head motifs depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes with eyebrows
4. no noses
5. turned down mouths
6. no ears
7. flat heads

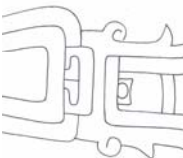
MNAAH 1 – 1. engraved and rubbed with colored pigments after the final firing process



2. seven almost identical head motifs delineated with lines
3. circular eyes without pupils
4. no noses
5. no mouths
6. no ears
7. no hair



MNAAH 2 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil located at the lower eyelid
4. curved bulbous nose
5. rectangular-shaped mouth
6. curved ear
7. no hair

AMNH 5 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. circular bulbous nose
5. open mouth
6. small ear
7. curly hair

PC 2 - 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. multiple, triangular head motifs depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes without pupils
4. no noses



5. turned down mouths
6. no ears
7. no hair

- PC 8 -
1. carved and rubbed with colored pigment
 2. two head motifs depicted in the frontal view
 3. circular eyes with circular pupils



4. no noses
5. turned up mouths
6. no ears
7. curly hair

- PC 10 -
1. engraved after the final firing process⁷⁶
 2. two almost identical head motifs depicted in profile



3. rectangular eyes with pupils
4. curved bulbous noses
5. turned up mouths
6. no ears
7. curly hair

- PC 23 -
1. engraving
 2. one head motif depicted in the frontal view



3. concave eyes
4. no nose
5. elongated mouth showing even teeth
6. no ear
7. no hair

- PC 37 -
1. engraving
 2. one head motif depicted in the frontal view
 3. rectangular eye with a half-circular pupil located at the upper eyelid



4. no nose
5. no mouth
6. no ear
7. no hair

⁷⁶ The shape of this vessel resembles the gourd bowl found at the site of Huaca Prieta.

- PC 52 –
1. engraving
 2. one head motif
 3. rectangular eye with the circular pupil
 4. no nose
 5. no mouth
 6. no ear
 7. no hair



- PC 53 –
1. engraving
 2. two almost identical head motifs depicted in profile
 3. rectangular eyes with a pupil located at lower eyelids
 4. circular nose
 5. open mouths
 6. no ears
 7. curved hair



- PC 54 –
1. engraving
 2. two almost identical head motifs depicted in profile
 3. rectangular eyes without pupils
 4. curved noses
 5. no mouths
 6. no ears
 7. no hair



- PC 55 –
1. engraving
 2. one head motif depicted in profile
 3. a rectangular eye with a circular pupil
 4. an elongated nose
 5. no mouth
 6. no ear
 7. pointy hair



The basic head motif is an important template in order to understand the fundamental design structure of Cupisnique head motifs. This basic head motif was made out of the five facial elements of an eye, a nose, an ear, hair (head)

and a mouth (chart 3). By adding and combining the five additional motifs (chart 5), including fangs, rows of teeth, connective bands, elongated bodies, and feathers, the Cupisnique potters were able to extend the basic head motif (A) into ten different types of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs (chart 6). Although the basic head motif has five different variations (chart 4), all five variations should be considered as part of the basic head motif (A). The basic head motif (A) needs to be considered the fundamental and standard template for creating ten other head motifs, including AB, AC, AD, AE, AF, ABC, ABD, ABE, ABF, and ABCD.

The Basic Head Motif with Fangs (AB)

The one important motif, a fang, is added on the basic head motif in order to create another type of the head motif, AB. The “head motif with fangs” (AB) is the motif generally viewed by Larco Hoyle as the depiction of the jaguar because of the sophisticated fang attribution.⁷⁷ This type of head motif is one of the most popular Cupisnique head motifs because this AB design has the largest number in one hundred seventy-nine Cupisnique head motifs and was continuously appropriated by subsequent cultural artists in Andes, including Chavín de Huántar, Moche, and Tiwanaku. The fanged head motif, depicted in both profile and frontal view, often appears on the black or grey Cupisnique ceramic surfaces and was usually engraved after the final firing process. Therefore, the lines of

⁷⁷ Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisniques*, 64.

the fanged head motif show a light grey earth-toned color. On occasion, the engraved fanged head motif was rubbed with red pigment to make a reddish-color, which contrasts with the dark-colored surfaces. On the surfaces of the ceramic vessels, the Cupisnique potters engraved a head motif decorated with either one or several fangs protruding from upper and lower gums. Figure (22) illustrates thirty-eight examples of the AB type head motifs (chart 13):

MARLH 2 – 1. molded and engraved before the final firing process



2. two slightly different fanged head motifs depicted in the frontal view

3. one showing rectangular eyes and the other one consisting of oval-shaped eyes



4. bulbous noses

5. open mouths with fangs from upper and lower gums

6. large elongated ears

7. flat heads

MARLH 8 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile

3. rectangular eye with a half-circular pupil located at the upper eyelid

4. protruding nose

5. turned down lip with a protruding fang from the upper gum

6. elongated, rectangular ear

7. flat head

MARLH 18 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif in profile

3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil located at the upper eyelid

4. protruding curved nose

5. turned up mouth with a protruding fang from the upper gum

6. circular ear

7. flat head

MARLH 23 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. flat bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth with a protruding fang
6. large ear emphasizing upper end and earlobe
7. flat head connected to the serpent head

MARLH 25 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two head motifs depicted in profile with two plant-like images
3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. flat bulbous noses
5. turned down mouth with protruding fangs from upper and lower gums
6. no ears
7. flat heads

MARLH 35 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eye with a circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. folded nose
5. open mouth with a protruding fang from the upper gum
6. flat ear
7. flat head with two head knots

MARLH 47 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. three head motifs depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with oval-shaped pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. folded noses
5. each head motif consisting of an open mouth with a protruding fang from an upper gum
6. folded ears
7. pointy hair

MARLH 48 – 1. carved before the final firing process

2. one head motif depicted in the frontal view



3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. mouth with protruding fangs from the upper and lower gums
6. two triangular ears
7. no hair

MAL 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. fanged head motif depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eye with a circular pupil located at the lower eyelid
4. folded, bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and a protruding fang
6. folded ear
7. pointy hair

MAL 2 – 1. molded figure attached to the upper section of the vessel's body and engraved before the final firing process



2. feline head image attached to a fish-like body
3. oval-shaped eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and fangs from both the upper and lower gums
6. triangular ears
7. no hair, flat head

MAL 3 – 1. molded figure engraved after the final firing process



2. feline head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and fangs
6. half-circular ears
7. no hair, flat head

MAUNT 1 – 1. molded figure engraved after the final firing process



2. feline head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and fangs
6. half-circular ears

7. no hair, flat head

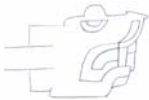
- MCM 4 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. fanged head motif depicted in profile
 3. half circular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. protruding nose
 5. turned up mouth with a protruding fang from the upper gum
 6. large circular ear
 7. flat head



- MMA 2 –
1. molded figure engraved before the final firing process
 2. feline head depicted in the frontal view
 3. circular eyes
 4. bulbous nose
 5. open mouth showing even teeth and protruding fangs
 6. triangular ears
 7. no hair



- MMA 5 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. fanged head motif depicted in profile
 3. half circular eye with half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. nose attached with a small knot
 5. turned down mouth with a protruding fang
 6. no ear
 7. flat head with a knot



- MMA 6 –
1. engraved before the final firing process
 2. fanged head motif depicted in profile
 3. half circular eye with a half circular pupil
 4. curved bulbous nose
 5. open mouth showing even teeth and a protruding fang
 6. small rectangular ear located near the neck
 7. curly hair covered with a headdress



- MMA 7 –
1. engraved before the final firing process
 2. fanged head motif depicted in the frontal view
 3. circular eyes



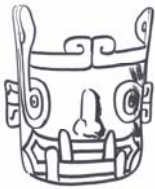
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth with two protruding fangs from the upper gum
6. elongated ears
7. trimmed hair

CMA 2 –



1. engraved after the final firing process
2. fanged head motif depicted in the frontal view
3. oval eye with oval pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. bulbous nose
5. turned up mouth showing three protruding fangs from the upper gum
6. double circle ears
7. no hair

AMNH 10 –



1. engraved before the final firing process
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes with circular pupils; upper eyelids connected to the serpent figure
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth with protruding fangs from both the upper and lower gums
6. rectangular ears
7. no hair with a head band located on the forehead

AMNH 12 –



1. outline engraved before the final firing process; the decorative lines engraved after the final firing process
2. fanged head depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eye with a circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth with two protruding fangs: one from the upper gum and the other one from the lower gum
6. folded ear
7. no hair

PC 3 –



1. engraved after the final firing process
2. four fanged head motifs depicted in profile
3. circular eyes
4. curved noses



5. open mouths with protruding fangs; each head motif consisting of one fang protruding from the upper gum
6. curved ears
7. no hair and flat head

PC 4 –



1. engraved after the final firing process
2. four almost identical fanged head motifs depicted in the frontal view
3. half-circular eyes with circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. bulbous noses
5. grinning open mouths showing even teeth and protruding fangs
6. curved ears with earlobes attached to serpent heads
7. flat head with two sharpened horns

PC 9 –



1. engraved before the final firing process
2. one fanged head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye
4. curved nose
5. open mouth with two protruding fangs from the upper gum
6. two rectangular ears separately attached to the right section of the fanged head
7. pointy hair

PC 13 –



1. molded and engraved before the final firing process
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. rectangular eyes with large rectangular pupils located at the eyelids
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth with four protruding fangs
6. rectangular ears
7. round head

PC 18 –



1. engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. elongated rectangular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth with two protruding fangs from the upper gum

6. no ear
7. no hair; elaborate headdress

PC 21 –



1. engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. turned down eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. grinning mouth showing even teeth and two protruding fangs from the upper gum
6. rectangular ears
7. no hair

PC 22 –



1. engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth showing even teeth and fangs protruding from the both the upper and lower gums
6. no ear
7. petal-shaped headdress

PC 24 –



1. engraving
2. several fanged head motifs depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. no noses
5. turned down mouth showing a fang protruding from the upper gum
6. folded ears and upper part of ears connected to serpent head
7. curved hair

PC 26 –



1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. oval-shaped eyes; eyelashes coming out from the lower eyelids
4. bulbous nose
5. grinning open mouth showing even teeth and fangs protruding from both the upper and lower gums
6. triangular ears

7. no hair

PC 27 –



1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. oval-shaped eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. turned down mouth showing even teeth and fangs protruding from both the upper and lower gums
6. rectangular ears emphasizing earlobes
7. no hair with wrinkles on the forehead

PC 31 –



1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. turned up mouth showing pointy teeth and protruding fangs
6. triangular ears
7. no hair

PC 32 –



1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. turned up mouth showing protruding fangs
6. large circular ears
7. no hair

PC 33 –



1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. grinning open mouth with pointy teeth and protruding fangs
6. circular ears
7. no hair

PC 50 –

1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. half oval-shaped eyes



4. bulbous nose
5. grinning open mouth with fangs protruding from the upper and lower gums
6. no ears
7. no hair

PC 51 –



1. molding and engraving
2. fanged head depicted in the frontal view
3. oval-shaped eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. grinning open mouth showing even teeth and protruding fangs
6. triangular ears
7. no hair

PC 59 –



1. molding
2. fanged head depicted in profile
3. circular eye
4. elongated and protruding nose
5. open mouth with fangs protruding from upper and lower gums
6. round ear
7. flat head

PC 62 –



1. engraving
2. two head motifs depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. folded bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths showing even teeth and protruding fangs
6. no ear
7. flat head

PC 64 –



1. engraving
2. two head motifs depicted in profile
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. bulbous noses
5. open mouth showing even teeth and protruding fangs
6. small folded ears

7. flat head covered with right angle-shaped hair

The Basic Head Motif with Rows of Teeth (AC)

The “head motif with rows of teeth” (AC) generally consists of either half oval-shaped or rectangular-shaped teeth representations located between lips or in front of a protruding mouth. The motif of the rows of teeth is one of the most popular Cupisnique decorative motifs. It was often used for decorating the architectural façades located at the site of Huaca de los Reyes before it was popularly applied to the surface of Cupisnique ceramics. The four sections of the friezes (Frieze D4, D’1, D’2, and D’3) (figure 45, 46, 47, and 48) at the Cupisnique archaeological site of Huaca de los Reyes show the very similar motif of rows of teeth used on Cupisnique ceramics. It is difficult to confirm the origin of the rows of teeth motif. However, based on the analysis of various head motifs on the Cupisnique vessels, the Cupisnique potters often used the motif in association with the basic head motif. Figure (23) illustrates seven examples of the head motifs with rows of teeth (chart 14):

MARLH 9 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. protruding nose
5. turned up mouth with rows of teeth
6. circular ear
7. circular hair

MARLH 24 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile

3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil
4. no nose
5. turned down mouth with various circular-shaped rows of teeth
6. round ear
7. circular head

MARLH 33 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eye with a half oval pupil
4. rectangular nose
5. turned up mouth with rectangular-shaped rows of teeth
6. circular ear
7. pointy hair

MCM 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two head motifs depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eyes with half oval pupils
4. elongated and curved noses
5. turned up mouth with circular rows of teeth
6. double curve ears
7. pointy hair



VMFA 2 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil
4. flat nose
5. turned up mouth with half circular-shaped rows of teeth
6. no ear
7. large curved head

PC 15 – 1. engraving



2. two head motifs depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eyes with oval-shaped pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. no nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and three elongated rectangular rows of teeth
6. no ears

7. no hair

PC 16 –



1. engraving
2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. oval-shaped eye with a oval-shaped pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth and three elongated rectangular rows of teeth located at the front of the head motif
6. no ear
7. no hair

The Basic Head Motifs with Connective Bands (AD)

The “head motif with connective bands” (AD) generally consists of two almost identical basic head motifs connected with a thick, angled band or several basic head motifs connected with a twisted band. This type of head motif is engraved either before or after the final firing process. Although only seven head motifs are found among the one hundred seventy-nine (179) Cupisnique engraved head motifs, two almost identical head motifs connected with a rigid and angled band become a base pattern for innovating more complicated types of head motifs explained below. Figure (24) illustrates the seven examples of the head motifs connected with a band (chart 15):

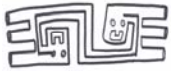
MARLH 42 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. four almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected with two crossed bands
3. rectangular eyes with a half-circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. circular bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths with thick lips

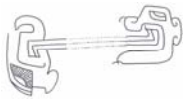
6. small folded ears
7. pointy hair

MCM 16 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



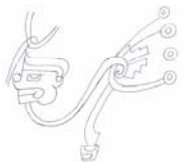
2. two identical rectangular head motifs depicted in the frontal view and connected with a long elongated band
3. circular eyes with dot-like pupils
4. no noses
5. turned up mouths
6. no ears
7. flat head

DMA 2 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two head motifs depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. bulbous noses
5. turned up mouths with a connective band from the mouths of each head
6. one consisting of no ear, but the other one showing a ear that curved at both ends
7. no hair, flat heads

VMFA 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two different styles of the plain head motifs attached with connective bands
3. rectangular eyes
4. one consisting of no nose and the other one showing small circular nose
5. one consisting of open mouth and the other one showing turned down mouth
6. one consisting of no ear and the other one showing a circular ear
7. one consisting of flat head and the other one showing pointy hair

PC 6 – 1. carved before the final firing process

2. three head motifs depicted in profile and connected with bands; the largest head motif located at the center and the other two



- small head motifs located on each side
3. three head motifs consisting of rectangular eyes with half oval-shaped pupils
 4. two small head motifs with no noses and the largest motif showing a bulbous nose
 5. one small head motif located on the right showing an open mouth; the largest head motif located on the center and small head motif located on the left presenting turned down mouths
 6. two small head motifs consisting of a folded ear and the largest one showing an ear curved at both ends
 7. the largest head motif showing two knot-like head decorations; one small head located at the left showing pointy hair and the other small head located at the right presenting flat head

PC 60 –



1. engraving
2. four identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected with a four-lined band
3. rectangular eyes with half-circular pupils
4. bulbous noses
5. turned down mouths with even teeth
6. rectangular-shaped curved ears
7. curly hair decorated with five small rectangular hair ornaments

PC 65 –



1. carving
2. six head motifs depicted in profile and divided into two groups; each group containing three head motifs; these three head motifs connected with a three-lined band
3. rectangular eyes with half-circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. rectangular bulbous noses
5. turned down mouth showing even teeth
6. ears curved on the earlobes
7. flat head

The Basic Head Motifs with Elongated Bodies (AE)

The “head motifs with elongated bodies” (AE) is the fifth type of engraved head motif. Unlike other head motif types, this motif does not perfectly fit into the facial criteria of the A1 basic head motif. However, it closely resembles the A5 basic head motif in terms of the selective usage of the five facial elements (chart 3). In general, the head motif with an elongated body consists of one head motif. Infrequently, two almost identical head motifs are connected to each end of an elongated body. In this dissertation, this type of head motif is named “double-headed motif.” The representation of the elongated body will be thoroughly discussed in the fourth chapter. Because of the fact that seven (7) AE types of head motifs are found among the one hundred seventy-nine engraved head motifs (179), it is possible to speculate that the head motifs with elongated bodies were rarely used on the Cupisnique vessels. Figure (25) illustrates the examples of the head motifs with elongated bodies (chart 16):

MARLH 38 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. four similar individual head motifs all connected with four elongated bodies



3. two motifs located at the center consisting of circular eyes; two motifs located at each side consisting of no eyes

4. four motifs with no noses

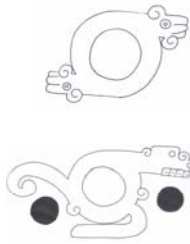
5. four motifs consisting of thick lips


6. four motifs with no ears


7. four motifs consisting of hair curved up on both front and back parts


MN 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. two different AE types of head motifs depicted in profile and each

- 
- head connected with a elongated body; one motif consisting of double heads and the other head motif consisting of even teeth
3. both heads showing circular eyes
 4. double headed motif with no nose and the other head motif with a nose curved on each end
 5. double headed motif consisting of a curved chin and the other head motif with an open mouth showing even teeth
 6. double headed motif consisting of no ear and the other head motif showing a folded ear
 7. double headed motif showing curved hair and the other head motif presenting a flat head

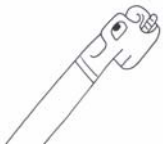
- MCM 18 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
- 
2. one head motif depicted in profile connected to the elongated body separated into two sections
 3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. folded bulbous nose
 5. mouth with lips with sharp ends
 6. no ear
 7. flat head

- SLAM 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
- 
2. one head motif depicted in profile and connected with an elongated body
 3. circular eye with a oval-shaped pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. bulbous nose
 5. closed mouth with thick lips
 6. folded ear
 7. one elongated oval-shaped hair decoration located at the center of its head

- AMNH 3 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
- 
2. one head motif depicted in profile and connected with an elongated body
 3. no eye
 4. folded bulbous nose
 5. mouth with thick lips
 6. no ear

7. one elongated oval-shaped hair decoration located at the center of its head

AMNH 7 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile and connected with an elongated body
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. folded bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even teeth
6. no ear
7. flat head

PC 28 – 1. molding and engraving



2. one head depicted in the frontal view and connected with an elongated body
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing even and pointy teeth
6. triangular ears
7. flat head

The Basic Head Motifs with Feathers (AF)

The “head motifs with feathers” (AF) is the name of the sixth type of the Cupisnique engraved head motif. The feather motif is delineated with an elongated rectangular shape whose inside is decorated with small rectangles, double lines, and straight lines. This type of feather image probably became standard, and it is often found not only on surfaces of Cupisnique vessels yet also on the architectural façades at the site of Huaca de los Reyes. Eight (8) basic heads connected to the standardized feather motifs are found among the one hundred seventy-nine (179) engraved head motifs. The feather motifs

connected to the basic head are also used for decorating façades (E4 and E6) (figure 39 and 41) at Huaca de los Reyes in the northern coast of Peru. Unlike the other ten different types of head motifs, the AF type generally appears in groups of two or three almost identical images. Figure (26) illustrates the eight examples of the head motifs with feathers (chart 17):

MARLH 11 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. three head motifs depicted in profile and connected with feather-like motifs



3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids

4. folded bulbous noses

5. open mouths showing even teeth

6. small curved ears

7. flat head connected to the feather-like motifs decorated with rectangular shapes and straight lines

MARLH 16 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. five head motifs connected with feather-like motifs; three of them located on the body of the vessel and the other two located on the top of the vessel



3. rectangular eyes with slit pupils

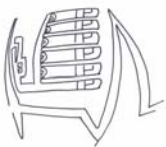
4. no noses

5. no mouths

6. no ears

7. flat heads

MARLH 29 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. four almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected with feather-like motifs; the four engraved motifs resembling bird images

3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the lower eyelids

4. no noses

5. protruding and open mouths

6. no ears
7. flat heads

MARLH 37 – 1. engraved before the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile and connected with feather-like motifs
3. small half circular eye
4. bulbous nose
5. protruding mouth resembling sharp beak
6. no ear
7. no hair

MNAAH 4 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. four almost identical head motifs connected with feather-like motifs
3. circular eyes
4. no noses
5. protruding mouths resembling bird beaks
6. no ears
7. round heads

MCM 6 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. three almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and their head parts connected with feather-like motifs
3. rectangular eyes with circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. flat noses
5. turned up mouths
6. no ears
7. flat heads connected with four feather-like motifs

PC 44 – 1. engraving



2. three almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected with feather-like motifs
3. half circular eyes
4. no noses
5. protruding mouths resembling bird beaks
6. no ears
7. no hair

- PC 45 –
1. engraving
 2. three almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected to three feather-like motifs
 3. half circular eyes
 4. no noses
 5. protruding mouths resembling bird beaks
 6. no ears
 7. no hair



The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Rows of Teeth (ABC)

The “head motifs with fangs and rows of teeth” (ABC) is the combination of the AB and the AC types. The sixteen (16) ABC head motifs are found among one hundred seventy-nine Cupisnique engraved head motifs (179) and fifteen of them are depicted in profile. A fang or fangs protrude from either upper or lower gums, and the rows of teeth are located in front of a protruding mouth. The decorative and additional motif of rows of teeth consists of two, three, or four individual tooth-like shapes. The rows of teeth are generally shaped with either rectangular or circular shapes. Figure (27) illustrates sixteen examples of the head motifs with fangs and rows of teeth (chart 18):

- MARLH 5 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. one head motif depicted in profile
 3. half circular eye with a half circular pupil
 4. curved nose
 5. turned up mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum; two curved large lips located in front of the protruding mouth; rectangular-shaped rows of teeth located between these two separated lips
 6. circular ear



7. round head

MARLH 10 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil
4. no nose
5. turned up open mouth showing a protruding fang jutting out of the upper gum; two curved large lips located in front of the protruding mouth; circular shaped rows of teeth located between these two separated lips
6. circular ear
7. no hair, flat head

MARLH 12 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. turned up open mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum and with two curved large lips; thin upper lip and thick lower lips; rectangular shaped rows of teeth located between lips
6. circular ear
7. flat head

MARLH 19 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. turned up open mouth with a protruding fang and thick lips; elongated circular rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
6. no ear
7. flat head decorated with two half-circular protrusions

MARLH 20 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. one head motif depicted in profile



3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. protruding curved nose
5. turned up open mouth with a protruding fang and lips; the rectangular rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. circular ear
7. flat head

MARLH 26 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. mouth with a protruding fang from the upper gum and rectangular-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. circular ear
7. flat head decorated with one head knot

MARLH 30 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



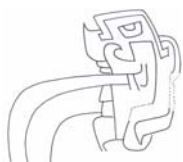
2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum and rectangular-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. elongated rectangular ear
7. flat head

MARLH 39 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. turned up open mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum; the oval-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. no ear
7. flat head

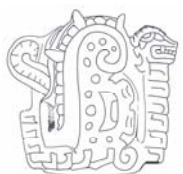
- MARLH 51 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. one head motif depicted in profile
 3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. no nose
 5. turned up open mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum; oval-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
 6. circular ear
 7. flat head



- MNAAH 3 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. two head motifs depicted in profile
 3. both head motifs consisting of half circular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
 4. one showing a protruding nose and the other one consisting of no nose
 5. both head motifs consisting of a turned up open mouth with a protruding fang; one head motif showing rectangular-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the mouth and the other one showing elongated oval-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
 6. circular ear
 7. flat head decorated with one head knot



- MMA 1 – 1. molded and engraved before the final firing process
 2. one head motif depicted in profile
 3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. folded nose
 5. mouth with three small fangs protruding from the upper gum and small rectangular-shaped rows of teeth located around the upper lip
 6. small folded ear
 7. flat head connected with another small fanged head depicted in profile

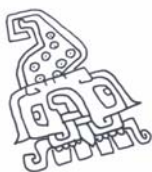


- AMNH 8 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. one head motif depicted in the frontal view



3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelid
4. bulbous nose
5. turned up mouth with two fangs protruding from the upper gum and circular rows of teeth protruding from the upper gum
6. no ear
7. flat head

AMNH 9 –



1. engraved after the final firing process
2. four head motifs depicted in the frontal view; only one head motif showing the rows of teeth; this one head motif defined as a vertically symmetrical A4 type
3. rectangular eyes with small half circular pupils located at the upper eyelid
4. bulbous noses
5. mouth with protruding fangs and small circular rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. rectangular ears
7. pointy hair

AMNH 15 –



1. carving
2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. half circular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. folded nose
5. open mouth showing a protruding fang and rows of teeth
6. no ear
7. no hair

PC 1 –



1. engraved after the final firing process
2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a circular pupil
4. no nose
5. turned up mouth with a protruding mouth and rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. circular ear
7. flat head

PC 57 –

1. engraving

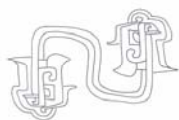


2. one head motif depicted in profile
3. rectangular eye with a half circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. no nose
5. mouth with a protruding fang and rows of teeth located in front of the mouth
6. rectangular ear
7. flat head

The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Connective Bands (ABD)

The “head motifs with fangs and connective bands” (ABD) are a combination of the AB and AD types. The ABD type of head motif is the innovated version of the AD type of head motif. In the ABD type of head motif, both a fang and a connective band are added into the A1 basic head motif. The connective band that is used only for connecting two almost identical fanged head motifs (the AB design) is usually delineated with either two or three lines that are either curved or angled. Eleven head motifs of the ABD type are found among the one hundred seventy-nine (179) engraved head motifs. Figure (28) illustrates eleven examples of the head motifs with fangs and connective bands (chart 19):

MARLH 3 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two head motifs depicted in profile and these two almost identical head motifs connected with a two-lined band
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the lower eyelids
4. curved noses
5. turned down mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
6. circular ears
7. pointy hair

MARLH 21 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. two almost identical head motif depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band



3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the lower eyelid
4. curved noses
5. turned down mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
6. circular ears
7. pointy hair

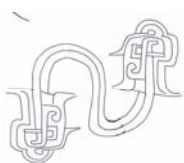
MARLH 22 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two almost identical heads depicted in profile with two bands connected to the neck of each head
3. circular eyes
4. protruding bulbous noses
5. protruding mouth with a fang
6. curved ears
7. pointy hair

MARLH 28 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. two individual almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band



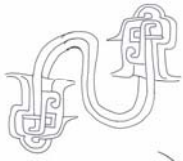
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the lower eyelids
4. curved noses
5. turned down mouth with fangs protruding from the upper gum
6. circular ears
7. pointy hair

MARLH 32 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

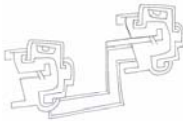


2. two head motifs both depicted in profile and connected with a band decorated with two thin lines on its each side
3. rectangular eyes and half circular pupils located at the upper eyelid
4. flat noses
5. turned up mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
6. circular ears
7. flat head and no hair

- MARLH 36 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. two individual and almost identical head motifs depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band
 3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
 4. curved noses
 5. turned down mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
 6. circular ears
 7. pointy hair



- MCM 7 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. two individual head motifs both depicted in profile and connected with a band decorated with two thin lines on each side
 3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
 4. curved bulbous noses
 5. turned up mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
 6. circular ears
 7. flat head



- DMA 1 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. one head motif depicted in profile connected to a four-lined connective band
 3. rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. protruding curved nose
 5. turned up mouth with two fangs protruding from both upper and lower gums
 6. no ear
 7. circular head shape



- MMA 4 – 1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. one head motif depicted in profile and connected with a four-lined band
 3. circular eye with a circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
 4. protruding curved nose
 5. turned up mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
 6. circular ear



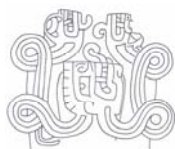
7. elongated pointy hair

PC 6 –



1. carving
2. three head motifs all depicted in profile; the largest head motif located at the center; two small head motifs located at each side; the largest head motif connected with two separated bands from each small head motif at each side
3. the largest head motif consisting of a rectangular eye with a rectangular pupil located at the upper eyelid; other two small head motifs consisting of rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the lower eyelids
4. the largest head motif showing a rectangular bulbous nose; the small head motif located at the right section showing a folded bulbous nose; the other small head motif located at the left section showing a bulbous nose
5. the small head motif located at the left section showing a turned down mouth without a fang; the small head motif located at the right section showing a turned down mouth with a fang; the largest head motif located at the center showing turned down mouth with fangs protruding from both upper and lower gums
6. the largest head motif showing a double curve ear; the two small head motifs located at each side consisting of no ears
7. three head motifs consisting of flat heads

PC 14 –




1. engraved before the final firing process
2. three head motifs all depicted in profile; the largest head motif located at the center; two small head motifs located at each side; two individual bands emerging from the neck of the largest head connected with other two small head motifs
3. the two small head motifs consisting of oval-shaped eyes with oval-shaped pupils located at the upper eyelids; the largest head motif showing rectangular eye with a circular pupil located at the upper eyelid
4. three head motifs consisting of bulbous noses
5. the largest head motif showing a turned down mouth with even teeth and a fang protruding from the lower gum; the two small head motifs presenting even teeth and fangs
6. the two small head motifs consisting of no ears; the largest head


- motif consisting of a rectangular bulbous nose
7. the two small head motifs consisting of round heads; the largest head motif showing a flat head and well trimmed hair


The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Elongated Bodies (ABE)

The “head motifs with fangs and an elongated body” (ABE) is a combination of the AB and AE types. Because an elongated body is connected to the fanged head motif, the ABE type becomes the representational images that combine both the serpent and the feline. Unlike other types of head motif, most head motifs of the ABE type are usually formed by using the molding technique instead of employing the engraving technique. Of one hundred seventy-nine head motifs (179), six head motifs fit into the ABE type. Five of them (figure 29; BM 3, MMA 2, PC 7, PC 29, and PC 30) are produced by using the molding technique and form their bodies with composite animal figures that represent a feline face with an elongated serpent body. Only one of the images (figure 29; PC 56) created by using the engraving technique presents a fanged head motif connected to an elongated body, which is engraved on a surface of a Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel. Practically, most images of ABE type cannot be considered engraved motifs because they are not engraved on surfaces of ceramic vessels (they form bodies of Cupisnique ceramic vessels). However, the two important motifs of the fanged head and the elongated body cannot be disregarded for analyzing the Cupisnique engraved head motifs because of their pivotal value in terms of the subject matter. Although most head images that fit

into the ABE type do not fit the engraved category, they need to be in the eleven different types of Cupisnique engraved head motif in order to analyze the popular and common characteristics of Cupisnique head motifs. In the molding technique, the head motifs with fangs and an elongated body become the body of a stirrup-spouted vessel. The ABE design of the motif generally exhibits one huge elongated body with one or many fangs on a face. Figure (29) illustrates six examples of the fanged head images connected with elongated bodies (chart 20):

- BM 3 –
- 
1. molded and engraved before the final firing process
 2. head images depicted in the frontal view and connected with an elongated body
 3. oval-shaped eyes
 4. bulbous nose
 5. mouth showing fangs protruding from the upper gum
 6. no ear
 7. no hair

- MMA 8 –
- 
1. image shape molded before the final firing process and decorative details engraved after the final firing process
 2. large head image depicted in the frontal view connected with an elongated body
 3. oval-shaped eyes
 4. bulbous nose
 5. mouth showing even teeth and fangs
 6. no ears
 7. no hair and round head

- PC 7 –
- 
1. molded before the final firing process
 2. two fanged heads depicted in the frontal view connected with an elongated body
 3. oval-shaped eyes
 4. bulbous noses

5. open mouth showing even teeth and fangs
6. showing no ear
7. round head

PC 29 –



1. molded before the final firing process
2. fanged head image depicted in the frontal view
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. mouth showing even teeth and fangs protruding from the upper gum
6. no ears
7. no hair

PC 30 –



1. molded before the final firing process
2. fanged head suggesting the feline image connected with an elongated body
3. circular eyes
4. bulbous nose
5. mouth showing fangs protruding from the upper and lower gums
6. no ears
7. round head

PC 56 –



1. engraving
2. fanged profile head motif connected with an elongated body
3. circular eye
4. flat bulbous nose
5. open mouth showing a fang from the upper gum
6. no ear
7. pointy hair

The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Feathers (ABF)

The “head motifs with fangs and feathers” (ABF) is a combination of the two particular AB and AF types. Two motifs of fangs and feathers are added to the basic head motif. Because of the fang and feathers, this composite imagery of

head motif suggests the representation of the feline-bird composite animal. The ABF type of head motif generally depicts only one fanged head that is connected to several almost identical feathers. Some motifs illustrate a head that exhibits more than one protruding fang connected to the chest of a bird, which is connected to several almost identical feathers. Figure (30) illustrates six examples of the head motifs attached to both fangs and feathers (chart 21):

MARLH 43 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. fanged head motif depicted in profile and connected with two feather-like motifs
3. circular eyes
4. protruding pointy nose
5. open mouth with a protruding fang
6. circular ear
7. circular head without hair

MARLH 44 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. fanged head motif depicted in profile and connected with four feather-like motifs
3. circular eye
4. protruding pointy nose
5. open mouth with a fang protruding from the upper gum
6. folded ear
7. circular head

MARLH 45 – 1. molded before the final firing process



2. fanged head motif depicted in profile and connected with head motifs
3. circular eye
4. protruding pointy nose
5. open mouth with two fangs protruding from the upper and lower gums
6. no ear
7. round head

MARLH 46 – 1. engraved before the final firing process



2. fanged head motif depicted in profile and connected with head motifs
3. circular eye
4. protruding pointy nose
5. mouth with a protruding fang
6. no ear
7. no hair

MCM 3 – 1. engraved before the final firing process



2. two fanged head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with feathers
3. one fanged head motif consisting of a circular eye and the other one consisting of a rectangular eye
4. each head motif showing protruding pointy noses
5. open mouths with protruding fangs
6. rectangular ears
7. one showing flat head and the other one consisting of round head



AMNH 13 – 1. engraved before the final firing process



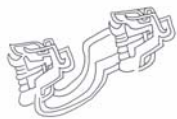
2. fanged head motif depicted in profile and connected with feather-like motifs
3. circular eye
4. protruding pointy nose
5. open mouth with a protruding fang
6. no ear
7. flat head

The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, Rows of Teeth, and Connective Bands (ABCD)

The “head motifs with fangs, rows of teeth, and connective bands” (ABCD) is a combination of the three particular AB, AC, and AD types. The three motifs, including fangs, rows of teeth, and a connective band, are added into the basic

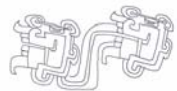
head motif. The connective band, generally decorated with a two- or three-lined decoration, is used only for connecting two almost identical fanged head motifs whose protruding mouth is attached with rows of teeth. The last type of the Cupisnique engraved head motif illustrates the most complicated design and is innovated by combining the three most popular motifs among the five additional motifs into the basic head motif. The ABCE type of head motif can be considered the most complicated type among the eleven different categories of head motif because it connects three very different motifs of fangs, rows of teeth, and connective band. It consists of two specific stylistic characteristics: (1) symmetry and (2) repetition. Figure (31) illustrates eight examples of the most innovated and complicated Cupisnique head motifs (chart 22):

MARLH 4 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two almost identical head motifs both depicted in profile and connected with a three-lined long band
3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelid
4. elongated pointy noses
5. open mouth with thick lips showing protruding fangs; rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
6. rectangular ears
7. pointy hair

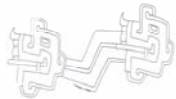
MARLH 6 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



2. two almost identical head motifs both depicted in profile and connected with a long, curved, two-lined band
3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. elongated curved noses
5. turned up mouths with fangs protruding from the upper gum;

- rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
- 6. rectangular ears
- 7. flat head decorated with two head knots on its front and back

MARLH 27 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



- 2. two almost identical head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with a three-lined band
- 3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
- 4. elongated curved nose
- 5. turned up mouths showing fangs protruding from the upper gum; rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
- 6. rectangular ears
- 7. flat head decorated with a head knot located on its front

MARLH 31 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



- 2. two almost identical head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band
- 3. rectangular eyes with half circular pupils located at the upper eyelids
- 4. protruding noses
- 5. turned up mouth showing a fang protruding from the upper gum; rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
- 6. rectangular ears
- 7. flat head

MARLH 40 – 1. engraved after the final firing process



- 2. two almost identical head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band
- 3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
- 4. protruding noses
- 5. turned up mouth showing thick lips and fangs from the upper gum; rows of teeth located in front of protruding mouth
- 6. elongated oval-shaped ears
- 7. flat head

MARLH 49 – 1. engraved after the final firing process

2. two almost identical head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with a one-lined band
3. rectangular eyes with large rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
4. protruding curved noses
5. turned up mouth showing thick lips and fangs protruding from the upper gum; small circular rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
6. large rectangular ears
7. flat head



- MCM 8 –
1. engraved before the final firing process
 2. two almost identical head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with a one-lined band
 3. rectangular eyes
 4. protruding curved noses
 5. turned up mouth with lips and fangs and oval-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
 6. rectangular ears
 7. flat head



- MCM 17 –
1. engraved after the final firing process
 2. two almost identical head motifs all depicted in profile and connected with a two-lined band
 3. rectangular eyes with rectangular pupils located at the upper eyelids
 4. small protruding curved noses
 5. turned up mouth showing fangs protruding from the upper gum and oval-shaped rows of teeth located in front of the protruding mouth
 6. circular ears emphasizing both upper and lower sections
 7. flat head decorated with two head knots located on the front and back



Summary

While the basic head motif (A) (Chart 4) are employed as the most standard template, the other five additional motifs (chart 5), including fangs, rows of teeth, connective bands, elongated bodies, and feathers, are frequently added or eliminated in order to create more complex designs. By analyzing the one hundred seventy-nine head motifs and images, it is apparent that the most important artistic conventions that are used in the Cupisnique engraved head motifs are repetition and vertical and horizontal symmetry. The basic head motifs can be divided into five different variations, which are a combination of rectangular and oval shapes of eyes (a), bulbous nose (b), ear (c), hair (head) (d), and mouth (e). These facial elements are repeatedly used for establishing the five different types of the basic head motifs (chart 4). The characteristics of bilateral symmetry found on the Cupisnique head motifs can be also found in the ABD and ABCD designs. The vertical and horizontal symmetries on the motifs seem to create a balance in the design, and this balance becomes an important characteristic of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

The following chapter will argue that the Cupisnique potters initially adopted the form of the stirrup spout from Ecuador and then appropriated the stirrup-spouted vessels by engraving various types of head motifs on the surfaces. The engraved head motifs represent a unique artistic innovation that was generated by Cupisnique potters. Through these specific engraved head motifs,

Cupisnique potters probably developed a homogenous style of engraved head motifs unique to their culture to differentiate themselves from Ecuadorian potters.

Chapter Three: The Origin of the Cupisnique Engraved Head Motifs

Since Tello suggested that the Peruvian coastal art style originated from the highland site of Chavín de Huántar during the 1920s, his theory has been widely accepted in Peruvian scholarship, and the site of Chavín de Huántar has been considered the foundation of most of the Peruvian art styles that subsequently developed. After sixty years, many scholars whose perspectives and focuses differ slightly have reformulated Tello's idea. For instance, Lathrap and Peter Roe considered the origin of the artistic subject matter found at Chavín de Huántar to be from the upper Amazon; Henning Bischof and Terence Grieder suggested an important Ecuadorian influence on coastal Peru in terms of the art style and subject matter; and Burger emphasized that the construction plans found on the northern coast and central highlands of Peru were appropriated by the Chavín architects and used for constructing the architectural structures at the site of Chavín de Huántar. Based on these diverse theories, it is obvious that the role of Chavín de Huántar has taken a focal position in Peruvian art scholarship. However, in order to understand the vital role of the Chavín art style in Peruvian art history, it is necessary to analyze the art style and design produced prior to the Chavín style: the Cupisnique head motifs.

This chapter discusses the origin of the Cupisnique head motifs. It is possible to trace the origin of the Cupisnique head motifs by following this sequence: (1) the elements for constructing the Cupisnique engraved head motifs probably originated in Formative Period Ecuador, (2) the Cupisnique architects probably appropriated elements from Ecuador for decorating the adobe friezes of Huaca de los Reyes, (3) the Cupisnique potters probably adapted the head motifs from Huaca de los Reyes for engraving the surfaces of the Cupisnique ceramic vessels, and (4) finally, the Cupisnique ceramic vessels were probably brought into the highland site of Chavín de Huántar where their head motifs were probably adapted for decorating the temple of Chavín. By tracing the origin of some facial elements (chart 3) of the basic head motif and the five additional motifs (chart 5) of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, it is possible to create a map and charts (map 4, and chart 23, 24, and 25) that illustrate from where the Cupisnique engraved head motifs were adapted and how they were developed.

Before the head motifs became popular designs on the surfaces of portable ceramic objects, the Cupisnique artists decorated enormous architectural façades with similar head motifs. Although the head motifs that were applied to the Cupisnique ceramics and those of the architectural façades have minor stylistic variations that are probably due to the taste of local artists or the time differences of the architectural construction stages, the five facial elements of eye, nose, ear, hair (head), and mouth (chart 23 and 25), and the

three additional motifs of fangs, rows of teeth, and feather (chart 24 and 25) were used repeatedly for decorating both the architectural façades of Huaca de los Reyes and the Cupisnique ceramic surfaces. Designs similar to the Cupisnique engraved head motifs occur in the following archaeological sites: Huaca de Los Reyes in the Moche Valley, Punkurí in the Nepeña Valley, Cerro Blanco in the Nepeña Valley, Garagay in the Rimac Valley, and La Galgada in the Santa Valley (map 2). Formal analysis of the Cupisnique head motifs and the decorative motifs on architectural façades suggest that the inspiration for the engraved head motifs on ceramics came from the head motifs on the architectural friezes of Huaca de los Reyes. Both the decorative head motifs on the architectural façades and the engraved head motifs on the Cupisnique ceramics can be compared to the decorative images that occur on the early formative Ecuadorian ceramic objects. After assembling all connections in terms of stylistic resemblance between the decorative northern Peruvian head motifs and Ecuadorian motifs, a chronological sequence of how the Ecuadorian motifs were transferred to northern Peru can be overlaid on a map of the region (map 4, and chart 23, 24, and 25).

Formative Period Ecuador

Several scholars, including Tello, Lathrap, Roe, and Donald Proulx, suggested that the fanged image, often used for decorating the various archaeological sites located on the northern coast of Peru, probably originated

from the highland site of Chavín de Huántar because this highland site is located near the upper Amazon where jaguars dwell.⁷⁸ However, Ecuador, specifically the south-eastern areas of Morona-Santiago and Pastaza, and the coastal sections of Guayas, Manabi, and Esmeraldas, is also comprised of abundant green tropical rain forests where jaguars, as well as serpents, caimans, monkeys, and exotic birds with colorful feathers reside. Henning Bischof also mentioned the possibility that the images of tropical animals found on the northern coast of Peru originated from Ecuadorian wildlife:

The symbols chosen were mostly derived from powerful predator animals, which at the same time give some hints about geographical origins by their natural habitats. In this respect, the feline motif does not provide specific information, although it may be significant that only the puma (*Felis concolor*) is seen in the present early sample, rather than the spotted cats found in classic Chavín art – a change that might imply a stronger emphasis on tropical forest topics later on... Daniel Morales Chocano and Peter Roe would see this as a link to the upper Amazon, but the tropical Guayas regions in south coastal Ecuador is a plausible alternative.”⁷⁹

Bischof did not clearly point out that the feline motif that is widely distributed on both the northern coast and highland regions of Peru is directly from Ecuador; but he referred to the southern coast of Ecuador, which also has a rain forest where the jaguar dwells.

⁷⁸ Tello, *Origen y Desarrollo de las Civilizaciones Prehistoricas*, 91, Peter Roe, *A Further Exploration of the Rowe Chavin Seriation and its Implications for North Central Coast Chronology* (Washington. D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1974), 26 – 38., Donald Proulx, *An Analysis of the Early Cultural Sequence of the Nepeña Valley* (Amherst, Department of Anthropology University of Massachusetts, 1985), 47 and 52, and Elizabeth Benson, ed. *The Cult of the Feline* (Washington. D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections), 86 – 87.

⁷⁹ Henning Bischof, “Context and Contents of Early Chavín Art,” in *Chavin Art, Architecture and Culture*, ed. Willam Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2008), 136.

The most important among all tropical species symbols would be that of the fanged jaguar that became a dominant subject matter during the Formative Period of Ecuador and the Early Horizon Period of Peru. Among the one hundred seventy nine (179) Cupisnique head motifs, fifty-two include the fang that represents the jaguar. Zoologist Rexford Lord noted that “in South America there are 12 species of wild cats, all of which are strictly carnivorous.”⁸⁰ Seven of the twelve species, including *Panthera onca* and *Puma concolor*, live in the Ecuadorian rain forest. Because of their size, speed, agility, and strength, these large felines are threatening and powerful predators whose teeth and claws can easily bring down their prey. They use their sharp fangs for tearing into the flesh of their prey and for chewing bones and meat. Jaguars can not only swim very fast but can also climb trees and rest on the large branches. Their highly developed eyesight allows them to hunt prey during both the day and the night. Because its unique characteristics connect the realms of sky, water, and earth, the ancient Andean people regarded the jaguar as a mediator for communicating with supernatural spirits and for contacting the spirit world. As a result, the jaguar and its distinctive fang image became sophisticated and powerful subjects that were often depicted in Ecuadorian art objects, including the Chorrera ceramics.

As an example, the Chorrera ceramic pot (figure 32) shows a round face, a bulbous nose, a tail, triangular ears, and four legs, all of which can be seen as attributes of the jaguar. The face has a large, open mouth and shows sharp,

⁸⁰ Rexford D. Lord, *Mammals of South America*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2007), 102.

elongated saw-like teeth, which is also indicative of the jaguar. By transforming the sharp elongated fangs into elongated saw-like teeth, the Chorrera potter emphasized both the physical strength and the symbolic power of the jaguar. Based on the image of Ecuadorian forest animal depicted on this Chorrera ceramic pot (figure 32), it is possible to conclude that Ecuadorian artists commonly used images of these jaguars as major themes on ceramic objects before the jaguar images and the fang motifs were widely used as artistic sources by the Cupisnique and Chavín artists (chart 24).

The Ecuadorian rain forest is not only inhabited by the jaguar but also by many other species, such as serpents, caimans, monkeys, harpy eagles and green macaws.⁸¹ In fact, more than two hundred different species of snakes live in this particular region.⁸² The labyrinthine rain forest provides moisture and the perfect temperature to create a comfortable home for snakes, whose behavior is intriguing and unique. The snakes' venom is painful and can cause great damage to humans. During antiquity, and before anti-venom had been produced, venomous snake-bites usually resulted in death, making the snake a feared animal among humans. Furthermore, snakes regularly shed their dead skin and emerge with new, shiny, vividly colored scales in what can be interpreted as

⁸¹ The information about the animal, reptile, and birds inhabitations was from the various publications, including Lord, *Mammals of South America*, William E. Duellman, *Cusco Amazónico: the Lives of Amphibians and Reptiles in an Amazonian Rainforest*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), and Robert S. Ridgely and Paul J. Green field, *The Birds of Ecuador*, vol. 2 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

⁸² Carlos Pérez-Santos and Ana G. Moreno, *Serpientes De Ecaudor*, (Torino: Museo Regionale di Scienze Naturali. 1991), 441.

regeneration. They can also climb trees, hide themselves underground, and swim. They are prolific and produce many eggs. Because of these attributes and behaviors, snakes symbolized fertility and the earth, and they were associated with water and rain. The anaconda, in particular, one of the largest snakes in the world, threatened ancient Andean hunters, farmers and traders. The moment in which the anaconda coils, suffocating and killing its prey, probably became an inspiration for the Formative Period Chorrera potters. As a result, images of a snake winding around a specific object or sitting in a coiled position are depicted on the Formative Period Chorrera vessel (figure 33). The body of this ceramic vessel displays the S-shaped elongated form, which is indicative of the snake body and its movement. Two other broken ceramic pieces were excavated at the site of Challuabamba (figure 34-a and 34-b). The surfaces of these two ceramic pieces show engraved motifs that both have sharp ends connected to an elongated body. Only part of the motif is visible on these broken segments. Therefore, different scholars have interpreted these motifs differently. Grieder interpreted these two motifs as the feline tail because of their sharp and slightly curved terminal ends.⁸³ However, the sharp ends are connected to an elongated body shape. This combination can be seen as indicative of the serpent body and its end. Therefore, the two motifs (figure 34-a and 34-b) engraved on the broken ceramic pieces can be interpreted as the

⁸³ Terence Grieder et al., *Art and Archaeology of Challuabamba, Ecuador* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 123.

elongated snake body rather than the feline tail. Elongated snake bodies were also a popular theme and are often found on the Formative Period Ecuadorian artifacts. This elongated snake body became another popular motif often used on Cupisnique ceramic vessels, and was ubiquitous at the site of Chavín de Huántar (chart 24).

The black caiman is another strong reptile that lives in Ecuador. The male black caiman can grow four to six meters long. It has a large and elongated mouth with extremely sharp teeth. When it grabs prey, the black caiman does not release until the prey's body is torn apart. The black caiman hides under the mud and patiently waits for its prey, and then it swims quickly to catch it. Because it lives both under the swampy land and in the water, it represents the underworld. Its rows of sharp teeth are often found on the Formative Period Ecuadorian ceramics. A ceramic pot (figure 33) from the Chorrera Phase (1800 – 200 B.C.E.) shows two distinctive representations of a serpent and caiman. An elongated and slender form, which probably represents a snake, wraps around the body of this ceramic pot and connects to a caiman-like head. Because of the large circular nares and large open mouth with short saw-like teeth, this head image most likely represents the caiman. The rows of teeth became a popular motif appropriated by the Cupisnique architects for decorating the friezes of Huaca de los Reyes, the Cupisnique potters for engraving ceramic vessels, and Chavín artists for elaborating the façades of Chavín de Huántar (chart 24)

The Ecuadorian rain forest, with myriads of trees and a large variety of fruits, provides a comfortable home for monkeys and birds. The monkeys actually behave very similarly to human beings. They use their hands and tools for eating foods. For instance, when they eat bananas, they actually use their fingers to peel the skin off. Although monkeys were caught and eaten by the native Andean people who lived in the rain forest, their behavior fascinated the ancient Andeans and they subsequently used monkey imagery on various artifacts. Among many species of monkeys, the capuchin (*cebus albifrons*, *cebus paella*, and *cebus capucinus*) and howler monkeys (*alouatta palliate*) are often depicted on Formative Period Chorrera ceramics. One Chorrera ceramic pot (figure 35) exhibits a round monkey face that is attached to the upper right section of the ceramic body. In this image, two large circular eyes surround large dark goggle-like circles. A small triangular-shaped ear is located beside each eye. A small circular bulbous nose is located between the two circular concentric eyes, and a small mouth with thick lips is located under this small bulbous nose. The facial elements of eyes, nose, and mouth clearly depict the monkey's characteristics. Lathrap has already identified this Chorrera ceramic pot (figure 35) as monkey-ceramic pot, depicting a *cebus* monkey whose species actually dwell in southern Ecuador.⁸⁴

The Ecuadorian tropical rain forest also provides a home for many species of birds, most of which have colorful feathers that were often used for decorating

⁸⁴ Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 45.

ancient Andean body paraphernalia that included earpools, garments, bags, and blankets. In order to produce a twelve inch green garment, craftsmen needed feathers of more than twenty green macaws. Therefore, the items that were decorated with tropical bird feathers were used only by the elite or the village leader, who could afford these rare and luxurious items. However, images of macaws and harpy eagles, and feather motifs are often depicted on the Formative Period Ecuadorian ceramics. One Chorrera ceramic pot (figure 36) displays an image of the *Great Green Macaw*, which also lives in the rain forest of southern Ecuador. The slightly curved upper beak is much larger than the lower mandible, and the upper almost covers the lower. The shape of this beak clearly indicates the representation of the macaw.

The feather motif (chart 5), which is another important additional motif of Cupisnique engraved head motifs, is also found on two ceramic pieces (figure 37 - a and 37-b) excavated at the Ecuadorian formative site of Challuabamba. The feather-like motif found on the shred of the cylindrical stamp (37- a) illustrates three elongated ovals that resemble the imagery of an individual feather. The combination of these three feather-like oval shapes is similar to the feather motifs that decorate the surfaces of many Cupisnique ceramics and the friezes of Huaca de los Reyes (chart 24). As chart 24 demonstrates, typical feather motifs found on both the Cupisnique ceramics and the Huaca de los Reyes' façades show three elongated rectangular shapes decorated with either small rectangular or straight motifs. The three elongated rectangular shapes often used for

delineating the feather motifs on both Cupisnique ceramics and Huaca de los Reyes closely resemble bird feathers. By examining the three feather motifs from Challuabamba, Huaca de los Reyes, and Cupisnique ceramics (chart 24), the stylistic resemblances on three feather motifs from three different places can be seen easily. Although the feather can be rendered in many different expressive ways, the artists from these three different places used similar fundamental shapes and decorative motifs for presenting the feather. Although Grieder suggested that the motif from Challuabamba could represent either a finger or a feather,⁸⁵ it is most likely a feather because the dotted decoration located at the end of the oval-shaped motif indicates the multi-colored variations found on the feathers of macaws. The another feather-like motif found on another ceramic piece (figure 37-b) does not show additional decoration inside of the feather-like image, but the four elongated oval-shaped motifs closely resemble the macaw's individual feather. Stylistic analysis suggests that the characteristics of forest animals, including fangs, rows of teeth, elongated body, and feathers, were probably adapted by artists of northern coastal Peru and then became popular visual images for decorating architectural structures and ceramic objects (chart 24) after the Formative Ecuadorian Period.

Along with fauna, reptile, and ornithoid images, the two facial features of the rectangular eye and mouth, and the open mouth with even teeth can also be

⁸⁵ Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 118.

considered examples of an artistic transmission from Ecuador to the northern coast. Lathrap presented a drawing of the harpy eagle design (figure 38) that decorated a polychrome bowl fragment. The species known as the American harpy eagle generally inhabits the tropical forests of South America and has often been used as a subject on Ecuadorian art objects. This Chorrera design (figure 38) clearly indicates a harpy eagle with a sharp beak and rectangular-shaped feather motifs perpendicularly protruding from the top of the head. It also consists of a rectangular-shaped eye with a pupil located at the top of its eyelid. The subject matter of the harpy eagle is important, but the rectangular-shaped eye is also a vital element that strengthens the relationship between the decorative elements of the Chorrera art style and of the Cupisnique head motifs found on both architectural façades and Cupisnique ceramic vessels.

In addition to the harpy eagle drawing (figure 38), the rectangular eye design (figure 39.a, b, c, d, and e) has also been found on the ceramic cylinder stamps excavated at the site of Challuabamba situated in the southern highlands of Ecuador. This site is dated approximately between 2300 and 1700 B.C.E, the range of the Formative Period. Five different ceramic shards of cylinder stamps (figure 39.a, b, c, d, and e) present facial features rendered in the frontal view and consisting of two rectangular eyes and an open mouth that forms a horizontally elongated rectangular shape. This open rectangular mouth can be considered an inspiration for the creation of the grinning mouth, the element that is often found on both the Huaca de los Reyes and Cupisnique head motifs. This

element of the open rectangular mouth was used continuously by subsequent cultural artists of Cupisnique and Chavín de Huántar (chart 23).

The two rectangular eyes with dotted pupils located at the center are very similar to the rectangular eye shape found both on the harpy eagle design from the Ecuadorian Chorrera ceramic (figure 38) and the basic head motifs (chart 3) from the Cupisnique ceramics. The rectangular eye is a key element used for constructing various types of Cupisnique head motifs (chart 3). Although every head motif does not include a rectangular-shaped eye, the vast majority of head motifs (more than 83 %) use this specific rectangular eye with a pupil as a part of the facial elements (chart 3) that comprise the basic head motif. These rectangular-shaped eyes are also found on both Chorrera and Cupisnique ceramic vessels. The choice for delineating an eye with a rectangular shape can possibly be seen as coincidence and universal expression: but inside the rectangular eye, the pupil is also similar, being located on either upper or lower eyelids.

Along with the facial elements of the rectangular eye and mouth, the even teeth motif, one of the major elements for constituting the Cupisnique basic head motif (chart 4 – A2) is also found on the ceramic shred (figure 40) excavated at the site of Cerro Ñañañique, an Initial Horizon site located in northern Peru. Grieder defined the flowing curvilinear motif as the “monster” design.⁸⁶ In this

⁸⁶ Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 90.

flowing curvilinear motif, a protruding mouth that includes even teeth (figure 40) is very similar to the even teeth image of the A2 type basic head motif (chart 4).

Grieder suggested that the Peruvian pre-ceramic and Initial Period (ca., 2000 – 700 B.C.E.) sites have yielded many excavated objects with Ecuadorian connections: (1) *spondylus* shells, (2) loom weaving techniques, and (3) ceramics.⁸⁷ He clearly indicated that, among these three items, the ceramics that were first created in northern Peru were probably inspired by Valdivia pottery, which was produced during the Ecuadorian Formative Period.⁸⁸ Based on the rectangular-shaped eye on the Chorrera harpy eagle designs (figure 38) and the Challuabamba ceramic stamp (figure 39), and the even teeth motif on the Cerro Ñañañique ceramic shred (figure 40), it is possible to create a map and charts that illustrate the evolution of the facial elements of eye and mouth with even teeth, as well as the feather motif from the developmental procedure of the facial element of an eye, and a mouth with even teeth as well as a feather motif from the Ecuador Machalilla Formative (ca., 2000 – 1000 B.C.E.) to Cupisnique Initial Period (ca., 2000 – 700 B.C.E.) (map 4, and chart 23). The themes of fangs, rows of teeth, elongated body, and feathers became the most popular and primary motifs used for decorating the Chorrera ceramic pots (figure 32, 33, 35, and 36) and the Challuabamba ceramic stamps (figure 34 and 37). After the Ecuador Formative Period, these motifs also became extremely popular for

⁸⁷ Lathrap, *Ancient Ecuador*, 90.

⁸⁸ Grieder et al., *Art and Archaeology of Challuabamba, Ecuador*, 9.

creating the Cupisnique engraved head motifs (chart 24) on the northern coast of Peru. Based on the fact that the two elements of an eye and a mouth and the feather motif closely resemble the facial elements (chart 3) of the basic head motif and the additional motifs (chart 5) of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, it can be suggested that the Cupisnique engraved head motifs were appropriated from Ecuadorian Formative art styles (chart 23 and 24). Although the additional motifs of fangs, rows of teeth, elongated body, and feather as well as the facial elements of rectangular eye and the mouth were probably from Ecuador, the combination of elements and motifs that were used to create an innovative image of the anthropomorphic engraved head was established solely by the Cupisnique potters.

As discussed in the first chapter, the stirrup-spout design and the engraving technique of the Cupisnique vessels probably originated from Ecuadorian Machalilla designs. The Cupisnique potters used the adopted stirrup spout together with innovative head motif to construct their vessels. By combining both the stirrup spout-design and engraved head motifs, Cupisnique potters created ceramic objects that are visually distinctive. These ceramics were decorated with various types of engraved head motifs, which can be considered a unique visible emblem found only in the Cupisnique region. While head motifs can be found throughout Andean history and among many artifacts, the engraved head motifs on ceramics Cupisnique potters were uniquely employed by the Cupisnique potters. Before the engraved head motifs that were

popularly applied to the surfaces of Cupisnique ceramic vessels, a similar head motif was often used for decorating the adobe friezes of Huaca de los Reyes, an archaeological site located on the northern coast of Peru, close to southern Ecuador. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the head motifs that were applied to the friezes of Huaca de los Reyes in order to understand how the Cupisnique artists incorporated the Ecuadorian Formative rectangular eye and mouth elements, as well as the fang and feather motifs, into their own style.

Huaca de los Reyes: Architectural Motifs

The archaeological site of Huaca de los Reyes (map 2) is one of the eight architectural mounds within the Caballo Muerto complex.⁸⁹ It is located beside the Seco Quebrada River, which is one of the tributaries of the Moche River (approximately 50 km inland from the sea).⁹⁰ This site yields one of the most exemplary and sophisticated architectural plans of the northern coast of Peru and the Cupisnique art style. Huaca de los Reyes is the largest site within the Caballo Muerto complex, and it is identified as an early structure. It exhibits an open U-shaped plan flanking a large sunken rectangular plaza that faces east. A total of thirty-nine adobe friezes were excavated by Porzorski and Watanabe.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Pozorski, "The Early Horizon Site of Huaca de los Reyes: Societal Implications," 101.

⁹⁰ Pozorski, "The Caballo Muerto Complex," 524.

⁹¹ Conklin, "The Architecture of Huaca de Los Reyes," 141., and Pozorski, "The Early Horizon Site of Huaca de los Reyes: Societal Implications," 104.

The friezes were constructed with a mix of pebbles, boulders, and clay, and then covered with yellow-colored clay creating smooth surfaces. Of the thirty nine friezes that remain, nineteen are decorated with distinctive head images and human legs. Huaca de los Reyes was structured in typical temple plan that can be easily found on the coastal region in Peru. The large sunken plaza surrounded by the U-shaped structural plan provides a suitable place for conducting various ritual ceremonies. The U-shaped design can be interpreted as creating an accessible structure that invites the public into the sacred place. In addition, this open space was also perfect for showcasing the large and distinctive head images to people who visited this temple or attended ritual ceremonies.

In order to protect the delicate adobe façades, which are exposed to piercing wind and the el niño phenomenon, Instituto Nacional de Cultura (henceforth INC) has now covered these decorative head images with pebbles. However, Thomas Pozorski illustrated the images that decorated the friezes of Huaca de los Reyes in his 1976 dissertation, and Enrique Verga Montero, an administrative director of the Museo de Arqueología of Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, has kindly provided the high resolution images of the façade of Huaca de los Reyes to the author. Based on these illustrations, it is possible to compare the head images on the nineteen friezes of Huaca de los Reyes with the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

Pozorski collected four samples from postholes at the site of Huaca de los Reyes and presented the radiocarbon dates: 850 B.C.E. \pm 60, 1190 B.C.E. \pm 60, 1360 B.C.E. \pm 80, and 1730 B.C.E. \pm 80.⁹² Based on the four radiocarbon dates, Pozorski concluded that the site with the decorative façades was built and occupied around 1300 B.C.E.⁹³ In contrast to Pozorski's conclusion, William Conklin suggested that this site was developed and built during different time Periods that he broke into eight phases. He also mentioned that the various types of decorative façades were created only during Phases 5, 6, and 7 of the eight Phase construction sequence, and he labeled the decoration applied to the architectural façades as "stucco art."⁹⁴ The most recently created stucco art at the site, according to the architectural sequence, is that which accompanied the great colonnades of Phase 7. The earliest stucco art is found in the friezes of Phase 5.⁹⁵ His analysis suggests that the earliest art style is more curvilinear and monstrous, the intermediate phase art style is more geometric and less animalistic, and the final art style is also almost purely geometric. Based on his analysis, Conklin suggested that these different styles of head motifs were created throughout the three different time periods. However, Pozorski mentioned that along with the architectural structures, the different head styles

⁹² Thomas Pozorski, "Caballo Muerto: A Complex of Early Ceramic Sites in the Moche Valley, Peru" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, Austin. University Microfilms, 1976), 112-113.

⁹³ Pozorski, "Huaca de los Reyes Revisited," 336.

⁹⁴ Conklin, "The Architecture of Huaca de Los Reyes," 160.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

were contemporaneously created in an almost equivalent period. As Pozorski points out, Conklin did not use radiocarbon dating when he defined the eight Phase sequential development of the architectural construction at Huaca de los Reyes. Therefore, Pozorski's conclusion that the decorative motifs on the adobe façades at Huaca de los Reyes were contemporaneously produced around 1300 B.C.E. can be considered a more reliable reference in this chapter because his argument is reinforced by radiocarbon data. Based on this time frame, the structures of Huaca de los Reyes were built before the Cupisnique ceramic vessels were commonly produced. Pozorski's research suggests that the head motifs found on the adobe friezes of Huaca de los Reyes were probably a major stylistic source for the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

In addition to the clarification of the construction time Period of Huaca de los Reyes, the decorative images found in adobe friezes of this site need to be analyzed in order to compare them with Cupisnique head motifs. Of the thirty-nine (39) friezes at Huaca de los Reyes, nineteen friezes (19) exhibit head motifs. The detailed stylistic expressions and some basic elements exhibited on these head motifs closely resemble the engraved head motifs on Cupisnique ceramics. The 19 frieze head images that Pozorski personally labeled (Frieze A5, A6, E1, E2, E3, E4, E5, E6, E7, E8, D2, D4, D'1, D'2, D'3, F1, F2, F7, and F8) are closely analyzed in this chapter in order to compare them with the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. Pozoroski divided these adobe friezes into two basic types based on the different composition and style of the motifs on the façades: (1) large

adobe heads and (2) standing bipedal figures that are always flanked with a profile head motif.⁹⁶ However, Pozorski's second category can be divided further due to the subtle differences of the individual head motifs. As a result, it is necessary to create additional categories in order to analyze the head motifs with more accuracy. Specifically, the decorative head motifs applied to these 19 friezes can be divided further into the following four categories based on stylistic differences:

- (1) two large human legs flanked by profile fanged head motifs that are delineated with rigid lines
- (2) two large human legs flanked by profile fanged head motifs that are outlined with curvilinear lines
- (3) two large human legs flanked by profile head motifs whose mouths contain rows of teeth
- (4) one over-sized (almost two meters tall) frontal head image covering an entire façade.

Excluding the second category, each category of head motifs at the site of Huaca de los Reyes has several examples that illustrate an almost identical style in terms of lines and forms. Therefore, it is not necessary to describe each head motif from individual adobe friezes.

The nine friezes, including A5, A6, E4, E5, E6, E7, F1, F2, and F8 (figure 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 49, 56, 57, and 59), fit the first category. These friezes

⁹⁶ Pozorski, "The Caballo Muerto Complex," 525.

generally consist of large human-like legs whose sides are flanked by a profile head motif. Because the upper torso and the head of this figure have been destroyed and only two large legs and feet remain, Pozorski labeled these images the “bipedal figure.” The two legs depicted on both the A5 and A6 façades stand on the ground and are flanked by a profile head motif, which is the primary link to the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. The two legs depicted on E4, E5, E6, and E7 (figure 46, 47, 48, and 49) façades stand on two L-shaped pedestals, and the two profile heads located at the sides of the two legs are carved on the adobe surface, which is covered by smooth clay. Each leg depicted on the F1 and F2 (figure 56 and 57) façades stands on an individual cylindrical stool, and these two legs are flanked by a head motif. The bipedal figures and head motifs depicted on these nine friezes exhibit a shallow relief technique. All head motifs depicted on these nine friezes consist of a rectangular eye with a pupil located at either upper or lower eyelids, a bulbous nose whose nostril is emphasized by a bold line, and a mouth that is either turned up or down and shown with fangs protruding from both upper and lower gums. All of these profile head motifs are delineated with rigid and angular lines. In addition to the general organization of the head motif shown in the nine friezes, these fanged head motifs, illustrated on the three friezes of A6, E4, and E6, (figure 41, 46, and 48) are connected to feather motifs that are delineated with large rectangular shapes decorated with small rectangular and straight lines.

Only one frieze, F7 (figure 58), fits into the second category. This façade also exhibits two human-like legs whose sides are flanked with a profile head motif that is rendered with curvilinear lines. The smooth and curved lines deliver more naturalistic jaguar attributes than rigid and angular lines. The two head motifs carved on Frieze F7 (figure 58) depict the most naturalistic representation of animalistic characteristics among the other eighteen (18) friezes. Fangs protruding from both upper and lower gums, a circular eye with a circular pupil located at its center, a bulbous nose whose nostril is emphasized by a bold line, and a turned down mouth all emphasize the jaguar-like characteristics on this head motif.

The four friezes, D4, D'1, D'2, and D'3 (figure 52, 53, 54, and 55), fit the third category. In general, these façades also illustrate two giant human legs. An individual up-side-down profile head motif is located under the feet of the giant human legs. The profile head motif, which is delineated with rigid and angular lines, consists of a rectangular eye with a small pupil located at an upper eyelid, a bulbous nose whose nostril is emphasized by a bold line, and a mouth covered with rows of teeth.

The four friezes, E1, E2, E3, and E8 (figure 43, 44, 45, and 50), fit the fourth category. These façades generally exhibit a large colossal head whose height is approximately two meters. Each head consists of a rectangular eye with a pupil, a bulbous nose, and an open mouth with fangs protruding from both upper and lower gums. Each colossal head shows a different mouth style. The

mouths shown on the façades of E1 and E3 (figures 43 and 45) are turned down, and the mouths illustrated on the façades of E2 and E8 (figures 44 and 50) seem to represent a snarling expression. Because of the elements of snarling and turned down mouth with fangs, these colossal heads also exhibit predatory fauna-like characteristics.

Based on stylistic comparison, two important similarities in terms of the subject matter and the composition between the friezes of Huaca de los Reyes and the Cupisnique engraved head motifs become significant (chart 25). A rectangular eye with a pupil, a bulbous nose, and an open mouth as well as fangs, rows of teeth, and feathers are the important basic elements and motifs in the head motifs on the façades of Huaca de los Reyes. Specifically, the rectangular eye is the most common element found in all three examples of Chorrera ceramics, adobe friezes of Huaca de los Reyes, and Cupisnique ceramics (chart 23 and 25). The three additional motifs of a fang, rows of teeth and feathers (chart 24 and 25) are very similar to the most important additional engraved head motifs on Cupisnique ceramics. Although these three motifs that decorate the façades of Huaca de los Reyes and Cupisnique ceramics are not exactly identical in terms of the materials and functions, the four motifs found on the both Cupisnique vessels and Huaca de los Reyes can be considered similar in terms of the subject matter and the basic facial elements (chart 23) used for constructing both motifs. The composition and organization of the nineteen friezes of Huaca de los Reyes, which are arranged in a vertically symmetrical

manner, closely resembles the bilaterally symmetrical organization of Cupisnique head motifs. Because Huaca de los Reyes was built approximately in 1300 B.C.E., the head motifs shown in this site were probably used as the base model for later engraved head motifs on Cupisnique ceramics.

Punkurí, Cerro Blanco, Garagay, and La Galgada

The site of Huaca de los Reyes is not the only place on the northern coast of Peru that exhibits the head motif decoration. Other archaeological sites, including Punkurí, Cerro Blanco, Garagay and La Galgada, include the head design, and the abundant numbers of head motifs found in coastal Peru support the argument that head motifs were abundantly used and widely distributed during both the Initial and Early Horizon Periods. Pozorski concluded that “the majority of mounds of the Early Horizon, or at least the very early ceramic Period, are clustered between the Casma and Supe Valleys.”⁹⁷ The two particular archaeological sites of Punkurí and Cerro Blanco both are located in the Nepeña Valley, which is situated between the Casma and Supe Valleys (map 2). These two sites also used architectural plans and decorative motifs similar to the site of Huaca de los Reyes. Pozorski attributed the construction of adobe mounds to religious activity and high cultural development during the Early Horizon. The various types of head motifs on the adobe constructions are evidence of a

⁹⁷ Pozorski, “The Caballo Muerto Complex,” 530.

developed local art style on the northern coast that should be separated from the art style of Chavín de Huántar.

The two archaeological sites of Punkurí and Cerro Blanco also employed a typical northern coastal architectural plan, construction technique, and sophisticated fanged images. By comparing these three characteristics with the attributions of Huaca de los Reyes, a close stylistic resemblance between Huaca de los Reyes and the two sites at the Nepeña Valley stands out. Therefore, the head motif and architectural style on the northern coast was widely distributed. The two architectural sites of Punkurí and Cerro Blanco can be seen as allied with the northern coastal art style.

Punkurí

Punkurí (map 2), the Early Horizon archaeological site, is situated 27 km inland and located in the Nepeña Valley.⁹⁸ It has a terraced platform that faces northwest. Most of the structures at this site were destroyed, but it still displays a U-shaped structure with stairs that can be defined as a typical characteristic of northern coastal architectural plans in Peru. Since portions of the Punkurí site were first excavated by Tello in 1933, this site has presented a series of intriguing, colorfully painted low-relief carvings on adobe friezes and molded clay

⁹⁸ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 89., and Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, 368.

sculptures located on the staircase.⁹⁹ These characteristics, typical of the architectural plan, the construction technique, and the decorative images found at Punkurí, closely resemble the site of Huaca de los Reyes.

When Tello excavated the lower level of this site he found the stone wall, which was covered with clay and decorated with motifs.¹⁰⁰ The basic foundation of the wall was constructed with stones, and this construction technique closely resembles the classic Chavín architectural technique. Based on the similarity of the construction technique on both sites, Tello concluded that the architectural techniques and motifs migrated from the highlands to the northern coast.¹⁰¹

Tello proposed that the construction technique at the site of Punkurí resembled Chavín de Huántar by pointing out the fact that the base of the lower level of Punkurí site was constructed with stones. However, these stone base structures were covered by clay. The clay wall covering technique cannot be found at the major structures of both the Old and New Temple at the site of Chavín de Huántar; but this construction technique is often found on the northern coastal region, including the site of Huaca de los Reyes. At the site of Huaca de los Reyes, pebbles and stones were also used for hardening the basic construction, then adobe blocks were put around the stone- and pebble-based structures. In the final process, adobe walls were covered by soft clay. When the wall was

⁹⁹ Tello, "Discovery of the Chavín Culture in Peru," 135 – 160.

¹⁰⁰ Tello, "Discovery of the Chavín Culture in Peru," 136 – 137.

¹⁰¹ Tello, 138.

covered, it became soft and smooth. Then the head motifs were carved onto the soft wall. Therefore, based on the formal analysis of these three archaeological sites in terms of the architectural plan and the construction technique, the architectural structures at Punkurí more closely resemble the northern coastal site of Huaca de los Reyes than Chavín de Huántar, the highland site where stone façades rather than adobe friezes were used in order to complete the surface of the temple.

In addition to sharing a similar structural technique and architectural plan, the fanged image can be also found at both Huaca de los Reyes and Punkurí. The site of Punkurí is best known for a monumental clay sculpture (figure 60), which consists of feline attributes, including upper and lower fangs, triangular ears, oval-shaped eyes, and four distinctive claws. This large clay sculpture is located in the middle of the staircase which leads up to the second platform level. Because Punkurí has been currently buried for preservation purposes, it is impossible to describe the colors on this feline sculpture by analyzing the black and white picture taken by Tello (figure 61). However, Tello thoroughly described the various colors that were applied to this clay feline sculpture, describing a white face, white eyes, red lips, white teeth incised with black lines, black nose, and blue ears, neck, back of head, and pupils.¹⁰² Donald Proulx also includes a description of the row-relief friezes, although he did not provide photographs of

¹⁰² Julio Tello, *Cuadernos de Investigación del Archivo Tello, vol.4., Arqueología del valle de Nepeña: Excavaciones en Cerro Blanco y Punkrui* (Lima: Museo de Arqueología y Antropología Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2005), 88.

them. Therefore, these reliefs are excluded in this chapter's analysis. As a result, the clay feline sculpture is the only visible evidence that can be compared with the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

The most important characteristic of the large feline clay sculpture is fangs. The fang motif is one of the important elements for constructing variations of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. Moreover, the fanged head motifs can be easily found on the friezes of Huaca de los Reyes. In contrast to the motifs that appear on the Cupisnique vessels and Huaca de los Reyes, the fanged image found at Punkurí is clearly part of a jaguar figure. The figure closely resembles a naturalistic rendition of a jaguar because of its distinctive paws with claws, and rounded facial features with protruding jaw, bulbous nose, and triangular ears. A similar jaguar clay sculpture that includes protruding fangs is also found at the site of Cerro Blanco.

Cerro Blanco

Cerro Blanco (map 2) is located in the center of the Nepeña Valley floor near the main highway that connects the village of San Jacinto with the Pan American Highway, and it is also very close to the site of Punkurí.¹⁰³ Like Punkurí, the site of Cerro Blanco is facing north. The site of Cerro Blanco displays a U-shaped structure, which can be considered typical of the northern

¹⁰³ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 89., and Proulx, *An Archaeological Survey of the Nepeña Valley*, 76.

coast architectural plan, and it also used the same construction technique as Punkurí and Huaca de los Reyes. Cerro Blanco has a platform style, with stone walls covered by carved and painted clay reliefs that consist of anthropomorphic attributions that closely resemble the profile fanged head motifs found at the site of Huaca de los Reyes. Three major archaeological sites, including Punkurí, Cerro Blanco and Huaca de los Reyes, all at the northern coast of Peru, exhibit very similar characteristics due to the U-shaped architectural plan, soft clay covered adobe friezes, and fanged head images.

The detailed description of the clay sculpture and frieze reliefs is based on a photograph, which depicts the life-sized model (figure 62) that was once in the main courtyard of the Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología in Lima.¹⁰⁴ Cerro Blanco has a tongue-like step, which bisects an elongated feline mouth that includes fangs, which protrude from both upper and lower gums and are carved vertically on the top of the step. This step served as an entrance to the U-shaped structure. Each of the three walls is decorated with a carved fanged image depicted in the frontal view. The fanged image consists of rectangular eyes with pupils located along an upper eyelid, a bulbous nose whose nostrils are emphasized by bold round lines, and a snarling mouth presenting two protruding fangs. Two distinctive wrinkles between the eyes visibly support the attribution of a snarling jaguar. This head motif at Cerro Blanco closely resembles the profile head motifs carved on the façades of Huaca de los Reyes.

¹⁰⁴ Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, 374.

The rectangular eye with the pupil and bulbous nose are major elements that are often employed on the surfaces of Cupisnique vessels.

Other surrounding walls are decorated with feather-like reliefs, which are generally delineated with elongated rectangular shapes whose insides are adorned with small rectangular shapes and lines. This feather-like relief is very similar to the feather element often used on the various types of Cupisnique engraved head motifs that decorated the adobe friezes of Huaca de los Reyes. Behind the central wall among the three U-shaped walls, another small sized U-shaped plaza is surrounded by three clay walls. The clay jaguar sculpture is situated on top of the central wall of the small U-shaped plaza. The facial characteristics of this clay jaguar are very similar to the jaguar clay sculpture at Punkurí. The feline clay sculpture consists of upper and lower fangs that protrude from a snarling mouth, triangular ears, and oval-shaped eyes with circular pupils located at the centers of the eyes. These sophisticated attributes clearly indicate a jaguar. The fang characteristic that is often found on the Cupisnique engraved head motifs is also found at the site of Garagay, another important central coastal archaeological site.

Garagay

Garagay (map 2) is located in the lower part of the Rimac Valley, part of the central coast of Peru. This site also shows a large U-shaped construction that is considered a typical northern coast architectural plan. Similar to Huaca de

los Reyes, Punkurí, and Cerro Blanco, Garagay was also constructed with adobe walls that were covered by soft clay. On the excavated north and east adobe friezes, several anthropomorphic motifs were uncovered. Among various types of anthropomorphic motifs, one head motif (figure 63) closely resembles the style of Huaca de los Reyes head motifs. The Garagay head motif is situated inside a large oval-shaped ring, which is incised with a cross-hatching motif. This Garagay head motif depicted in profile consists of a half-circular eye with a half-circular pupil located along an upper eyelid, a bulbous nose whose nostril is emphasized by a bold round line and a large circular hole, and a turned down mouth with three elongated fangs protruding from the upper lip. An elongated scroll-like shape is connected to the philtrum, and another small scroll shape representing an ear is located beside the eye.

Burger interpreted the Garagay head motif as a supernatural spider. He analyzed the cross-hatched decorations surrounding the head as a spider web and the curved scroll-like shape as mucus caused by the inhalation of hallucinogenic snuff, which was often used by a shaman to access the supernatural world.¹⁰⁵ However, it is possible that this head motif is a depiction of a jaguar captured in a net. Due to the fact that a remnant of a net was excavated in Huaca Prieta, another coastal site, by Junius Bird, it can be speculated that nets were probably used as one of the main tools on the coast of

¹⁰⁵ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 64.

Peru.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the fanged head motif with cross-hatched decorations seems to be a depiction of a jaguar captured in a net. The elongated scroll-like shape that pops out beside the nose probably represents a jaguar tail. The Garagay head motif supports the fact that the basic profile head, fang motifs, and the facial element of a bulbous nose were widely distributed on the coast of Peru.

La Galgada

The head motifs widely found on the coastal adobe friezes were appropriated for portable Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels. The Cupisnique vessels engraved with the head motif were probably brought into the site of Chavín de Huántar, and became one of the sources for the distinctive art style of Chavín that was discussed in the previous section. Not only do the existence of these Cupisnique vessels support the argument that the Chavín artists probably appropriated the northern coastal head motif, but a *spondylus* shell disk (figure 64) found at another archaeological site, La Galgada, located near Chavín de Huántar (map 2) also reinforces the argument that the image of head motif traveled from the coast of Peru.

Although some parts of the *spondylus* shell disk (figure 65) from the site of La Galgada have been destroyed, the shell disk still exhibits a facial feature that consists of eyes, a snarling mouth, and a bulbous nose. Among these three

¹⁰⁶ Junius Bird and John Hyslop, *The Preceramic Excavations at the Huaca Prieta Chicama Valley, Peru* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1985), 207 – 210.

facial elements, the bulbous nose is the clearest image exhibited on the *spondylus* shell and the nose demonstrates the stylistic interrelationship between the northern coast and the highland. The bulbous nose consists of two emphasized nostrils with two holes for nares, a style that is very similar to the head motifs on both Huaca de los Reyes friezes and the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. Although the bulbous nose found at the site of La Galgada is depicted in frontally, the half section of this frontal bulbous nose closely resembles the profile bulbous nose that appears on the Cupisnique ceramics and the adobe friezes of Huaca de los Reyes in terms of the shapes and the delineative lines. Terence Grieder presented the radiocarbon data of this shell disk as 3320 ± 270 , which is approximately 1370 B.C.E.¹⁰⁷ As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *spondylus* shell was imported from Ecuador into Peru. Whether this head motif on the imported shell was engraved by the artists of the northern coast or the highland, the important argument is that the motifs of the bulbous nose, rectangular eyes, and a snarling mouth are stylistically very similar to the facial elements found at the sites of Huaca de los Reyes, Garagay, and on the Cupisnique vessels. Therefore, the Galgada *spondylus* shell disk becomes a visible reference that supports a stylistic interrelationship among the southern Ecuadorian Chorrera, the northern coast of Cupisnique, and the highland of

¹⁰⁷ Terence Grieder, Alberto Bueno Mendoza, C. Earle Smith, Jr., and Robert M. Malina, *La Galgada, Peru: A Prececeramic Culture in Transition* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1988), 92.

Chavín. Grieder pointed out the idea that Ecuadorian art style was probably a resource to the artists, who lived in the highland of Peru:

Before about 2000 B.C. there is evidence of connections with the advanced cultures of Ecuador in imported seashells, in technical changes in textiles, and in the first imported pottery. During the following centuries La Galgada went through a rapid process of adaptation, changing the style of its temples and tombs, its cloth and its art,...¹⁰⁸

He used the imported seashells, which obviously refer to the *spondylus* shells from Ecuador and technical similarities on the textiles as evidence of the artistic exchange between southern Ecuador and northern Peru. Similar to the shells and the textiles, the head motif was also appropriated by the highland artists, including those from La Galgada and Chavín de Huántar. This conclusion is supported by the *spondylus* shell disk and the Raku ceramics, both excavated in the highlands.

Summary

The question of how this head motif traveled from Ecuador to the highlands of Peru addresses the geographical gap between these two regions. The two VMFA ceramic vessels narrate the story of that gap: the rows of teeth on the first VMFA Cupisnique vessel A (figure 1-1) represent the jagged teeth of the caiman that lives in the tropical rain forest of Ecuador, while the conjoined conch and *spondylus* shells on the second VMFA Cupisnique vessel B (figure 1-2) were

¹⁰⁸ Grieder, 1.

major trade items from the warm southern coast of Ecuador. The additional motifs (chart 5), which include the fangs, feathers, and rows of teeth that are part of the eleven different types of Cupisnique head motifs, are taken from jaguar, bird, caiman, and snake – all animals that live in the Ecuadorian rain forest. The characteristics of these Ecuadorian rain forest animals were emphasized and appropriated for creating the eleven different types of Cupisnique head motifs, and the theme of the conjoined shells was inspired by the actual images of conch and spondylus shells, which were imported from the Ecuadorian region.

Approximately three hundred years later, the additional motifs (chart 5) of fangs, feathers, rows of teeth, and the theme of conch and spondylus shells from Cupisnique tradition were appropriated on the relief sculpture (figure 66) and façades (figure 67 and 68) located at the site of Chavín de Huántar. The head motif and subject matter on the VMFA ceramic vessels may answer the question of how the Cupisnique head motifs become visible keys for bridging the geographical gap between southern Ecuador and the northern highlands of Peru. The Cupisnique head motifs function as a bridge between these areas because of the stylistic resemblance among all Ecuadorian, Cupisnique, and Chavín motifs. Certain components of the Cupisnique engraved head motif, possibly from Ecuador, were also appropriated by the Chavín artists - but at the same time the Cupisnique head motifs developed in the northern coast of Peru in such way that they should be considered an individual art style and stylistic advancement.

Chapter Four: Iconography of the Engraved Head Motifs

This chapter considers the possible iconographic significance of the head motif and the process of transfer and appropriation of the motifs between different style and time Periods. Many scholars have already mentioned the multivalent interpretations of Cupisnique engraved head motifs, but no one has thoroughly analyzed the forms of head motifs that were appropriated from earlier site of Huaca de los Reyes and exhibited on the art objects of Valdivia, Machalilla, Chorrera, Challuabamba, and Cerro Ñañañique in Ecuador. This chapter suggests possible interpretations for the Cupisnique engraved head motifs; (1) they may have served as emblems of identity, representing the political, social, and religious status of the Cupisnique people, and (2) they may have symbolized the achievements of craftsman, who were able to produce the highly advanced ceramics.

This chapter analyzes the process of appropriation of Cupisnique head motifs by following the five specific categories classified and defined by George Kubler. In order to understand the process of how the ancient art forms survived from the pre-conquest to the colonial tradition and how the iconographic relationship of the principal mode of ancient art forms survived until the colonial

era, Kubler used these five specific terms: (1) juxtaposition, (2) convergence, (3) explants, (4) transplants, and (5) fragments. He defined a disjunction of art traditions between the pre-conquest and the colonial eras because native traditions in the Andean regions were interrupted by the extremely radical cultures from Europe.¹⁰⁹ Although Kubler's argument basically addresses the interconnected relationship between the colonized and colonizing cultures before these two very different traditions and art styles became hybridized, the process of appropriation from one to another culture (as clarified by Kubler) can be employed in order to discuss the idea that the Cupisnique engraved head motifs were adaptations of previous art forms. Therefore, by using Kubler's categorizations, this chapter is able to produce a connection between the Cupisnique head motifs and previous art motifs. It also presents possible interpretations of the Cupisnique head motifs by examining the process of appropriation from the motifs of Huaca de los Reyes and Valdivia/Machalilla/Chorrera/Challuabamba/Cerro Ñañañique. Before analyzing the process of appropriation and its related symbolism, however, it is necessary to review previous interpretations of the Cupisnique head motif. These previous interpretations address the visual language in the political, social and ritual contexts.

¹⁰⁹ George Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-columbian Art," in *Studies in Ancient American and European Art: The Collected Essays of George Kubler*, edited by Thomas F. Reese (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 66 - 68.

Previous Interpretations

The Cupisnique head motifs have been widely mentioned by various scholars, but their description and interpretations were too general to facilitate an understanding of any possible symbolic meanings because these motifs were interpreted devoid of archaeological and religious contexts. Larco Hoyle, for instance, first defined the characteristics of Cupisnique vessels based on their formal appearance. He frequently analyzed the Cupisnique head motifs by describing the surface decoration of the ceramics. Although he tried to interpret the iconography of Cupisnique head motifs as religious decorations, thereby creating a contextual relationship between the motifs and the cultural tradition, the term “religious” does not clearly define the symbolic meaning of these motifs. Larco Hoyle categorized most of the Cupisnique engraved motifs into the following types: (1) geometric or simple straight line decorations, (2) botanical decorative motifs, and (3) religious decorative motifs.¹¹⁰ Based on the third category, Larco Hoyle interpreted the Cupisnique engraved head motifs as a decorative style related to the northern coastal religion.¹¹¹ He was the first to suggest that the northern coast of Peru may have had its own religious practices. As Larco Hoyle pointed out, if the people of the northern coast had practiced their own religious activities, they probably would have built temples or public

¹¹⁰ Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisnique*, 63 – 64.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

constructions for ritual performances since public ritual practices or related performances strengthened the power of rulers and priests. Since then, Burger identified the representative Cupisnique style architectures, including Huaca de los Reyes, Purulén, and Huaca Lucía. However, Larco Hoyle did not provide other contextual evidence that related Cupisnique engraved head motifs to the Cupisnique architectural sites, plans, decorations, and other excavated objects. He only excavated and recorded multiple burial sites where most Cupisnique vessels were unearthed. Because the possible religious meanings of the motifs were very broad and enigmatic, their significance as cultural or ethnographic representations was not defined.

Tello also generally described the fanged Cupisnique head motif as “a representation of the head of the god jaguar of Chavín,”¹¹² interpreting the Cupisnique engraved fanged head motif as a descriptive art style taken from Chavín culture. Walter Alva described the engraved head motifs as “supernatural images.”¹¹³ Burger, on the other hand, suggested that these engraved head motifs represented sacrificed individuals,¹¹⁴ and he analyzed the Cupisnique engraved head motifs by comparing them with images of sacrificed victims. Such victims were popular subjects used often by Cupisnique artists. Some Cupisnique molded bottles (figure 69 and 69-1) show men with their hands

¹¹² Larco Hoyle, *Los Cupisnique*, 64.

¹¹³ Alva, *Cerámica Temprana en el valle de Jequetepeque*, 74.

¹¹⁴ Burger, “Incised Bottle in the Form of a Sacrificed Man,” 79.

tied behind their backs and figures with slashed throats. As a result, Burger concluded that the engraved head motifs represent the decapitated heads of sacrificial victims. In contrast, Rebecca Stone-Miller claimed that the Cupisnique head motifs depict the transformation of human to feline, and that these head motifs can be seen as the key events of a shamanic experience that was visibly detailed by Cupisnique artists.¹¹⁵

Among those various iconographies, two interpretations encompass general meanings for the Cupisnique engraved head motifs: (1) Burger suggested that the head motifs represent the decapitated head. His interpretation gave a social connotation. (2) Stone-Miller suggested that the Cupisnique engraved head motifs represent the shamanic transformation. Her interpretation gave a sacred connotation. The idea that the Cupisnique engraved head motifs represent decapitated heads is widely accepted; and the head decapitation motif is considered one of the major artistic themes found throughout most of the Cupisnique head motifs that were analyzed in the second chapter.

Decapitation

The basic head motifs (A) (chart 4) (figure 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21) fit the theme of the decapitated head as mentioned by Burger. The formal

¹¹⁵ Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes* (Atlanta: Michael C. Carolos Museum Emory University, 2002), 221.

comparison of the Cupisnique basic head motifs (A) (chart 4) and the photo of decapitated heads from the early twentieth-century (figure 70) supports an interpretation of the Cupisnique basic head motifs as decapitated head motifs.¹¹⁶ The Cupisnique basic head motifs (A1, A2, and A4) (chart 4) (figure 16, 17, 18, and 20) most commonly consist of an open eye whose pupil is located at an upper eyelid. The particular pupil location found on the Cupisnique basic head motifs is also found in actual decapitated heads, as shown in a photograph taken in 1903 (figure 70). The pupils that appear on both the Cupisnique decapitated heads motifs and the early twenty-century severed heads are stunningly similar. According to Howard Engel, scientists who examined actual decapitated heads documented that the severed head's eyes react even though the head is completely separated from the body.¹¹⁷ It seems that the Cupisnique artists were able to capture the moment when pupils are rolling up under the upper eyelids, soon after the decapitation. By comparing the actual decapitated head with the Cupisnique basic head motifs, the depiction of eyes with that specific location of the pupils suggests that Cupisnique basic head motifs of A1, A2, and A4 (figure 16, 17, 18, and 20) are the actual depictions of decapitated heads.

¹¹⁶ The guillotine is a device for decapitating a human head conveniently in a short time. The blade hanging in the top of this device is dropped to sever the victim's head. This device became famous during the French Revolution. Because the guillotined head is similar to the Cupisnique decapitated head motifs in terms of the shape and context, it is possible to compare the Cupisnique head motifs with guillotined heads.

¹¹⁷ Howard Engel, *Lord High Executioner: An Unashamed Look at Hangmen, Headmen, and Their Kind* (New York: A Firefly Book, 1996), 138.

In addition to the formal comparison between the Cupisnique decapitated head motifs (A1, A2, and A4) (chart 4) (figure 16, 17, 18, and 20) and the actual decapitated heads (figure 70), one Cupisnique ceramic vessel provides a narrative story of the tradition of decapitation on the northern coast of Peru. This Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel (figure 71) depicts a molded man. Because his right hand is holding a round object that represents an obsidian knife, painted with a red color to represent blood, it is possible to assume that this vessel shows a self-inflicted wound. The wound on his neck reveals his pharyngeal tubes, and his turned down face, neck, and ears are painted with red, representing blood that flowed from the exposed neck. He is kneeling, but his hands are free, unlike other sacrificed victims whose hands were tied behind the back (figure 69-1). The kneeling position and the right hand holding the obsidian knife suggest his submission as a willing self-sacrifice.

By examining only one example, as depicted on this vessel, it is difficult to speculate whether self-sacrifice was popularly practiced, but this object makes it obvious that a specific ritual that involved decapitated heads was known in the Cupisnique region. Additionally, the vessel exhibits engraved head motifs that entirely cover the willing self-sacrificial man's thighs and chest (figure 71-1 and 71-2). These various engraved profile head motifs, which consist of half-circular eyes with pupils, round bulbous noses, curved hair, and turned down lips, are very similar to the A1 type of basic head motif (chart 4) (figure 16 and 17). If the decapitated head motifs were tattooed on the victim's body before he offered his

life, this process may represent the profound and fundamental interconnection between the tradition of decapitation and the engraved basic head motifs. These head motifs were shown on the thigh and chest of the figure strengthens the argument that the Cupisnique basic head motifs are depictions of decapitated heads. In addition, the fact that the group of actual decapitated heads (figure 72) was excavated in the Moche site of Dos Cavezas (ca. 600 C.E.)¹¹⁸ suggests that the tradition of decapitation was continued in Moche society, whose culture is generally known as a direct descendent of the Cupisnique tradition.¹¹⁹

Shamanic Transformation

The decapitated head motifs engraved on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels represented the socio-political power of the decapitation ritual, and therefore the status of those who were interned with the motifs. The decapitated heads were usually from sacrificed victims, and these victims were generally provided from warfare.¹²⁰ These sacrificed victims were probably decapitated during public rituals. These public rituals supported the social authority of the ruling party and

¹¹⁸ Alana Cordy-Collins, "Decapitation in Cupisnique and Early Moche Societies," in *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by Elizabeth Benson, and Anita Cook (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 28 – 29.

¹¹⁹ Alana Cordy-Collins, "Archaism or Tradition?: The Decapitation Theme in Cupisnique and Moche Iconography," *Latin American Antiquity*, vol.3, no. 3 (September 1992): 218 – 119.

¹²⁰ David Browne, Helaine Silverman, and Ruben Garcia, "A Cache of 48 Nasca Trophy Heads from Cerro Carapo, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity*, vol. 4, no. 3 (September 1993): 275 – 276.

at the same time, maintained political power of the ruling party.¹²¹ Therefore, the decapitated head is symbolically related to both social and political concepts of ritual and warfare. Due to this fact, it is possible to speculate that the tradition of decapitation probably symbolizes the honor and power of the ruling people. Decapitated heads represented the special power and prestige of the ruling people, specifically elite, priests, and kings; and the symbolism of decapitation was transformed into the Cupisnique decapitated head motifs. The fact that the Cupisnique vessels engraved with decapitated head motifs were buried with the dead suggests that these decapitated head motifs also signify the social-political status of the dead with which they were buried.

In addition to the theme of the decapitated head, another important theme found among the various types of Cupisnique head motifs is the shamanic transformation as mentioned by Stone-Miller. When she interpreted the Cupisnique engraved head image, Stone-Miller used the A2 type of basic head motif (chart 4) (figure 18). However, the interpretation of the shamanic transformation on the Cupisnique engraved head motifs can be specifically applied to the four types of AB, AC, AE, and AF Cupisnique head motifs (chart 6) (figure 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26) that particularly consist of both the A types of the basic head motif and the four additional motifs of fangs, rows of teeth, elongated bodies, and feathers.

¹²¹ David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1988), 8 – 14.

Mircea Eliade defined shamanism as a 'magico-religious phenomenon' that can be found in North and Central Asia, Oceania, and North and South America, specifically Ecuador, Colombia, Chile, and the upper Amazon.¹²² Shamanism is a spiritually related practice that considers the mastery of the spirit world one of its major functions. The shaman is the central figure and he/she possesses powerful authority to connect with the supernatural world by the use of magico-sacred power. Michael Harner defined a shaman as 'a person, who journeys *to the spirits*,'¹²³ and Glenne H. Shepard, Jr. noted that 'healing is a key function performed by Central and South American shamans.'¹²⁴ The abilities of shamans are supposedly profound and effective because they perform magical and supernatural feats that include curing sickness and traveling from the human realm to animal or spiritual realms. To protect their own village or group, some shamans are purported to spiritually *attack* enemy shamans, and they are alleged to have the necessary esoteric knowledge to use their ability of transformation for the benefit of society and to help the people of their village.¹²⁵ Not only is their healing ability considered powerful, but shamans are also

¹²² Mircea Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*. Trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 4 - 6.

¹²³ Michael Harner, "What Is A Shaman?" in *Shaman's Path*, edited by Garry Doore (London: Shambala, 1988), 8.

¹²⁴ Glenne H. Shepard, Jr. "Central and South American Shamanism," in *Shamanism: An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Culture*, edited by Marico Namba Walter and Eva Jane Neumann Fridman (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2004), 386.

¹²⁵ Gerado Reichel-Dolmatoff, *The Shaman and the Jaguar* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), 76.

thought to go into a state of trance during which their souls are believed to leave their bodies and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld.

The special ability of transformation practiced only by the shaman can be found on certain Cupisnique engraved head motifs. In particular, the four types of Cupisnique head motifs illustrate fauna, reptile, and avian attributions that may be associated with shamanic transformation: (1) AB type (figure 22) is a combination of the basic head motif and a fang (probably representing the jaguar), (2) AC type (figure 23) is the combination of the basic head motif and rows of teeth (possibly representing both the caiman and jaguar), (3) AE type (figure 25) is the combination of the basic head motif and elongated body (possibly representing the serpent), and (4) AF type (figure 26) is a combination of the basic head motif and the feathers (representing the bird). The jaguar, caiman, serpent, and bird are considered important vehicles for shamans, both when they communicate to the spiritual worlds, and when they transform themselves in order to travel to other spiritual realms.

In order to transform themselves conveniently into the specific animals for traveling to the upper and underworlds and for communicating with the spirits, shamans frequently used hallucinogenic substances derived from the San Pedro cactus.¹²⁶ The scene that captures the moment of the spiritual or hallucinogenic transformation of a shaman is well represented on the upper and lower panels

¹²⁶ Not only is San Pedro cactus used for making the hallucinogenic substance, but also *Anadenanthera Colubrina* and *Psilocybin Mushrooms* are often used by shaman living in the Andean regions.

located at the Sunken Circular Plaza at the Old Temple of Chavín de Huántar (figure 73). One of the upper stone panels (figure 74) is decorated with anthropomorphic figures that hold a San Pedro cactus as their staff. Burger and Stone-Miller interpreted these anthropomorphic figures as shamans.¹²⁷ The lower stone panels (figure 75) (beneath the shamans' feet) are decorated with actual jaguar images. These images are identifiable because of the concentric spots that decorate the bodies: spots that echo actual jaguar pelage motifs. The upper panels depict shamans before they have fully transformed themselves into jaguars.

With the fact that the San Pedro cactus normally grows in the northern highlands of Peru, the site of Chavín de Huántar can be considered the center of the ritual practice of shamanism and the great ceremonial center. Because the highland people constructed the solid and distinctive stone architectural building of Chavín de Huántar that requires an advanced construction technique, it can be easily concluded that the idea of shamanism and its ritual practice may have originated from the highlands of Peru. Moreover, the location of Chavín de Huántar is very near the Amazon region. Lanthrop mentioned that the Chavín religious ideas and its practices could have been influenced by the Amazon people. However, the image of the San Pedro cactus is also found on the Cupisnique ceramic vessels. For instance, the Cupisnique ceramic vessel (figure

¹²⁷ Stone-Miller interpreted these Sunken Circular Plaza stone panels as the depiction of the moment when shamans are transforming themselves into jaguars. Stone-Miller, *Art of Andes: from Chavín to Inca*, 33.

76), which was engraved with A5 type basic head motif shows a San Pedro cactus on the right section of the stirrup spout. The San Pedro cactus also grows in the southern highlands of Ecuador. Therefore, the hallucinogenic substances from the San Pedro cactus might have been imported from the southern highlands of Ecuador for Shamanism practice in the northern Peru. This Cupisnique ceramic vessel (figure 76) supports the argument that Shamanism was also practiced by the Cupisnique people around 1200 B.C.E.: well before the Chavín tradition adopted this ritual idea and the site of Chavín de Huántar was constructed.

While it would be difficult to prove that shamanic practices were held by Cupisnique people, but shamanic practice and the existence of shamans in present day Ecuador, Colombia, Amazon, and Chile have been confirmed and documented by Mircea Eliade, Gerado Reichel-Dolmatoff, Michael Harner, and Nicholas Sanders. Considering that shamanism was a primitive and indigenous religious form in both the old and new worlds, the present day practice of shamanism in Ecuador and the upper Amazon can possibly be seen as a tradition inherited from the Cupisnique era or even earlier. Based on the result of ethnographical research on present day shamanic practices in Ecuador and the upper Amazon, four types of Cupisnique engraved head motifs (AB, AC, AE, and AF) (chart 6) (figure 22, 23, 25, and 26) can be interpreted as depictions of the shamanic transformation.

The Social Status of the Deceased

The last possible interpretation of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs concerns the social status of the deceased. The three types of Cupisnique engraved head motifs (ABC, ABE, and ABF) (chart 6) (figure 27, 29, and 30) could be emblems designed for dead who may have been paired with other clans living on the northern coast of Peru – clans totemically represented by animals. According to Elizabeth Benson, the peoples of each of these different clans probably venerated a specific animal that they considered their ancestor and the progenitor of their society. Benson noted the importance of animals as the emblems in human belief systems:

Belief that animals were once people is prevalent. Also, ancestors of people were animals: specifically, animals were progenitors of ancient culture heroes and groups of people. Animals may be called by kin names, and groups may be known as People of the Jaguar or People of the Bat.¹²⁸

Benson suggested that a specific animal metaphorically represents an individual clan. When the members of an individual clan believed that they descended from a particular animal, this is a religious phenomenon called totemism. Totemism may be defined as the religious phenomenon where an individual clan is associated with a specific animal species, plant, stone, river, ocean, or mountain.¹²⁹ The three types of the Cupisnique head motifs (ABC, ABE, and ABF) (chart 6) (figure 27, 29, and 30) may exhibit the unity of two different

¹²⁸ Benson, *Birds and Beasts of Ancient Latin America*, 20.

¹²⁹ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*. Trans. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), 13.

villages that venerated two different totemic figures. It could be possible that some Cupisnique engraved head motifs were depictions of social and religious totemic emblems that signified individual clans or villages existing on the northern coast of Peru.

The three suggested interpretations of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs (the decapitated head, the shamanic transformation, and the emblem of individual village or clan) can be considered parts of the multivalent interpretations of Cupisnique head motifs, but they are all important themes that we need to consider in order to comprehend the contextual meanings of the head motifs from social, political, and religious perspectives. Based on the previous foundational scholarship, it is possible to move forward with a formal comparison between the Cupisnique head motifs and the antecedent motifs that decorate the adobe walls of the Huaca de los Reyes on the northern coast of Peru and the ceramic objects excavated in present time Ecuador, in order to better understand the iconography of the Cupisnique head motifs.

The Appropriation

Previously, no one has examined the iconographic relationship between the Cupisnique engraved head motifs and the earlier motifs found at the site of Huaca de los Reyes located on the northern coast of Peru, and those found on the artifacts from the Machalilla/Chorrera/Challuabamba Periods that flourished on the southern coast of Ecuador. Because of the lack of ethnohistoric and

ethnographic scholarship, it is difficult to clarify the *precise* iconography of the motifs that were created and used during the time Period in which the Cupisnique, Machalilla, Chorrera, and Challuabamba styles flourished. On the other hand, Inca ethnohistoric scholarship from the Colonial Period had survived, and modern Andean ethnographic research has been documented. Because many Inca motifs and the complex meanings of Inca iconographies that were depicted on objects and architectural façades were assimilated or reused during the Colonial Period, these types of research have been used by various scholars who have studied Andean arts, anthropology, and archaeology. However, it is difficult to use those Colonial ethnohistoric documents directly in this chapter because the motifs illustrated on the Cupisnique vessels did not survive long enough to be included in the Inca and Colonial Periods.

Although Colonial ethnohistory could be difficult to use directly in this chapter, ethnography that documents the present life of the native people in the Andean regions can be an important reference for understanding the religious, political, and social structures of previous northern coastal Andean peoples. Modern ethnography, Cupisnique archaeological evidence, architectural remnants of Huaca de los Reyes, and the formal comparison of the motifs from the Cupisnique, Machalilla, Chorrera, and Challuabamba should, therefore, all be included as major methodologies in this chapter, in order to provide insight into the multivalent interpretations of Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

Analyzing George Kubler's Categories

In addition to the three distinctive methodologies, five categories as classified and defined by George Kubler (juxtaposition, convergence, explants, transplants, and fragments) are fundamental for comparing the Cupisnique head motifs with their antecedent motifs. Kubler strictly focused on formal art forms in order to understand the iconographic relationship between previous and subsequent traditions. He believed that art forms, which include architecture, sculptures, paintings, and tools, all suggest the characteristics of a specific time and place and are visible manifestations of culture.¹³⁰ In other words, the art expressed in tangible form symbolized the spirit and identity of the people who constructed the independent society or culture. When these cultural expressions of art were extirpated by another culture, they could easily be replaced by the art forms of the conqueror. However, this case can be applied only when an extremely radical and already established culture triumphs over another. This relationship between the conquered and the conquering can be well represented by the iconographic relationship and the transformation of art forms between the pre-conquest cultures of Andes and the Colonial cultures of Spain. Kubler's idea of the disjunction and discontinuation of cultural spirituality, identity, and existence which was expressed in artifacts that depict the disjunctive relationship between the conquering and conquered cannot fully explain the *reutilization* and

¹³⁰ George Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Precolumbian Art," 66.

appropriation of this iconography as found only in the Andean regions before the Spaniards' arrival.

A nuanced difference lies between Kubler's point about disjunction between two very different cultures, and this chapter's argument about the continuation of art forms from previous to subsequent traditions in the northern coast of the Andean region. The example of appropriation shown between the Cupisnique and Huaca de los Reyes/Valdivia/Machalilla/Chorrera was probably not a result of an extirpation of the antecedent art forms and cultural identity. Based on Kubler's discussion, this dissertation suggests two modes of appropriation: one is an amicable appropriation and the other one is a hostile appropriation. It was likely an *amicable* appropriation conducted under very similar religious practices and social standards that bound people together for the exchange of goods and art designs.

On the other hand, a *hostile* appropriation firstly introduced in this dissertation was performed by Christian Spaniards, who were from a completely different religious background. In order to convert the native people in the Andean regions from polytheistic shamanism to Christianity, Spaniards extirpated the pre-conquest cultural identity. After the extinction of the cultural identities of the natives, Spaniards felt safe to reuse the native art forms because the important religious meanings and connotations of art forms had been already

lost.¹³¹ However, the appropriation of head motifs occurring on the northern coast of the Andes signifies the concept of *association*, and not disjunction, between the previous and subsequent tradition.

Alfred Louis Kroeber argued that generally no perceptible change occurs during local cultures' occupations in the same region.¹³² Based on this bedrock idea, Kroeber concluded that searching for a stratification of different cultural layers or for extremely radical changes from one to another culture would be unproductive.¹³³ In the northern Andean region, certain art forms were continuously appropriated during the formative Ecuadorian and Cupisnique Periods. While Michael Moseley defined the meaning of the civilization that evolved on the Andean coast, he suggested that the development of that civilization was primarily an additive process with new forms of behavior emerging from and being appended to an ongoing social tradition.¹³⁴ The additive process was gradual, and attained by appropriating new art forms from another tradition and by having reciprocal relationships with other cultures. By adapting new forms from Huaca de los Reyes and southern coastal Ecuador, the Cupisnique potters were probably able to associate their present status with pre-existing traditions. The associations with previous traditions strengthened and

¹³¹ Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Precolumbian Art," 66.

¹³² Alfred Louis Kroeber, *Anthropology: Race, Language, Culture, Psychology, Prehistory* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, INC., 1948), 827- 829.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 827.

¹³⁴ Michael Edward Moseley, *The Maritime Foundations of Andean Civilization* (California: Cummings Publishing Company, 1975), 3.

supported the identity of the Cupisnique tradition and potters themselves.

Because of their established cultural identity, the Cupisnique potters were then able to construct head motifs that exhibited symbolic expressions.

In order to understand the multivalent meanings of the Cupisnique head motifs, the forms of head motifs and included configurative elements from several preceding traditions should be analyzed by using Kubler's categorizations.

Although Kubler argued a disjunction of the cultural manifestation between pre-conquest and Colonial eras, the clear explanation of the iconographic relationship between two very different cultural art forms (using his five specific terms) is adequate enough to adopt into the formal comparisons between the Cupisnique and Huaca de los Reyes/Validivia/Machalilla/Chorrera decorative motifs, and to interpret the meanings of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

Kubler defined these five terms in order to describe how art styles and iconographies already created and used in the previous culture are incorporated into the subsequent cultures:¹³⁵

Juxtaposition: among the same people, coexistence of forms, drawn from two different cultures, without interaction. Only here has native culture any chance of intact survival.

Convergence: unconnected cultural traditions produce similar behavior patterns which are interchangeable in the colony for aims approved by the ruling group.

Explants: connected portions of native behavior continued to evolve for a Period under colonial rule.

Transplants: isolated, but meaningful parts of native tradition are taken into colonial behavior, without major changes or development.

¹³⁵ Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Precolumbian Art," 68.

Fragments: isolated pieces of the native tradition are repeated without comprehension, as meaningless but pleasurable acts or forms.

Among these five terms, only three terms, 'convergence', 'transplants', and 'fragments', can be applied to a comparison between the Cupisnique head motifs and the adobe reliefs of Huaca de los Reyes, and the decorative motifs on the Valdivia, Machalilla, Chorrera objects (map 4, and chart 23 and 24).

In order to better understand the process of formal comparison, a short summary of the first and third chapters is necessary before moving on to the process of appropriation between the Cupisnique head motifs and their antecedent motifs. In the first chapter, the firing and engraving techniques for making Ecuadorian ceramics was compared to the firing and engraving techniques used for making Cupisnique ceramics. The third chapter was about the origin of Cupisnique head motifs: analyzing motifs of eyes, mouth, and feathers from the previous traditions and then comparing them with the motifs of Huaca de los Reyes and Cupisnique head motifs. The first and third chapters studied only the formal comparison between the Cupisnique head motifs and their antecedent motifs. The results of the formal analysis from the first and the third chapter can be reconciled with three of Kubler's terms in this chapter in order to add symbolic meanings to the head motifs.

'Transplants' and 'Fragments'

The theory that the Machalilla and Chorrera engraving techniques were appropriated by the Cupisnique potters fits two of Kubler's terms: 'transplants' and 'fragments.' The engraving technique that was applied after the final firing process to the surface of the Machalilla and Chorrera ceramics closely mimics the engraving technique shown on the Cupisnique ceramics. As mentioned in the first chapter, the firing technique resulted in fine and shiny surfaces and was produced in a kiln that was able to support very high temperatures. After the final firing, the Machalilla and Chorrera potters engraved decorative motifs on the surfaces. This technique (engraving after the final firing) is unique and occurred specifically on the southern coast of Ecuador. All the techniques, including in the handling of clay and the firing and engraving techniques, are considered to be advanced techniques that developed during the Machalilla and Chorrera Periods. If the Cupisnique potters recognized and appreciated the highly developed methods of engraving and firing used by Machalilla and Chorrera potters, they may have also strategically appropriated these advanced techniques from the previous traditions. The term 'transplants' as defined by Kubler suggests that meaningful parts of a previous culture were absorbed by the subsequent traditions without major changes or re-development. By adopting and mirroring the advanced techniques from the previous traditions that had developed on the southern coast of Ecuador, the Cupisnique potters were able to symbolically

associate their ceramic-making technique with the previous traditions as well as establish their own cultural and stylistic identity.

Mary Helms argued that specific societal qualities and characteristics promote skilled artistry and craftsmanship, and that a society that nurtured skilled crafts also has a standard concept of political ideology.¹³⁶ In other words, if one culture had developed and produced skilled crafts, it can be concluded that this culture already established a concrete concept of kingship or socio-political ideology. Moreover, Dean Arnold also mentioned that ceramics were a product of culture in an ideological sense.¹³⁷ His idea that the highly sophisticated ceramics can be seen as the result of strong socio-political formation also reinforces Helms's argument. Based on Helms's and Arnold's arguments, it is probable that the Cupisnique potters, by appropriating successfully the skilled pottery making techniques from the Machalilla and Chorrera traditions, were able to associate their fundamental socio-political ideology with the previous traditions and established socio-political manifestations. Thus, it can be argued that the Cupisnique potters acknowledged and strategically adopted the highly advanced pottery making technique from the antecedent tradition, making this an example of 'transplants.'

¹³⁶ Mary Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 91. In the first chapter of her book, she argued that skilled crafts are significantly associated with the structure of the social and political prominence.

¹³⁷ Dean Arnold, *Ceramic Theory and Cultural Process* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 10.

In addition to the example of 'transplants,' 'fragment' as defined in Kubler's categorization may well fit with the idea that the Cupisnique potters were simply interested in the firing and engraving techniques used by the Machalilla and Chorrera potters. The term 'fragment' specifically referred to the phenomenon that art forms from the native tradition are repeated during the Colonial era without comprehension, as meaningless but pleasurable acts or forms. In terms of the case between the Cupisnique head motifs and their antecedent motifs, the Cupisnique potters possibly appropriated the better and more skilled techniques from the antecedent tradition without any specific intention beyond merely practical or pleasurable reasons. Based on the previous argument, the two categories, 'transplants' and 'fragments,' can both help us understand why the engraving and the firing techniques of Valdivia, Machalilla and Chorrera are also found on the Cupisnique ceramics. The formal category explains the idea that the Cupisnique potters appropriated the ceramic technique in order to associate their status with the Valdivia, Machalilla and Chorrera artists who had already developed highly skilled ceramic making techniques. The identity of Cupisnique potters, including their political formulation and social construction, was solidified and tangibly supported by associating their status with the developed tradition. The latter supports the idea that the Cupisnique potters merely appropriated the ceramic technique simply for functional reasons.

'Convergence 'and 'Transplants'

In addition to the appropriation of firing and engraving techniques from Valdivia, Machalilla and Chorrera traditions, the Cupisnique head motifs were also adapted from the previous tradition. The analysis of the process of appropriation, followed by Kubler's categorization, may show the multivalent meanings of the head motifs. Since several decorative motifs often used by Valdivia, Machalilla, Chorrera, and Challuabamba were also found at the site of Huaca de los Reyes and on the surfaces of many Cupisnique vessels, it can be assumed that Valdivia, Machalilla, Chorrera, and Challuabamba decorative motifs were appropriated by the Huaca de los Reyes architects and the Cupisnique potters. This process of appropriation fits with Kubler's term 'convergence.' According to Kubler, the term 'convergence' means that unconnected cultural traditions can produce similar behavior patterns, which are interchangeable in the later tradition in order to claim that they are the ruling and controlling group of the motifs from the previous tradition. When Kubler's definition is applied to the phenomenon that evolved during the Cupisnique era, it seems likely that two different traditions developed in different geographical regions, and each showed similar decorative attitudes on surfaces of objects made out of various types of materials. These carving and engraving decorative behaviors were expressed with many different designs that were interchangeable and even developed by the architects of Huaca de los Reyes and the Cupisnique potters in order to associate their genius as well as the basic head motif and the

additional motifs (chart 5) with the previous tradition and in order to stress their status as a controlling group of the appropriated motifs.

The following examples apply to the adopted motifs from the formative Ecuadorian to the Cupisnique regions, making the argument an example of 'convergence.' One of the common motifs found on the Valdivia ceramic fragments is the frontal facial feature, whose half section closely resembles the profile basic head motifs (chart 4) found on the Cupisnique ceramic surfaces. The Valdivia frontal head motif (figure 77) shows two large rectangular shaped eyes whose stripe-like pupils are located in the center of an elongated mouth. This frontal head motif with rectangular eyes is considered the typical facial feature often used during the Early Formative Ecuadorian Periods. This head motif was found on the surfaces of the two gourd objects excavated at the site of Huaca Prieta (figure 78). These Valdivia frontal head motifs were probably transformed later into the Cupisnique basic profile head motif (chart 4) (figure 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21) by architects and potters who lived on the northern coast of Peru. It can be concluded that the two styles that flourished in Ecuador and on the northern coast of Peru often utilized the head motifs, even though the former exhibits the frontal version and the latter depicts the profile version. In addition to the process of appropriation of the basic head motif and eye motif from the formative Period of Ecuador, the teeth and feather motifs were also appropriated from the formative Ecuador Period. The open mouth with grinding teeth motif (chart 3) found on the adobe walls of Huaca de los Reyes and the A2 type of the

basic head motif (chart 4) were probably appropriated from the decorative engravings such as those found on the ceramic fragments (figure 40) excavated at the site of Cerro Nañañique. The grinding teeth motif (figure 40) found at the Ecuadorian site, Cerro Nañañique, is a part of several connections of the monster designs.¹³⁸ The feather motifs (chart 5) found on both adobe walls of Huaca de los Reyes and the Cupisnique vessels are similar to the partial motif found on the Cylinder Seal No. 2, Cut 3 (figure 38) excavated in the Ecuadorian site of Challuabamba.

Certain important elements that construct all eleven different types of the Cupisnique head motifs (chart 6) were already in use by the formative Ecuadorian artists. By importing objects from two areas of the southern Ecuador to northern coastal Peru, the motifs used during the formative Ecuadorian Period was arrived on the northern coast of Peru around 1300 B.C.E. This long-distance trade suggested that skilled artisans and traders between the two areas of southern Ecuador and northern coastal Peru probably had an amicable and established relationship both publicly and politically. Based on the fact that the Cupisnique artists handled and controlled the motifs from the formative Ecuadorian traditions, and then transformed these adopted motifs into creative forms of Cupisnique head motifs, it can be suggested that the Cupisnique people were eligible to claim the motifs' socio-political legitimacy and identity.

¹³⁸ Grieder and others, *Art and Archaeology of Challuabamba*, 91.

The idea that the motifs represent the socio-political identity of a particular society can be also found in the motifs of the Casas Grandes ceramics. The site of Casas Grandes is situated between the Southwest of North America and Mesoamerica. This site flourished with many migrations and trade goods brought from both sections of the Americas. The motifs decorated on the Casas Grandes ceramics were emulated and adopted from visible sources outside their immediate cultural sphere. Barbara Moulard argued that the Casas Grandes potters emulated the ceramic types and the decorative motifs from outside traditions not merely to express an association with a foreign culture, but, more importantly, to show a supremacy over the cultures that arrived from Mesoamerica and Southwest of North America.¹³⁹ As the passageway between the southwest cultures and the Mesoamerican cultures, Casas Grandes received a huge influx of migrations from both the north and south, along with trade goods that illustrated and reflected the various types of cultural traditions. Not only were the motifs used for maintaining the populations of immigrations and for controlling the trade goods brought from both Mesoamerica and southwest of North America, but also the remains of the architectural site, Paquimé, support the idea that the power and prestige of Casas Grandes is physically and visually expressed in the ceramic motifs and the monumental architectures.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Moulard, Barbara L. "Archaism and Emulation in Casas Grandes Painted Pottery," in *Casas Grandes and the Ceramic Art of the Ancient Southwest.*, ed. Richard Townsend. (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2005), 92.

¹⁴⁰ Barbara L. "Archaism and Emulation in Casas Grandes Painted Pottery," 68.

Based on the fact that the motifs of Casas Grandes were only used by the Casas Grandes potters, it can be concluded that the people of Casas Grandes used the motifs as tools of supervision over other foreigners in order to maintain the immigrants from outside of Casas Grandes. In a similar fashion, the location in which the Cupisnique style flourished can be considered the passageway between the southern coast of Ecuador and the highland of Peru. Therefore, an explanation of the iconography of the Casas Grandes ceramics might help us to understand the Cupisnique motifs. The Cupisnique motifs, as visible emblems, easily solidified the bond among the people living in the same cultural sphere and also represented their prestige, leadership, and supremacy over the tradition outside Cupisnique people.

After the artists of Huaca de los Reyes (considered Cupisnique architectural remains), who appropriated the Valdivia frontal head motifs, the Machalilla eye motifs, Cerro Nañañique grinding teeth motifs, and Challuabamba feather motifs, the Cupisnique architects probably developed them into various types of head motifs that consisted of fangs, feathers, and rows of teeth. Then the architects elaborated upon the appropriated motifs and applied them to the gigantic adobe walls in order to display the motifs in public. By displaying these alternative and stylistically developed head motifs, the Cupisnique people who built the site of Huaca de los Reyes emphasized the power and religious activity as well as the political capability and strength of the people who lived in this specific place. Helms mentioned that the building of temples consisting of the

decorative motifs epitomizes the concept of 'crafting-creativity' as the creation of form, shape, order, and refinement.¹⁴¹ Based on her argument, the decorative motifs on the architectural walls can be representations of the power of the political authorities and leadership held by kings and priests in the Cupisnique society.

The various types of head motifs that decorated the adobe walls of Huaca de los Reyes were displayed in public, and were later transferred to the surfaces of the small sized stirrup-spouted ceramic vessels that were created for the purpose of private funerary offerings. The purpose and meaning of the Cupisnique head motifs, transferred from *public* architecture to small *private* objects, fits Kubler's term 'transplants.' According to Kubler, the term 'transplants,' means that meaningful parts of an antecedent tradition are incorporated into later behavior, without major changes or development.

The head motifs found on both Huaca de los Reyes and Cupisnique vessels are extremely similar, and include the various elements of fangs, rows of teeth, and feathers: only the medium and size for displaying the motifs had changed. The Cupisnique head motifs, specifically type A, AB, AC, AF, ABC, and ABF, (chart 5) closely resemble the decorations of Huaca de los Reyes. Since Huaca de los Reyes is considered the representative architectural model of Cupisnique and was built around 1300 B.C.E., the symbolism of these motifs can be smoothly transferred to the Cupisnique head motifs without any radical

¹⁴¹ Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*, 25.

interruption. As an echo of the iconography of the motifs of Huaca de los Reyes that signified the political power and social status of the people who stayed in this site and used it as a place for rituals, the Cupisnique head motifs could have represented the political strength or the social eminence of the people who were buried with the Cupisnique ceramics.

Larco Hoyle provided several pictures that he had taken of the excavated Cupisnique ceramic vessels engraved with head motifs that were interred with the dead. Based on the fact that these Cupisnique engraved vessels were excavated from burial sites and used as offerings for the dead, the implication is that the head motifs were used for honoring the political and social strength of dead. Therefore, the motifs of Huaca de los Reyes were meant for expressing respect for the status of living people, primarily kings and priests, while the head motifs on Cupisnique vessels were used for indicating the status of the dead. The cultural identity and legitimacy of the living people at Huaca de los Reyes and the deceased people in many Cupisnique burials were strongly bound and solidified by appropriating the fundamental and configurative motifs from the formative Ecuadorian culture.

Summary

The Cupisnique head motifs may symbolize the decapitated head (representing both the political authority of the deceased and the ruling class), and the shamanic transformation (representing the religious connotation), and

may also illustrate the social bond between two different villages or clans. However, these three possible iconographies resulted from an analysis of only the head motifs themselves. When the Cupisnique engraved head motifs and their forms were analyzed in the context of other associated motifs from previous traditions that exhibit many formal similarities, the Cupisnique head motifs can be seen as performing another very important function, and that is the expression of cultural identity. In order to establish and legitimize the political power and to emphasize the importance of the existing society, the motifs and art forms become tangible manifestations that epitomize the concepts of political structure and ideology. Through the 'convergence' and then the 'transplant' process, the Cupisnique society was able to legitimate its cultural identity and claim that it was the continuation of the Ecuadorian traditions from Valdivia, Machalilla, and Chorrera. By transferring the head motifs from the public adobe wall to intimate and private funeral offering ceramic objects, the Cupisnique potters were able to associate their highly developed craft skills with the abstract idea of socio-political ideology. The Cupisnique engraved head motifs symbolize the Cupisnique cultural identity and epitomize the concept of the Cupisnique creative craftsmanship in the context of strong political and cultural identity.

Conclusion

Although the Cupisnique ceramic style and its techniques have been mentioned by many scholars and documented in most Andean survey books, the engraved Cupisnique motifs have not been treated as a major stream of Andean art styles. Most Andean scholars have neglected the value of the engraved Cupisnique head motifs in terms of the continued appropriation of these fanged head motifs throughout the history of the Andean art. Additionally, scholars have done little research in terms of analyzing the association between the northern coast of Peru and other important Andean regions, including the southern coast and the highland of Ecuador as well as the northern highlands of Peru. They have omitted the unique combination of the engraving technique with the head motifs that are only found on the Cupisnique ceramics. This unique combination of the technique and the motifs established the engraved Cupisnique head motifs, which can be interpreted as emblems of identity, representing socio-political power at the individual level and which can also be considered their historical signature.

The two VMFA Cupisnique ceramic vessels with head motifs (figures 1-1 and 1-2) are visible evidence bridging the divide between Ecuador and the

northern highlands of Peru. They constitute typical examples of color, shape, and engraving technique of Cupisnique ceramic vessels and of the iconography of Cupisnique head motifs. Their dark surface colors and black smudge-like marks are evidence of the Cupisnique potters' reduced firing technique. That watertight ceramic technique represents the highly developed ceramic production technique commonly used on the northern coast of Peru.

The typical Cupisnique ceramics usually consist of oval, cylindrical, or figurative shapes. The VMFA vessels A have representational body shapes. The seated male figure (figure 1-1) is the depiction of an actual human being, which is a popular subject matter found on many Cupisnique ceramics (figure 69, 71, and 79). Representational subject matter was traditionally used on ceramics during the Formative Period of Ecuador, beginning with the Valdivia Phase (ca. 3500 – 2000 B.C.E.). The second VMFA vessel B consists of the conjoined conch and *spondylus* shells (figure 1-2) that are found only in the warm ocean water near Southern Ecuador and are among the major items imported from Ecuador to the northern coast of Peru. The images of conch and *spondylus* shells later appeared on the Chavín façades and sculptures located on the northern highlands of Peru. One Chavín façade (figure 67) shows an anthropomorphic deity holding a conch shell in its left hand and a *spondylus* shell in its right hand.

Richard Burger suggested that this image can be interpreted as a metaphor for balancing the male (conch) and female (*spondylus*) forces of the universe.¹⁴²

The post-firing engraving technique applied to the surfaces of these two VMFA ceramic vessels supports the argument that the Cupisnique potters adopted this technique from the Formative Period Ecuadorian potters, particularly from the Chorrera Period (ca. 1800 – 300 B.C.E.). The Formative Chorrera potters were using the post-firing engraving technique for decorating the ceramics with geometric motifs, while the Cupisnique potters were using this technique for engraved head motifs that are more representational than geometric.

The first VMFA head motif (figure 1-1) illustrates the composite image of a basic head and rows of teeth, which are two important component of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs (chart 5), and the second VMFA head motif (figure 1-2) shows just a basic head, which again is an instance of the important Cupisnique engraved head motif (chart 5). It is obvious that these two VMFA head motifs carry specific iconography within the Cupisnique people's religious and political context. The first VMFA head motif (figure 1-1) represents a moment when the shaman transforms himself from a human to a caiman. Since rows of teeth signify the characteristics of caimans and a caiman represents the underworld, it can be assumed that this particular Cupisnique head motif

¹⁴² Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 174.

represents the moment when the shaman transforms himself into a caiman in order to communicate with an underworld spirit.

The second VMFA head motif (figure 1-2), which includes only the basic head motif, represents a decapitation. Since actual decapitated heads have been excavated from the Moche Period burial site of Dos Cavezas, it can be speculated that the Cupisnique people buried these ceramic vessels engraved with decapitated head motifs as offerings to their deceased. Therefore, the first VMFA ceramic vessel A (engraved with the rows of teeth head motif) represents the depiction of a shaman, and the second VMFA ceramic vessel (engraved with a decapitated head) may bear witness to the ancient Cupisnique funerary customs. Instead of using actual decapitated heads, the Cupisnique people may have used high quality ceramic vessels engraved with head motifs.

The iconography found on these two VMFA head motifs became important and could be applied to other Cupisnique head motifs as well. The first VMFA head motif (figure 1-1) represents an image of a caiman, as well as an image of a shaman. The second VMFA vessel (figure 1-2) shows a conjoined image of conch and *spondylus* shells. The rows of teeth found on the first vessel, which are considered a characteristic of the caiman, originate from the Ecuadorian rain forest. *Spondylus* shells, as depicted on the second vessel, however, are only found in the warm Ecuadorian ocean.

These kinds of important concepts, including the religious role of the shaman and the unification of dualism between male and female, were often

used as themes for the decorative motifs found at the site of Chavín de Huántar. Thus, the VMFA vessels and their engraved motifs, along with more than two hundred Cupisnique ceramic vessels and one hundred seventy-nine (179) Cupisnique head motifs, are situated between the Formative Ecuadorian and the Early Horizon Period of Chavín cultures. Religious and social ideas, including Shamanism, the unification of dualism, and the custom of offering items depicting decapitated heads, were already well established in the Cupisnique region long before the construction of the Chavín site. By appropriating the motif of the shamanic transformation and the image of the unification of dualism, the Chavín artists were able to legitimize, strengthen and connect their cultural heritage to the previous Cupisnique art tradition.

In the mean time, the various types of anthropomorphic images carved on the stone façades of Chavín de Huántar have been considered evidence of the first established art style in the history of the Andean art. Distinctive monumental head motifs had already been created at the site of Huaca de los Reyes long before the imageries of the anthropomorphic figures were carved on the façades of the strategically planned constructions of Chavín de Huántar. These motifs of Huaca de los Reyes have not been considered as the beginning of an artistic movement in Andean art history because the Chavín anthropomorphic figures already established their status as the origin of the Andean art. This elevated status of the Chavín images has been supported by the following facts: (1) the site of Chavín de Huántar was constructed as a cosmopolitan city with

strategically planned architectural buildings and (2) the site was also considered the axis mundi, providing a spiritual connection to the four cardinal directions as well as both the upper world and the underworld. However, all the configurative elements constituting the anthropomorphic figures of Chavín de Huántar are already found on both the monumental head motifs of Huaca de los Reyes and the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. Therefore, an analysis of the Cupisnique head motifs was necessary in this dissertation in order to identify whether their long-term continued appropriation could be clearly demonstrated, and how they transformed, adapted, and changed. As it turned out the Cupisnique head motifs, appropriated from the motifs from other or previous traditions, became the visible bridge between the Chavín anthropomorphic figures and the Valdivia, Machalilla, and Chorrera motifs. This study of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs suggests that the motifs from the formative Ecuadorian traditions of Valdivia, Machalilla, and Chorrera include the main streams of Andean art, and that the Cupisnique engraved head motifs represent the visible symbolism of the socio-political identity derived from membership in the socio-political group of the Cupisnique people on northern coast of Peru.

The Cupisnique engraved head motifs can be seen as conveying an expression of cultural incorporation and of the artists' intention for legitimize their cultural identity, social authority, and political ideology by appropriating the motifs from the formative Ecuadorian traditions. These head motifs also can be considered emblems of the Cupisnique identity that were possibly used for

supporting the leadership of the Cupisnique society on the northern coast of Peru. This constructed cultural identity based upon the emulation and appropriation of the antecedent motifs solidified the bond among the Cupisnique people living on the northern coast of Peru. The Cupisnique engraved head motifs can also be considered to be historical signatures of the power from which the Cupisnique people derived their authority. Pasztory noted that “villages do not exist in isolation.”¹⁴³ In other words, villages (or societies) cannot survive without a connection with the influx of foreign traders and without the previous traditions that support the existence of their heritage.

Based on the fact that various Valdivia objects and *spondylus* shells from coastal Ecuador have been excavated in the site of Huaca Prieta (located near the Chicama Valley on the northern coast of Peru), the northern coast of Peru can be considered an essential source of trade for the southern coast of Ecuador. Ecuador and Peru already had a long history of trade: different types of materials were exchanged starting in the pre-ceramic Period.¹⁴⁴ Because the northern coast of Peru, where the Cupisnique style began is located south of the southern section of Ecuador, this location is easily accessible either from Ecuador to the north or from the highland to the east. Many art objects that were engraved and carved with decorative motifs were brought to the northern coast of Peru by

¹⁴³ Esther Pasztory, “Identity and Difference: The Uses and Meanings of Ethnic Styles,” in *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*, Studies in the History of Art 27 (Washington D.C.: the University Press of New England, 1989): 56.

¹⁴⁴ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 33 – 37.

foreign migrations, probably from the southern coast of Ecuador. Additionally, ceramic objects produced on the northern coast of Peru were brought to the highland of Peru. In order to control the influx of trade goods and migration, the Cupisnique people probably felt the need to strengthen their own social authority. In order to regulate and manage the complex social and cultural integrations and flood of trade, the artists of the northern coastal Peru, including Cupisnique, probably appropriated certain motifs brought with foreign migration and adopted the decorative motifs already used by the Valdivian and Machalilla artists. In turn, they re-created and re-organized those adopted and appropriated motifs into the new form of Cupisnique head motifs. By re-constituting and controlling the configurative elements from the traditions of Valdivia and Machalilla, the Cupisnique people showed their competence for maintaining leadership over other foreign populations and traditions. Therefore, the Cupisnique engraved head motifs reflected the legitimacy of the Cupisnique cultural identity and political ideology, and they were used for establishing the Cupisnique people's social authority.

Thus, various motifs from the previous traditions and from areas outside the Cupisnique regions were appropriated by the Cupisnique artists. In displaying their re-created and re-constituted head motifs on the public monument of Huaca de los Reyes, which is considered the very first Cupisnique-style architectural structure, the Cupisnique people strengthened their leadership and publicly manifested their supremacy. Because of the size and the

complicated construction of the head motifs, it can be assumed that the architectural site of Huaca de los Reyes was possibly used for ritual activities or public performances. Therefore, it can be argued that the Huaca de los Reyes's head motifs were used in two discrete ways: one is to display the Cupisnique people's authority and prestige, and another is to show publicly their principal ceremonial center. Establishing local leadership by using the tangible and visible head motifs strengthened the social status of the Cupisnique people on the northern coast of Peru. Subsequently, these large-sized public head motifs were reused on the surfaces of the Cupisnique ceramic vessels. In terms of their form and style, the Cupisnique engraved head motifs echo the Huaca de los Reyes's large head motifs. Their symbolism of leadership, political ideology, and social prestige were also transferred to the Cupisnique engraved head motifs.

By incorporating the previous traditions, including their motifs and craft techniques, as their own, the Cupisnique people and artists were able to establish their social authority and political ideology. The Cupisnique potters' highly skilled craftsmanship was achieved by endless training and by the accumulation of technical information from other regions. By using their highly developed craft techniques, the Cupisnique potters gained political prestige and social power. In fact, Helms suggested that the people attained their high achievement based on the acquisition, accumulation, and transformation of their

craft skills.¹⁴⁵ In this way, they re-created the traditions of their primordial ancestors. Because of their sophisticated knowledge in using the craft skills, the Cupisnique potters may have been possibly treated as apotheoses by the common villagers. Phyllis Rabineau documented the social status of the master artists in the Cashinahua society living in eastern Peru. She suggested that the highly skilled master artists could be recognized as political leaders. Only master artists could have obtained and accessed the precious materials for creating highly decorative objects, such as a feathered headdress.¹⁴⁶ Rabineau also suggested that the master artist in the tropical forest achieved political leadership. In this way, the highly skilled craftsmanship and decorative art motifs supported the social status of the Cupisnique artists in order to maintain their political ideology and power. The interrelationship between the Cupisnique engraved head motifs and the Cupisnique artists' socio-political authority possibly introduced the depiction of ritual or spiritual activity with a focus on specific motifs. An artist who was able to create specific motifs could have been treated as a spiritually powerful person, and in this way, the social status of the Cupisnique artists was also elevated because of their craftsmanship. Therefore, it is possible to speculate that the Cupisnique head motifs are the depictions of the figures venerated by the northern coastal people.

¹⁴⁵ Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power*, 215.

¹⁴⁶ Phyllis Rabineau, "Artists and Leaders: The Social Context of Creativity in a Tropical Forest Culture," in *the Cashinahua of Eastern Peru*, vol. 1, edited by Jane Dwyer (Providence: Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Studies in Anthropology and Material Culture, Brown University, 1975), 99.

The Cupisnique engraved head motifs may connote various interpretations: (1) decapitated heads, (2) the depiction of shamanic transformation, (3) the emblem of the Cupisnique clan, (4) the emblem of their cultural identity, and (5) the legitimacy of the social authority and the political power of the Cupisnique people. Subsequently, these head motifs can be seen as the depiction of deities, which also connote several iconographies. These head motifs may represent either the shamans, who obtained the special power to connect with the spiritual world, or the Cupisnique people's ancestors, who legitimize the Cupisnique heritage and justify their existence. It would be difficult to conclude which interpretation or interpretations of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs may be the "proper" one. This study provides various iconographies of the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, although interpretations of the Cupisnique head motifs continued with the appropriation by the Chavín culture. Specifically, the Cupisnique head motifs were also appropriated by the subsequent artists living in the highland of Peru, the site of Chavín de Huántar. Akin to the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, the Chavín anthropomorphic figures also consist of the various motifs, including basic head motifs, fangs, elongated serpent bodies, and feathers. Although the Chavín anthropomorphic figures are depicted in more complicated compositions than the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, all important motifs for creating the Chavín figures are appropriated from the Cupisnique engraved head motifs and were already used by the Cupisnique artists.

Richard Burger suggested that the site of Chavín de Huántar could be considered the cosmopolitan place that represented the first sign of civilization in Peru and the cosmological, spiritual center for the Andean people. As a spiritually essential place, the site of Chavín de Huántar was constructed with complicated anthropomorphic fanged figures. For instance, Carol Damian described the Chavín anthropomorphic figures as ‘fantastic hybrid creatures.’¹⁴⁷ The Chavín anthropomorphic figures can be seen as the union of the configurative elements from different spheres of northern Peru. After all, the stone reliefs engraved on the architectural façades of Chavín de Huántar are sophisticated and complex, and they illustrate the composite images of various fundamental elements. Additionally, the Cupisnique ceramic vessels engraved with head motifs were also excavated in the offering gallery located near the Old Temple’s sunken circular plaza, which is the oldest stone structure at the site of Chavín de Huántar constructed between 800 and 500 B.C.E. Along with the Cupisnique style ceramic vessels, different types of ceramics brought from the various areas of the northern Andes were excavated in the offering gallery. The fact that various types of offerings were brought from diverse spheres of the northern Andean regions suggests that the site of Chavín de Huántar was considered a spiritual and sacred place.¹⁴⁸ The offering items excavated in the offering gallery imply that the Chavín artists had an opportunity to view and

¹⁴⁷ Carol Damian, *The Virgin of the Andes: Art and Ritual in Colonial Cuzco* (Miami Beach: Grassfield Press, 1995), 12.

¹⁴⁸ Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization*, 130.

analyze the various types of decorative motifs used by various regions of the northern Andes. These offering items are usually portable, light, and small sized ceramic vessels, bone spatulas, and stone sculptures, which were easily transported to the site of Chavín de Huántar. Although they are portable items, the offering items show high quality because their decorative motifs are carved and engraved with highly detailed and elaborate craft skills. Based on the richness of the many offering items, the Chavín artists were able to create complicated but distinctive and sophisticated anthropomorphic figures that were eventually venerated by most northern Andean people. By adopting and then adapting the basic head motifs and the five additional motifs (chart 24) from various regions of the northern Andes, including Cupisnique, the site of Chavín de Huántar maintained its role as a unified and spiritual place, and the artists of the Chavín de Huántar were able to create their anthropomorphic figures as an amalgamation from the configurative elements of the northern Andes (chart 23).

Akin to the Cupisnique potters, the artists of Chavín de Huántar also appropriated and emulated most motifs used in the earlier traditions and in this way incorporated many types of the basic head motifs and the five additional motifs into one distinctive anthropomorphic figure. Along with the reconstituted composite anthropomorphic figures, the Chavín artists were able to control the Cupisnique engraved head motifs. By appropriating and controlling the motifs from the previous tradition, the Chavín people were able to legitimize their socio-political status just as the Cupisnique people had established their own

legitimacy over the influx of the formative Ecuadorian motifs. The Chavín motifs may have been the foundational and fundamental images that were later emulated, adopted, and appropriated by subsequent traditions.

Before the Cupisnique engraved head motifs, the formative Ecuadorian artists had already used an earlier version of those standard facial elements, basic head motif, and five additional motifs. In this way, these elements and motifs convey a visible map (chart 7) of how the motifs traveled from the north to the south and how social-political status and cultural identity were passed on from the north to the south as well. Therefore, this process demonstrates that motif appropriation had a long history in the Andean regions and history, ranging from the Formative Ecuadorian traditions to the Cupisnique tradition. The Cupisnique head motifs, in turn, were then appropriated by the Chavín artists. The Cupisnique head motifs are visible evidence that art style, culture, ritual activity, and social customs were continuously repeated and appropriated by subsequent traditions and cultures.

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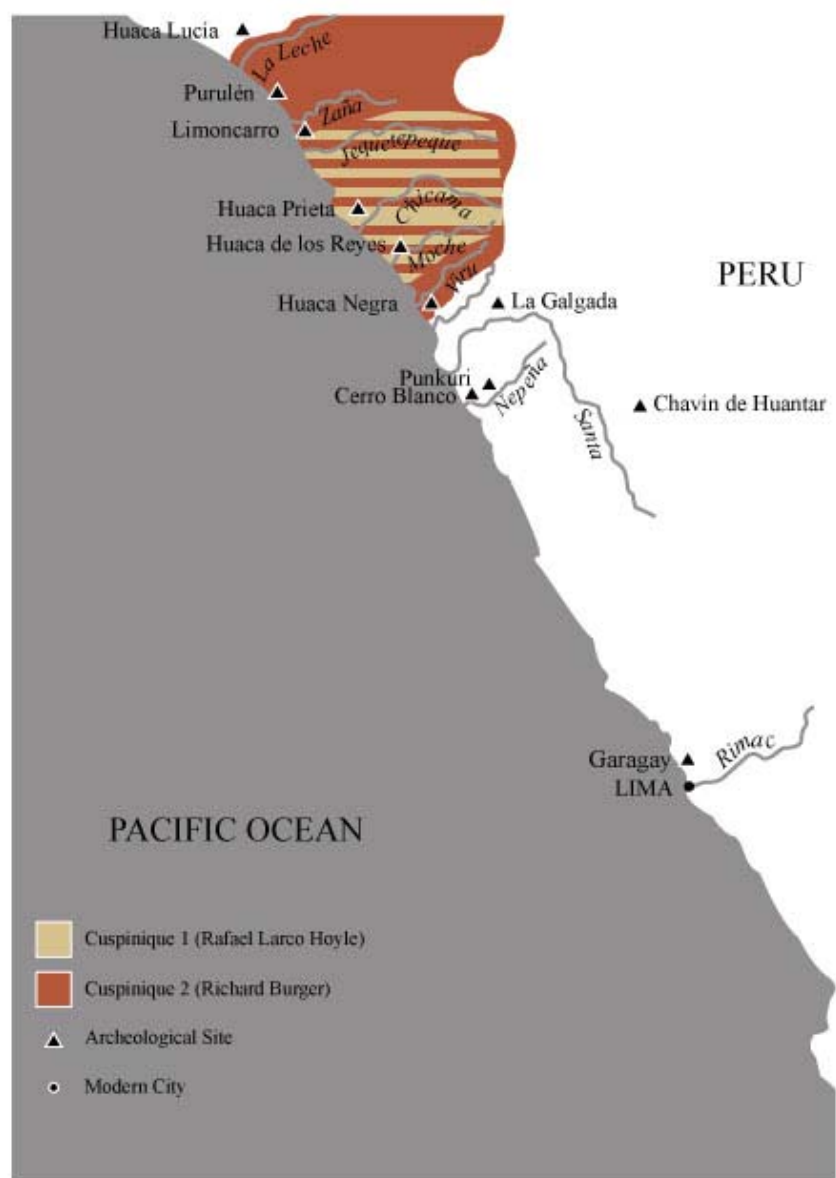
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Maps

Map 1. Formative Period Ecuador



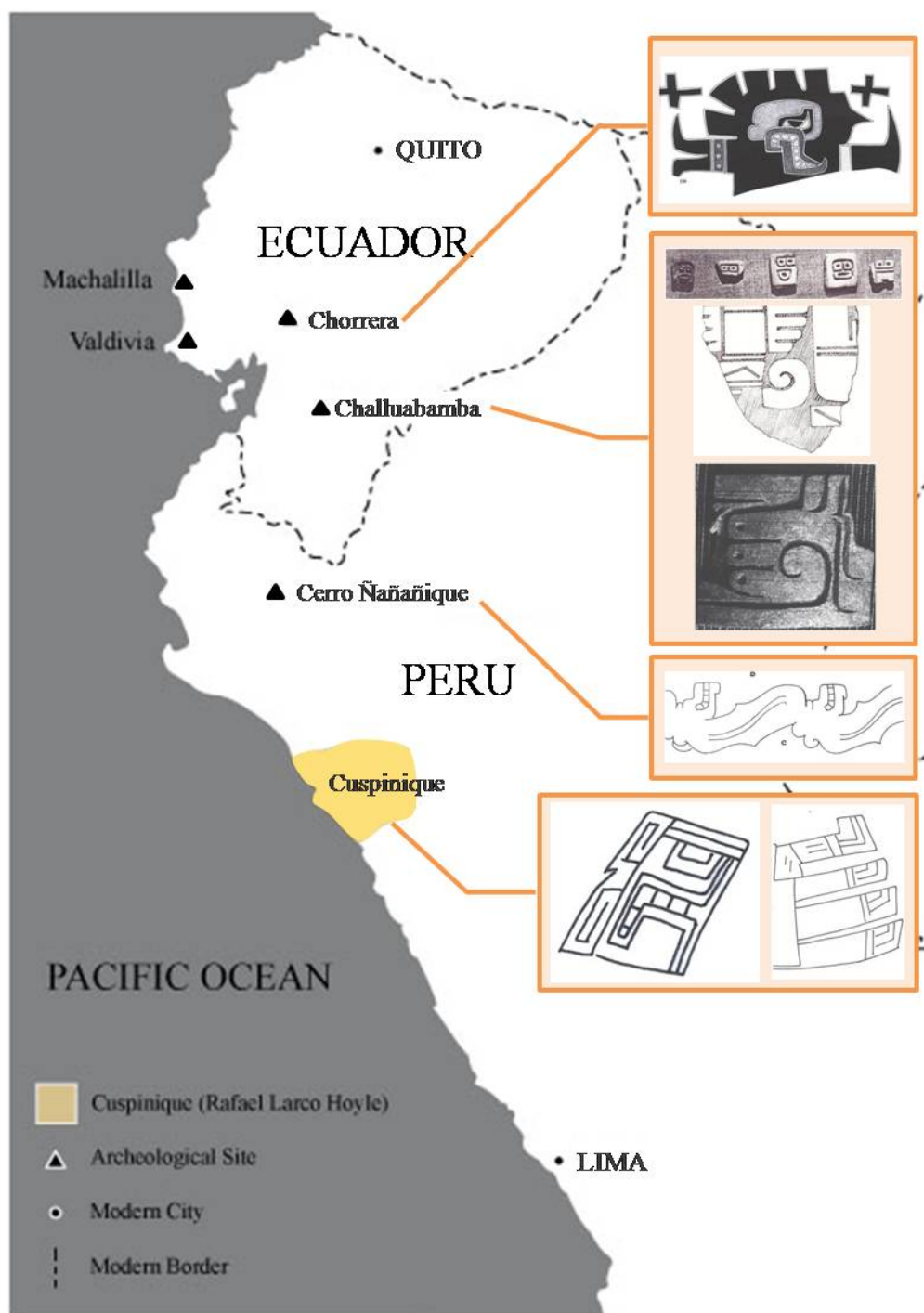
Map 2. Preceramic and Horizon Period Peru



Map 3. Ecuadr and Peru



Map 4. The Motif Appropriation from Ecuador to Peru



Charts

Chart 1. The Four Different Designs of Cupisnique Stirrup-spout


	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
				
The Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera (MARLH)	19	3	12	11
The Museo de la Nacion (MN)	1			1
The Museo de Arte de Lima (MAL)	2	3		2
The Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Hisotira (MNAAH)	1	2		
The Bruning Museum (BM)			1	3
The Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo (MAUNT)				1
The Museo Casinelli Mazzei (MCM)	3	3	5	14
The Dallas Museum of Art, Texas (DMA)	1	1		1
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA)	2	1	1	1
The Saint Louis Art Museum, Louisiana (SLAM)		1		
The Art Institution of Chicago Museum (AICM)	1			
The Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA)	1	1		
The Virginia Museum of Fine Art (VMFA)				2
The America Museum of Natural History (AMNH)		2	1	4
The Private Collections (PC)	6	8	2	27
Total	37	25	22	67

Chart 2. The Four Different Designs of Cupisnique Ceramic Body





	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
				
The Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera (MARLH)	41	1	7	2
The Museo de la Nacion (MN)			1	1
The Museo de Arte de Lima (MAL)	2			5
The Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología, e Hisotira (MNAAH)	2	1		1
The Bruning Museum (BM)	1			3
The Museo de Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo (MAUNT)	1			1
The Museo Casinelli Mazzei (MCM)	13	1	3	9
The Dallas Museum of Art, Texas (DMA)	3			
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA)	2			3
The Saint Louis Art Museum, Louisiana (SLAM)	1			
The Art Institution of Chicago Museum (AICM)				1
The Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA)	1			1
The Virginia Museum of Fine Art (VMFA)				2
The America Museum of Natural History (AMNH)	3	1		3
The Private Collections (PC)	21	2	4	16
Total	91	6	15	48

Chart 3. The Five Facial Elements of the Basic Head Motif







	<p>The Basic Head Motif (A)</p> 
Eye (a)	
Nose (b)	
Ear (c)	
Hair (Head) (d)	
Mouth (e)	

Chart 4. The Five Variations of the Basic Head Motif (A)





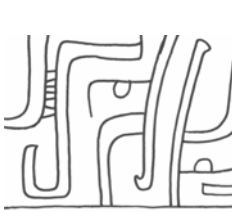
A1	A2	A3	A4	A5
				

Chart 5. The Basic Head Motif and the Five Additional Motifs of the Cupisnique Engraved Head Motifs



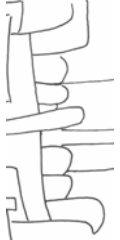



Basic Head Motif (A)	Fang (B)	Rows of Teeth (C)	Connective Band (D)	Elongated Body (E)	Feather (F)
					

Chart 6. The Eleven Different Types of the Cupisnique Head Motifs




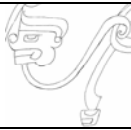

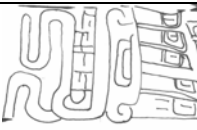

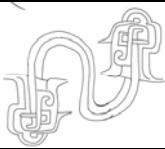


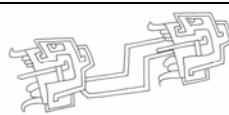
The Name of the Design	The Image of the Design
The Basic Head Motifs (A)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs (AB)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Rows of Teeth (AC)	
The Basic Head Motifs with a Connective Band (AD)	
The Basic Head Motifs with an Elongated Body (AE)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Feathers (AF)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Rows of the teeth (ABC)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and a Connective Band (ABD)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and an Elongated Body (ABE)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Feather (ABF)	
The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, Rows of teeth, and a Connective Band (ABCD)	

Chart 7. The Basic Head Motifs (A1 Type)

























MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	circular	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	circular	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	circular	flat
	MAR	post-firing	profile	half oval	bulbous	turned down	folded	pointy
	BM	post-firing	profile	half oval	bulbous	turned down	double curve	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	double curve	flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	double curve	flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	rectangular	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	straight	circular	flat
	AMNH	carved	profile	curved concave	bulbous	straight	curved	Flat
	PC	post-firing	profile	half oval	bulbous	turned down	circular	Flat

Chart 8. The Multiple Basic Head Motifs (A1 Type)

MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	curved	Flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	curved	Pointy
	MAL	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	curved	no hair
	BM	post-firing	profile	half oval	bulbous	turned down	curved	Pointy
	BM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	curved	Pointy
	MAUNT	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	rectangular	Pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	none	Pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	flat	turned down	none	Flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	flat	turned down	rectangular	Flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	blunt	turned down	none	Curly
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	round	flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	curved	pointy
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	circular	pointy
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	round	pointy
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	curved	flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	circular	flat

Chart 9. The Basic Head Motifs (A2 Type)

MOTIF	LOCATIO N	ENGRAVIN G	HEAD DIRECTIO N	EYE	NOSE	MOUT H	EAR	HAIR STYL E
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	none	turned down & even teeth	rectangula r	flat
	MAUNT	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved, bulbous	turned down & even teeth	elongated	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	circular	straight & even teeth	double curve circular	flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	half oval	flat	straight & even teeth	none	flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	open mouth & even teeth	curved	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	bulbous	open mouth & even teeth	curved	round
	MCM	engraving	profile	rectangula r	curved	open mouth & even teeth	none	curly
	MCM	post-firing	frontal	oval	bulbous	open mouth & even teeth	triangular	flat
	MCM	post-firing	frontal	oval	bulbous	open mouth & even teeth	oval	flat
	DMA	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned down & even teeth	elongated & ear lobes	flat
	MMA	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	no nose	turned down & even teeth	none	flat
	AMNH	post-firing	profile	half oval	no nose	open mouth & even teeth	circular ears	round
	PC	engraving	profile	half oval	bulbous	open mouth & even teeth	curved	pointy



	PC	engraving	profile	None	rectangular	turned down & even teeth	rectangular	Flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	open mouth & even teeth	large earlobe	pointy

Chart 10. The Basic Head Motifs (A3 Type)







MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	open & even teeth	curved	flat
	BM	post-firing	profile	rectangular	rectangular & elongated	open & even teeth	circular	flat
	PC	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	open & even teeth	none	curly
	PC	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	open & even teeth	curved	flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	open & even teeth	curved	flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	none	open & even teeth	none	flat

Chart 11. The Basic Head Motifs (A4 Type)

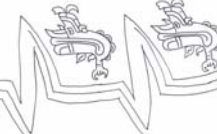

MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	protruding	turned down	curved	Feather-like headdress
	MAL	post-firing	profile	round	protruding	turned down	circular	flat & pointy

Chart 12. The Basic Head Motifs (A5 Type)





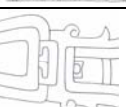











































MOTIF	LOCATIO N	ENGRAVIN G	HEAD DIRECTIO N	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYL E
	MARLH	post-firing	Frontal	rectangula r	none	turned up	none	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	Frontal	circular	none	turned up	none	no hair
	MN	post-firing	Frontal	circular	none	turned down	none	flat
	MNAAH	post-firing	profile (?)	circular	none	no mouth	none	no hair
	MNAAH	post-firing	Profile	rectangula r	curved	Rectangula r	curve d	no hair
	AMNH	post-firing	Profile	rectangula r	bulbous	open mouth	small	curly
	PC	post-firing	Frontal	circular	none	turned down	none	no hair
	PC	carved, pre- firing	Frontal	circular	none	turned up	none	curly
	PC	post-firing	Profile	rectangula r	bulbous	turned up	none	curly
	PC	engraving	Frontal	concaved	none	elongated mouth & even teeth	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	Frontal	rectangula r	none	none	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	profile (?)	rectangula r	none	none	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	Profile	rectangula r	circular	open	none	curved
	PC	engraving	Profile	rectangula r	curved	none	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	Profile	rectangula r	elongate d	none	none	Pointy

Chart 13. The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs (AB Type)

MOTIF	LOCATIO N	ENGRAVIN G	HEAD DIRECTIO N	EYE	NOSE	MOUT H	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	mold & carve	Frontal	rectangul ar	bulbous	open	elongated	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangul ar	protrudin g	turned down	elongate & rectangul ar	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangul ar	protrudin g	turned up	circular	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangul ar	bulbous	turned down	upper & lower earlobes	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangul ar	bulbous	turned down	none	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	oval	folded	open	flat	flat & head knots
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangul ar	folded	open	fold	pointy
	MARLH	pre-firing carving	Frontal	circular	bulbous	straight	triangular	no hair
	MAL	post-firing	Profile	oval	bulbous	open	fold	pointy
	MAL	mold & pre- firing	Frontal	oval	bulbous	open	triangular	no hair
	MAL	mold, pre- firing, & post-firing	Frontal	circular	bulbous	open	half- circular	no hair
	MAUNT	mold, pre- firing, & post-firing	Frontal	circular	bulbous	open	half- circular	no hair
	MCM	post-firing	Profile	half- circular	protrudin g	turned up	circular	flat
	MMA	mold, and pre-firing	Frontal	circular	bulbous	open	triangular	no hair
	MMA	post-firing	Profile	half-oval	bulbous	turned down	none	flat & head knot
	MMA	post-firing	Profile	half- circular	bulbous	open	rectangul ar	curly
	MMA	pre-firing	Frontal	circular	bulbous	open	elongated	trimmed
	CMA	post-firing	Frontal	oval	bulbous	turned up	double circle	no hair

	AMNH	pre-firing	Frontal	circular	bulbous	open	rectangular	no hair
	AMNH	pre-firing	Profile	oval	bulbous	turned down	fold	no hair
	PC	post-firing	Profile	circular	curved	open	curved	no hair
	PC	post-firing	Frontal	half-circular	bulbous	open	curved	flat
	PC	pre-firing	Profile	rectangular	curved	open	rectangular	pointy
	PC	pre-firing	Frontal	rectangular	bulbous	open	rectangular	round
	PC	engraving	Frontal	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	Frontal	turned down	bulbous	grinning	rectangular	no hair
	PC	engraving	Frontal	circular	bulbous	turned down	none	petal-shaped headdresses
	PC	engraving	Profile	rectangular	none	turned down	folded	curved
	PC	mold & engraving	Frontal	oval	bulbous	grinning & open	triangular	no hair
	PC	mold & engraving	Frontal	oval	bulbous	grinning & open	triangular	no hair
	PC	mold & engraving	Frontal	oval	bulbous	turned down	rectangular	no hair
	PC	mold & engraving	Frontal	circular	bulbous	turned down	circular	no hair
	PC	mold & engraving	Frontal	circular	bulbous	grinning & open	circular	no hair






	PC	molding & engraving	Frontal	half oval	bulbous	grinning & open	none	no hair
	PC	molding & engraving	Frontal	oval	bulbous	grinning & open	triangular	no hair
	PC	molding	Profile	circular	Elongate & protruding	open	round	flat
	PC	engraving	Profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	none	flat
	PC	engraving	Profile	rectangular	bulbous	open	folded	flat

Chart 14. The Basic Head Motifs with Rows of Teeth (AC Type)








MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangular	protruding	turned down	circular	circular
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	rectangular	none	turned down	round	circular
	MARLH	post-firing	Profile	oval	rectangular	turned up	circular	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	Profile	oval	elongated & curved	turned up	double curve	pointy
	VMFA	post-firing	Profile	rectangular	flat	turned up	none	curved
	PC	engraving	Profile	oval	none	open	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	Profile	oval	bulbous	open	none	no hair

Chart 15. The Basic Head Motifs with Connective Bands (AD type)








MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	folded	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	circular	none	turned up	none	flat
	DMA	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned up	none & curved	no hair
	VMFA	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none & circular	open	circular	flat & pointy
	PC	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none & bulbous	open, & turned down	folded & curved	pointy, two head knots & flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	rectangular curved	curly
	PC	carving	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned down	earlobes	flat

Chart 16. The Basic Head Motifs with Elongated Bodies (AE Type)








MOTIF	LOCATIO N	ENGRAVIN G	HEAD DIRECTIO N	EYE	NOSE	MOUT H	EAR	HAIR STYL E
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	circular	none	thick lips	none	curved
	MN	post-firing	profile	circular	none & curved	open	none & folded	curved & flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	bulbou s	thick lips	none	flat
	SLAM	post-firing	profile	circular	bulbou s	thick lips	folded	oval head knot
	AMNH	post-firing	profile	none	bulbou s	thick lips	none	oval head knot
	AMNH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	bulbou s	open	none	flat
	PC	mold & engraving	frontal	circular	bulbou s	open	triangula r	flat

Chart 17. The Basic Head Motifs with Feathers (AF Type)









MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	open	curved	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	none	none	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	protruding	none	flat
	MARLH	pre-firing	profile	circular	bulbous	protruding	none	no hair
	MNAAH	post-firing	profile	circular	none	protruding	none	round
	MCM	Post-firing	profile	rectangular	flat	turned up	none	flat
	PC	engraving	profile	half circular	none	protruding	none	no hair
	PC	engraving	profile	half circular	none	protruding	none	no hair

Chart 18. The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Rows of Teeth (ABC Type)


















MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	half circular	curved	turned up	circular	round
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	turned up	circular	no hair
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	turned up	circular	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	turned up	none	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	protruding	turned up	circular	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	straight	circular	flat with a head knot
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	straight	rectangular	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	turned up	none	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	turned up	circular	flat
	MNAAH	post-firing	profile	circular	protruding & none	open	circular	flat & head knot
	MNAAH	post-firing	profile	circular	protruding & none	open	circular	flat & head knot
	MMA	mold & pre-firing	profile	rectangular	fold	straight	fold	flat
	AMNH	post-firing	frontal	rectangular	bulbous	turned up	none	flat
	AMNH	post-firing	profile	rectangular	bulbous	turned up & down	rectangular	pointy
	AMNH	carving	profile	half circular	folded	open	none	no hair
	PC	post-firing	profile	rectangular	none	turned up	circular	flat
	PC	engraving	profile	rectangular	none	open	rectangular	Flat

Chart 19. The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Connective Bands (ABD Type)





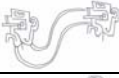






MOTIF	LOCATIO N	ENGRAVIN G	HEAD DIRECTIO N	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned down	circular	Pointy
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned down	circular	Pointy
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	circular	bulbous	protrudin g	curved	Pointy
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned down	circular	pointy
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	flat	turned up	circular	flat & no hair
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned down	circular	pointy
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned up	circular	Flat
	DMA	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	protrudin g	turned up	none	circular
	MMA	post-firing	profile	circular	protrudin g	turned up	circular	pointy
	PC	carving	profile	rectangula r	bulbous	turned down	curved	Flat
	PC	pre-firing	profile	oval	bulbous	turned down	none & rectangula r	flat & trimme d

Chart 20. The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and an Elongated Body (ABE Type)







MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	BM	mold & pre-firing	frontal	oval	bulbous	open	none	no hair
	MMA	mold & post-firing	frontal	oval	bulbous	open	none	no hair
	PC	mold	frontal	oval	bulbous	open	none	Round
	PC	mold	frontal	circular	bulbous	open	none	no hair
	PC	mold	frontal	circular	bulbous	open	none	Round
	PC	engraving	profile	circular	bulbous	open	none	Pointy

Chart 21. The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Feathers (ABF Type)




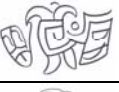


MOTIF	LOCATION	ENGRAVING	HEAD DIRECTION	EYE	NOSE	MOUTH	EAR	HAIR STYLE
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	circular	pointy	open	circular	no hair
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	circular	pointy	open	folded	circular
	MARLH	mold	profile	circular	pointy	open	none	round
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	circular	pointy	open	none	no hair
	MCM	post-firing	profile	circular & rectangular	pointy	open	none	flat
	AMNH	pre-firing	profile	circular	pointy	open	none	flat

Chart 22. The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, Rows of Teeth, and a Connective Band (ABCD Type)









MOTIF	LOCATIO N	ENGRAVIN G	HEAD DIRECTIO N	EYE	NOSE	MOUT H	EAR	HAIR STYL E
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	pointy	open	rectangula r	pointy
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned up	rectangula r	flat & two head knots
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	curved	turned up	rectangula r	flat & head knot
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	protrudin g	turned up	rectangula r	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	protrudin g	turned up	elongated oval	flat
	MARLH	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	protrudin g	turned up	rectangula r	flat
	MCM	pre-firing	profile	rectangula r	protrudin g	turned up	rectangula r	flat
	MCM	post-firing	profile	rectangula r	protrudin g	turned up	circular	flat & two head knots

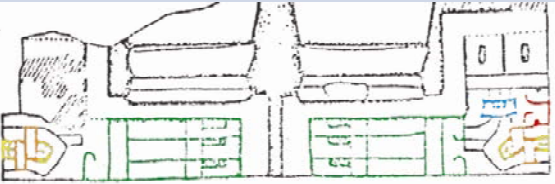

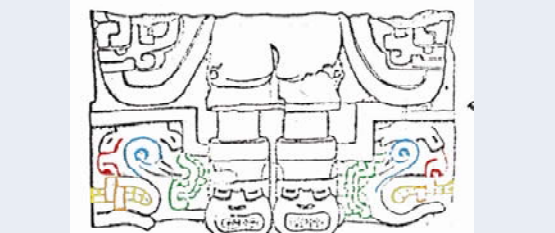
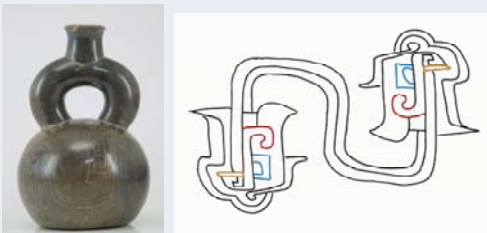
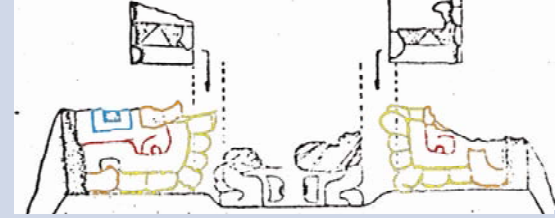
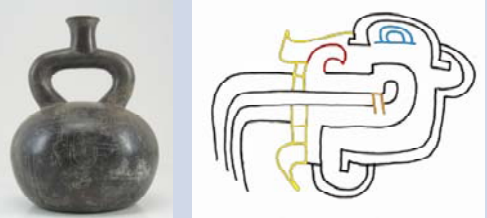
Chart 23. The Chronological Evolution of Five Facial Elements on the Basic Head Motif

		EYE	NOSE	EAR	HAIR (HEAD)	MOUTH
The Formative Period Ecuador	Challuabamba (2300 - 1700 BCE)					
	Chorrera (1300 - 200 BCE)					
The Initial Period (2000 - 700 BCE) Northern Coastal Peru	Huaca de los Reyes (1300 BCE)					
	Cupisnique (1200 - 200 BCE)					
The Early Horizon Period (700 BCE - 1 CE) Northern Highland Peru	Chavin de Huántar (900 - 200 BCE)					

Chart 24. The Chronological Evolution of Five Additional Motifs on the Cupisnique Engraved Head Motifs

		FANG	ROWS OF TEETH	CONNECTIVE BAND	ELONGATED BODY	FEATHER
The Formative Period Ecuador	Challuabamba (2300 - 1700 BCE) Chorrera (1300 - 200 BCE)					
The Initial Period (2000 - 700 BCE) Northern Coastal Peru	Huaca de los Reyes (1300 BCE)					
	Cupisnique (1200 - 200 BCE)					
The Early Horizon Period (700 BCE - 1 CE) Northern Highland Peru	Chavín de Huántar (900 - 200 BCE)					

Chart 25. The Stylistic Comparison between Huaca de los Reyes Motifs and Cupisnique Head Motifs

Huaca de los Reyes 1300 BCE	The Cupisnique Ceramic Vessels 1200 -200 BCE
	
	
	

-  Fang
-  Rows of Teeth
-  Feather
-  Eye
-  Nose

Figures

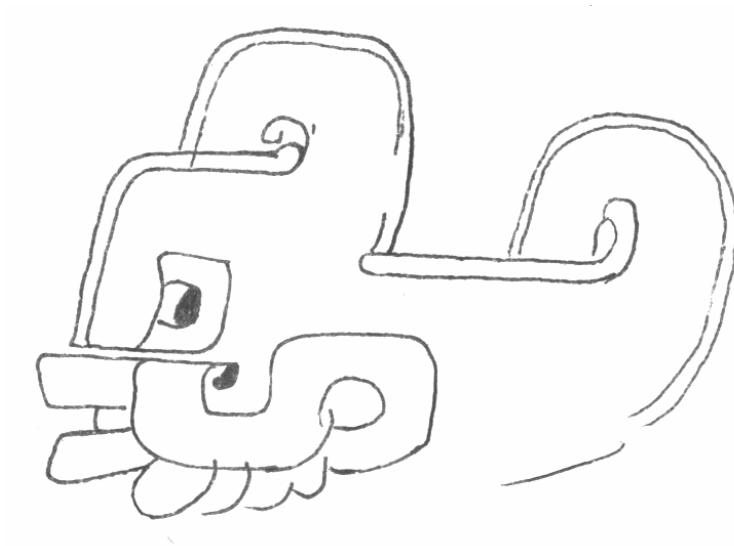


Figure 1-1. *Stirrup-spouted Ceramic Vessel presenting Seated Man*, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

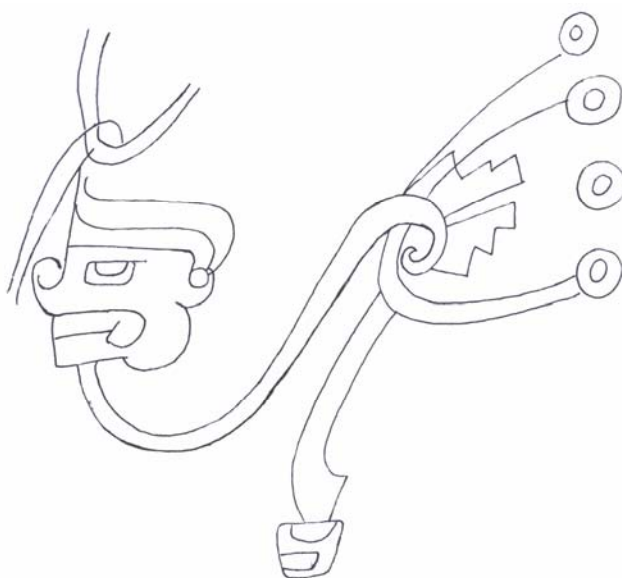


Figure 1-2. *Stirrup-spouted Ceramic Vessels presenting Conjoined Conch and Spondylus Shells*, Cupisnique 1200 – 200 BCE, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

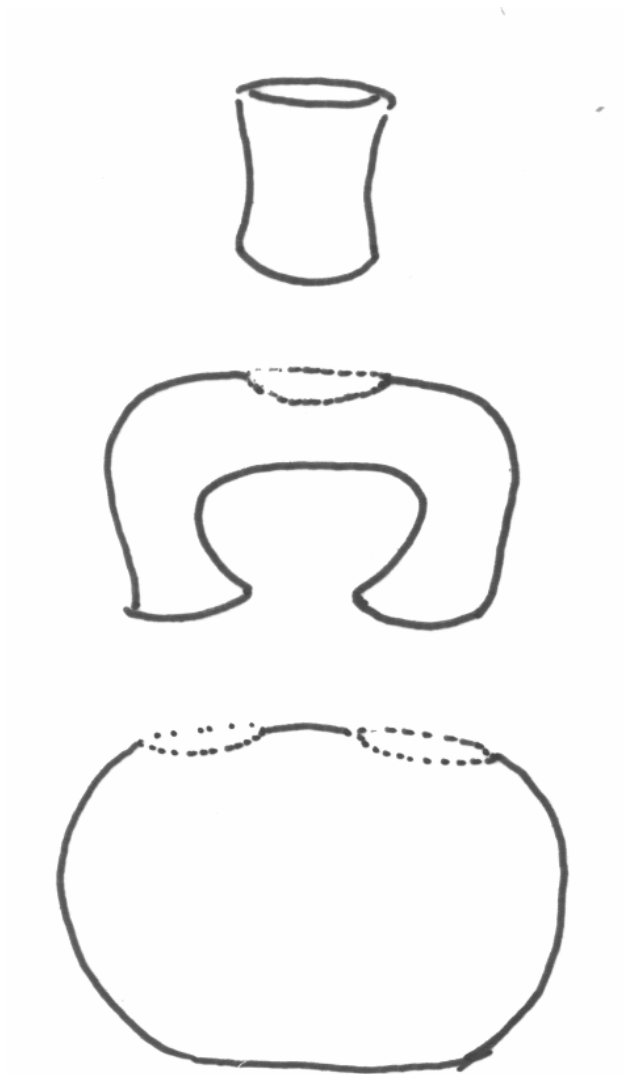


Figure 2. *Three Different Parts of a Cupisnique Stirrup-spouted Vessel*

LAMINA 65

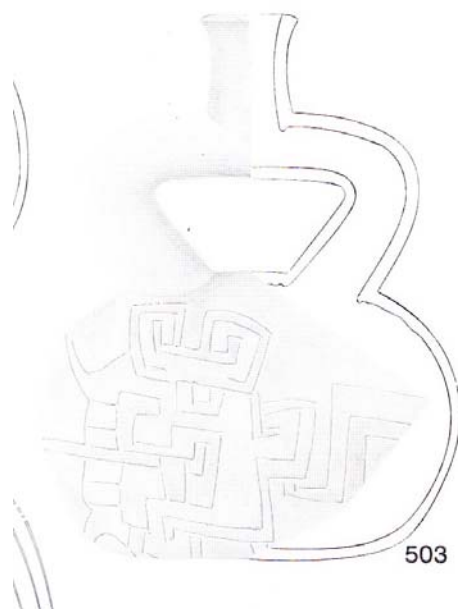


Figure 3. *Cupisnique Ceramic excavated at Chavín de Huántar, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



Figure 4. *Cupisnique Ceramic excavated at Chavín de Huántar, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*

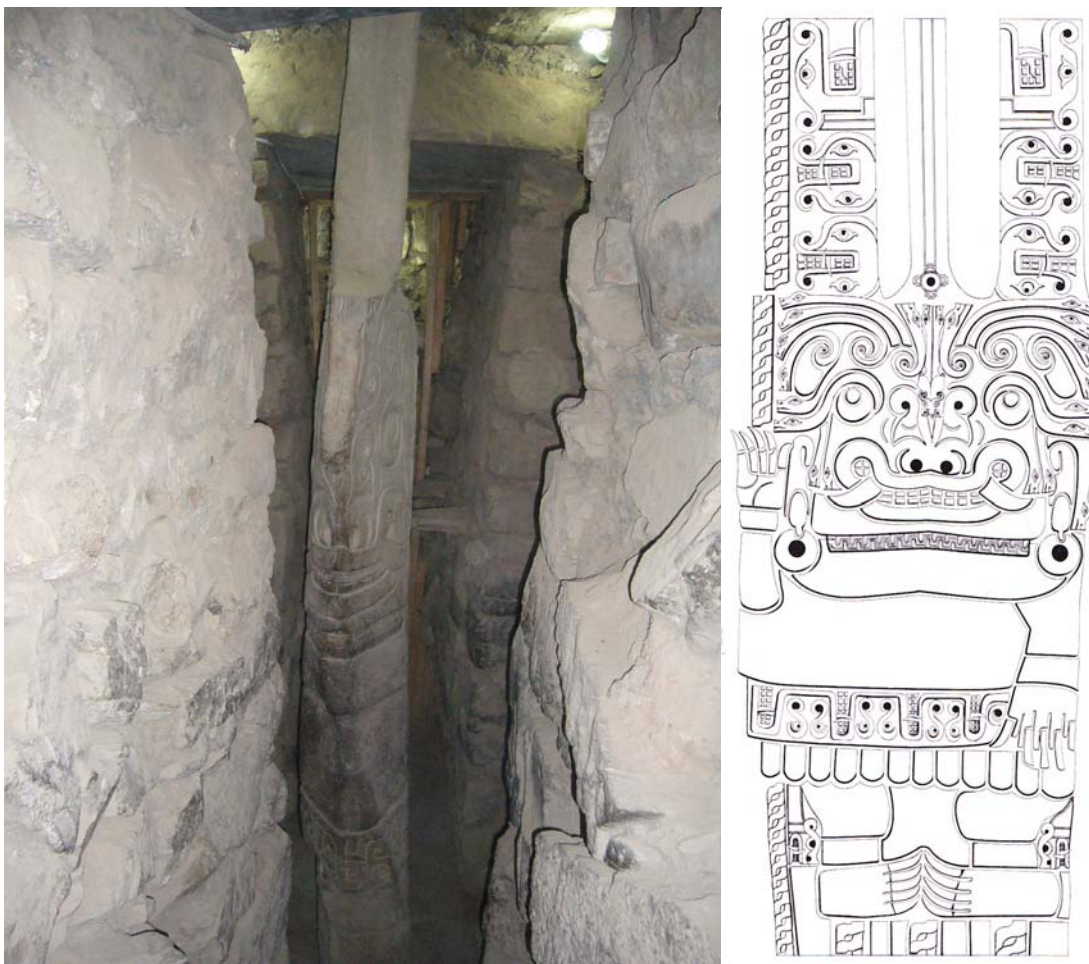


Figure 5. *Lanzon Sculpture and Drawing*, Chavín de Huántar, 900 – 200 BCE

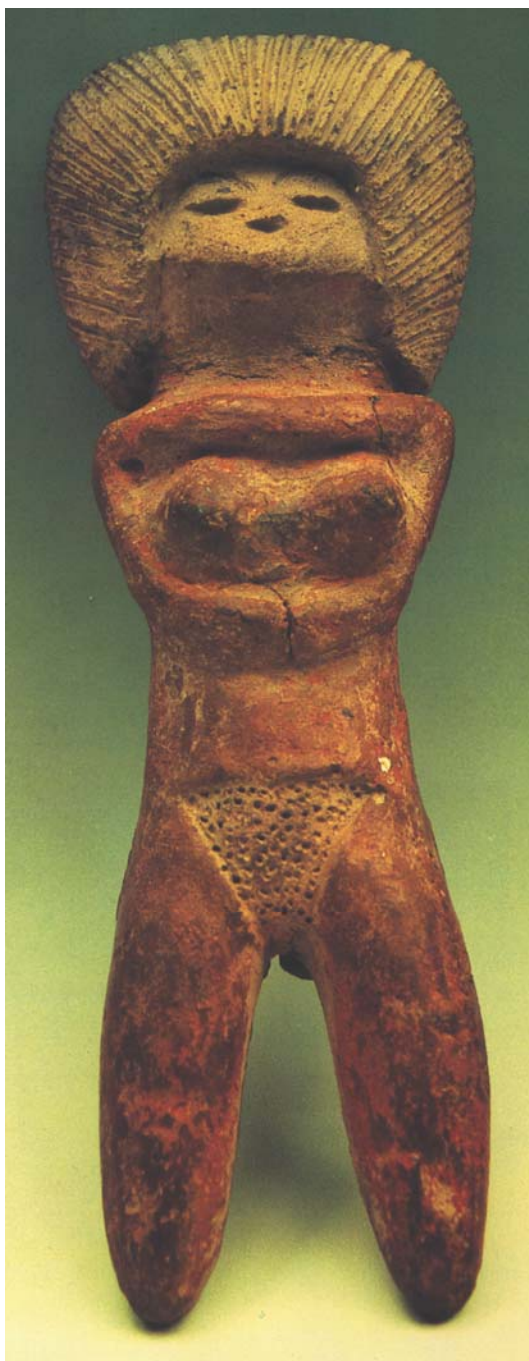


Figure 6. *Ceramic Figurine*, Valdivia, 3500 – 2000 BCE



Figure 7-1. *Stirrup-spouted Fragment*, Machalilla, 1500 – 1000 BCE

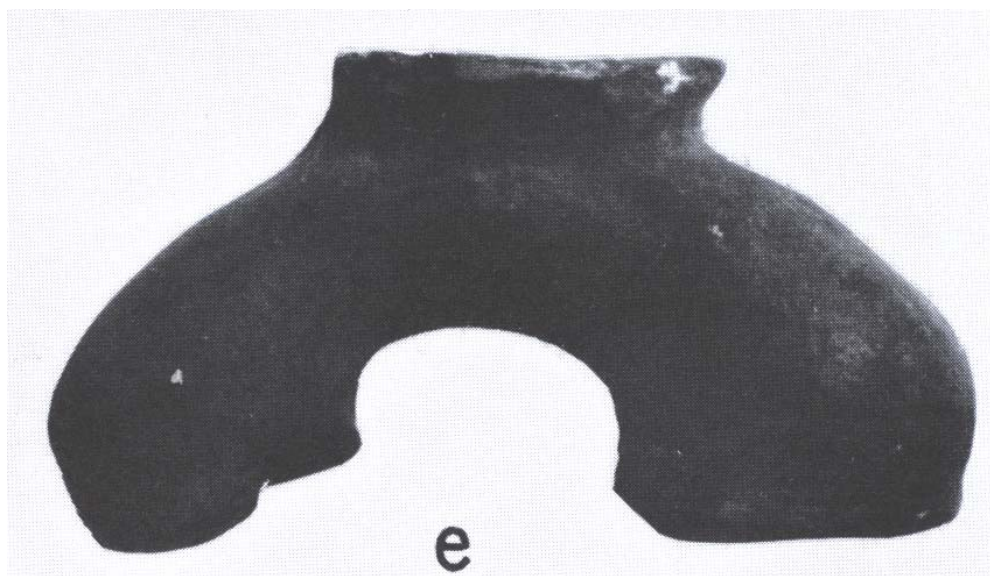


Figure 7-2. *Stirrup-spouted Fragment*, Machalilla, 1500 – 1000 BCE



Figure 8. *Stirrup-spouted Ceramic Vessel*, Machalilla, 1500 – 1000 BCE

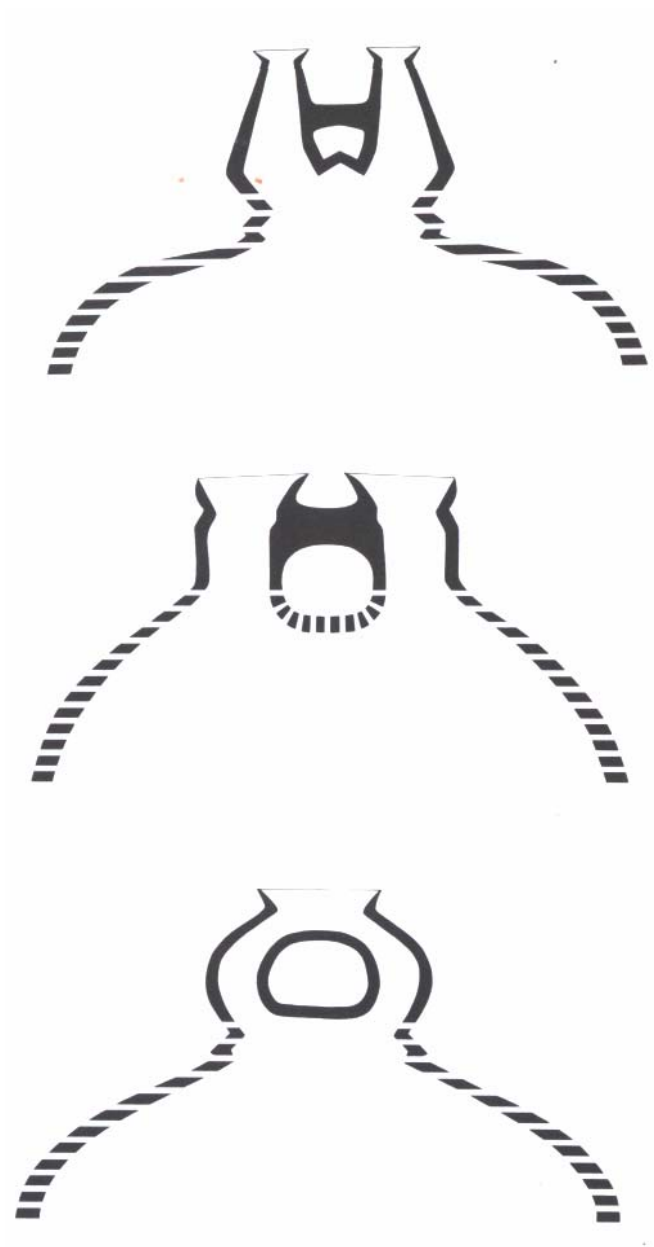


Figure 9. *Donald Lathrap's Diagram of the Development of the Stirrup-spout Design*



Figure 10. *Ceramic Figurine, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE*



Figure 11. *Rectangular-shaped Bowl*, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE



Figure 12. *Stirrup-spouted Vessel*, Machalilla, 1500 – 1000 BCE



Figure 13. *Stirrup-spouted Ceramic Vessel exhibiting a Jaguar Image, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*

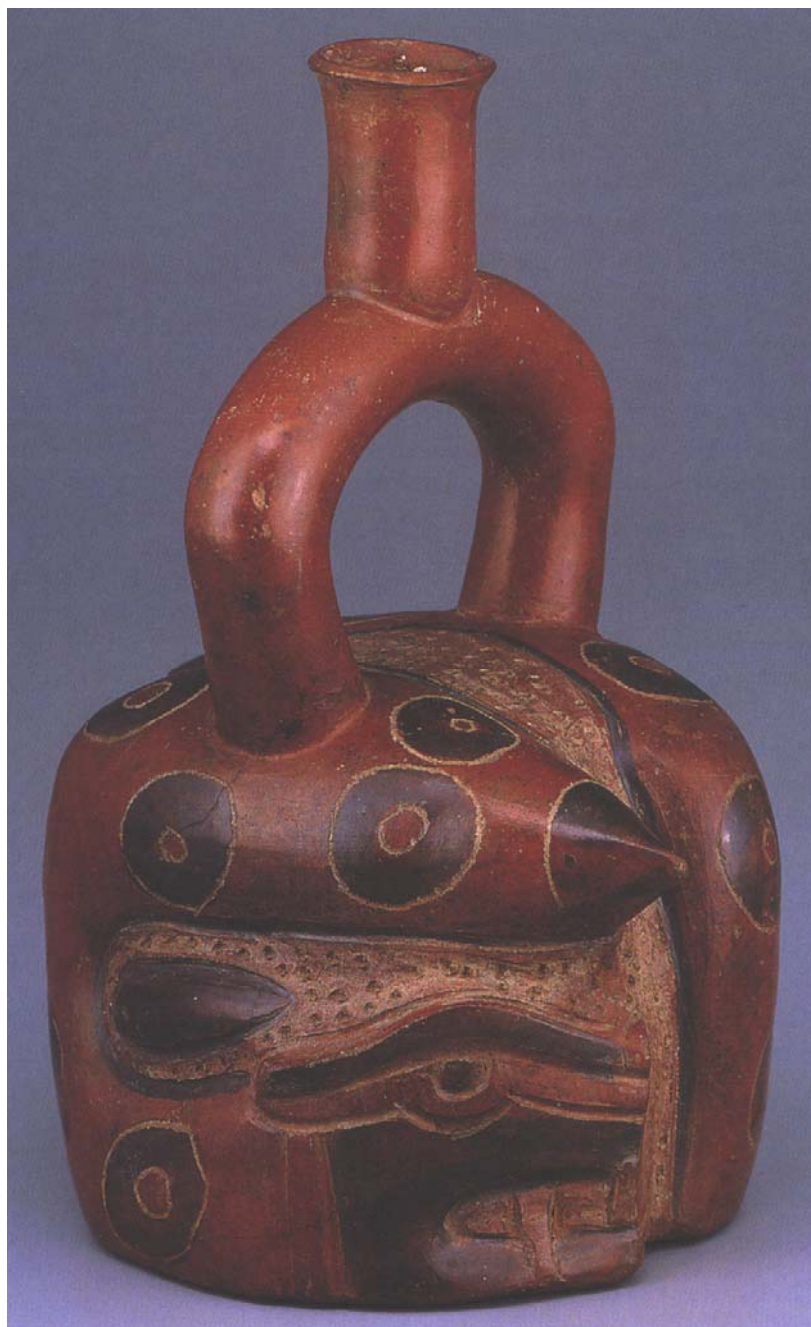
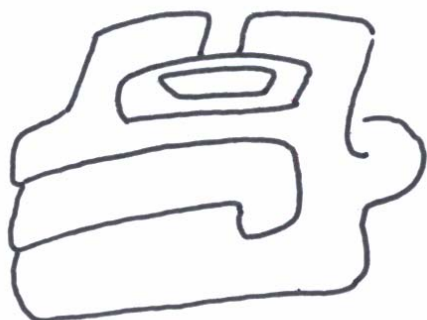


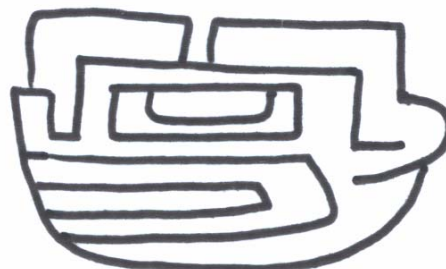
Figure 14. *Stirrup-spouted Ceramic Vessel exhibiting a Serpent Image, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



Figure 15. *Stirrup-spouted Ceramic Vessel exhibiting a Mother and Child*, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE



A1, a (MARLH 17)



A1, b (MARLH 34)



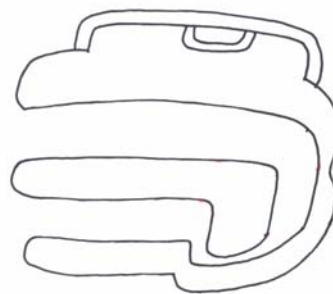
A1, c (MARLH 50)



A1, d (MAL 1)

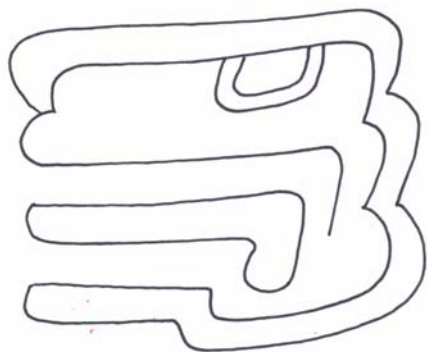


A1, e (MB 2)

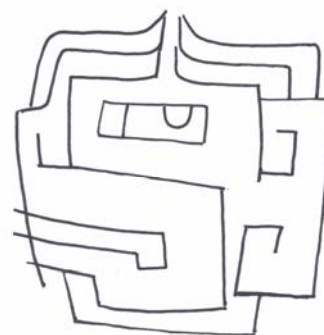


A1, f (MCM 11)

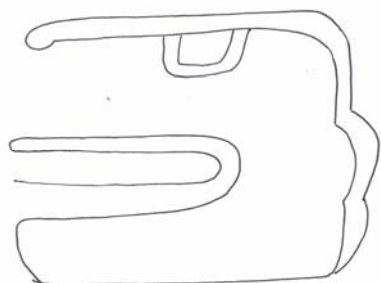
Figure 16. *Basic Head Motif*, A1 type, Cupisnique 1200 – 200 BCE



A1, g (MCM 13)



A1, h (MCM 21)



A1, i (MCM 22)

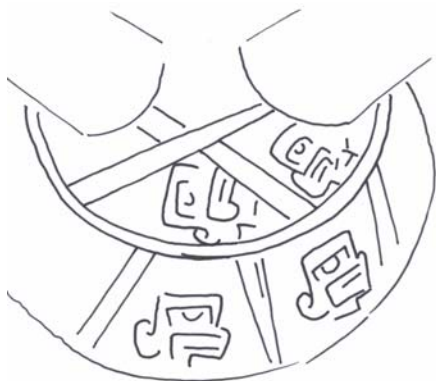


A1, j (AMNH 6)



A1, k (PC 34)

Figure 16. *Basic Head Motif, A1 type continued*



A1, l (MARLH 15)



A1, m (MARLH 42)



A1, n (MAL 5)



A1, o (BM 1)

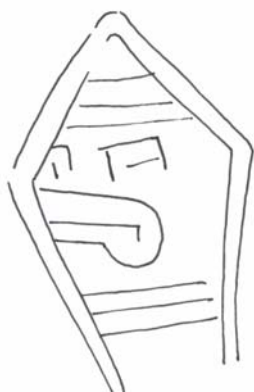


A1, p (BM 5)

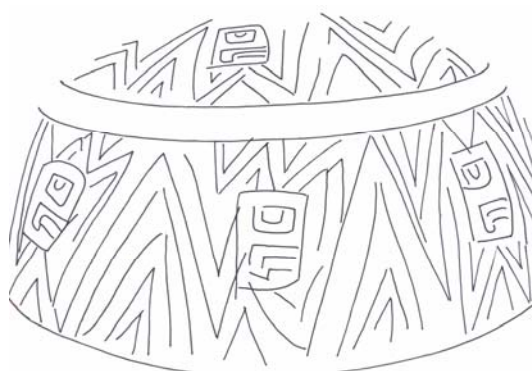


A1, q (MAUNT 2)

Figure 17. *Multiple Basic Head Motif*, A1 type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE



A1, r (MCM2)



A1, s (MCM 5)



A1, t (MCM 18)



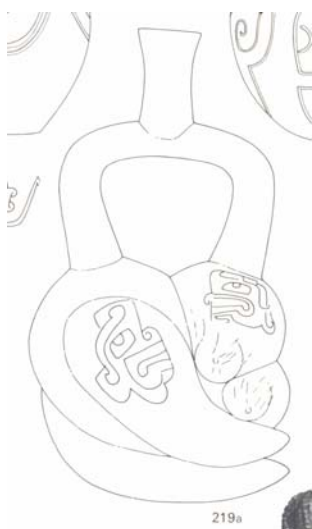
A1, u ((PC 20)

88

Figure 17. *Multiple Basic Head Motif, A1 type continued*



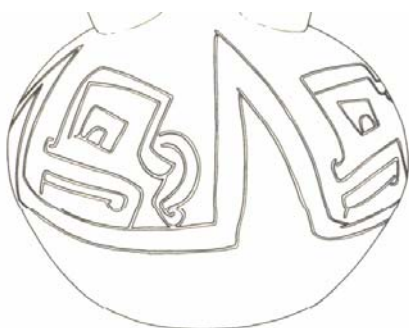
A1, v (PC 35)



A1, w (PC 36)



A1, x (PC 38)



A1, y (PC 41)

Figure 17. *Multiple Basic Head Motif, A1 type continued*



A1, z (PC 43)



A1, aa (PC 49)

Figure 17. *Multiple Basic Head Motif*, A1 type continued



A2, a (MARLH 1)



A2, b (MAUNT 2)



A2, c (MCM 1)



A2, d (MCM10)



A2, e (MCM 12)



A2, f (MCM 14)

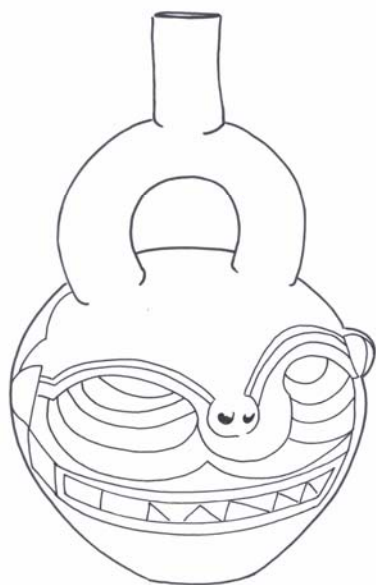
Figure 18. *Basic Head Motif*, A2 type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE



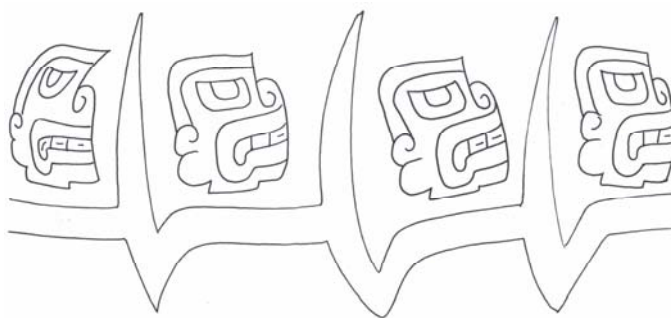
A2, g (MCM 17)



A2, h (MCM 23)



A2, i (MCM 24)

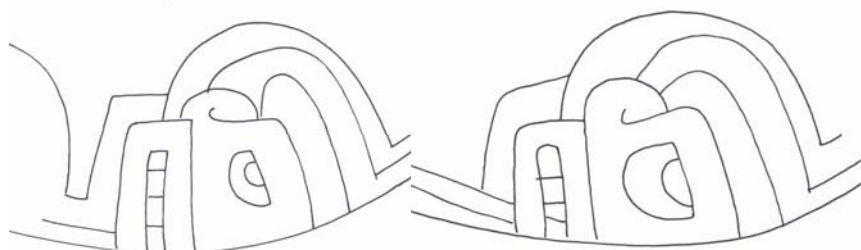


A2, j (DMA 3)

Figure 18. *Basic Head Motif, A2 type continued*



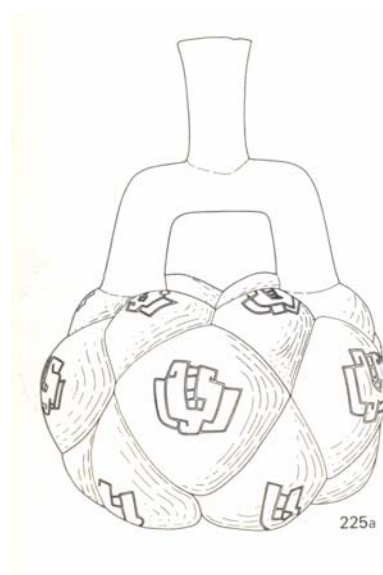
A2, k (MMA 3)



A2, l (AMNH 3)

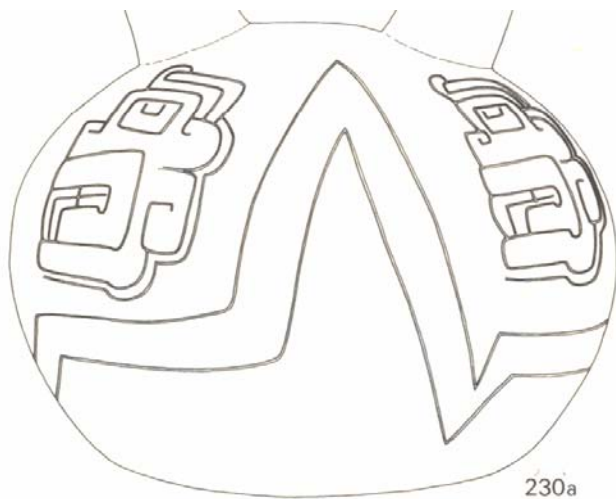


A2, m (PC 39)



A2, n (PC 40)

Figure 18. *Basic Head Motif, A2 type continued*

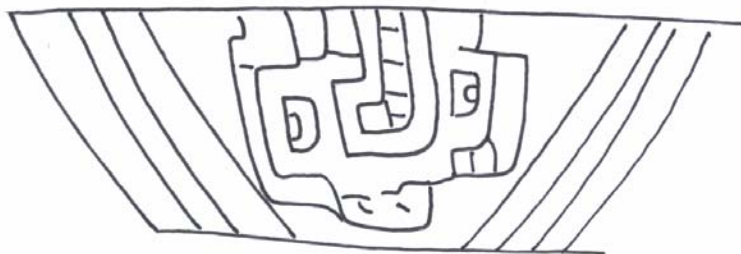


A2, o (PC 42)

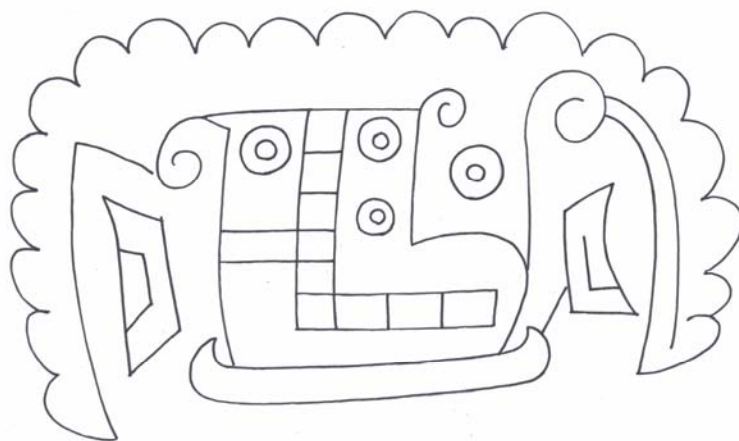
Figure 18. *Basic Head Motif, A2 type continued*



A3, a (MARLH 14)



A3, b (BM 4)

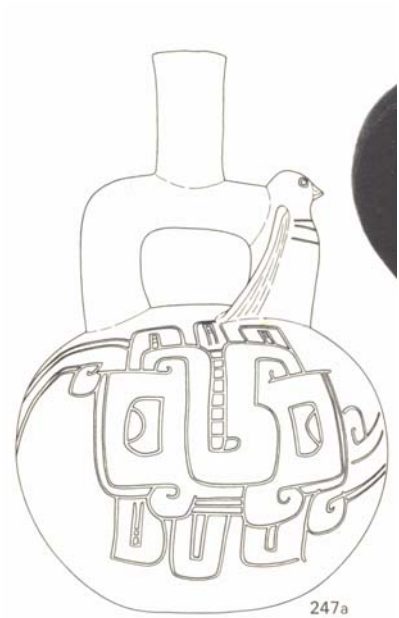


A3, c (PC 5)

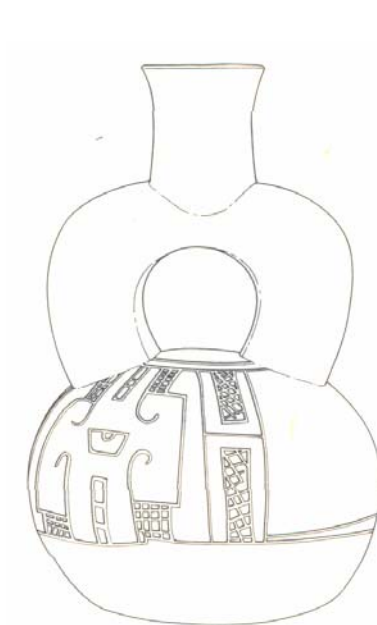


A3, d (PC 46)

Figure 19. *Basic Head Motif, A3 type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*

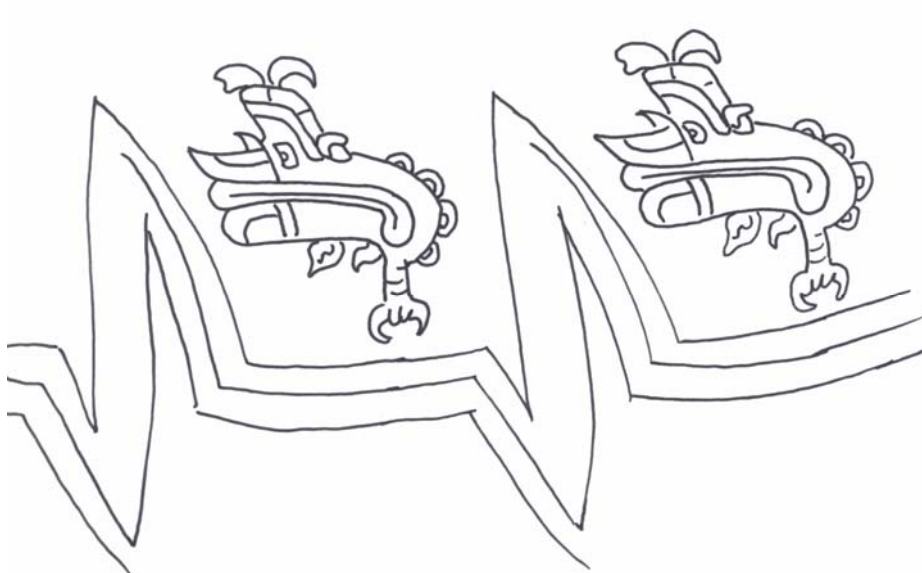


A3, e (PC 48)

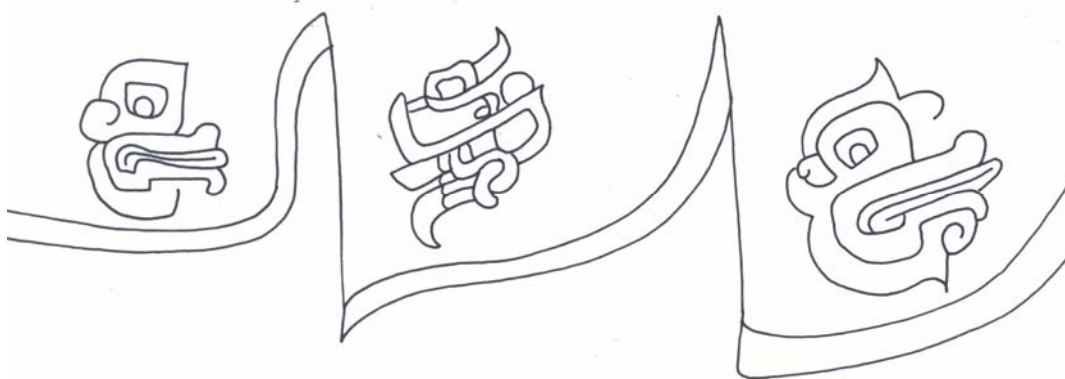


A3, f (PC 58)

Figure 19. *Basic Head Motif*, A3 type continued

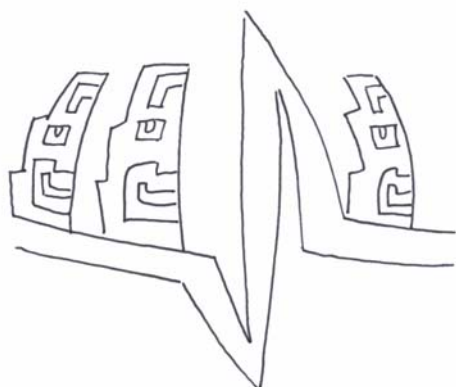


A4, a (MARLH 41)

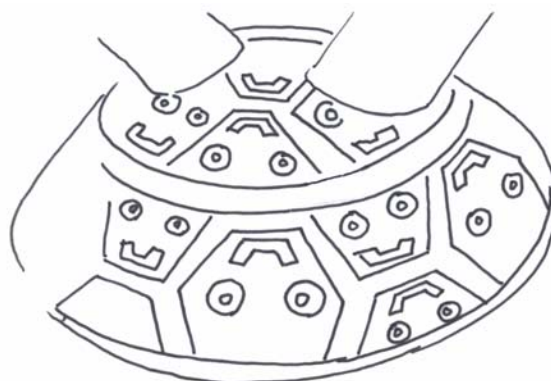


A4, b (MAL 4)

Figure 20. *Basic Head Motif*, A4 type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE



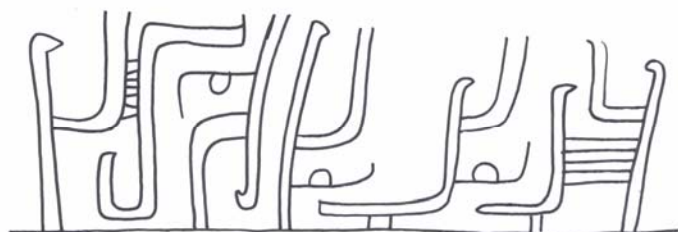
A5, a (MARLH 7)



A5, b (MARLH 13)

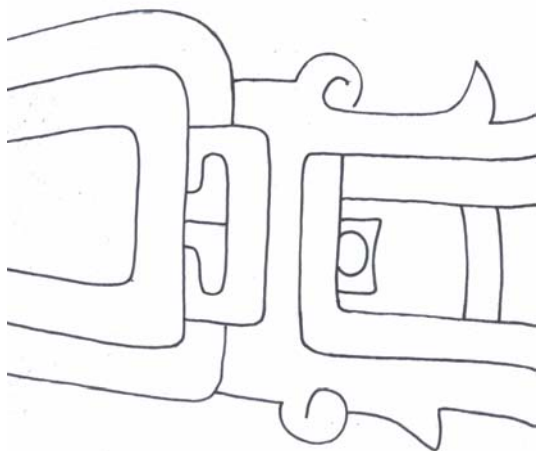


A5, c (MN 2)

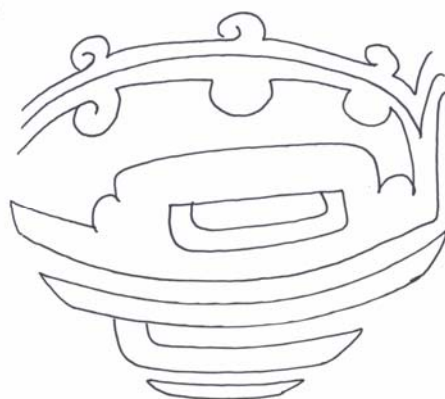


A5, d (MNAAH 1)

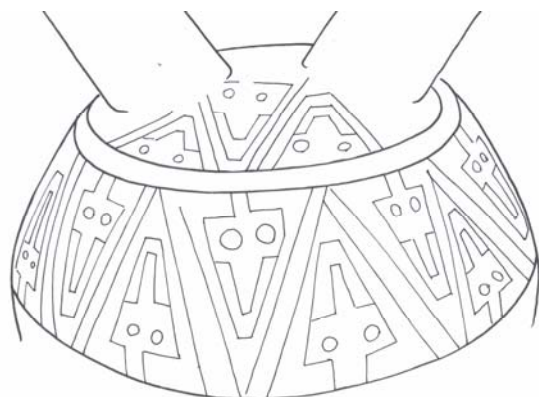
Figure 21. *Basic Head Motif, A5 type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



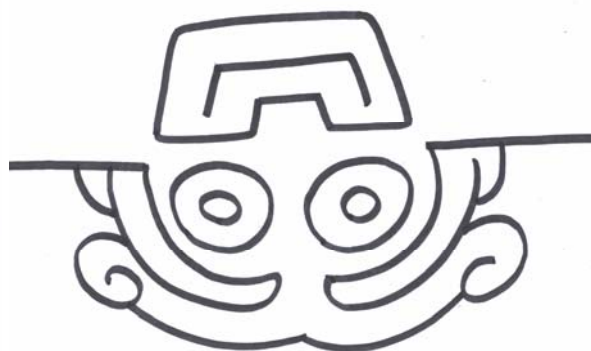
A5, e (MNAAH 2)



A5, f (AMNH 5)



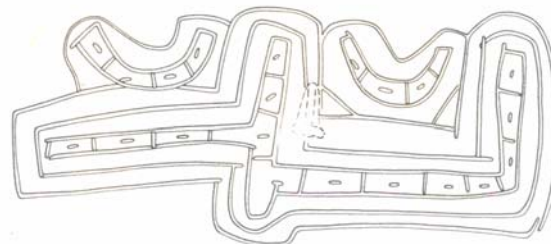
A5, g (PC 2)



A5, h (PC 8)



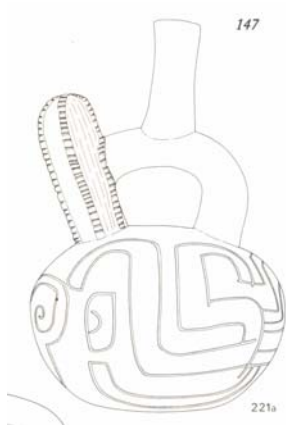
A5, i (PC 10)



A5, j (PC 23)

13

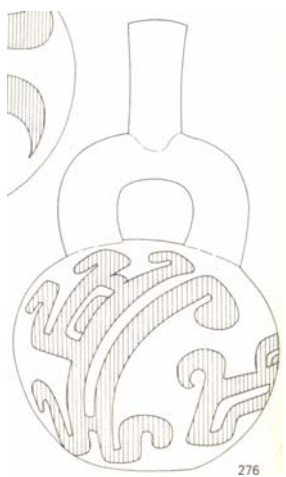
Figure 21. *Basic Head Motif, A5 type continued*



A5, k (PC 37)



A5, l (PC 52)



A5, m (PC 53)



A5, n (PC 54)

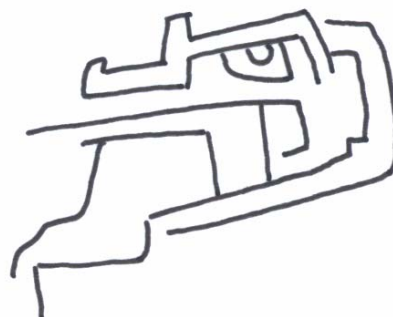


A5, o (PC 55)

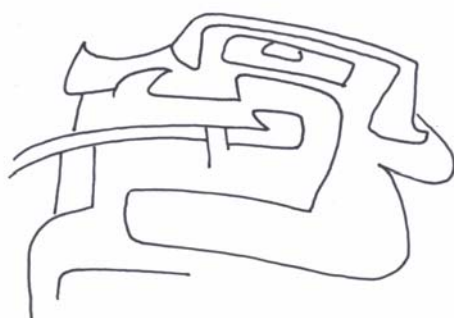
Figure 21. *Basic Head Motif, A5 type continued*



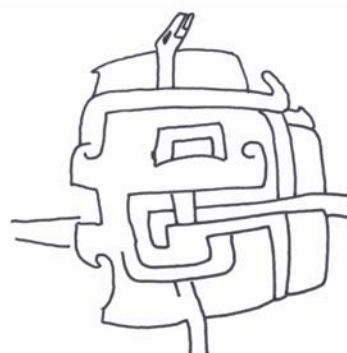
AB, a (MARLH 2)



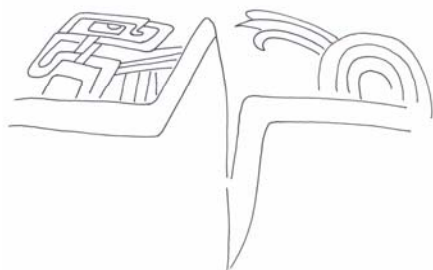
AB, b (MARLH 8)



AB, c (MARLH 18)



AB, d (MARLH 23)



AB, e (MARLH 25)



AB, f (MARLH 35)

Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



AB, g (MARLH 47)



AB, h (MARLH 48)

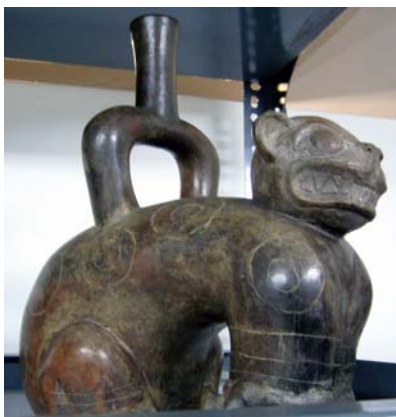


AB, i (MAL 1)

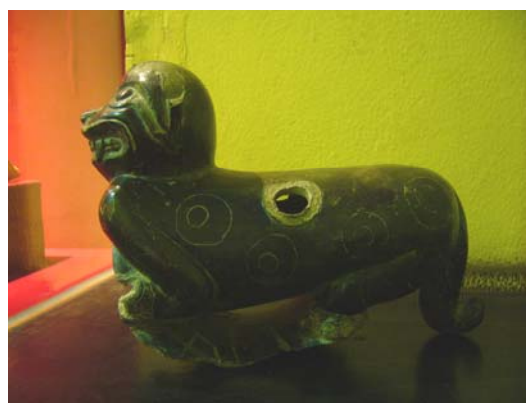


AB, j (MAL 2)

Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



AB, k (MAL 3)



AB, l (MAUNT 1)



AB, m (MCM 4)



AB, n (MMA 2)



AB, o (MMA 5)



AB, p (MMA 6)

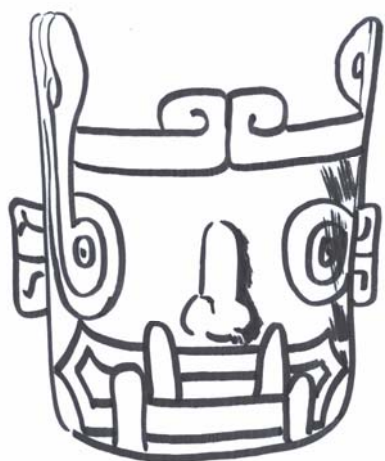
Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



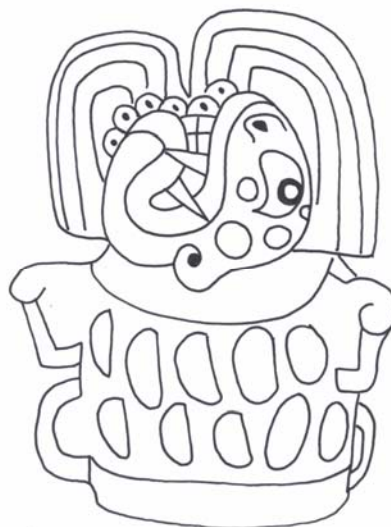
AB, q (MMA 7)



AB, r (CMA 2)



AB, s (AMNH 10)



AB, t (AMNH 12)

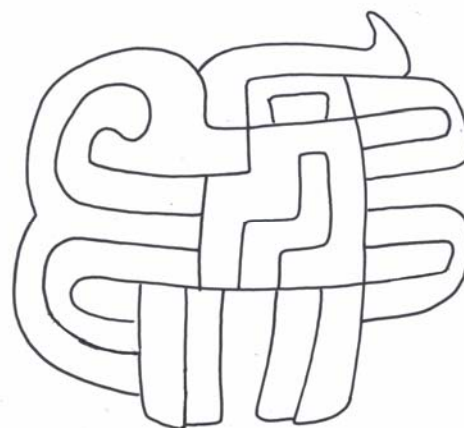


AB, u (PC 3)

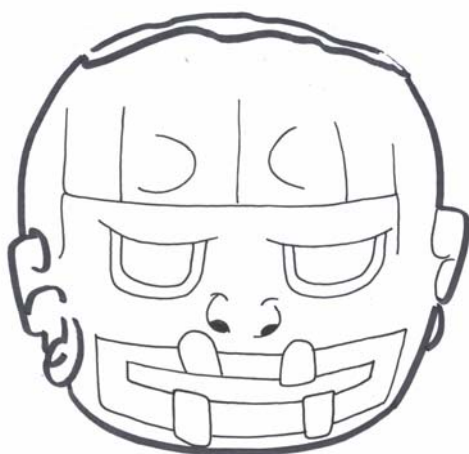
Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



AB, v (PC 4)



AB, w (PC 9)

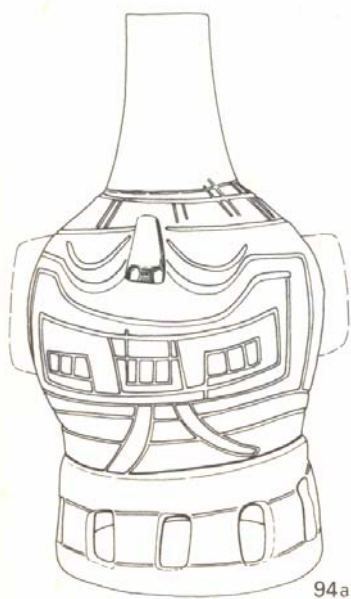


AB, x (PC 13)



AB, y (PC 18)

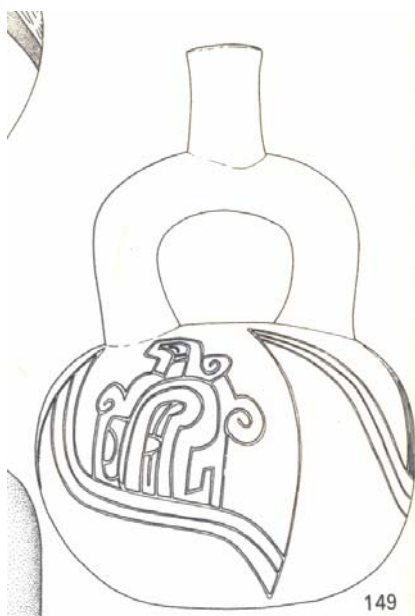
Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



AB, z (PC 21)



AB, aa (PC 22)

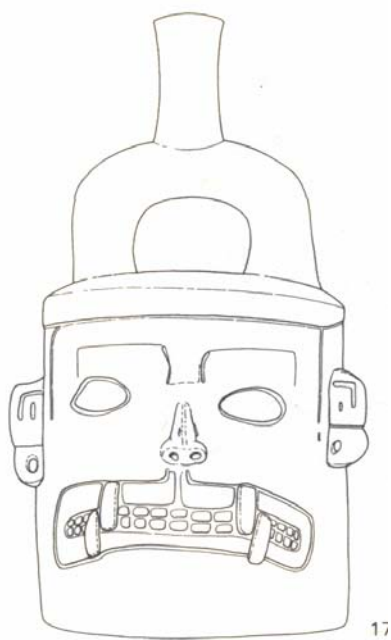


AB, bb (PC 24)

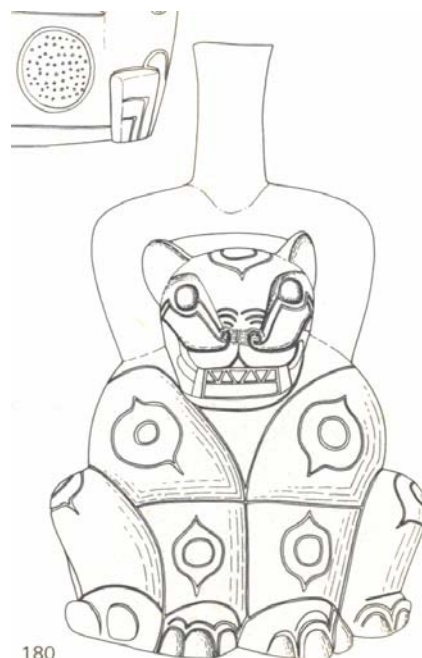


AB, cc (PC 26)

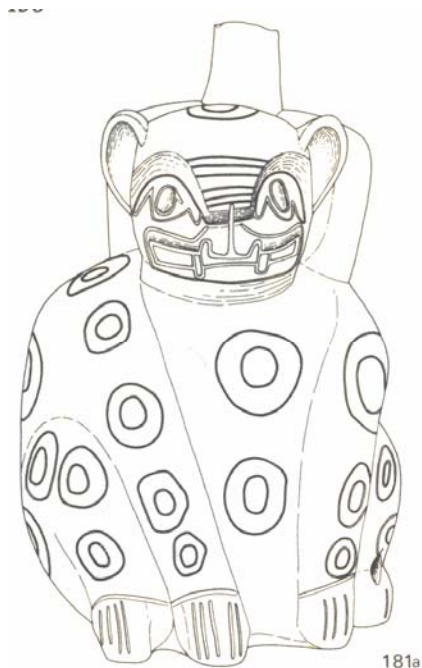
Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



AB, dd (PC 27)



AB, ee (PC 31)



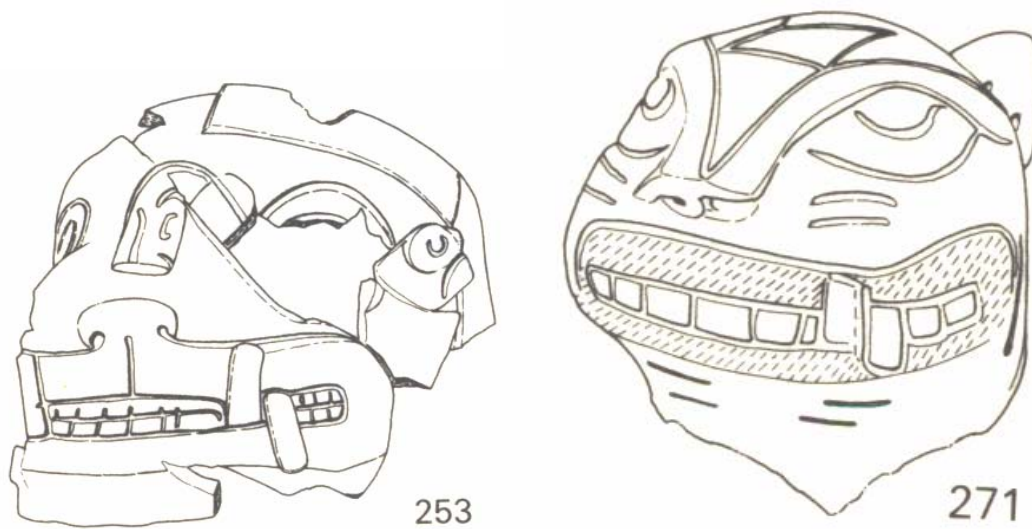
AB, ff (PC 32)



Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



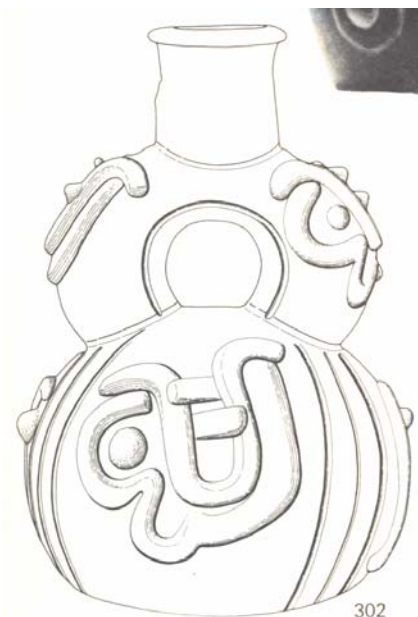
AB, gg (PC 33)



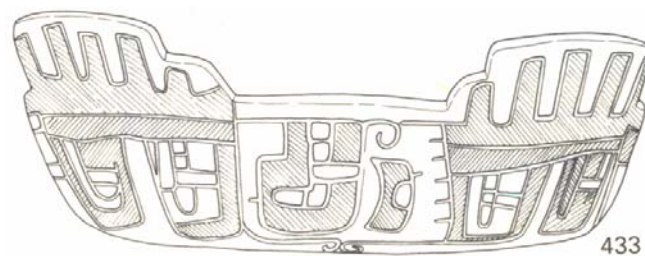
AB, hh (PC 50)

AB, ii (PC 51)

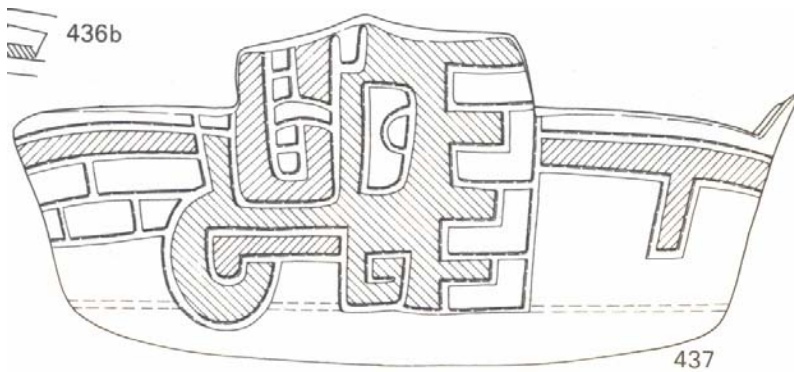
Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



AB, jj (PC 59)

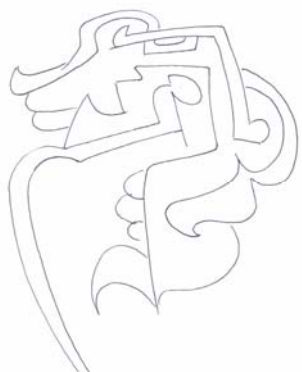


AB, kk (PC 62)

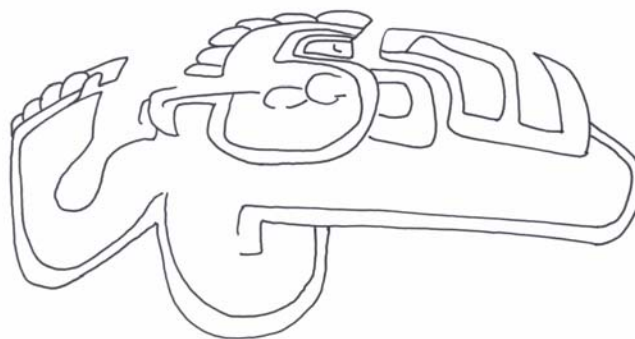


AB, ll (PC 64)

Figure 22. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs, AB type continued*



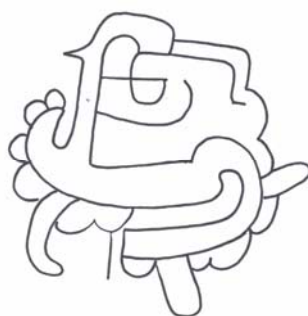
AC, a (MARLH 9)



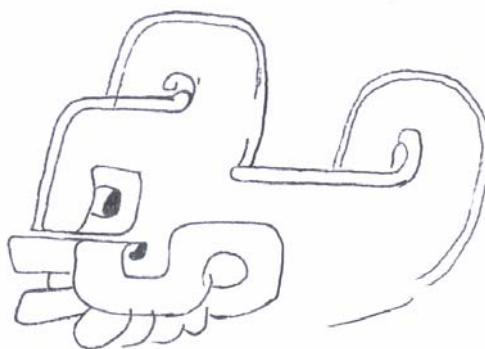
AC, b (MARLH 24)



AC, c (MARLH 33)

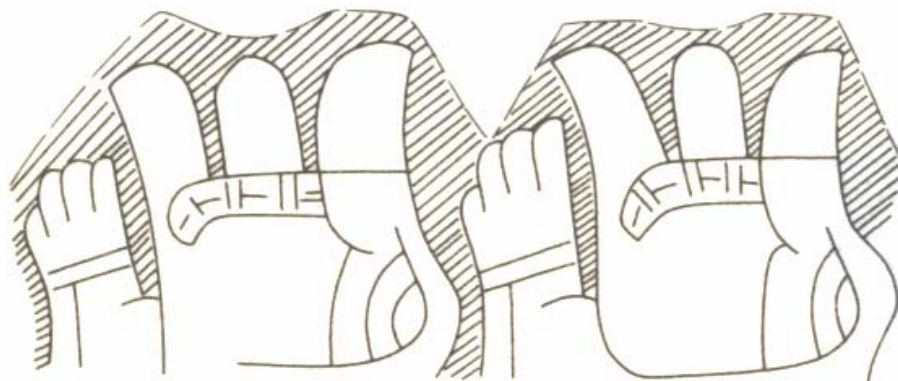


AC, d (MCM 1)

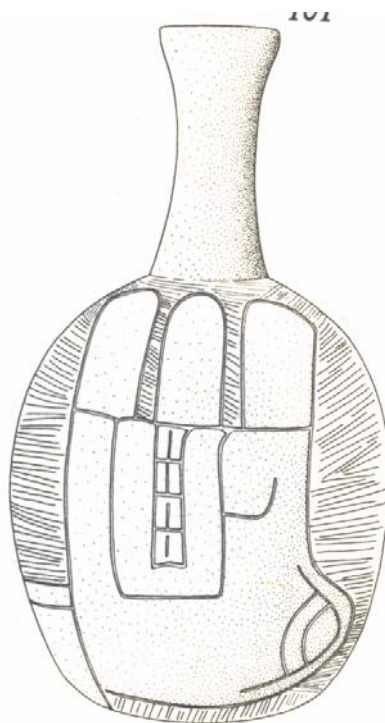


AC, e (VMFA1)

Figure 23. *The Basic Head Motifs with Rows of Teeth, AC type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



AC, f (PC 15)

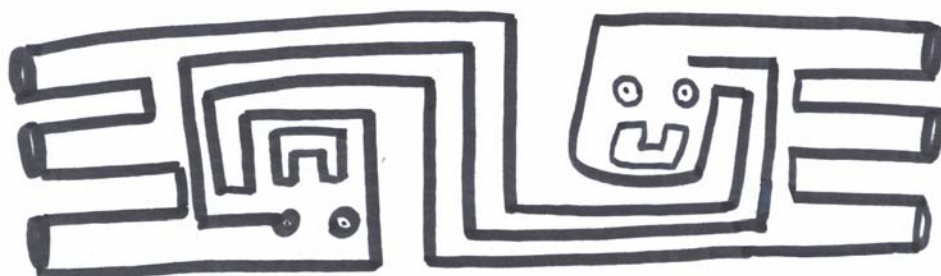


AC, g (PC 16)

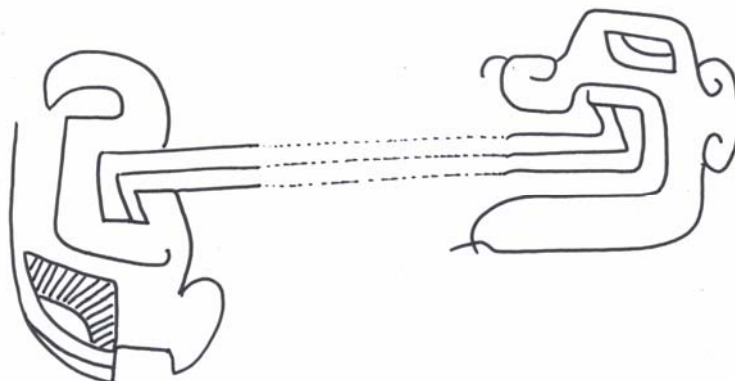
Figure 23. *The Basic Head Motifs with Rows of Teeth, AC type continued*



AD, a (MARLH 42)

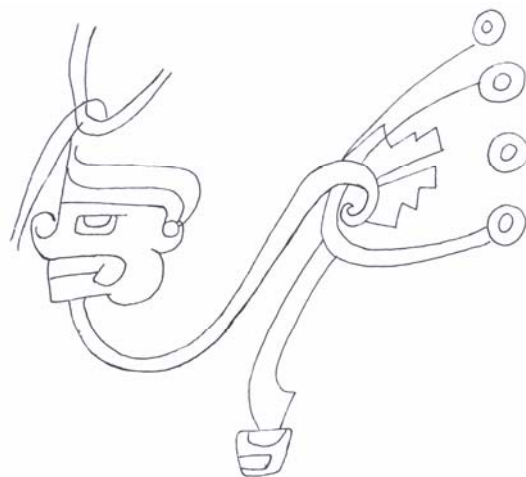


AD, b (MCM 16)



AD, c (DMA 2)

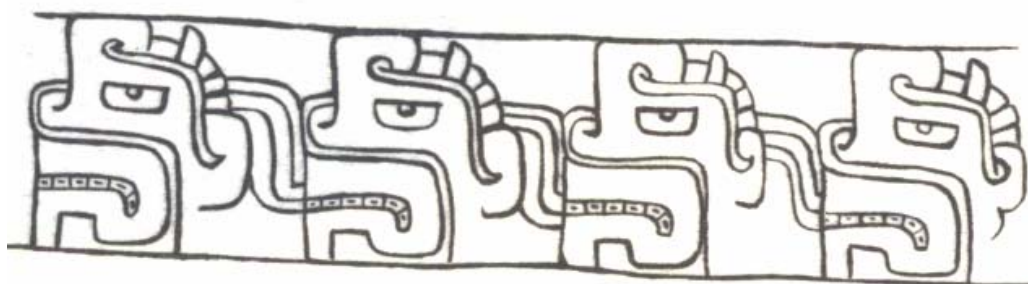
Figure 24. *The Basic Head Motifs with Connective Bands, AD type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



AD, d (VMFA 2)

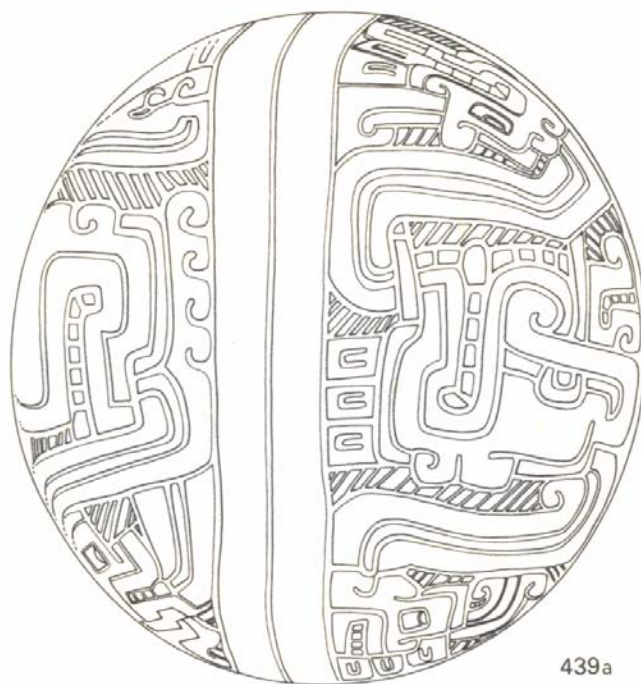
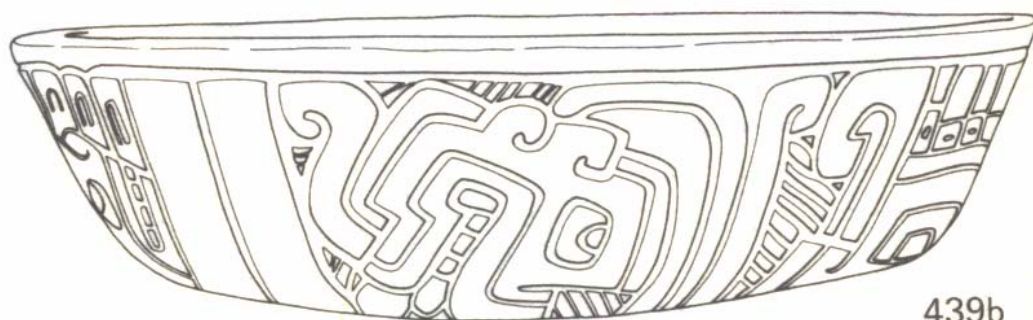


AD, e (PC 6)



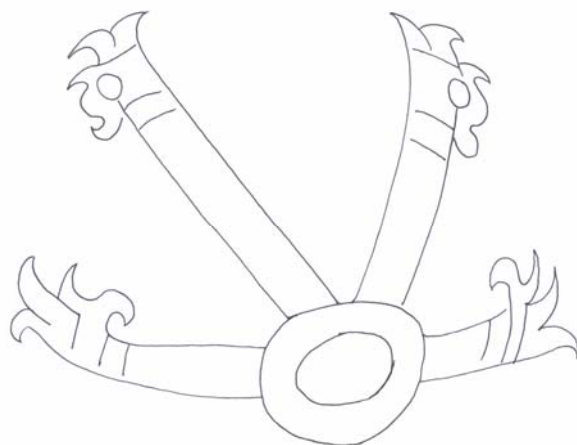
AD, f (PC 60)

Figure 24. *The Basic Head Motifs with Connective Bands, AD type continued*

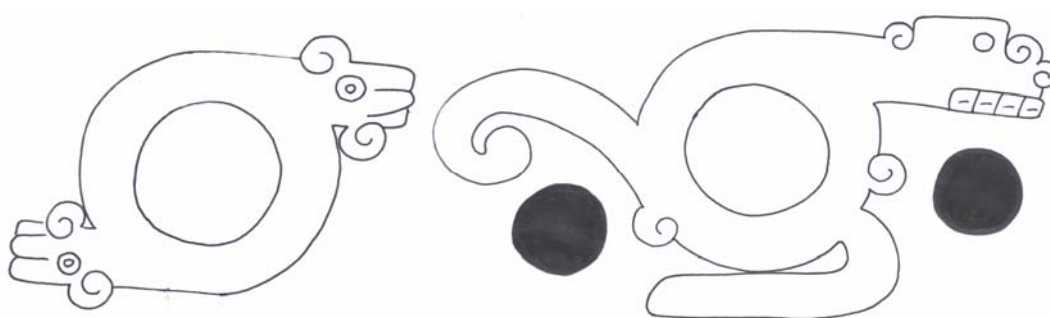


AD, g (PC 65)

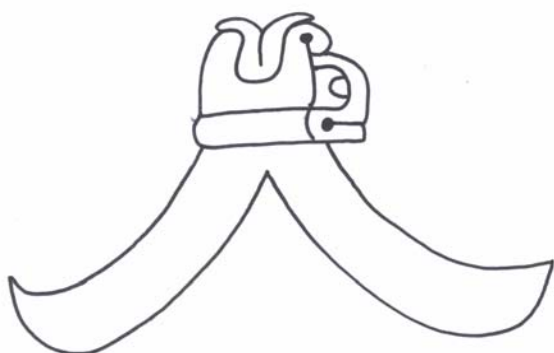
Figure 24. *The Basic Head Motifs with Connective Bands, AD type continued*



AE, a (MARLH 38)



AE, b (MN 1)

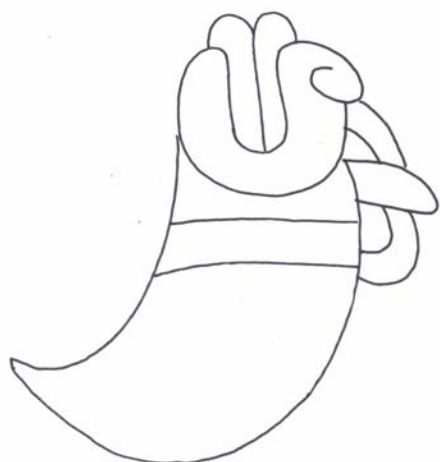


AE, c (MCM18)

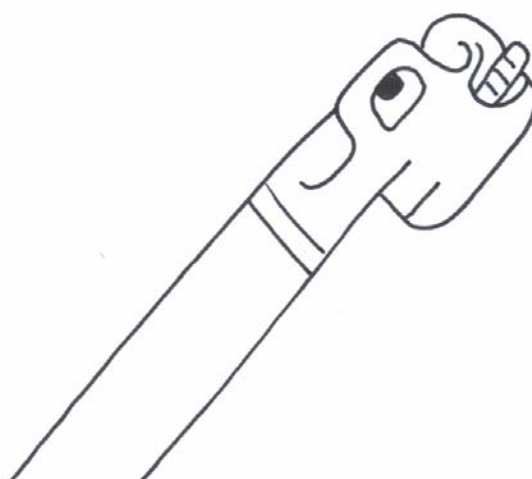


AE, d (SLAM 1)

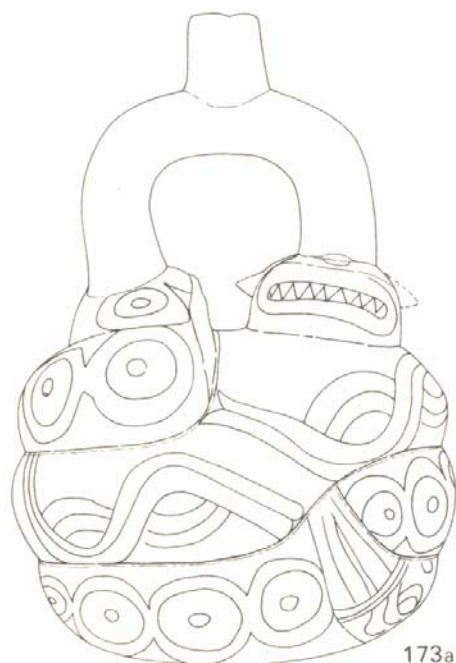
Figure 25. *The Basic Head Motifs with Elongated Bodies*, AE type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE



AE, e (AMNH 3)



AE, f (AMNH 7)



173a

AE, g ((PC 28)

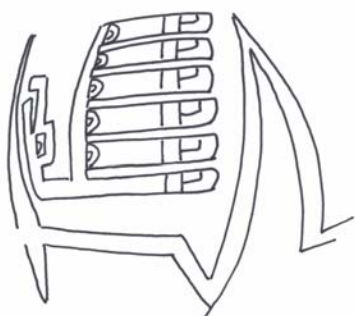
Figure 25. *The Basic Head Motifs with Elongated Bodies, AE type continued*



AF, a (MARLH 11)



AF, b (MARLH 16)



AF, c (MARLH 29)

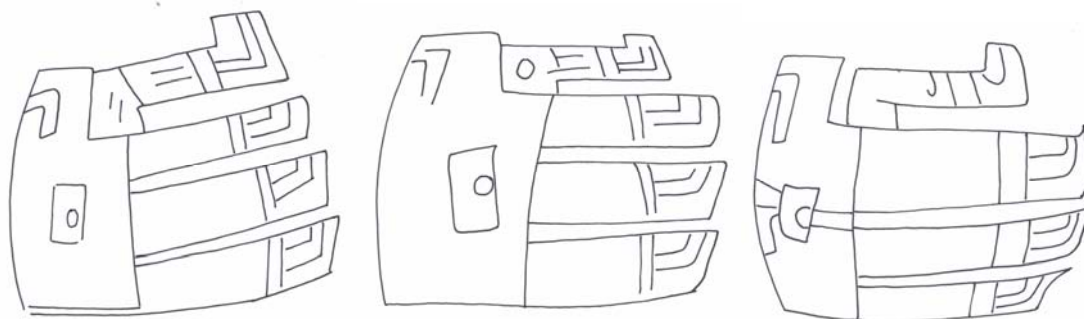


AF, d (MARLH 37)

Figure 26. *The Basic Head Motifs with Feathers*, AF type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE



AF, e (MNAAH 4)



AF, f (MCM 6)

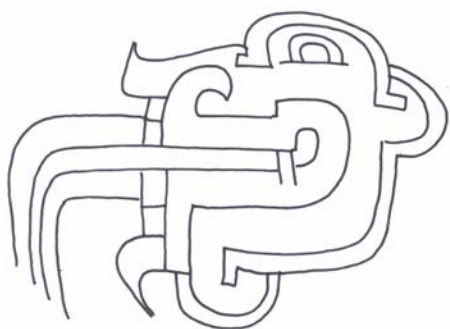


AF, g (PC 44)



AF, h (PC45)

Figure 26. *The Basic Head Motifs with Feathers*, AF type continued



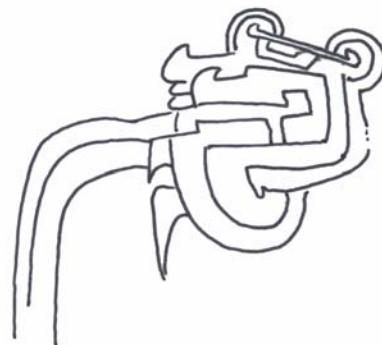
ABC, a (MARLH 5)



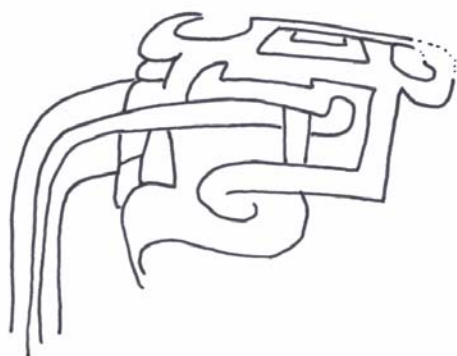
ABC, b (MARLH 10)



ABC, c (MARLH 12)



ABC, d (MARLH 19)



ABC, e (MARLH 20)

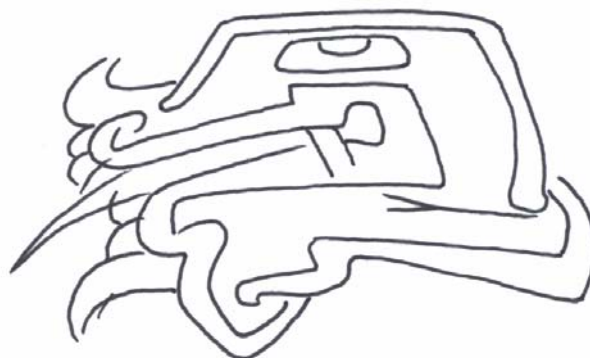


ABC, f (MARLH 26)

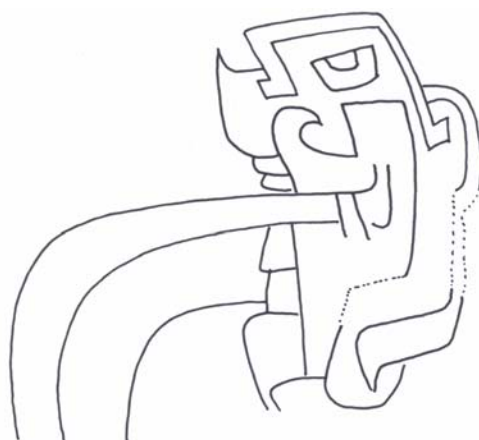
Figure 27. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs and Rows of Teeth, ABC type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



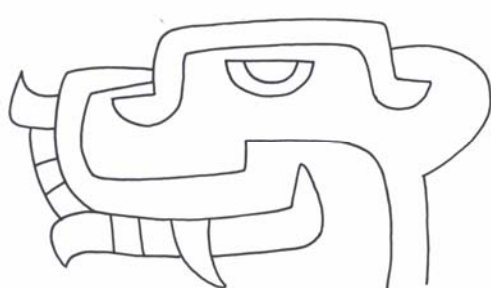
ABC, g (MARLH 30)



ABC, h (MARLH 39)



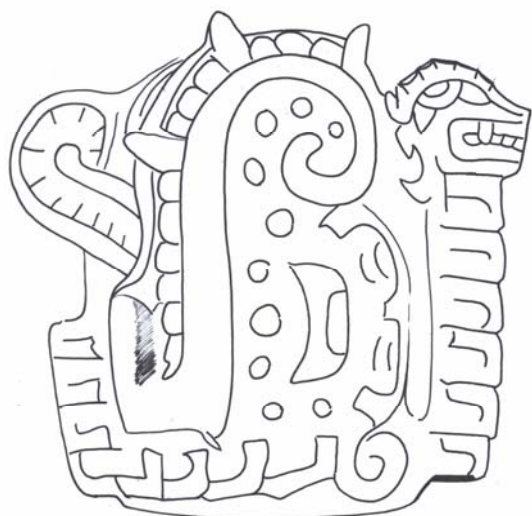
ABC, i (MARLH 51)



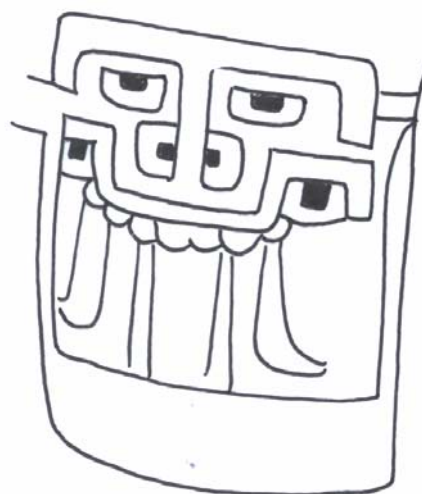
ABC, j (MNAAH 3)



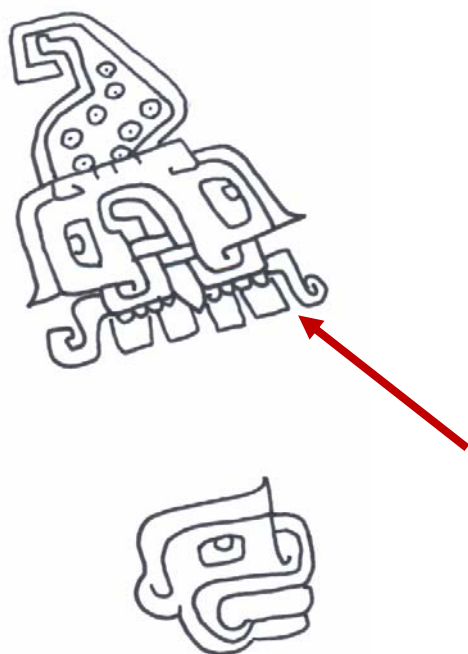
Figure 27. *The Basic Head Motif with fangs and rows of teeth, ABC type continued*



ABC, k (MMA 1)



ABC, l (AMNH 8)

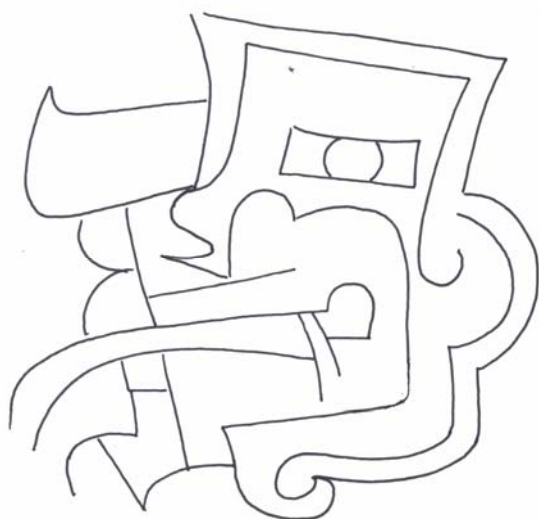


ABC, m (AMNH 9)

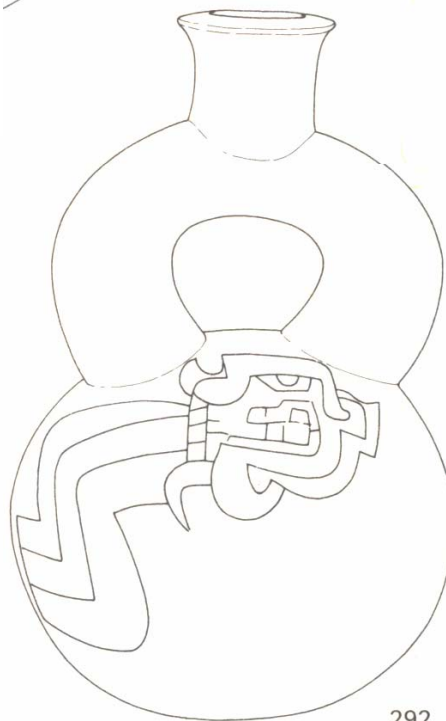


ABC, n (AMNH 15)

Figure 27. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs and Rows of Teeth, ABC type continued*



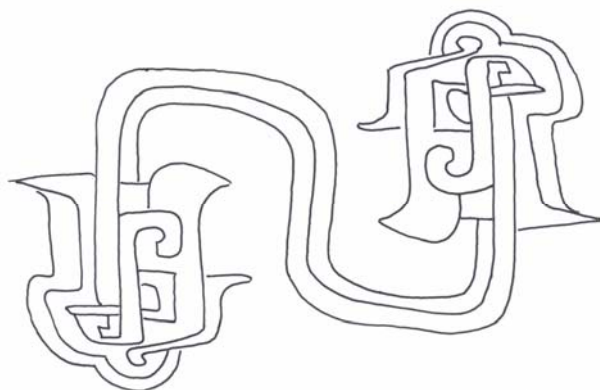
ABC, o (PC 1)



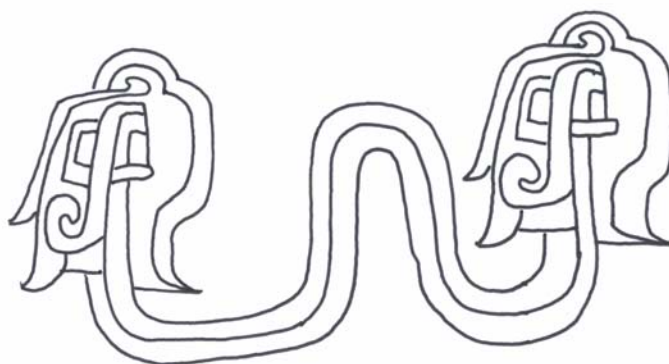
292

ABC, p (PC 57)

Figure 27. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs and Rows of Teeth, ABC type continued*



ABD, a (MARLH 3)

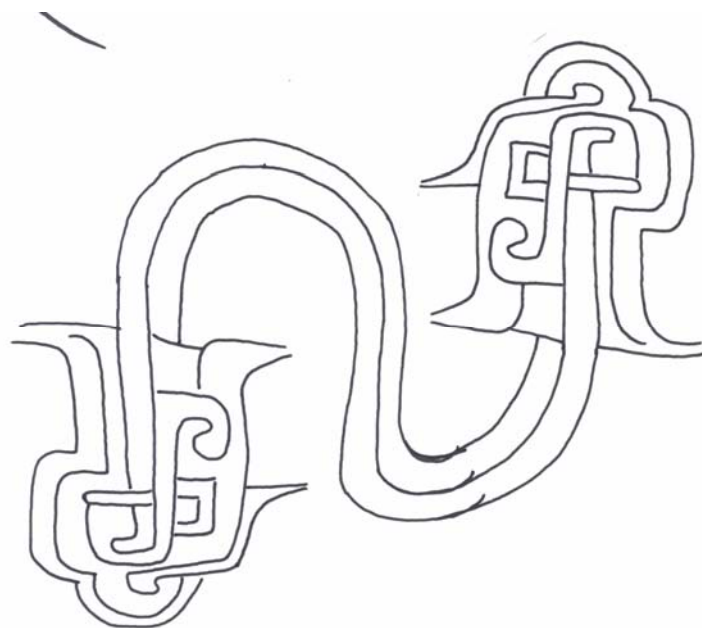


ABD, b (MARLH 21)

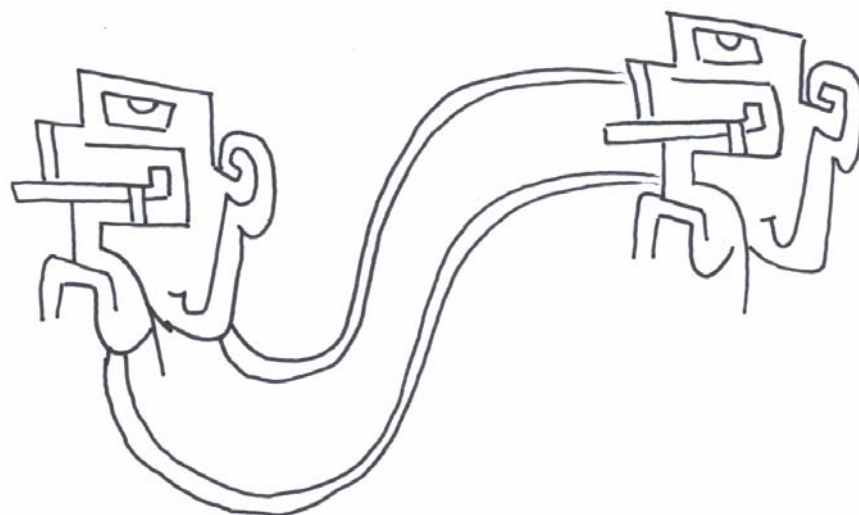


ABD, c (MARLH 22)

Figure 28. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Connective Bands, ABD type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*

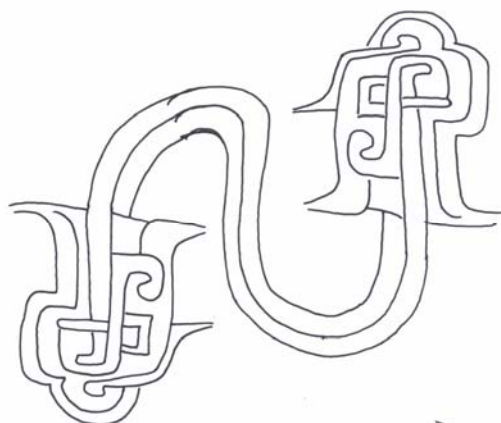


ABD, d (MARLH 28)

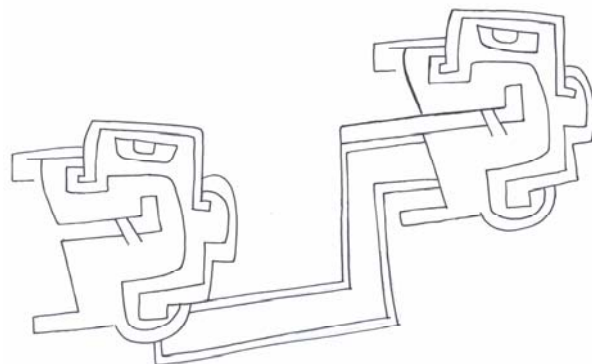


ABD, e (MARLH 32)

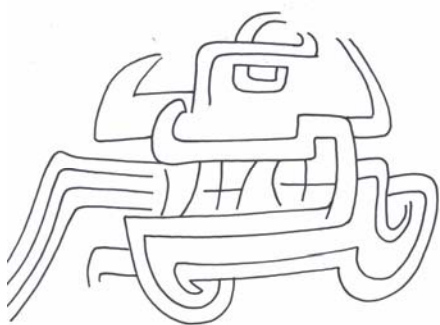
Figure 28. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Connective Bands, ABD type continued*



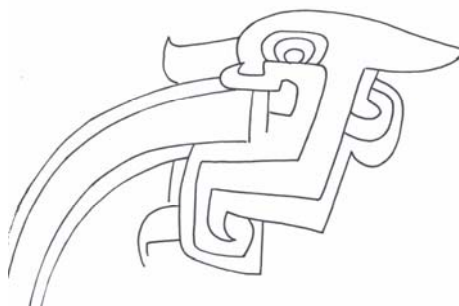
ABD, f (MARLH 36)



ABD, g (MCM 7)



ABD, h (DMA 1)

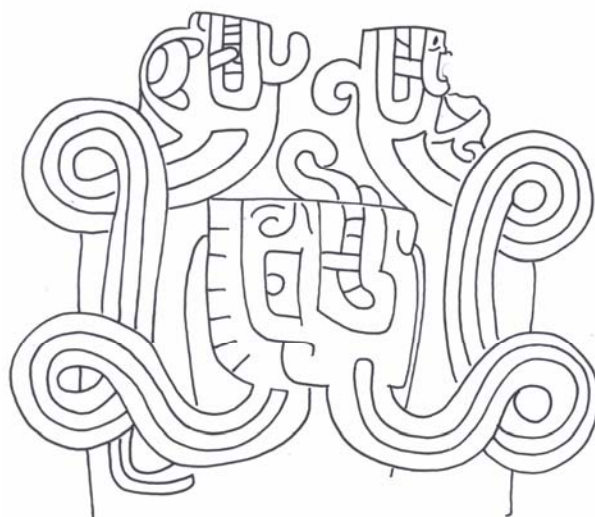


ABD, i (MMA 4)

Figure 28. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Connective Bands, ABD type continued*

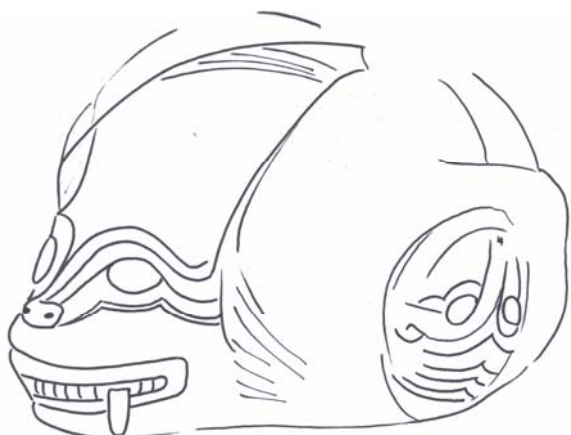


ABD, j (PC 6)



ABD, k (PC 14)

Figure 28. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Connective Bands, ABD type continued*



ABE, a (BM 3)



ABE, b (MMA 8)

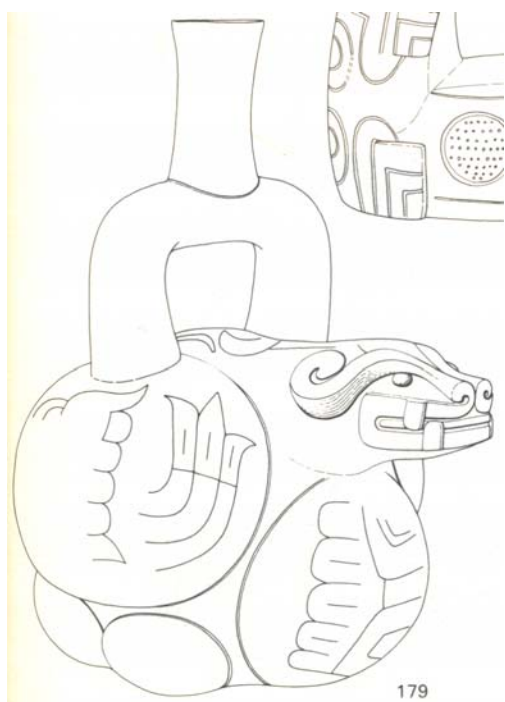


ABE, c (PC 7)



ABE, d (PC 29)

Figure 29. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Elongated Bodies, ABE type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*

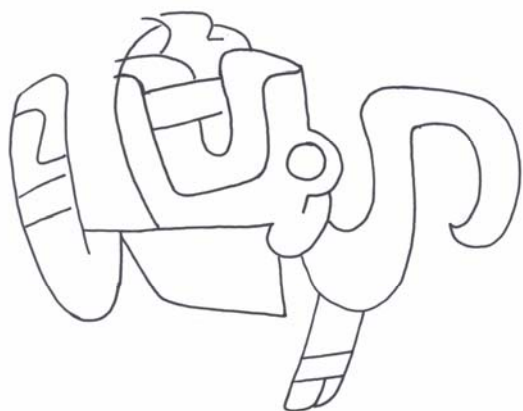


ABE, e (PC30)



ABE, f ((PC 56)

Figure 29. *The Basic Head Motifs with Fangs and Elongated Bodies, ABE type continued*



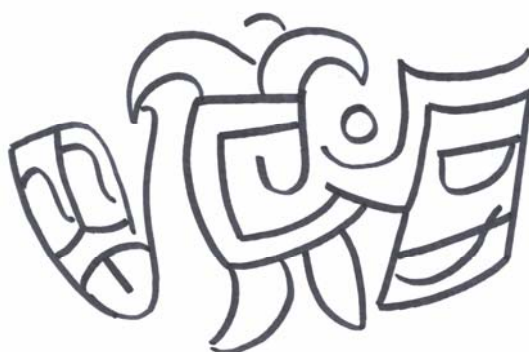
ABF, a (MARLH 43)



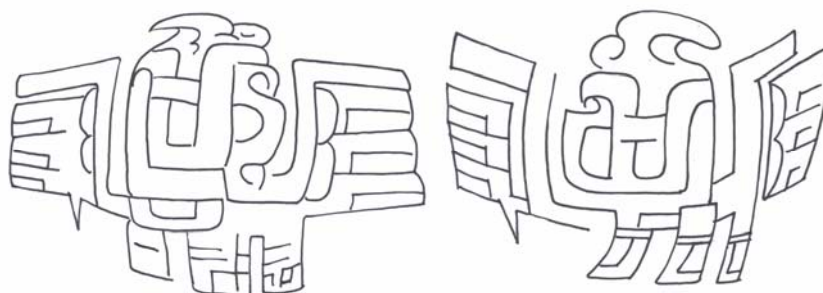
ABF, b (MARLH 44)



ABF, c (MARLH 45)

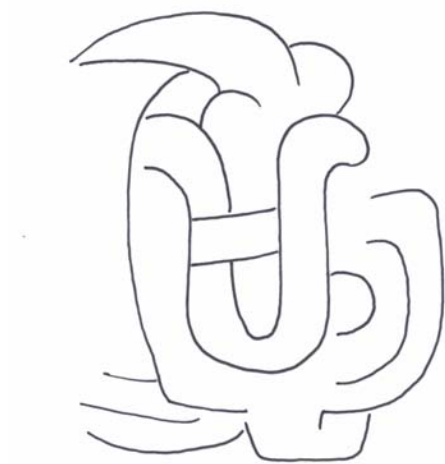


ABF, d (MARLH 46)



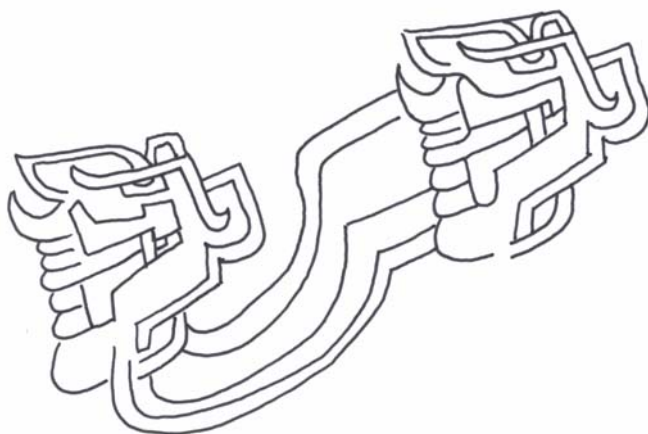
ABF, e (MCM 3)

Figure 30. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs and Feathers*, ABF type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE

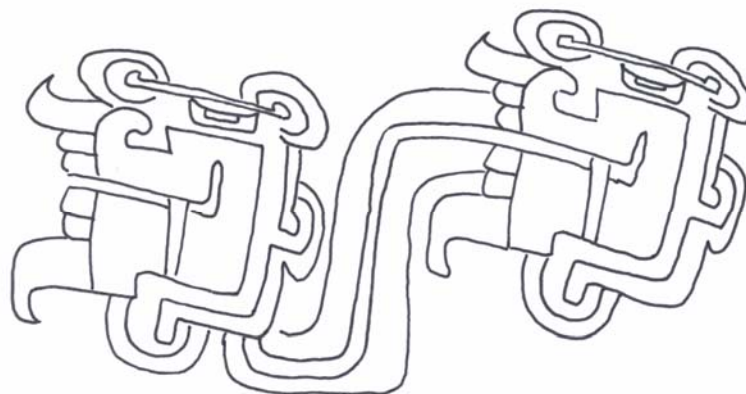


ABF, f (AMNH 13)

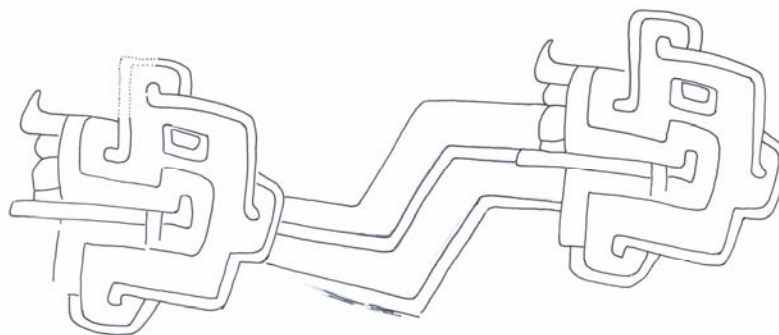
Figure 30. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs and Feathers, ABF type continued*



ABCD, a (MARLH 4)

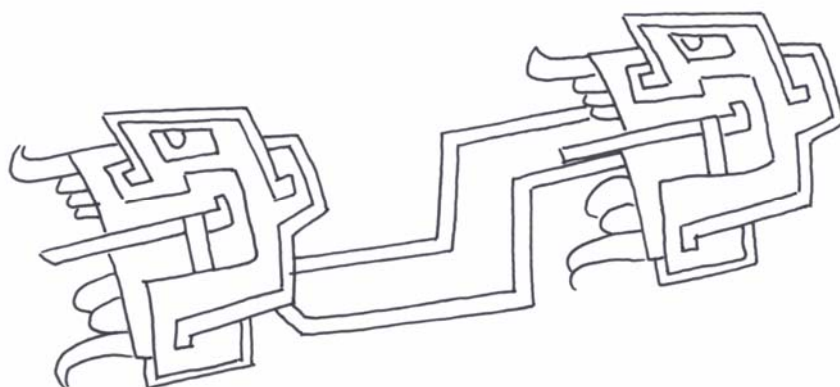


ABCD, b (MARLH 6)

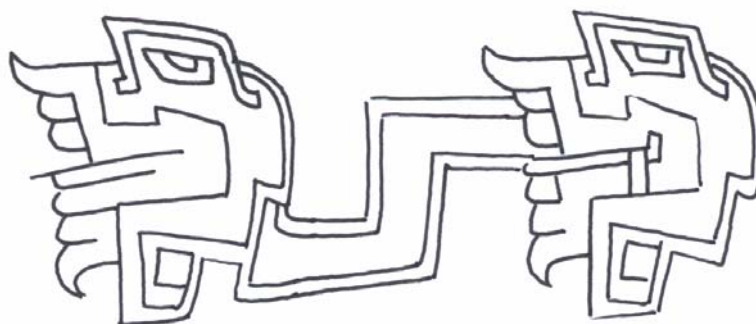


ABCD, c (MARLH 27)

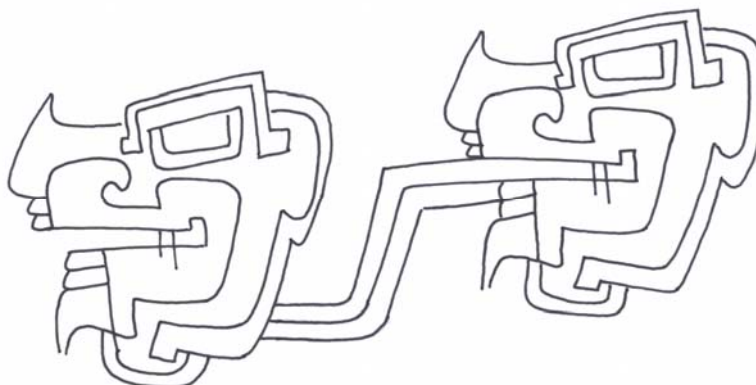
Figure 31. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs, Rows of Teeth, and Connective Bands, ABCD type, Cupisnique, 1200 – 200 BCE*



ABCD, d (MARLH 31)

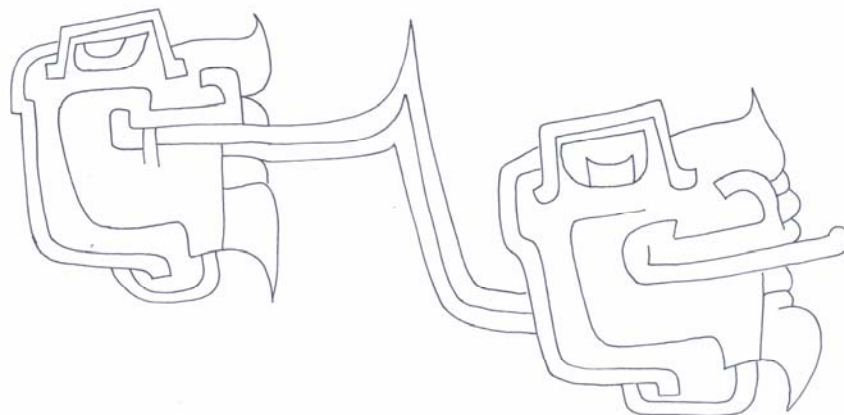


ABCD, e (MARLH 40)

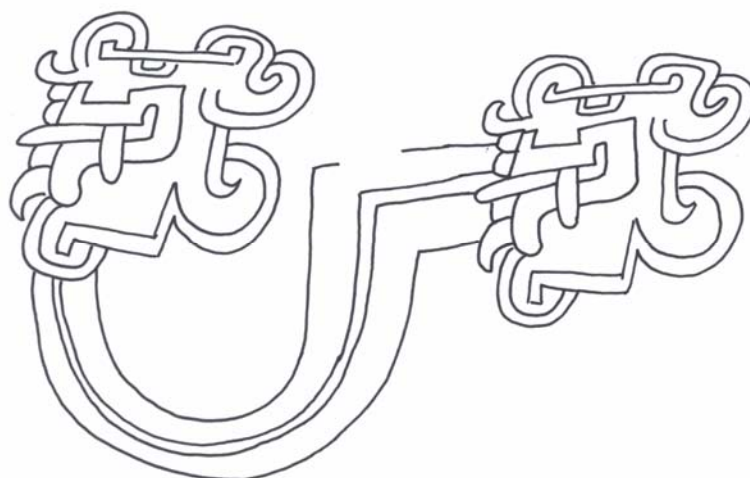


ABCD, f (MARLH 49)

Figure 31. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs, Rows of Teeth, and Connective Bands, ABCD type continued*



ABCD, g (MCM 8)



ABCD, h (MCM 19)

Figure 31. *The Basic Head Motif with Fangs, Rows of Teeth, and Connective Bands, ABCD type continued*



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Figure 32. *Jaguar Ceramic Pot*, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE



Figure 33. *Feline-Serpent Lime Pot*, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE

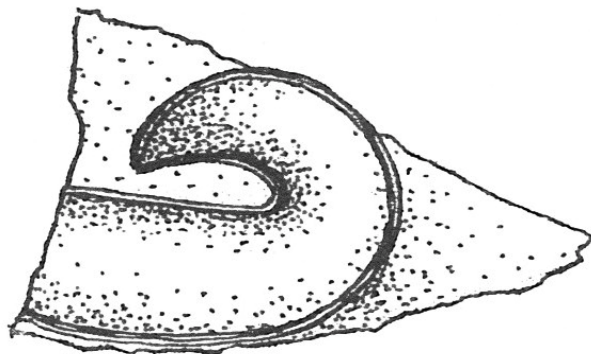


Figure 34 – a. *Ceramic Piece engraved with an Elongated Body*, Challuabamba, 2300 – 1700 BCE

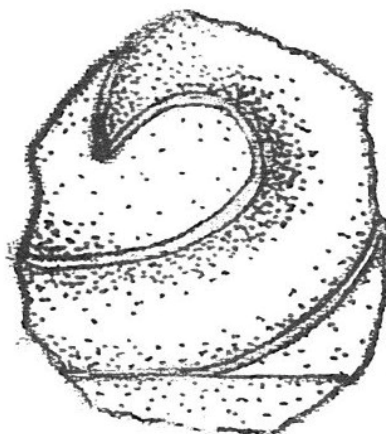


Figure 34 – b. *Ceramic Piece engraved with an Elongated Body*, Challuabamba, 2300 – 1700 BCE



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Figure 35. *Monkey Ceramic Pot*, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE



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Fig. 50

Figure 36. *Macaw Ceramic Pot*, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE

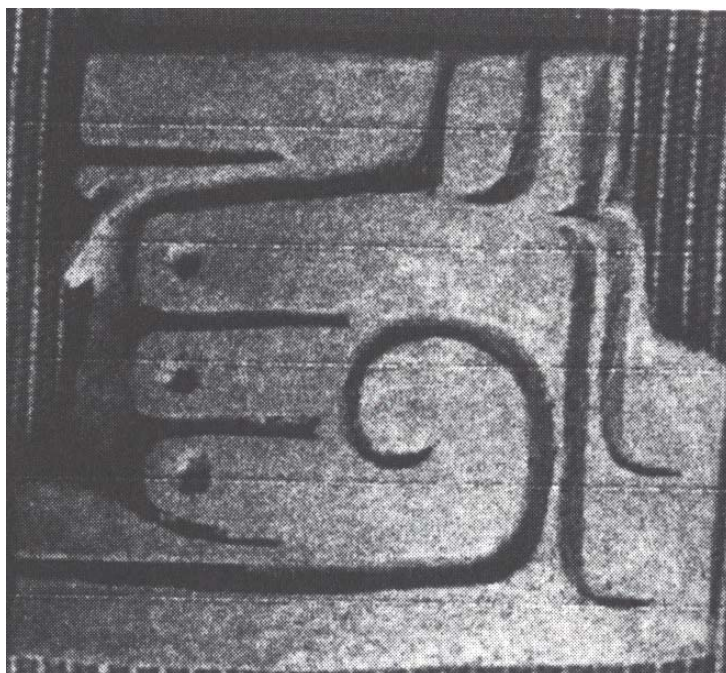


Figure 37- a. *Ceramic Stamp engraved with Feather Motif, Challuabamba, 2300 – 1700 BCE*

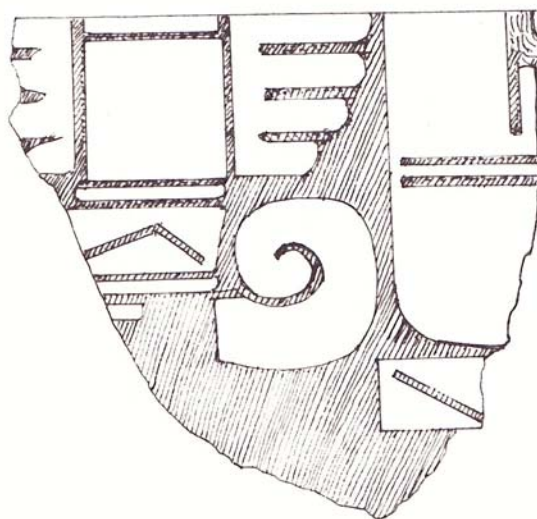


Figure 37 -b. *Feather Motif Drawing, Challuabamba, 2300 – 1700 BCE*

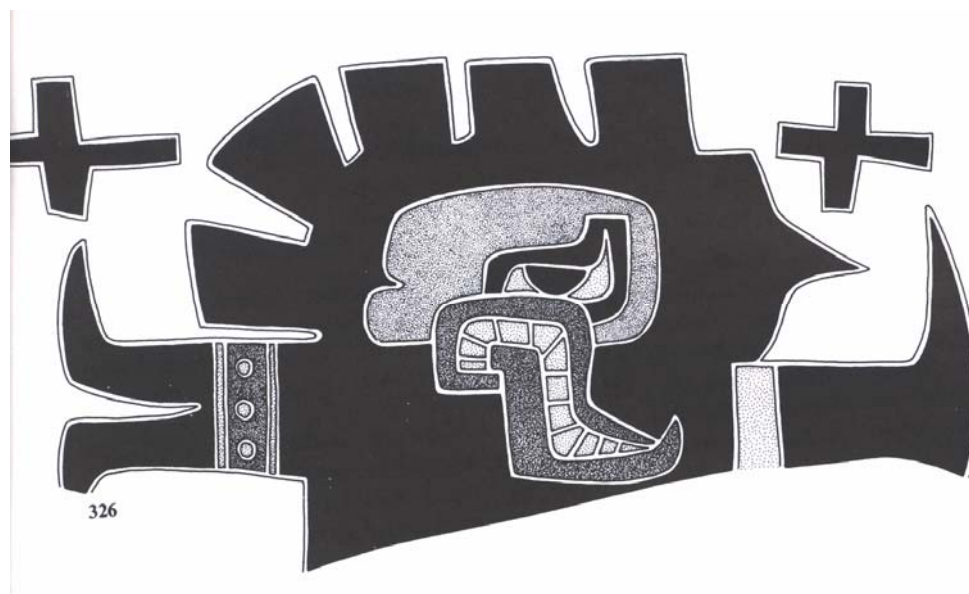


Figure 38. *Harpy Eagle Motif*, Chorrera, 1800 – 300 BCE

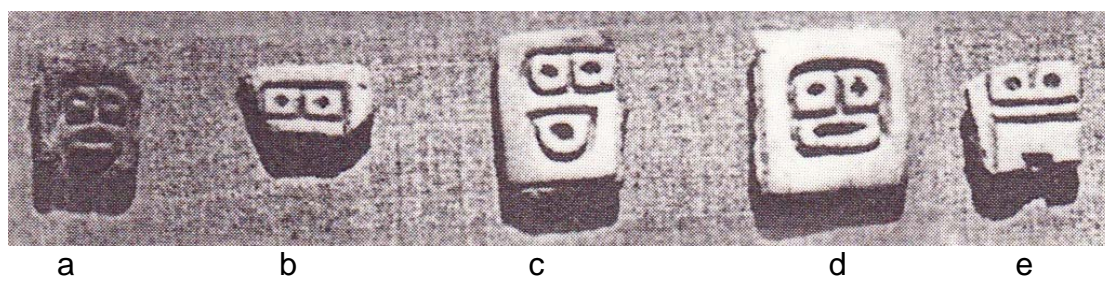


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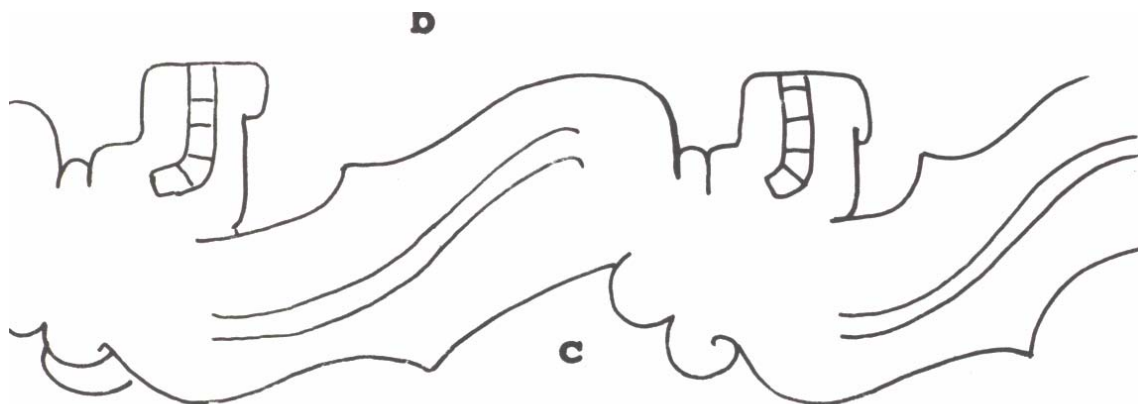


Figure 40. *Even Teeth Motif*, Cerro Ñañañique, 1100 – 700 BCE

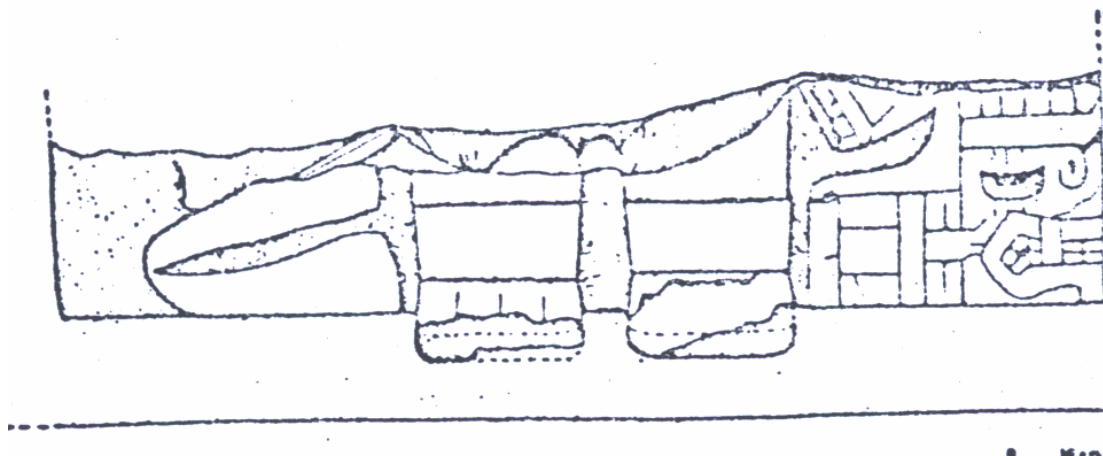


Figure 41. *Frieze A5*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

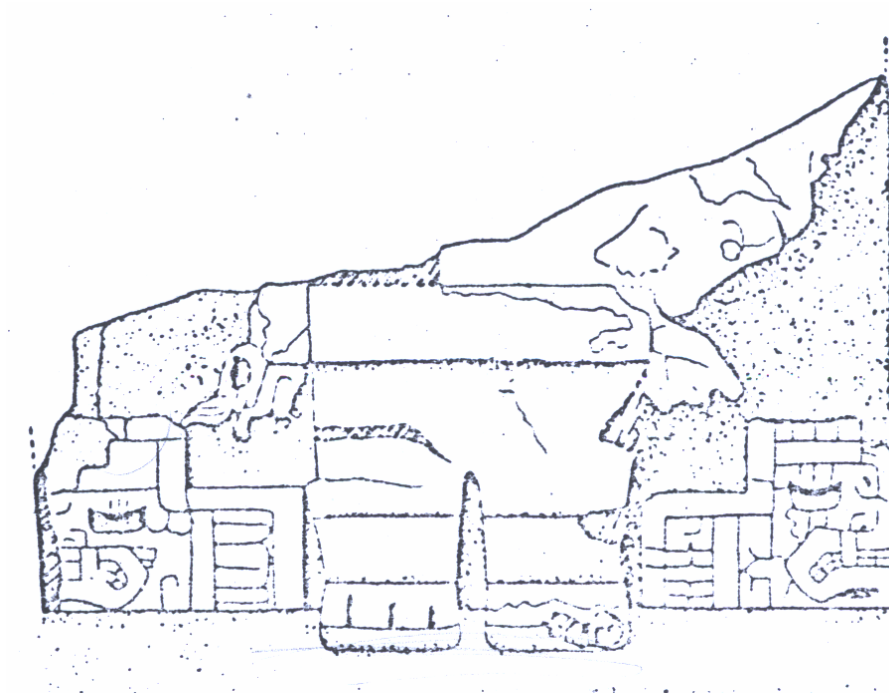


Figure 42. *Frieze A6*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

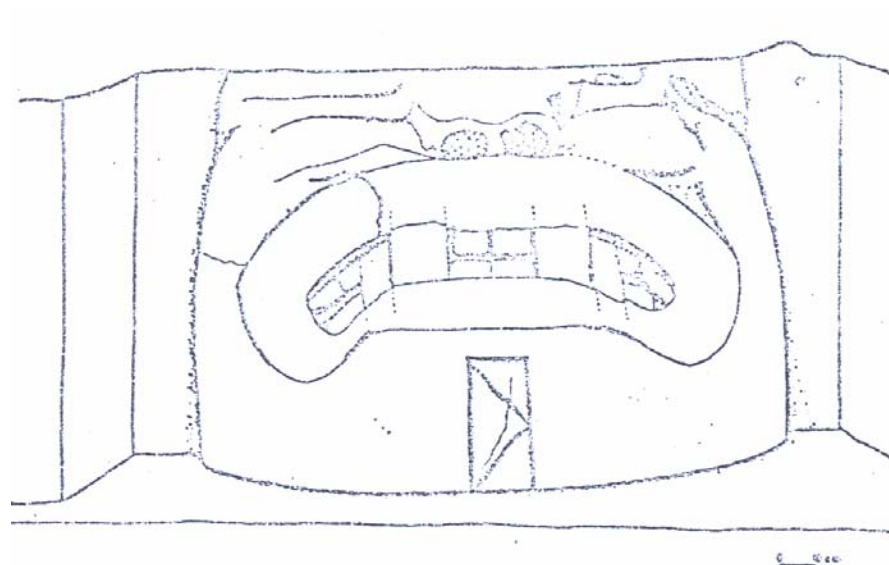


Figure 43. *Frieze E1*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

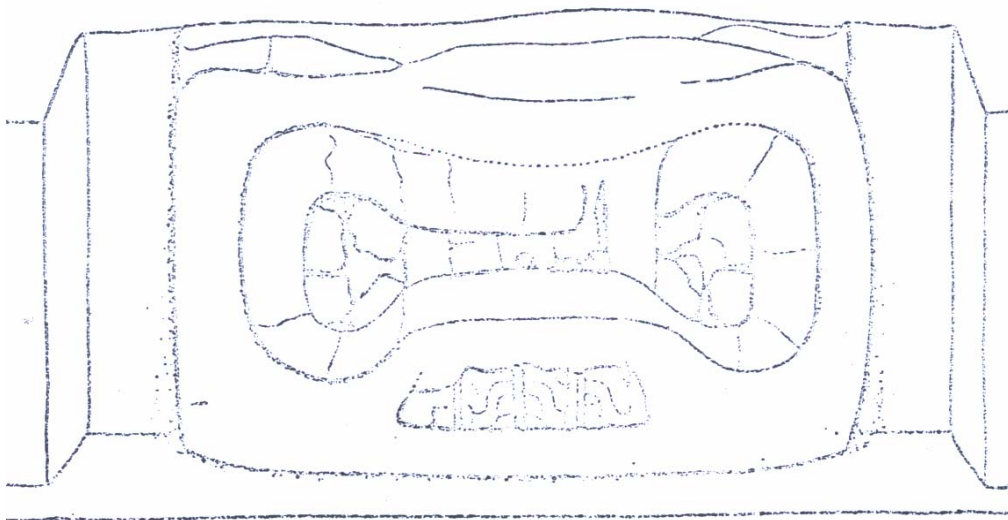


Figure 44. *Frieze E2*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

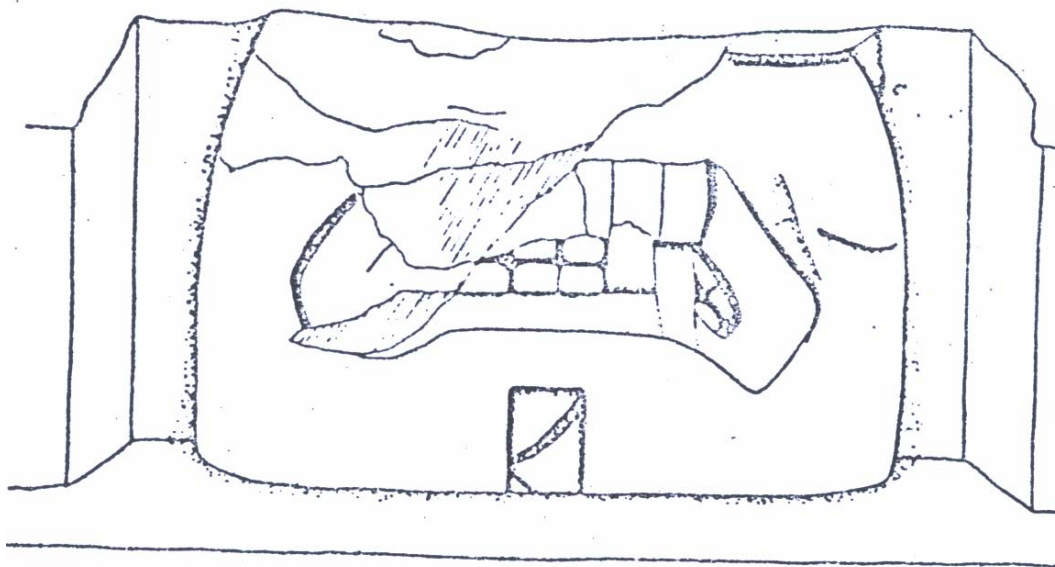


Figure 45. *Frieze E3*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

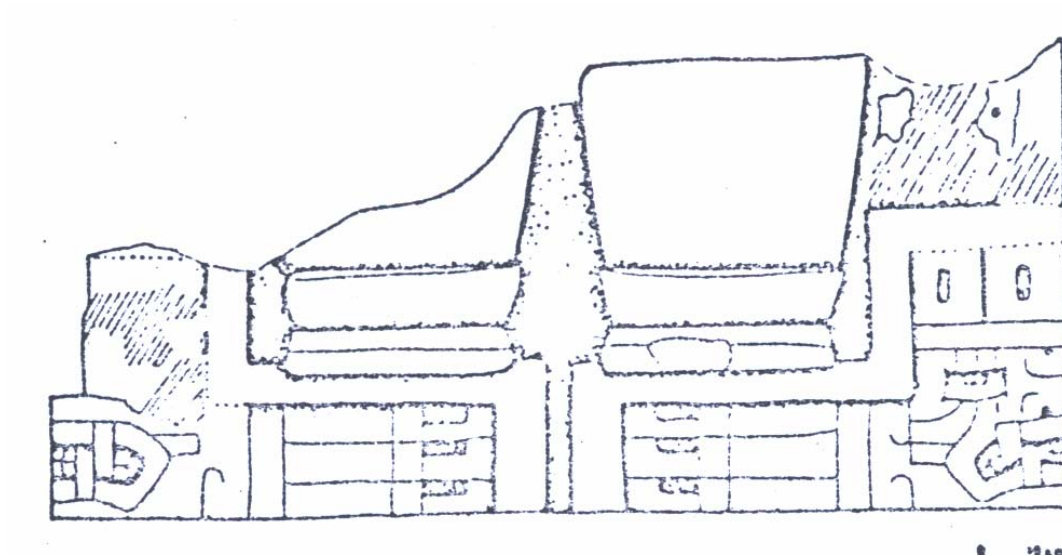


Figure 46. *Frieze E4*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

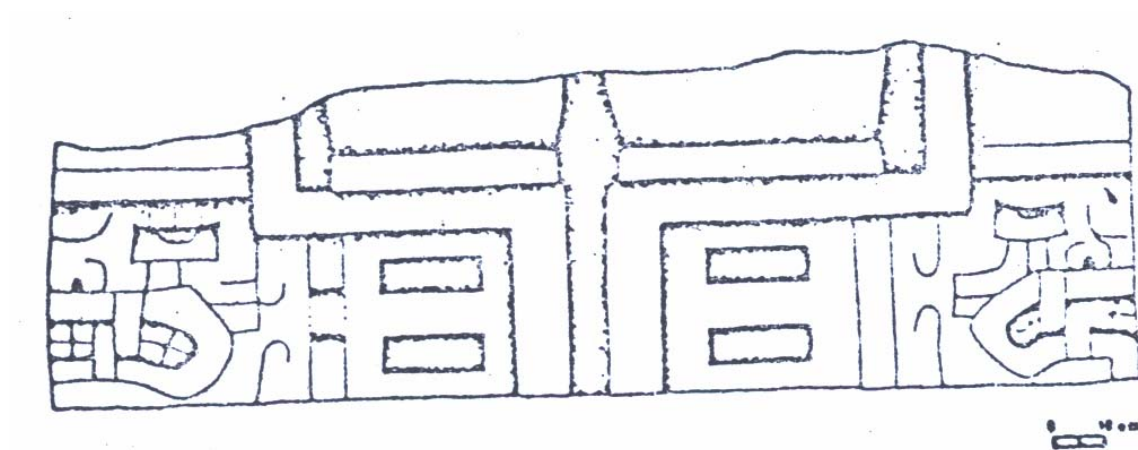


Figure 47. *Frieze E5*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

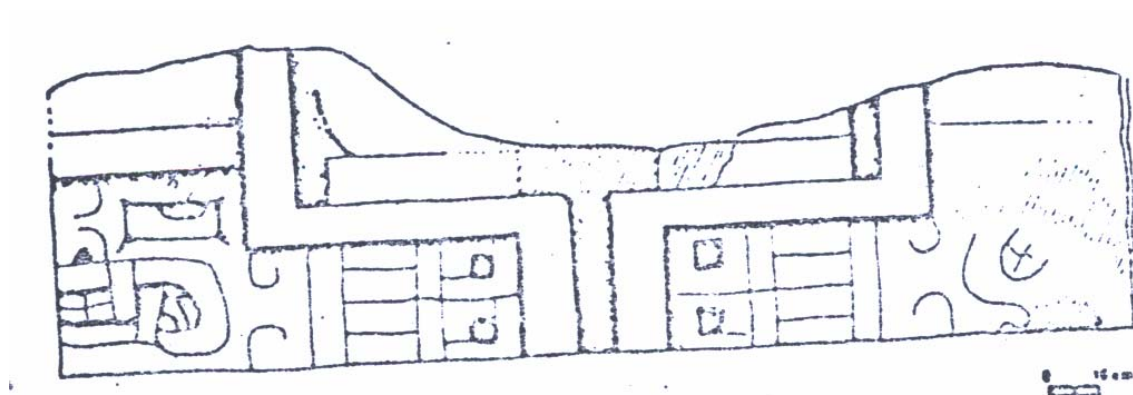


Figure 48. *Frieze E6*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

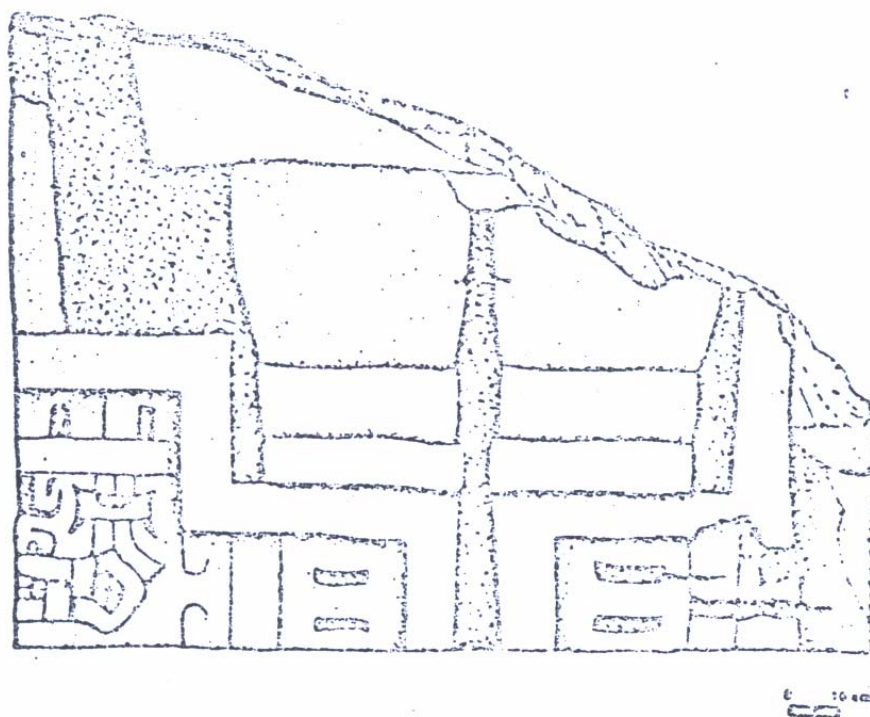


Figure 49. *Frieze E7*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

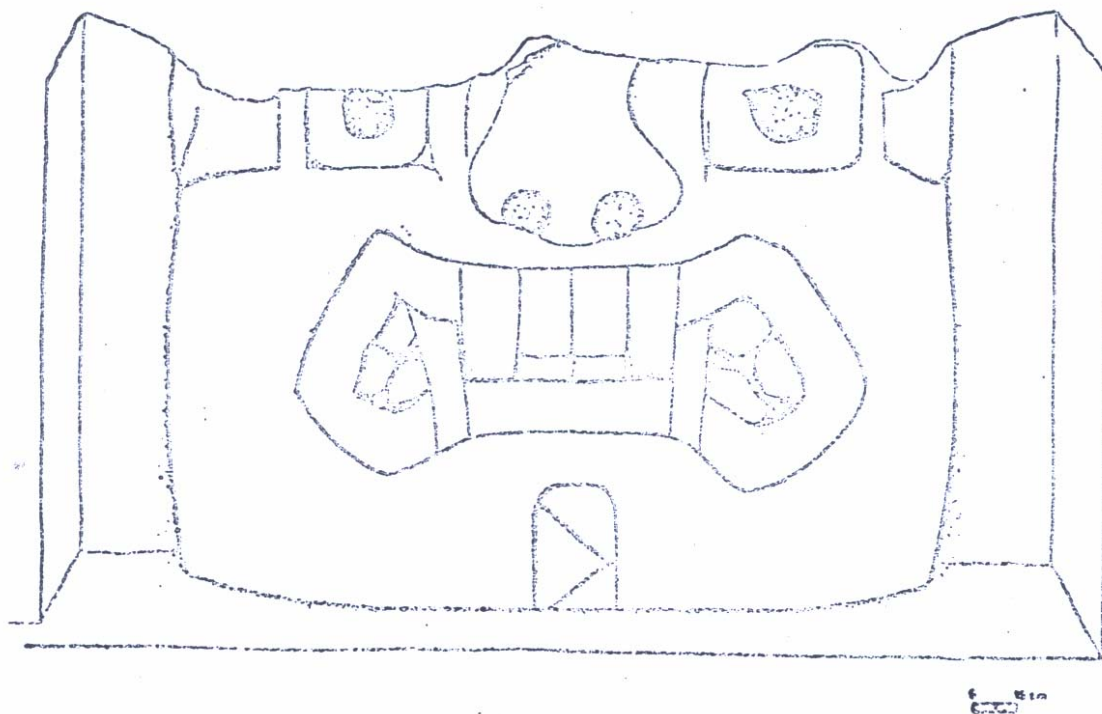


Figure 50. *Frieze E8*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

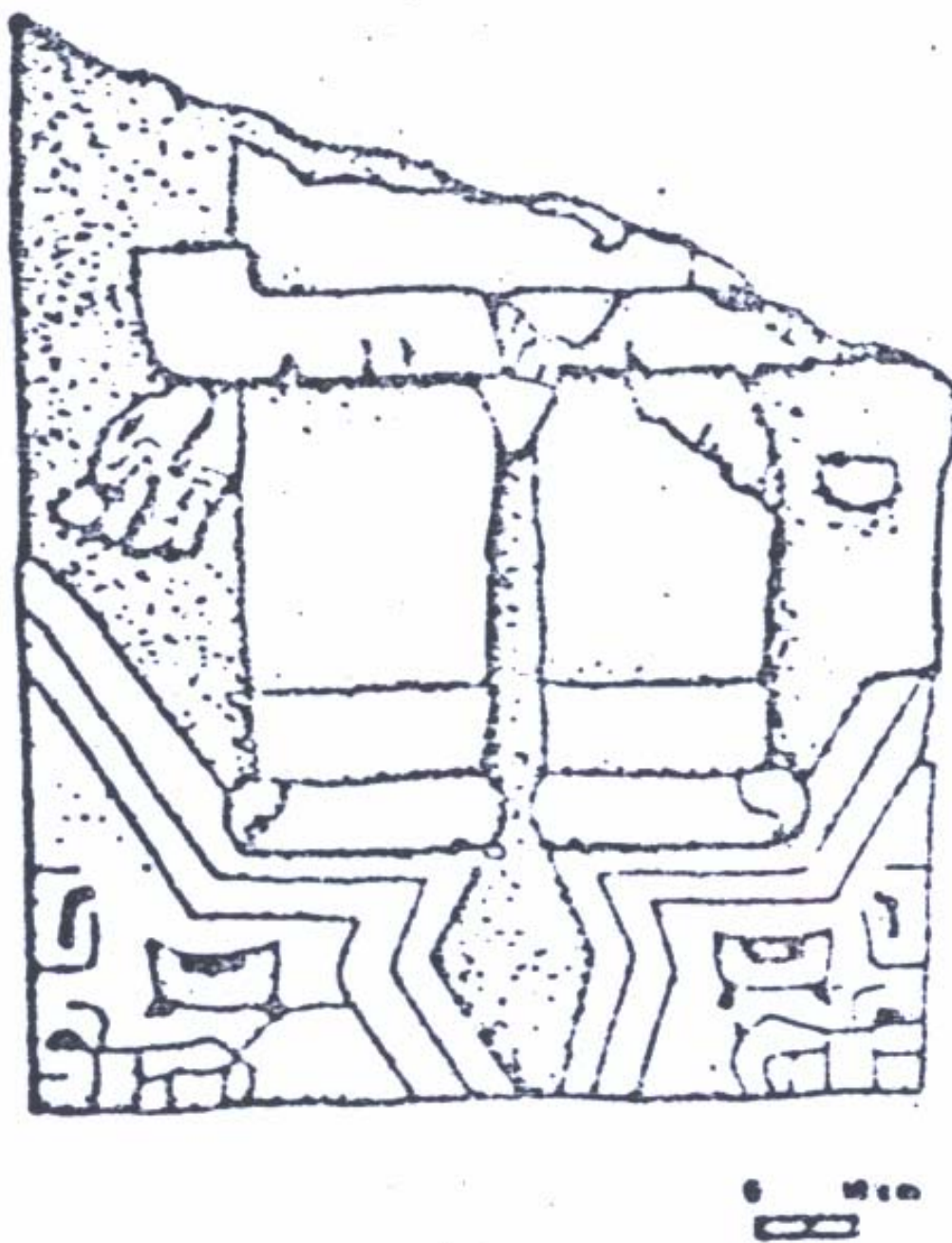


Figure 51. *Frieze D2*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

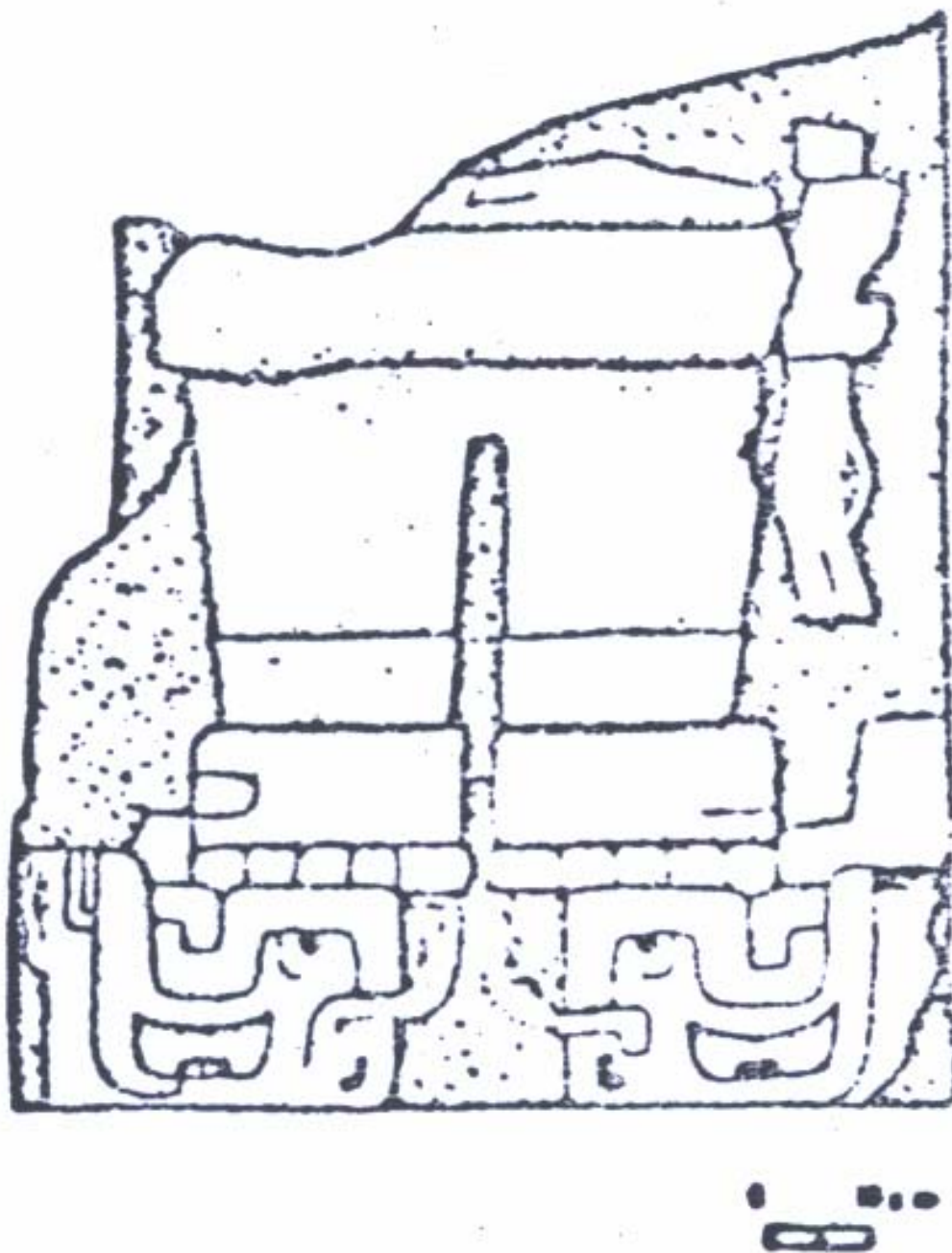


Figure 52. *Frieze D4*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

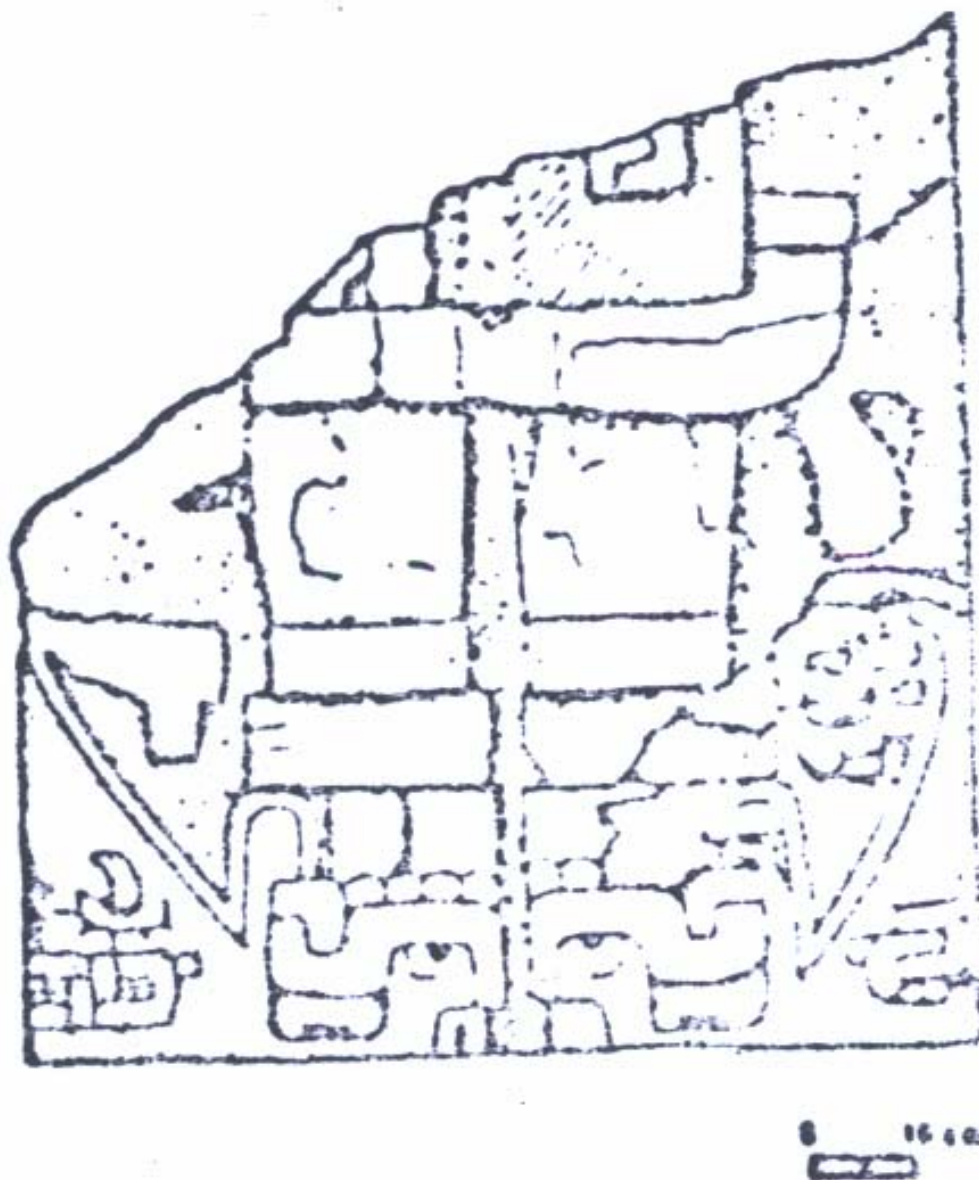


Figure 53. *Frieze D'1*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

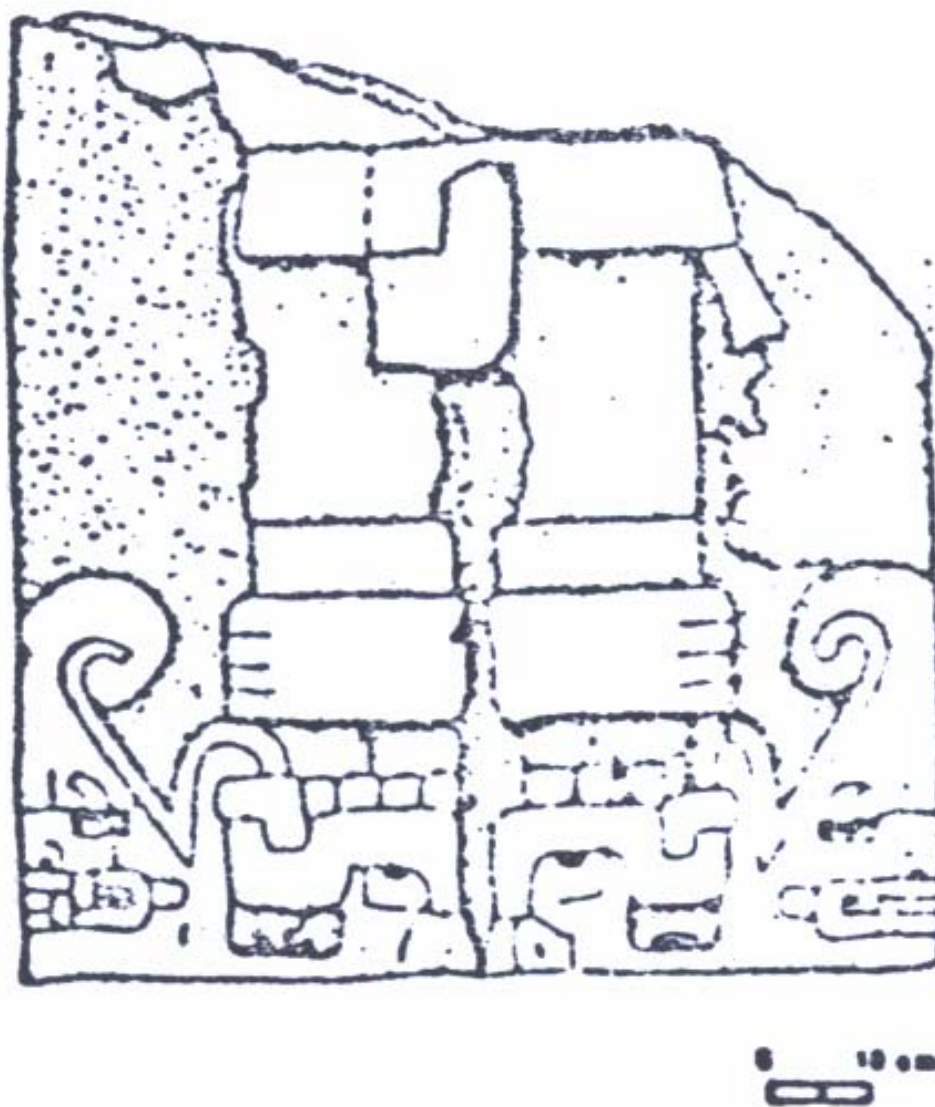


Figure 54. *Frieze D'2*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

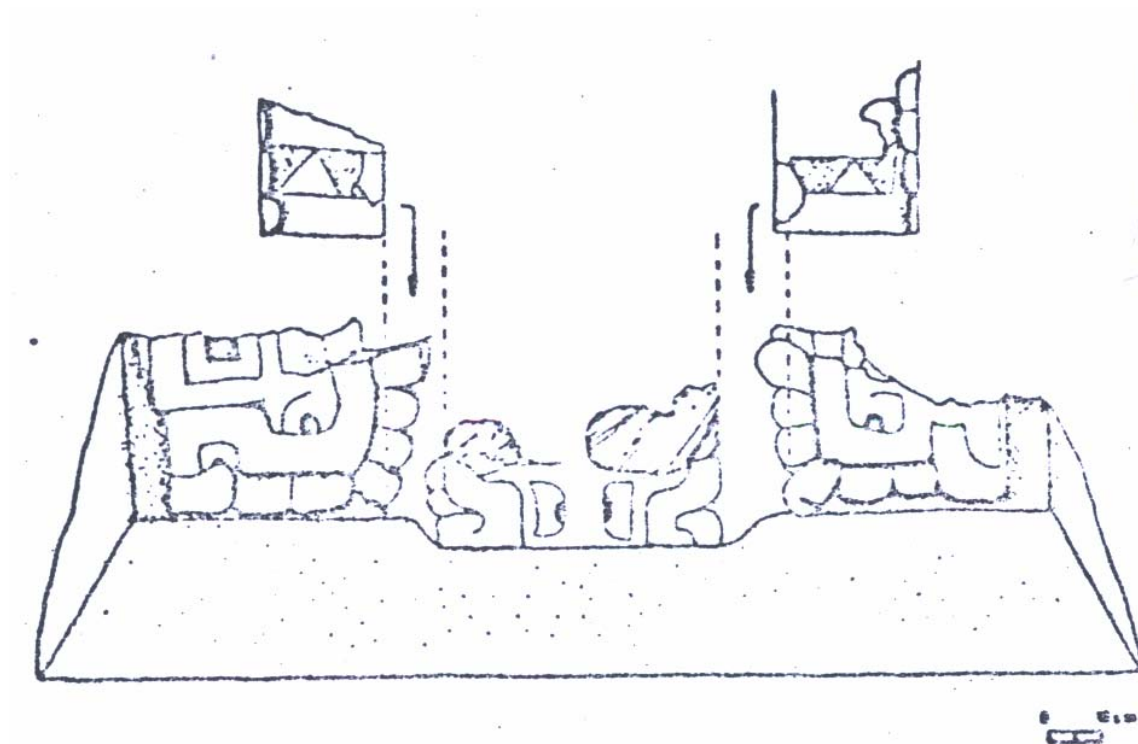


Figure 55. *Frieze D'3*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

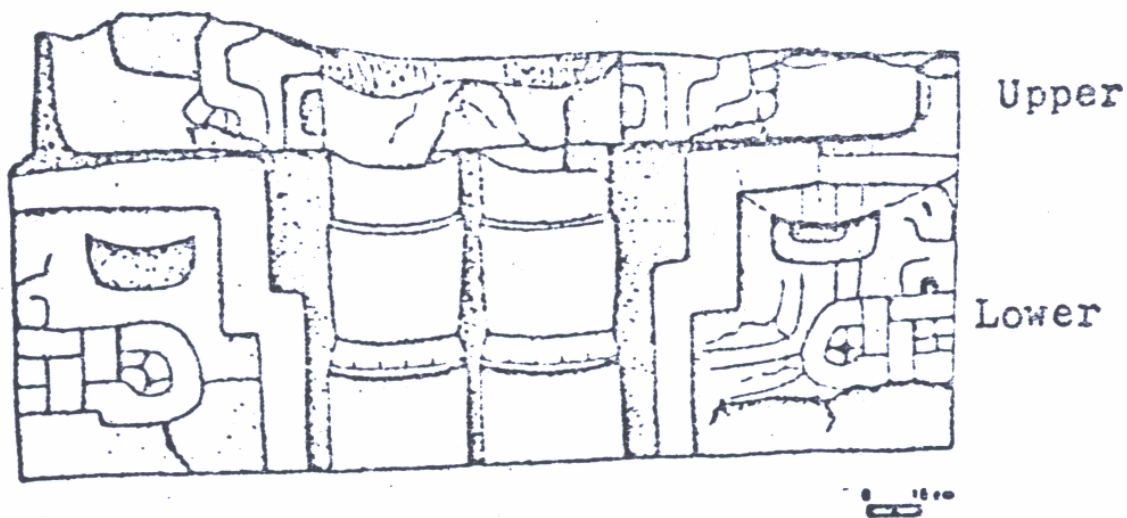


Figure 56. *Frieze F1*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

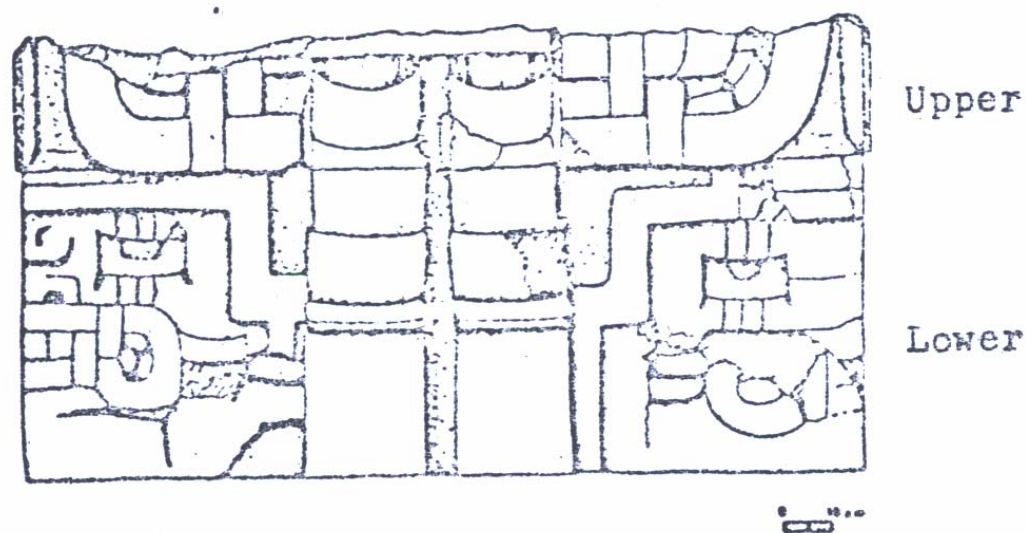


Figure 57. *Frieze F2*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

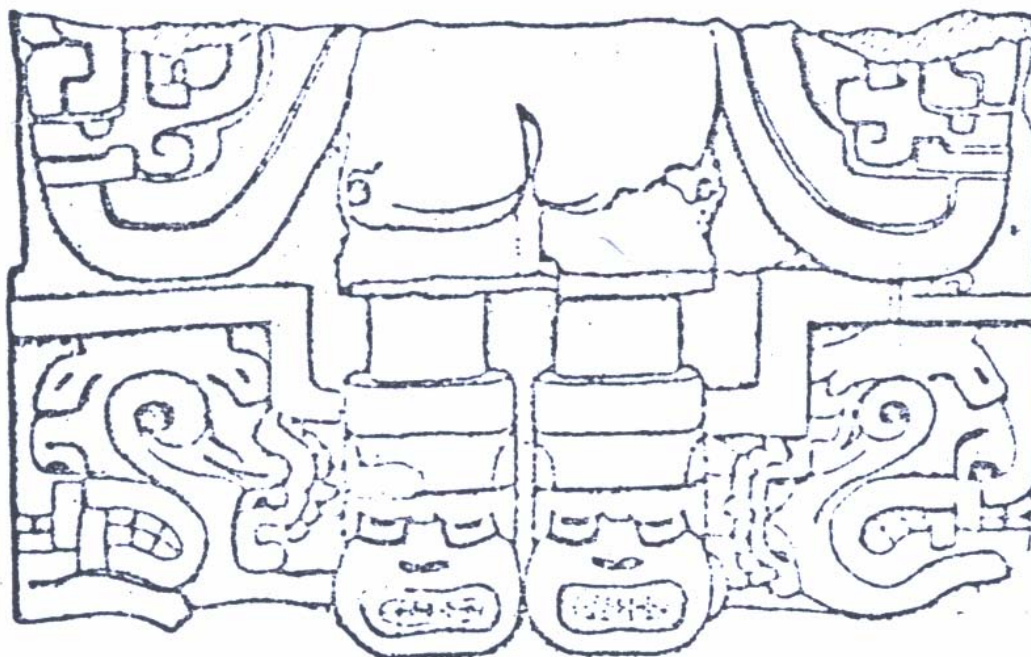


Figure 58. *Frieze F7*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

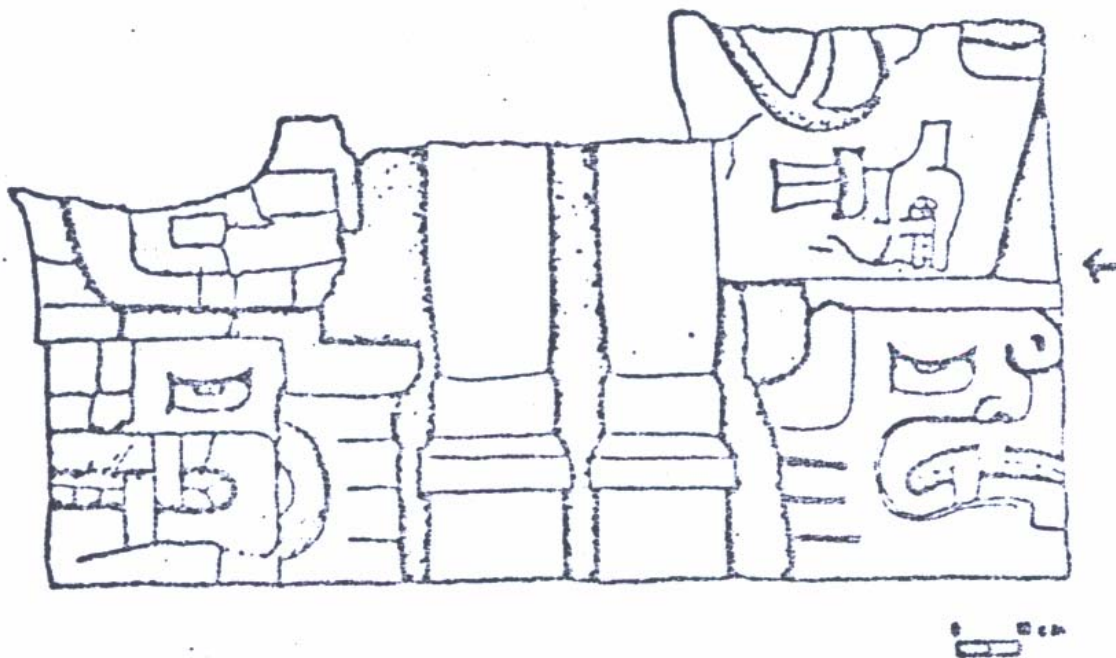


Figure 59. *Frieze F8*, Huaca de los Reyes, 1300 BCE

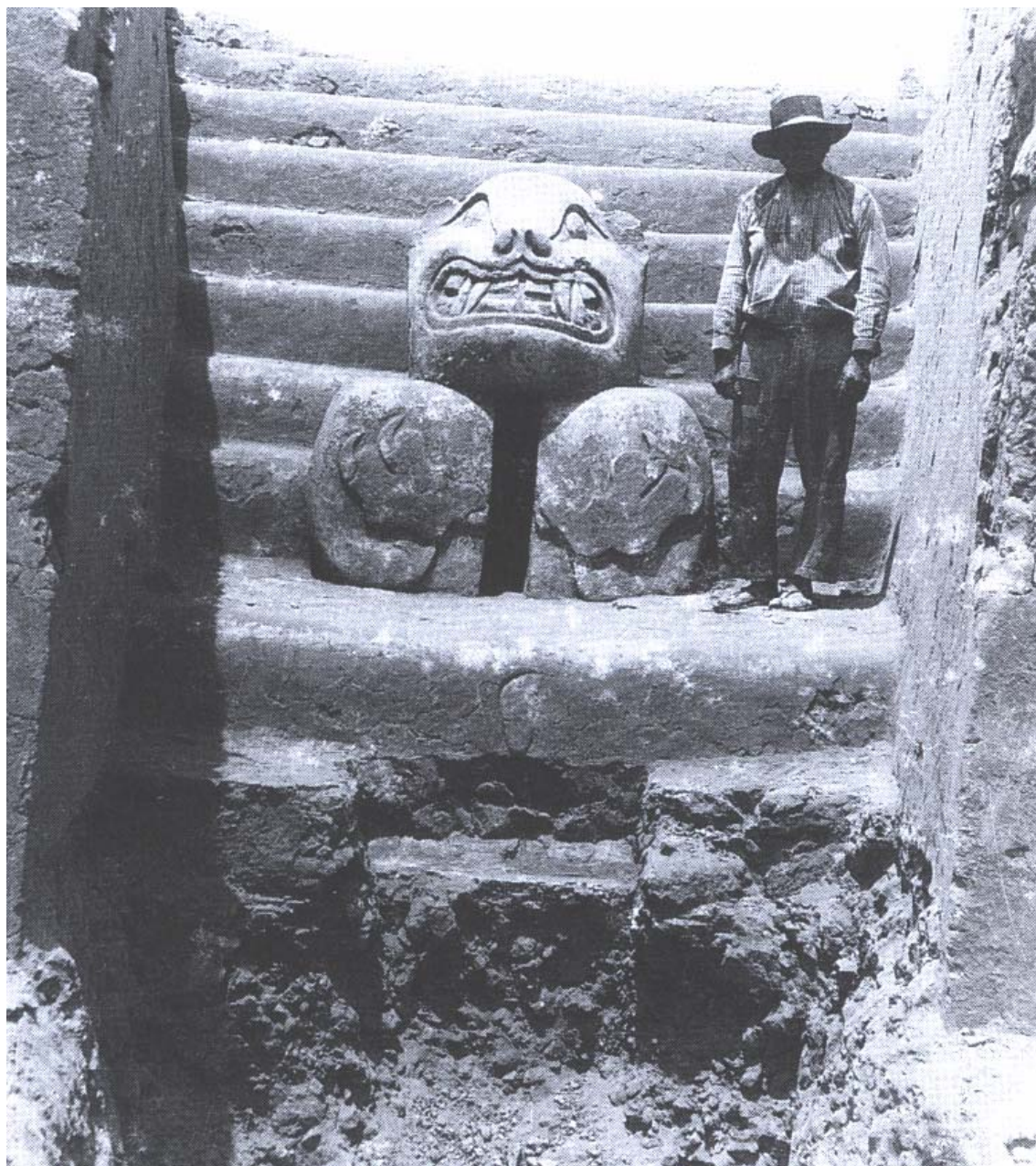


Figure 60. *Feline Clay Sculpture*, Punkurí, the Initial Horizon Period



Figure 61. *Feline Clay Sculpture*, Punkurí, the Initial Horizon Period

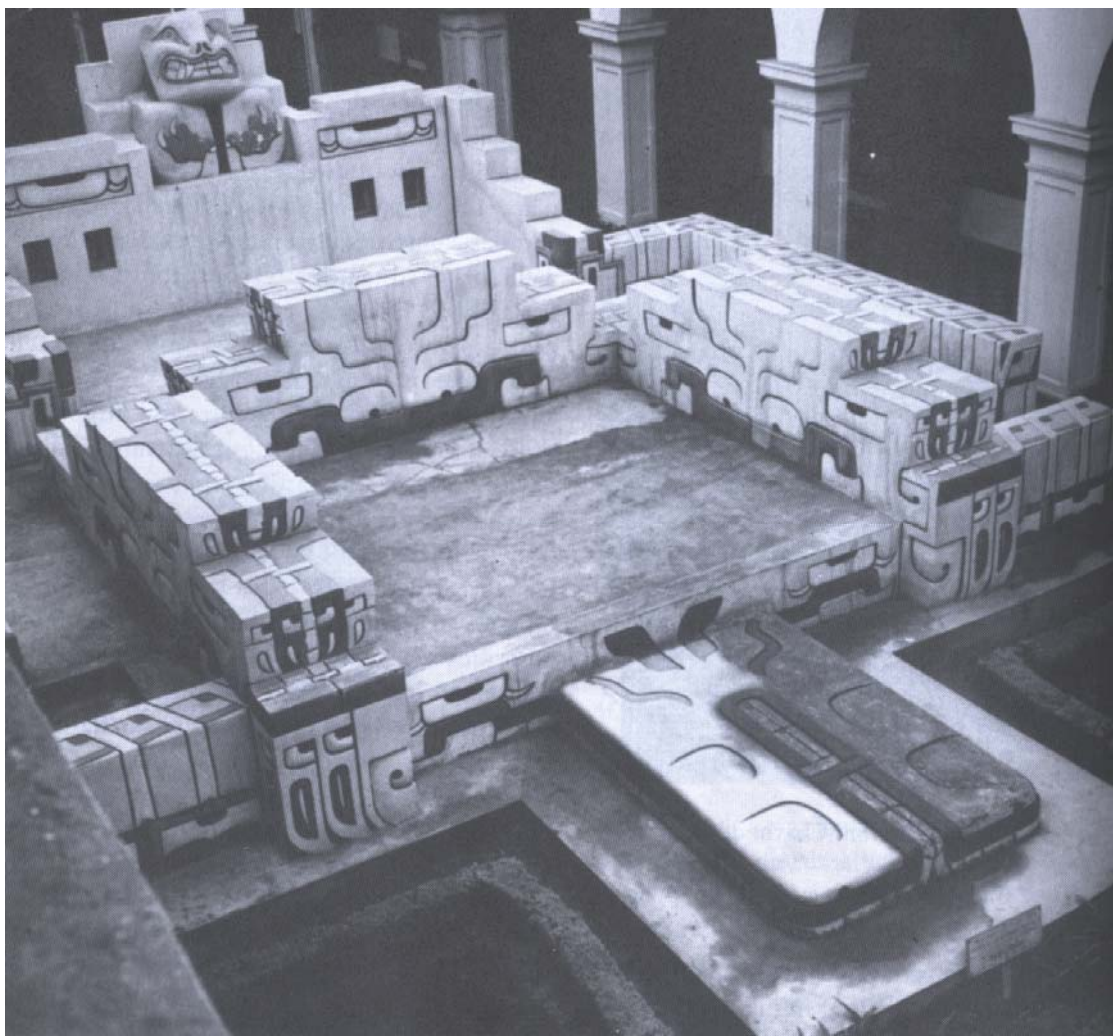


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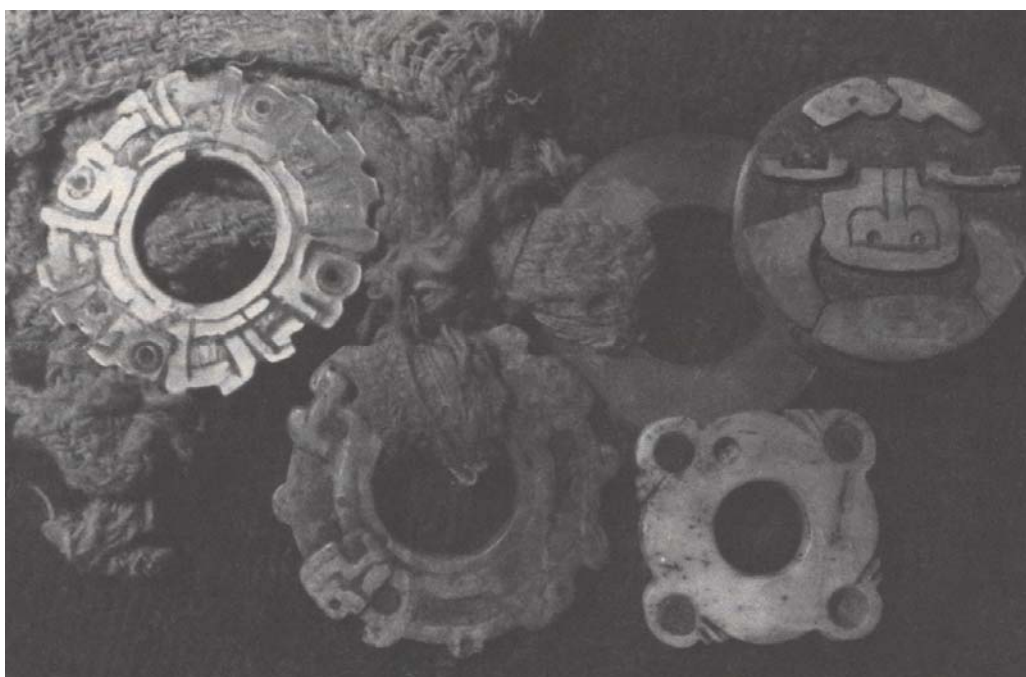


Figure 64. *Spondylus Shell Disk*, La Galgada, the Late Preceramic Period

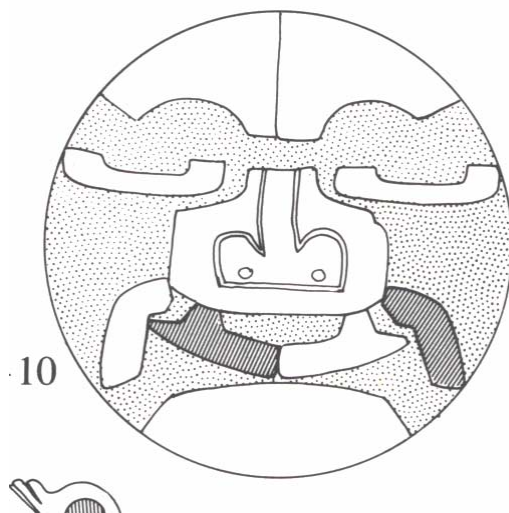


Figure 65. *Drawing of the Spondylus Shell Disk, La Galgada, the Late Pre-Ceramic Period*

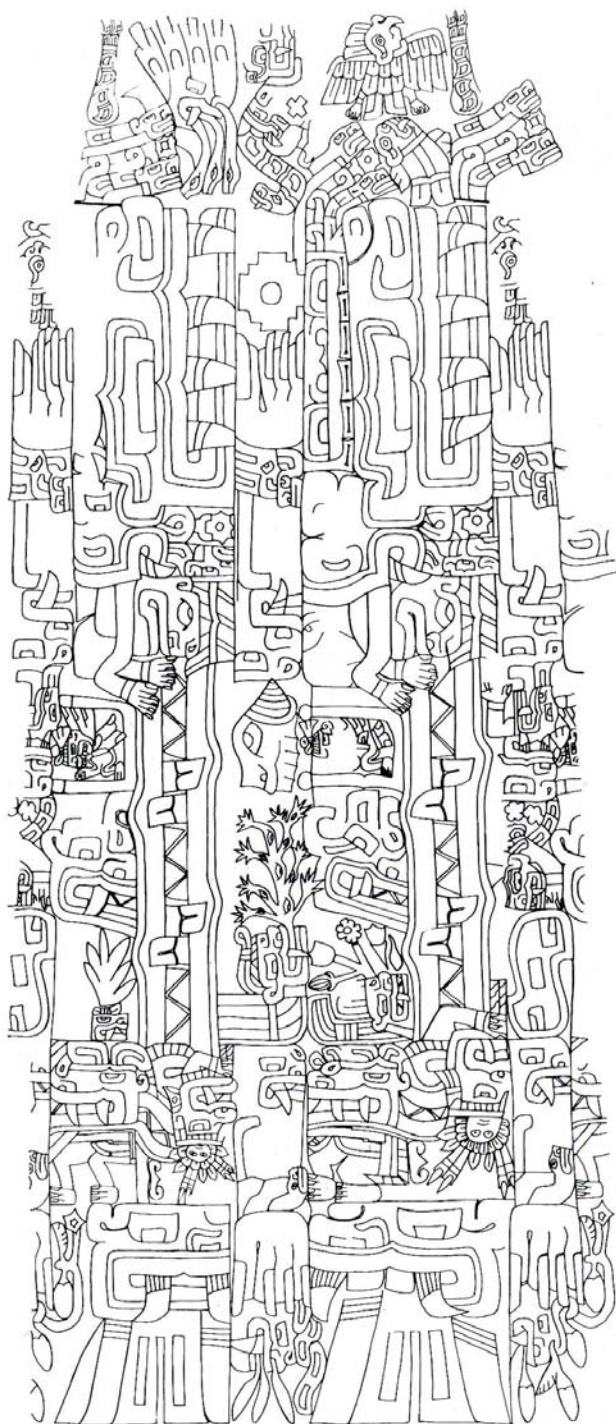


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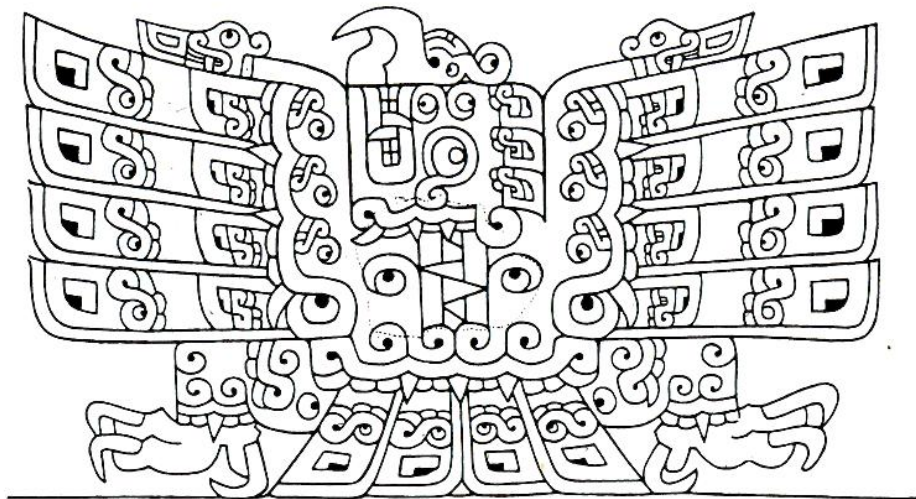


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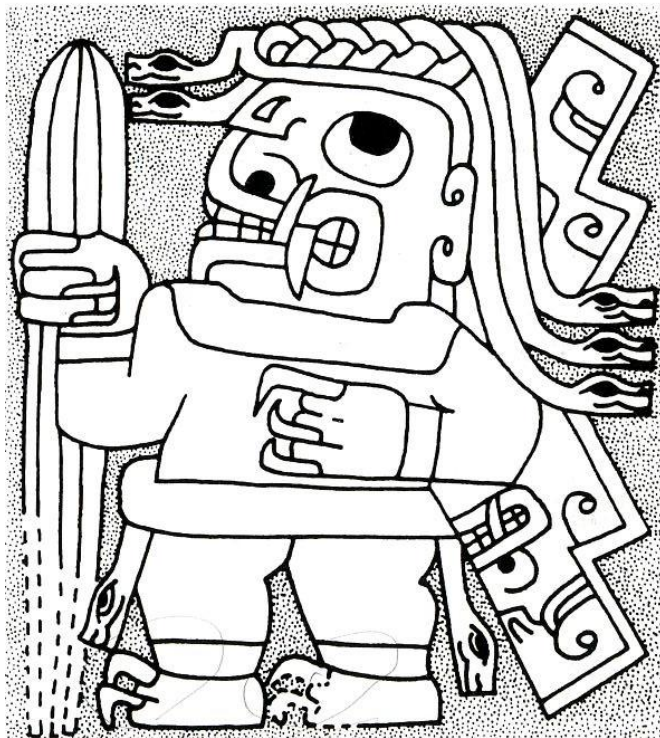


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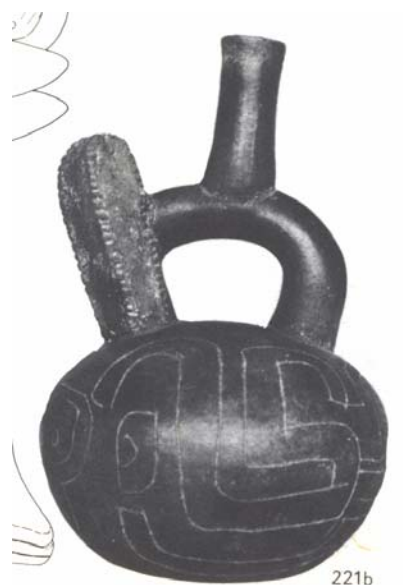


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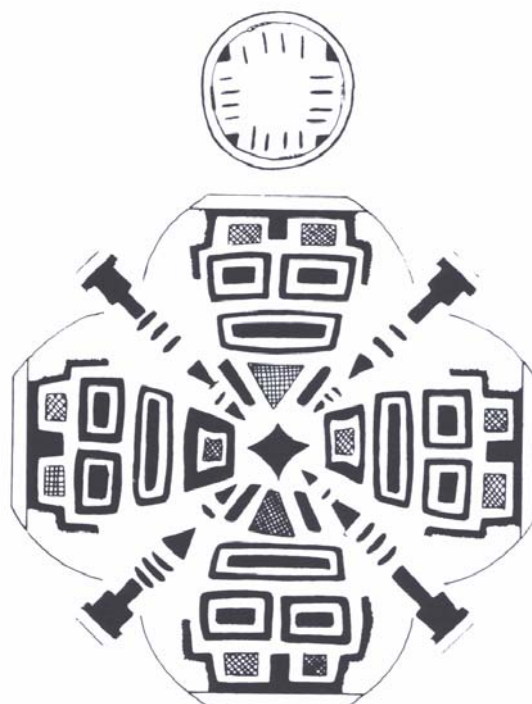


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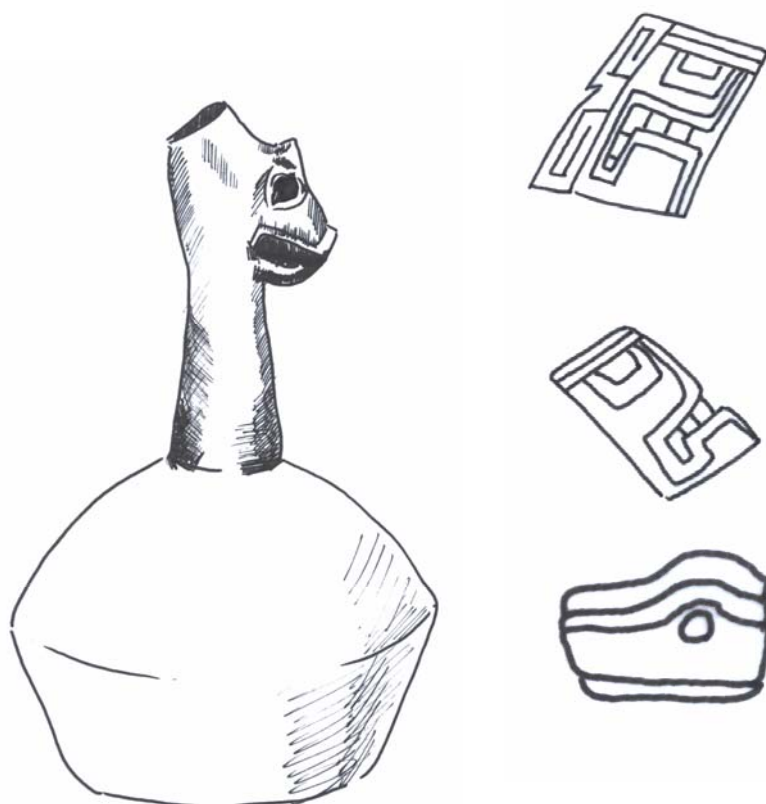
The Catalog of the Head Motifs

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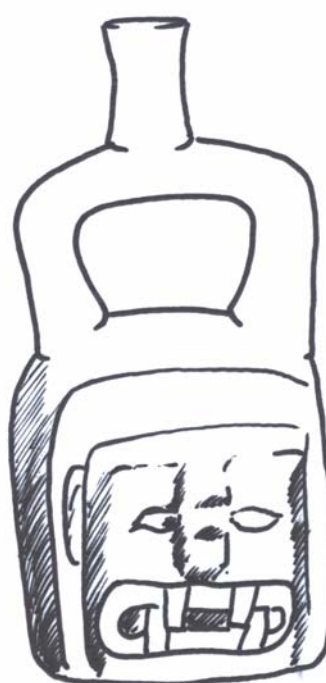
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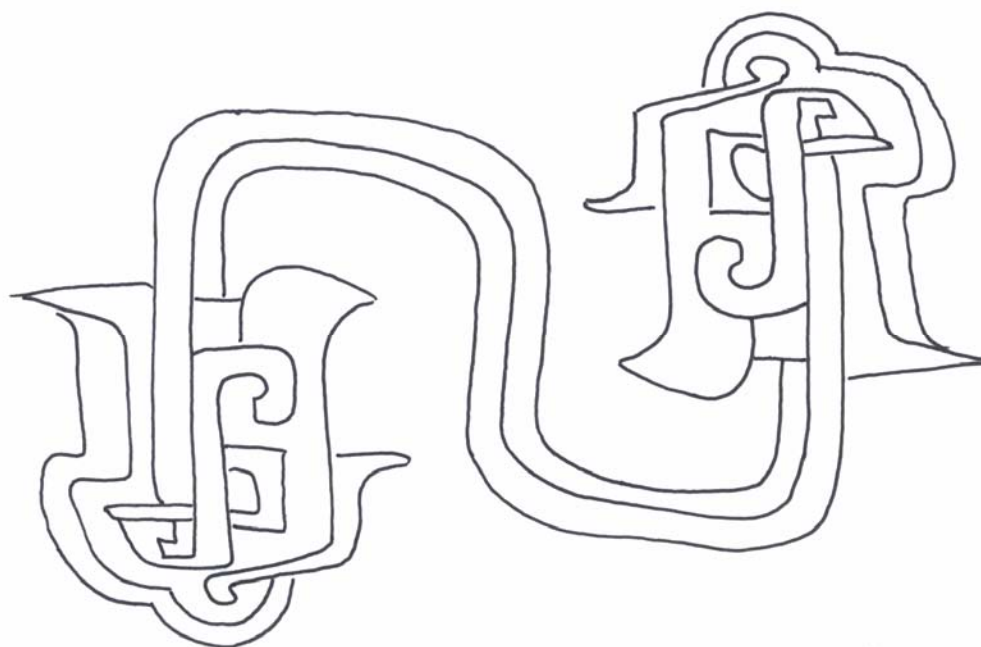
All Photographs and drawings are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



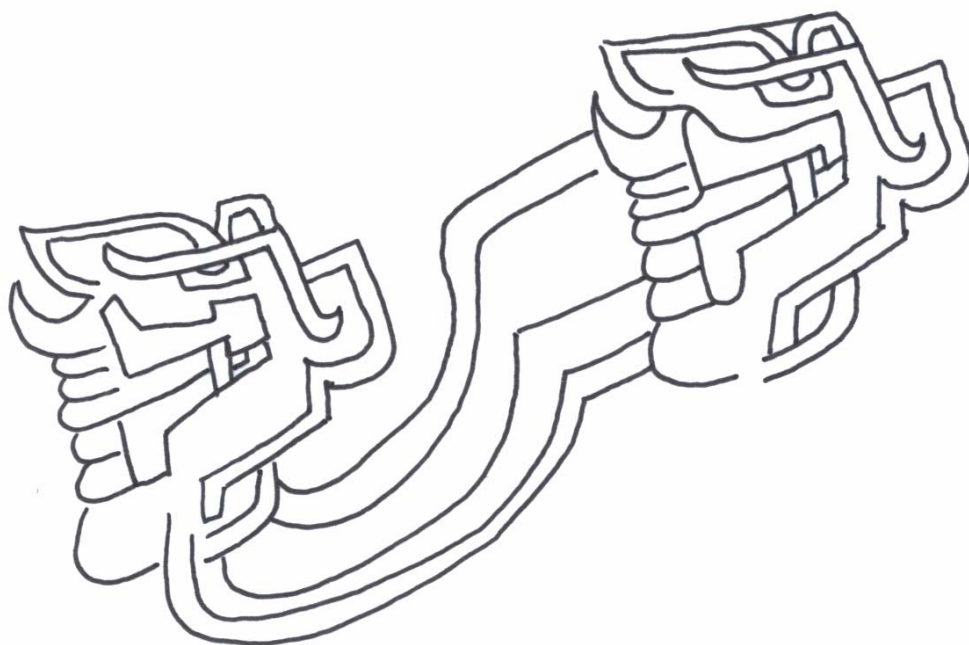
MARLH 1 - Museum Accession Number (ML010463): Whistling man vessel decorated with different fanged head motifs and a serpent head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



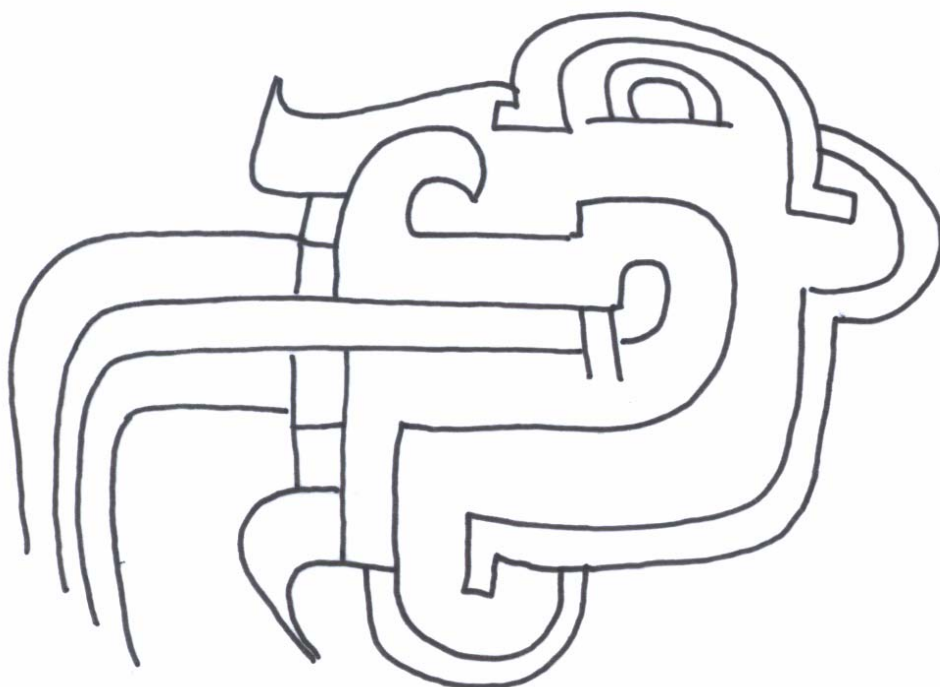
MARLH 2 - Museum Accession Number (ML010862): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with feline and fanged head motifs on each side (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



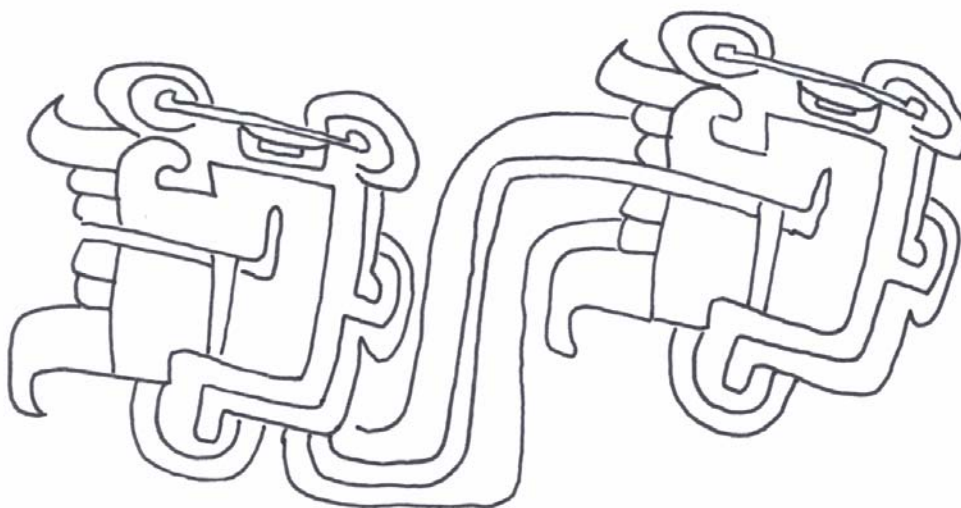
MARLH 3 - Museum Accession Number (ML010863): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical, reversed fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



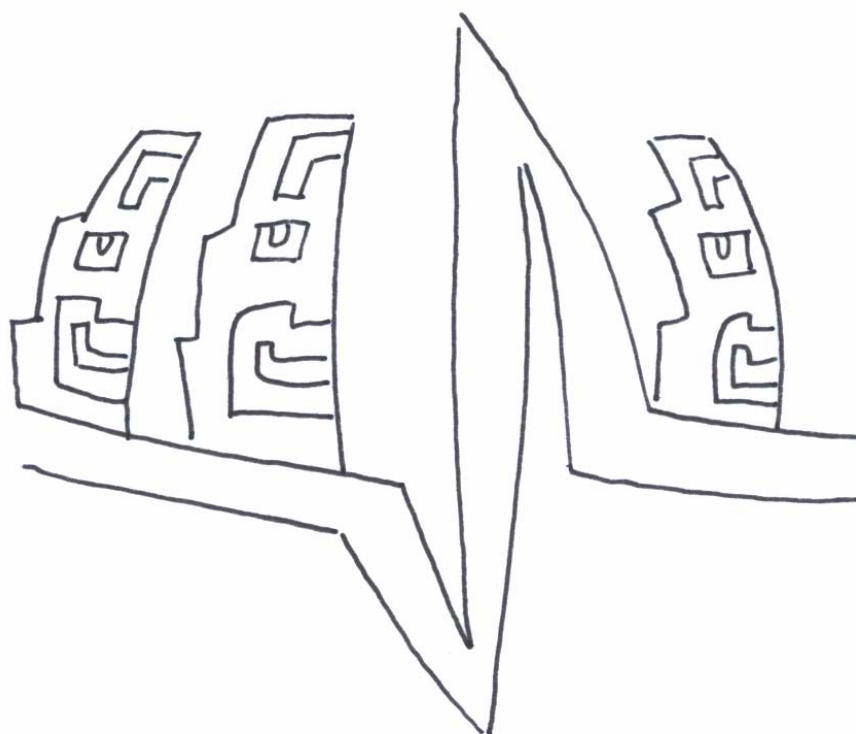
MARLH 4 - Museum Accession Number (ML015074): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with rope-like string in top of it and identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



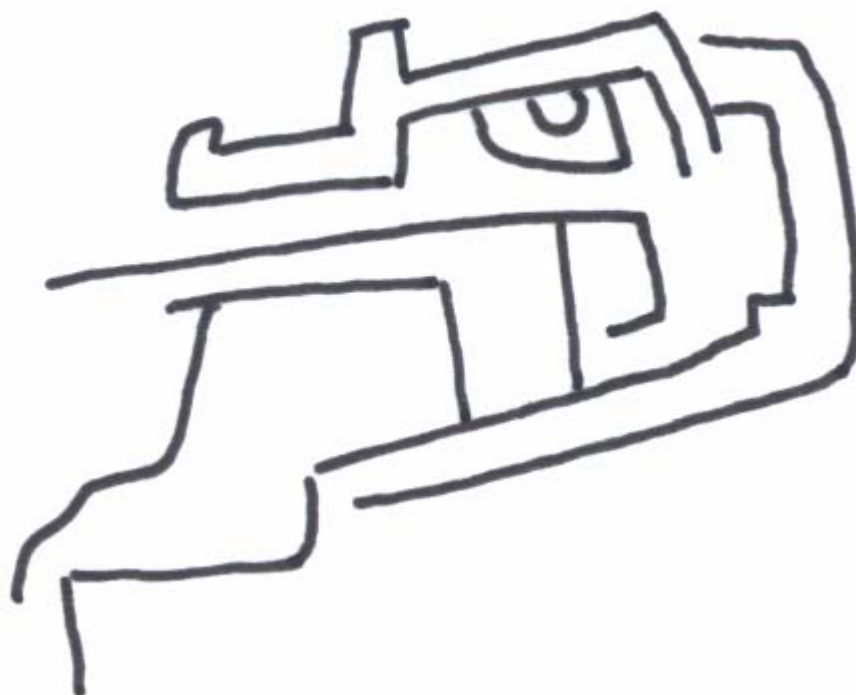
MARLH 5 - Museum Accession Number (ML015081): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



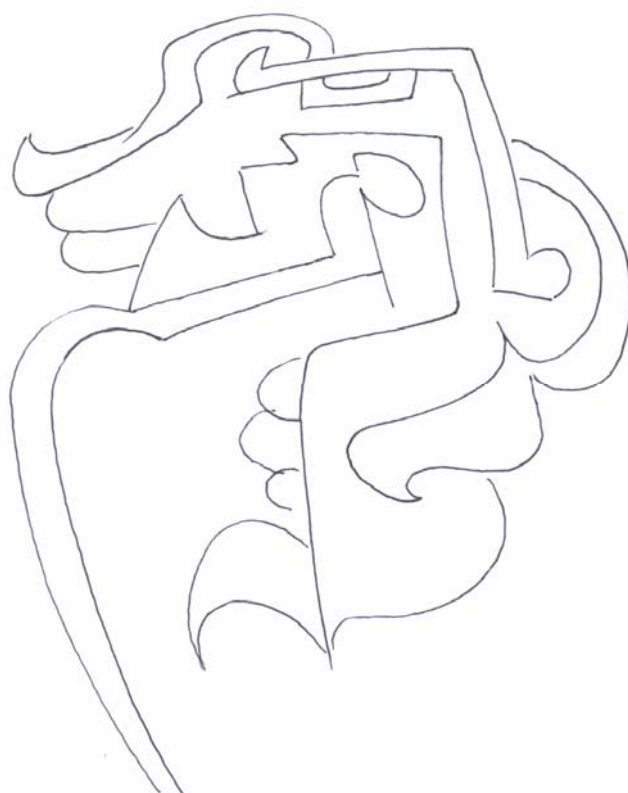
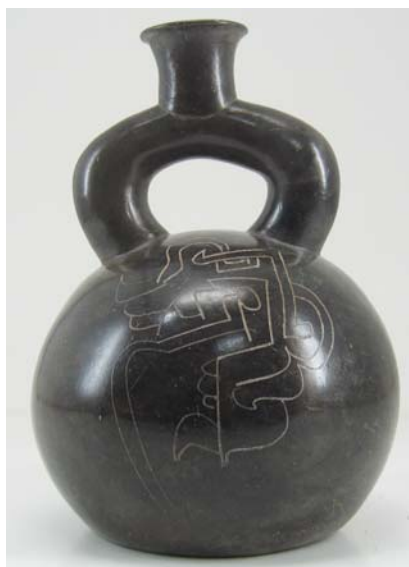
MARLH 6 - Museum Accession Number (ML015083): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 7 - Museum Accession Number (ML015091): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



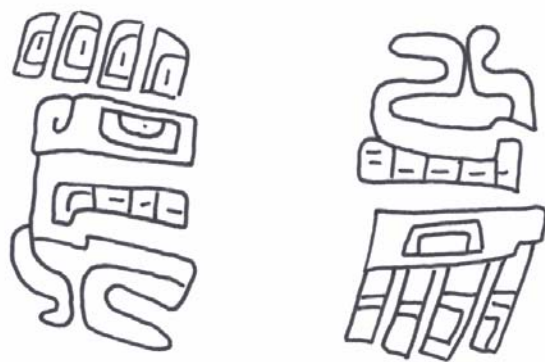
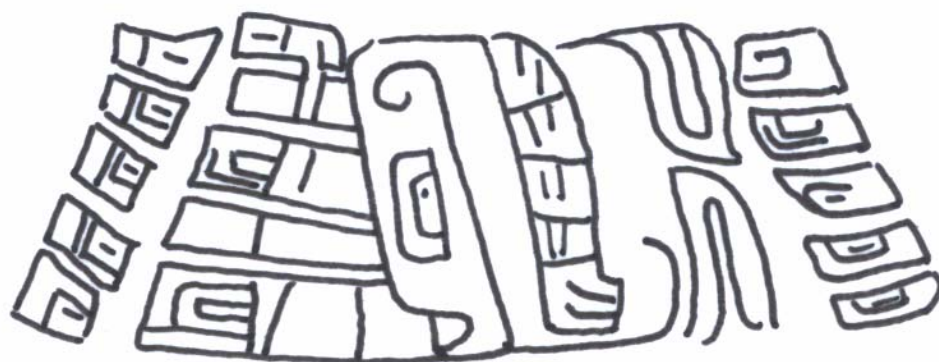
MARLH 8 - Museum Accession Number (ML015110): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 9 - Museum Accession Number (ML015111): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



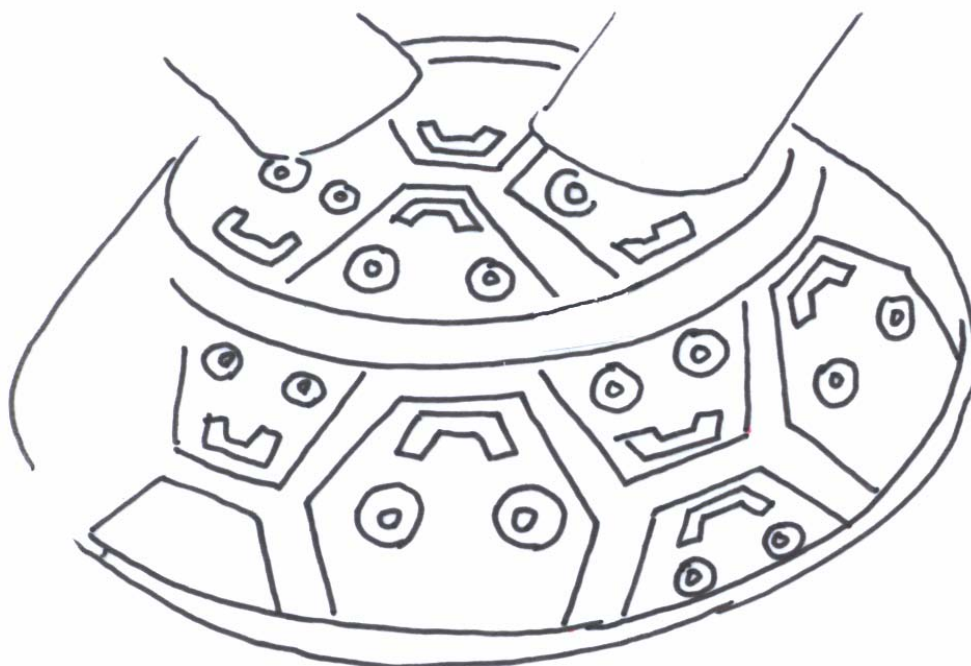
MARLH 10 - Museum Accession Number (ML015112): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



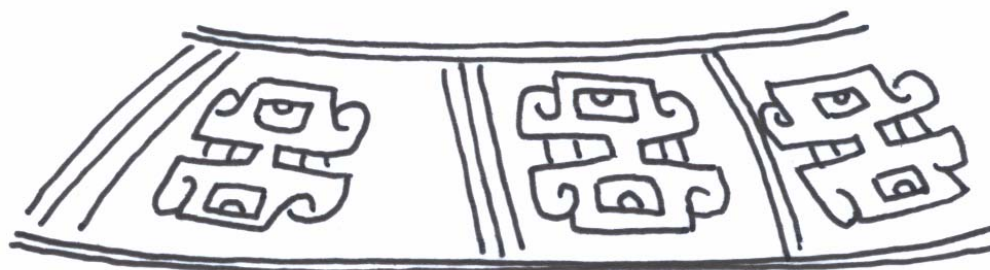
MARLH 11 - Museum Accession Number (ML015113): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with fanged head motifs and feathered motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



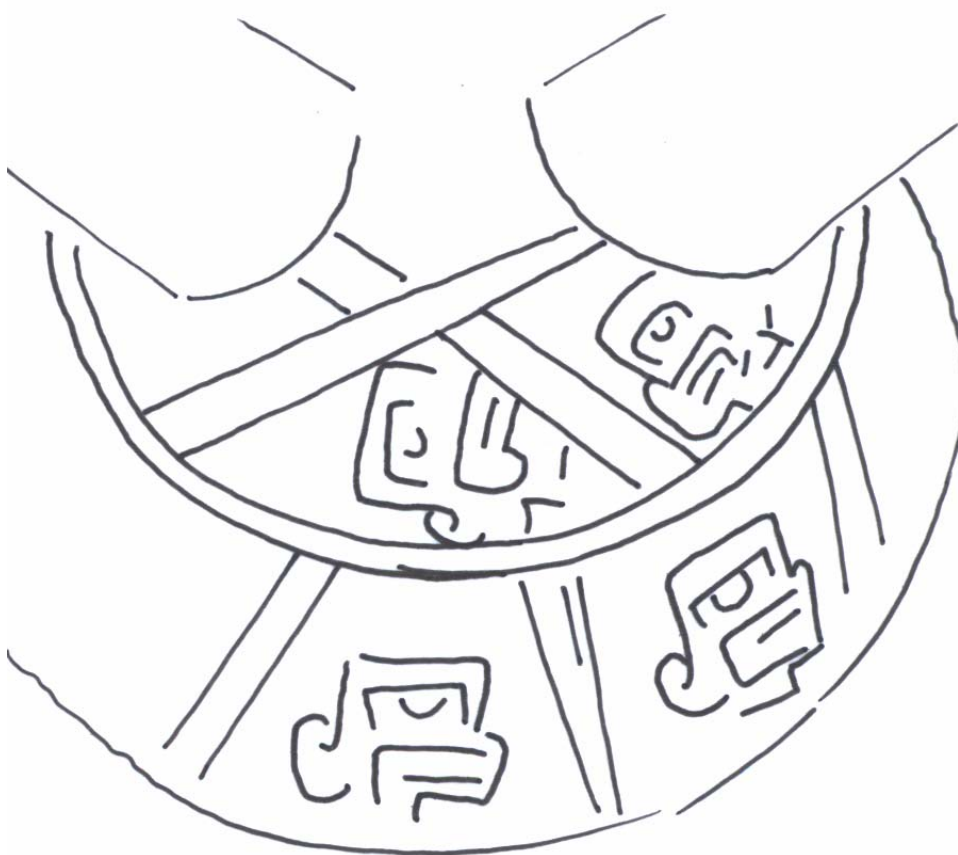
MARLH 12 - Museum Accession Number (ML015114): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



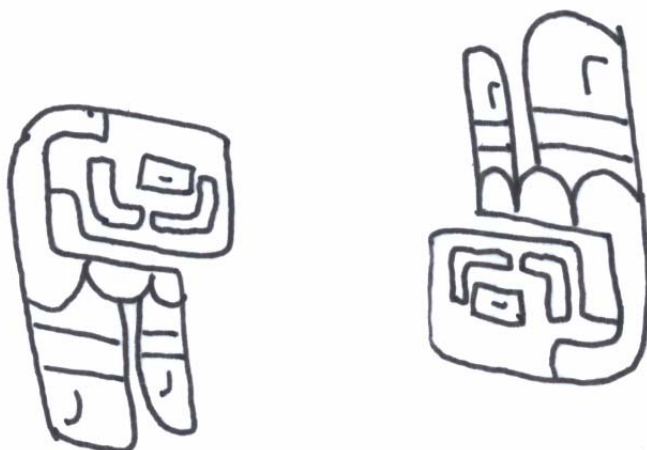
MARLH 13 - Museum Accession Number (ML015150): Stirrup-spout vessel decorated with various hexagon serpent heads (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



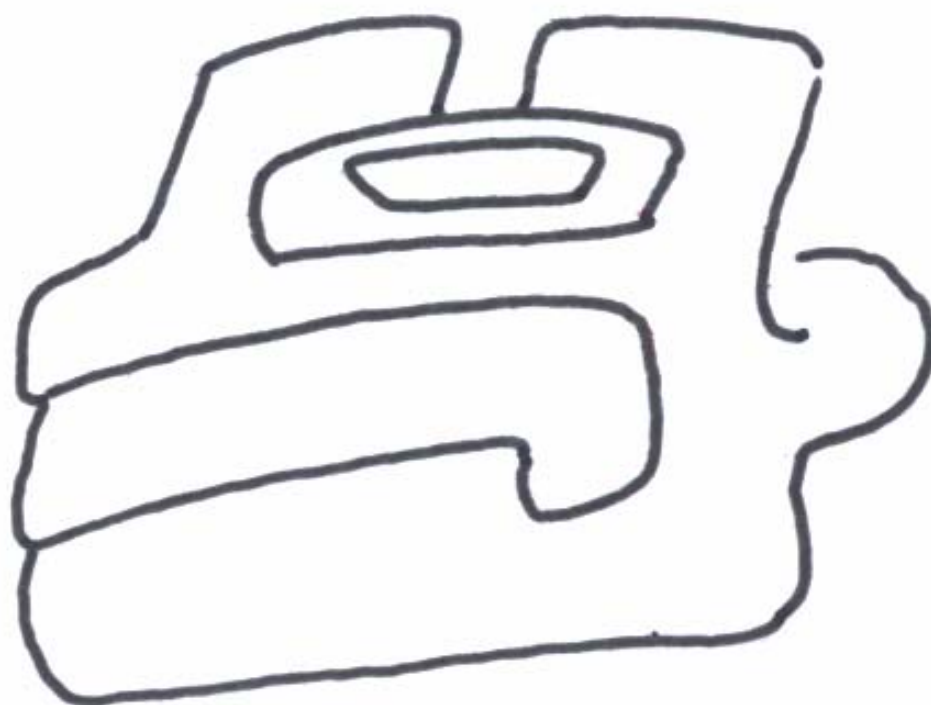
MARLH 14 - Museum Accession Number (ML015151): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with caiman head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



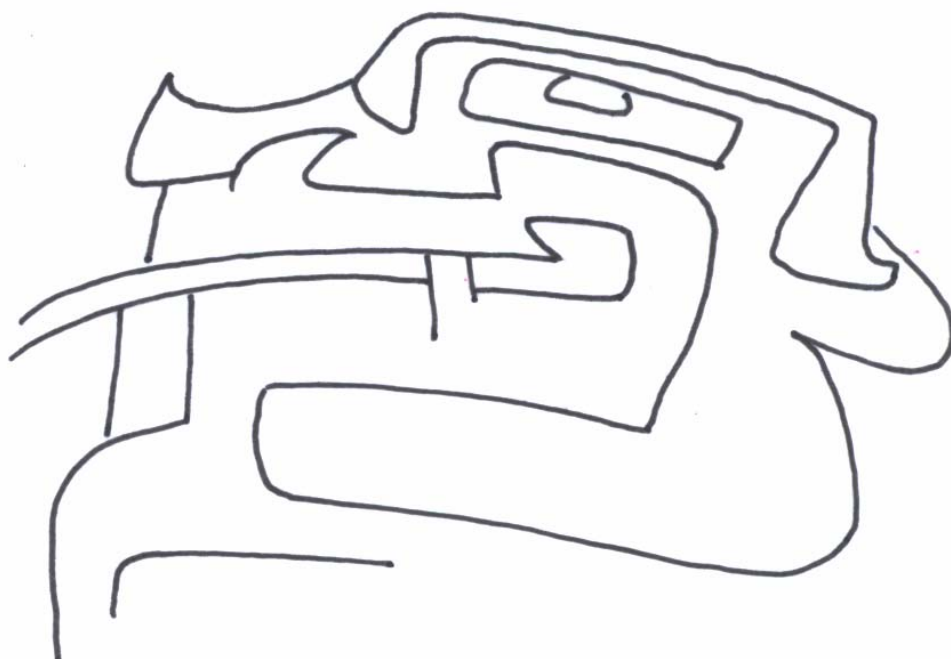
MARLH 15 - Museum Accession Number (ML015152): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with monkey-like head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



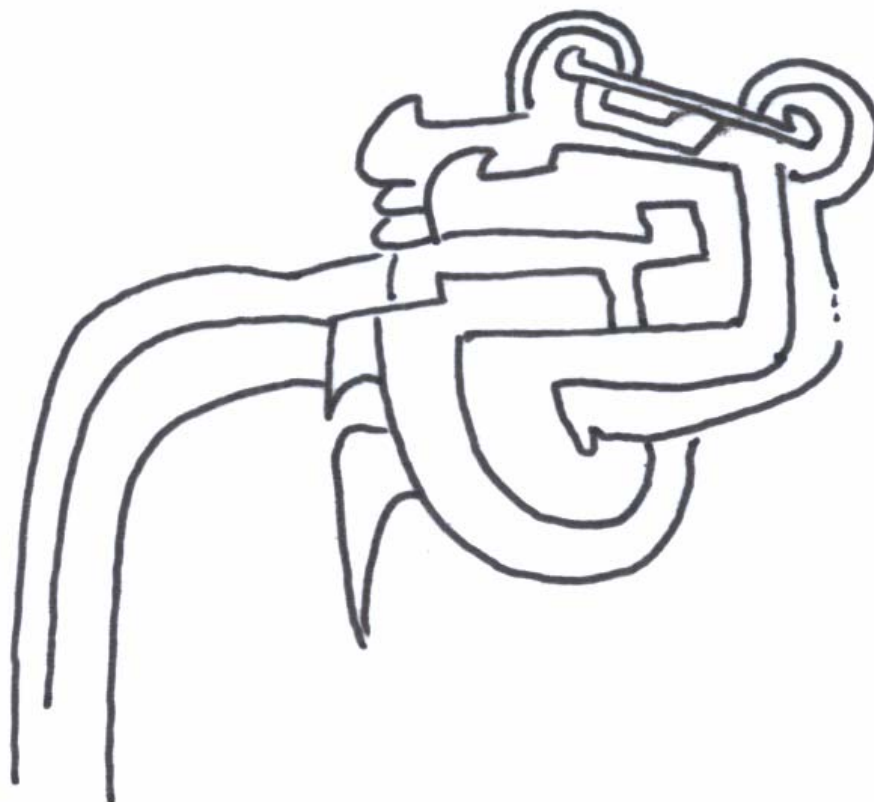
MARLH 16 - Museum Accession Number (ML015155): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with three head and feathered motifs on its side and two head and feathered motifs on top of it (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



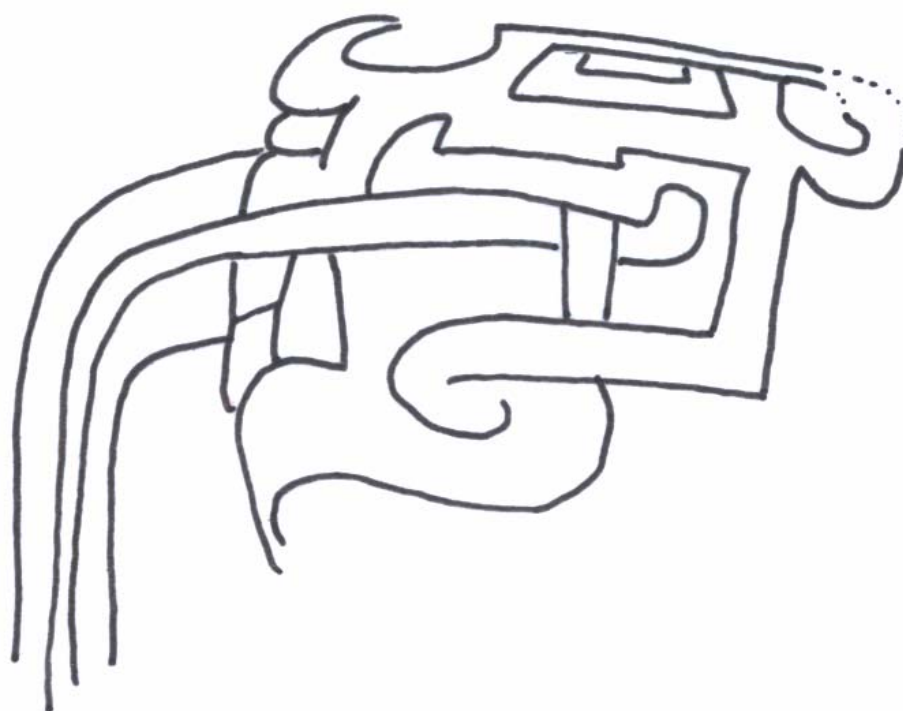
MARLH 17 - Museum Accession Number (ML015158): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a large monkey-like head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



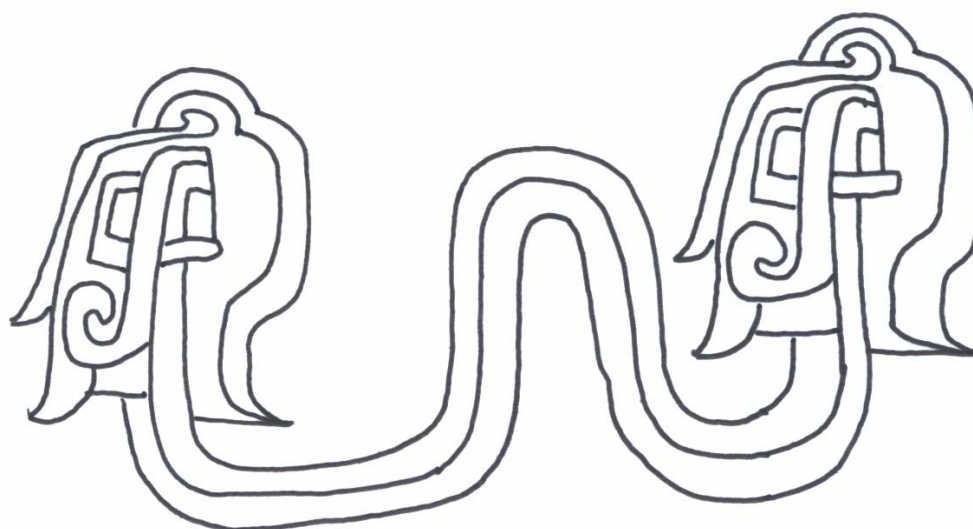
MARLH 18 - Museum Accession Number (ML015159): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 19 - Museum Accession Number (ML015160): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



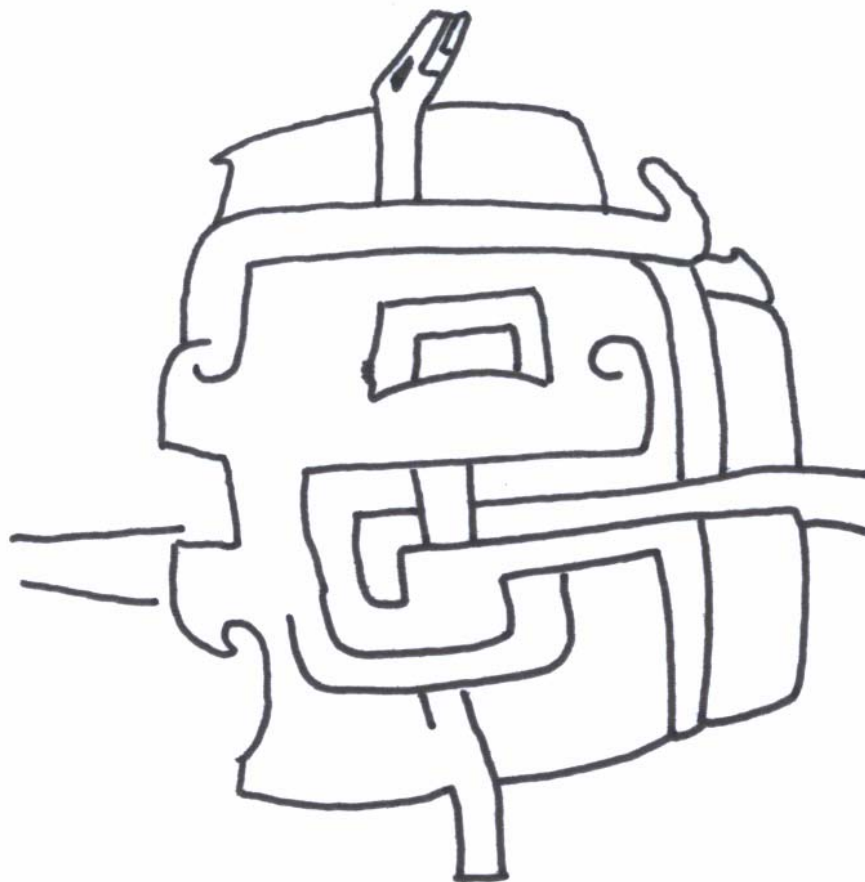
MARLH 20 - Museum Accession Number (ML015162): Stirrup-spouted vessel with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



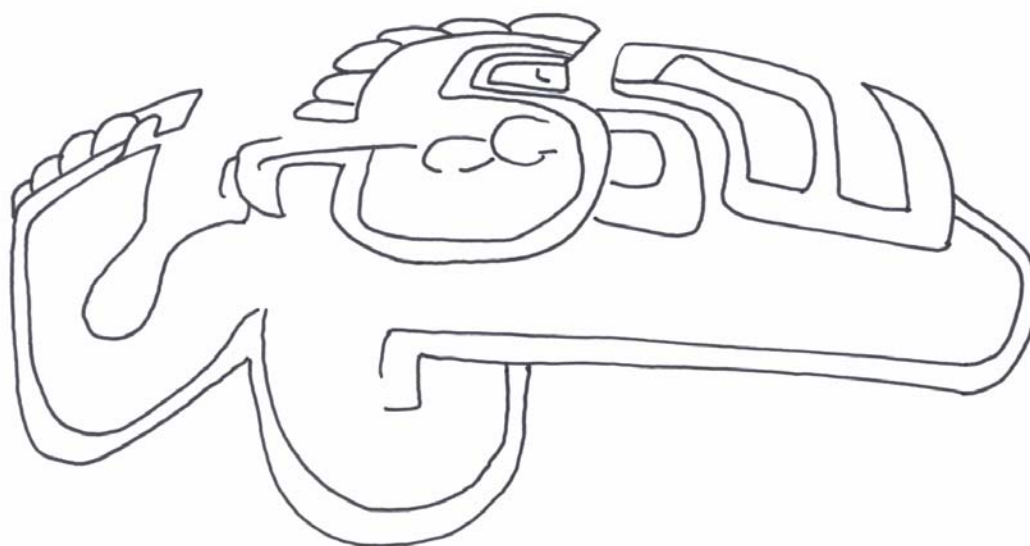
MARLH 21 - Museum Accession Number (ML015163): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical, reversed fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



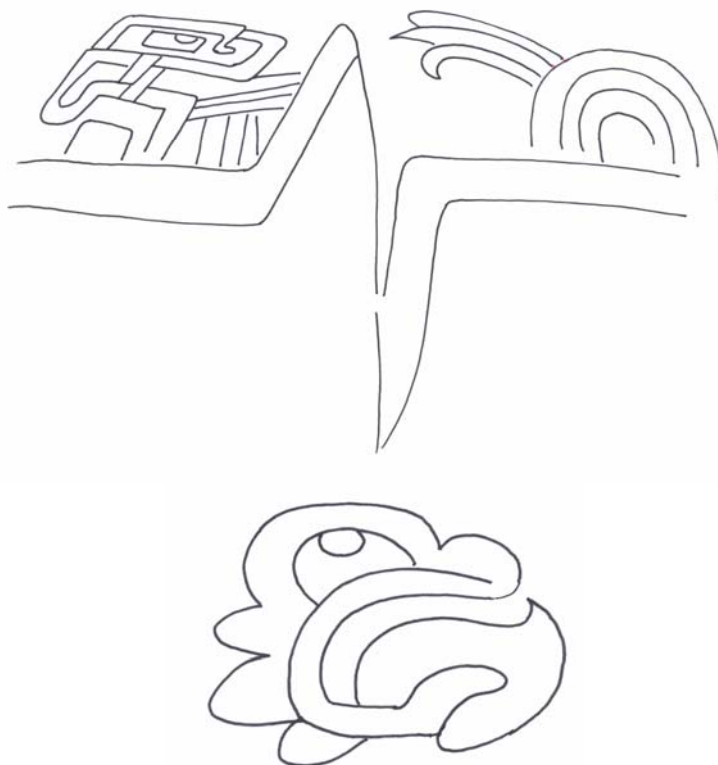
MARLH 22 - Museum Accession Number (ML015165): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 23 – Museum Accession Number (ML015166): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif which is connected to a serpent head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



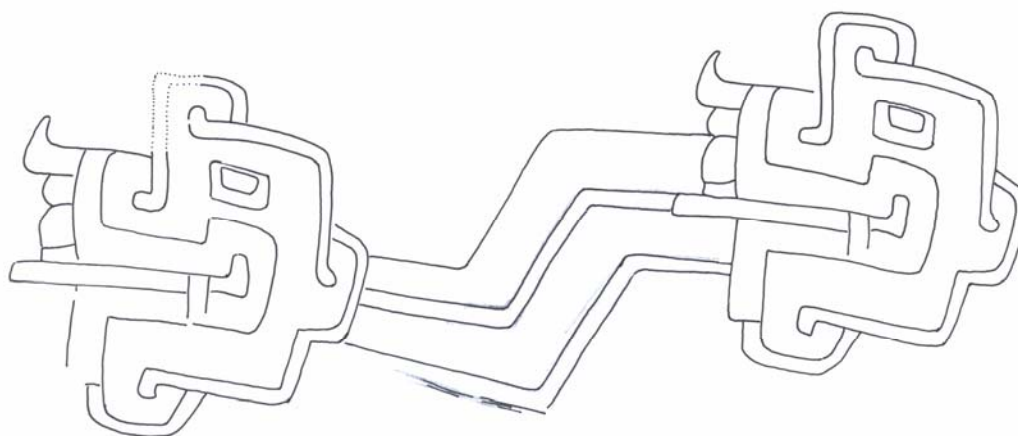
MARLH 24 - Museum Accession Number (ML015167): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a toothy proliferous head motif (toothy proliferation) (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



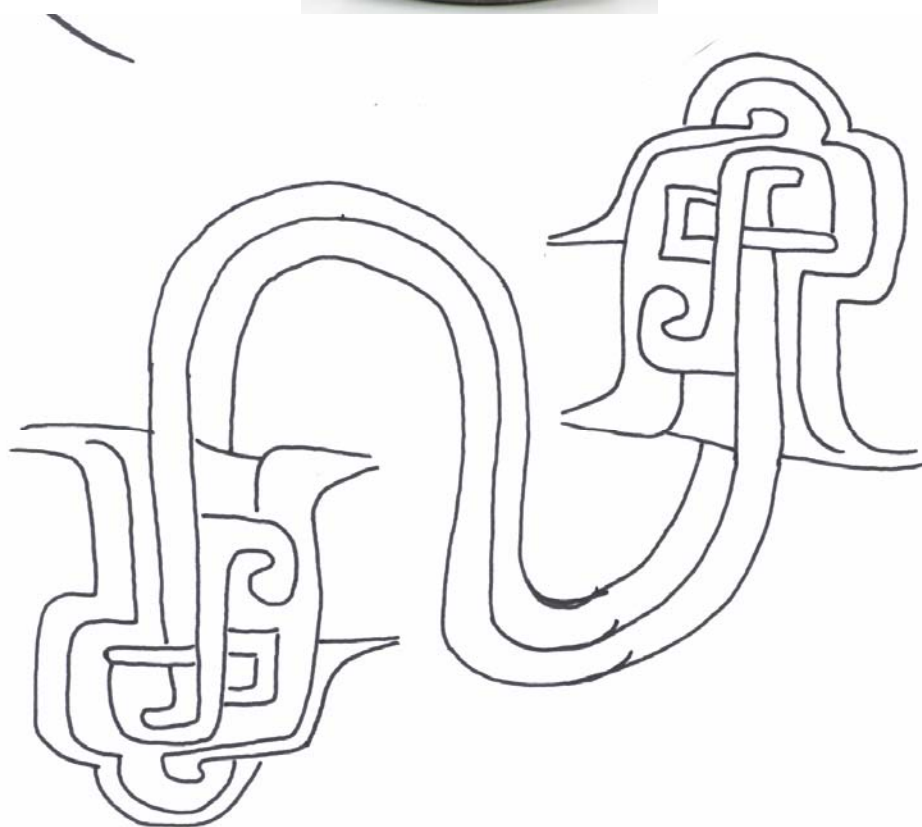
MARLH 25 - Museum Accession Number (ML015168): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif, a head motif and two flower-like motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



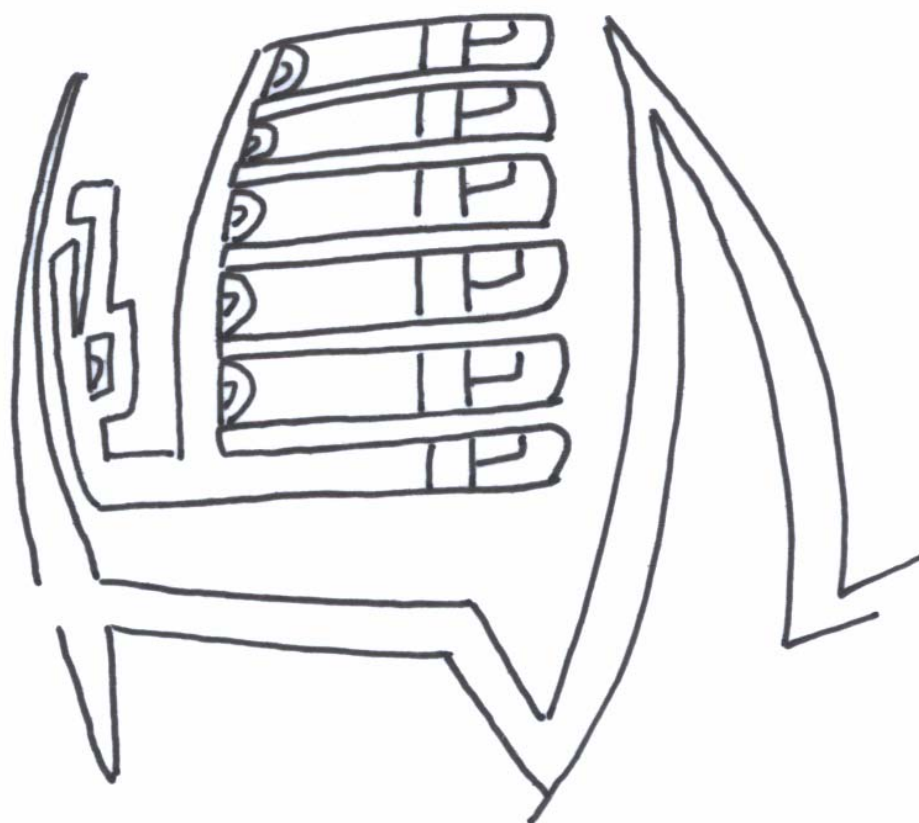
MARLH 26 - Museum Accession Number (ML015169): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 27 - Museum Accession Number (ML015170): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



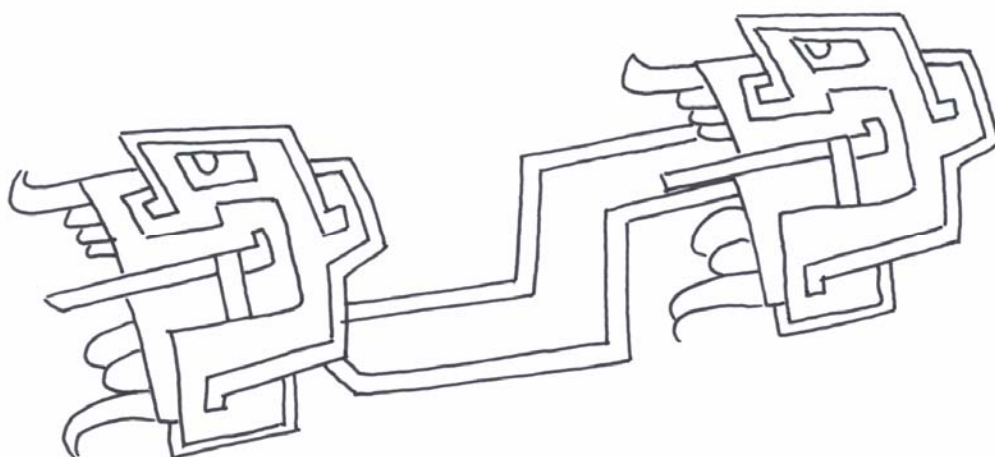
MARLH 28 - Museum Accession Number (ML015172): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical, reversed fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



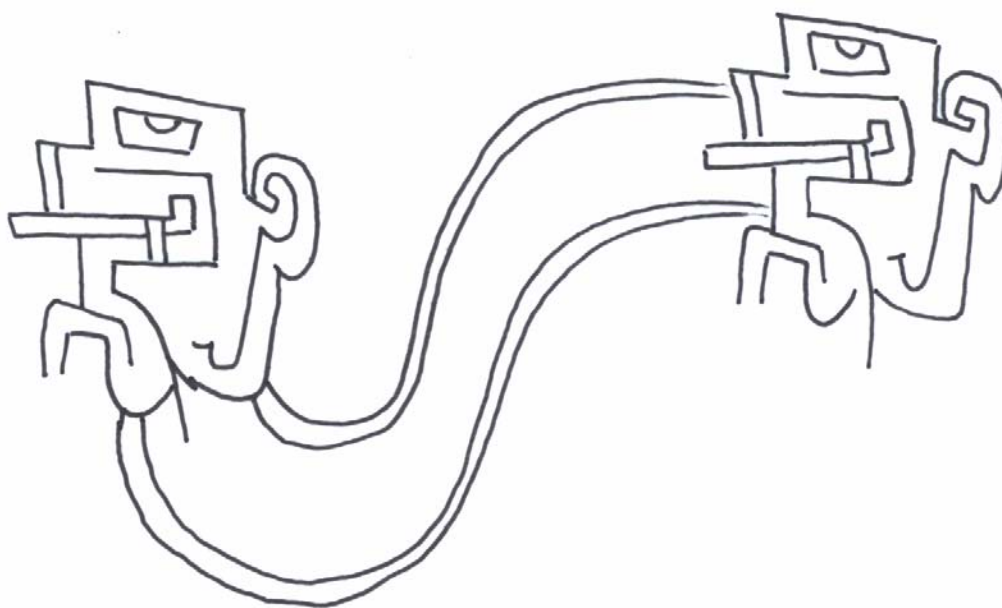
MARLH 29 - Museum Accession Number (ML015174): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with three almost identical bird motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 30 - Museum Accession Number (ML015175): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



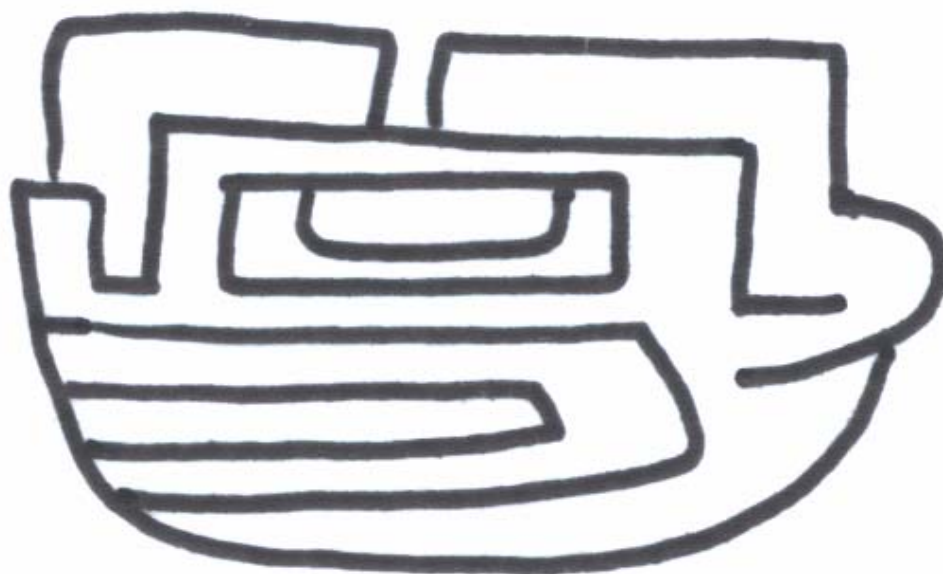
MARLH 31 - Museum Accession Number (ML015176): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 32 - Museum Accession Number (ML015177): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



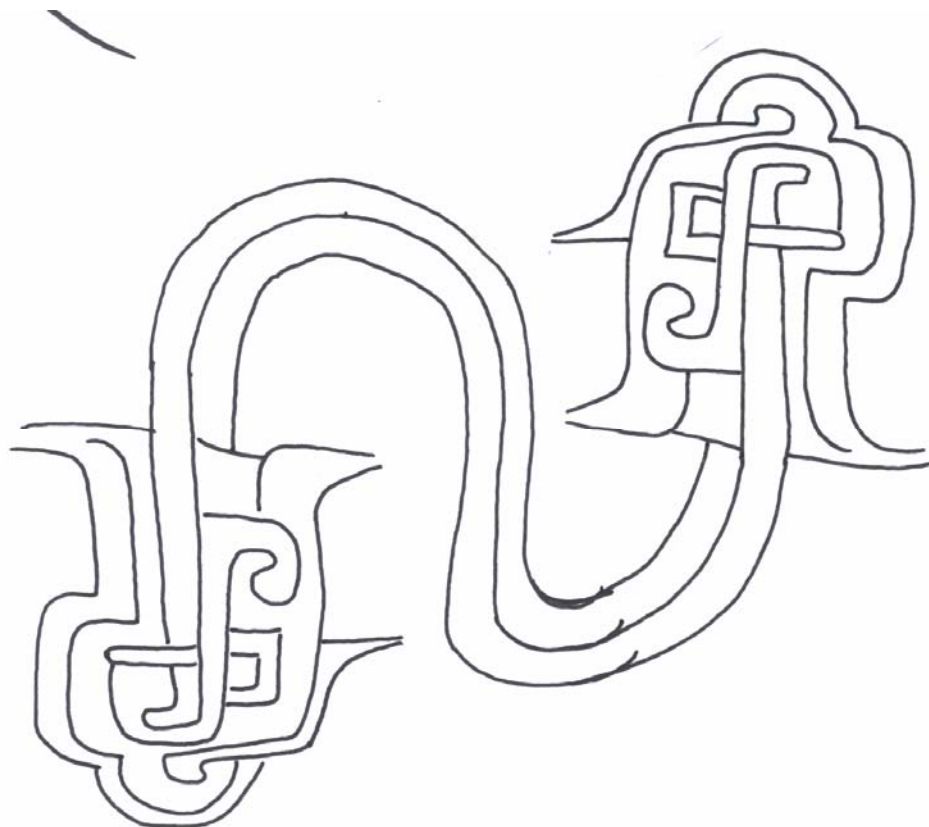
MARLH 33 - Museum Accession Number (ML015178): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



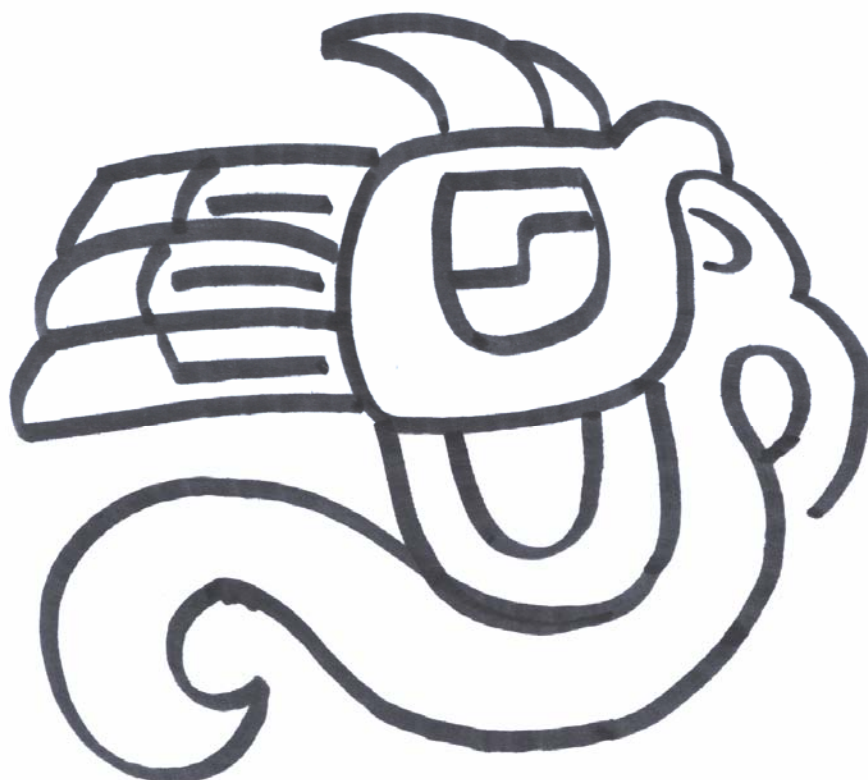
MARLH 34 - Museum Accession Number (ML015245): Ceramic plate decorated with five identical monkey-like human head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



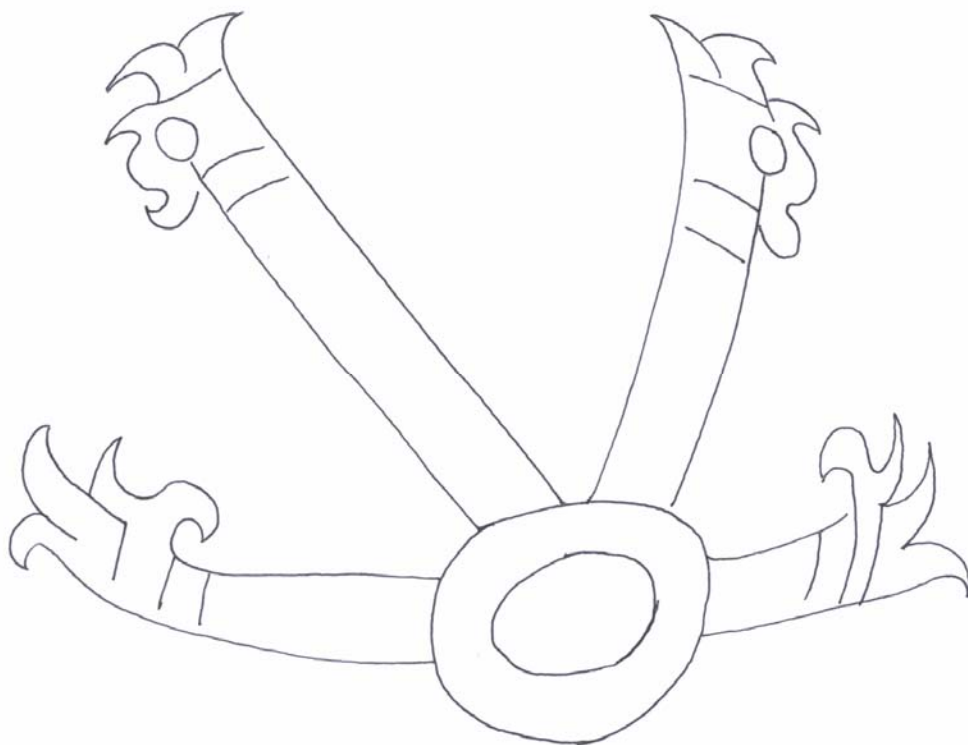
MARLH 35 - Museum Accession Number (ML015293): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with one large fanged head motif engraved before the final firing process (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



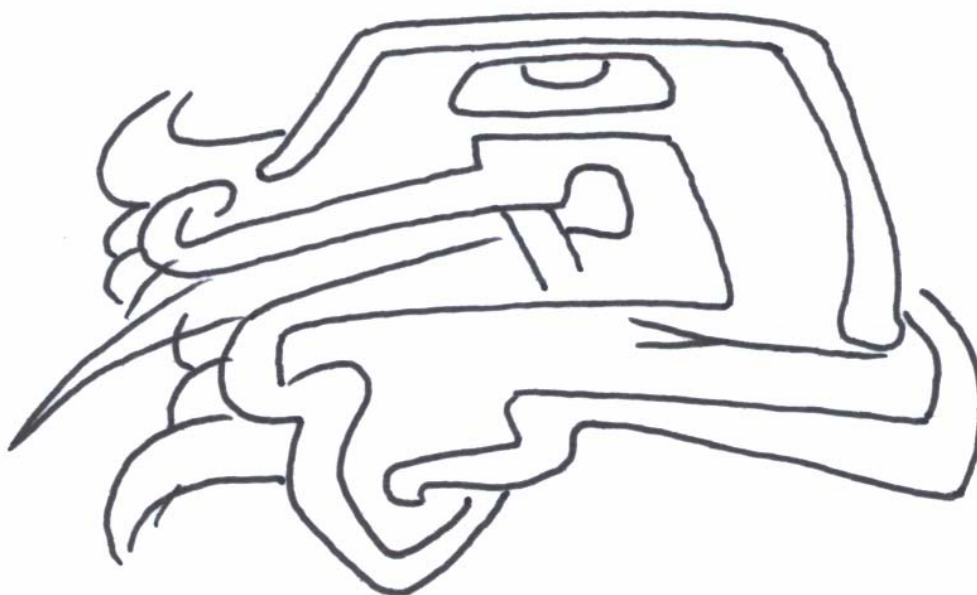
MARLH 36 - Museum Accession Number (ML015438): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical, reversed fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



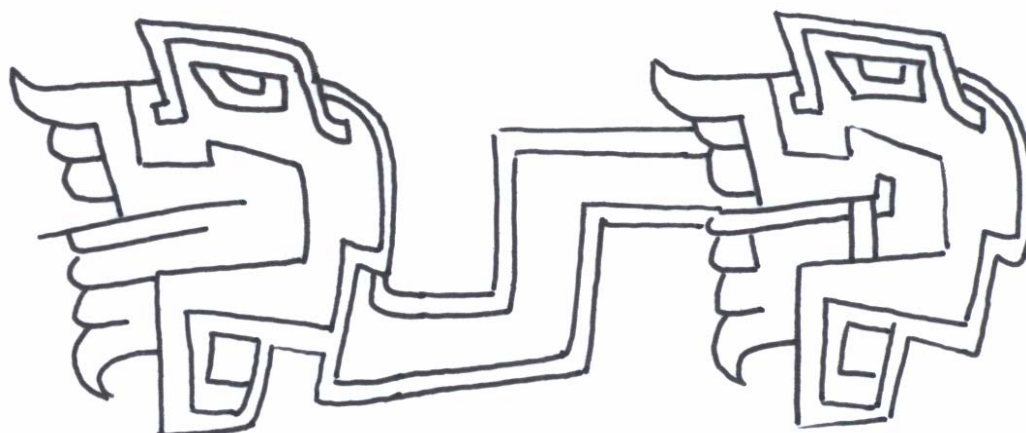
MARLH 37 - Museum Accession Number (ML015442): Ceramic bottle decorated with almost two almost identical bird motifs on each side (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



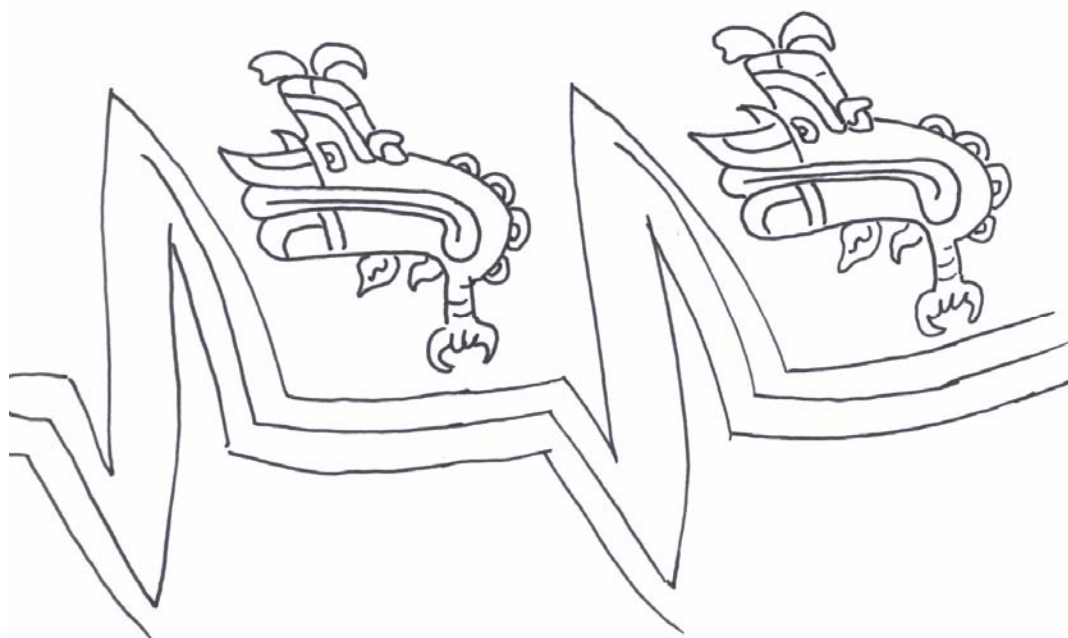
MARLH 38 - Museum Accession Number (ML015452): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four serpent heads
(photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 39 - Museum Accession Number (ML015507): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



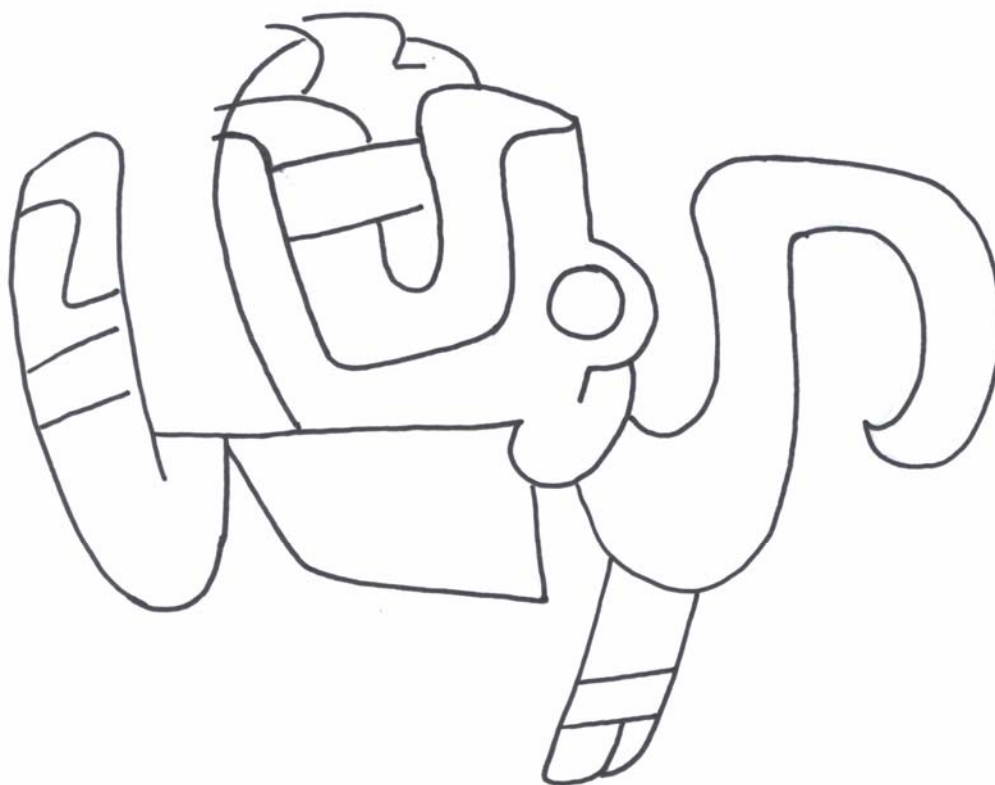
MARLH 40 - Museum Accession Number (ML015514): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with two almost identical fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



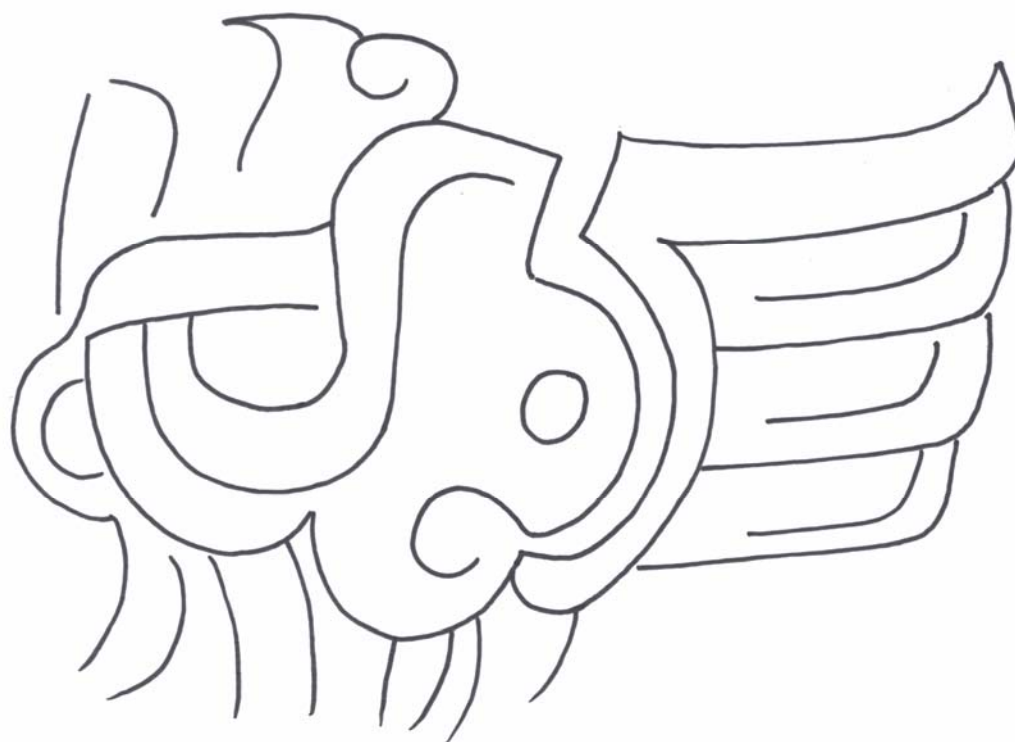
MARLH 41 - Museum Accession Number (ML015515): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated four almost identical spider deity motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 42 - Museum Accession Number (ML015518): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four almost identical monkey-like head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



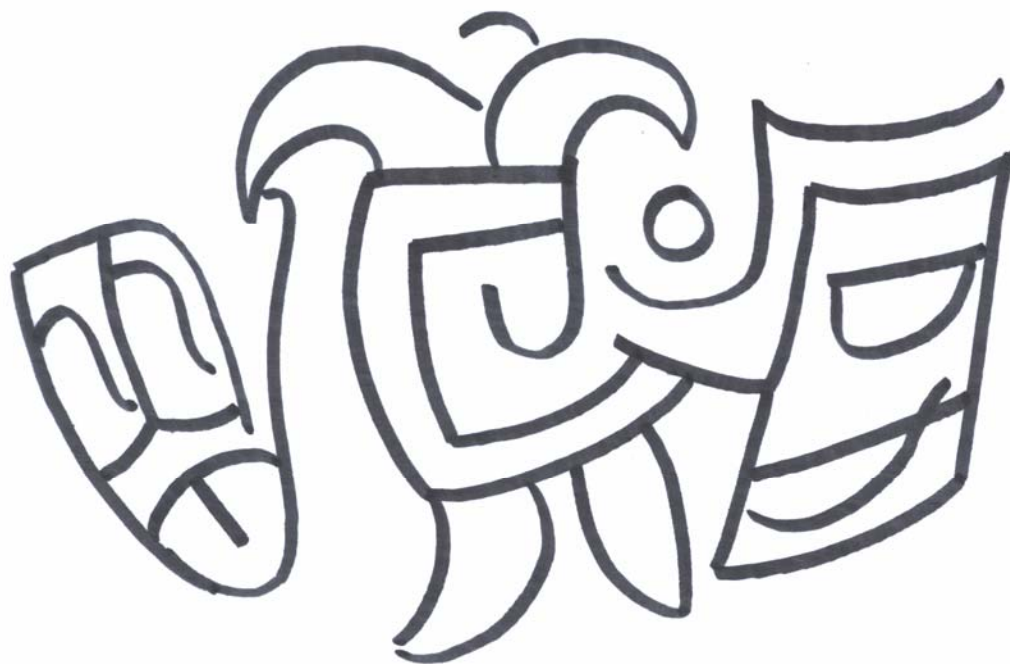
MARLH 43 - Museum Accession Number (ML040328): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with bird motifs
(photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



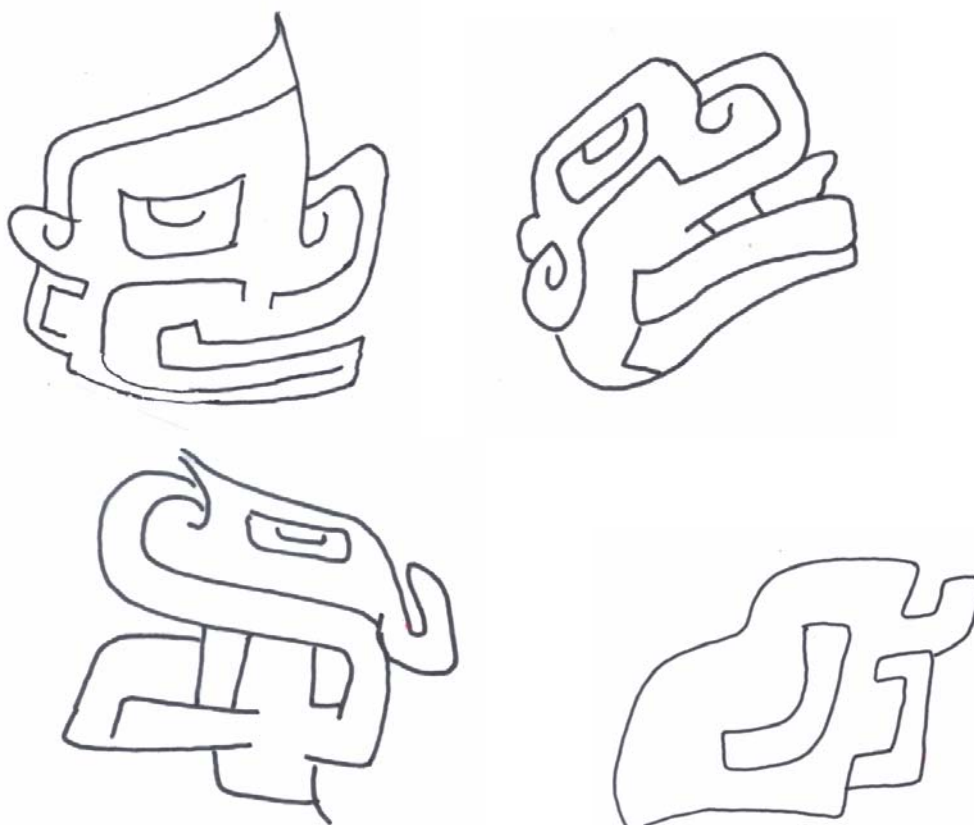
MARLH 44 - Museum Accession Number (ML040329): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with bird motifs
(photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



MARLH 45 - Museum Accession Number (ML040332): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with bird imagery relief (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



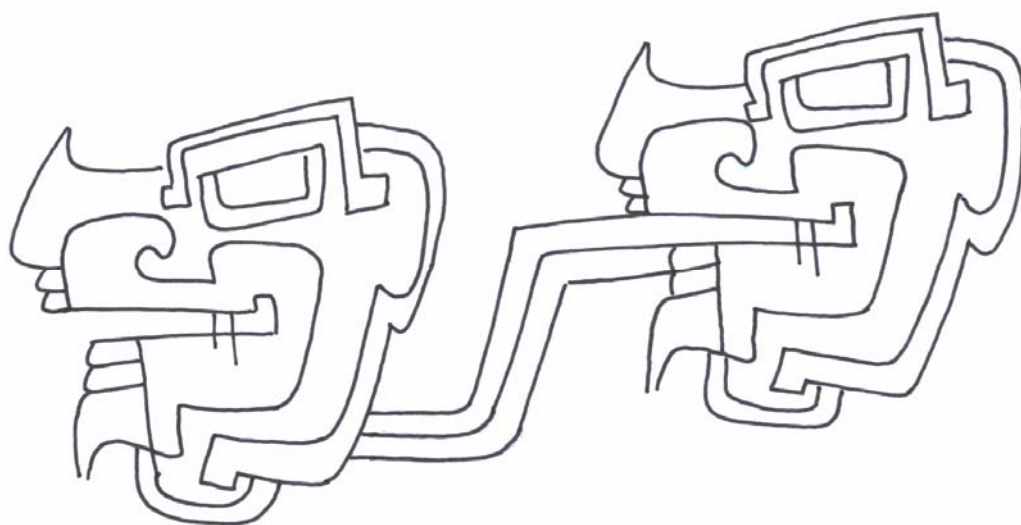
MARLH 46 - Museum Accession Number (ML040341): Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with bird motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



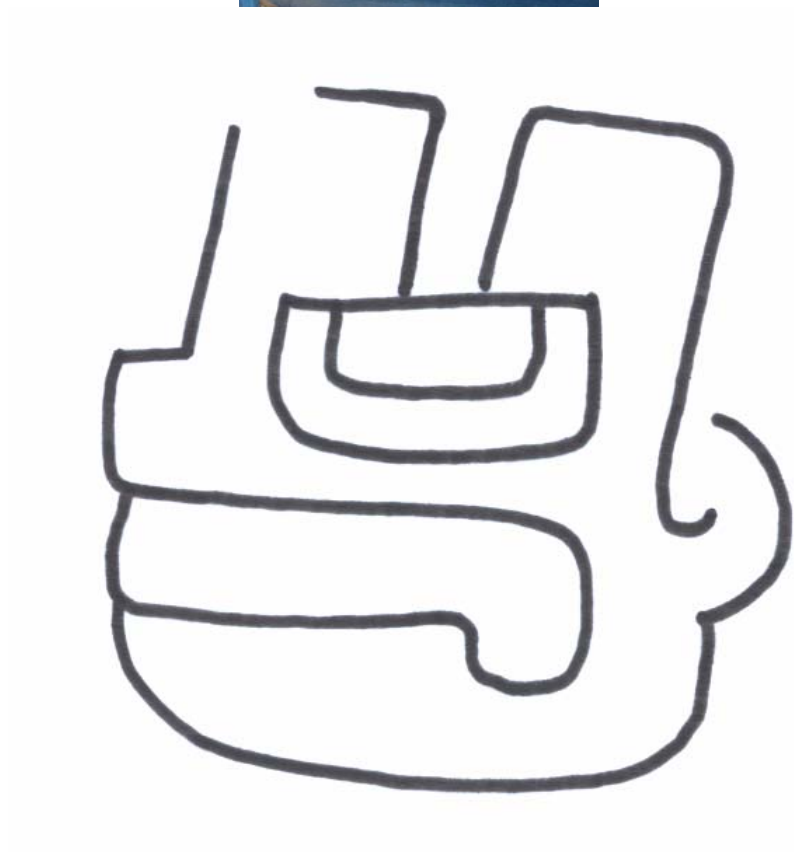
MARLH 47 - Museum Accession Number (ML040343): Manioc tubers stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four different fanged head motifs (photo courtesy of the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum)



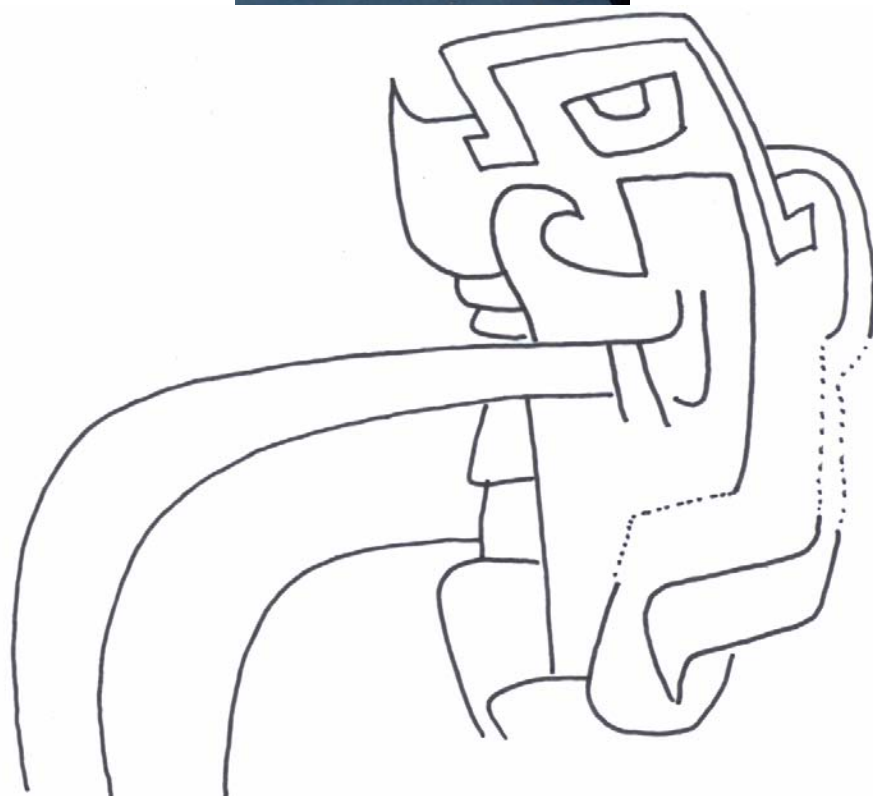
MARLH 48 - Ceramic Accession Number (ML015579): Ceramic pot decorated with jaguar imagery



MARLH 49: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with two identical fanged head motifs



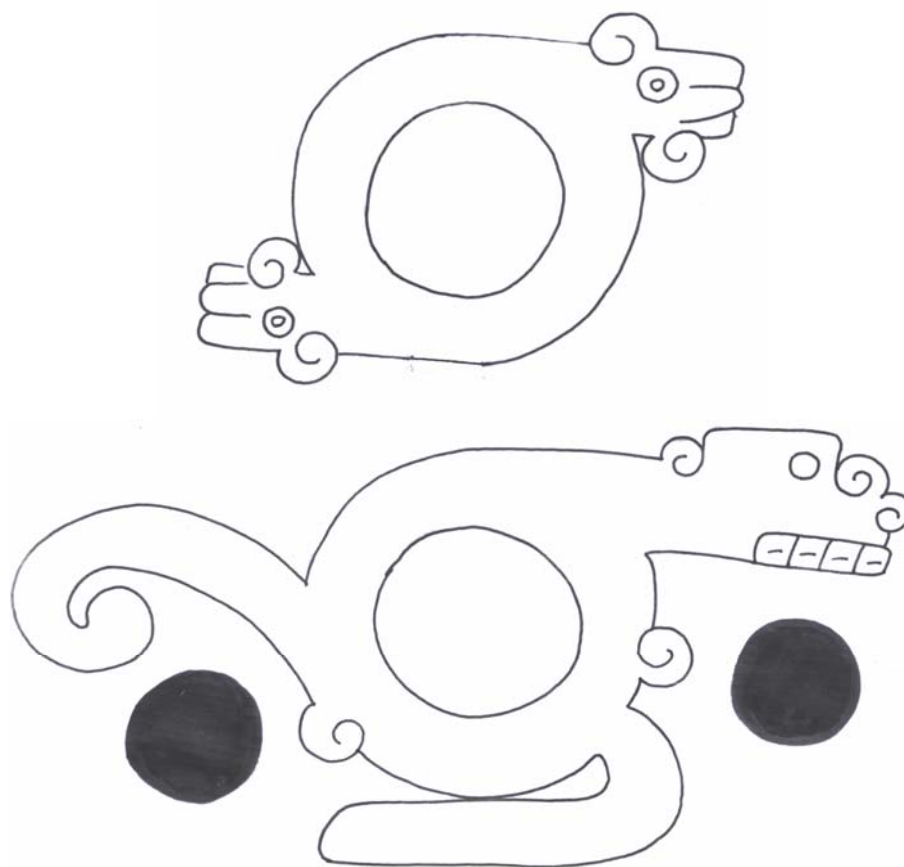
MARLH 50: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a monkey-like head motif



MARLH 51: Stirrup-spouted decorated with a fanged head motif

The Head Motifs from Museo de la Nacion (MN)

All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



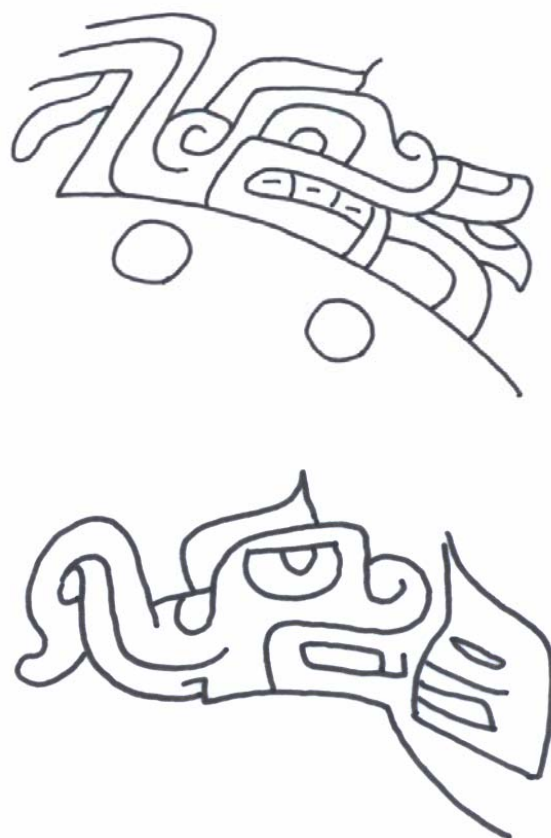
MN1: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a serpent motif and a two head serpent motif



MN2: Swimming human shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four identical abstract head motifs

The Head Motifs from the Museo de Arte de Lima (MAL)

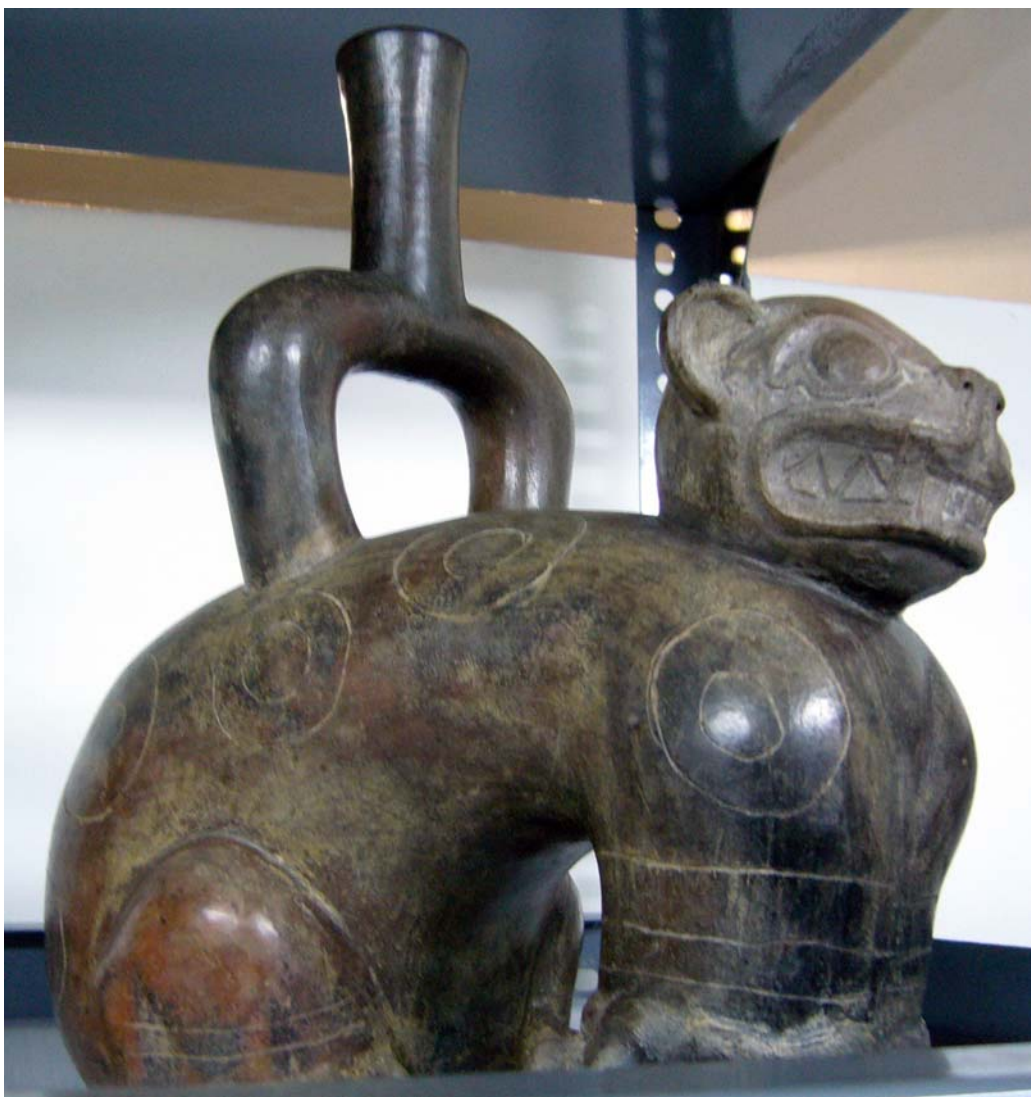
All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



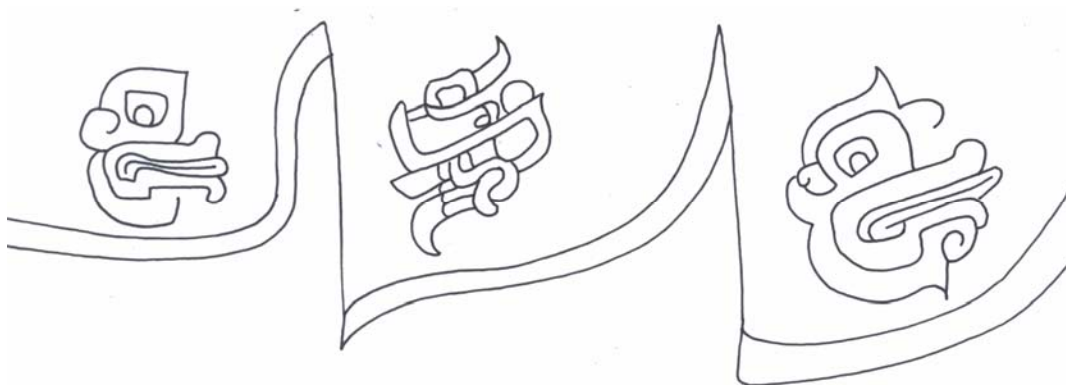
MAL 1: Stirrup-spouted vessel taking two conjoined shells of the conch and the spondylus shells decorated with two different fanged head motifs located on top of the conch shell



MAL 2: Stirrup-spouted vessel conjoining a fish body, which is connected to a feline head



MAL 3: Feline shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with double circular motifs



MAL 4: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with three different head motifs



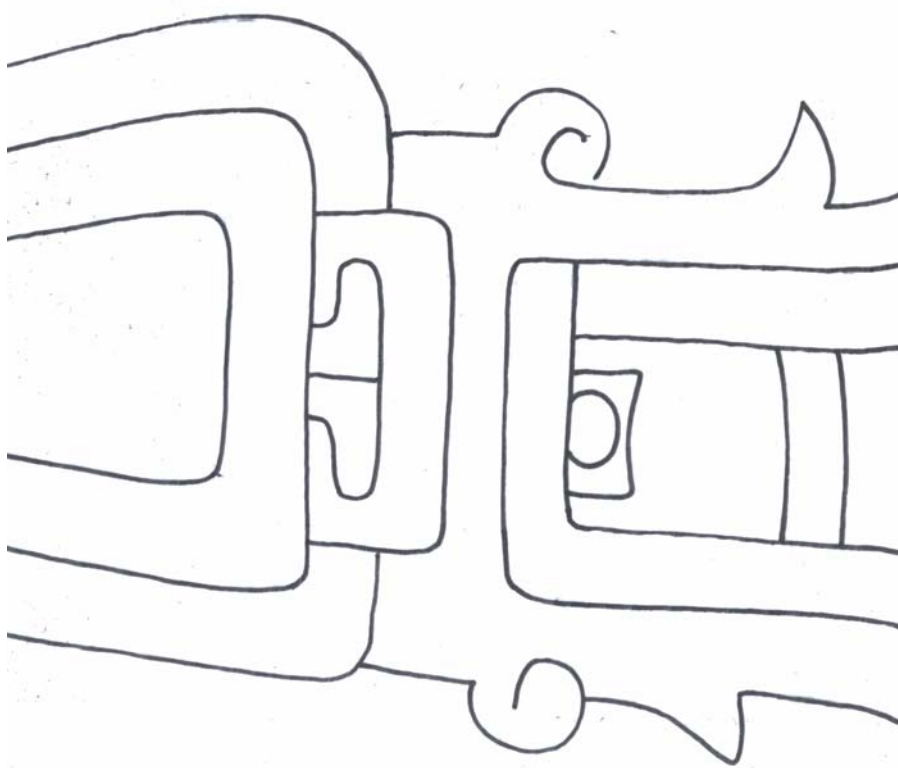
MAL 5: Ceramic bowl decorated with four identical head motifs

**The Head Motifs from the Museo Nacional de Arqueología,
Antropología, e Historia (MNAAH)**

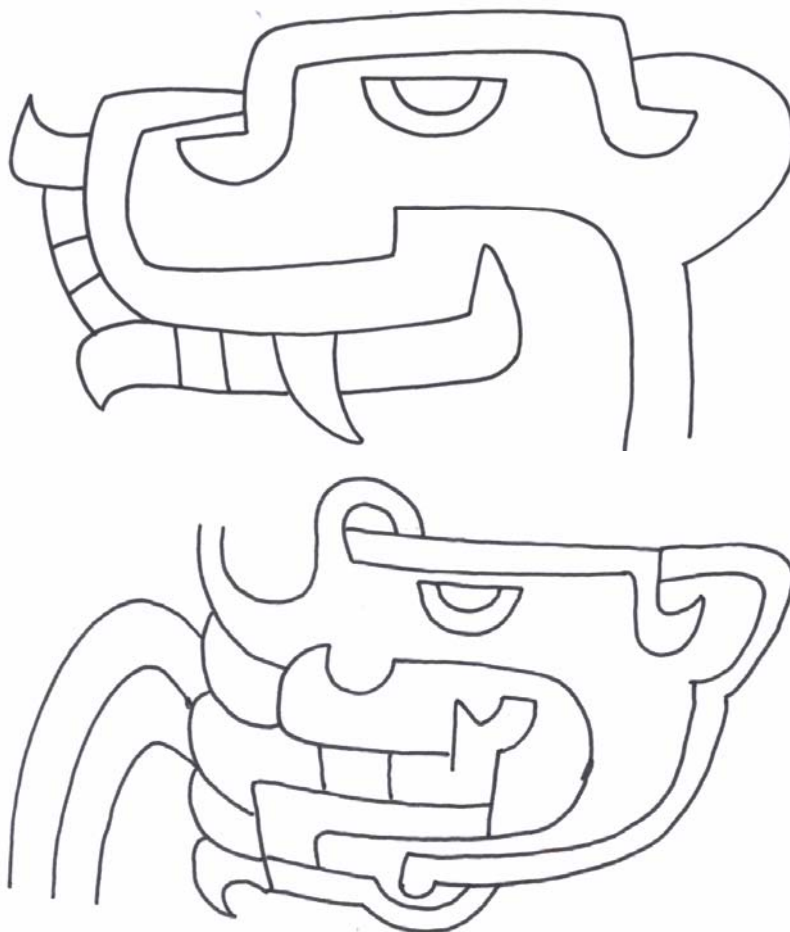
All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



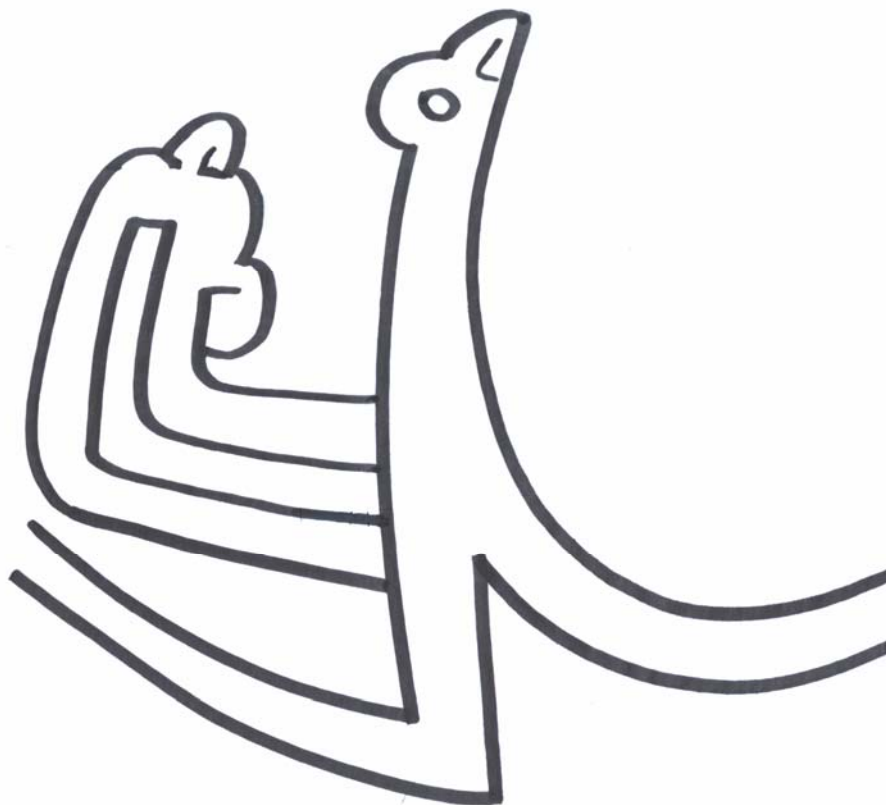
MNAAH 1: Fruit form stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with abstract head motifs



MNAAH 2: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a head motif



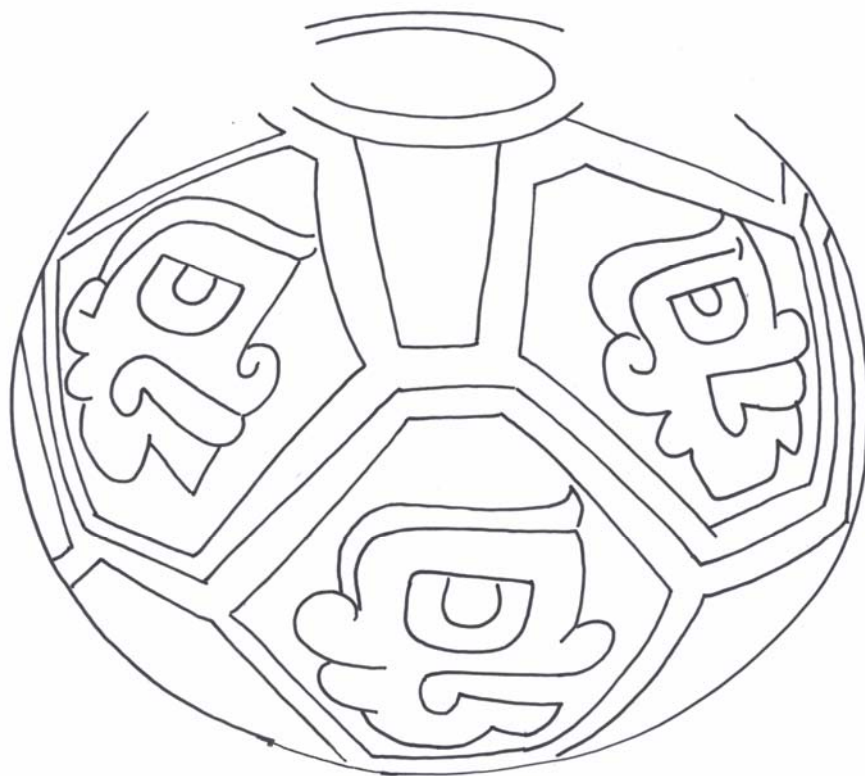
MNAAH 3: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with two different fanged head motifs



MNAAH 4: Cupisnique vessel decorated with four identical bird motifs

**The Head Motifs from
the Bruning Museum, Chiclayo, Peru (BM)**

All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



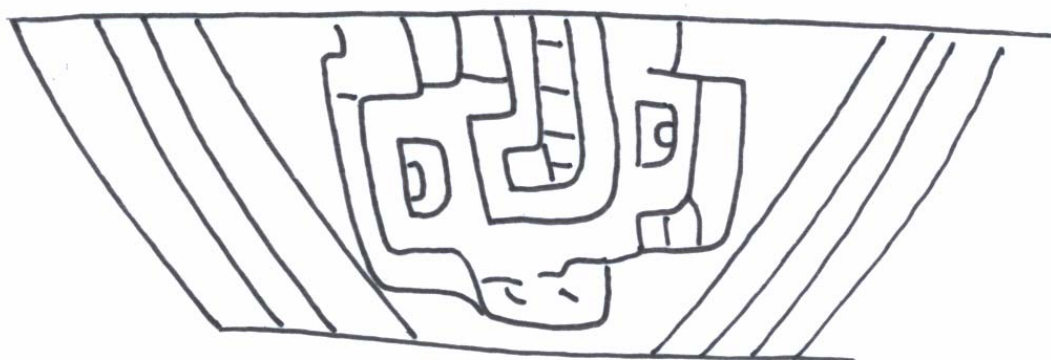
BM 1: Stirrup-spouted vessels decorated various identical head motifs



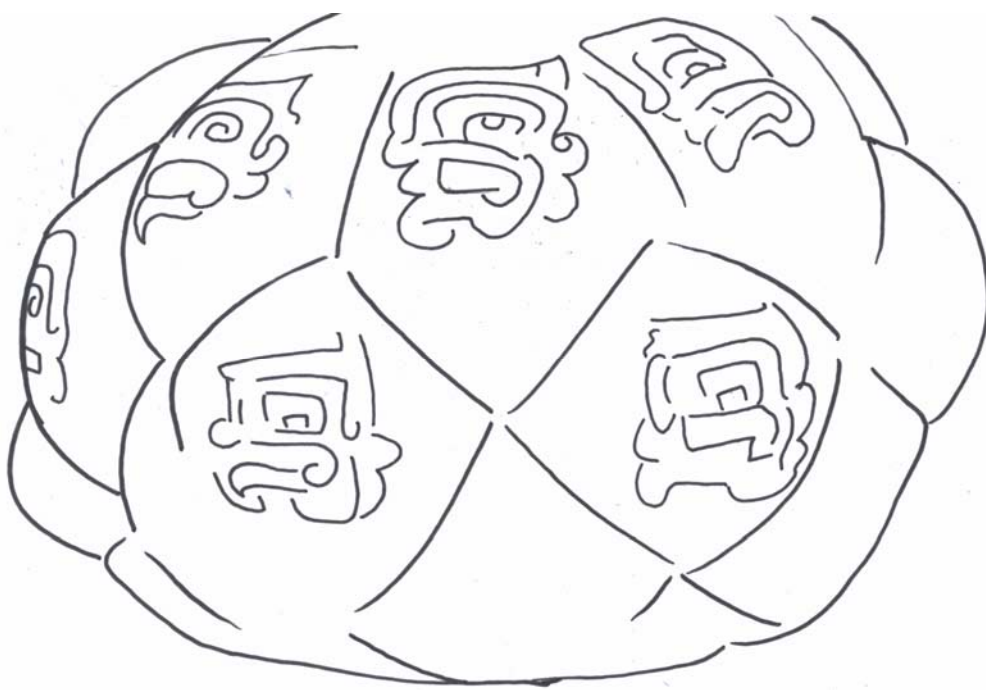
BM 2: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with head and double circular motifs



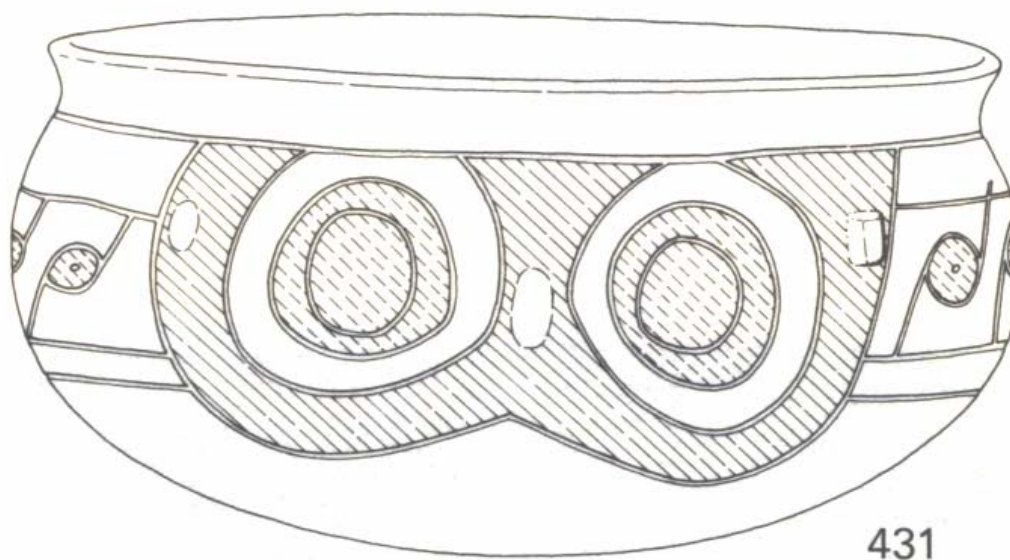
BM 3: Stirrup-spouted vessel shapes coiled snakes, which have jaguar heads.
The composite animals of jaguar and snake



BM 4: Ceramic plate decorated with caiman-like head motifs



BM 5: Gourd shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical head motifs



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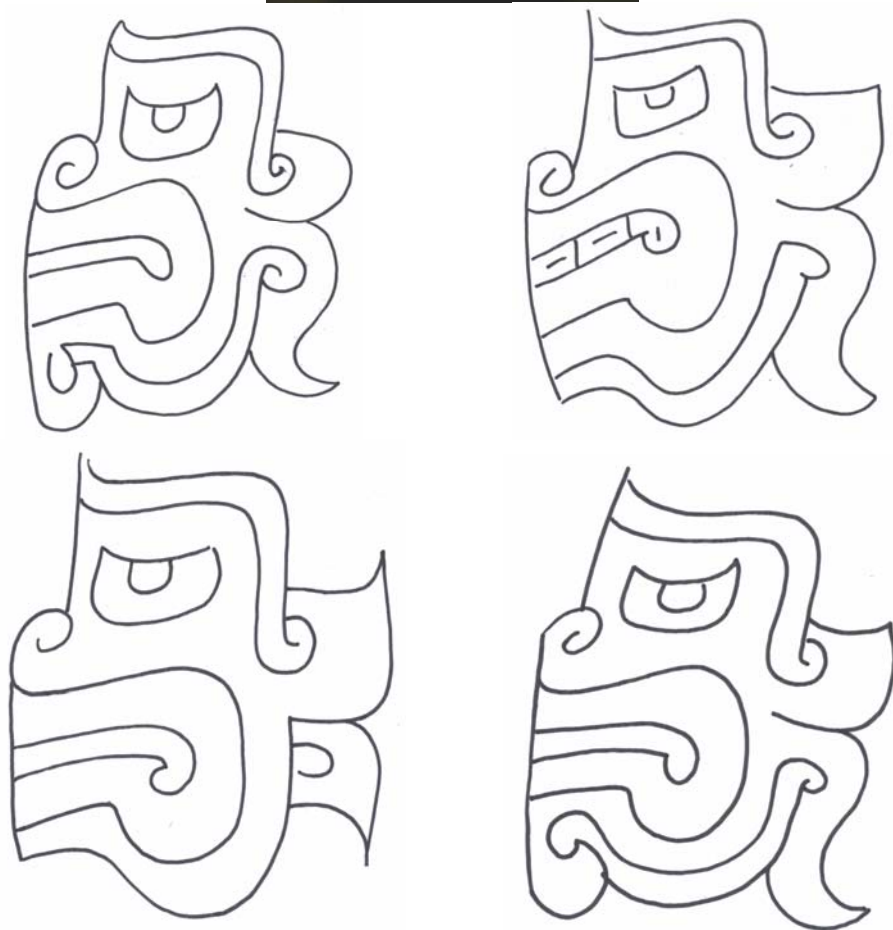
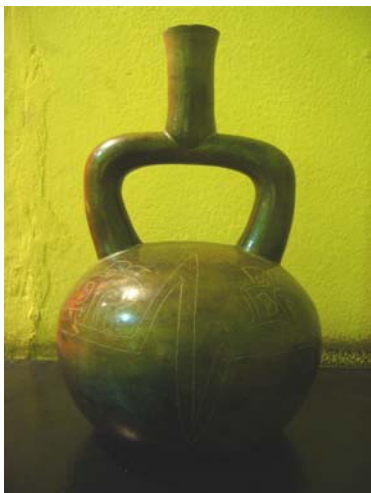
BM 6: Ceramic bowl decorated with the eyes of an owl
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 191

**The Head Motifs from the Museo de Arqueología de la
Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Peru (MAUNT)**

All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



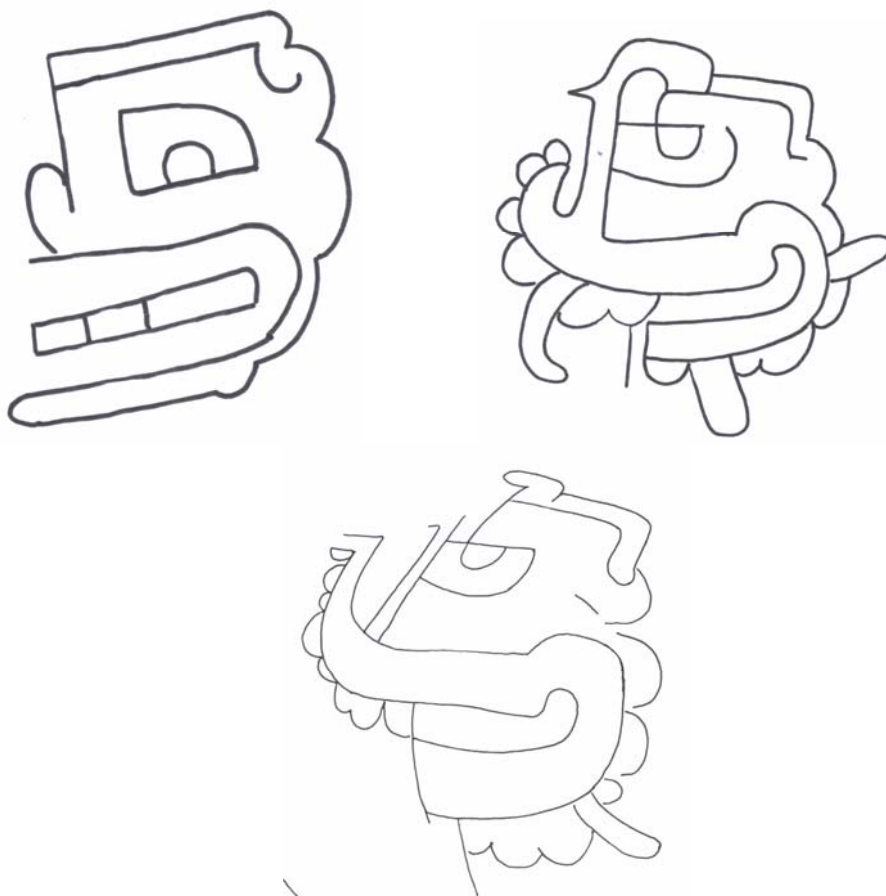
MAUNT 1: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with double circular motifs, Stirrup-spouted part was broken



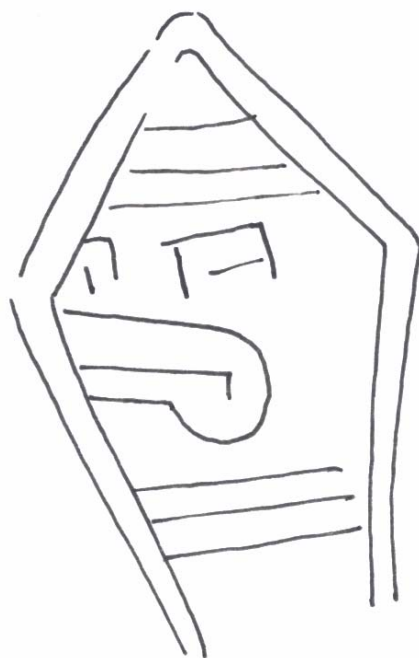
MAUNT 2: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four almost identical monkey-like head motifs

The Head Motifs from the Museo Casinelli Mazzei (MCM)

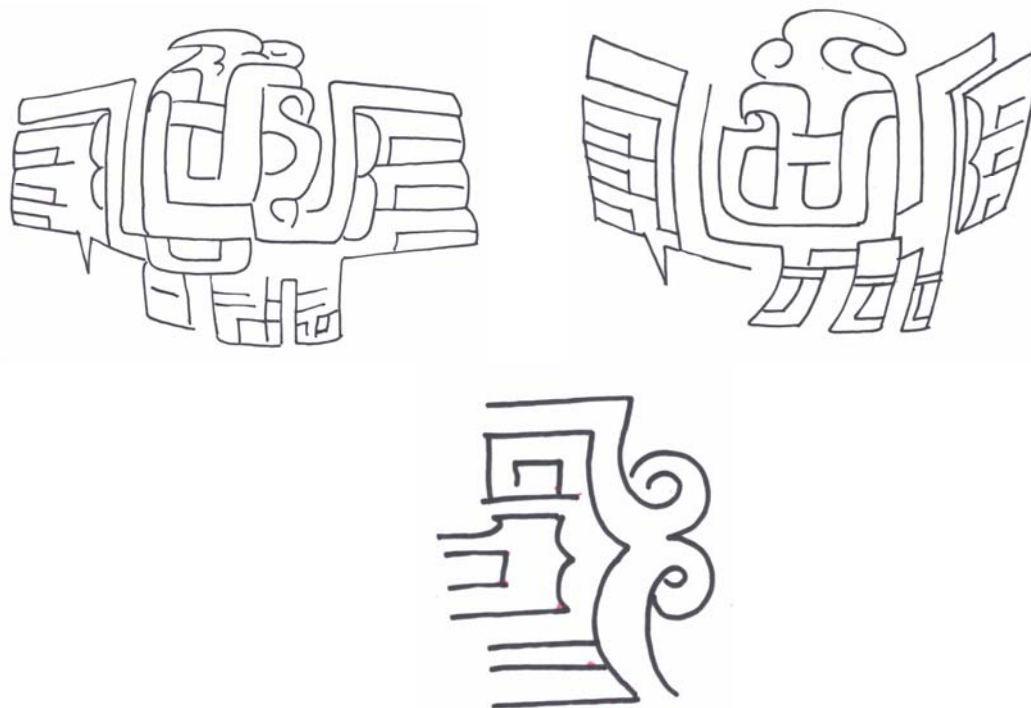
All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



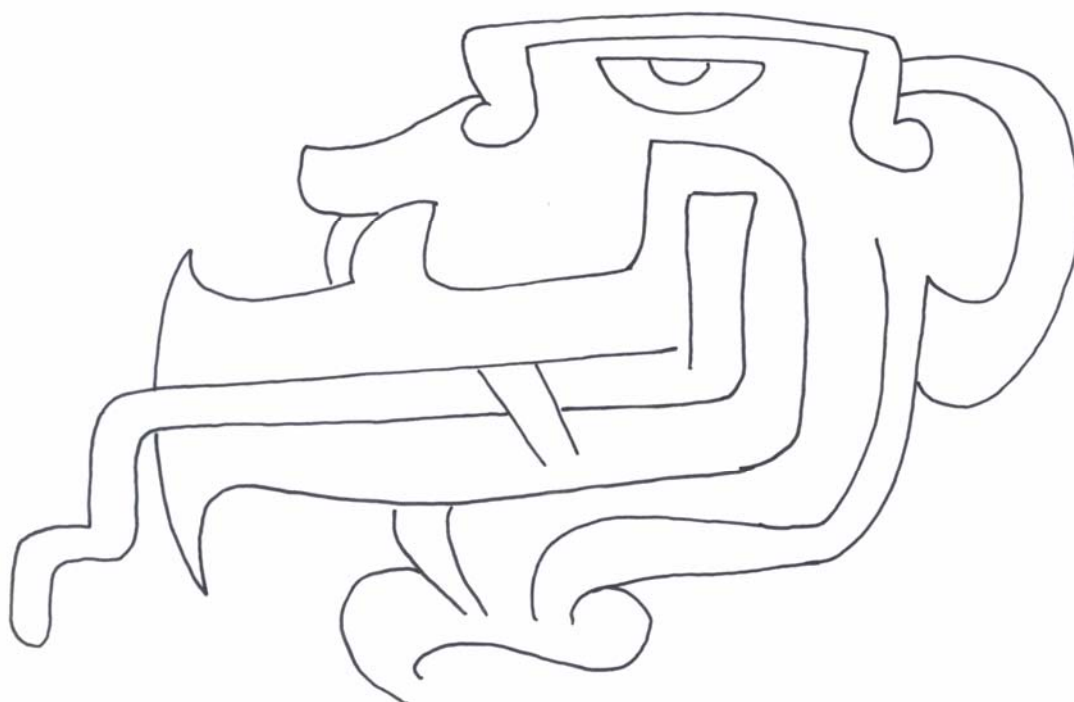
MCM 1: Stirrup-spouted vessels decorated with three different head motifs which were engraved before the final firing process



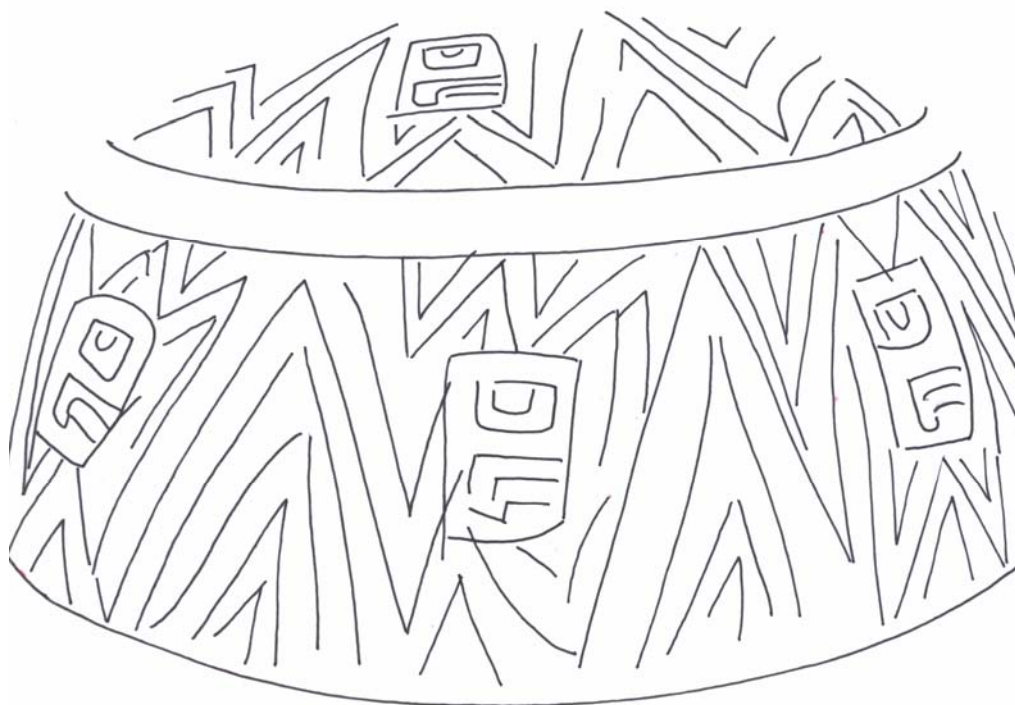
MCM 2: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical head motifs



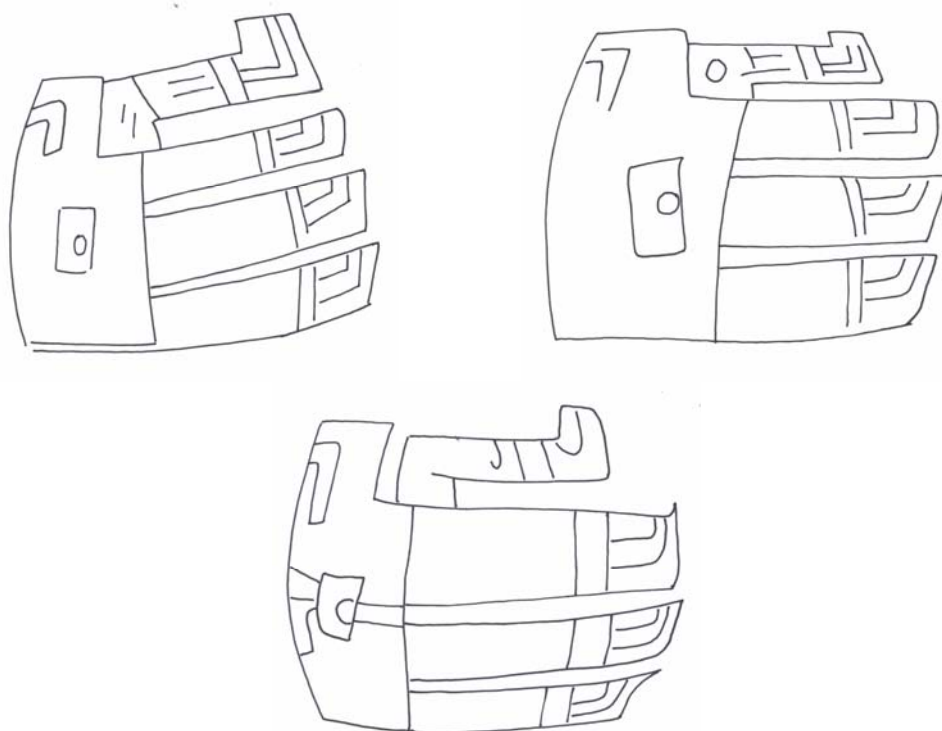
MCM 3: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with two slightly different bird motifs on its body and a head motif on each spouts



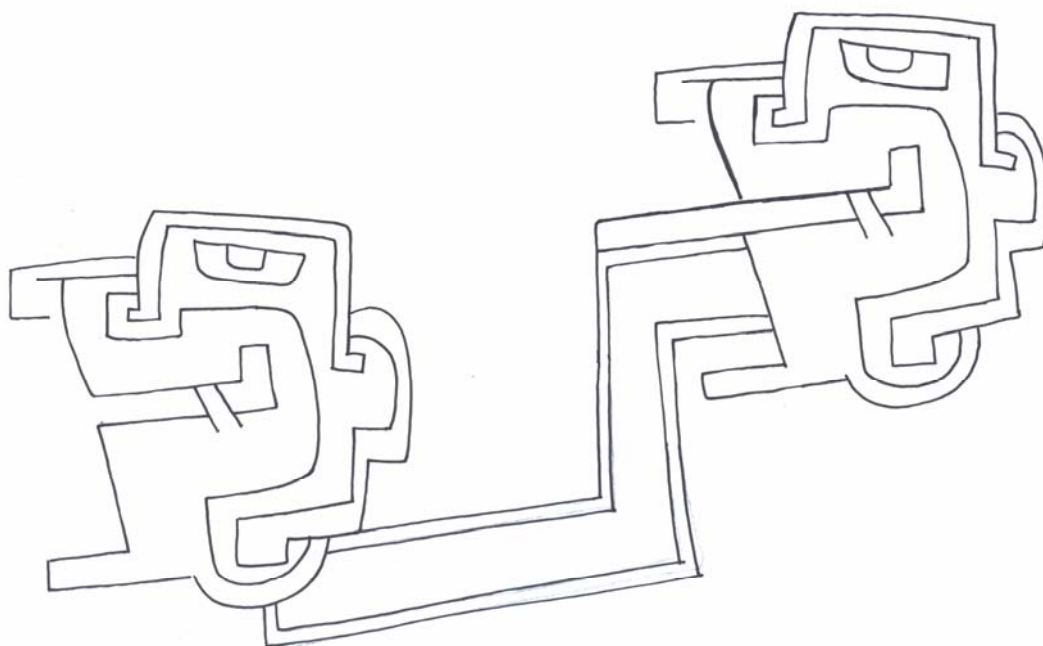
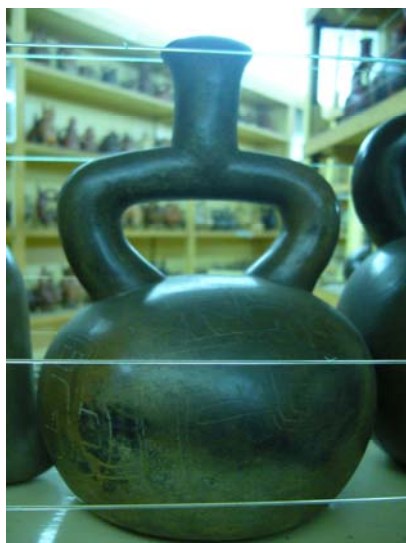
MCM 4: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif



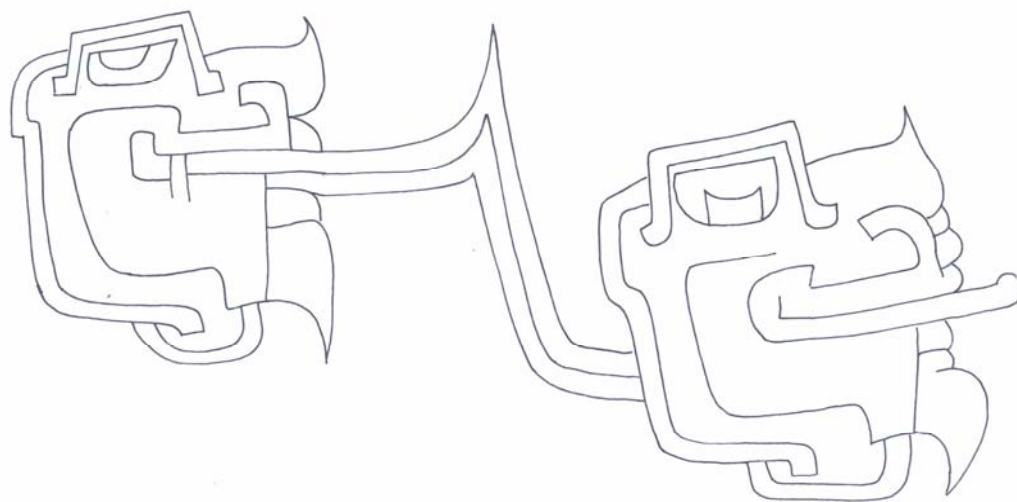
MCM 5: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical monkey-like head motifs, which are surrounded by comb motifs



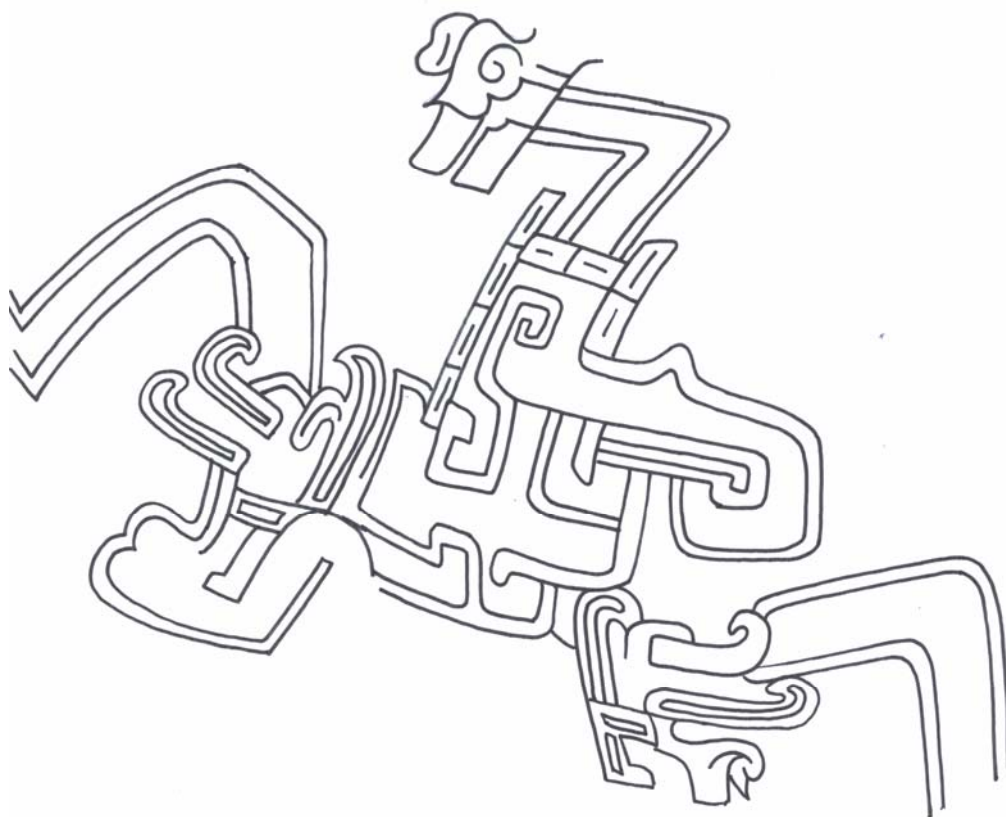
MCM 6.: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with three slightly different head and feathered motifs



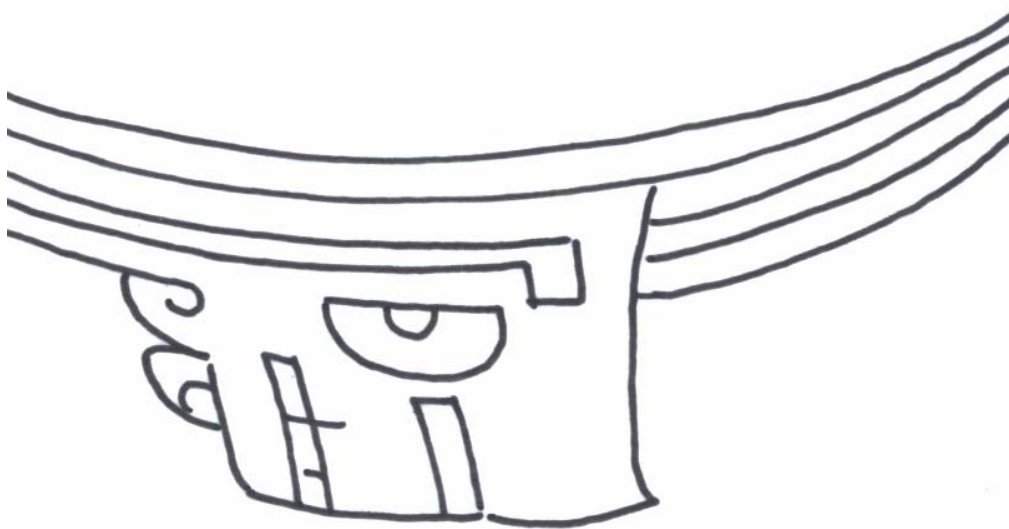
MCM 7: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical fanged head motifs



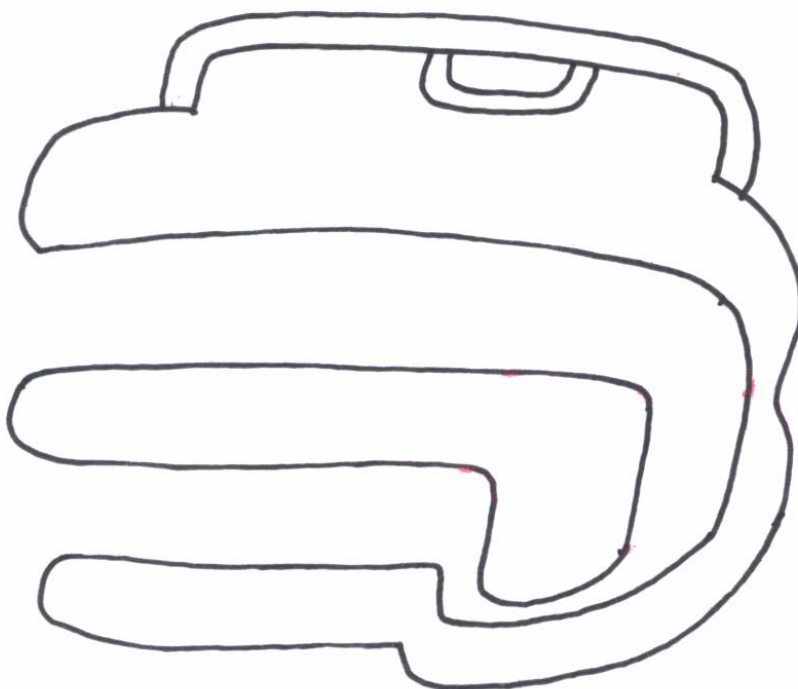
MCM 8: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical fanged head motifs



MCM 9: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif, which is connected with talons



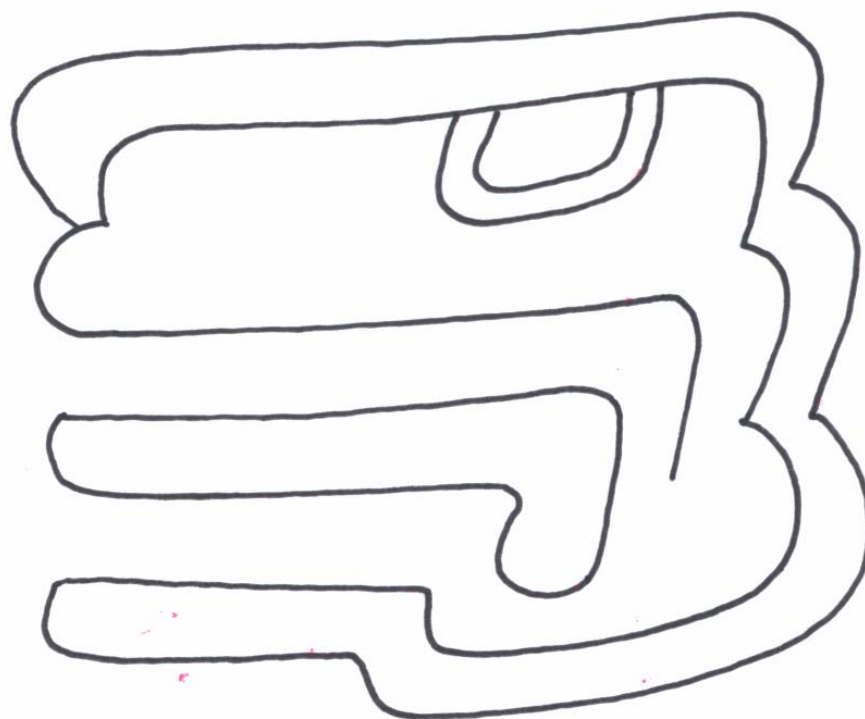
MCM 10: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with head motifs



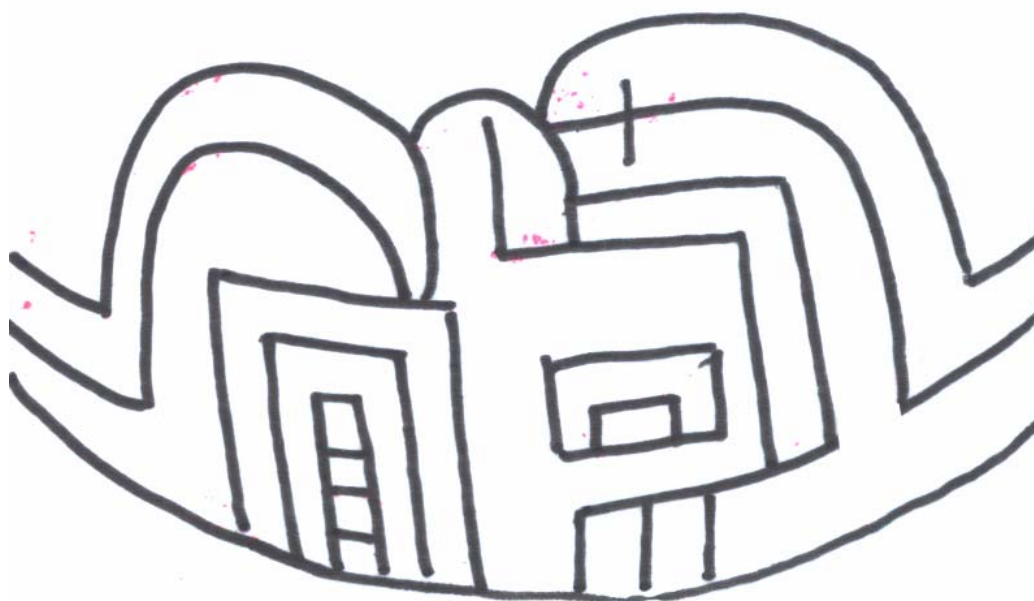
MCM 11: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a monkey-like head motif



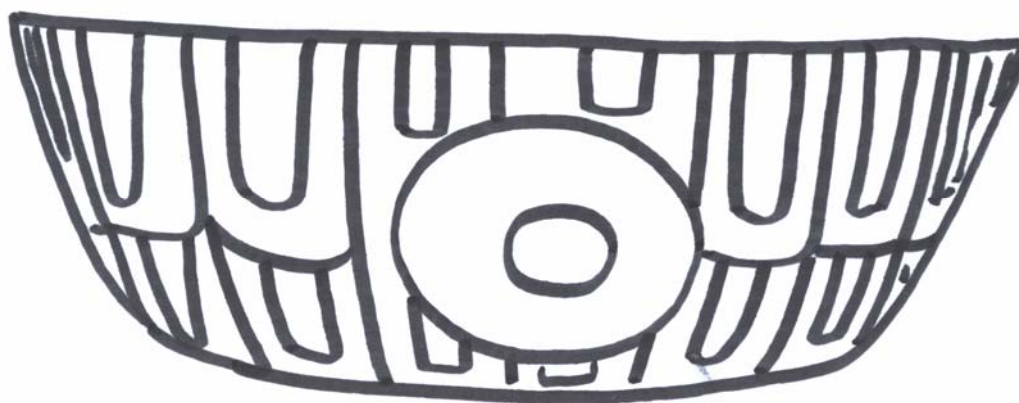
MCM 12: Ceramic bowl decorated with head motifs



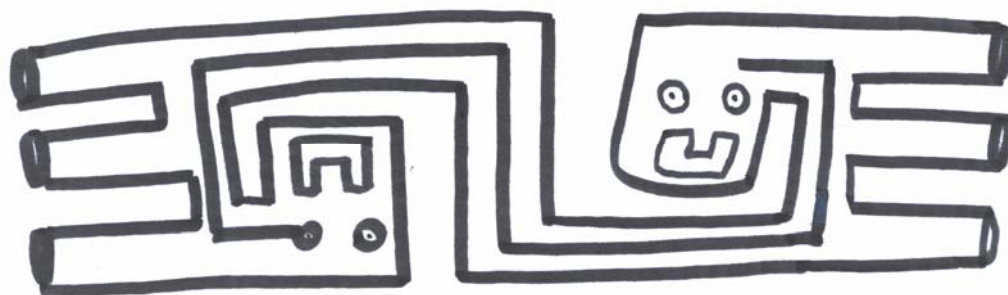
MCM 13: Ceramic bowl decorated with a monkey-like head motif



MCM 14: Ceramic bowl decorated with identical head motifs



MCM 15: Ceramic bowl decorated with feathered motifs and double circular motifs
(photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)

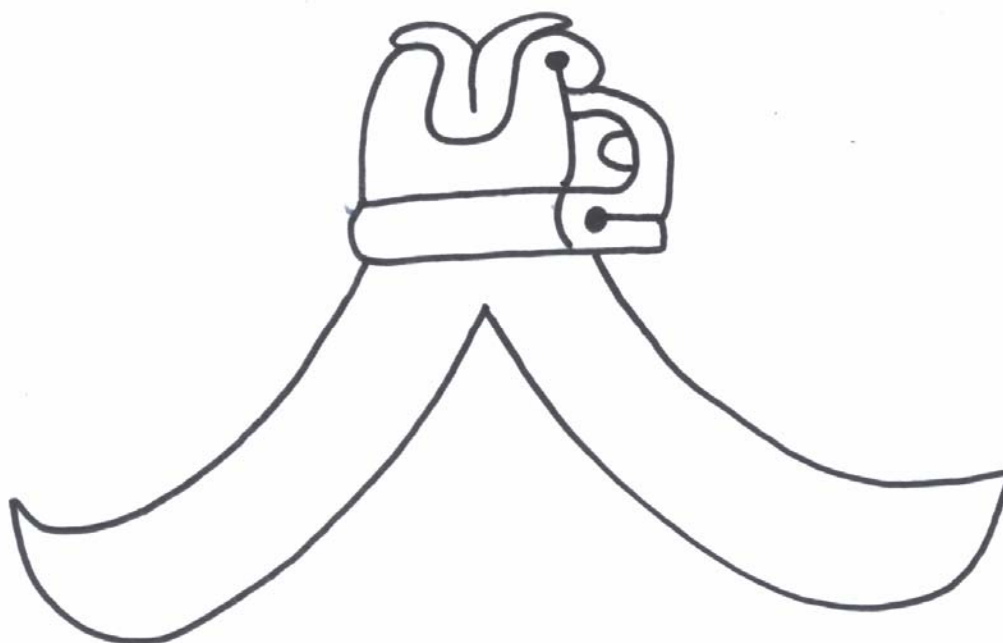


MCM 16: Ceramic bowl decorated double head serpent motifs
(photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)

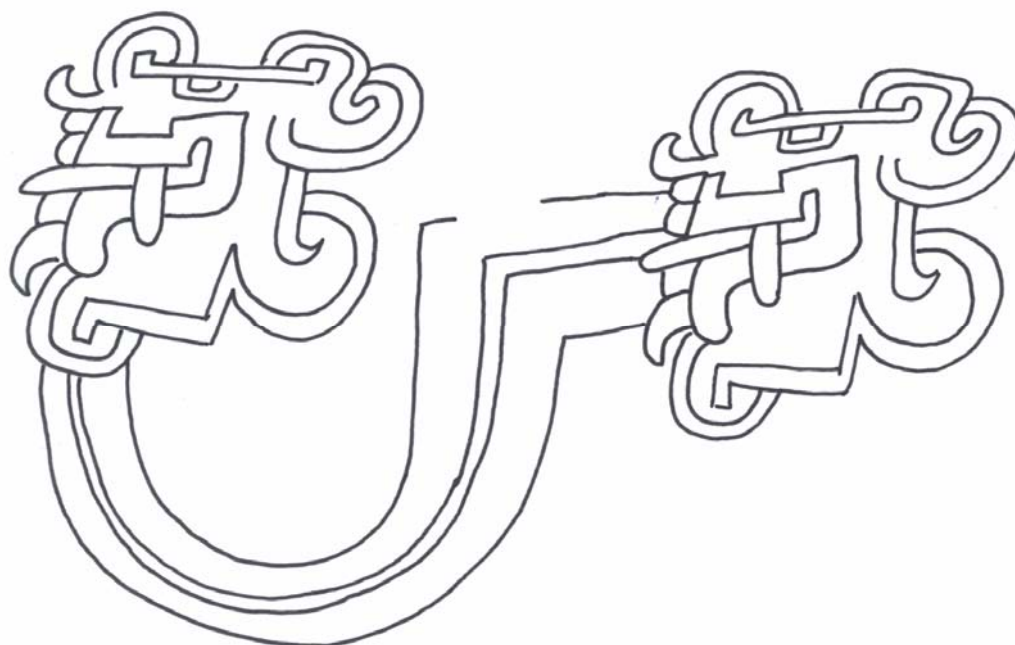


MCM 17: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with feline, serpent, and geometric motifs

The drawings from from from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 163
 (photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)



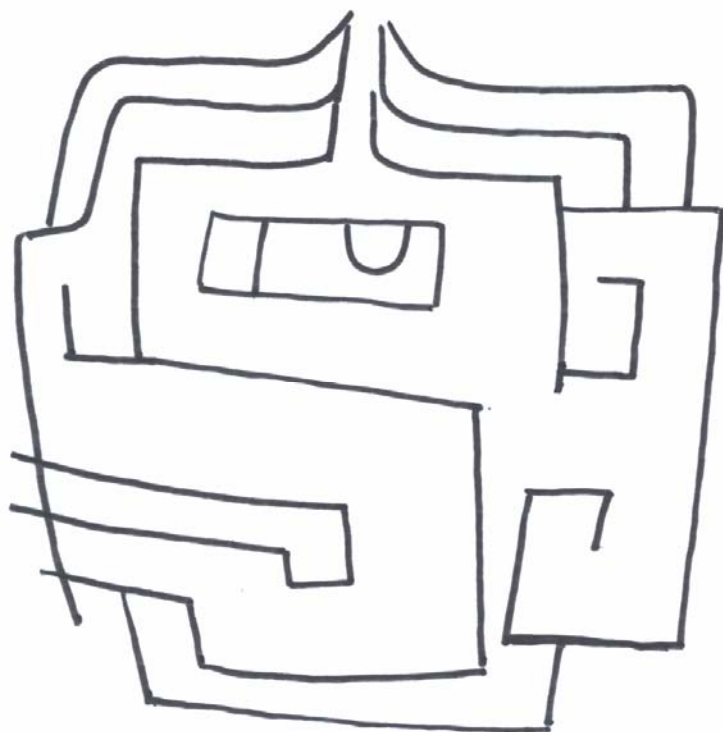
MCM 18: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a thick lip head motif (photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)



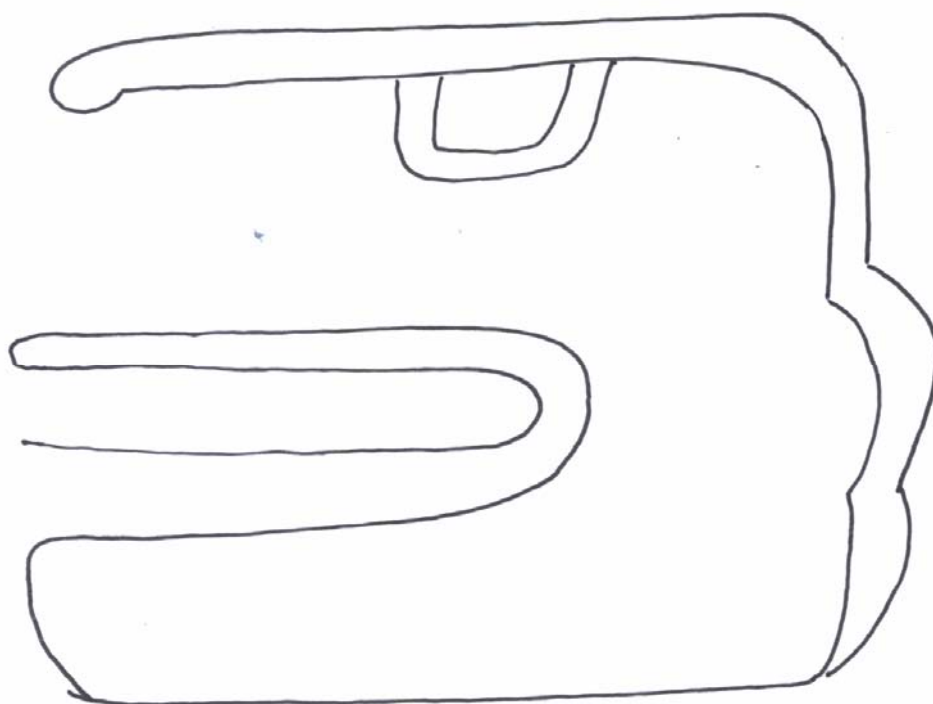
MCM 19: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical head motifs (photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)



MCM 20: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated identical head motifs
(photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)



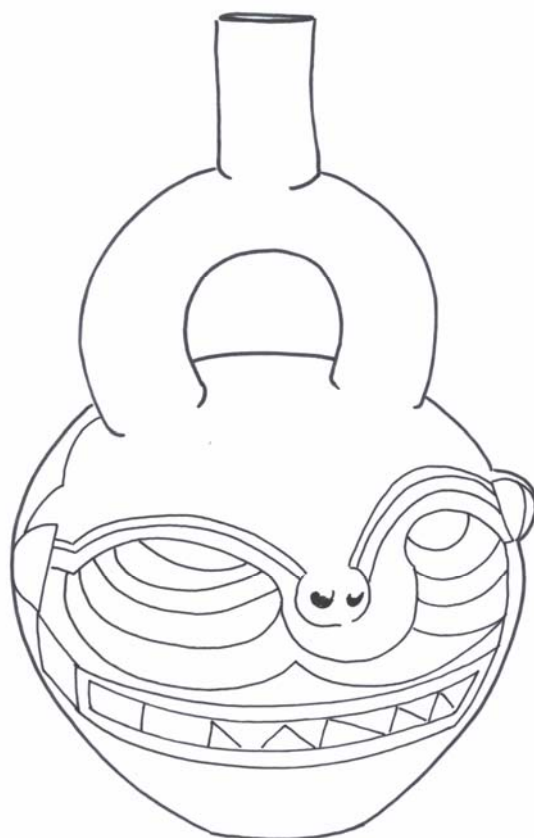
MCM 21: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical head motifs



MCM 22: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a head motif



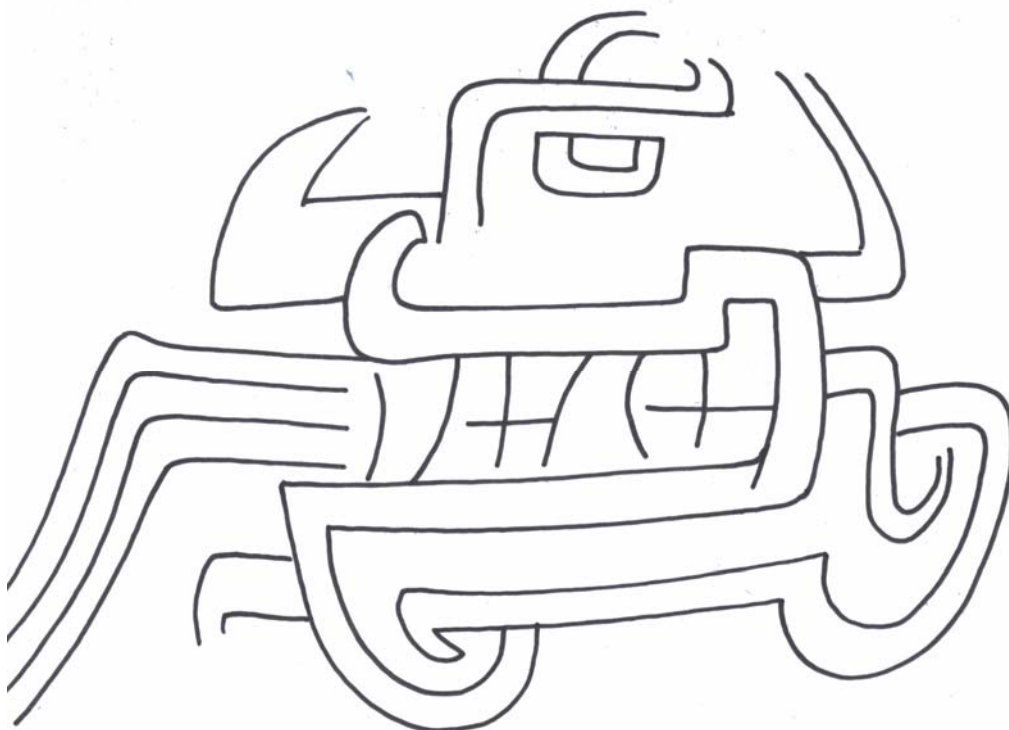
MCM 23: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with the feline head imagery
(photo courtesy of the Casinelli Mazzei Museum)



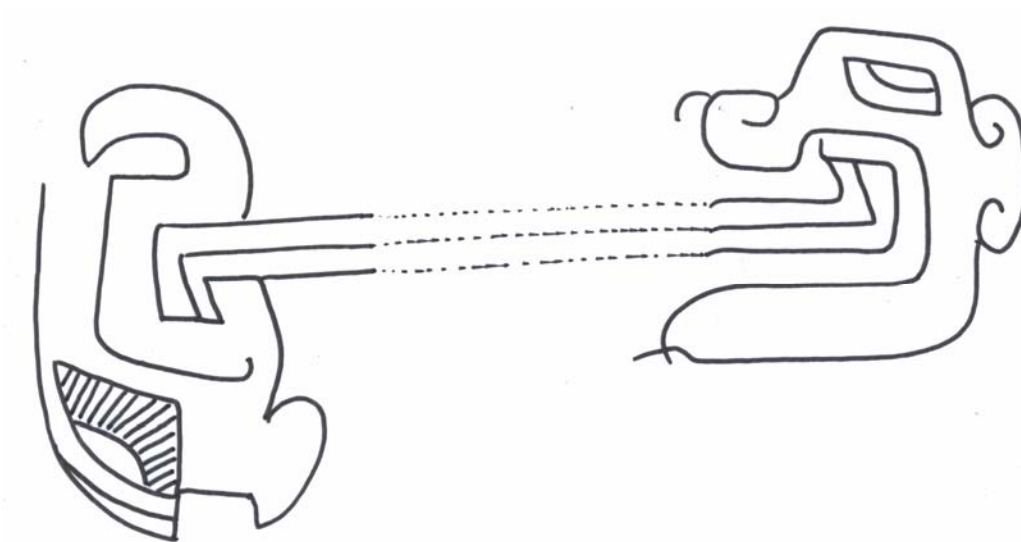
MCM 24: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a feline head motif

The Head Motifs from the Dallas Museum of Art, Texas (DMA)

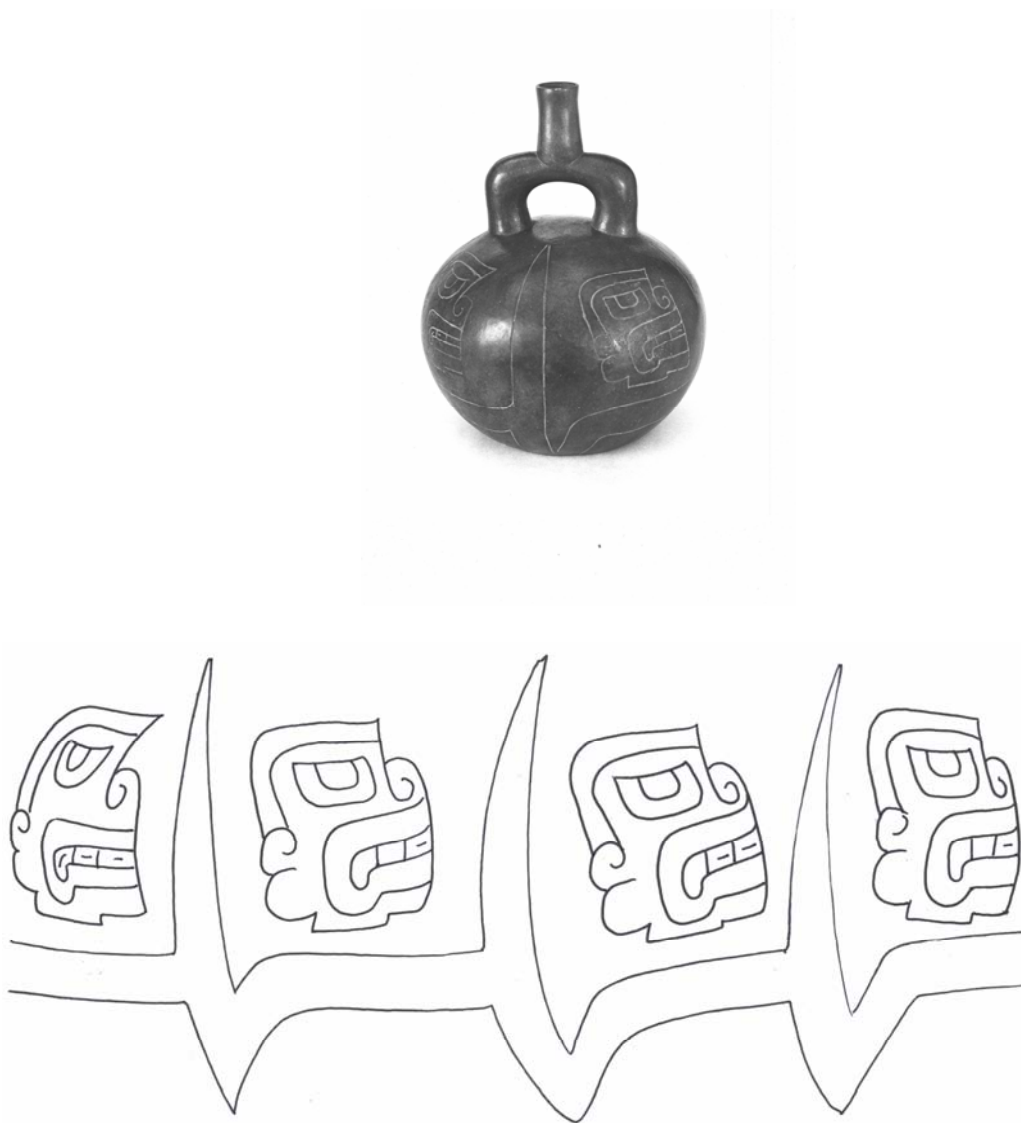
All drawings are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



DMA 1: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif
(photo courtesy of the Dallas Museum of Art)



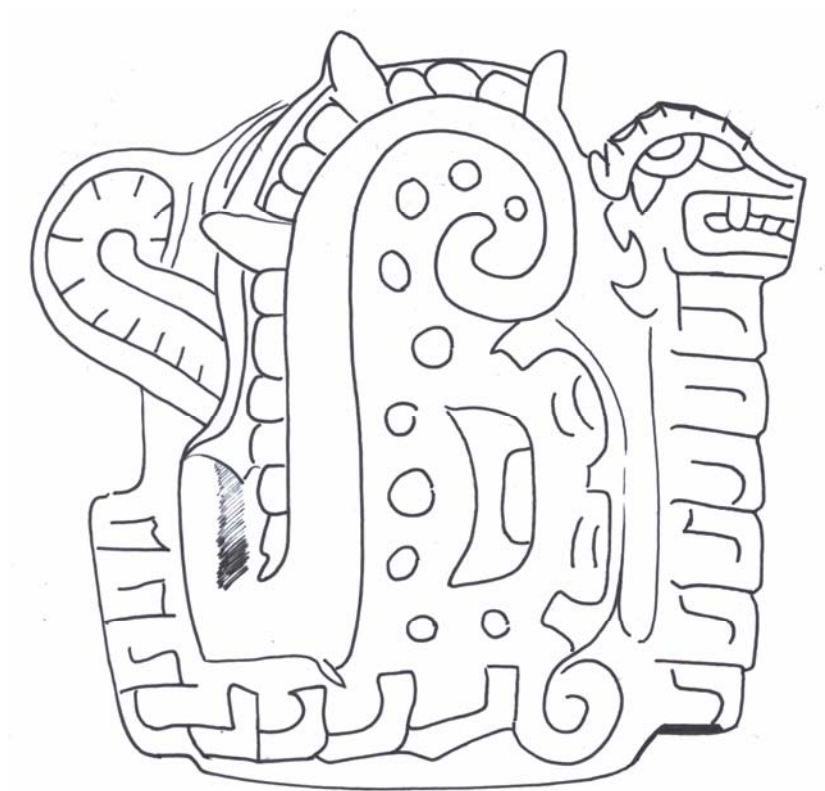
DMA 2: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with fanged head motifs
(photo courtesy of the Dallas Museum of Art)



DMA 3: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four almost identical head motifs (photo courtesy of the Dallas Museum of Art)

**The Head Motifs from the Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York (MMA)**

The drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



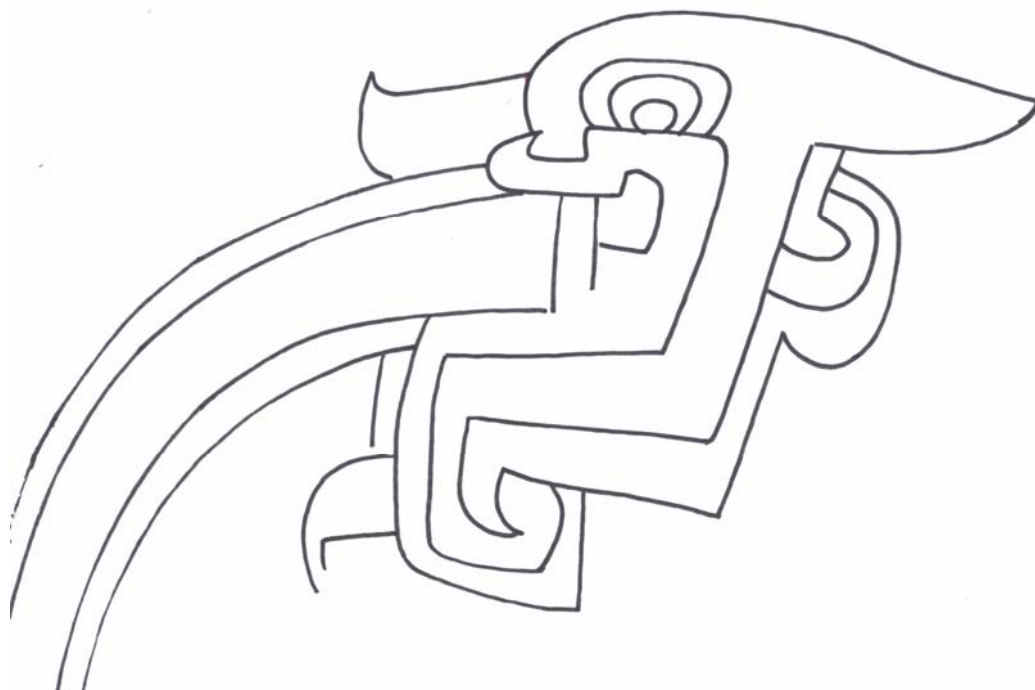
MMA 1: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with tooth proliferation head motif and fanged head motif



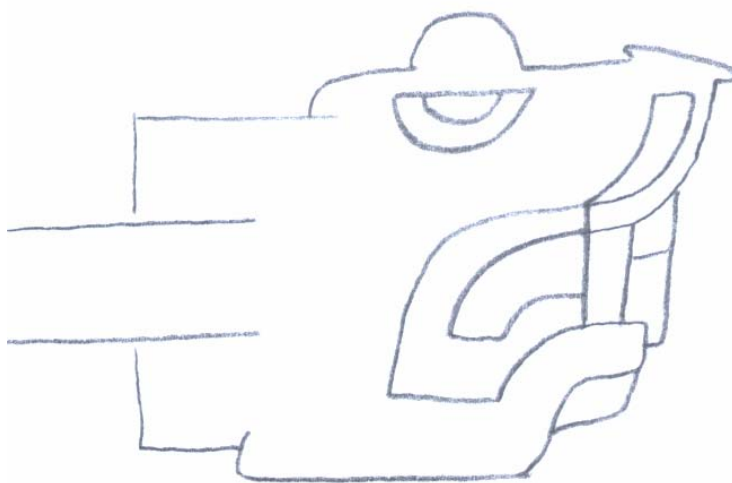
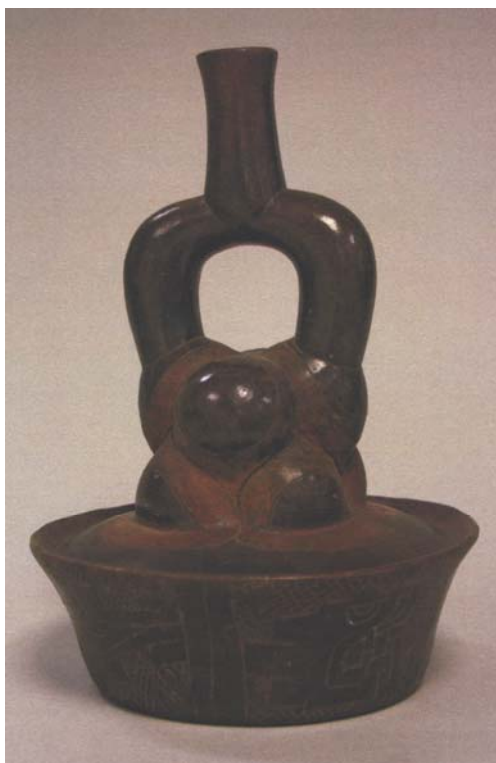
MMA 2: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel



MMA 3: Owl shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif



MMA 4: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif



MMA 5: Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel engraved with four almost identical fanged head motifs
(photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



MMA 6 – Cupisnique ceramic decorated with a fanged head image
(photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



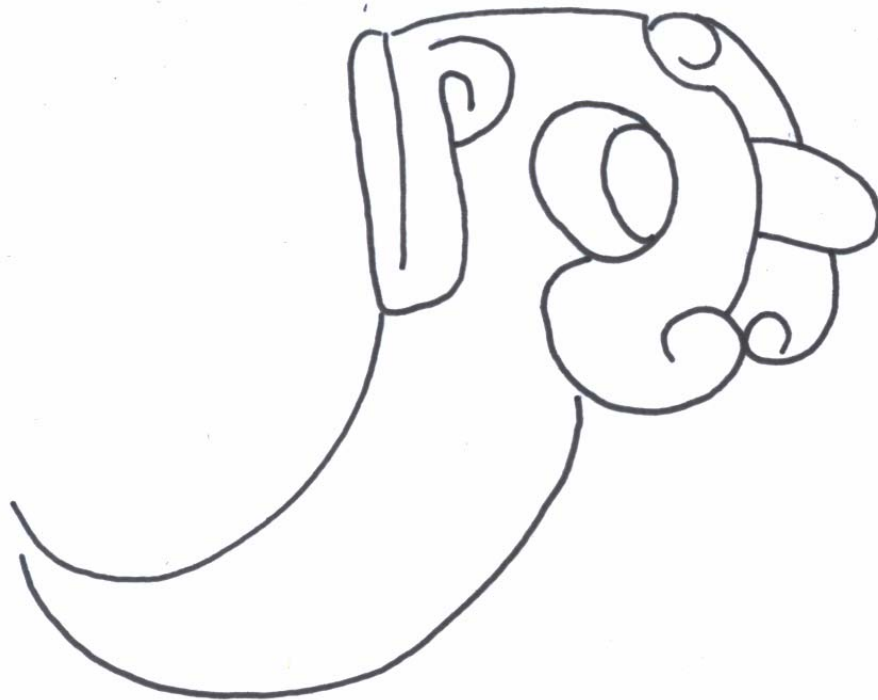
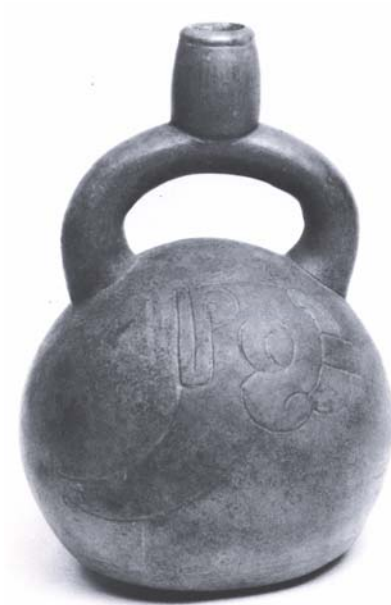
MMA 7 – Cupisnique ceramic engraved with a fanged head motif
(photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



MMA 8 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel formed the fanged head image connected to the elongated body

The Head Motifs from the Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri (SLAM)

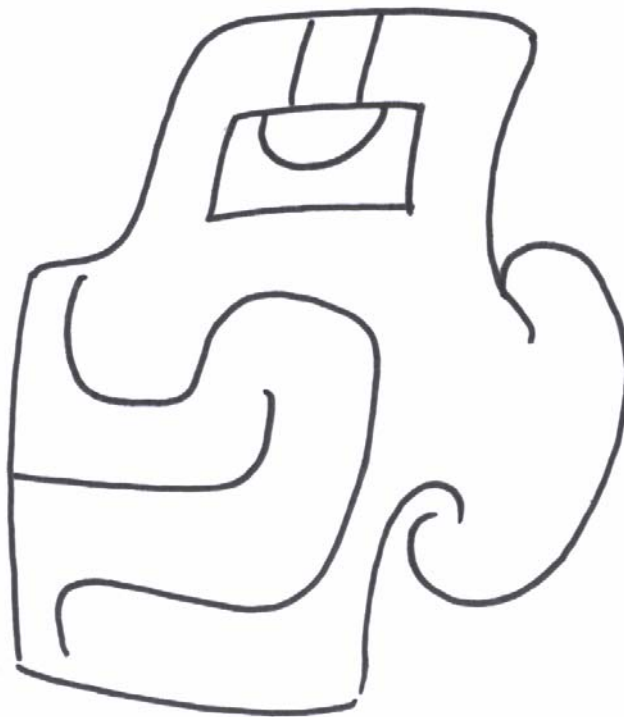
All drawings are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



SLAM 1: Stirrup-spouted vessel with a head motif
The picture is from Lee A. Parsons, *Pre-Columbian Art* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980), 260.

The Head Motifs from the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio (CMA)

All drawings are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



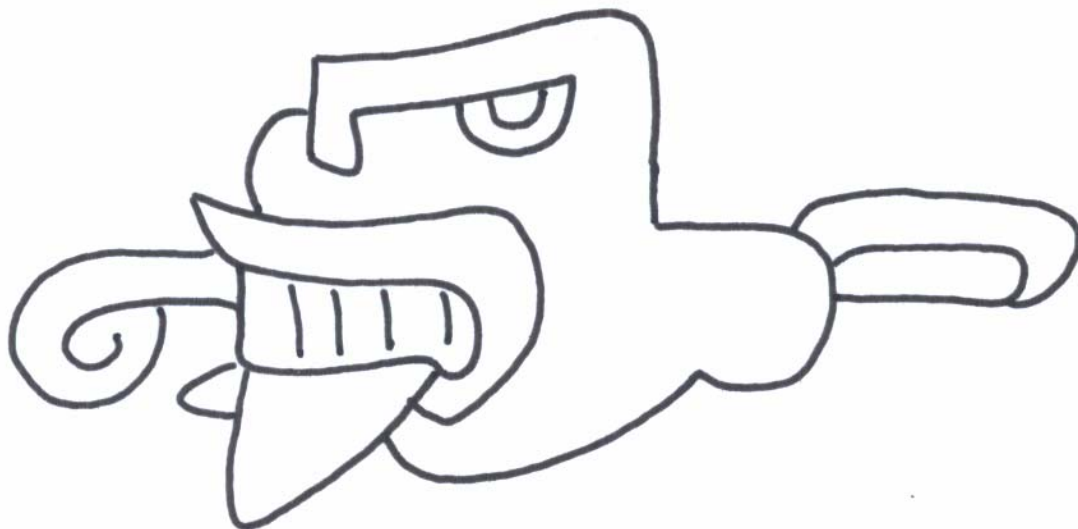
CMA 1 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessels decorated with six almost identical basic head motifs
(Photo courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)



CMA 2 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel engraved with four almost identical fanged basic head motifs
(photo courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

The Head Motifs from the Art Institute of Chicago (AIC)

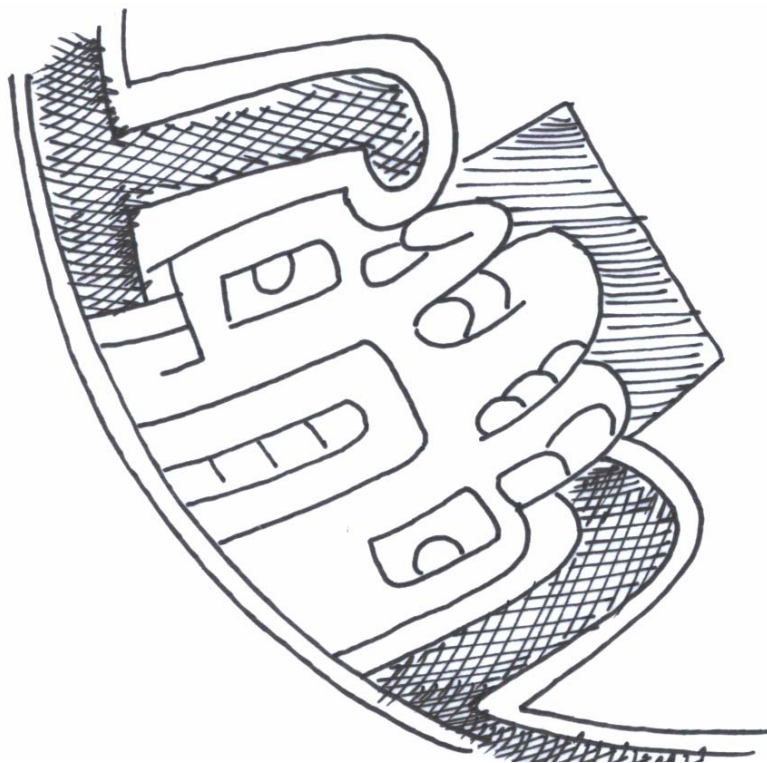
All drawings are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



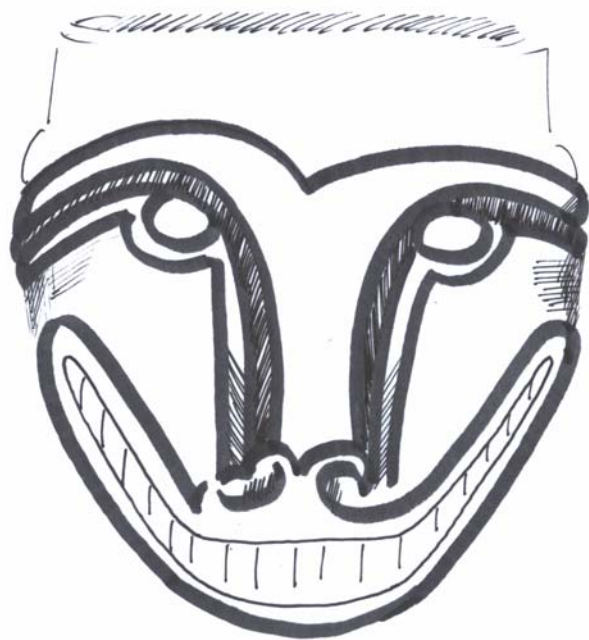
AIC 1 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel engraved with four almost identical basic head motifs

The Head Motifs from the America Museum of Natural History, New York (AMNH)

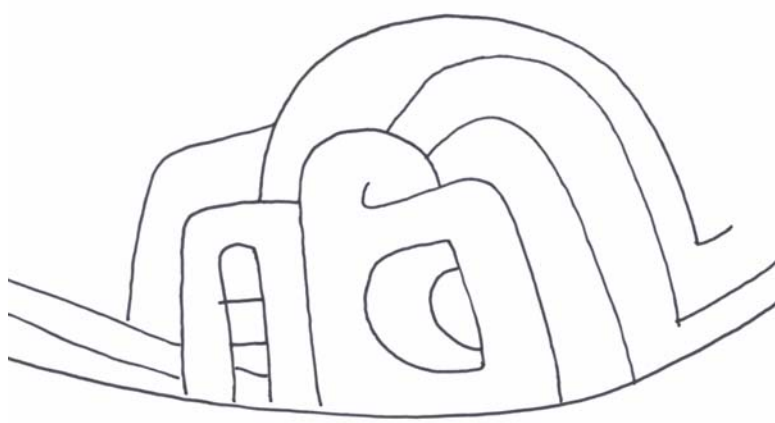
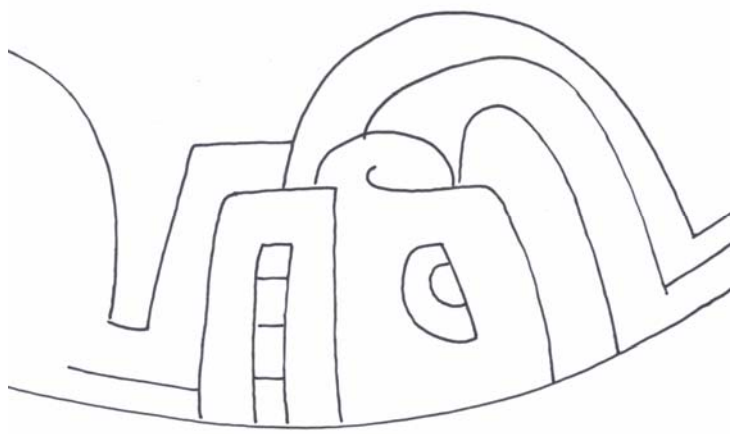
All Photographs and drawings are by the author, except where
otherwise noted.



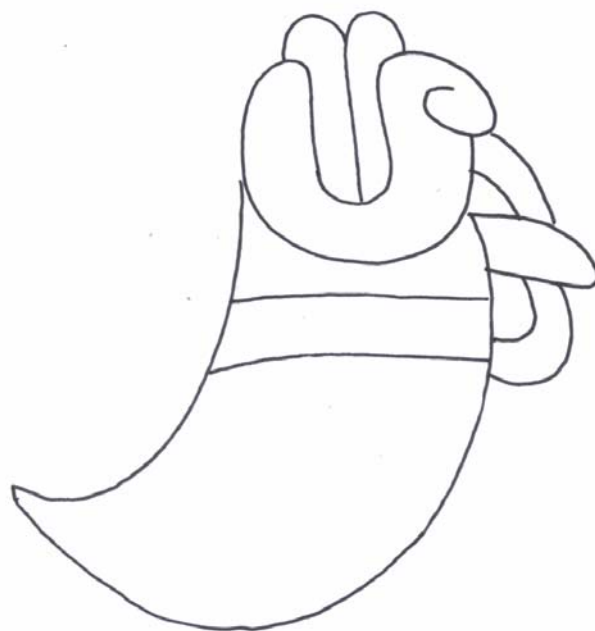
AMNH 1 – Cupisnique ceramic bowl engraved with four almost identical mirrored head motifs



AMNH 2 – Ceramic bowl molded with jaguar-like image



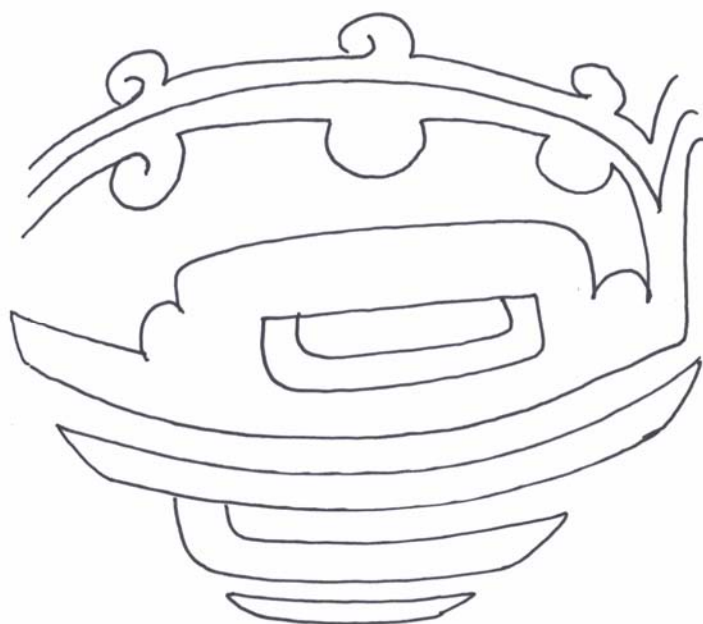
AMNH 3 – Ceramic bowl engraved with four almost identical basic head motifs



AMNH 3 – stirrup-spouted ceramic vessel engraved with two almost identical basic head motifs



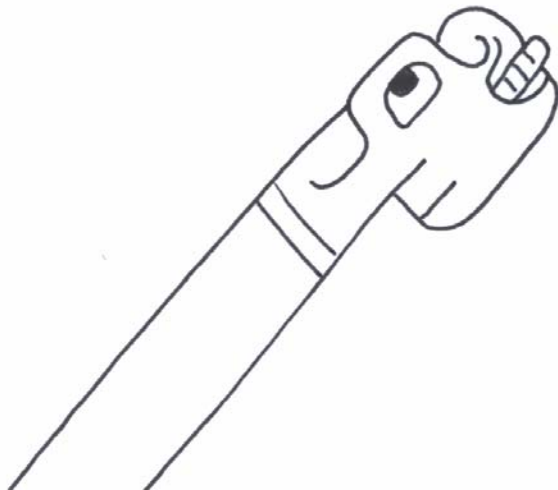
AMNH 4 – Cupisnique ceramic vessel, its spout consists of the form of an exclaiming man



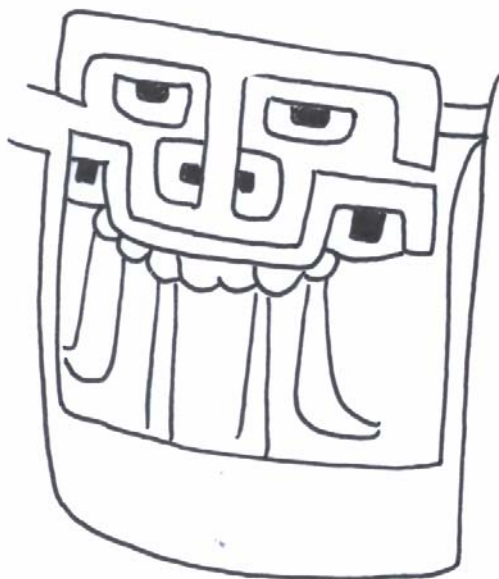
AMNH 5 – Stirrup-spouted Cupisnique vessel engraved with two almost identical basic head motifs that are colored with darker clay slip.



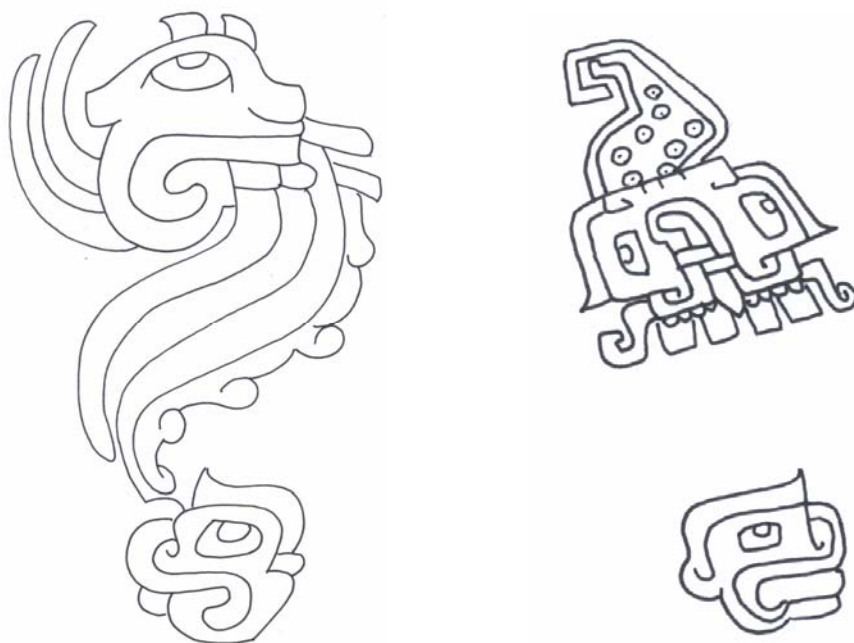
AMNH 6 – Cupisnique clay stamp incised with a basic head motif
(photo courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History, New York)



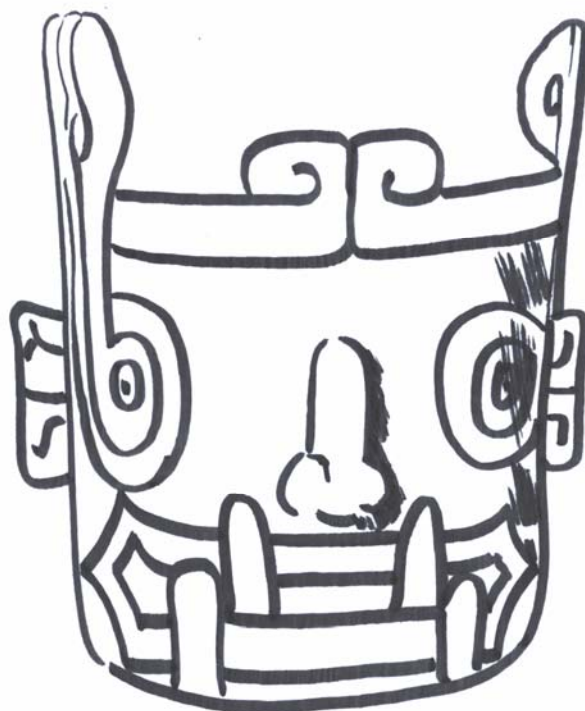
AMNH 7 – Cupisnique stirrup spouted vessel engraved with a basic head motif, its body consists of a form of a fruit



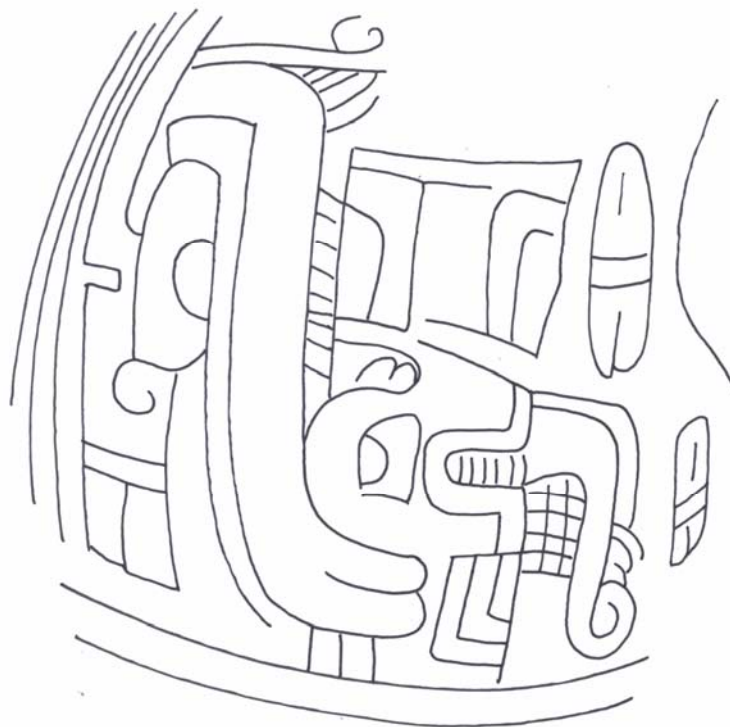
AMNH 8 – Cupisnique ceramic engraved with a frontal head motif on its back, frontal part consists of an image of a flute player



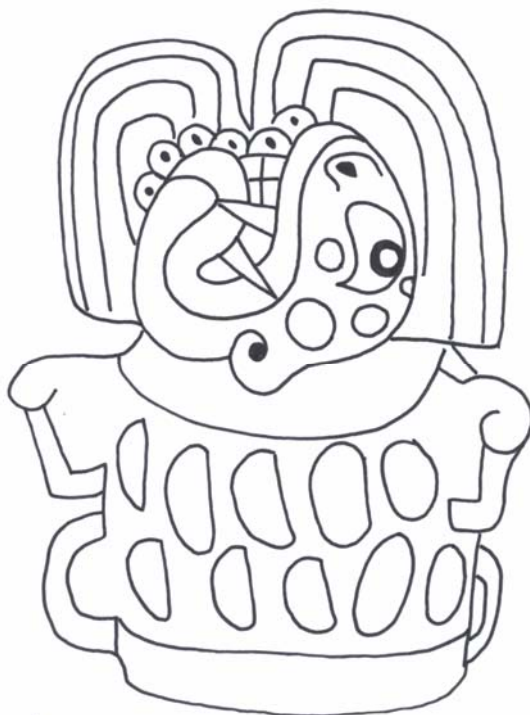
AMNH 9 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel consists of a form of manioc root that is engraved with various types of basic head motifs



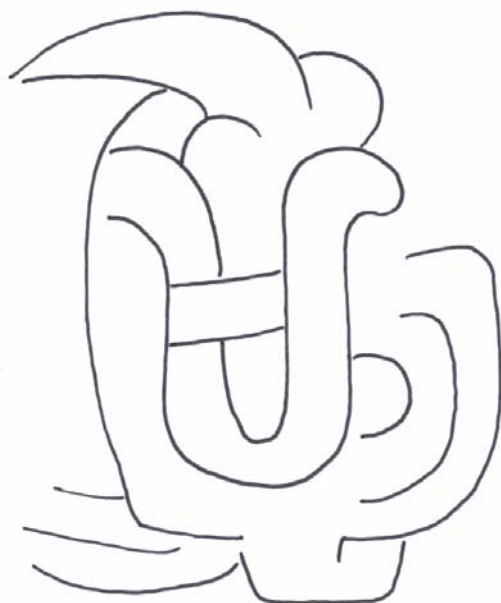
AMNH 10 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel, its body incised with a fanged head image



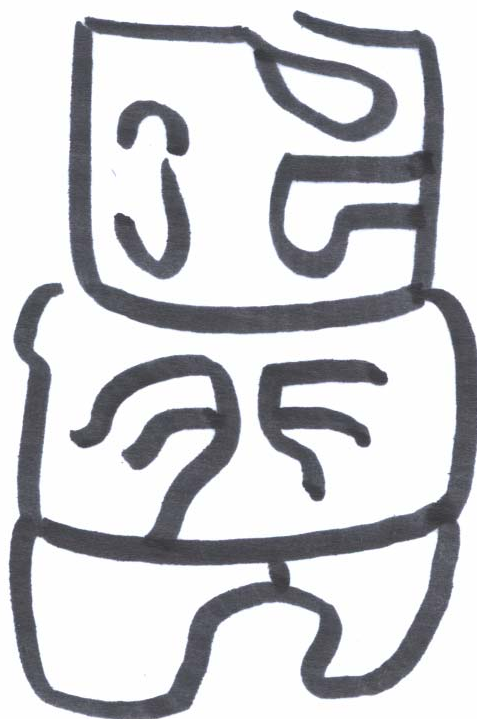
AMNH 11 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel consists of a form of an artist who is carving a seashell. His back is engraved with various head motifs.



AMNH 12 – Cupisnique vessel consists of a form of fanged head image



AMNH 13 – Cupisnique stirrup-spouted vessel is engraved with a fanged bird head motif



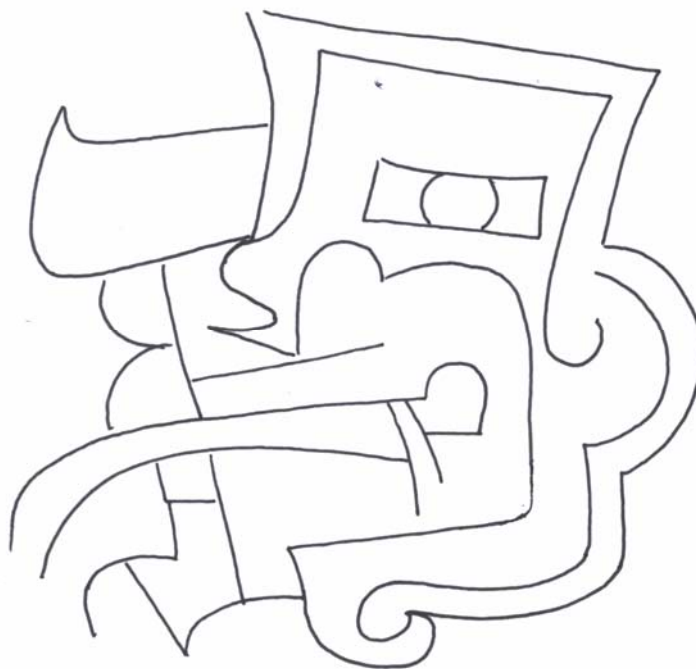
AMNH 14 – Cupisnique stone work is engraved with a profile anthropomorphic figure, which consists of a basic head motif.



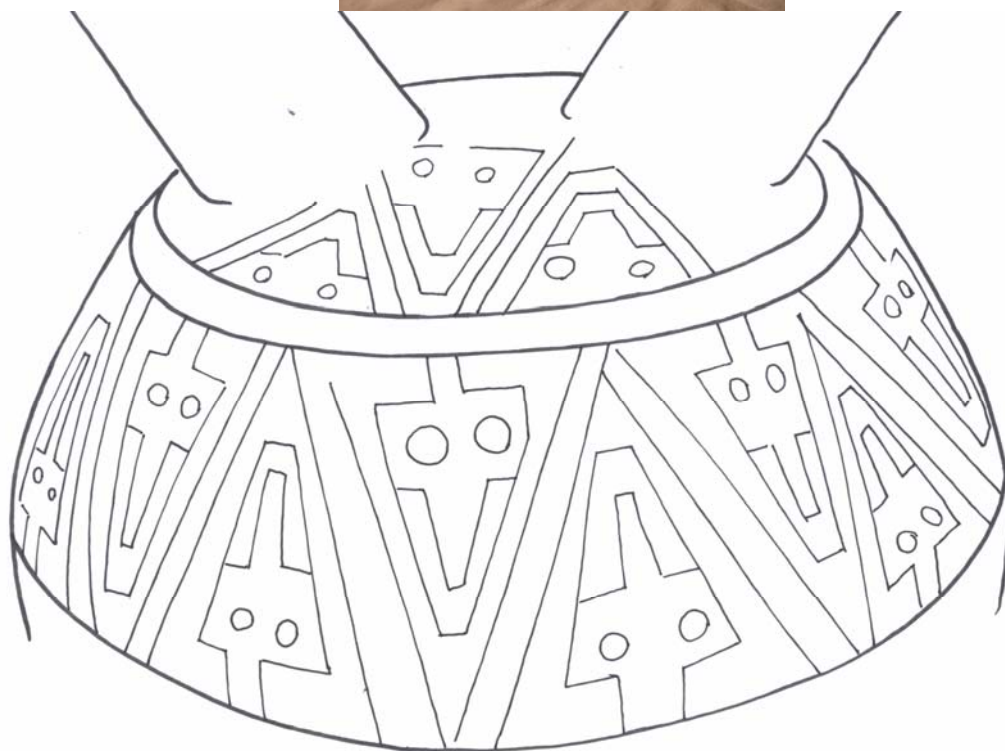
AMNH 15 – Cupisnique stone work is engraved with two identical head motifs

The Head Motifs from the Private Collections (PC)

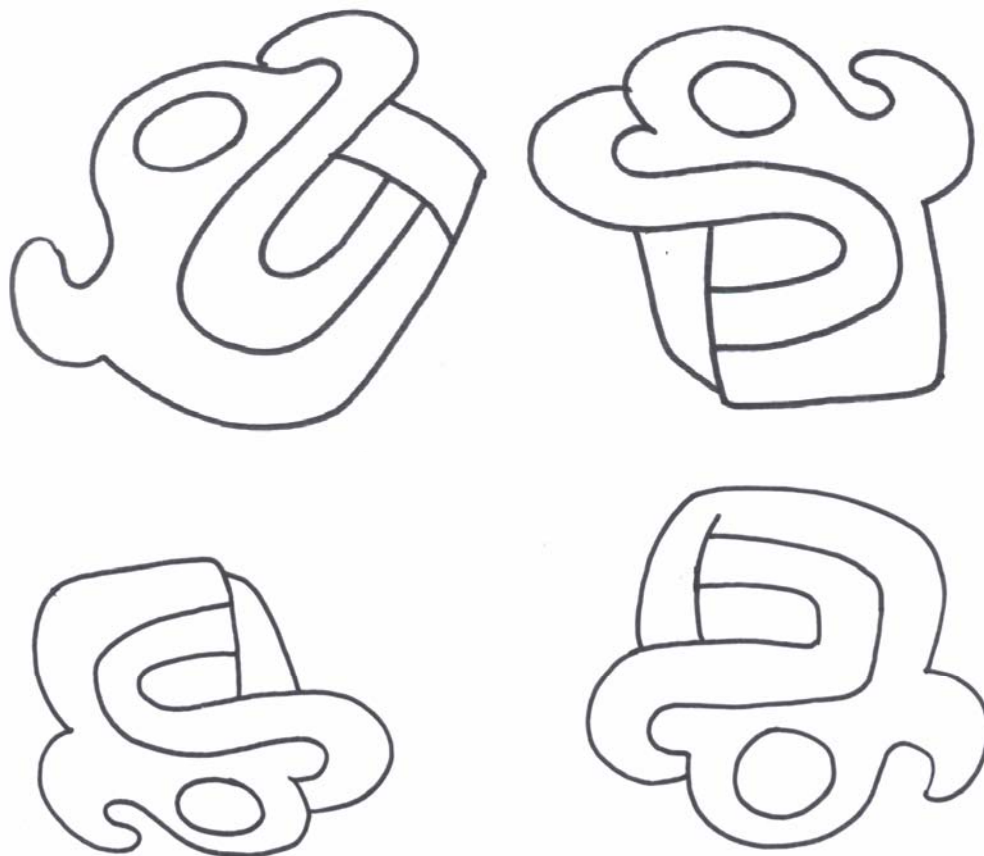
All drawings and photographs are by the author, except where otherwise noted.



PC 1: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif, which are engraved after the final firing process and then rubbed by the red pigments



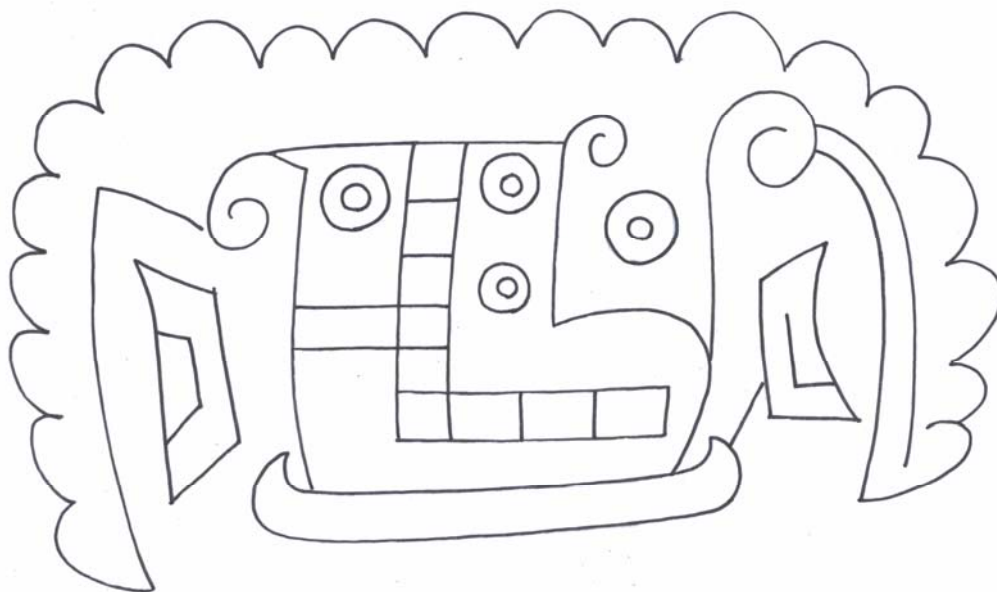
PC 2: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with various serpent head motifs



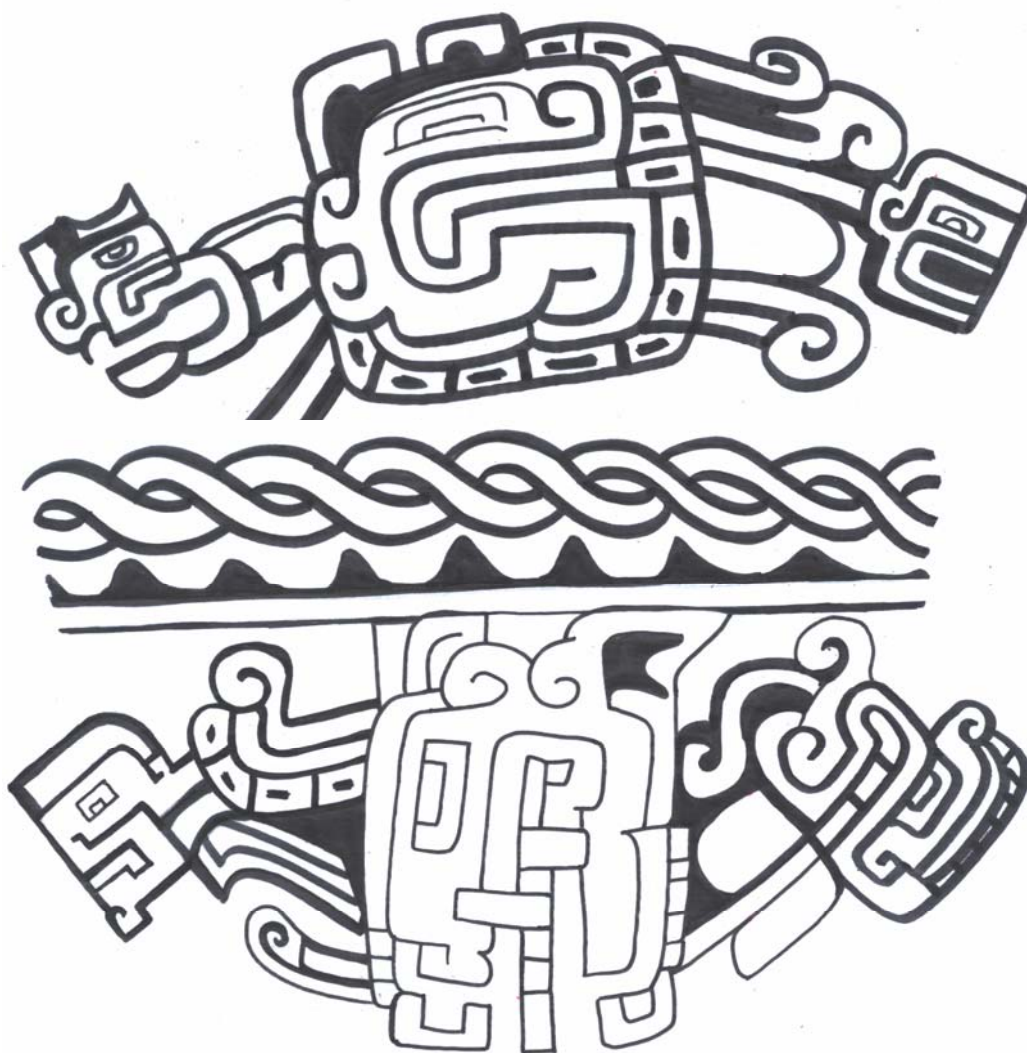
PC 3: Gourd form stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four identical fanged head motifs on its top



PC 4: Ceramic bowl decorated with four identical fanged head motifs



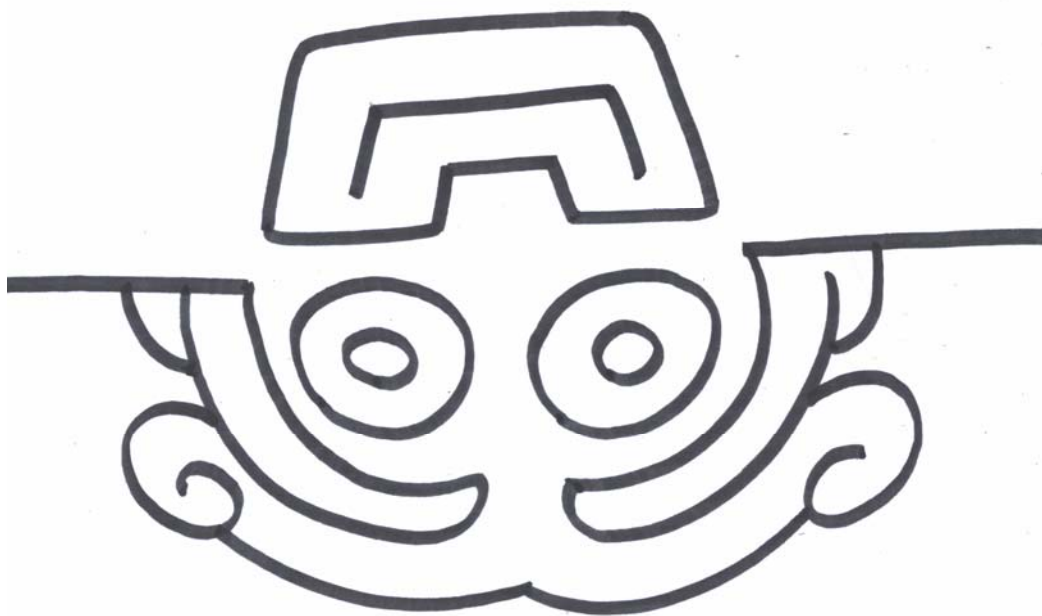
PC 5: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif, which was engraved before the final firing process



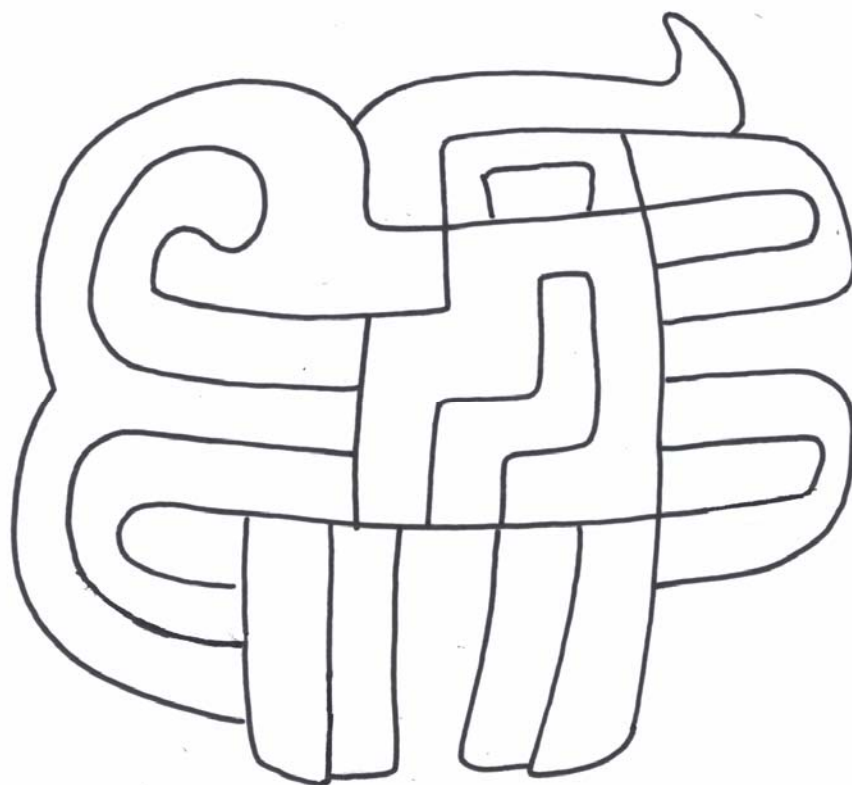
PC 6: Ceramic bowl incised with fanged head motifs



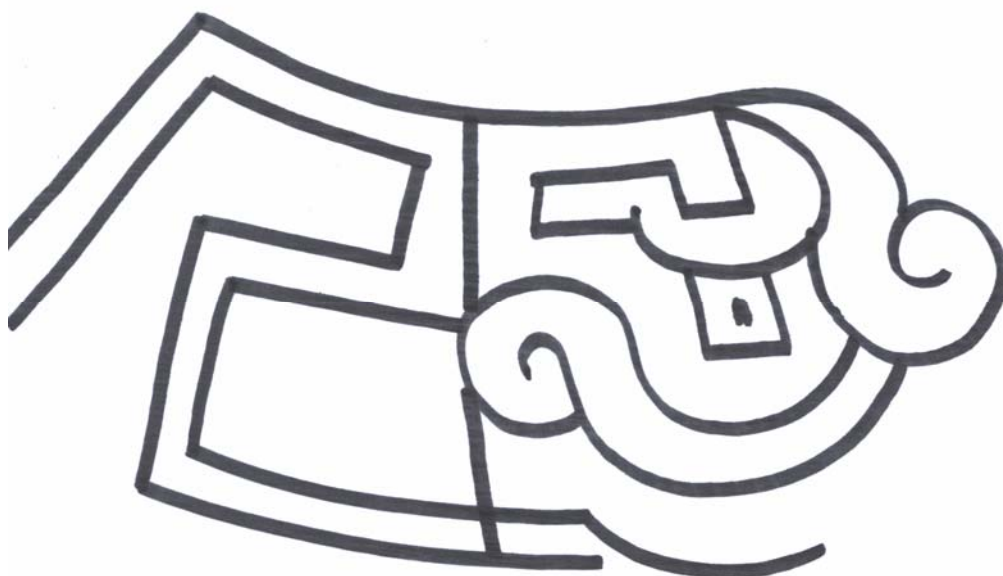
PC 7: Double head serpent stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with geometric motifs and cross lines



PC 8: Step shaped ceramic bowl decorated with four identical monkey-like head motifs



PC 9: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif



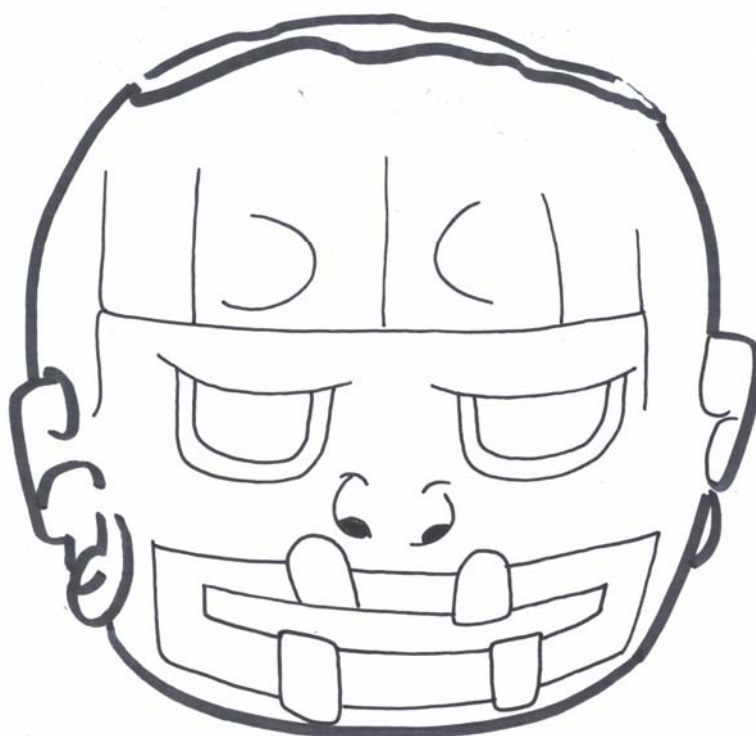
PC 10: Small ceramic bowl resembling an Ecuadorian gourd bowl decorated with identical head motifs



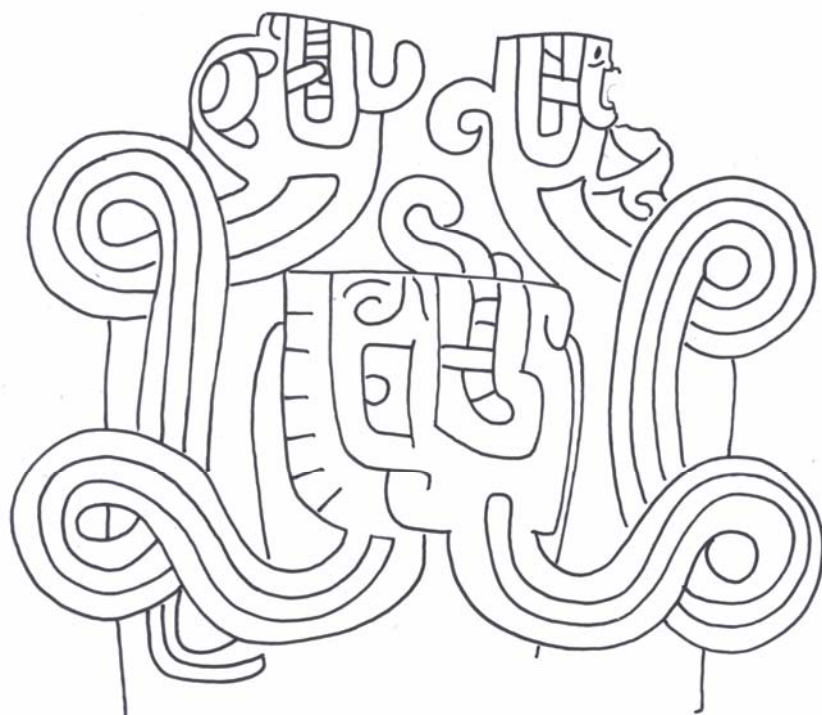
PC 11: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel
(Photo courtesy of H. Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



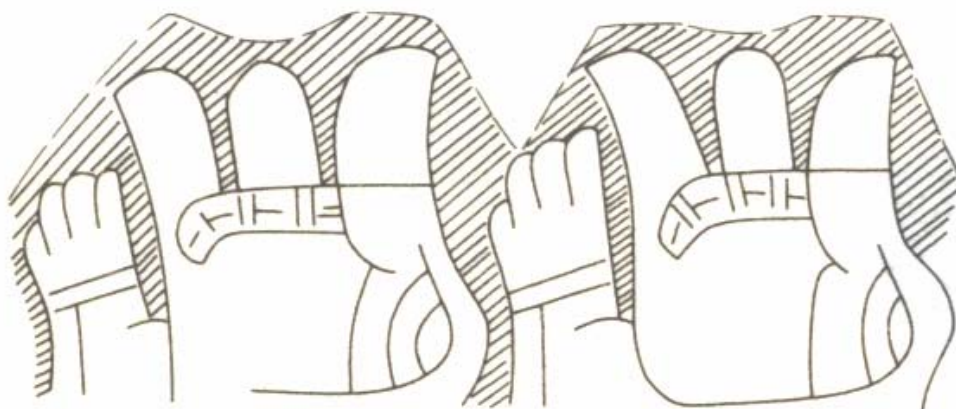
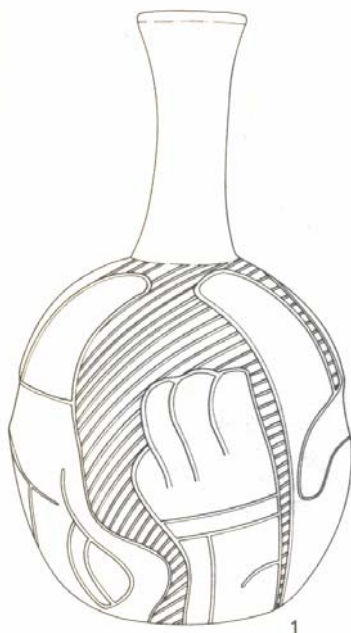
PC 12: Jaguar head shaped ceramic bowl
(Photo courtesy of H. Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



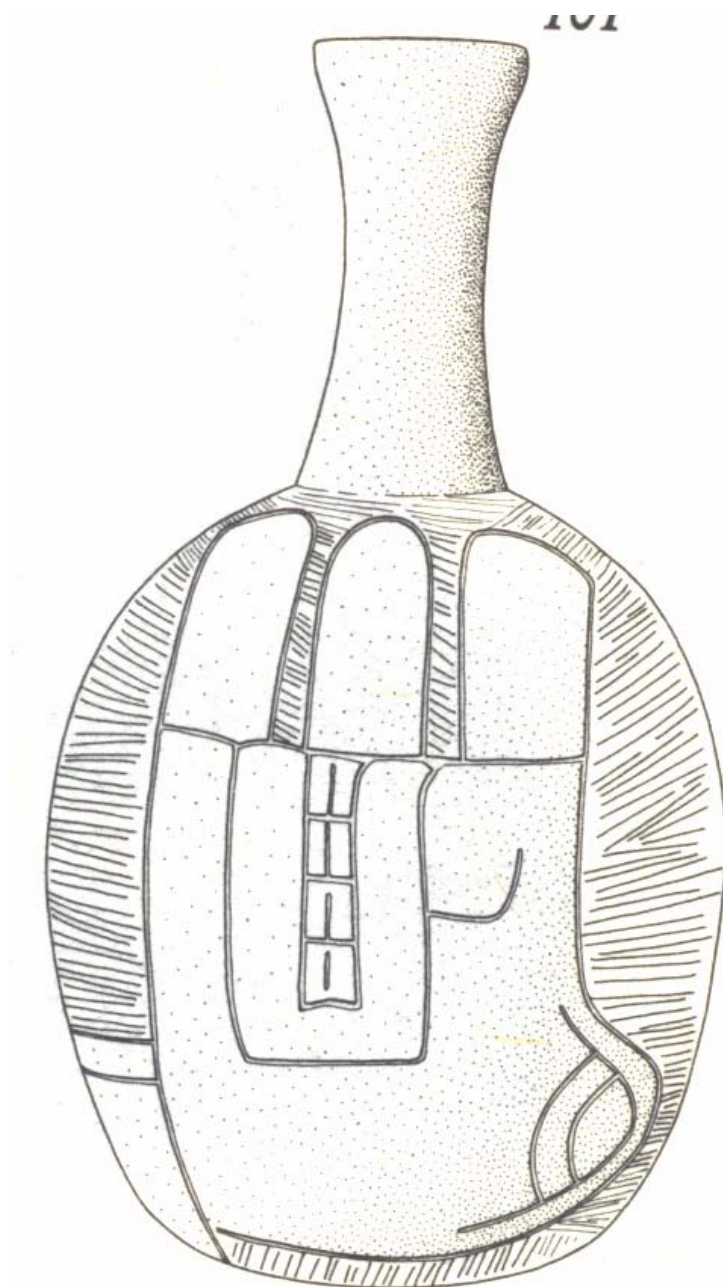
PC 13: Fanged head shaped stirrup-spouted vessel, stirrup-spouted part was broken
(Photo courtesy of H. Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



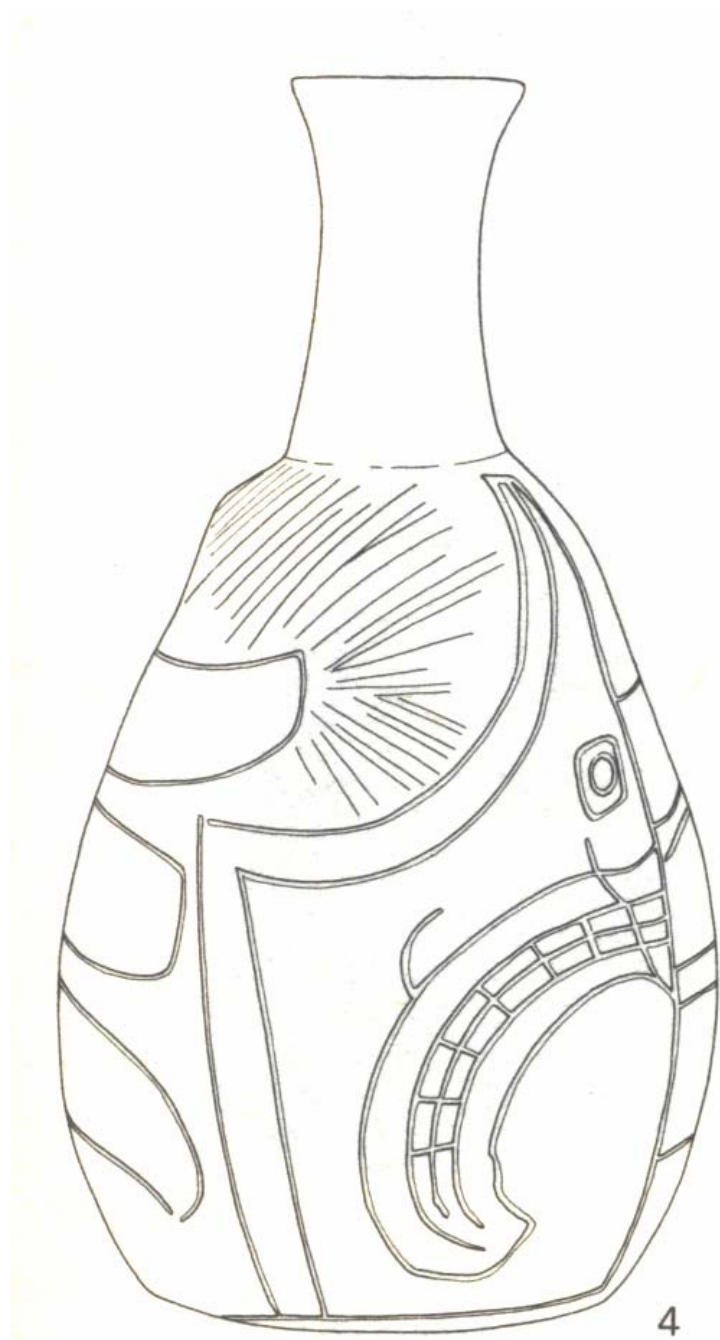
PC 14: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with fanged head motifs
The picture from Walter Alva, *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 102



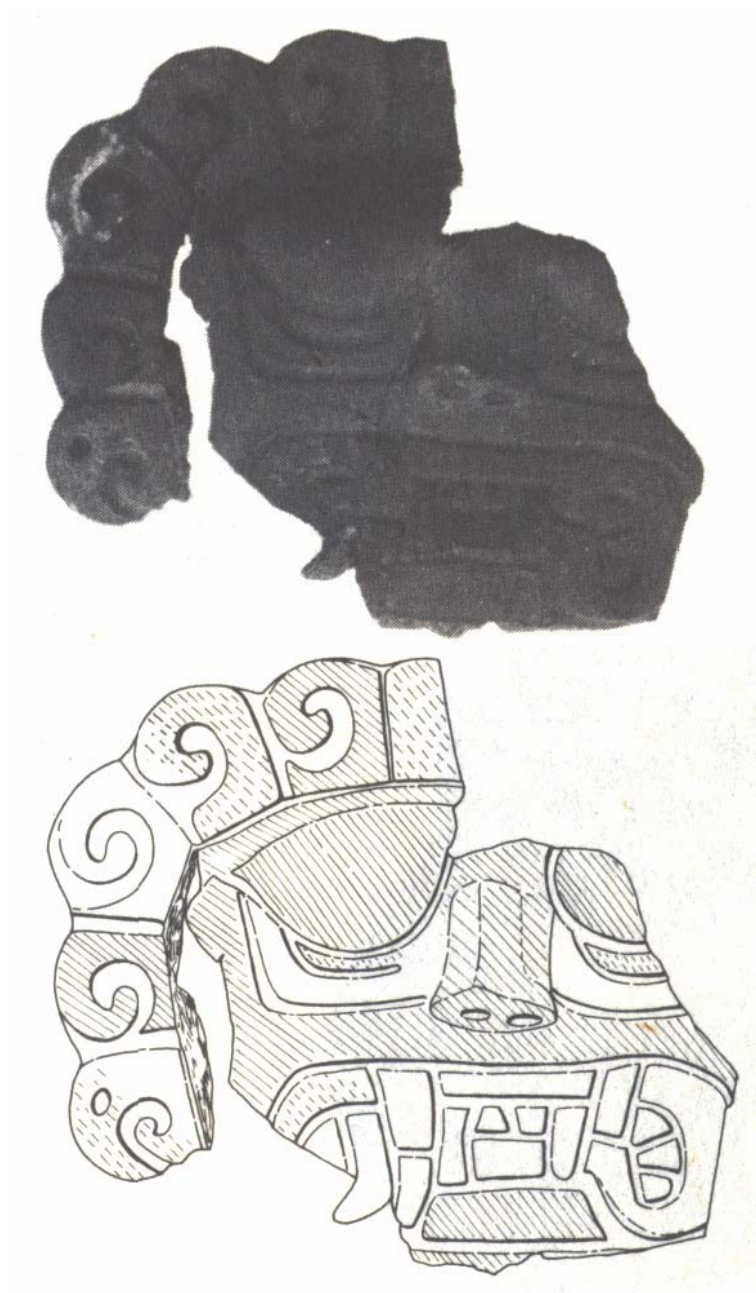
PC 15: Single neck ceramic vessel decorated with fanged head motifs
The drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 101
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



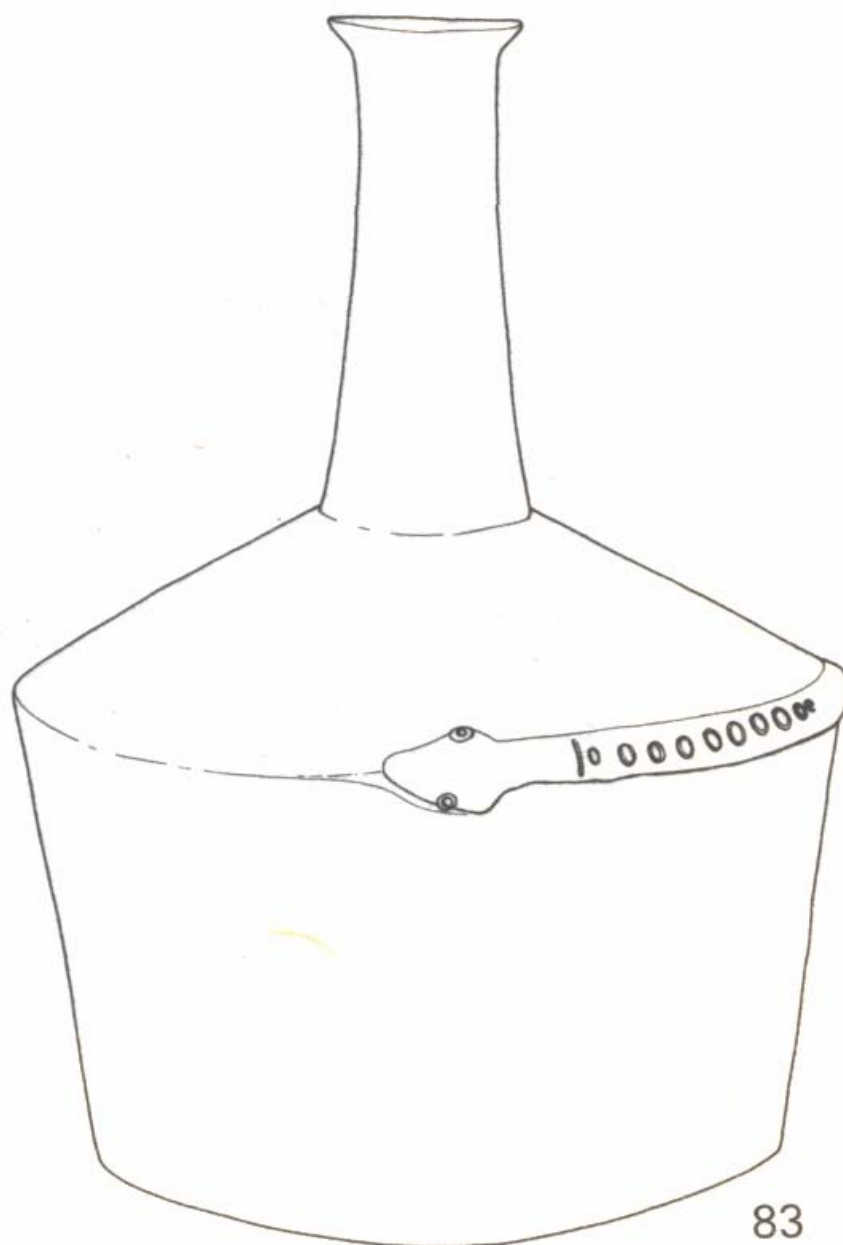
PC 16: Single neck ceramic vessel decorated with a head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 101
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



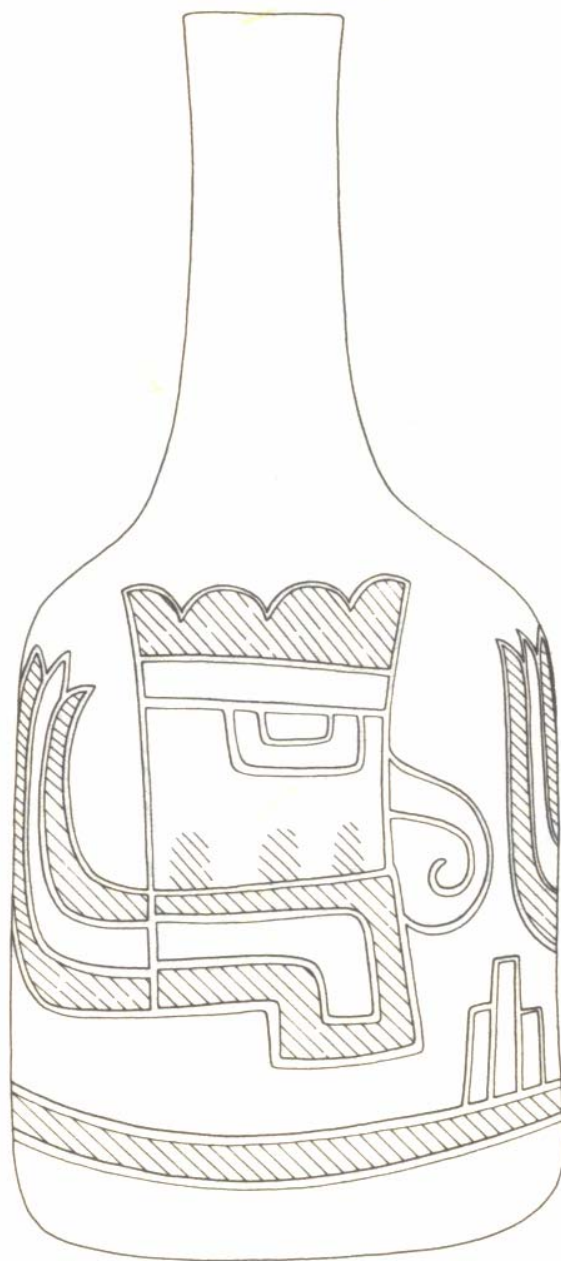
PC 17: Single neck ceramic vessel decorated with a head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 101
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 18: Ceramic fragment decorated with a fanged head motif
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 111
(the object from the collection of H. Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)

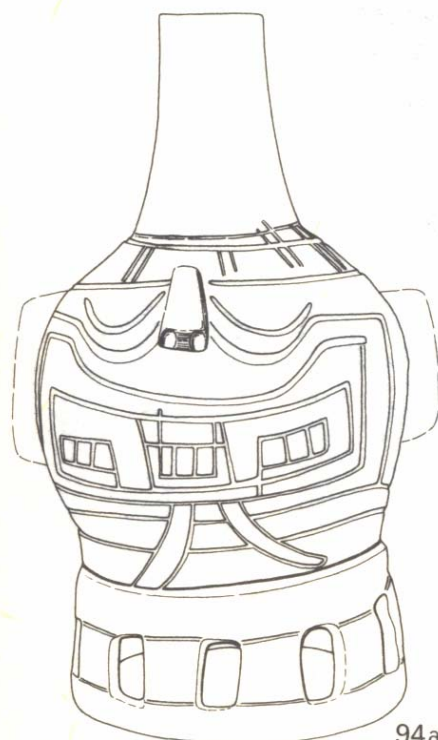


PC 19: Single neck ceramic bottle decorated with serpent imagery
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 113
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)

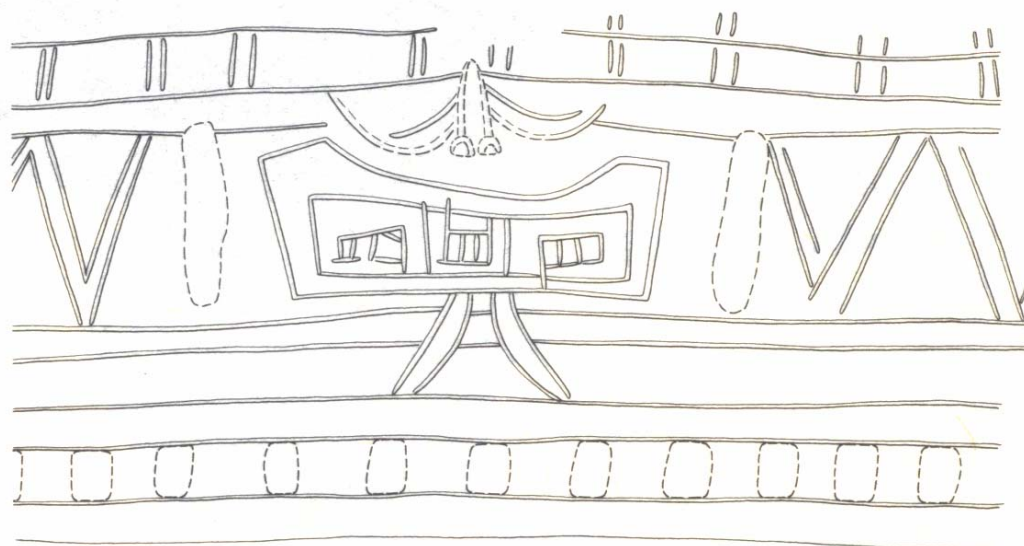


88

PC 20: Single neck ceramic bottle decorated with head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 115
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



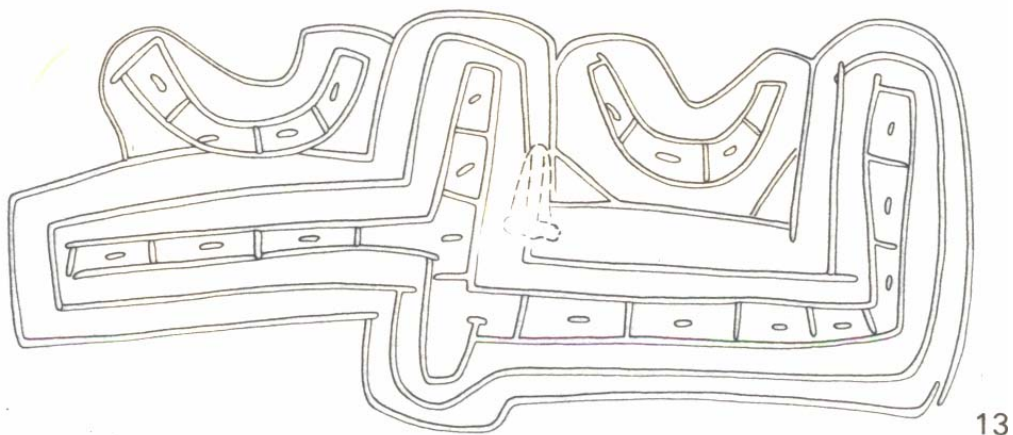
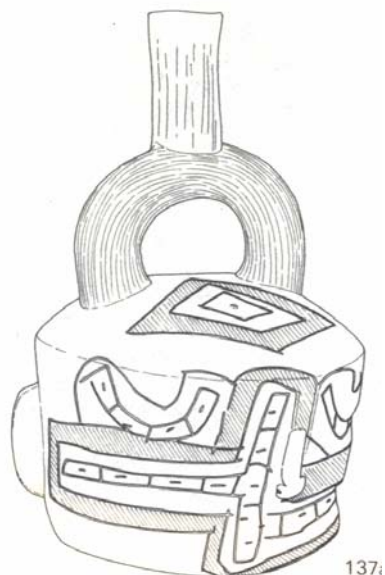
94a



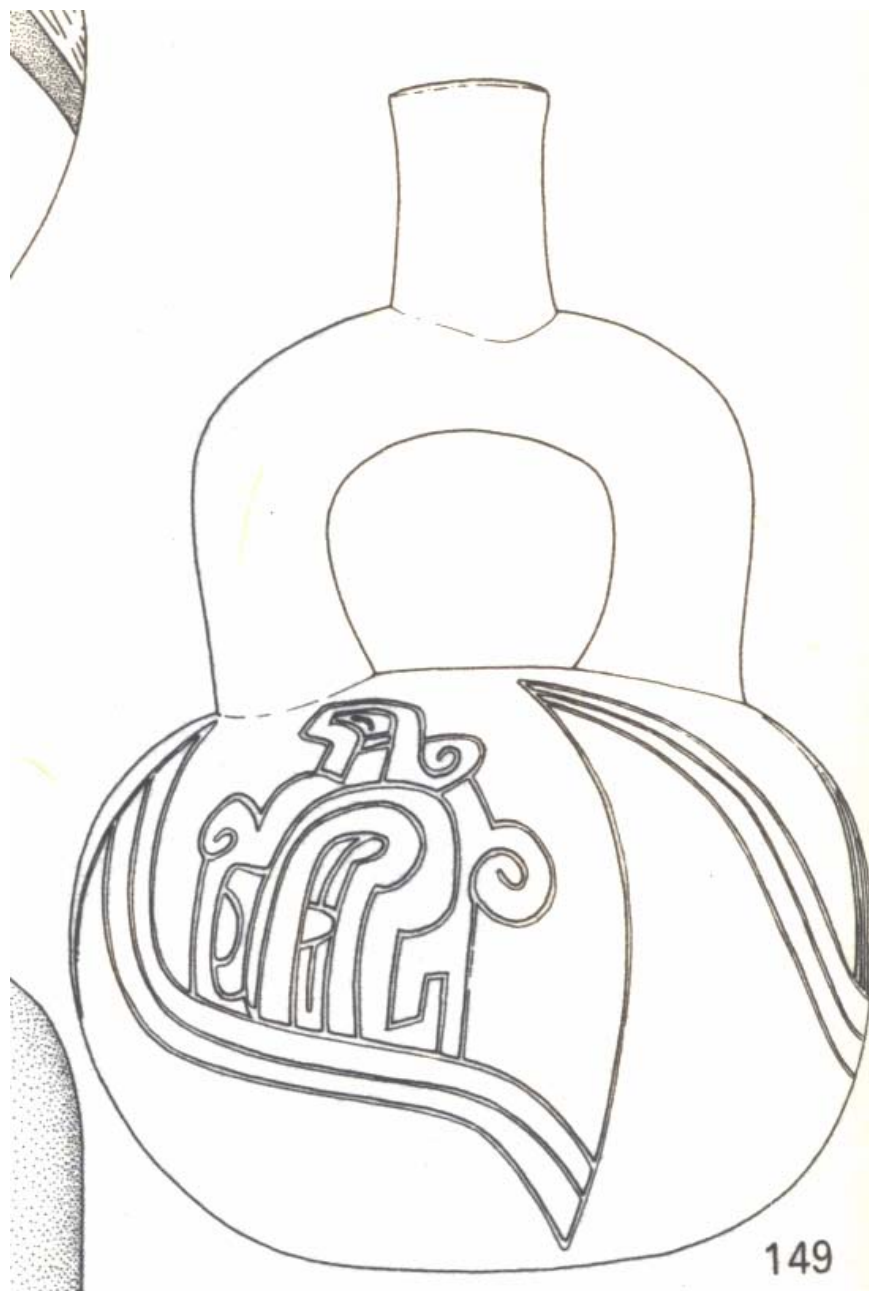
PC 21: Single neck ceramic bottle decorated with a head motif
 The drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 117
 (the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



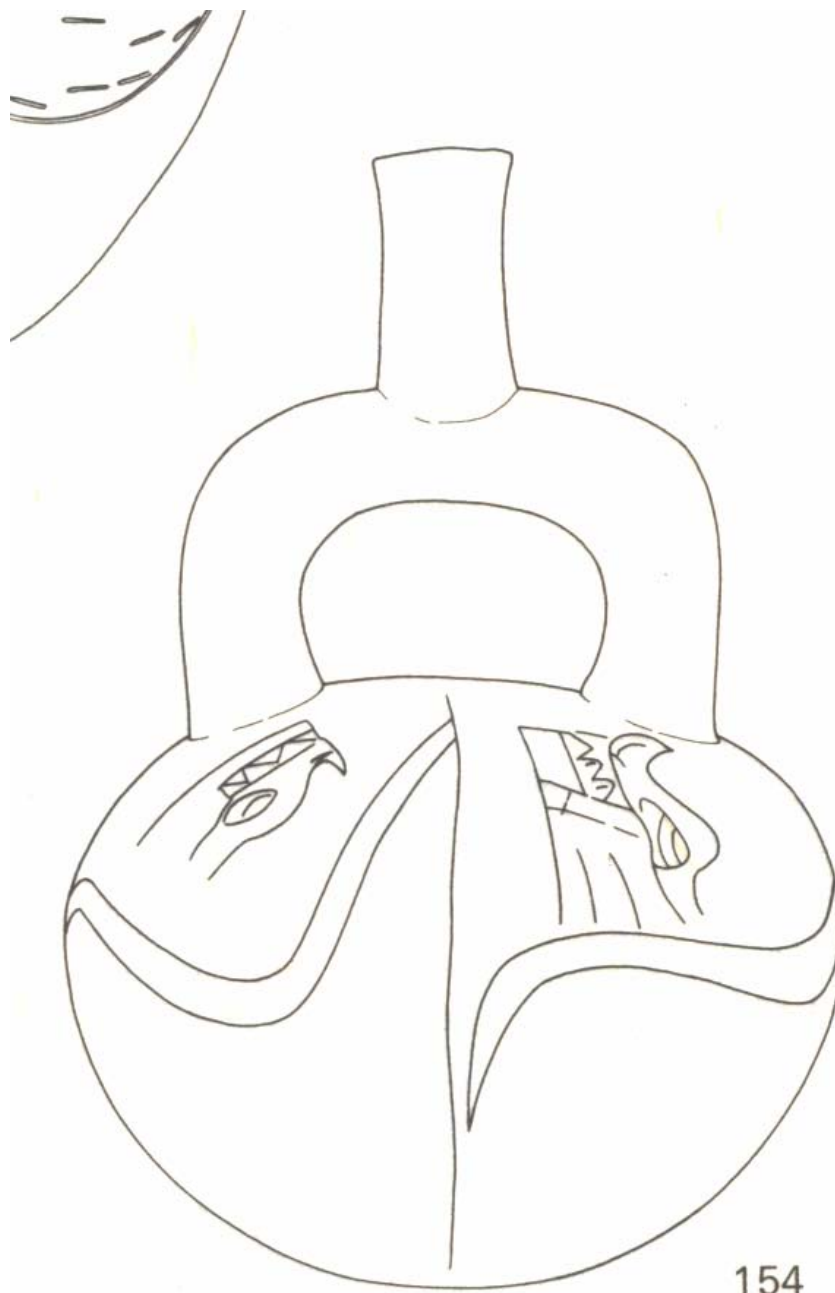
PC 22: Fanged head shaped single neck ceramic vessel
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 121
(the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)



PC 23: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif
 The picture and the drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 125
 (the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 24: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with fanged head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 128
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 25: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with fanged head motifs and serpent
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 129
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)

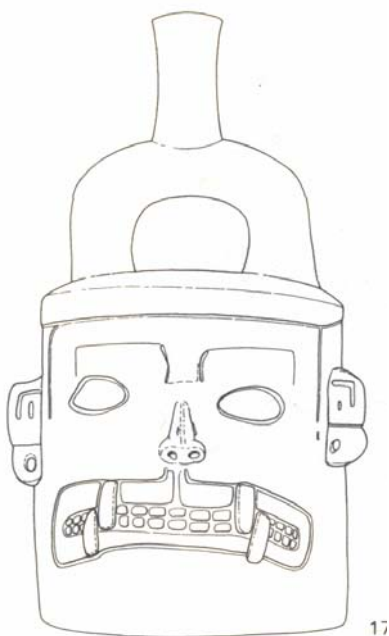


132



169

PC 26: Stirrup-spouted vessel shaped jaguar imagery fanged head
 The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 132
 (the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 27: Stirrup-spouted vessel shaped a fanged head
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 132
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



173



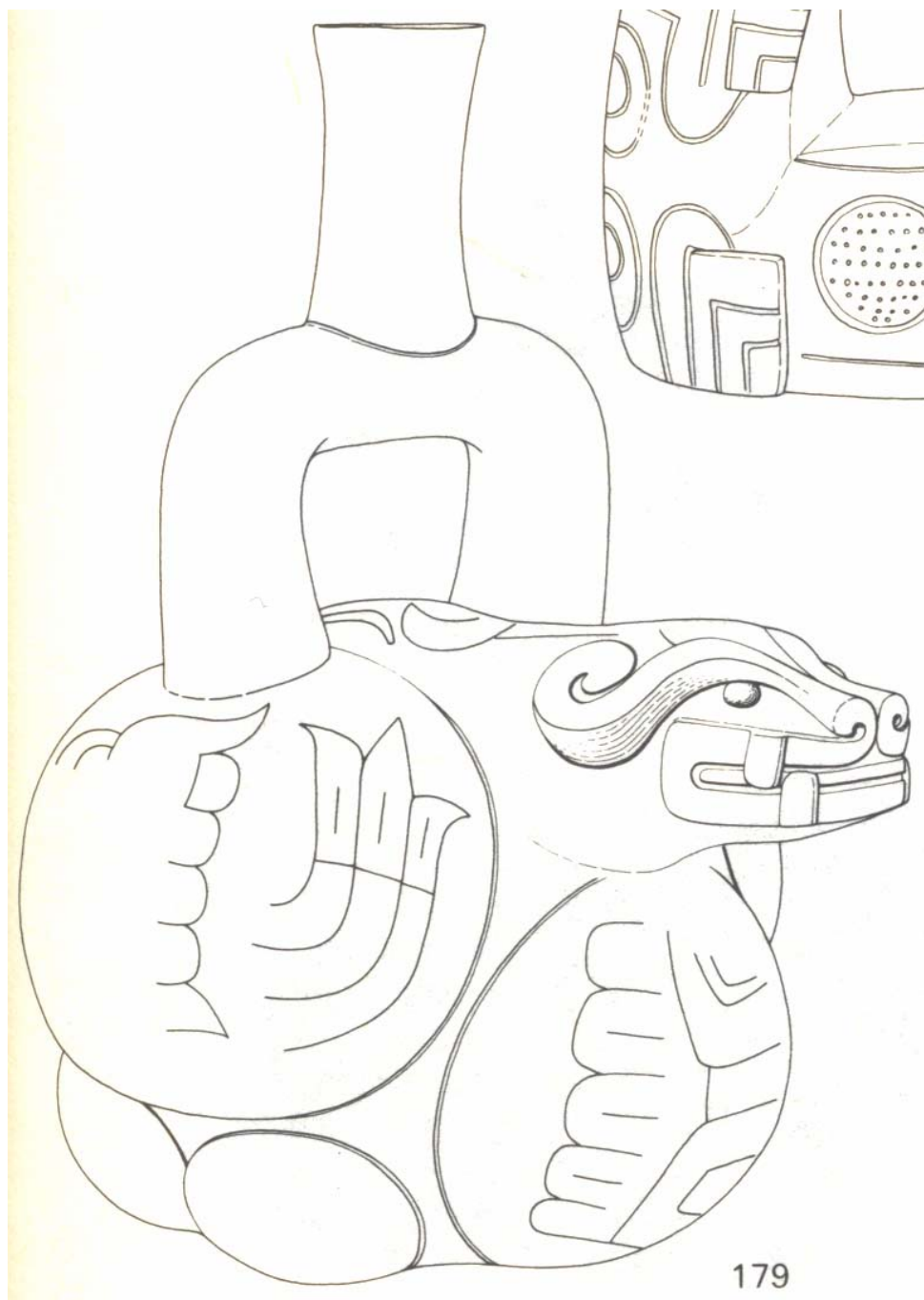
173a

PC 28: Serpent shaped stirrup-spouted vessel
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 133
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)

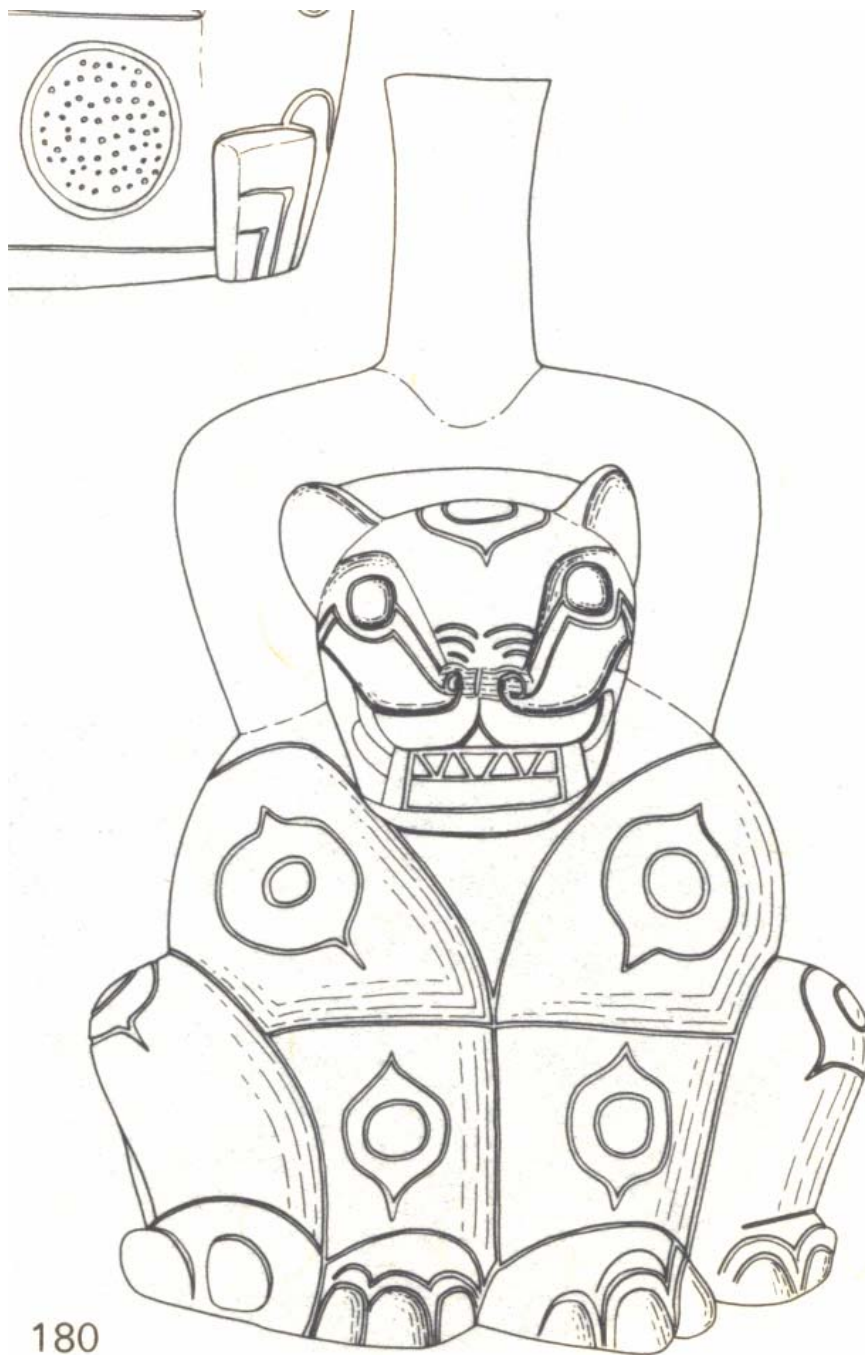


176

PC 29: Serpent shaped stirrup-spouted vessel
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 134
(the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)



PC 30: Serpent shaped stirrup-spouted vessel
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 135
(the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)



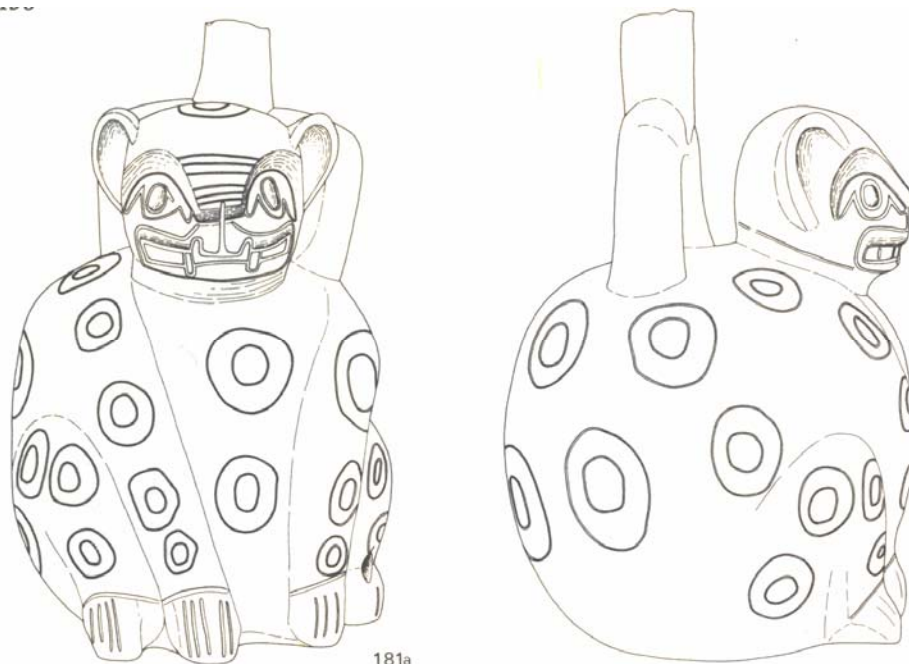
180

PC 31: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 135
(the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)



181c

1



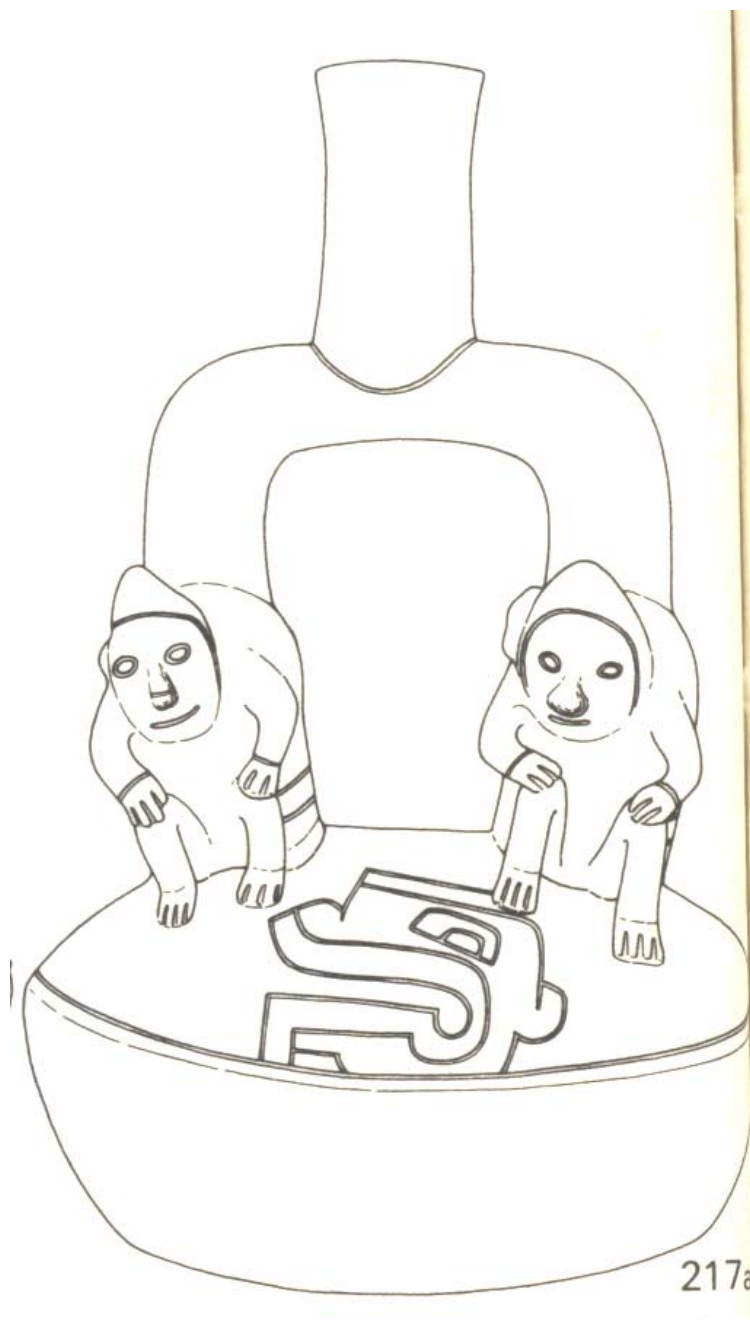
181a

PC 32: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel
 The pictures and drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 136
 (the object from the collection of H. Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)

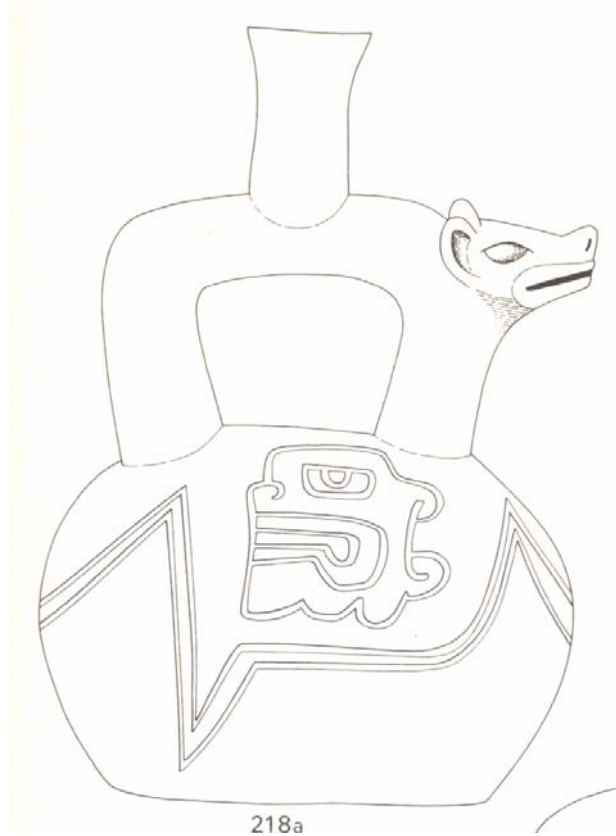


PC 33: Jaguar shaped stirrup-spouted vessel

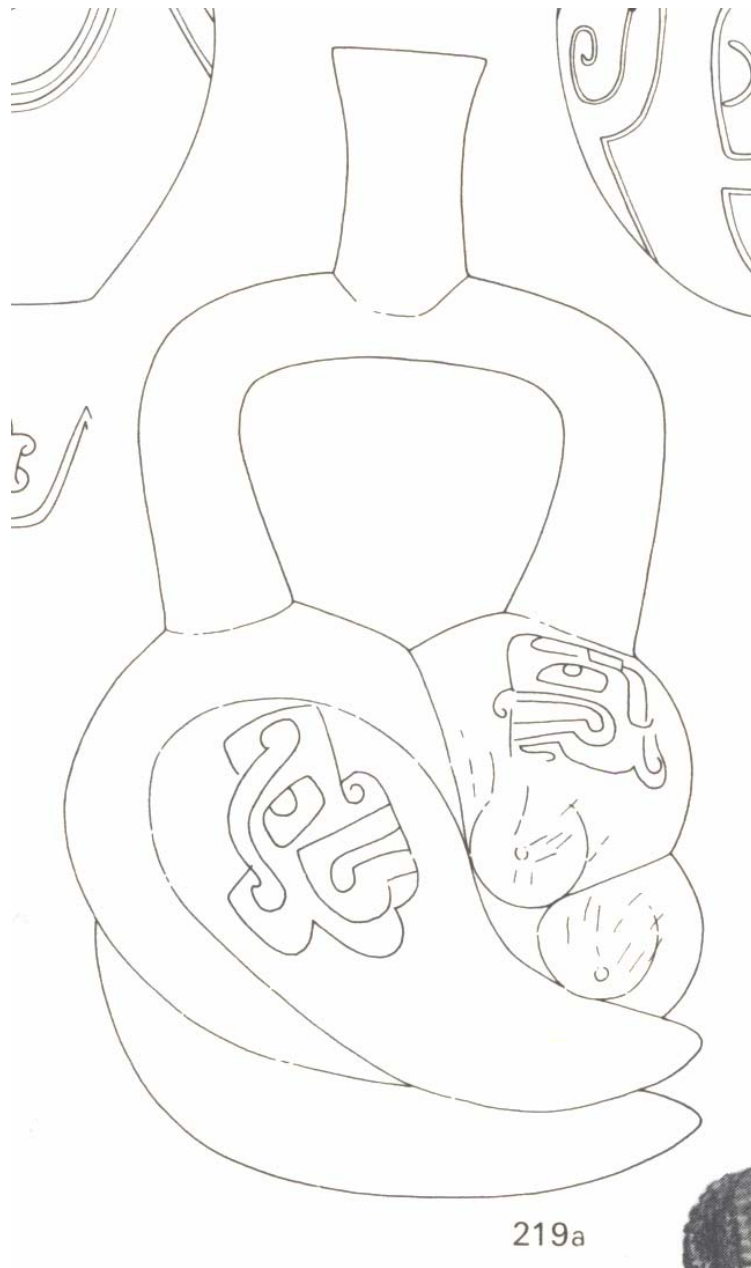
The pictures and drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 137 (the object from the collection of H. Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



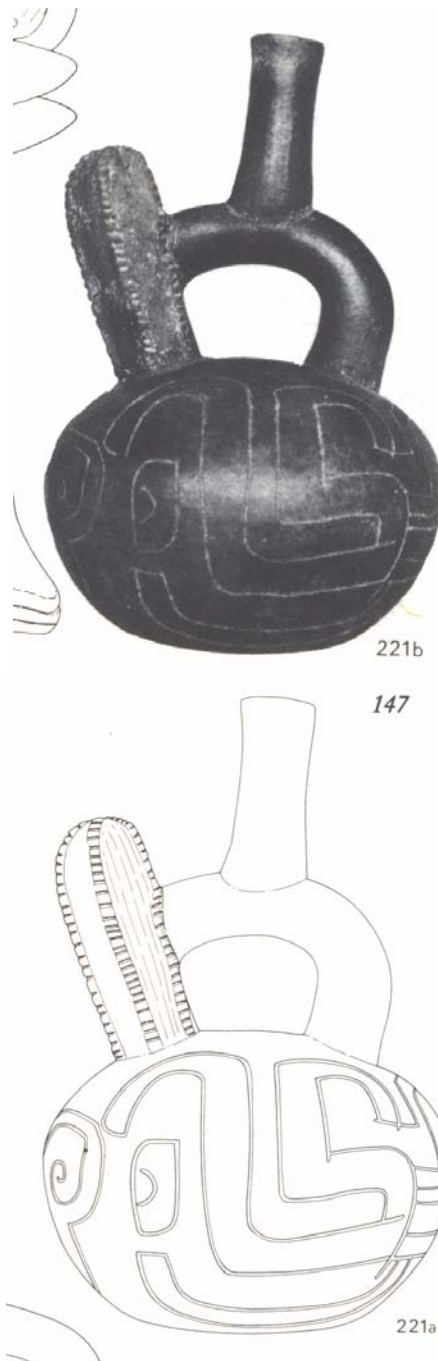
PC 34: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 146
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



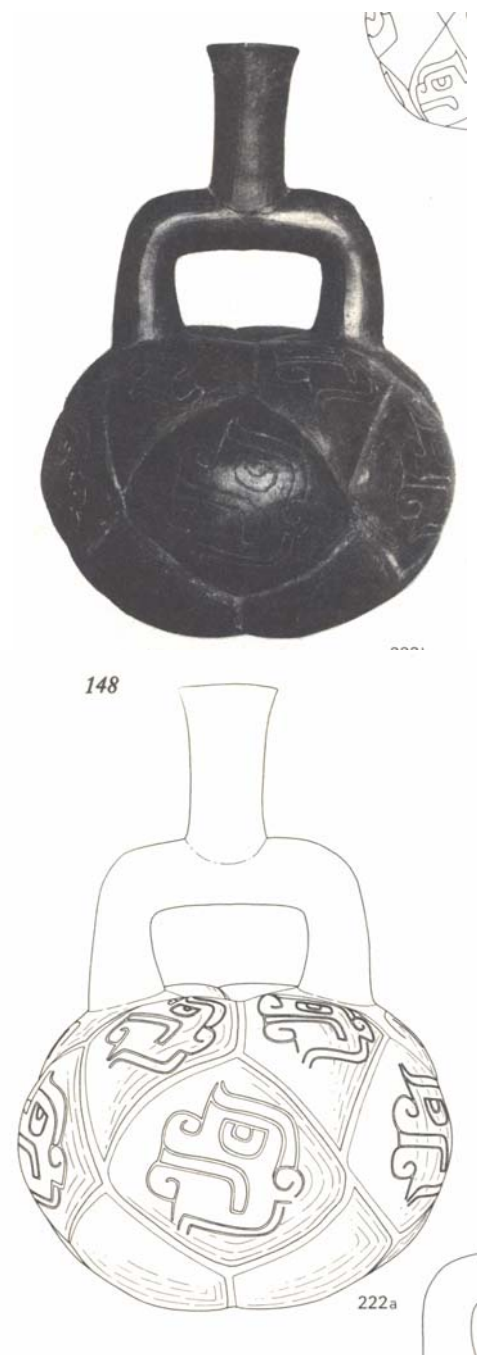
PC 35: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four identical head motifs
The drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 147
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 36: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical head motifs
 The drawing from from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 147
 (the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



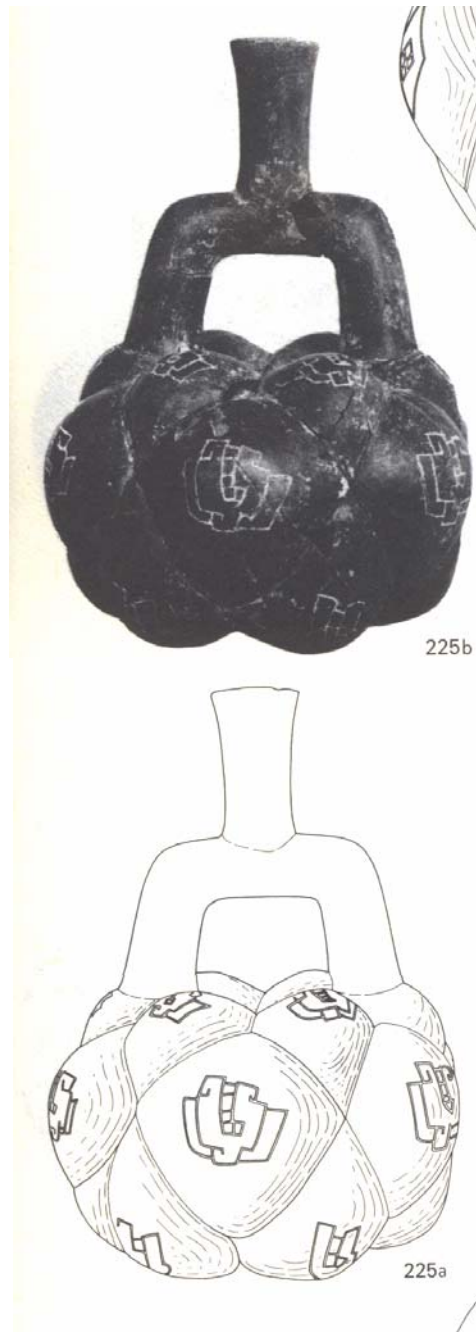
PC 37: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif
 The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 147
 (the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



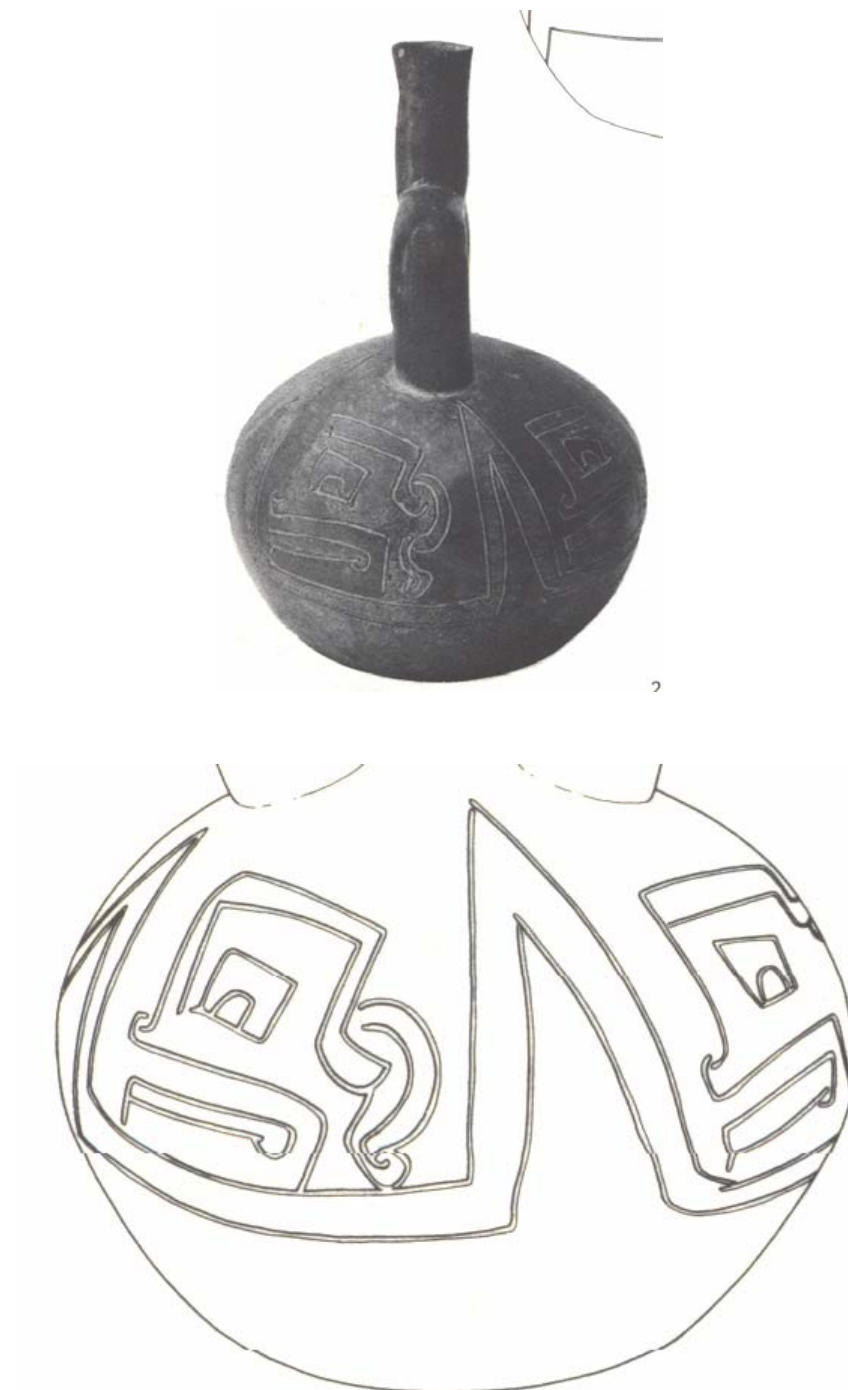
PC 38: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with monkey-like head motifs
 The picture and the drawing from from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 148
 (the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



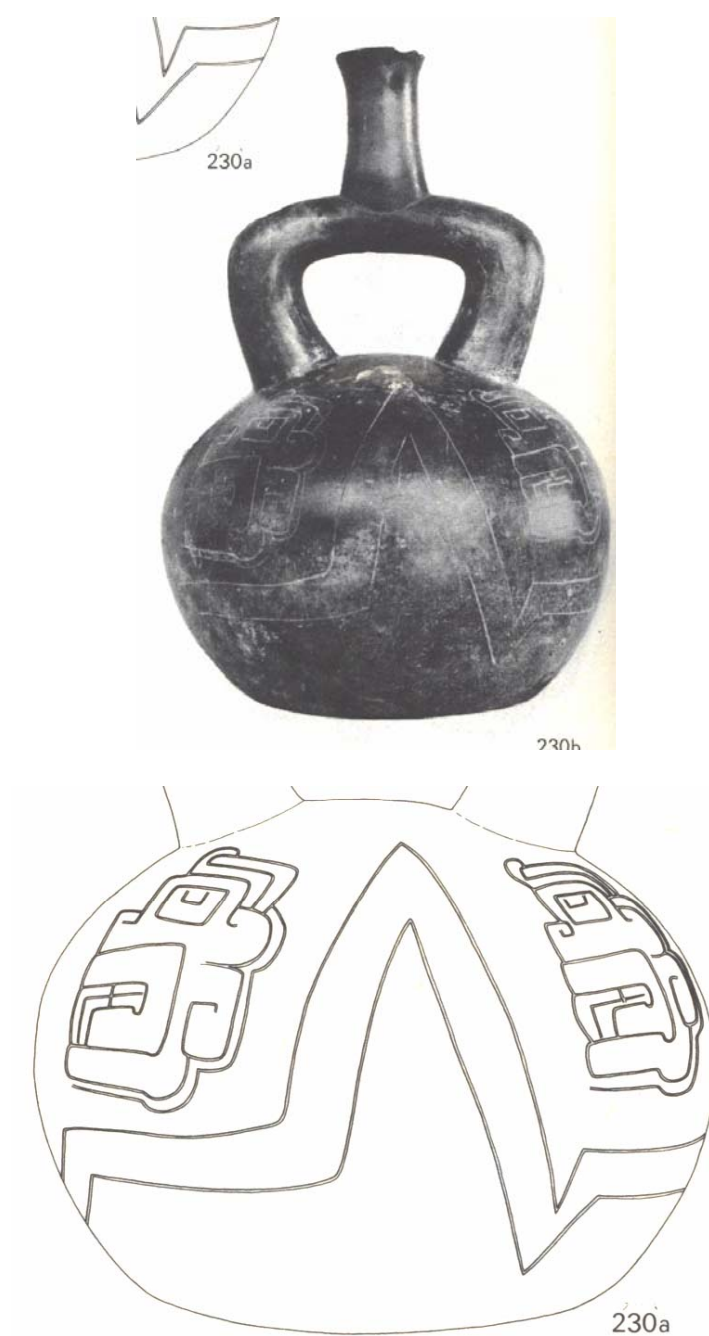
PC 39: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 148
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



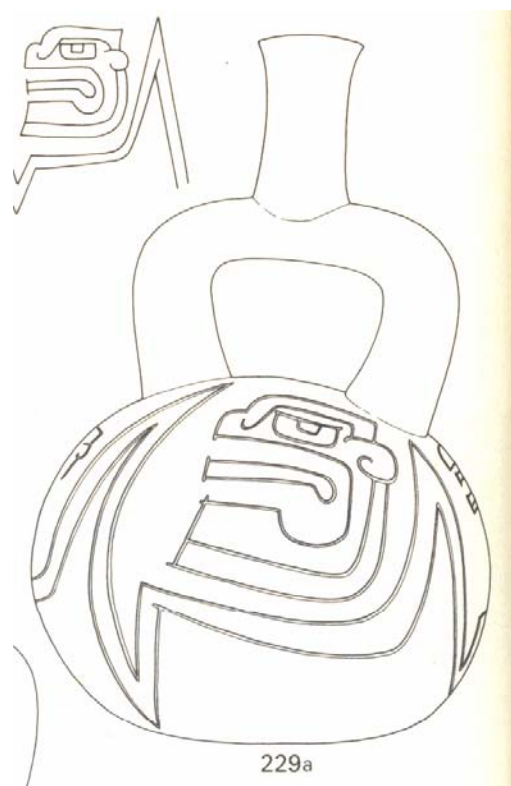
PC 40: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical head motifs
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 149
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



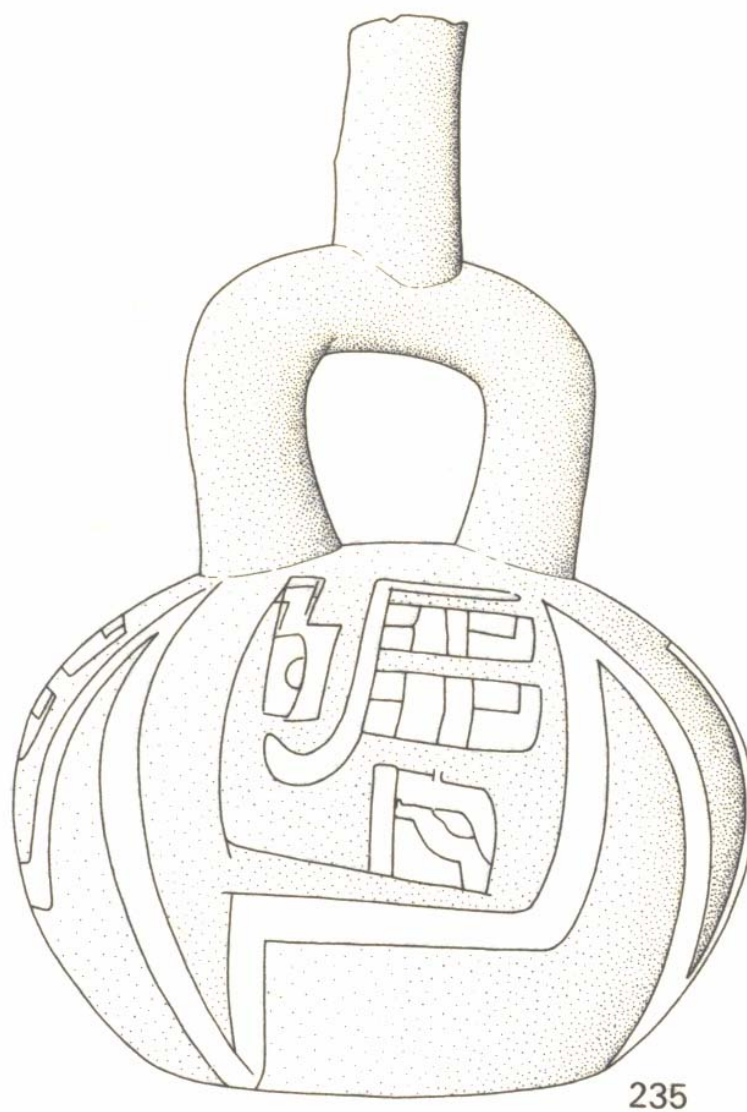
PC 41: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with four identical head motifs
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 150
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



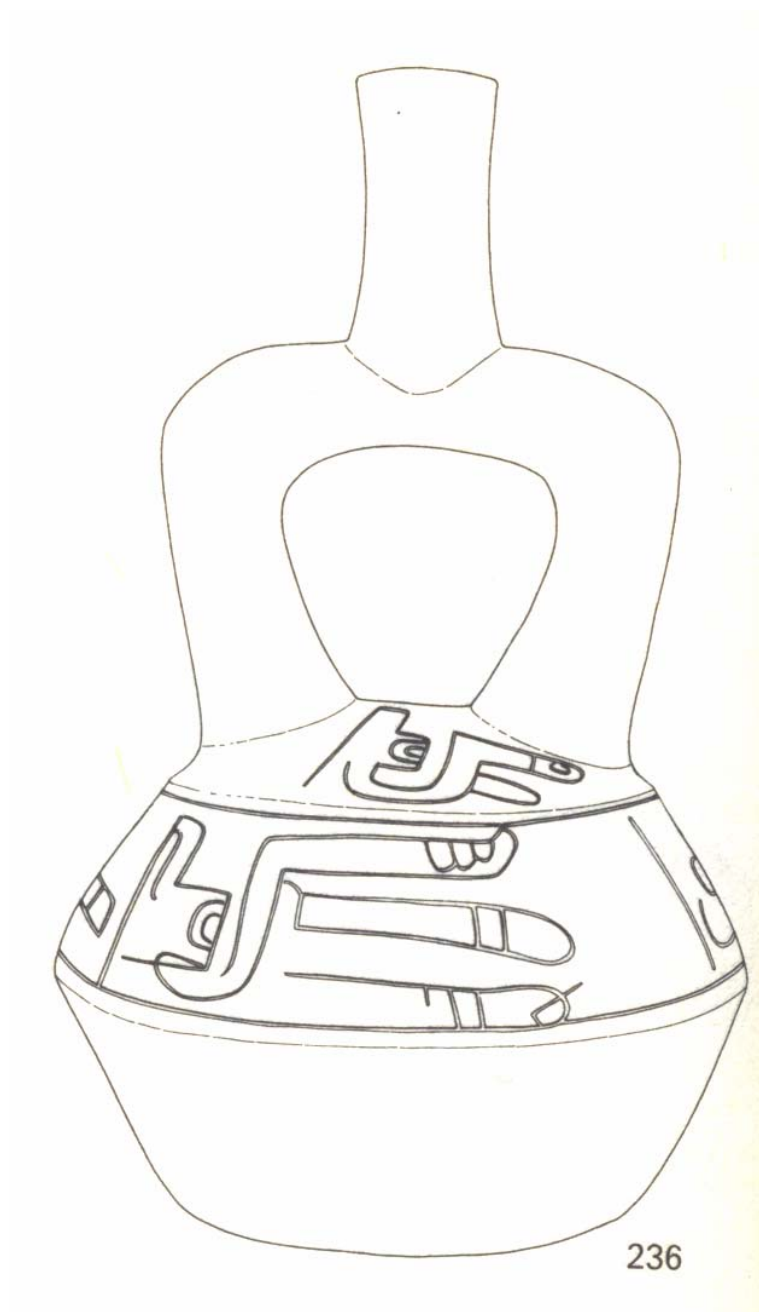
PC 42: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical head motifs
 The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 150
 (the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 43: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical head motifs
 The drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 150
 (the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



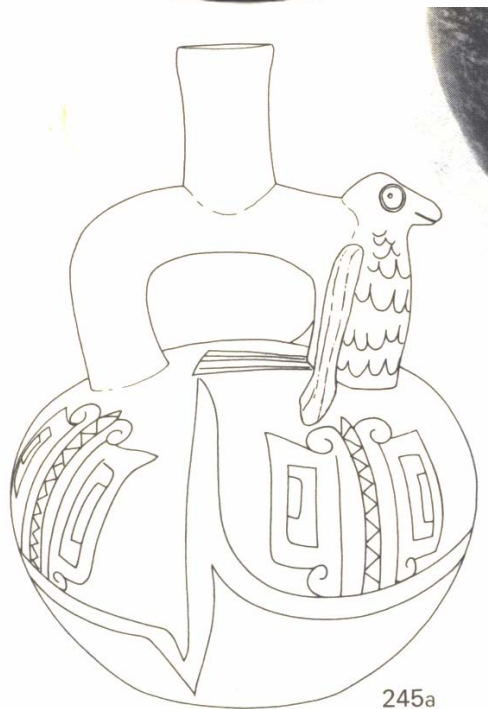
PC 44: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical profile bird imagery motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 152
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 45: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with identical profile bird motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 152
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)

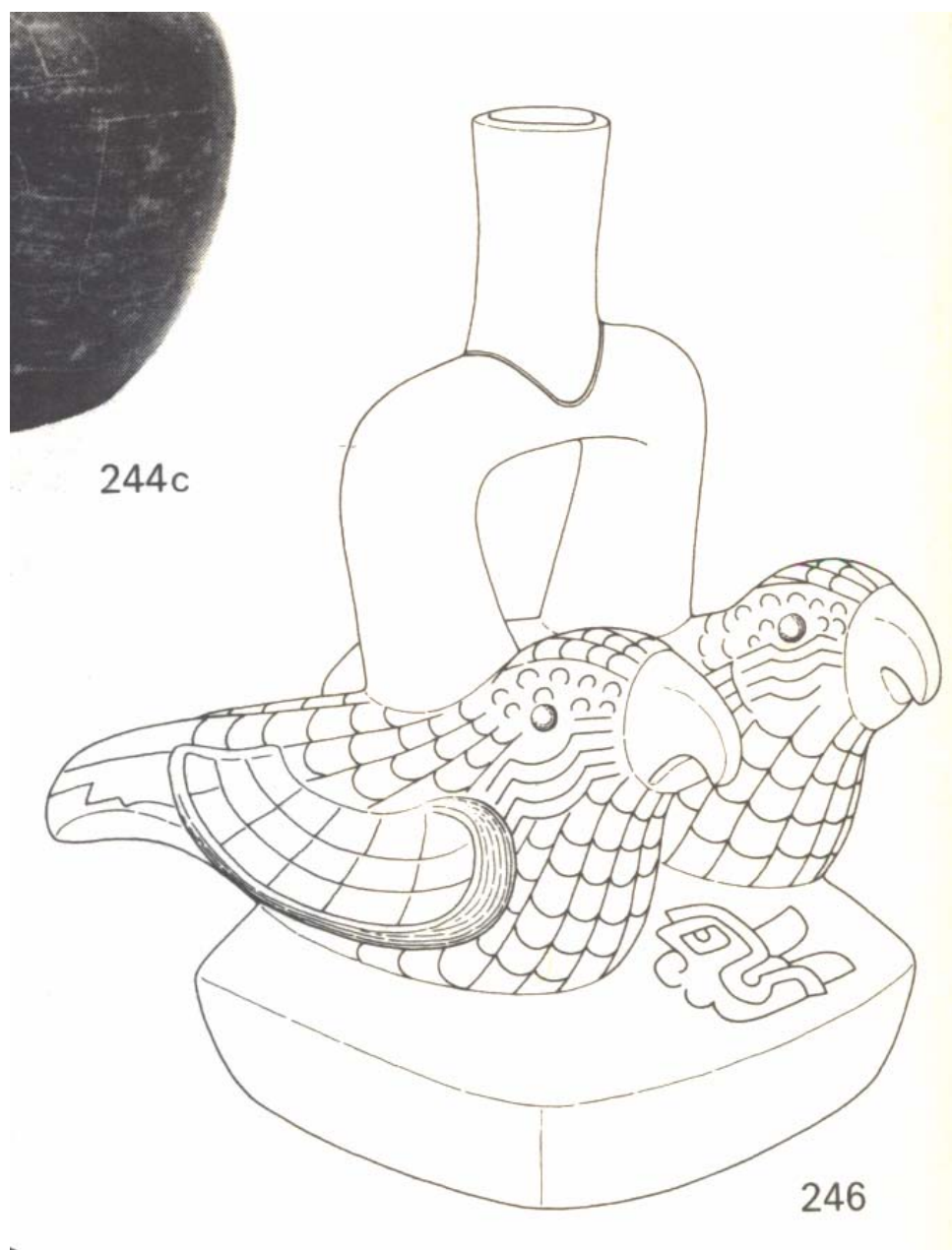


45a



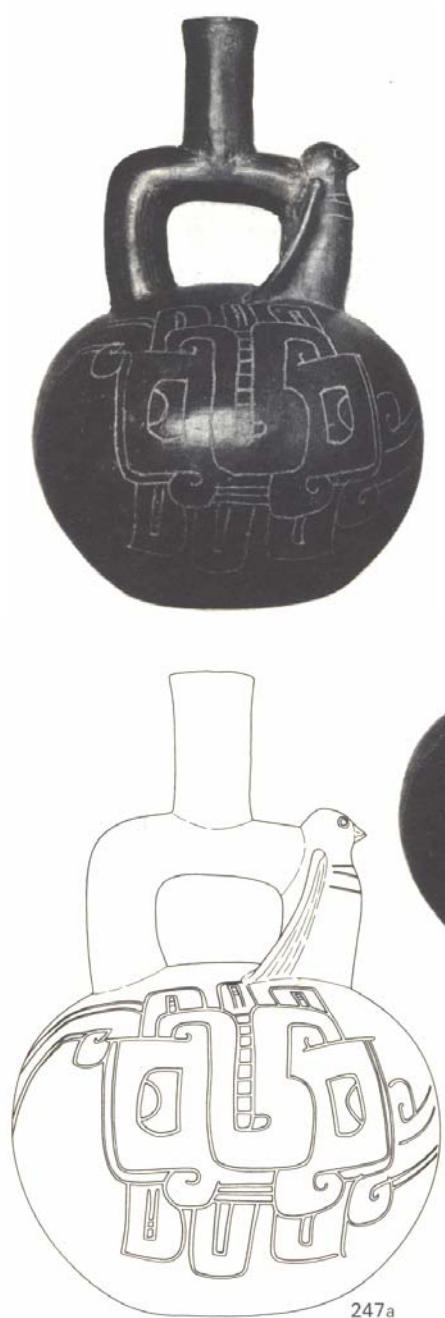
245a

PC 46: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with almost identical head motifs
 The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 154
 (the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 47: Two identical bird shaped stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a head motif

The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 154
 (the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)

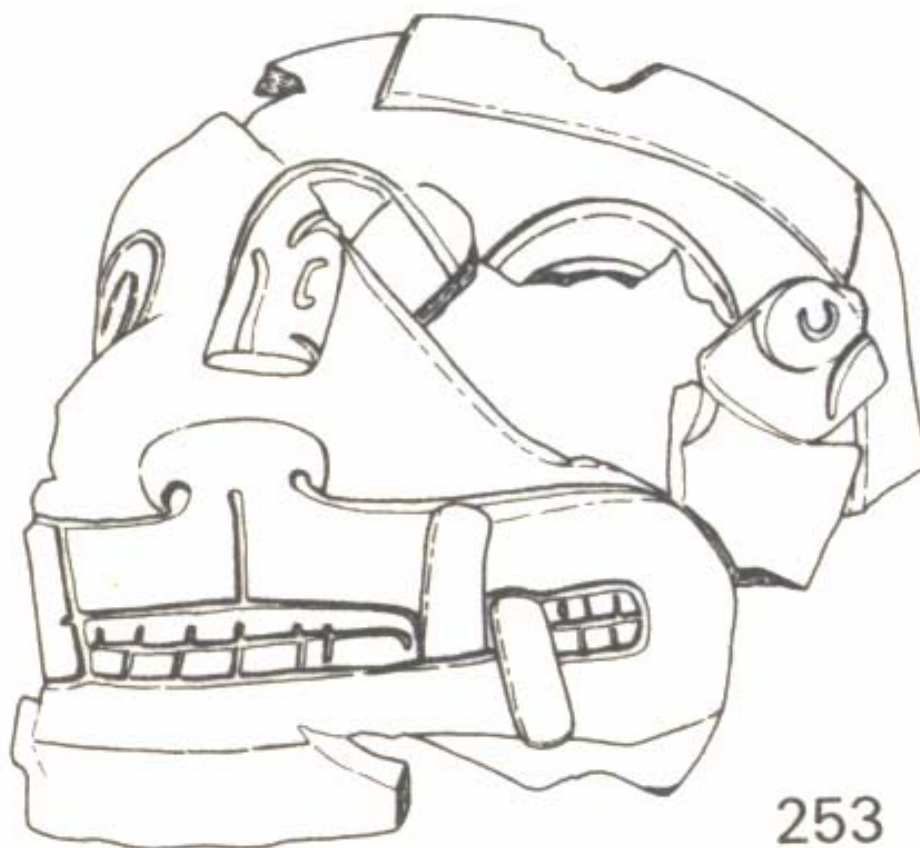


PC 48: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a head motif
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 155
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



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PC 49: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with dentical head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 155
(the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)

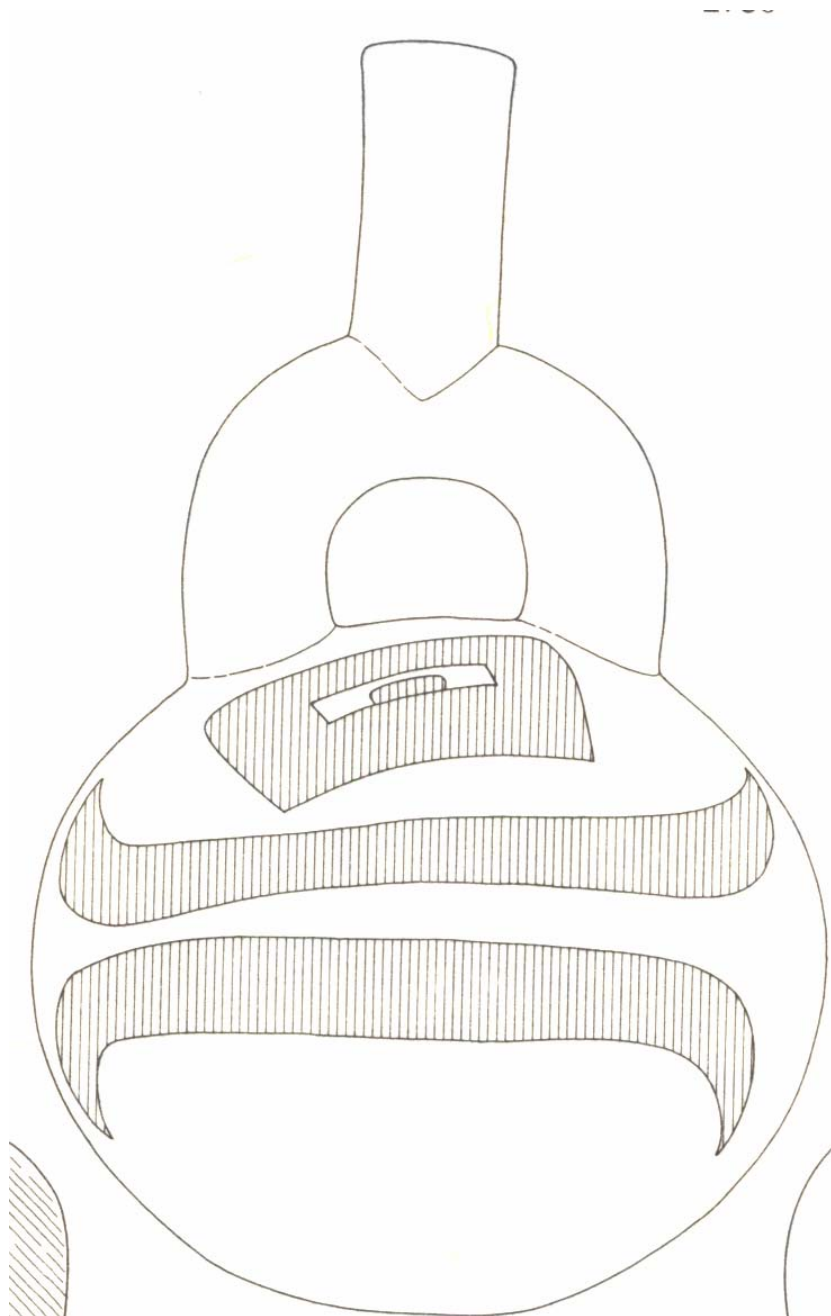


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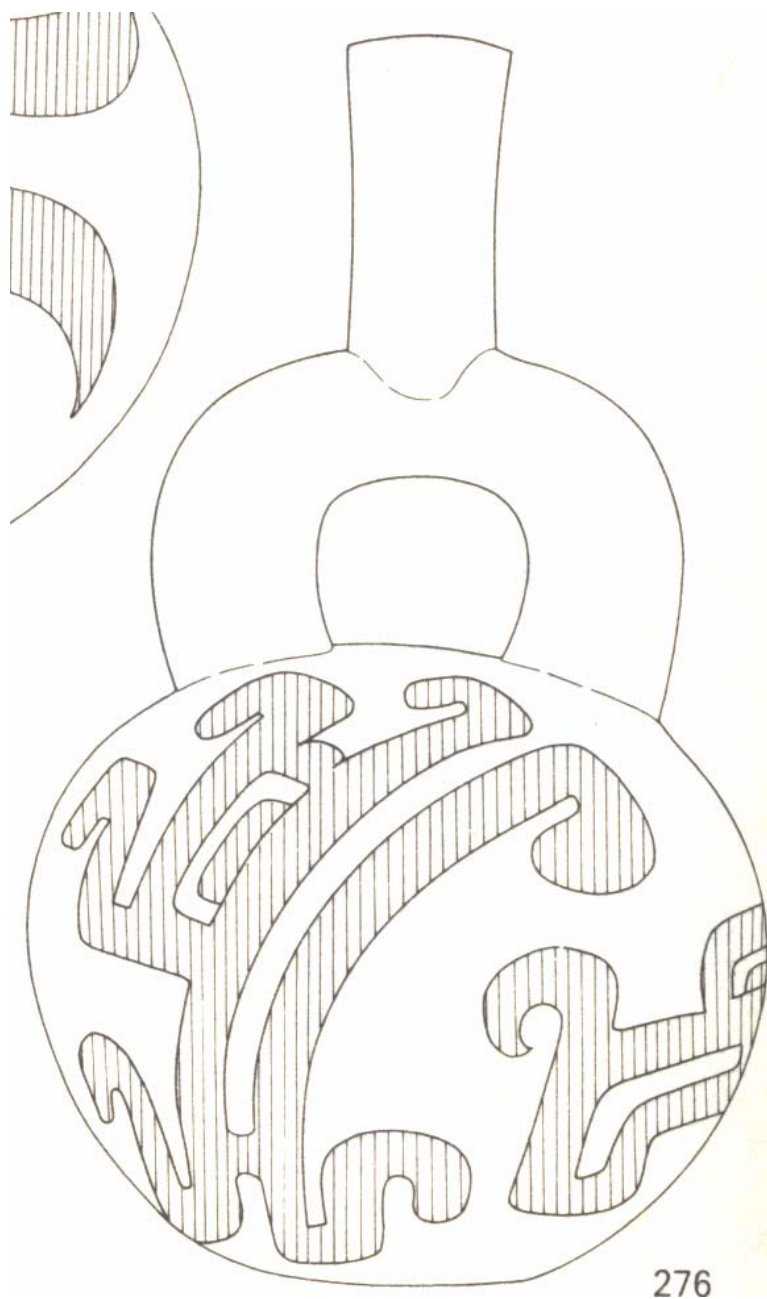
PC 50: Feline head-shaped ceramic fragment
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 156
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 51: Feline head-shaped ceramic fragment
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 159
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



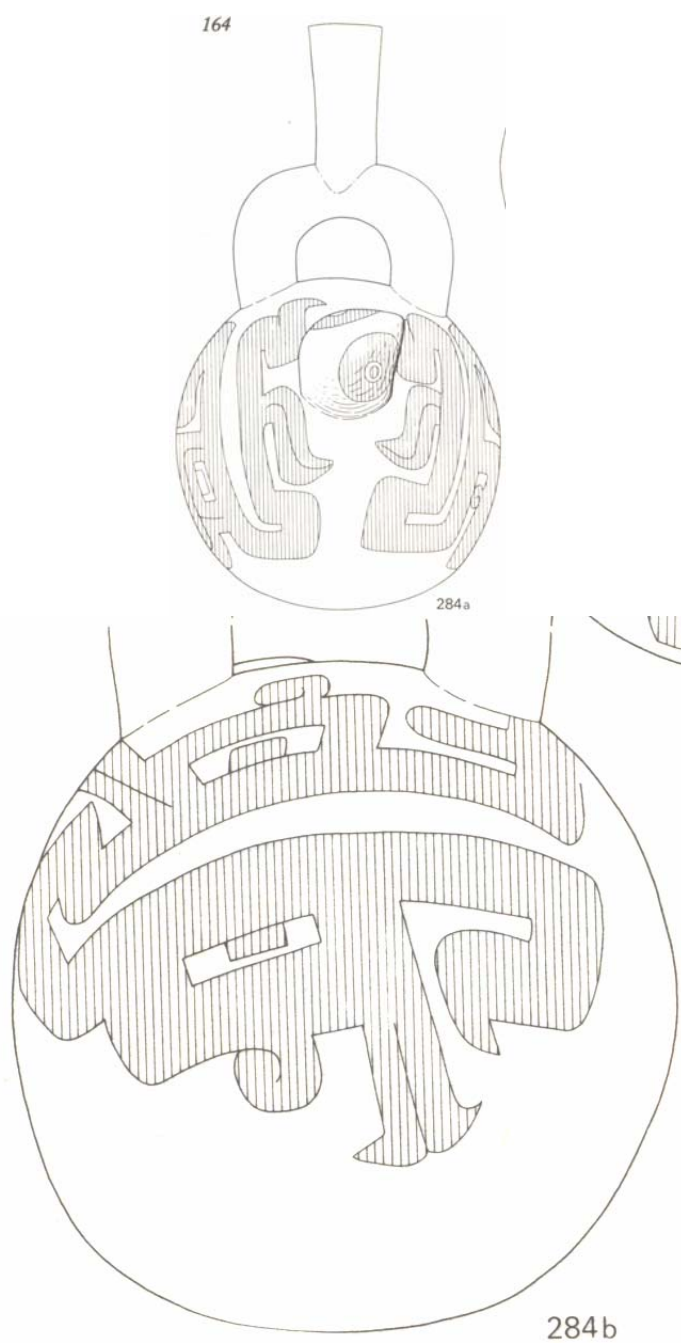
PC 52: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 160
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



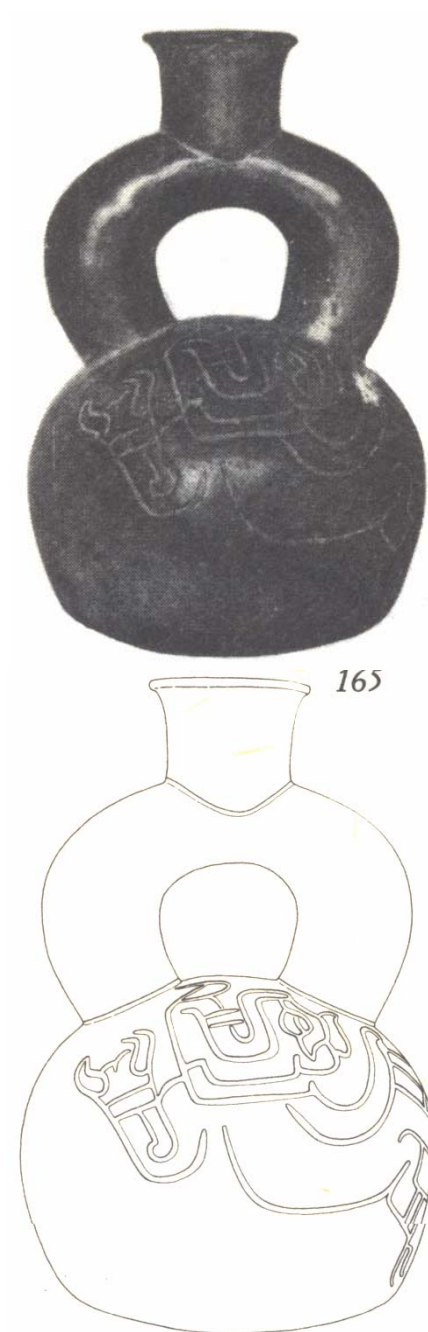
PC 53: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 160
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



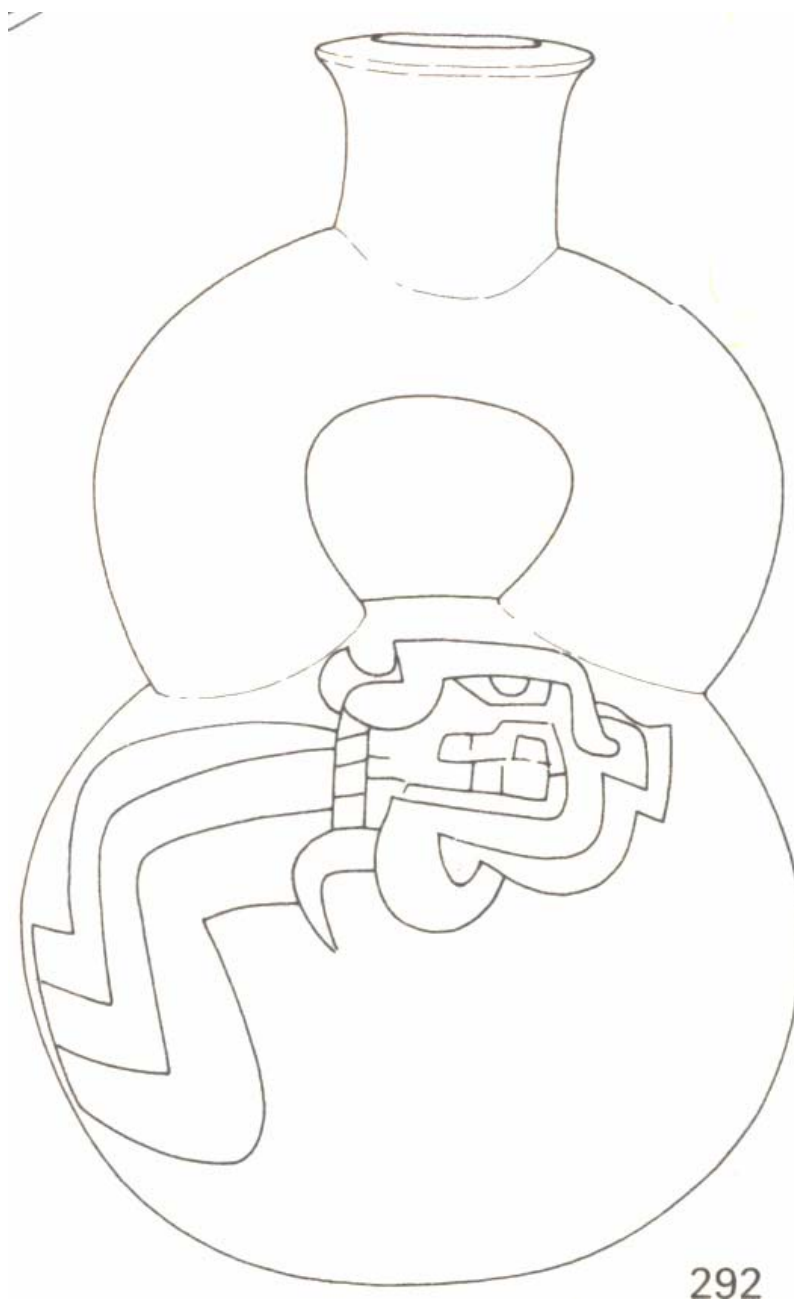
PC 54: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with an abstract head motif
 The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 161
 (the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



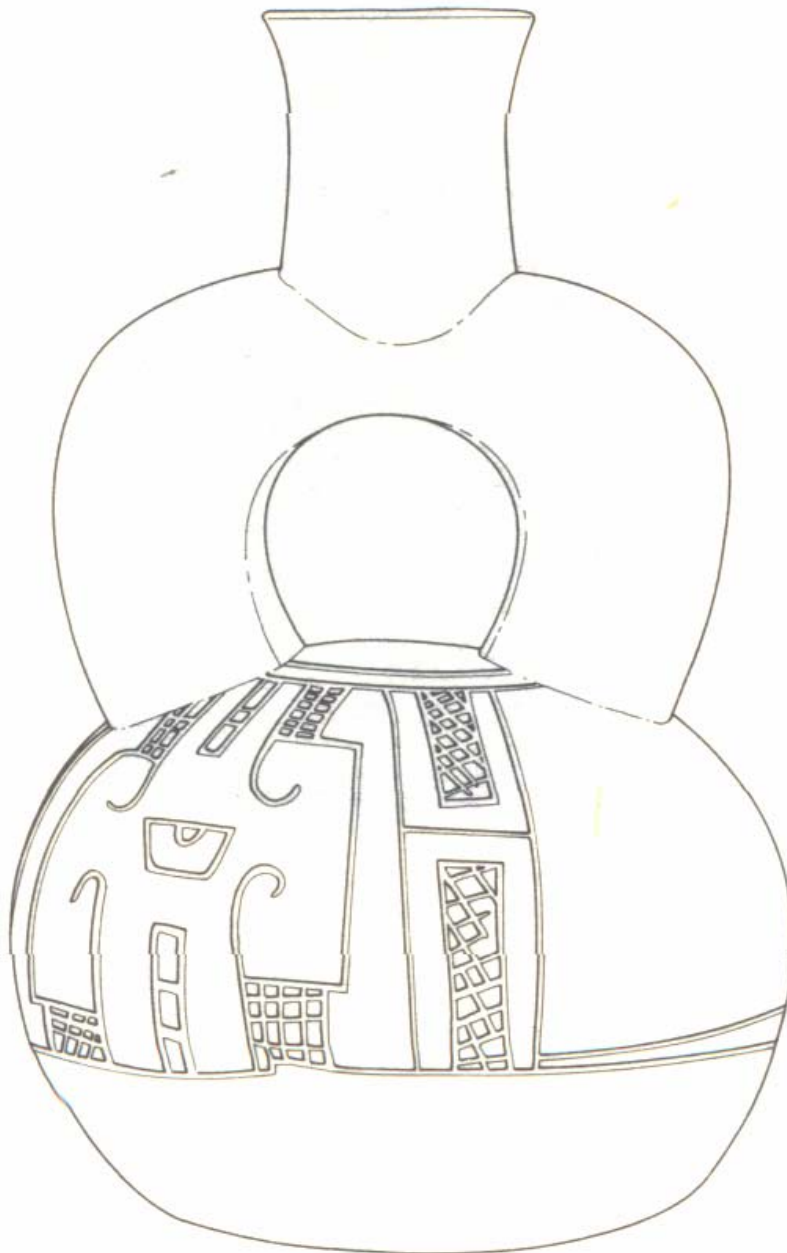
PC 55: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with abstract head motifs
The drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 164
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



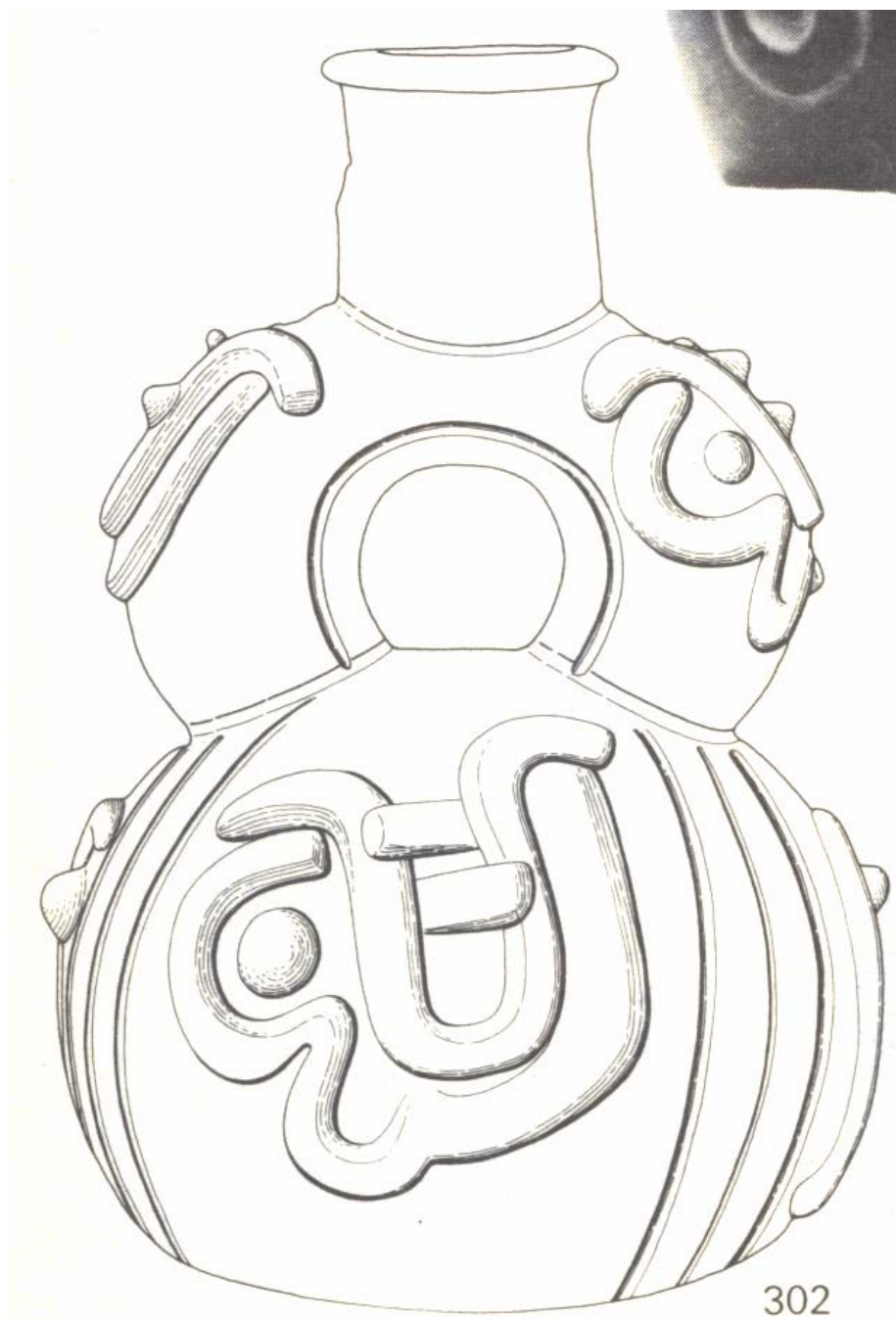
PC 56: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a bird motif
The picture and the drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 165
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



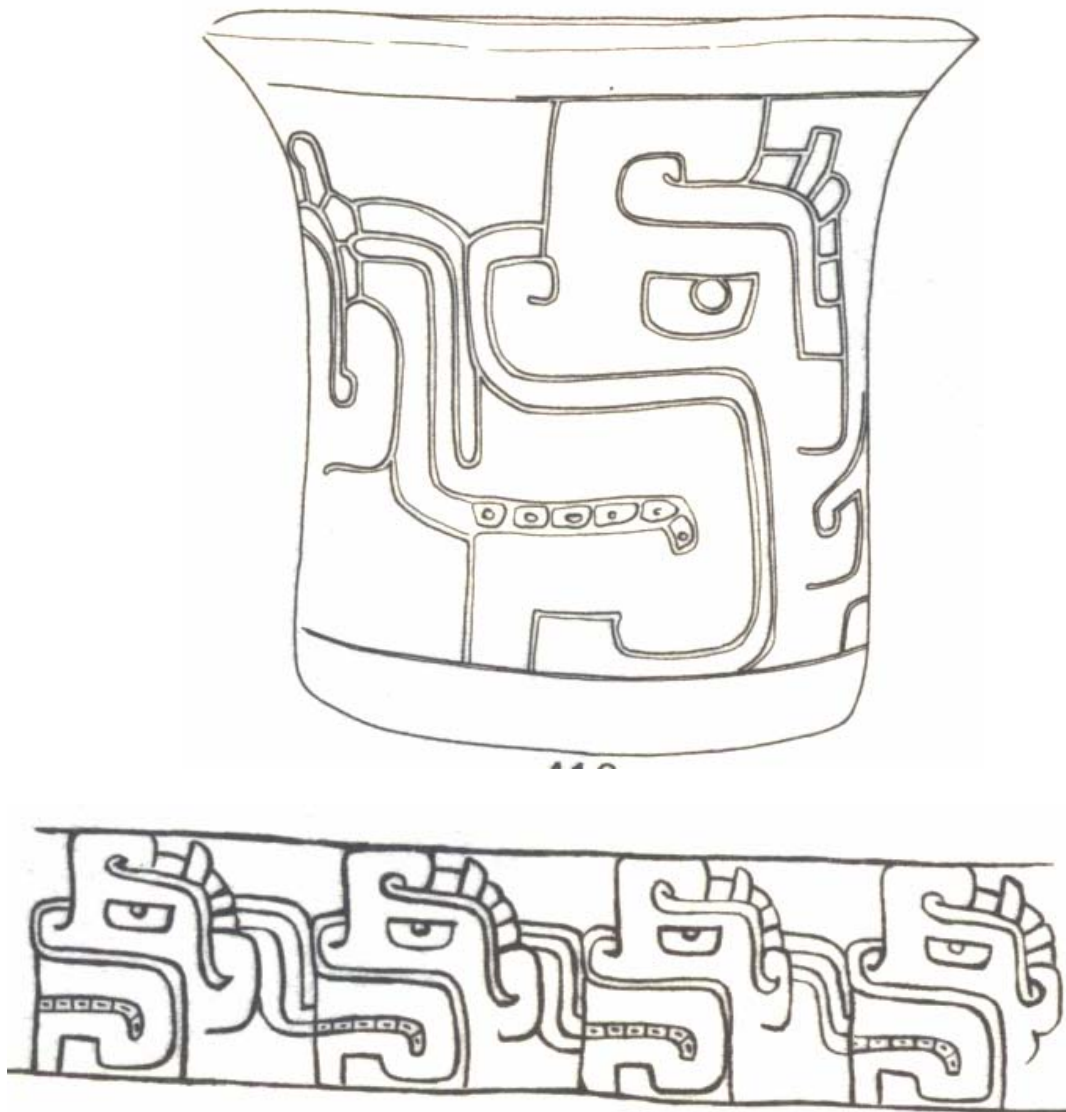
PC 57: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a fanged head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 165
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 58: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with a head motif
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 165
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 59: Stirrup-spouted vessel decorated with fanged head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 166
(the object from the collection of Enrico Poli)

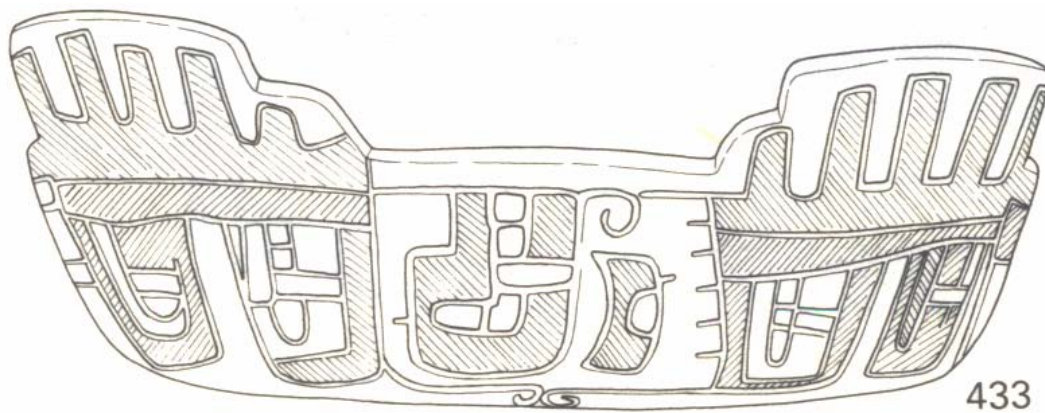


PC 60: Ceramic cup decorated with identical head motifs
The drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 189
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)

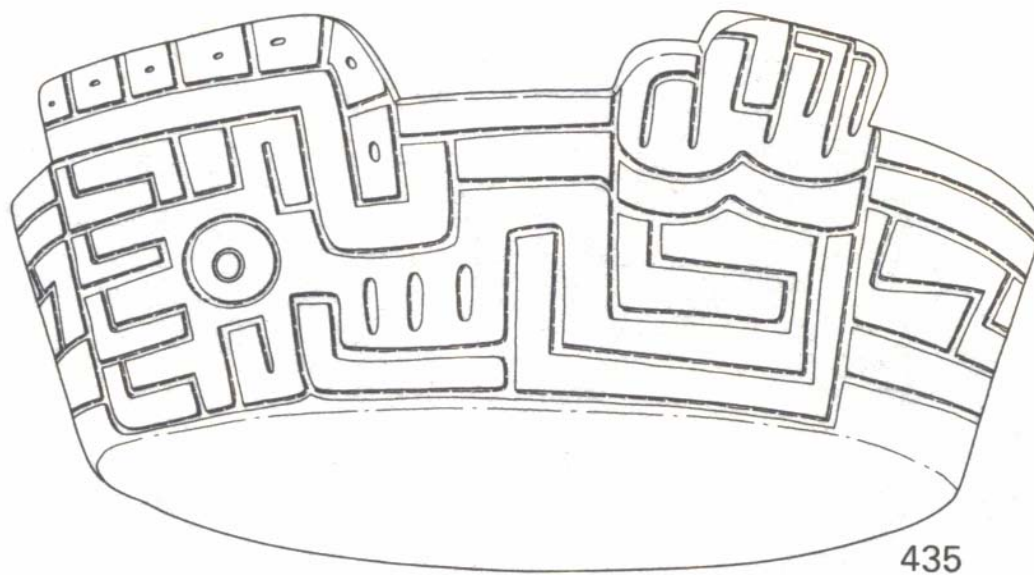


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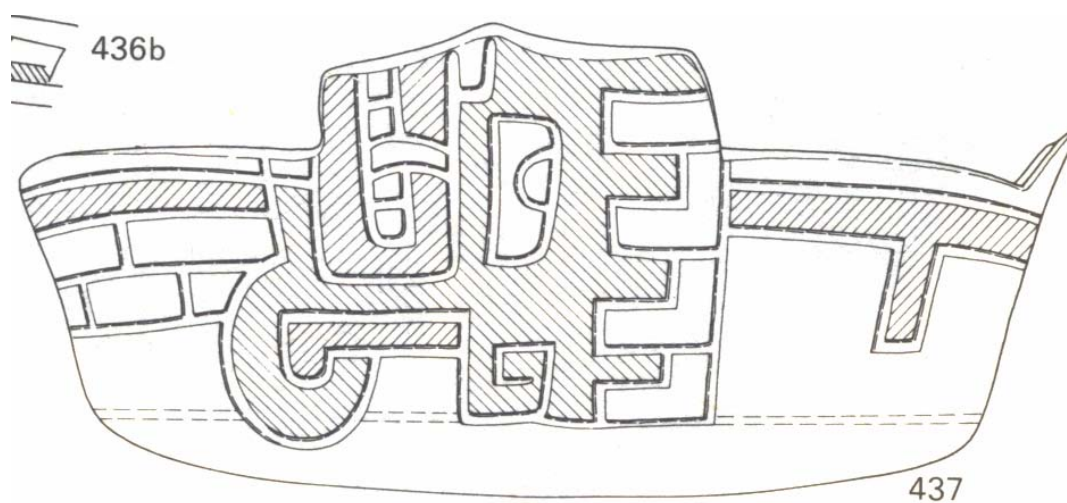
PC 61: Ceramic bowl decorated with abstract head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 191
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 62: Ceramic bowl decorated with fanged head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 191
(the object from the collection of César Rodríguez Razzeto)



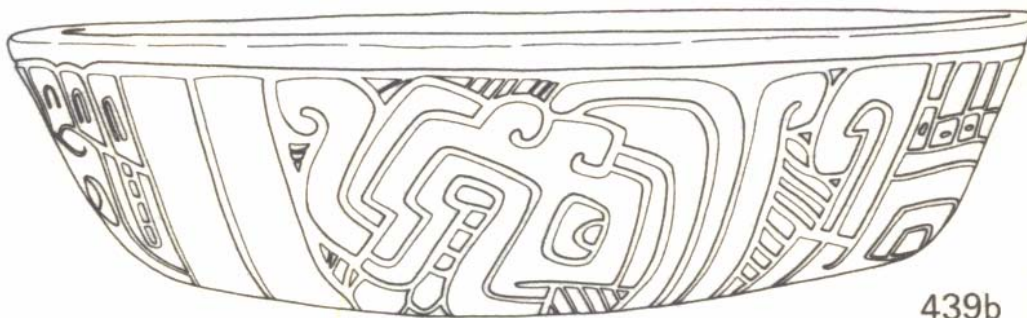
PC 63: Ceramic bowl decorated with head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 191
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



PC 64: Ceramic bowl decorated with fanged head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 191
(the object from the collection of Oscar Rodríguez Razzeto)



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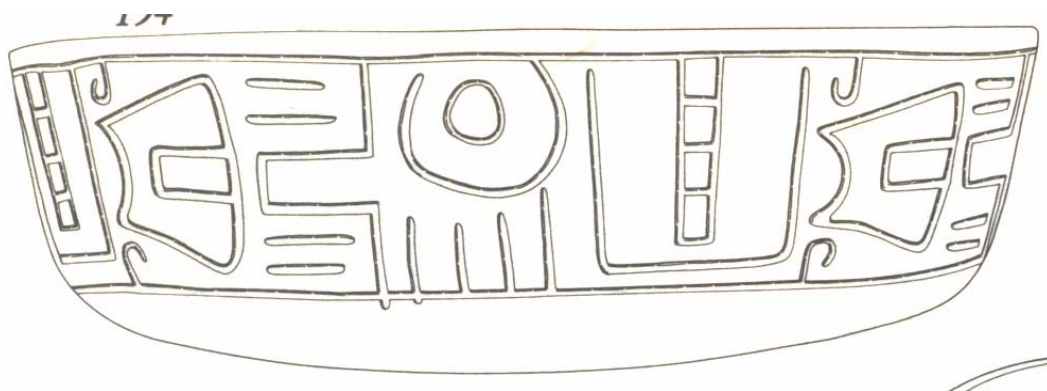


439b



439a

PC 65: Ceramic bowl decorated with head motifs
The picture and the drawings from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 192
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)



PC 66: Ceramic bowl decorated with head motifs
The drawing from *Cerámica Temprana en el Valle de Jequetepeque, Norte del Perú*. (München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1986), 194
(the object from the collection of Giorgio Battistini)

Vitae

Yumi Park was born in Busan, South Korea on January 27th, 1978 and is a citizen of the Republic of Korea. She started her career as a ceramic installation artist in South Korea where she received her Bachelor of Fine Arts. In 2002, she graduated from Long Island University, C.W. Post Campus with a Bachelor of Arts in Art History. Then, she received her Master of Arts in Art History from City College of New York in 2004. She is currently an adjunct faculty at Virginia Commonwealth University, and is a frequent lecturer at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond, Virginia.