

**Moche social boundaries and settlement dynamics at Cerro Castillo
(c. AD 600-1000), Nepeña Valley, Peru**

Volume 1

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Abstract

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This dissertation explores the pre-Columbian occupation at Cerro Castillo, a coastal settlement in the Nepeña Valley, Peru. The study examines the site's internal organisation as well as its relationship with regional cultural phenomena during its most important period of occupation (circa AD 600-1000). Characterising the Moche presence at the site is one of the main subjects of this investigation.

Moche was one of the grandest civilisations that developed in the pre-Columbian Andes, dating from circa AD 100 to 850. Its high levels of complexity are materially expressed in the archaeological remains of urban centres, monumental temples, irrigation systems, funerary practices and finely made artefacts. This work builds on decades of previous research to assess the nature of Moche at Cerro Castillo questioning uni-directional approaches to cultural interaction, social complexity and the secondary role attributed to small to mid-scale communities in their own development and in the regional affairs.

This investigation relies on an archaeological approach and methodology on analysis of contextual data obtained from excavations at Cerro Castillo. This information is examined within a theoretical framework that integrates and evaluates perspectives of boundaries, cultural identity and social practice.

By articulating material evidence with different lines of interpretative models, this thesis demonstrates that settlements such as Cerro Castillo were not passive recipients of the agency of a stronger political entity. Alternatively, it postulates that Cerro Castillo was a competing community that experienced its most significant period of development in times of profound regional transformations. Rather than a political or military imposition, Moche is seen as a belief system that dovetailed with Cerro Castillo's growing power and economy as its inhabitants embraced the lifestyle of a worldview that brought prestige and innovative cultural features.

Preface

This study aims to contribute to our understanding of complex societies through the lens of the Moche, an archaeological case of ancient Peru. The Moche culture has been a subject of archaeological studies for over a century. Nevertheless, it was during the 1990s when Moche archaeology experienced an unprecedented boost, largely due to the discovery of royal tombs and monumental temples. It was during this time when the foundations of long-term archaeological projects were established in the north coast of Peru. As an undergraduate student at the Universidad Nacional de Trujillo between 1998 and 2003, my academic formation was inevitably surrounded by the news about the development of archaeological research in Moche sites. Hence I ended up joining Dr. Santiago Uceda's excavations at the Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley, and subsequently, Dr. Luis Jaime Castillo's San José de Moro Archaeological Project in the Jequetepeque Valley. My interest in the Moche culture was largely developed throughout my participation in these projects.

In 2009, I enrolled in the Sainsbury Research Unit's PhD course at the University of East Anglia, under the supervision of Dr. George Lau. Based on my previous experience, my original doctorate proposal intended to address Moche craft specialisation and mortuary practices in the Nepeña Valley. The idea of starting this new project in Nepeña was particularly attractive since it had been somehow overlooked by Moche specialists, as the regions of Lambayeque, Jequetepeque, Moche, Chicama, Virú and Santa were preferred for excavation projects. In addition, no archaeological project had actively addressed the Moche occupation in the Nepeña Valley since Donald Proulx's survey in the 1960s.

The Pañamarca Archaeological Complex is considered to be the most important Moche site in the valley. It is composed of the temple of Pañamarca (the monumental compound) and Cerro Castillo (an area composed of several hills, artificial mounds and flatlands). Both the temple of Pañamarca and Cerro Castillo were part of the same settlement. However, these compounds are currently separated by an approximately 200m ditch, made during the expansion of agricultural lands in the 1960s, and that is the reason why they receive different names.

The temple of Pañamarca is the most iconic Moche feature in the region; a large-scale

mud-brick construction where polychrome mural paintings had been reported back in the 1950s. However, no research followed those discoveries, most probably due to the considerable costs involved in the excavation of this type of monument. The nearby area of Cerro Castillo did not receive archaeological attention either, presumably because it looks severely damaged by looting activities. However, when I visited the site, I noticed that most of the illegal excavations occurred in the lower grounds, whereas the slopes and hilltops did not present a significant number of looter pits. Large areas of undisturbed deposits suggested a promising option for an archaeological project.

Encouraged by colleagues and friends, I started the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project. Initially, I expected to find contexts that would allow me to tackle my original PhD proposal, i.e. workshops and burials. However, as it is common in archaeology and the reader will quickly note, our findings did not fully match our preliminary prospects, therefore the subject of this dissertation had to be readressed.

In the summer of 2010, we ran a 12-weeks fieldwork season, during which we completed the mapping of Cerro Castillo and opened Units 1, 2, 3 and 10. Most of our efforts centred in Unit 10 (originally called Sector 4 North in our field notes). Once we understood the irregular characteristics of the area's deposits we moved on to the upper slopes to open Units 1 and 2. Finally, we opened Unit 3 on the west hillside of Sector 4, where we found evidence related to the economic life in the site.

The fieldwork season of 2011 (6 weeks) was clearly affected by the results obtained in the previous year. I was particularly intrigued by the evidence of production found in Unit 3. Thus, Units 4, 5, 6 and 7 were placed on the west hillside of Sector 4. Having a better understanding of Sector 4, we decided to explore an area that could potentially reveal evidence of ceremonial activities at the site. Hence, Units 8 and 9 were opened in the surroundings of Huaca Sector 1.

For the fieldwork season of 2012 (6 weeks), we aimed to continue our examination of Sector 4, opening Units 11, 12 and 13 in the east side of the site. I was also interested in assessing the damage caused in the graveyards of Cerro Castillo, which led to the excavation of Units 14, 15 and 16 in Cemetery 1. At the same time, the results previously obtained in

Units 8 and 9 encouraged us to continue examining the ceremonial features of the site, starting excavations at Units 17, 18 and 19 in Huaca Sector 1.

The following chapters present the results of the fieldwork campaigns summarised above. The study largely centres on assessing the presence of Moche artefacts at Cerro Castillo. Certainly, the site's relationship with the Moche culture is an intriguing and fascinating subject; however, the site features many other aspects that also deserve our attention (e.g. the Early Horizon and Chimú occupations, the local economy amongst others). It goes without saying though, that our decision making-process was highly affected by the budget and time constraints of a doctoral dissertation. Hence our fieldwork strategies and lab analyses prioritised our main subject of study.

This dissertation is also the outcome of the effort of several people, students and collaborators, who joined the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project at different stages. Jorge Meneses, Natalia Guzmán, Julien Hiquet and Alejandra Rengifo were pivotal in the development of the field and lab activities. The collaboration of Luis Tandaypan was central in the mapping of the site. Lucy Woods, Hannah Davison, Emma Ings, Gary Drimmer and all the volunteers of the project had an important participation in the development of this investigation. Local labourers Adrián Villón, Manuel González, Manuel Escobar, Víctor Ramírez and Adolfo Ramírez, were of so much help during the field activities.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Archaeological research in the Andes has been largely based on the study of large regional ceremonial centres and/or large-scale settlements. Not surprisingly, this type of study has led to emphasis on the integrative character as well as the scope and homogenising power of the state. Material culture's attributes and geographical distribution have been seen as a reflection of the homogenising power of the state, also implying a passive reaction of smaller entities to inevitably join the agenda of the stronger unit. Until recently, the cultural development of the societies of the Early Intermediate Period (AD 1-700) and Middle Horizon (AD 700-1100) have been explained within these models.

New archaeological data from small-scale settlements of these periods increasingly points towards scenarios where provincial communities played a major role not only in their own development but also in the regional socio-political transformations. Consequently, the scholarly tendency is gradually shifting towards studies of small-scale settlements since it seems to be that it was in these places where inter-regional interactions occurred differently, and occasionally at a more dynamic pace, than in large-scale ceremonial centres and settlements.

This dissertation examines the pre-Columbian occupation of Cerro Castillo, a coastal community in the Nepeña Valley, a site largely overlooked in the archaeological literature. Based on new archaeological data, this investigation studies the site's cultural development and internal organisation. Investigations at Cerro Castillo centre particular attention on the site's relations with the Moche culture, offering an alternative perspective to explain Moche, its social and cultural boundaries, development and social impact.

1.1. Objectives

The present study aims to assess three main subjects: 1) the pre-Columbian occupation at Cerro Castillo, a coastal settlement in the Nepeña Valley, Peru, 2) Cerro Castillo's settlement dynamics, and 3) Cerro Castillo's relationship with the Moche culture. To explore these issues,

this investigation draws from different lines of interpretation to understand the archaeological data.

1.1.1. The pre-Columbian occupation of Cerro Castillo

Assessing the occupational history of Cerro Castillo has been one of the fundamental goals of this research, and to achieve so, archaeological works at the site were essential. Using a single-site methodology, the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project carried out the mapping of the site, collection of surface materials and archaeological excavations. As will be described, the site and cultural deposits proved to be stratigraphically irregular. The characteristics of the archaeological deposits vary from one area to the next, both in terms of their stratigraphic depth as well as in terms of their architectural features and associated materials. For instance, excavations on the hillsides revealed both thin-shallow occupations as well as thick layers corresponding with successive remodelling events of some architectural spaces. Likewise, excavations on the flatlands yielded both deep deposits associated with burials that intruded on the geological subsoil as well as superficial surfaces associated with walls and floors.

Based on the data obtained from excavations as well as on the results of subsequent analyses of pottery and architecture, this investigation describes Cerro Castillo's three main occupational periods. Occupation A was associated with the Late Intermediate Period and the Chimú and Casma cultures. Occupation B occurred during the Middle Horizon, a time during which several cultural phenomena appear in Cerro Castillo, e.g. Moche. Occupation C corresponds with the material features that relate to the Early Intermediate Period and Early Horizon, presumably the period in which Cerro Castillo was inhabited for the first time. Since this is the first occupational sequence for Cerro Castillo, it will likely be a starting reference for future investigations at the site.

1.1.2. Cerro Castillo's settlement dynamics

This work offers a site-level reconstruction of the Cerro Castillo's settlement dynamics during the Middle Horizon, a time of profound regional transformations during which the site

experienced its most important growth. Based on material evidence, this dissertation examines the spatial and functioning components of Cerro Castillo. Cultural interaction as well as daily and ceremonial practices will be major subjects in this discussion.

To explore the site's dynamics, this research uses theories of proxemics, spatial use, household practices in archaeological cases and artefactual analyses to understand activity areas corresponding with residential purposes (room structures, refuse areas, terraces), production areas (workshops), public spaces (plaza), ceremonial venues (religious building) and funeral zones (cemeteries). This investigation uses contextual data to examine the quality and quantity characteristics of material evidence as well as its distribution to shed light on patterns of social differentiation and cultural interaction.

Ceremonial activities and funeral practices were also important components in Cerro Castillo's settlement dynamics. This dissertation presents archaeological data to characterise ancient mortuary behaviours at the site. Primary and secondary funerary contexts are the bases to outline interpretations of death perceptions, artefactual symbolism and its relation with group affiliation and social differentiation.

1.1.3. Cerro Castillo, the Moche culture and the Moche boundaries

One of the main interests of this study is the Middle Horizon component of Cerro Castillo, which is largely characterised by the presence of Moche occupation and material culture. This research questions the way in which traditional views have regarded Moche and its relation with settlements such as Cerro Castillo, assigning them a passive role in the regional history and in their own development. Previous approaches in particular, have considered the Nepeña Valley as the southernmost bastion of the military expansion of a Moche state and a region dependant on polities of the Moche Valley.

Excavations revealed that Cerro Castillo was a place where cultural interaction occurred at a myriad of levels and during a long period. This work posits that ancient Cerro Castillo's inhabitants were not passive recipients of the Moche phenomenon but instead, a population that embraced Moche and other cultural traditions as a means to expand their cultural horizons and

enhance their lifestyle. Drawing from different lines of evidence, this dissertation argues that at Cerro Castillo, the Middle Horizon was a time of vibrant intellectual and economic development and, within this context Moche represented a prestigious long-standing cultural tradition with innovative cultural imagery appealing for local populations. It was a time during which ceremonial activities spread across the site.

Based on material evidence and a theoretical framework that integrates top-down and bottom-up approaches, this thesis proposes an alternative view that may help to understand Moche and its material culture recognising the multidimensional nature of social boundaries.

1.2. Organisation of Chapters

The present dissertation consists of ten chapters. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the theoretical approaches used in this research, centring on approaches to social boundaries and social complexity models in archaeological studies. Chapter 3 reviews the history of scholarly approaches to the Moche culture as well as current perspectives. Chapter 4 offers a brief description of the settings in which this research takes place, the Nepeña Valley. It also reviews previous archaeological research related to the Moche presence in the valley and in the archaeological complex of Pañamarca, where Cerro Castillo is located.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the fieldwork investigation at Cerro Castillo. It introduces the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project, the methodology used for data collection and the sectorisation of the site. It then describes the excavation units and the respective findings within each area. Chapter 6 provides detailed information about the funerary contexts found during the excavations. It also offers a discussion of the contexts in relation to the objectives of this study.

Chapter 7 describes the ceramics found in the excavations units. It analyses the sample considering its contextual provenience and stylistic attributes to subsequently outline the site's cultural affiliations and chronological sequence. Chapter 8 describes the architectural features of Cerro Castillo in terms of its technological characteristics, functions and spatial distribution.

Chapter 9 integrates the results of excavations and data analyses to outline Cerro

Cerro Castillo's first occupational sequence. It also offers a horizontal interpretation of the site's settlement dynamics during its busiest period of occupation. Chapter 10 reflects on the results of this research offering lines of interpretations of Cerro Castillo and its relation with Moche and related cultural phenomena.

CHAPTER 2

Boundaries and societal models

The research methodology of this study builds on theories of social boundaries drawing from different lines of interpretation for archaeological cases. This work recognises the multidimensional nature of societies and from that premise, it integrates different approaches to social boundaries, identity and culture contact models in the examination of the data recovered from Cerro Castillo.

Prior to this investigation, one of the main preconceptions about Cerro Castillo (and the Pañamarca complex in general) was its boundary nature. The Nepeña Valley has traditionally been considered the southern frontier of the Moche polity, having the southernmost milestone of its militaristic expansion in the temple of Pañamarca. This interpretation is based on a monolithic model of the Moche phenomenon, considering it as a case of a theocratic state formation that had its core of development in the Moche Valley, its capital in the site of Huacas de Moche, and a number of provincial capitals throughout the different valleys of the Peruvian north coast where they expanded militarily. Regardless of the emergence of alternative models during recent years, some of the post-World War II preconceptions still linger on. The core nature of sites like Huacas de Moche clearly prevails in Moche literature and has been viewed as the place from where cultural development was originated and then eventually extended and/or replicated throughout the Peruvian north coast. Under this model, the so called provincial capitals (e.g. Huaca Cao Viejo, Guadalupito, Pañamarca) as well as towns and villages of different orders, allegedly under the core's dominance/influence, would have had little or no decision-making capacity in their developmental trajectories, either from their leaders or from their populace. Moreover, studies of material culture have usually addressed the confirmation of such models, explaining material homogeneity as a consequence of the elites' agency and the submission of several territories and polities to a centre of growth. Although recent works do suggest alternative models considering degrees of local agency in artefactual production outside Huacas de Moche, they still explain such developments as a consequence of the occurrences in the core area.

This work does not intend to rebuild the history of the ancient north coastal societies but rather reflect on them from an integrative social structure-human agency approach to social boundaries. An in-depth analysis of both older and current perspectives to the Moche phenomenon and the theoretical notions that have built its cultural features highlight a series of issues, some of which are worth revising, re-addressing or shaping into alternative understandings. Did the populations of Cerro Castillo, for instance, perceive their place and themselves as a peripheral capital of a bigger governmental body? Was their social identity a replica imported from Huacas de Moche, or was it self-produced? Was Huacas de Moche a place where development originated first, or did it benefit from others' innovations? What was the Peruvian north coast populations' perception of the world extension? To what extent does material culture reflect those populations' behaviour? What were the Moche's social boundaries? Is Moche material culture variability an infallible indicator of levels of social cohesion or fragmentation? Have processes of social interaction and boundary making been overlooked in Moche studies?

This research explores these questions contrasting archaeological data from Cerro Castillo with theoretical frameworks that combine top-down and bottom-up approaches. Understanding the collected information from an integrative standpoint will help to develop new interpretations that consider the processes of social interaction and change at individual, local and regional levels. The following sections review the conceptual notions that constitute the multi-stranded theoretical framework of this study. Cultural constructs that cross-cut the social fabric such as space, household interactions, and identity, are merged through the concept of boundaries. Former studies have restricted the boundedness of archaeological data to the geographic location of sites such as Cerro Castillo and assumed its dependency on a centre of power, overlooking the various cultural implications that boundaries convey in the realms of social practice and interaction. In light of the resulting data presented in later chapters, this investigation offers new perspectives on social boundaries and their use in archaeological contexts.

2.1. Approaching social boundaries

In the strict sense of the term, a boundary is a dividing line which marks the limits of an area; also a limit of something abstract, whether a subject or sphere of activity (Oxford English Dictionary 2012). In other words, a boundary is that which serves to indicate the bounds of anything whether material or immaterial and also the limit itself. Nevertheless, as it is discussed throughout this document the term entails a variety of complex connotations since everything is impregnated with boundaries— inhabited spaces, social atmospheres, bodies, languages, behaviours, social relationships, etc. From an anthropological perspective, a boundary is a delineation of “what is in and what is out, who is a member and who is not, what has a status and what does not, who is high and who is low” (Pellow 1996: 1). Moreover, boundaries hold dynamism, that is, they experience changes, transformations, interactions and are constantly redefined. This dynamism encompasses socio-political contexts at a variety of levels, the cultural traits of a given social unit, the coded and encoded logics of differentiation and inclusiveness, and the meanings involved in the construction, organisation and performance of social practice and symbolic affairs. Thus, boundaries and their interrelations need to be examined in their physical and conceptual forms, including the meanings and types of boundaries in changing cultural contexts, “whatever aspect of boundary or boundedness is dealt with” (Pellow 1996: 2), exploring the spatial manifestation of culture, whether of a social, cultural or physical nature, considering how the physical and the conceptual dimensions articulate (Lawrence 1996; Pellow 1996).

Archaeology can provide a solid approach to social boundaries. It offers the long-term perspective that enables: 1) the diachronic study of their material expressions; 2) their effect on social practice across time and space, and; 3) the relationship between material culture changes and transformations in social identity. In this respect, archaeologists “face the challenge of understanding what is inherently dynamic (interaction) through the static evidence of archaeological record” (Cusick 1998: 1). An archaeological approach to boundaries also allows the examination of formal variations in material culture and its spread over a given territory covering sites morphology, artefact types, architectural forms and the territorial use of

certain raw materials. From a basic premise, studying formal variations across space may lead to the identification of social groups whose boundaries are marked by distinctive patterns in the archaeological record (Stark 1998), which leads to the field of style.

The relationship between style—a widely debated term in archaeological studies that is also discussed in this work—and social boundaries requires a flexible model since they correspond with each other in different ways. Previous studies have indicated that the relationship between style and social boundaries is highly contextualised: groups signal boundaries using different media from one another, and occasionally do not signal boundaries at all (Stark 1998). Social boundaries reflect a variety of activities that include efforts to maintain, cross or blur these boundaries. The identification of social boundaries using the archaeological record demands a careful examination of the correspondences between material culture and the several social dimensions that the term conveys. In some cases it is possible to detect conditions under which social boundaries and material culture patterning coincide, but in many other cases the blurriness with which they were perceived does not fit the variability of material culture.

Patterning in boundary-spatial relations stems from the consideration that space is classified (Pellow 1996). Classification is seen as a cultural process achieved through the creation of boundaries, which make the process of boundary making a cultural act. Classification corresponds with decisions based on a shared (or at least discussed) criteria that culminated in the establishment of where, what or who is to be included or excluded. According to this view, a boundary is a principle of categorisation and also a symbol of it, hence boundary making is a cultural process that is cognitively organised (Pellow 1996). People create and represent boundaries, constantly negotiating and contesting them through the boundary making itself. The processes of boundary making, maintenance and change involve symbols and rituals that provide boundaries with meaning. Bounded areas allocate activities, individuals and things with social significance.

For archaeologists, the relationships between physical and conceptual boundaries turn out to be crucial in the interpretation of the past since material culture may shed light on the social context in which such relationships developed. In this respect, the archaeological record is considered to be the physical manifestation of the driving forces and processes that led to

change and/or stagnation. The stylistic differences between the Middle Moche and Late Moche pottery of the Jequetepeque Valley for instance, are thought to be a reflection of profound political transformations (Castillo 2010). This type of consideration presumes a relationship between technical choices, social boundaries and material culture patterning. Thus, to examine boundaries and material culture variability in the archaeological record it is necessary to incorporate the technological and stylistic qualities of the manufactured objects in order to approach the social relations that affected material culture patterning (Stark 1998).

For the purposes of this study, boundaries are seen as social constructions that cross-cut the multiple dimensions of social formations, whose creation and the response to them are imbued through cultural processes. Hence a boundary may be “physical, social, temporal, conceptual, and/or symbolic; permeable and negotiable; created, maintained, elaborated, and dismantled; separating and unifying; divisive and inclusive; definitional, invisible, transforming, and transformative” (Pellow 1996: 1). Social boundaries are also political as they ‘freeze a particular state of social struggle’, i.e., a given state of the distribution of advantages and obligations (Lamont and Fournier 1992: 5). The social implications of these features and how they interrelate and combine is what defines a given boundary in a socio-cultural context.

Due to the nature of the archaeological record of this study, two important dimensions of boundaries are outside this discussion: ethnicity and gender. I considered it worth pointing this out since we need to be aware of some limitations and gaps that the approach utilised in this study may potentially leave. An ideal approach to ethnicity, for instance, would provide us with solid material evidence regarding the organisation of people in social situations defined “by reference to an idea of common origin, ancestry, and cultural heritage” (Grillo 1974: 159). An archaeological approach to gender boundaries, on the other hand, would require evidence of social categorisation that associates men and women with different physical spaces as a function of their social roles (Ardener 1981; Humphrey 1974).

Based on these theoretical premises, and recognising the multidimensional nature of social formations, this work explores the settlement dynamics of Cerro Castillo from a multi-scalar perspective where material culture is a vehicle to access social boundaries that operated at the site. Architectural features, the arrangement of space, artefact distribution and other material remains are understood not only as evidence of the social practices carried out at the site, but

also as physical reflections of boundary making processes. This view allows us to explore the people's behavioural logic in the making of their internal and external social interaction, their principles of organisation and the construction of their social identity.

2.2. Core-periphery models and World-systems analysis

Since a significant number of archaeological works dealing with social boundaries, culture contact and interaction explain the development of ancient societies from the premise of world-systems theory (Kardulias 1999), I considered it important to briefly recap on the principles of this model, its usage, implications and criticism. World-system analysis (Wallerstein 1974) is one of the most influential approaches to world history and social change. It examines interregional relations on a large spatial scale in order to understand how those inter-societal interactions affect social development. Building on the arguments of dependency theory, Wallerstein developed world-system analysis as an economic model in the context of the capitalist world. It argues that capitalism emerged from the changes in labour relations and political organisation that occurred in Europe during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The economic changes generated a series of interacting geopolitical entities located in what have been called core, periphery and semi-periphery (Champion 1989; Chase-Dunn 1988; Gottman 1980; Hall 1999; Hedeager 1987; Rowlands et al. 1987).

World-systems theory posits a scenario where the core areas are politically and economically dominant, whereas the peripheral areas' role is limited to supplying core and semi-periphery areas with raw materials. Hence social and economic development in all regions is constrained by their roles in the system (Trigger 1989). Drawing on the interaction between economic and political systems, political geographers widened world-systems' field of action. They propose the study of human and environmental relations by analysing all the networks involving power, authority and influence (Claval 1980, 1995). For archaeologists, this reinterpretation of world-systems theory and its application to political geography has proved particularly useful to investigate and explain culture change since it complements the original focus on economic interactions with the role played by political relations (Rice 1998).

Core-periphery relations refer to the interregional interactions between the various

parts of a world-system. Core areas are the centre of the political and economic centralisation of a world system. Peripheral areas are politically and economically on the fringes of their respective world-system. Exploited and structurally weak, the latter supply the cores and the cores' semi-peripheries with raw resources in exchange for services and political decision making (e.g. territorial protection, economic alliances, legitimacy, etc.). Consequently, peripheries are dependant and in a constantly disadvantageous position within their world-system. Semi-peripheries represent the transitional stages in a state's participation in the system over time. They are, spatially and conceptually, what separates the core from its peripheries. A semi-periphery lies between the core and the periphery on a series of dimensions, such as the economy, state management, cultural integrity, etc. (D'Altroy 1992; Wallerstein 1974).

In archaeology, the study of core areas has been traditionally prioritised "irrespective of whether or not they are working specifically within a world system model, theory, paradigm, or perspective" (Rice 1998: 45). In this sense, it is important to consider some of the most critiqued aspects of world-systems theory as it might have been misapplied to a variety of prehistoric situations leading to simplistic interpretations. Amongst them: a) there is a tendency to dichotomise core versus peripheral regions and their relations; b) cores are seen as active/coercive agents whilst peripheries are merely passive victims of exploitation; c) there is little attention to the role of trade in commodities, out-weighed by the focus on basic goods; d) the model gives insufficient consideration to variability in regional and local economies and the ways in which local systems may affect economic and political trajectories at a regional level (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Rice 1998).

A periphery is usually characterised by its political and economic relationships with a distant and more powerful centre. However, peripheries are not monolithic undifferentiated entities. When analysed on a finer scale, it is clear that a periphery is a complex system with considerable variation in its spatial, political and economic dimensions, all of which can and do change through time. A peripheral area may have one or more of its own centres and comprise hierarchies of settlements depending on their size and on the kind and intensity of interactions with exterior areas or cores. Moreover, a peripheral region may have its own periphery, a "periphery of a periphery" (Rice 1998: 49). As Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) indicate, clearly

defined frontiers separating colonists and natives may not be evident in most archaeological cases. The delineation of linguistic, cultural, tribal and ethnic boundaries in archaeology has always been problematic. Geographic barriers, settlement distributions and differentiated architectural features have been employed to define bounded social units; however, “a significant problem remains in evaluating these groups using independent lines of evidence” (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 479).

The archaeological usefulness of world-systems theory stems from the hierarchical nature of core-periphery models, which facilitate archaeological reconstructions of hierarchies in a variety of geopolitical and social relations in complex societies. In this sense, the world system is conceived as “a nested set of systems” with a hierarchy of levels of core-periphery subsystems (Rice 1998: 46). From a diachronic perspective, world-systems theory suits the study of change through time. Societies participate in the world economy at various levels that represent points along a dynamic continuum of complexity. Societies occupy different levels because as they evolved they “were assigned specific economic roles, developed different class structures, used consequently different models of labour control, and profited unequally from the workings of the system” (Wallerstein 1974: 162). Nevertheless, as already pointed out, its failure to integrate local contexts has been the main critique in this respect.

Interpretations of ancient Andean societies have been largely based on the premises of world-systems theory and colonialist perspectives of core-periphery relationships, assuming territorial advancement, boundary maintenance, and relatively homogeneous colonial populations. In Moche studies, for instance, the relationships between the emblematic site of Huacas de Moche with other settlements such as El Brujo or Guadalupito, have been implicitly addressed as core-periphery, or at least as core-semi-periphery. Approaches to the Moche presence in the Nepeña Valley have not been different either, considering the existence of the temple of Pañamarca as evidence of a top-down relationship between this site and Huacas de Moche.

This research seeks to test and complement such views by not assuming a unidirectional relation of dependency between Cerro Castillo and Huacas de Moche but introducing a bottom-up approach that takes into account the complex cultural struggles that were dealt with by the

site's inhabitants. Instead of regarding Cerro Castillo as the southern outpost of the Moche core, this research suggests looking at it as a dynamic arena with its own socio-political development whose boundaries were constantly shaped by culture contact and interaction.

2.3. Boundaries and frontiers: approaches and definitions

One way to approach social interactions and transformations is by exploring boundary situations. Different disciplines—geography, anthropology and history—address social issues such as the national character, ethnicity, cultural change and innovation through the study of boundaries and frontiers. The reason for this interest is that those are the type of locations where cultural contact often occurs. It is usually in these types of contexts where peoples' interactions articulate engaging material culture within a socially-charged landscape. Furthermore, transformations in the realms of politics, economics and technology often have their roots in what happens at these places (Rice 1998). Thus, boundary situations are complex contexts that require thorough examination of their understanding and definition. For archaeologists, change and innovation in material culture play a pivotal role when analysing such scenarios (Cusick 1998). This section briefly reviews the conceptual characteristics and typologies of frontiers and boundary situations that shape the theoretical framework of this research.

Firstly, it is opportune to outline some distinctions of use between the terms boundary and frontier. A boundary, as stated in the above section, is a cultural construct with a number of implications. Boundaries need to be understood as dynamic contexts that are constantly changing in time and space, which means that cultural contacts may be brief, sporadic, sustained and/or structured (Rice 1998). Categories and definitions of boundary situations of cultural contact generally aim to compare their similarities and differences in order to understand the internal processes of transformation experienced by the agents involved.

Frontiers, on the other hand, often have political and geographical connotations. A frontier has been defined as an area lying beyond the integrated region of a political unit, and into which expansion could take place, bordering (or not) the territory of another polity (de Blij 1973). A frontier is essentially “a political definition of a geographical space” (Kopytoff

1987: 11). The term frontier, therefore, refers to the outer margins of an expanding core/centre's settlement and societal interactions (Rice 1998) whilst a boundary refers to conceptual limits and/or physical bounds.

The treatment of frontiers in Andean archaeology has generally been addressed towards the territorial expansion of polities with a prominent centre of development. Regarding the case study of this investigation, the frontiers of the Moche have been approached as static in nature, as well as peripheral in relation to the centre. In this context, the site of Pañamarca, and by extension Cerro Castillo and the Nepeña Valley, have been preconceived as the southernmost frontier of the expansion of the Huacas de Moche metropolis, assuming a natural relationship of submission and unidirectional influence. To further contextualise my case study, the following paragraphs review some types and categories of frontiers and frontier situations in order to assess the implications of the model utilised to date.

From exploring system-environment relations, Strassoldo suggested a distinction between boundary, frontier and periphery. Accordingly, a boundary refers to the end of something and marks the differentiation between the system and its environment; a frontier—dynamic and spatial in nature—is the place of confrontation between the system and its environment; and a periphery, evoking the concept of core, indicates differentiations within the system (Strassoldo 1977; Rice 1998). The definition of these concepts subsequently led to a typology of border situations that interconnects spatial with social relations. It emphasises the impermeability of a boundary, characterising frontiers and peripheries as diametric opposites. This suggests that frontiers are spatially dynamic and socially open, expanding, outward-looking areas of growth. Peripheries, conversely, are socially closed, static or stagnant (type of) boundaries. Peripheries are characterised as “poor, marginal, weak, alienated, provincial, backward” areas where innovations come late if ever (Strassoldo 1980: 52).

Other views contrast the physical (place) against the socio-political (process) dimensions of a frontier. As a result, the frontier-as-place view emphasises the territorial limits and the settlement aspects of a frontier, seeing the frontier as a crossroads where culture contact takes place (Rice 1998). It has been approached by centring on patterns of variability in the landscape of contact (e.g. differences in places and sites), and/or focusing on the traits

of the varying patterns of settlement, material culture, rubbish disposal and so forth. These trait-oriented studies have been criticised for often being unable to move beyond the pattern recognition, to explore the behaviours such patterns reflect (Rice 1998). The frontier-as-process view, on the other hand, centres on the interactions taking place within a geographical region. In this case, the frontier is understood as a changing set of dynamic relationships between natural and cultural components that vary in time and space. This view focuses on social, political and economic interactions and on diachronic change and innovation (Kopytoff 1987).

From a diachronic perspective, frontiers have been distinguished between ‘tidal’ frontiers and ‘local’ (or internal) frontiers. A tidal frontier is characterised by a wave or a succession of waves, of population immigration and settlement across a large area pushing the existing inhabitants outwards—contexts socially open and spatially dynamic (Rice and Rice 2005). The presence of Moche artefacts outside the valleys of Moche and Chicama for instance, has generally been interpreted under this model (Chapdelaine 2010; Larco 1948). Alternatively, local or internal frontiers are political entities (relatively large and permanent) lying in the gaps between larger polities, constituting regional systems with their own regulation where metropolis’ settlers are not “advanced agents of metropolitan expansion” (Kopytoff 1987: 9).

Green and Perlman indicate that ‘boundary studies’ have emphasised socio-politico-economical interactive relationships, while ‘frontier studies’ have focused on static characteristics (Green and Perlman 1985). However, as they rightly state, this ‘process versus pattern’ distinction may be counter-productive since pattern and process are logically and empirically bound, i.e. “thinking about measuring one always involves the other” (Green and Perlman 1985: 5).

From a more horizontal/synchronic perspective, Martínez (1994) divides borderlands into four categories, based on the type and degree of social interactions across border: alienated (interaction is nearly absent), coexistent (limited interaction), interdependent (friendly and cooperative) and integrated (merged economies, unrestricted movement, a single social system).

Finally, Lightfoot and Martinez (1995) point out the necessity for a balanced perspective that recognises both the role that core-periphery interactions play in frontier studies, as well as the socially charged arena of intercultural interactions in frontier contexts since “cultural

innovations may take place at either end of these continuums, with the transmission of new cultural constructs moving back and forth between homelands and frontiers" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 487). Accordingly, they suggest a re-conceptualisation of frontiers as socially charged places where innovative cultural constructs are created and transformed. This approach suggests that frontiers are the front line of creolisation or syncretisation of cultural constructs in culture contact situations; zones of cross-cutting social networks where archaeologists can examine: a) how factional competition and cooperation are played out in culture contact situations, and; b) why cultural transformations take place amongst some segments of the population and not others. Bearing that in mind, investigations at Cerro Castillo seek to assess the site's boundary nature and the role that culture contact played in its development.

Frontiers are considered to be "zones of cultural interfaces in which cross-cutting and overlapping social units can be defined and recombined at different spatial and temporal scales of analysis" (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 472). Additionally, diachronic studies of frontiers can provide information on diverse "colonial and indigenous peoples before, during and after contact." Using this approach archaeologists should be in a better position to understand segmentations within populations, prior contact and how these divisions were activated and manifested during encounters with other peoples (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 486), also taking into account the long-term implications that these intercultural (or interethnic) interactions had in post-colonial contexts.

It is evident that boundaries and frontiers can be defined from different angles. They may depend on the cultural dimension that the researcher chooses to highlight, or on the theoretical tendency followed, or both, having effect on the shaping of analyses and interpretations. There is a need for a multi-scalar perspective of both space and time that would enable archaeologists to address both macro-scale and micro-scale approaches, considering the agency of individuals and segmentary groups in specific frontier contexts. How people establish and maintain interethnic ties in frontier contexts, how multiple types of interactions take place within and between groups that intersect both newcomers and natives, and how frontier relationships can facilitate cultural innovations are amongst the multiple issues that can be assessed by studying frontier situations (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995; Rice 1998).

There has been little discussion of boundaries and frontiers in Moche studies. For that reason, the site of Cerro Castillo offers a unique opportunity to explore a boundary situation using a theoretical framework that considers: 1) the site's internal dynamics, and; 2) the relationships between such dynamics and the larger regional phenomena. Across this document, the term frontier is used in accordance with a politico-geographical perspective, i.e. it refers to the geographical limits or borders that define the territorial expansion of a political unit. In contrast, the term boundary is used from an anthropologically-based approach since it encompasses both the tangible and abstract dimensions of the concept. In addition, boundaries viewed in their social dimension signify both differentiation and inclusion. Thus this perspective aims to engage spatial analyses and material culture distribution, both key aspects in the understanding of Cerro Castillo's social dynamics and boundaries.

2.4. Proxemics/spatial analyses

A cultural dimension that has been increasingly attracting archaeologists' attention is the organisation of space. Examining spatial organisation is an important way to approach and recognise cultural differences between and within social units. It may reveal differentiation in the ways in which members of a given group live and reproduce their social existence (Hillier and Hanson 1984). Spatial structure and social action are closely connected (informing each other), as so are the macro-social structure and the micro-social relationships (Pellow 1996). Such connections can be summarised as follows: 1) norms, values and conceptual systems are reproduced by and for actors; 2) socialisation, ritual performances and ordinary daily practices are the mechanisms that activate the former relationships; 3) material culture and spatial distribution are the tangible results of such processes. This section describes the theoretical framework used in this investigation to contextualise Cerro Castillo's spatial analyses and its interpretations at both settlement and household levels.

In anthropological studies, the examination of spatial relations—proxemics—has become pivotal in explaining the traits of social boundaries and interrelations. Proxemics approaches consider that the structure and the organisation of the space are aspects of cultural

communication (Hall 1969). In other words, spatial design and use as well as the relationships encoded in them are behavioural means of communication perceived through the senses (accordingly, boundaries could also be seen as a form of communication). People from different cultures inhabit different sensorial worlds therefore people use senses differently and use different senses to establish distance, thus creating boundaries differently. In some cases, boundaries are physically demarcated whilst in others, social activities or ideological perceptions are what create or enact such divisions (Lawrence 1996; Pellow 1996). Both scenarios can be archaeologically approached either by its frank visibility in the field—in the site of Huacas de Moche for instance, archaeologists have stated that a large avenue marked the division between the sacred area and the urban centre—or using finer analytical methods—at the same site, material analyses have helped to identify the activities carried out inside specific rooms and compounds.

Proxemics perspectives are useful to understand static contexts such as the archaeological record. Material culture, whether artefacts or architecture, are expressions of behavioural logics that are continuously learnt, shared, recreated and tested throughout a lifespan, and/or from one generation to the next. In this sense, exploring the logics of use and organisation of space represents an opportunity to examine the static contexts interconnecting their past (what they were), present (what we find), and future (what they were meant to be in ancient people's eyes). Social practice—habitus (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Hegmon 1998)—is the consequence of such connections that lead to the establishment (consciously or unconsciously) of rules and conventions for the use of any given space. Spatial distribution is a cultural manifestation where bounded spaces are conceived and perceived to hold specific activities. In a modern average dwelling for instance, there is a kitchen for cooking and bedroom for resting. Generally, people do operate according to such an associative logic of space-activity (e.g. they cook in the kitchen and sleep in the bedroom, not the other way round). This space-activity relationship also engages with artefactual agency: items, portable or not, have an architectural (or not) space that activates their functional or symbolic characteristics/properties. A cooking knife for instance, will usually be stored and used in the kitchen and similarly a bed will go in a bedroom (although there are a handful circumstances that might lead to this being operated

the other way round). Boundaries are not merely artefacts of the differentiation of places but they are “intrinsically related to the actions they contain,” that is, boundaries sanction action (Rotenberg 1996: 56).

Since the archaeological record is the result of such behavioural relationships, the latter can be archaeologically approached through architectural analyses and artefactual distribution. It has been noted however, that daily social practice can be performed within boundaries that are not necessarily physically demarcated. Regardless of this, Pellow suggests seeing the social production of boundedness as the conceptual connection between the ground (space) and abstract notions since both are results of social action. The creation, maintenance, transformation and definition of a community, its relationships, socio-cultural behaviour and actions are tied by both physical and conceptual boundaries (Pellow 1996). Furthermore, since socio-cultural behaviour occurs within cultural settings, such spaces hold tangible features that reflect associations between physical and conceptual boundaries. Therefore, the spatial dimension is always present, even in its least explicit form. Whether a community invests considerable social significance or energy in spatial forms or not, spaces are separated in both the physical and the social world, and they are linked. There is always a relationship between the spatial form and the manner in which social encounters occur and are controlled. Spatial use is culturally constructed and patterned, and this patterning is interrelated with behavioural, material and other cultural aspects.

Architectural features, in their wide range of scales and purposes, are material expressions of culture through which one can explore how space was organised and perceived (Lau 2010), also allowing for the examination of the relationships between architectural variability and social behaviours. An essential premise to this argument is that physical space is organised, symbolically marked and hierarchised according to social perceptions of age, gender, social status and spiritual values (Pellow 1996). Thus spatial hierarchies are understood to be representative of systems of meanings that played out in physical and social space. Spatial use represents an active manifestation of the “context and structure of classification systems produced by beliefs, ideals, language, practices and values of human groups” (Lawrence 1996: 9). Accordingly, social aspects such as political divisions, class or status, gender, identity and

community, the relationship between the public and private domains, can generally be explored from spatial analyses. In some cases however, social divisions may not always be physically (architecturally) demarcated with any clarity or predictability, although the distinctions are there (Kent 1990).

Spatial boundaries can also be approached from a social-symbolic perspective, which considers the community's space as political in nature, like the authority system that governs it. How that space, that territory or that plot of land is planned, designed, divided and subdivided, appropriated, used, and by whom, involves relationships of power (Kuper 1972)—particularly those ones of day to day interactions between people and institutions. It is power that enables a group or individual to create boundaries that will limit the actions and behaviours of others. Boundaries express power relationships, and they may be thought of as inherently contestable (Foucault 1979). Whether a person or a group of people is given access to space, and what the nature of that space is, can empower those people or render them impotent (Weisman 1981) just as the category of people associated with a space affects its valuation. A space then, needs to be understood as “a particular piece of social space,” which is socially and ideologically separated and demarcated from other places (Kuper 1972: 420).

Boundaries exist in the minds of people, so that people define places and operate within them (Rotenberg 1996). Particular settings may encapsulate values and transactions that constitute the totality of social life. Social life/practice may be spatially mapped via specific spaces manifesting relatively durable structured interests and related values (Kuper 1972). Spatially demarcated venues provide the settings and contexts that activate an array of interactions that, in turn, may generate a different order of values. According to this view, social space is imbued with an inherent distinction between ordinary and extraordinary locales (Foucault 1986; Lefebvre 1991); whereas ordinary places are generally continuous, undifferentiated, temporally uniform and multifocal; extraordinary places are bounded, functionally differentiated, temporally anomalous and multivocal. Nonetheless, such distinctions do not necessarily make both types of venues incompatible since extraordinary places are linked to ordinary ones as a mirror is linked to our bodies, that is, extraordinary locales are to ordinary space what rituals are to ordinary activities (Bell 1997; Rotenberg 1996).

Integrated into an archaeological perspective, places and spaces are bounded by locally recognised markers that can be both material and behavioural and such boundaries are essential to their constitution. Actions in either ordinary or extraordinary places are products of cultural choices that relate to the content of the place. Actions and people will have met prohibitions in determined locales; for example, actions were allowed in ordinary places but were not allowed in extraordinary ones and/or vice-versa, or there may have been places where boundaries become blurred, although distinctions are real. When examining the relationships between spatial traits and boundary making, one needs to consider the grading, explicit and blurred behavioural variations reflected in material culture and bounded spaces (architectural form, structure and function).

Cerro Castillo has settlement characteristics that provide archaeologists with the opportunity to contrast abstract notions of spatial use and distribution with architectural and artefactual traits. The archaeological evidence of the various activities performed at the different locales of the site can be examined under the premises of proxemics analyses both diachronically and synchronically, illuminating our understanding of social integration, differentiation and intra-site interaction at site level. Engaging the spatial boundaries within Cerro Castillo with the cultural implications they convey, will also lead us to a clearer understanding of the role played by smaller social units, such as the household, in the development of this ancient community.

2.5. Household approaches

Following Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977, 1990), spatial analyses may elucidate people's sense of production and reproduction of meaning and structures. The organisation of space is intimately related to the logic of distinctions, a principle to all forms of social life that drives the construction of social boundaries (Lawrence 1996). Such issues can be archaeologically addressed by examining the material remains of social practice at a household level. The household—the family—is archaeologically visible and abundantly charged with information that can contribute to understanding the past (Deetz 1982). Exploring the household composition has been fundamental to understanding settlement dynamics as well as senses

of identity and national character since the “households are the level at which social groups articulate directly with economic and ecological processes” (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618). A household constitutes a corporate body organised around shared practices and a common land (Moore 1988). Politics and ideas are understood as being commonly forged at the household level and reinforced via sustained social practice (Bourdieu 1977).

Social practice is theorised under the concept of *habitus*, which refers to systems of durable and transposable dispositions, i.e. structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures built through social practice and daily experience. Approaching material culture as a manifestation of *habitus* represents a means to delve into the individual agency (or even the self/personhood level) seeing it as what resulted from the objectification of the social structure (Dietler and Herbich 1998). Patterned actions generated by *habitus* are constantly reproduced and transformed generating naturalised perceptions and practices that become part not only of the group identity, but also a defining component of an individual’s sense of self (Bourdieu 1977, 1990).

Understanding social practice as a system of dispositions by which people generate and reproduce structures is central to approaching boundaries at the household level. The house needs to be seen as a microcosm of the world where the system as a whole is underpinned and organised (Bourdieu 1977). People’s routines (the simple enactment of daily eating, sleeping, and interacting socially) are particularly manifested within their dwellings as the house is organised according to its inhabitants and their activities. Furthermore, the relationships household-dwelling generates both inwards and outwards interactions, for example, there are agents that structure the interior of the house and other agents that connect the external world and the house. Such relationships are bounded through social practice (Bourdieu 1977, 1990; Foucault 1986).

The household has been defined as “the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group” entailing social (members’ relationships), material (the dwelling, activity areas and possessions) and behavioural (performed activities) features (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618). Three essential components of a household can be recognised in archaeological contexts: domestic functions, co-residentiality and sociological

relationships (Bender 1967). Such components can be systematically approached by centring on the minimal co-resident domestic group, that is, “the smallest architectural and artefactual assemblage repeated over a settlement that represents the minimal cooperative and co-residential unit” that incorporates domestic functions and residential patterns (Stanish 1989: 11). Archaeologists can recognise those units by isolating “repetitive architectural and artefactual patterns among structures or groups of structures” (Stanish 1989: 11).

By examining domestic contexts, archaeologists aim to approach human action and social institutions as interrelated components. They are bounded together through routine which occurs between and within the dwellings’ members. Social relations “are ordered in and across space as well as time” where routine is the agent of social reproduction and social change (Lebra 1996: 137). Dwellings, or any physical space, are broken up into locales that provide the settings for actions and interactions, which are essential to determining the space’s focus of activity. In Giddens’s view (1984), locales are internally regionalised, and it is the regions that constitute the contexts of social interaction. Social systems have structural properties that are routinised in daily life; these properties exist mainly as forms of social behaviour that is reproduced chronically across time and space (Giddens 1984; Lebra 1996). Consequently, a house is a locale regionalised into floors, halls and rooms for various ‘routinised’ social practices that individuals perform every day. It is zoned in time and space, and the zoning exhibits boundaries for a range of activities (Rodman and Cooper 1996). Thus, analyses of residential boundaries need to include notions of agency and power regarding “how and why housing units, communal spaces and boundaries with neighbourhoods are defined and redefined” (Rodman and Cooper 1996: 108).

From an archaeological perspective, the household is “the most successful analytical tool for unravelling the complex economic and political relationships within and between archaeological settlements” (Stanish 1989: 7). Nevertheless, we have to consider that the occupancy of social space encompasses cultural and spatial implications, and also carries metaphorical values and issues of symbolism, which are inherent to social classification (Fernandez 1977; Pellow 1996). This premise might suggest a setback for archaeological interpretations of societies that left no written sources, which is that even though the physical

characteristics of dwellings can be described in conventional architectural terms, such descriptions would not necessarily account for the meanings and uses of space unless the principles of categorisation are known (Tambiah 1969). Alternatively, social relationships and behaviours can be successfully explored and engaged through the material expressions of the household. Architectural features, for instance, are highly ubiquitous and greatly responsive to the cultural dynamics of integration and differentiation, production activities and household economic strategies and social hierarchies (Blanton 1994; Hirth 1993). Certainly, archaeologists do not excavate social units but material remains, dwellings and domestic artefacts (archaeological record) through which we can infer dwelling units, and subsequently infer households and household functions.

Wilk and Rathje (1982) indicate production, distribution, transmission and reproduction as the intrinsic functions held by a household. Production is understood to be “human activity that procures resources or increases their value” where variation in production would depend on how the productive labour is scheduled (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 622). Distribution is regarded as the process of moving resources from producers to consumers, including consumption of those resources and the process of distribution within the household unit. Exchange refers to the distribution amongst households or between larger corporate units. Transmission is seen as a special form of distribution that involves transferring rights, roles, land and property between generations, resting on the social definition of property. Finally, reproduction relates to the raising of new generations and socialising of children.

Households vary in size and form, in time and space, and such variations may relate to the types of functions performed by the household. This premise suggests alternative scenarios: the household traits may be a result of, or an adaptation to, the activities needed to be performed, or it was the tasks what conditioned the household’s characteristics (Blanton 1994; Wilk and Rathje 1982). Therefore, large households have more flexibility when dealing with diverse economic opportunities that require simultaneous labour. They also have greater political potential for forming a power base and for taking advantage of circumstances that require capital investment. Small households, on the other hand, have the advantage of mobility, and are well adapted to make intensive use of limited resources through linear scheduling of labour.

They seem more effective vehicles for social mobility strategies, especially when the ratio of producers to consumers is high.

In Andean archaeology, the household has been largely approached using domestic criteria. It has been useful in characterising resident populations at a site level, and occasionally in differentiating between discrete ethnic groups (Brennan 1978; Chapdelaine et al. 2003; Shimada 1994; Van Gijseghem 2001). In this regard, the household has been directly associated with the domestic activities of resident peoples on archaeological sites, becoming a resourceful means of characterising that population and determine non-local or exotic influences (Stanish 1989). In the Moche site of Galindo, for instance, Bawden (1982) reported three domestic activity areas (cooking, storage and benched enclosures) associated with numerous excavated rooms. This pattern was repeated in other structures that otherwise differed in construction quality, size and regularity. According to him, this “general consistency of composition of individual units, irrespective of location and apparent class differences, denotes the presence of strict residential patterns” which would indeed be the archaeological evidence of a basic co-residential group (Bawden 1982: 78). Similarly, Isbell (1986) argues that in the Wari site of Jargampata, the basic form of organisation was the large, co-resident extended kin group intended for labour and economic production. In the Moche site of Galindo, this is deduced by repetitive architectural and artefactual patterns within room complexes, and also from spatial segregation of commensurate groups of structures, suggesting co-resident groups composed of a number of nuclear families who acted as a single economic unit within the larger settlement as a whole.

This work’s approach therefore, utilises material culture to characterise household practices at Cerro Castillo. It intends to consider both agency—the actors responsible for manufacturing culture—and structure—the material patterning that results from these behaviours (Dietler and Herbich 1998; Hegmon 1998). By identifying the remains of residences in association with artefactual evidence of domestic, productive and consumption activities, this research sheds light on the daily practice, economy and patterns of consumption at Cerro Castillo at the level of small social units. As it will be seen from the analyses of archaeological materials, the households of Cerro Castillo also actively participated in the shaping of the site’s

socio-political relations, cultural boundaries and perceptions of identity. In this respect, scholars have argued that households play a pivotal role in building and maintaining social affiliations, perceptions of history, place, ancestry, alterity, occupation, ritual practices and shared symbols. Social gatherings and daily activities of the household are effective means to recharge senses of social boundaries as well as group and individual identity (Janusek 2002; 2004).

2.6. Boundaries and social identities

Following the multidimensional approach to social boundaries that this research intends to provide, I considered it necessary to include a brief examination of the notion of identity. The concept of identity has been little used or simply assumed in interpretations of pre-Columbian societies. In Moche studies, the term has essentially been applied to the identification of iconography characters, and tacitly in the explanation of painting styles or pottery production (Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan and McClelland 1999). Only recently, identity has been brought into discussions about the political and ideological dimensions of Moche (Donnan 2010; Quilter 2010; Quilter and Castillo 2010). Hence, this section aims to examine the main social implications of the term and to explore its scope in archaeological cases. The archaeological study of identities is a topic of growing interest in the discipline. In Insoll's words, the archaeology of identities is fundamentally concerned with the complex process of "attempting to recover an insight into the generation of self at a variety of levels: as an individual, within a community, and in public and private contexts" (Insoll 2007: 14).

Identity is certainly a complex term. The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines it as the fact of being who or what a person or thing is; the characteristics determining who or what a person or thing is. In the anthropological literature, it refers to a shared similarity of features for several beings or things, also referring to the distinctiveness of any group, being or thing. Identities thus consist of relationships of similarities and differences activated through social interaction (Fowler 2010). How social interaction mediates between such similarities and differences presents several axes at the individual and collective levels. In this regard, identity is seen as "the understandings which frame a person's recognition of self and those shared

understandings of belonging to a particular collective” (Lau 2013: 6). That is, people recognise their own identity by thinking of themselves as “unique and unrepeatable, yet possessing a series of attributes that are common to all individuals” (Thomas 2004: 147). Identity thus should be considered holistically (social, cultural, personal) and contextually. In most situations, a person will maintain multiple rooted and overlapping identities, and these may shift in immediate significance from one context to the next (Janusek 2002).

Similarly to boundaries, identities are social constructions that reside in almost every domain of life or things. They are composed of several layers of social dimensions which are in constant motion. Layers can be added or removed depending on specific social scenarios in time and space. As a result, identities are not rigid or stable, they are changeable or transient. Neither societies nor individuals are born with their identities complete, they are created over time and altered as we complete our life cycles (Insoll 2007). Identities are defined as continuously contextual and inter-referential since they are relative to cultural ideas and interactions with other agents within specific contexts, so that they can only be temporarily and partially glimpsed (Fowler 2004). This is particularly important for archaeologists since they recover the material remains of media that people manipulated in the process and strategies by which they negotiated their identities within specific social circumstances (Casella and Fowler 2005).

In White and Beaudry’s view, the concept of identity is complicated, paradoxical and culturally situated in time, place and society. Identity is at once both imposed by others and self-imposed, and is continuously asserted and reasserted in ways that are fluid and fixed. Identity lies at the individual level and also at the broadest of scales as it defines a person both as part of a group and as an individual (White and Beaudry 2009). Therefore, the study of identity needs to be multilayered, drawn on all strands from a holistic approach, even though identity has been studied in its many kinds of categories—i.e. self, family faction, village, region or nation. Identity is not just one thing and/or one aspect of a whole. Identities cannot be separated from other social domains or from their socio-political context since they are complex, dynamic and profoundly mixed constructions (Gosselain 2000; Insoll 2007). The study of identity thus constitutes part of the total endeavour of archaeology. It is “part of a perilous but necessary search for the things that bind and divide human groups locally and globally” (Gosden 1994: 166).

Identity can be understood in a similar way to that with which we approach language, in the sense that one can access singular features of the concept, but in the end we need to put all the bits together to make a useful contextual sense. As Insoll (2007) points out, one can look up isolated words in the dictionary, and one will immediately find that they interrelate, blur and cross-reference to produce a definition that is contextually meaningful. That is, language is not only about singular words (regardless of the fact that they can be individually analysed) but about words understood in the context of constructions (e.g. a sentence or speech) with multiple associations and meanings. Applying this to identities, scholars have outlined different categories and types of identities, but the overall construction of the concept is usually multilayered rather than defined by the singular (Insoll 2007). For example, the national identity of a country cannot be understood without reflecting on the personhood level that shapes such broad identity, or without perceptions of alterity as one concept needs to exist for the other to exist, working dialectically (Lau 2013). Viewing foreigners as “the other” in locals’ accounts implies that foreigners must also see locals as “the other” in relation to themselves. Senses of alterity may be conceptual, social, linguistic, psychological or physical (Lau 2013; Pellow 1996; Strathern 1987).

Approaching identities through the archaeological record is not a straightforward task—even though material culture may be emblematic of identities, there are complex processes of identity making, manifestation and interrelations. Various identities can be masked behind material culture, but they could also have been re-worked in several ways (Insoll 2007). “Archaeology approaches identity by looking at the ways that material culture actively expresses and reinforces modes of identification and very often comparing patterns of evidence by phase” (Lau 2013: 7). Traditionally, artefact analyses are a means towards interpreting archaeological sites on a broad scale rather than an explicit vehicle for examining identity. Archaeologists develop new technical and temporal information about the artefacts they recover, considering expansive questions of the making and meanings of landscapes, and contemplate cultural changes within and across households and sites.

Recently, archaeological approaches also allow the examination of the nature of the relationships between objects and people, where objects are understood as agential things

often capable of actively mediating social relations (Gell 1998; Lau 2003). Studies of object biographies emphasise the accumulated meanings imbued in and imparted to artefacts as well as the multidirectional transformation of objects and people as both subjects and agents bound to each other, fostering interpretive approaches to material culture (Gosden and Marshall 1999; Appadurai 1986). These perspectives embed material culture within systems of meaning and action, where objects have an active voice in cultural practices (Paynter 2000) —an object for instance, may be invested with identity but not be a person, i.e., a piece of clothing may be gendered or be used to convey an ethnic identity. Hence archaeologists employ certain types of artefacts to explore aspects of agency, gender, ethnicity and age, developing new approaches to material culture analysis.

2.7. Conclusions

This research integrates anthropological theories of social boundaries with studies of proxemics, household and identity to outline a framework that recognises the multidimensional nature of societies. This view integrates top-down and bottom-up approaches to better understand the complex development of a social phenomenon such as Moche and its impact in settlements such as Cerro Castillo. For the purpose of this investigation, Cerro Castillo's material culture is seen as the physical result of a system of mechanisms of expression, communication and maintenance of the various intertwined lines of social boundaries and cultural identity. Accordingly, analyses of ceramic styles, architecture and funerary contexts may reveal patterns of group affiliation, differentiation, daily practices, aesthetics choices and intra-site relationships.

CHAPTER 3

The archaeology of the Moche

Moche developed along the north coast of Peru from circa AD 100 to 850 (Fig. 3.1).

Although often referred to as a single social phenomenon, numerous studies argue that the Moche history was one with plenty of regional and local singularities. In this regard, unlocking the Moche has been a long process of learning, discovery and reformulation for scholars. Increasingly, investigations have challenged researchers' understanding of these societies, calling for tests and reinterpretations of the material record (Castillo and Quilter 2010; Castillo and Uceda 2008). Archaeological investigation on the north coast of Peru arguably started in 1899 with the pioneering works of Max Uhle and since then, this territory and the communities that populated it have been the subject of several studies. Approaches to Moche and related cultures stem from their noticeable manifestations of culture: art, technology, economy, funeral practices, settlement patterns, social organisation, religion and politics amongst others. Nevertheless, as it is discussed throughout this chapter, interpretations of the archaeological record as well as inferences and assumptions, have been highly influenced by scholarly tendencies, data accumulation and the investigators' own social circumstances.

Archaeology, regardless of the abundance of theoretical conceptions, is a discipline that largely bases its knowledge on findings—material culture. Sometimes archaeologists find what they are looking for, but generally new discoveries challenge previous paradigms provoking unforeseen changes in the assessments of what happened in the past. To a certain extent, archaeology is the history of archaeologists, and that is more noticeable when it is about the archaeology of societies without writing systems. This investigation is precisely that as it is about one of those large groups of people that left no written word at all, and whose languages have completely disappeared. Therefore, our contribution to Moche studies draws upon decades of previous works. Those investigations constitute the framework through which our research questions are addressed, directly relating to the understanding of the archaeological contexts recorded at Cerro Castillo. Hence this chapter provides a historical review of the development of Moche studies regarding not only the findings but the ideas; how ideas/concepts have changed

through time; how scholars from different academic backgrounds have approached the Moche phenomenon; and, what societal models have shaped our perceptions of these communities.

3.1. The first sources

The earliest historical references about the Moche culture come from documents from the Colonial Period (AD 1550-1821) which mostly point out the idiomatic differences that the Spanish colonists encountered in the area. Certainly little is known about the aboriginal languages spoken on the north coast of Peru before the Spanish conquest. Early sources indicate that when the Spaniards arrived in this region they noticed two large linguistic units: Quingnam, spoken from the Chicama Valley to the south and Muchik, from the Jequetepeque Valley to the north. Additionally, two other popular languages are mentioned: Tallán in the Piura Valley, and the Fisher language (Cerrón Palomino 1995). It is worth noting that the latter seems to be more of a dialect rather than a formally established language. Early reports refer to a coastal tradition according to which people who performed the same job shared the same dialect (Rostworowski 2004). The Fisher language is probably an interpretation of such practice and was spoken by people who lived throughout the seaboard. Due to the nature of their specialised activity, fishers, unlike farmers, would not have been attached to a specific plot of land but constantly moved from one bay to the next, thereby becoming a cohesive group with shared habits. Having said this, the existence of several linguistic units in the region, as well as the logic of their distribution, may suggest that the establishment of social boundaries did not necessarily correspond to territorial demarcations but to logics of integration that may be blurred in western eyes.

The Muchik language

Of the linguistic units mentioned above, Muchik is the one most accounted in historical sources. One of the reasons why there is more information about Muchik than other native languages is due to the manuscript 'The Art of the Yunga Language' written in 1644 by

Fernando de la Carrera (1939). It is perhaps the oldest document which can be to a certain extent connected to a language spoken by a Moche community, or at least to one of the pre-Inca tongues still spoken on the north coast of Peru in the 17th century (Cerrón Palomino 1995; Torero 2002). Due to its singularity, this source needs to be understood considering the social context of its author. De la Carrera was originally from Trujillo, a descendant from the first Spanish families to settle in the city. Before setting out on his Christianising quest he had learnt Latin as part of his seminarian formation, and Quechua, the official indigenous language at that time. In 1633, he became vicar of Reque, a small town in the Lambayeque Valley, where he quickly found that his knowledge of Quechua was of very little use for preaching or even for communicating with the locals since they spoke a tongue unknown to him. He therefore endeavoured to understand a language that he called Yunga (often indistinctively referred to as Muchik by other authors). Although probably biased by his Spanish background, de la Carrera's work provides grammatical instructions for composing sentences and translations from Yunga to Spanish. He emphasises the serious difficulties of learning the pronunciation, having to invent at least four signs for sounds that had no parallel in Spanish or European phonology. He also suggests that, to complement his manuscript, he would produce a dictionary, but either he never wrote it or it has not been preserved. However, the document does contain a confessionary; a guide with a list of sins that, according to the Christian practices of that time, the priest had to read to the penitent making sure that no sin was omitted. When dealing with the Ten Commandments and sins of the body, de la Carrera is particularly emphatic on questions regarding sodomy and bestiality. This unusual emphasis may be an indication of his shock and concern about the local approach to sexual behaviour and erotic representations, as can be observed in some Moche vessels.

Another cause for the relatively abundant information about Muchik is because the language managed to survive until the early 20th century when it finally disappeared. This allowed late 19th and early 20th century travellers, such as Villarreal, Squier or Middendorf, to have the rare opportunity of meeting people who still sang songs in Muchik, as they mentioned in their respective reports. Building on de la Carrera's manuscript, Ernest Middendorf (1982) put special emphasis on the phonetics and signs used by native speakers, with little success though.

In the same vein, Heinrich Brüning used wax cylinders to record conversations and songs from people who in 1880 still spoke the last remnants of the Moche language. Brüning also photographed pre-Columbian sites, people, feastings, clothes and costumes which, allegedly, had preserved features from Moche times (Brüning 1989). The main problem for these explorers was that at that time Muchik was not a language that was understood as a system of communication anymore, but a remnant used by older individuals who sang songs, perhaps without really knowing their original meaning. According to these reports, Muchik had survived in some little villages in the Lambayeque Valley such as Reque and Eten whilst in the Moche Valley it had disappeared long before their arrival.

There have been several attempts to recover Muchik. Different authors have tried to compile and reconcile the different sources suggesting lists of words, significances and pronunciation; a Moche dictionary (Larco 2001; Salas 2002). In the early 20th century, under the influence of the American Indigenism, efforts to recover ancient Andean languages were based on the premise that it would reveal aspects of the idiosyncrasy of those populations. Nowadays, archaeologists have brought some Hispanicised versions of words of Muchik origins back into current use. Despite these contributions, the languages spoken by Moche populations is perhaps the aspect of their culture we know the least about.

The Codex Martínez Compañón

In a similar vein to de la Carrera's text, one of the oldest and most complete pictorial sources regarding the north coast of Peru is the one edited by the Spanish prelate Martínez Compañón (1735-1797). The Codex Martínez Compañón, one of his main contributions to American Indian studies, contains 1,411 watercolours and twenty music sheets depicting life in what was his diocese. This manuscript however, has to be understood from the perspective of an intellectual of the Colonial Period. Martínez Compañón was aware that to transform his archbishopric, he needed complete knowledge of the landscape that surrounded him. Thus his work was an effort to compile all the natural resources and cultural traditions within his diocese. The people who painted these watercolours tried to go into considerable detail as can be noted

in the images of the buildings including layout, section and three-dimensional views. Drawings include depictions of productive and ceremonial activities such as textile-making, chicha preparation, metallurgy, fishing, burials, dances, as well as Chimú, Lambayeque and Moche vessels. Unfortunately, these illustrations do not present captions or explanatory texts; whether they were lost or simply never written is still unknown. This document also contains a census revealing interesting data about the demography of that time. It comprises not only numbers of people and their distribution throughout the region but also provides different classification criteria: indigenous, Spaniards, mixed races, black people, Christians, clergymen, seminarians, etc.

Despite its antiquity and visual richness, some setbacks need to be considered before utilising this source for archaeological purposes such as establishing correspondences between the images in the Codex and the Moche reality. The Codex Martínez Compañón was produced more than two centuries after the Spanish conquest, and almost 900 years after the end of the Moche era. This time difference represents a significant drawback if we are to establish direct analogies between the illustrations of this manuscript and the archaeological record. Several transformations occurred between the Moche period and the elaboration of these images. On the one hand, the north coast of Peru had been invaded by the Spanish and previously by the Incas. Furthermore, after the Moche era, this territory experienced a critical socio-political reorganisation under the reign of the Chimú. In addition, Moche lasted more than seven centuries during which time, those populations experienced several cultural changes. It is possible that each one of those transformations intended to alter, or even eliminate, the previous social and power structures. Both the Spaniards and the Incas did it by different means: warfare, arranged marriages, forced people mobility, enculturation, land division and the creation of different territorial units, etc. On the other hand, the census of the Codex shows very low numbers of inhabitants in the north coastal towns. This scenario matches up with the severe demographic decimation suffered by the native population during the Spanish conquest, largely due to the, then unknown, smallpox. It also suggests a significant abandonment of settlements, cultivatable lands and canals. Needless to say that the levels of organisation, amount of resources and power execution needed to build the Moche and Chimú architectural masterpieces

and irrigation systems could not have been carried out by populations living under such meagre conditions.

The importance of the Codex Martínez Compañón lies in its thoroughness. It is a rare source of its time that provides significant visual accounts of cultural practices and natural environments that no longer exist. It also provides information about artefacts from different pre-Inca periods that seem to have been circulating at that time. From an archaeological perspective, it enables comparisons of some productive activities with the archaeological record, although at a basic level. The emphasis on people's linkage with their past is of particular interest for our research. Depictions of mortuary contexts shed light on how native funerary practices and their ritual paraphernalia were perceived by the Spaniards. Finally, this manuscript contains the first drawings of ancient palaces and temples of important archaeological sites such as Chan Chan and Huacas de Moche.

Manuscripts from the Colonial Period

Other early references to Moche and pre-Columbian north coast traditions can also be found in written sources from the Colonial Period dealing with looting activities (huaqueo) and organised looting companies (Ramirez 1996; Zevallos Quiñones 1994). Colonial manuscripts of trials and disputes, mainly from the Archbishopric of Trujillo, offer valuable information regarding the local perspective of ancestry. It is widely known that the Spaniards' greed was the main driving force for massive plundering operations at indigenous temples and cemeteries. According to these documents and contrary to what is conventionally presumed, such pillages took place with important participation of the indigenous population. Native communities took part in the looting parties in legal association with the Spaniards, to the point that they also agreed to pay the Quinto Real—the mandatory tax claimed by the Spanish Crown, consisting of one fifth of any booty. According to these sources, Chan Chan, for instance, was not pillaged by the Incas but by these looting companies, that is, the Spaniards and indigenous peoples joint effort to locate the funerary platforms of each palace and subsequently plunder them all. Surprisingly, the amount of metal obtained from Chan Chan would have been significantly more

than that which the Spaniards got from the famous ransom of Cajamarca. Huacas de Moche was one of the major sites subjected to several systematic lootings under the Spaniards allied with the local people. The former contributed the economic resources whilst the latter provided the manual labour under the orders of their respective Curaca (Zevallos Quiñones 1994).

This organised pillaging, however, led both parties to disagree over the distribution of the swag, which ended up in trials that were documented (Ramirez 1996). The examination of these sources has helped us to understand the reasons why the indigenous people did not protect their ancestors' graves and properties, joining instead with the Spanish search for valued objects. According to Ramirez (1996), those trials suggest that the plundering generated a transformation in the mentality of the indigenous populace. They considered that the huacas were their patrimony since they contained both the body and spirit of their ancestors who provided them with security, stability and wealth. When the Spaniards started the pillage of sacred places, the natives quickly realised that such destruction was an unstoppable process. Hence they felt that their participation in such enterprise would allow them to argue for their rights over the wealth extracted from the huacas. Their involvement in the looting process therefore had a different perspective. For the Spaniards it was all about getting rich, whereas for the indigenous peoples their participation was justified by the fact that all those goods belonged to their ancestors, and for that reason they had a legitimate claim over them. In their eyes, by participating in the pillage they were simply recovering what was rightfully theirs. The legal disputes generated by this conflict of interest between the Spaniards and the indigenous people were a complicated issue for Spanish judges who did not understand the native perspective of property and ancestry.

Certainly the use of documented sources to illuminate archaeological cases needs careful consideration. It has been argued that establishing direct analogies and comparisons, or extrapolating these sources to prehistoric contexts may lead to misinterpretations of the archaeological data. On the one hand, historic documents are largely biased by conscious (or not) processes of alteration and enculturation, besides they correspond with temporally distant realities. On the other hand, however, there are certain aspects of culture that are deeply rooted in the collective memory and practice. Therefore, in the absence of ancient written sources, the accounts of the Colonial Period represent the temporally closest sources that may allow

a glimpse of ideological notions and other non-tangible culture traits that usually elude the archaeological record. These considerations are taken into account when analysing contexts from Cerro Castillo that may relate to notions of death, ancestry, identity and land management.

3.2. Pioneering archaeological investigations of the Moche culture

In the eyes of contemporary archaeologists, scientific research on Moche began with the works of the German scholar Max Uhle, who is also considered to be one of the pioneers of Andean archaeology (Castillo and Quilter 2010; Castillo and Uceda 2008). He started excavations at the site of Pachacámac in the Lurín Valley, mapping the place as well as recording ancient graves. Then he travelled southwards visiting Cusco, Puno, and Bolivia, where he observed similarities between the archaeological materials of the Tiwanaku region and those he had found in Pachacámac. Thus he concluded that information outlining the first chronological sequence for the prehistoric Andes: the Incas were preceded by a series of societies that they ultimately conquered such as Chimú, Chachapoyas, Chancas and Huancas, which in turn, were preceded by a culture called Tiwanaku (Uhle 1900, 1907).

In 1899-1900, he travelled to the north coast arriving at Huacas de Moche. He noticed that the site had a complex stratigraphy, and recognised elements he could associate with what he had seen in Tiwanaku. He also documented a type of ceramics that preceded the Chimú which he called Proto-Chimú. In 1913 he published an article about his works in Peru including excavations in Huacas de Moche (Uhle 1913, 1915), Supe, Ancón, Pativilca, etc. (Kaulicke 1998; Menzel 1977).

One of Uhle's most important contributions was the first pre-Columbian cultural sequence which he refined after his experience in the north coast: Inca, Chimú, Tiahuanacoide and Proto-Chimú, that ultimately would be called Moche (Uhle 1939). Furthermore, his works at the site of Huacas de Moche are considered to be the onset of Moche studies. Known as an accurate topographer, he produced the first archaeological map of the site featuring the two major buildings known as Huaca del Sol and Huaca de la Luna, and the mountain called Cerro Blanco. Between November 1899 and February 1900, he ran excavations in the cemetery

located on the western side of the temple of Huaca de la Luna, today called the Uhle Platform. He also dug at the top and back of Cerro Blanco reporting a high amount of Spondylus, probably corresponding with a Chimú repository of offerings. Through this research, Uhle assembled the first archaeological collection of the site, which includes not only Moche artefacts but also Lambayeque, Wari and Chimú pieces (Kaulicke 1998; Menzel 1977).

Uhle's work was continued by Alfred Kroeber and Wendell Bennett, two renowned American archaeologists intimately related with the early archaeology on the north coast of Peru. Kroeber was highly influential in the intellectual trajectory of North American anthropology developing the concepts of cultural area and style, amongst others. During his time at the University of California, Berkeley, he studied the Moche pottery collections left by Uhle (Kroeber 1925). In his publication Kroeber compares these Moche ceramics with other collections in the United States concluding that the territorial extension of this society stretched from the Jequetepeque Valley to the Santa Valley. He also pointed out some regional differences between the artefacts he analysed (Kroeber 1944, 1957-58). One rarity of Kroeber's publication is the presence of Cajamarca pottery, which has scarcely been reported in subsequent excavations at Huacas de Moche. Years later, more Andean scholars would continue the study of these collections: John Rowe, John Topic, Carol Mackey and Christopher Donnan, amongst others.

During the early 1930s, Wendell Bennett arrived in Peru to conduct explorations and excavations in the Titicaca Basin. He would later take part in the Viru Valley Project excavating the site known as the Gallinazo Group. Wendell introduced stratigraphic excavations in Andean archaeology utilising both cultural and artificial layers. He also introduced notions of layers superposition, describing texture, consistency and artefactual association (Bennett 1939, 1946, 1950).

Likewise during the 1930s, the German researcher Henrich Ubbelohde-Doering arrived in Peru to work on the Moche, Chicama and Jequetepeque valleys. He centred his excavations at the site of Pacatnamú, in the Jequetepeque Valley, which would become his most important contribution to Moche archaeology (Ubbelohde-Doering 1951, 1966, 1983). Along with Ubbelohde-Doering, Hans Disselhoff ran the first archaeological digs at San José de Moro.

Similarly, Wolfgang and Gisela Hecker conducted a survey project in the Jequetepeque Valley (Hecker and Hecker 1977, 1990, 1991; Hecker and Hecker 1984, 1990). The results of these researches, however, were not published until the 1980s, and for that reason the Jequetepeque Valley were belatedly considered part of the Moche territory.

3.3. The 1940-50s: Rafael Larco Hoyle and the Viru Valley Project

Decades after Kroeber's publication and with the lack of knowledge about the research undertaken in the Jequetepeque Valley, Moche studies gained a major boost thanks to Rafael Larco Hoyle and the Viru Valley Project. Perhaps the most enduring paradigmatic premises about Moche were outlined by these two parties therefore their legacy needs to be understood within the singular social context that surrounded these researchers.

Rafael Larco Hoyle

Rafael Larco Hoyle was a Peruvian landowner, businessman and collector who made major contributions to the archaeology of the Peruvian north coast. Larco Hoyle's interest in Moche sprang up when he acquired a collection of more than 600 vessels from his father. Subsequently, he became the major collector of Moche artefacts. He bought several private collections from the nearby cities and valleys, from the smallest to the biggest available, amassing around 20,000 objects. Given the size of their new collection, Larco and his two brothers decided to extend their quarters founding the Museum of Chiclín. By that time, Larco Hoyle had begun to conduct explorations and excavations, first on his own lands, then in abandoned archaeological sites in the Chicama Valley and later, in the Moche and Santa valleys. Hence he became deeply concerned about Moche ceramics and burials. He empirically learnt the archaeological methods and the stratigraphic concepts that Bennett had introduced in Peru not long ago, producing several archaeological notes, drawings and maps of sites. Most of those sites have now disappeared due to the agricultural and urban expansion (Larco 2001).

For Larco, the Moche territory stretched from the Chicama Valley in the north to the

Nepeña Valley in the south. He did not consider the valleys of Jequetepeque, Lambayeque or Piura essentially because he had not received any news that could have suggested that the Moche territory extended beyond the Paiján desert. Moreover, both he and the Viru Valley Project members had limited access to the poor diffusion of the research undertaken by Ubbelohde-Doring and his team. His two-volume monograph *Los Mochicas* is intended to be a comprehensive Moche encyclopaedia whereby he presents his collections, archaeological findings, ethnographical observations and his ideas about Moche (Larco 2001). With the help of doctors, he ran physical anthropological analyses of human remains found in his excavations. He talked about what he called the Moche race, including pictures of what he considered examples of 'perfectly pure' Moche people. He also recovered words from the Moche vocabulary (Muchik). Perhaps due to his agricultural engineering background, he had a particular concern about the irrigation systems and agricultural techniques. Theocratic, dynastic and omnipotent, are the adjectives he uses to describe the Moche socio-political organisation. He regarded Moche as the pinnacle of Andean culture in terms of government, society, art and technological mastery (Larco 1943, 2001). Contemporary scholars have criticised Larco Hoyle's approach to Moche on the basis that it seems largely influenced by his own social context.

In 1949, Larco Hoyle moved to Lima for business purposes. He bought a house and brought his archaeological collection founding the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum, named after his father. While in Lima, he continued his research about Moche chronology which would culminate in one of his most important contributions to Moche studies: the Moche ceramic sequence. Based on pottery analyses and stratigraphic observations from his digs, Larco subdivided Moche history into five phases. He noted that the stirrup spout bottles, perhaps the most prominent Moche ceramic shape, presented differences in their size and shape, particularly in the arch and spout's lip. Such differences would correspond with stylistic changes that can be chronologically ordered. Consequently, each one of these transformations (and the stylistic features that characterised them) represented a span of time, a specific epoch in Moche history (Larco 1946, 1948).

In 1963, Larco received news about a significant looting in a little town of the Piura Valley. The information regarded wealthy elite burials in the cemetery of Loma Negra

containing fine Moche objects alongside Vicús pottery. Later on, these artefacts appeared in the Metropolitan Museum of New York donated by the Rockefeller family, including unique Moche metal objects made of copper, silver and gold (crowns, emblems, nose rings and other adornments for elites' paraphernalia). Due to this unforeseen discovery, in 1965, one year before dying, Larco (1965, 1967) published two books addressing the Vicús phenomenon in an attempt to make it fit his ideas about Moche. The coexistence of Vicús and Moche pottery as well as the presence of royal tombs in the Upper Piura Valley contradicted his model of a centralised government (Castillo and Uceda 2008). Larco saw in the Vicús a possible explanation for the origin of Moche, however, its location was too far away from the Moche core area. Lumbreras (1979) later argued that Vicús is the evidence of the Moche expansionist quest. In the end, the Moche presence in the Piura region was one of Larco's unfinished businesses.

Larco Hoyle's contribution represents a landmark in Moche studies. Although recently debated, his chronological sequence for the north coast of Peru and Moche in particular has proved valid for most of the valleys he worked in. In 1948 he published a non-definitive version of his north coast ceramic sequence which was eventually refined. He is also praised for being the person who singularised Moche and the pre-Columbian north coast phenomena. His legacy is still highly influential in Andean archaeology to the point that he named most of the north coastal cultures that we know today: Cupisnique, Salinar, Mochica, Virú, Northern Wari and Vicús, amongst others (Castillo 2001b; Evans 1968; Larco 1944, 1945, 1946, 1965, 2001). Moreover, driven by his desire to classify his collections, Larco involved himself in the scholarly circles of that time, and was invited to participate in conferences abroad. In this context, he collaborated with the American team of the Viru Valley Project and organised the first academic meeting centred on Moche studies: the Round Table of Chiclín (August 7th and 8th, 1946) (Evans 1968; Willey 1946).

The Viru Valley Project

The Viru Valley Project was a brief but significant enterprise that would change not only Moche studies but the worldwide practice of archaeology. Being an initiative of the American archaeologist Gordon Willey, the project aimed to make a long-term impact on the

archaeology of the new world (Billman and Feinman 1999; Shimada 1994; Willey 1974). Its theoretical framework stemmed from the concept of cultural ecology, developed by the American Anthropologist Julian Steward. Steward's studies centred on the relationships between people and the environment, and how societies built or rebuilt the natural space. At a time when archaeology was a discipline essentially focused on objects and chronology, this approach turned out to be highly innovative. Steward (1948, 1972) suggested a connection between the organisation and distribution of sites and the organisation and distribution of natural resources in a determined area. He proposed a method to study settlement patterns which Willey ultimately improved by integrating aerial photos.

Steward's ideas needed to be tested. However, regions such as North America, Central America, Europe or Asia featured a difficult geography. Besides, World War II had just ended therefore the political atmosphere in many parts of the world was complicated. It was then that Willey had access to the photo-collection from the Shippee-Johnson Aerial Photography Expedition (Shimada 1994). This military expedition had thoroughly photographed the coast of Peru in 1931, probably as a precautionary measure after World War I. For Willey, this information proved to be crucial when choosing the Virú Valley for testing Steward's approaches: manageable size, easy location, environmentally friendly, good facilities in the nearby cities and reasonable accessibility to most of the archaeological sites.

In this context, the Viru Valley Project aimed to study the entire occupational history of the valley. The identification of archaeological sites, contextualising their interaction with the natural environment and available resources, eventually resulted in a comprehensive study of settlement patterns. Furthermore, the project introduced digging methods and analytical approaches such as stratigraphic excavations and surface-collected ceramic seriation. In doing so, the project also intended to verify and improve previous inferences made by Uhle, Kroeber, and Larco (Willey 1946).

The project was carried out in 1946. Archaeologists and specialists of disciplines such as geography, ethnobotany and ethnography also took part of these studies. Most of the results of the Viru Valley Project were rapidly published becoming essential literature in the realms of archaeology and anthropology. Duncan Strong and Clifford Evans studied the stratigraphy of the valley and incipient agriculture (Strong 1948). Furthermore, they famously found the burial

of the Warrior Priest of Huaca de la Cruz, a discovery that had important coverage from the international press (Strong 1947; Strong and Evans 1952). James Ford surveyed and collected surficial ceramics establishing relative chronologies correlated with stratigraphic information. His work would ultimately be known as the Ford's Method for Ceramic Seriation (Ford 1949, 1974). Junius Bird dug at the preceramic mound known as Huaca Prieta in the Chicama Valley providing absolute dates for the site. Donald Collier (1955) studied the stratigraphy of the late periods, cultural evolution and ceramic sequence. Webster McBride investigated the geography of the valley. John Gillin (1974) conducted ethnological studies in the valleys of Virú and Moche. Likewise, Wendell Bennett (1950) participated in the project as an assessor and carried out excavations at the Gallinazo Group.

During those years, Paul Kosok, an American geographer, was also conducting investigations addressing the relationships between water and territory, irrigation and agricultural production (similarly using the photos taken by the Shippee-Johnson expedition). He published a book called *Life, Land and Water in Ancient Peru*, which complemented the contributions of the Viru Valley Project. It also shows aerial photos of important Moche sites such as Pampa Grande, Sipán, Dos Cabezas and Pacatnamú, amongst others (Kosok 1965).

The Viru Valley Project certified Larco's ideas regarding the nature of the Moche phenomenon (Billman 1999; Castillo and Uceda 2008; Willey 1946). Accordingly, the presence of Moche III pottery was seen as evidence of the Moche irruption in the Virú Valley during the peak of such a phase. This intrusion that came from the valleys of Chicama and Moche ended the local Gallinazo occupation in the valley. Consequently, Moche was understood to be an expansive state that conquered and settled in the Virú Valley, a pattern that was subsequently executed in the Santa and Nepeña valleys. According to this view, the tomb of the Warrior Priest of Huaca de la Cruz, the most opulent Moche grave known at that time, was interpreted as the interment of a lord in charge of this part of the Moche territory (Strong 1947; Strong and Evans 1952; Willey 1946). Finally, Willey's settlement patterns and hierarchy studies explained how the Moche state reorganised the local populations into a smaller number of larger settlements. He also pointed out the tendency towards urbanisation, where sacred platforms were replaced by secular constructions (Willey 1953, 1974).

3.4. The 1960-1970s: the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project and the Pampa Grande Project

Years after the contributions of Rafael Larco and the Viru Valley Project, the archaeology of Moche experienced another significant boost. These decades saw the undertaking of two new large initiatives—the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project and the Pampa Grande Project—as well as the first archaeological surveys in the valleys of Santa and Nepeña.

The Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project

In 1968, Michael Moseley and Carol Mackey initiated the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project. Based on the multi-disciplinary experience of the Viru Valley Project, the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project aimed to thoroughly study the prehistory of the Moche Valley, as well as the origin and development of the Chimú Kingdom (Moseley and Day 1982; Moseley and Mackey 1972). The crew was formed by a generation of archaeologists that would ultimately lead Moche studies during the next decades: Michael Moseley, Carol Mackey, Christopher Donnan, John and Theresa Topic, Thomas and Shelia Pozorski, Charles Hastings, Garth Bawden, Kent Day, Alan Kolata, Curtiss Brennan and Claude Chauchat, amongst others.

Unlike the Virú Valley, the Moche Valley featured two monumental sites that received great attention from most of the project's members: Chan Chan and Huacas de Moche. At the end of the project, several articles and doctoral dissertations were published, amongst them: Brennan's investigation at the site of Cerro Arena and the Salinar period (Brennan 1978); Bawden (1977) excavated in Galindo and published several works regarding domestic archaeology; Hastings and Moseley (1975) studied the usage and chronology of mud-bricks at Huacas de Moche; Moseley focused on environmental subjects such as the tectonic plates and the ENSO phenomenon (Moseley et al. 1981); Donnan conducted excavations at a Moche settlement in Huanchaco called La Poza, as well as at Huacas de Moche, addressing funeral practices (Donnan and Mackey 1978); Kolata (1990) studied the occupational history of Chan Chan based on the mud-brick techniques sequence; Mackey centred on the Chimú culture and published the maps of Chan Chan (Mackey 1982; Mackey and Klymyshyn 1981); T. Topic

(1977) completed her doctoral thesis on paleobotany; likewise S. Pozorski (1976) centred on paleozoology and subsistence patterns. Despite all these works, none of the publications compiled the overall results of the project.

The Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project corroborated the Moche culture as the first expansionist state on the north coast of Peru from which the Chimú Kingdom ultimately emerged. Such assessment also presumed a cultural continuity between Moche and Chimú without any external intervention or influence. Larco's five-phase ceramic sequence was revalidated, and the Moche territory now included the valleys north of the Paiján desert, an area that Larco had not considered. Furthermore, the foundations of a north coastal urban tradition would have been set during the Moche phase V, of which sites such as Galindo and Pampa Grande were classic examples. The project also significantly contributed to the study of the funerary practices in the valley (Donnan and Mackey 1978).

The Pampa Grande Project

In the same vein as the Viru Valley Project and the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project, American archaeologist Kent Day started the Pampa Grande Project (1971-76). The project was based at the Moche site of Pampa Grande, a large Moche settlement in the Lambayeque Valley. Since the site was predominantly associated with Moche V pottery, this investigation centred on the study of the urban characteristics of a Moche site at the end of their history. It also aimed to assess the relationships between Moche urbanism and the Chimú citadels of Chan Chan. Scholars such as Martha Anders, Jonathan Haas, Luis Watanabe, Hans Knapp and Izumi Shimada were amongst the members of this mission. Shimada would eventually publish a book with the results of the project (Shimada 1994).

The Pampa Grande Project contributed to the development of Moche studies by providing a wide-ranging functional/structural model of pre-Columbian urbanism, a rarity in a time when most studies were centred on burials and monumental architecture. Works at Pampa Grande revealed that, apart from the large temple of Huaca Fortaleza, the site also held storage rooms, specialised workshops, shrines, residential areas and corrals, and it would have

been inhabited by people from all the Lambayeque Valley. Shimada argues that Pampa Grande emerged as a Moche leaders' project utilising Gallinazo populations' labour. Such unequal coexistence generated social tensions that eventually erupted in a popular revolt that ended up with Moche temples on fire and Moche elites expelled (Shimada 1994). The site proved to be a short-lived Moche enterprise, whose establishment and abandonment would have occurred during circa AD 600-700. Unlike its predecessors, the Pampa Grande Project suggested that the end of Moche was not a consequence of one, but of several factors such as environmental alterations, political and social instability and external influence from the Wari state (Shimada 1994).

Shimada (2001) was also particularly concerned about the organisation of craft production and its relation to social organisation and political economy, which led him to publish several works on the subject. He suggested that Moche craft production was sponsored and organised by the state, thus, the workshops of Pampa Grande would have been administered by state bureaucrats and run by master artisans and apprentices (Shimada 1994, 2001).

Survey projects in the Santa and Nepeña valleys

Also during the 1960s and 1970s, two valley survey projects were carried out in the Santa Valley led by Christopher Donnan (1973) and David Wilson (1988), reporting more than 200 Moche sites associated with the ceramic phases III and IV. In addition to surface collections on looted sites, Donnan undertook excavations at the sites of Guadalupito and El Castillo, confirming a strong Moche presence in the Santa Valley. Alongside Moche sites, Wilson (1988) identified several Gallinazo settlements which he ranked in size and importance, suggesting that the valley had a large Gallinazo occupation which was subsequently colonised by the elites of the Moche Valley. For both Donnan and Wilson, the ceramic shapes and motifs were markedly similar to what had been reported in the Moche Valley. Moreover, such pottery was usually found in monumental buildings, confirming the physical presence of the Moche phenomenon in this region. Such an abundance of Moche materials led Wilson to conclude that the Moche took control over the entire Santa Valley utilising the coercive means of a state with a vast military force. Under this model, such control was exerted through a limited number of Moche

immigrants, mostly warriors, supported by a powerful ideological campaign (Wilson 1988, 1989).

Finally, another survey project was run during this time. Donald Proulx undertook a comprehensive survey in the Nepeña Valley, documenting 220 sites, 37 of them associated with Moche pottery. One of those sites was the temple of Pañamarca, interpreted as the Moche capital of the Nepeña Valley (Proulx 1968, 1982, 1985). Due to its close relation to our research in Cerro Castillo (also visited by Proulx), his work is reviewed in more detail in Chapter 4.

3.5. Studies of Moche iconography

Parallel to archaeological investigations, studies of Moche art and media not only have received significant scholarly attention but have also gone through different stages of analytical perspectives, usually being understood from two main angles. On the one hand, Moche artworks are approached on the basis of their individual character. That is, each object is studied independently, as an isolated entity; consequently, the object itself becomes the issue of study. In this sense, people like Martínez Compañón for instance, expressed their admiration for the quality and singularity of the subject matters represented in Moche sculpted and pictorial vessels. Later on, Larco and others went from the admiration for Moche art to an attempt to organise it, largely centring on ceramics. Larco (1945) identified patterns and characters, indicating that such characters frequently appeared performing specific activities (e.g. he called personages usually shown running through the dessert ‘messengers’, an analogy to the Inca chasquis). He also classified representations of animals, plants, divinities, people and characters in relation to certain activities. Larco, as many scholars of his time, addressed Moche art in terms of aesthetics. He emphasised the singular value of Moche artistic creation, its quality, balance, use of colours etc. Although not methodically, he suggested that Moche imagery corresponded with representations of historic events, myths and rites.

On the other hand, approaches to Moche art have tacitly presumed the existence of something to find out—a code or common rule that can be deciphered if studied systematically. Accordingly, scholars have gone well beyond mere descriptive analyses aiming to reveal Moche imagery’s meanings and implications. In this context, one of the first contributions to

the study of Moche iconography is the work of Gerdt Kutscher. He isolated a series of images to analyse them independently, centring special attention on three representations of what he called the Ceremonial Badminton (Kutscher 1958). The importance of this work in particular is that under such terms he indicated the existence of rituals and ceremonies that were repeatedly depicted, therefore, a Moche ceremony can be better approached by studying its representations altogether.

The next step was taken by Christopher Donnan who, like Larco decades before, represents a cornerstone and major reference in Moche art and archaeology. His involvement in Moche studies started with a valley survey and excavations in the Santa Valley for his doctoral dissertation (Donnan 1973). Since then, he has produced multiple works on the subject, encompassing the realms of iconography, technology, ethnography and archaeology. He conducted excavations in several sites such as Huacas de Moche, La Poza, Pacatnamú, Mazanca, San José de Moro, Dos Cabezas, Cañoncillo and Chotuna. In 1968, Donnan created the Moche Archive of the University of California, Los Angeles, the largest Moche photographic catalogue, which brings together artefacts spread out in museums and private collections around the world. This endeavour allowed him to access all sorts of pieces and imagery, some of them unknown to scholars, developing one of his most known contributions: the thematic approach to Moche art (Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999).

The thematic approach to Moche art

Donnan posited that, despite giving the impression that Moche painters depicted an infinite variety of subject matters, they actually represented a limited number of basic themes and characters. The whole Moche art therefore, can be organised according to a finite number of themes which, at the same time can be part of a larger subject matter. All representations of warriors, for instance, independently of whether the artist drew one, two or more, or whether they are humans or not, are related to the Combat Theme (Donnan 1977, 1978). Such a statement critically reduced the number of themes, somewhat dispersed until then, bringing order and logic to the representations. Additionally, it suggested that during a long period of

time and throughout a large territory, artists were circumscribed to a specific set of canons, implying a limited freedom for artistic creation. Moreover, Moche art would correspond with the representation of something beyond its imagery. That is, images were not independent neither were they created out of the artist's will but, there was a relation between the image and the reference. This approach allowed Donnan to identify representations of ceremonies.

In his pioneering study of the Presentation Theme (which he would later rename as the Sacrifice Ceremony), Donnan noticed the recurrent presence of characters which he named alphabetically (Donnan 1977, 1978). The main four personages, Figures A, B, C and D, were constantly depicted either presenting or receiving a goblet—Figures B and C usually present a goblet whilst figures A and D are generally receiving it. Moreover, other characters, objects and actions (naked prisoners, weapons, anthropomorphised animals taking blood from prisoners etc.) were represented in scenes related to such goblet presentation. He also observed that some scenes were larger or more complete than others, that is, there were partial scenes with a varying number of participants, and also isolated representations of characters or elements taken from the Presentation Theme. Hence, suggesting an analogy with Christian art, Donnan (1978) posited that Moche images had an evocative power. The representations of certain objects or beings (weapons, for example) had the character to evoke a specific theme or entire ceremonies without the necessity of depicting large scenes with all the participants involved. Any person who knew the storyline would have been able to understand the theme evoked by such symbols (for Christians, for example, a representation of a star, or a baby in a crib would suffice to evoke the entire Nativity, based on their knowledge of the biblical story).

Donnan's thematic approach has facilitated the organisation of the abundant and highly variable Moche iconographic production in a limited number of units. Thus, the iconographic themes can be used as a taxonomic tool to classify Moche imagery in methodologically controlled units that share a limited number of features. In addition, the development of this approach generated a series of themes such as the Warrior's Quest, the Burial Theme, the Deer Hunting, the Dance of the Death, the Revolt of the Objects, the Mythic Confrontation, amongst others (Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999; McClelland et al. 2007). Furthermore, Donnan's systematic identification of characters in relation to ceremonies has been largely used to assess the ritual and social identities of the individuals buried in Moche elite and

mid-rank tombs. Drawing upon Kutscher's work, Donnan affirmed the correspondences between some iconographic characters and the archaeological record of individuals whose funeral paraphernalia resembled features observed in art representations. These observations were initially made on a group of burials found in the flatland of Huacas de Moche (Donnan and Mackey 1978). The individuals in those graves were buried with artefacts associated with depictions of the Ceremonial Badminton, as well as with headdresses similar to those observed in the representations of messengers (runners). Years later, this correlation would turn into a matter of extensive use with the discovery of royal graves in Sipán and San José de Moro (Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan and Castillo 1992).

Narrative approaches to Moche art

Several works have drawn upon Donnan's thematic approach, many of them centred on the characterisation of ceremonies and personages through the recognition of their iconographic attributes (Benson 1987; Bourget 1994; Castillo 1991; Cordi-Collins 1977). Yet, one attempt to go further in interpretations of Moche imagery is the study of Anne Marie Hocquenghem (1987). Based on Donnan's identification of themes, Hocquenghem proposed that such representations can be ordered in a sequence determined by a ritual time. As depictions of the Nativity are activated during a determined time of the Christian year, then, Moche ceremonies must have been circumscribed to a ceremonial calendar as well. Also, if it was the case that rituals that had a purpose (something to generate, to thank for, or to celebrate) then there must be a representation for each moment of that calendar. However, in the absence of a Moche calendar Hocquenghem (1987) used the Inca calendar to test her presumptions. In doing so she associated, for instance, representations of the Moche dance of the death with the Inca mallqui processions, rituals that invoked the ancestors' goodwill to initiate rain. She also observed that Moche representations had a three-dimensional sense, that is, there were representations of gods, men and dead people. This would correspond with a three-level cosmological world, similar to the Inca's Hanan Pacha (the up world of the ancestors), Kay Pacha (the world of the living) and Uku Pacha (the below world of the dead).

Although innovative, Hocquenghem's and other's subsequent analogies between Moche imagery and historical sources were criticised for attributing the Inca calendar's functions and Inca's perceptions of society to a temporally and geographically distant reality. A typical example is the analogy between Moche representations of combat and the Inca ritual combat of passage. On a descriptive stage of analysis, both Moche and Inca cases may relate to warriors engaged in one-on-one combat. Historic sources however, refer to the Inca case as combat between youngsters who had to demonstrate their courage and fighting skills to complete their passage to adulthood and be accepted as elite warriors (Flores and Bushman 2007). Archaeological and art-historical studies however, have demonstrated that most Moche imagery of combat corresponds with representations of the prelude of a complex liturgy where defeated warriors' blood was presented to major personages that presided over the ceremonies (Donnan 1978). Besides, other Moche representations of combat would correspond with representations of real warfare or massacres where, differently than in the Inca case, defeating the opponent seems to have been a matter of survival (Quilter 2009). Therefore, apart from their formal likeliness, both Inca and Moche cases refer to very different social contexts. Assuming correlations may lead to mistakenly imposing the strongest source over the weakest one, even to the point of replacing it. That is, in an attempt to deepen further into the meaning of Moche art, one may eventually reach the point of not being addressing the Moche images anymore but rather the historic source.

Regardless of criticism, several researchers have drawn upon the principles outlined in Donnan's and Hocquenghem's works. Hence Moche art studies have gone into a stage of narrative approaches which suggests the existence of a storyline that can be reconstructed through imagery analyses (Bourget 1994, Makowski 2003, Quilter 1997). Accordingly, themes share common iconographic features that endow them, not only with meaning but also with a sense of chronological succession. Thus, independently of the time they might have corresponded within a given calendar, Moche iconographic themes can be used as a source to reconstruct the narrative structure. Systematic analyses of themes, ceremonies, characters and their attributes would provide information to reconstruct the sequence of events that constituted such ceremonies, ritual activities or myths. Makowski (2003) has proposed that a detailed study of representations of divinities would elucidate how such characters changed through historical

time and also within the ritual cycle where they performed. Under this view, the iconographic source is seen as the structural foundation of society, fundamental to approach the Moche world structure, since Moche images are representations of peoples' structure of the universe. In this sense, Makowski points out representations of beings associated with elements of day and night, as well as characters related to maritime and terrestrial elements.

Through time, interpretations of Moche art have diversified becoming one of the most debated subjects about this civilisation. Depending on the analytical perspective, scholars have approached Moche art by integrating art-historical notions as well as contrasting it with historical sources and archaeological contexts. Most of these studies agree on the premise that Moche imagery was a symbolic system of communication shared over a long time span throughout a vast territory. What it communicated, nonetheless, remains unclear. Its means of transmission, diffusion and change, are also under constant discussion. Our research at Cerro Castillo uses these works when examining artworks and imagery that circulated at the site during the Moche period.

3.6. Royal Tombs and Monumental Temples: the Moche Long-Term Projects

A common aspect of the archaeological projects described above is that none of them turned into a sustained long-term effort. Certainly they contributed to Moche studies with several publications, yet Moche archaeology remained a seasonal subject with long intervals of stagnation. This situation however, has radically changed since the 1990s thanks to the development and consolidation of four archaeological projects that have become the core of Moche investigation. Such a new scenario commenced with the unexpected discovery of a rich royal grave near the village of Sipán.

The discovery of Moche royal tombs at Sipán

In 1987 at the site of Huaca Rajada in the Lambayeque Valley, the Peruvian archaeologist Walter Alva encountered the tomb of the Lord of Sipán, a discovery that transformed the prevailing paradigms about Moche social complexity in terms of funerary

practices, hierarchical structures, technology and iconography (Alva 1988; Alva and Donnan 1993). The tomb of the Lord of Sipán is not only the wealthiest royal grave ever found in South America, but a turning point in Moche studies that led scholars to revise ideas that had been sustained and corroborated by the American projects mentioned above (Larco 1945; Moseley and Mackey 1972; Strong 1947; Strong and Evans 1952).

This funeral context consisted of a chamber tomb whose main individual, a 30-35 year-old man, had been placed in a wooden coffin in the centre of the structure. He was dressed in finely made attire composed of a golden banner, headdresses, gold-and-turquoise earflaps, Spondylus pectorals, backflaps, gold and silver sceptres and necklaces, amongst several other sumptuary goods. This man was also accompanied by sacrificed people (presumably his courtiers), lamas and large quantities of ceramic offerings sited in niches on the sides of the mud-brick chamber. Building on Donnan's previous studies, researchers quickly noticed that the main individual's paraphernalia was similar to that worn by one of the main characters of the Sacrifice Ceremony (specifically Donnan's Figure A). A similar situation was observed when, at the same building, archaeologists found another royal grave subsequently named the Tomb of the Priest. This funeral context corresponded with the interment of a man whose fine regalia related to another character of the Sacrifice Ceremony (Donnan's Figure B).

Excavations continued at Sipán and two years later, in 1989, another Moche royal grave was encountered: the tomb of the Old Lord of Sipán (Alva 1990). This burial was older than the one found in 1987. It was associated with one of the earliest versions of the building Huaca Rajada, and featured a different grave structure. The paraphernalia worn by the man of this context was of remarkable quality, consisting of several pieces of metalwork such as facial adornments, nose rings, earflaps, sceptre, backflaps, necklaces, etc. The discovery of this burial, not only confirmed the existence of exceptional Moche royal tombs (completely unknown until those times), but also shed light on the dynastic nature of the Moche royalties during circa AD 400-600 (Alva and Donnan 1993).

Unfortunately, in 1989, news reported the utter pillage of a Moche royal tomb at the site of La Mina in the Jequetepeque Valley. A rescue team led by Alfredo Narváez and Christopher Donnan recovered a unique set of fine Moche ceramics associated with the early periods of this civilisation. Moreover, these archaeologists indicated that the walls of the chamber tomb had

the remains of polychrome decoration with geometrical designs (Narváez 1994). Although the whereabouts of this funeral assemblage is still unknown, it is speculated that this grave was even richer than those found in Sipán.

The priestesses of San José de Moro

A few years later, in 1991, Luis Jaime Castillo and Christopher Donnan initiated the San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project in the Jequetepeque Valley, obtaining immediate remarkable results with the discovery of the tomb of the Priestess of San José de Moro (Donnan and Castillo 1992). This time, the main individual of the chamber tomb was a 40-45 year-old woman. The grave had been replenished with ceramic offerings, miniatures, a variety of spindle-whorls and knitting needles, artefacts imported from the highlands of Cajamarca and Ayacucho, all distributed in niches and spread out on the chamber's floor. As in the case of the Lord of Sipán, some items of the individual's paraphernalia allowed researchers to infer correspondences between the iconographic representations and the archaeological record. Elements such as a ceremonial goblet, a black plate-tray containing small vessels as well as the decorative emblems and designs of the coffin corresponded with the attributes of the female character that appears in various scenes of the Moche iconography, the Sacrifice Ceremony (Donnan's Figure C), the Burial Theme, the Woman on the Boat, or even in the mural paintings of Pañamarca in the Nepeña Valley (Donnan and Castillo 1992, 1994).

During the project's second fieldwork season in 1992, Donnan and Castillo encountered another royal tomb. It was another Priestess who had lived probably two generations after the one discovered in 1991. Similarly, her regalia was composed of elements associated with the major female character of the Moche iconography. In light of such evidence scholars postulated that, during the Moche era, the Jequetepeque Valley had been governed by a dynasty of powerful women. These women's privileged status would have stemmed from their starring role in the rituals and ceremonials where they embodied a specific ritual identity (Castillo et al. 2008).

The San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project also introduced a refined Moche ceramic chronology applicable to the Piura, Lambayeque and Jequetepeque valleys where Larco's five-phase sequence did not work accurately. The new sequence—Early Moche, Middle Moche,

Late Moche—was developed on the basis of the pottery collections reported from Vicús, Sipán, La Mina, Pacatnamú and San José de Moro. Additionally, the project coined the term ‘Transitional Period’ to refer to the span of time between the end of the Moche phenomenon and the emergence of the Lambayeque state (circa AD 850-1000). Thus the Transitional period deals with the process of the reconstitution of the communities of the Jequetepeque Valley during a time of alleged absence of a centralising governmental force (Castillo et al. 2008).

El Brujo Archaeological Project

The early 1990s also saw the start of another two long-term archaeological projects in two major Moche sites. In 1990, Régulo Franco commenced the El Brujo Archaeological Project in the Chicama Valley (Franco et al. 1994, 2003; Mujica et al. 2007). The project centred excavations on the Moche temple of Huaca Cao Viejo finding relief polychrome-painted murals associated with the phases III and IV of Larco’s sequence. This platformed building would have been the most important Moche religious and administrative centre in the Chicama Valley from circa AD 200 to 700. Diggings revealed that the building’s façade was fully decorated with motifs related to the Sacrifice Ceremony and the decapitator god. Furthermore, adjacent to the first tier of the façade, archaeologists found a precinct and a platform whose walls featured complex relief iconography. Franco (2003) suggests that the overall theme of these murals may refer to an agricultural calendar.

To date, the El Brujo Project has been continuously contributing impressive findings such as complex iconographic representations associated with different sections of the building (decorated pillars for instance), a ten meters deep ceremonial well with a spiral ramp and a water fountain at the bottom, an exceptional Moche wooden idol and more recently the outstanding tomb of the Lady of Cao, a unique case of an elite Moche mummy (Mujica et al. 2007).

The Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Archaeological Project

In the same vein, in 1991 Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales initiated the Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Archaeological Project which has become one of the main references in

Andean archaeology. The site of Huacas de Moche, and the Moche Valley in general, had not been archaeologically investigated since the 1970s, hence conducting excavations at the alleged capital of the Moche territory was a long-awaited enterprise. From the beginnings the project has centred its excavations on two major components of the site: the sacred area and the urban centre, addressing in both cases issues of function and chronology. Using a multidisciplinary approach, the project has shed light on the complex relationships between the religious segment and the urban population which shaped the overall socio-political structure of the city of Huacas de Moche (Uceda 2010; Uceda and Mujica 1994, 2003).

The sacred area is composed of the Old Temple (referred to in several documents as the pyramid of Huaca de la Luna), the New Temple (often cited as Platform 3) and the Uhle Platform (an elite cemetery lying at the western side of the Old Temple). The Old Temple is one of the most complex ancient Andean edifices (Uceda 2001). It is a mud-brick construction composed of successive platform-levels one on top of the other. Its façade rises more than twenty metres high and features an intriguing iconographic discourse (similar in many ways to the one of Huaca Cao Viejo) possibly related to the Sacrifice Ceremony as well as to agricultural and maritime calendars. This façade is oriented towards the public area of the temple, a large plaza where ritual combats would have taken place. The plaza and the top of the building are connected by a ceremonial ramp; it has been argued that only priests and warriors directly involved in the performance of rituals would have had access to the highest part and interior compartments of the building. The motifs depicted in the patio's walls mostly represent the decapitator god or Ai-Apaec.

Excavations have demonstrated that the Old Temple Huaca de la Luna was buried and rebuilt at least six times from circa AD 100 to 600. Accordingly, every so often, perhaps at the end of a dynasty, the old building was completely covered (ritually buried) to build a new edifice. The new temple was larger and higher in dimensions but kept a similar spatial distribution and architectural configuration (Uceda and Tufinio 2003). Uceda (2010) has posited that at circa AD 600, the Moche religious elites faced a critical loss of power, which ended up with the definitive close-down of the Old Temple. In an attempt to regain their supremacy, these elites responded with two new architectural projects: the New Temple and the administrative building Huaca del Sol. Compared to the Old Temple, the New Temple presents several

differences in terms of architectural design and iconographic discourse, suggesting a time of political and ideological transformations.

The urban centre of the Huacas de Moche lies underneath the flatland between the two main buildings of the site (Huaca de la Luna and Huaca del Sol). Stratigraphic information suggests the existence of at least eleven successive occupational phases or floors, associated with residential architecture, dating approximately from the 4th century to the 9th century. The architectural layout of this settlement presents a variety of urban features such as large avenues, streets, lanes, internal corridors, public squares, as well as residences with resting areas, interior courtyards, benches, kitchens and production workshops. Such urban configuration operated via multi-functional blocks which corresponded with specialised neighbourhoods or corporative groups. The presence of workshops committed to the manufacturing of ceremonial and utilitarian pottery, metal objects, lapidaries and textiles would have boosted technological development and trade between the site's inhabitants and other settlements (Chapdelaine 2001; Uceda 2010; Uceda and Chapdelaine 1998; Uceda and Armas 1998; Uceda and Rengifo 2006).

3.7. Multi-Valley perspectives and the proliferation of Moche studies

The discovery of royal tombs, temples and urban centres during the early 1990s led Moche studies into a reformulation stage, with particular attention to four critical realms: territory, government/politics, technology and urbanism.

Territorially, the Moche phenomenon tuned out not to be restricted only to the valleys south of the Paiján desert (from Chicama to Nepeña) but it also included the northern valleys of Jequetepeque, Lambayeque and Piura, as well as Culebras and Huarmey southwards. Castillo and Donnan (1994) set the cornerstone on which subsequent investigations have drawn upon. They stressed the dissimilarities between the ceramics reported from the valleys north the Paiján desert and those recorded at the core area of Chicama-Moche and southwards. Thus, although sharing some features, ceramic forms that were abundant in the south were absent in the north (e.g. flaring bowls). Likewise, the proliferation of iconographic themes in the southern region did not occur north of the Paiján desert, where the limited number of themes and absence of human depictions is noticeable. Moreover, the fineline pictorial style greatly developed in the

northern region, is absent in the south. On this basis, Castillo and Donnan suggested that the Paiján desert was the natural boundary that separated two political regions: Northern Moche and Southern Moche. Differences in the funerary patterns also highlighted this ‘north versus south’ distinction since the popular boot-shaped tombs of the Jequetepeque Valley were nonexistent in the south. Additionally, the architectural design of temples and settlements as well as the metallurgic development in both regions, featured visible disparities (Castillo and Donnan 1994; Castillo and Quilter 2010; Castillo and Uceda 2008).

This re-examination of the Moche territory, in turn led scholars to revise Larco’s and other’s ideas about Moche government and social organisation. The Moche socio-political hierarchies turned out to be far more complex than previously thought. Perhaps the most illustrative example is the one of the tomb of the Warrior Priest of Huaca de la Cruz. For decades, it had been considered to be the most reliable evidence of Moche leaders’ wealth and power, however it resulted to be far from the opulence and complexity exhibited in the graves of Loma Negra and Sipán. Also, if Moche was a hegemonic expansionist state with its capital at Huacas de Moche, then the Moche royals should have been buried in the core area. The existence of royal tombs in Vicús, Lambayeque, San José de Moro and La Mina suggests instead a scenario of multiple valley-states each with their own dynasty, and therefore with their own organisational principles (Donnan 2010; Castillo and Quilter 2010). Certainly no grave of such magnitude has been found by the Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Project, yet, it is important to consider that no other Moche site has been subjected to the scale of plunder that occurred at Huacas de Moche. The remarkable artefacts reported by Uhle for instance, surely belonged to high-ranked individuals comparable to the cases of Sipán and Loma Negra. As it is discussed in the paragraphs below, excavations of elite funerary contexts have continued and more Moche royals have come to populate the archaeological record (especially after the remarkable discoveries at Úcupe, Dos Cabezas, San José de Moro and El Brujo).

Since the discoveries of royal graves have often come along with regalia of exceptional quality, the levels of Moche technological complexity acquired a different dimension. The Early Moche vessels from Loma Negra, La Mina and Dos Cabezas attest to the Moche artisans’ full knowledge of pottery-making processes, raw materials’ properties and a sophisticated sense of aesthetics. On the other end of their history, the fineline pictorial styles Moche IV, Moche V

and Late Moche are evidence of constant processes of technological experimentation which, in turn, led to artistic canon transformations, stylistic maturity, as well as to local and regional tendencies. In addition to ceramics, notions of Moche metallurgy have radically changed.

Before the 1990s, the technological achievements of Andean metallurgy had been thought to be an accomplishment of the Lambayeque and Chimú civilisations. Nevertheless, the royals of Loma Negra, Sipán and Dos Cabezas were buried with outstanding pieces of metalwork such as headdresses, sceptres, pectorals, banners, etc. (Alva and Donnan 1993; Donnan 2008). Detailed studies of these artefacts indicate that Moche metallurgists based their labour on gold, silver and copper, alloying them in all possible combinations. They also developed a variety of techniques such as plastic deformation, casting, embossing, engraving, etc. (Carcedo 1998; Fraresso 2007; Jones 2001; Letchman 1979; Shimada et al. 1982).

Along with the discoveries of royal graves and high-quality objects, excavations at Huacas de Moche and El Brujo revealed an aspect of Moche that had been barely addressed: urbanism. Prior to the 1990s' projects, little was known about social interaction at a settlement and household level (Pampa Grande's results were not published until 1994) since most investigations had dealt with Moche art and funerary practices. Before the excavations at the urban centre of Huacas de Moche, urbanism on the north coast of Peru had been perceived as a late importation from the central highlands (Schaedel 1972). Sites like Chan Chan for instance, were seen as a result of what Wari brought when it expanded towards the north coast. The end of the Moche phenomenon had been (to a significant degree) attributed to the Wari arrival in the region, that is, a state that imposed its way by means of warfare and political dominance.

Works at Huacas de Moche, Cerro Chepén, San Ildefonso and Guadalupito amongst others, have revealed evidence of urban concepts that had developed at least since the 4th century. Thus scholars have increasingly turned their attention to the study of spatial organisation, architectural techniques, settlement layout patterns and to material remains that could potentially reveal household principles and practices. That is, how the Moche populace lived.

It is within this context, that during the last two decades, alongside the four long-term projects aforementioned, several investigations have been carried out in the Moche territory and influential areas. Whether undertaking valley surveys or digging at residential or ceremonial

places, scholars with different approaches, academic backgrounds and objectives, have greatly contributed with a sustained development of Moche archaeology.

The Piura Valley

Krzysztof Makowski and Peter Kaulicke investigated the Upper Piura Valley addressing the origins of the Moche pottery style as well as its relation to the local style called Vicús (Kaulicke 1992, 1994; Makowski 1994; Makowski et al. 1994). Makowski (2010) considers the Moche occupation in the Piura River Basin as an enclave part of a major long-distance trade route. Groups from different coastal and middle-valley places traded in-demand species from the Ecuadorian sea (Spondylus, Conus and Strombus), and such interactions would have generated the Moche-Vicús relation during circa AD 200-400. This view suggests the Moche presence in the region was marked by two ceramic styles: Early Moche-Vicús and Middle Moche-Vicús. Early Moche-Vicús ceramics are of remarkable quality, resembling the Early Moche wares reported in the Jequetepeque Valley. Bizarrely, the subsequent Middle Moche-Vicús corresponds with a rather simple and rough ceramic tradition whose most popular form is a long-necked bottle with small side lugs featuring simple purple lines (Makowski 1994). Although its iconographic motifs seem remnants of the Early Moche phase, there was a significant decline in the quality of pottery-making. None Late Moche ceramics followed the Middle Moche-Vicús style, leading scholars to suggest that it was the cessation of interaction between the Piura communities and the southern valleys what led them into a trajectory away from the historical development that happened further south.

The Lambayeque Valley

In the Lambayeque Valley, as investigations at Sipán continued, researchers have also shown interest in resuming excavations at Pampa Grande. Although teams from the Sipán and San José de Moro projects ran short explorations and mapping activities, the doctoral dissertation of Ilana Johnson (2010) provides the most recent data from there. She approaches

the Pampa Grande's household organisation indicating the existence of several distinct economic units that lived in large multi-household compounds at the Southern Pediment of the site.

Johnson also points out a varied diet consisting of both domesticated and wild foods that, in turn, indicate the socio-economic status of the inhabitants as well as the urban distribution of commodities. The site's layout suggests an urban development that affected the scale, density and activities of households. In this sense, households and domestic complexes became larger and the settlement became denser (Johnson 2010). She also reports that these compounds yielded fineline ceramics associated with the Moche V geometric style, which seem to be identical to those found at Galindo in the Moche Valley, whereas some other artefacts present decorative features apparently unique to Pampa Grande.

The Zaña Valley

In the Zaña Valley, at the site of Huaca el Pueblo, Steve Bourget encountered the royal grave of one he named the Lord of Úcupe. The main individual of this chamber tomb, a male of 30-40 years old, had been placed in the centre of the structure accompanied by another four individuals. Radiocarbon dates indicate that this burial dates back to AD 340-540. Hence Bourget (Atwood 2010) suggests that this context illustrates the transition from the Early Moche to the Middle Moche period since artefacts associated with both epochs are present in the grave. He has also stressed the unusual preservation of metal objects, which allowed his team to recover more than 170 pieces of metalwork (masks, diadems, a tunic, war clubs amongst other artefacts). Based on the correspondences between this individual's regalia and Donnan's Figure D of the Sacrifice Ceremony, Bourget postulates that the Lord of Úcupe corresponds with one of the earliest representatives of such iconographical character (Atwood 2010).

The Jequetepeque Valley

The Jequetepeque Valley is one of the most archaeologically studied coastal regions of Peru. The San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project has uninterrupted fieldwork

seasons that have shed light on the different aspects of the ceremonial world of the pre-Columbian populations of this valley. It has also provided evidence of regional-scale feastings and remarkable funerary contexts which have been systematically reported. The project has also put important effort into refining the relative chronology of the site. Integrating stylistic analyses, contextual associations and stratigraphic observations, Castillo and his team suggest finer lines of time (sub-periods) for each cultural epoch that marked the site's occupational history. Moreover, the project has expanded its scope by undertaking mapping and digging in different sites of the valley such as Charcape, San Ildefonso and Cerro Chepén, addressing the nature of the socio-political organisation of the valley (Castillo et al. 2008). Castillo (2010) has recently proposed a model of opportunistic states to explain the fluctuant relationships between the communities of the Jequetepeque Valley, in which San José de Moro played a pivotal role as the main regional ceremonial centre.

Marco Rosas conducted excavations at Cerro Chepén, a large fortified settlement in the Jequetepeque Valley, to study the collapse of the Moche groups of the valley. He dug at the elite residences located in the monumental sector of the site, revealing Late Moche domestic wares in association with fine Cajamarca-style pottery. These findings, in addition to the buildings' architectural traits and the sector's defensive nature, led Rosas (2007) to argue that the political collapse of the Moche in the Jequetepeque Valley was due to the pressure exerted by the Cajamarca presence in the region during circa AD 800. Rosas suggests that the Cajamarca irruption in the valley would have drastically increased the maintenance of the local Moche political entities, taking away the critical resources necessary for their recovery. Interestingly, he also posits that such tension would have had unforeseen side effects on the Cajamarca party as well, an internal weakening that eventually led them to collapse alongside Moche (Rosas 2007).

Tom Dillehay and Alan Kolata (2004) ran a thorough survey in the Jequetepeque Valley contributing not only an extensive inventory of archaeological sites in the region but also a comprehensive record of environmental events and their impact in the pre-Columbian communities of the region. On the one hand, this investigation represented the first survey project at a valley scale since Willey's and Proulx's survey projects in the Virú and Nepeña valleys respectively. Thus it has allowed scholars to approach aspects related to settlement

patterns and sites' hierarchical relationships in a valley that had been relatively recently considered part of the Moche territory. On the other hand, and perhaps more innovatively, Dillehay and Kolata's research is a substantial contribution to the understanding of the environmental conditions, relations and responses of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the region. These researchers indicate that the Jequetepeque Valley experienced episodic valley-wide floods and droughts, as well as long-term deforestation, dune formation and desertification processes that affected several sites. Based on radiocarbon date analyses from occupational floors of residential sites associated with Moche, post-Moche, and Chimú artefacts, as well as with related geomorphological features, Dillehay and Kolata point out the occurrence of four major ENSO events: in circa 2150 BC, AD 500, AD 1230 and AD 1770 (Dillehay and Kolata 2004). Moreover, stratigraphic examinations in different sites revealed consistent patterns of periodic flooding and dune formation events, as well as cycles of occupation and abandonment. These events impacted sites in different degrees in terms of material damage, depending on factors such as local hydrology, slope and topographic characteristics. According to this project's results, many rural communities managed the periodic episodes of political stress by relocating to landscapes less susceptible to environmental stress, undertaking reforms in their social organisation and intercommunity relations, as well as changes in their domestic and political economies.

Later on, Edward Swenson resumed Dillehay and Kolata's work with particular attention on the site of San Ildefonso. He aimed to explore the popularisation of Moche ideology and its adaptive strategies in one of the largest communities of the Jequetepeque Valley (Swenson 2008). Afterwards, Swenson would centre his investigations on the urban complex of Cañoncillo, addressing ancient processes of urbanisation in the valley. Thus, the Jatanca-Huaca Colorada Project intends to elucidate transformations in public architecture related to changes in local ritual activity, political identity and the organisation of domestic space. To achieve such objectives, Swenson and his team have been excavating the sites of Jatanca and Huaca Colorada associated with the Gallinazo and Late Moche periods respectively (400 BC to AD 800).

Christopher Donnan also carried out investigations in the Jequetepeque Valley leading excavations at the sites of Pacatnamú, Mazanca and Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2006, 2008, 2009;

Donnan and Cock 1986, 1997.). These studies represent an important contribution to the knowledge of Moche funerary practices and the relation between the Moche and Gallinazo phenomena. The graves reported in Donnan's works relate to different segments of the Moche social structure. The burials found at Mazanca, for example, belonged to low status individuals placed in simple elongated pits with few ceramic offerings. Such vessels corresponded with Middle Moche and Gallinazo Incised styles. In Pacatnamú, Donnan's excavations in the cemetery H45 CM1 yielded a cluster of 67 simple-pit graves. The unusually good preservation of organic materials allowed the recognising of funeral shrouds, as well as casing and coffin patterns. Most of the graves contained ceramics, gourd bowls and in some cases adornments, related to the individuals identities and status. Like in Mazanca, pottery offerings mainly corresponded with Middle Moche and Gallinazo Incised styles (Donnan and Cock 1997). At the site of Dos Cabezas, Donnan encountered three exceptional funeral contexts known as the tombs of the Giants of Dos Cabezas (Donnan 2008). The individuals of these royal burials presented high-quality paraphernalia composed of metal headdresses as well as high-quality pottery. The ceramics corresponded with the Early Moche Period, suggesting that these contexts were contemporaneous with the looted royal chamber tomb of La Mina. Furthermore, these vessels were found alongside Gallinazo Incised wares. This association indicates a strong Moche-Gallinazo connection that dates back to the beginning of the Moche occupation in the valley.

The Chicama Valley

In the Chicama Valley, excavations run by the El Brujo Archaeological Project in one of the ceremonial precincts of the temple of Huaca Cao revealed the grave of the Lady of Cao (Franco et al. 2003; Mujica et al. 2007). This burial is a rarity in Moche archaeology, an exceptional case of a well-preserved royal mummy. It was found in a mausoleum located in one of the corners of the building's top platform. The walls of this ceremonial space featured polychrome mural painting representing classic Moche art motifs (catfishes, the decapitator god, the moon animal). This 18-22 year-old woman had been wrapped in several elaborate shrouds and deposited with high-quality adornments and emblems of power, normally associated with

male warriors. Based on the same criteria applied to the royal tombs of Sipán and San José de Moro, Franco has indicated that the funeral regalia held by the Lady of Cao corresponds with Donnan's Figure D of the Sacrifice Ceremony depiction. Subsequently, Franco posits that the woman of this grave would have been one of the highest-ranked Moche dignitaries who performed a leading role in the Sacrifice Ceremony.

Gálvez and Briceño (2001) ran a survey in the Chicama Valley shedding light on the Moche occupation in non-monumental sites. They reported residential areas, refuges and cemeteries addressing construction techniques and associated pottery, particularly regarding the Moche phases III and IV. These investigators point out that the abandonment of several Moche sites across the valley seems to be contemporary with the Moche collapse in El Brujo complex.

Excavations were also conducted at Cerro Mayal, a pottery workshop considered to be part of the complex of Mocollope, one of the major Moche sites in the Chicama Valley (Russell et al. 1994; Russell and Jackson 2001). Russell reports evidence of ceramic mass production such as the remains of firing, artefacts in the process of manufacture, and moulds. He postulates that the use of moulds would have allowed Moche elites the standardisation and control of the iconographic information. In this sense, moulds would have been, not only a means to facilitate mass production, but highly-valued items due to their capacity to include the essential pictorial motifs that assured the intended ideological dissemination encoded in Moche imagery (Russell and Jackson 2001). The vast majority of the ceramics produced at Cerro Mayal were of non-utilitarian order, however, only a few of them corresponded with high-quality wares. This production of essentially serving and consumption vessels would have been utilised in ceremonial and ritual events. Addressing the relationships between craft specialisation and Moche political organisation, Russell and Jackson (2001) suggest that artisanship was part of the political strategies of the ruling elites, playing a critical role in the maintenance of symbolic communication between the living world and the ancestors that legitimised the elites' position of power.

In recent years, Michelle Koons (Koons 2011) has undertaken excavations at the site of Licapa II, a middle sized ceremonial centre in the Chicama Valley. Although results are yet to be published, it is known that her investigation addresses the Moche socio-political nature, its economic base and ideological strategies from the perspective of a small scale settlement. Koons

aims to examine whether Licapa II was dependent on the large centres, or an independent centre, or if it was part of a larger and fluid network of sites.

The Moche Valley

In the Moche Valley, allegedly the heartland of the Moche phenomenon, the works carried out by the Huacas del Sol y de la Luna Archaeological Project are understandably the backbone of the archaeological research in the region. That being said, there have been other projects that have focused on middle and small sized sites in the valley. George Gumerman IV studied the rural settlements of Santa Rosa-Quirihuac and Ciudad de Dios, exploring the relations and changes between agricultural production and Moche socio-political organisation (Gumerman and Briceño 2003). This research indicates that, whereas evidence from Santa Rosa-Quirihuac (associated with the early periods of Moche history) points towards a self-sufficient character regarding agricultural production, in Ciudad de Dios (a late Moche site) agricultural activities seem to have been controlled by the Moche state through middle-ranking bureaucrats.

Decades after Bawden's excavations, Gregory Lockard (2005, 2009) resumed diggings at Galindo. He offers a renewed approach to the site centring on the political power of Galindo rulers. Analyses of Moche fineline pottery sherds, as well as an examination of the ceremonial building of Huaca de las Abejas, indicate that Galindo rulers retained traits of the traditional Moche elite ideology through the use of traditional media. Furthermore, radiocarbon date analyses point out that Moche V pottery from Galindo would be contemporaneous with the Moche IV ceramics from Cerro Mayal and Huacas de Moche during circa AD 600-700. This statement challenges the traditional assumption that the Moche V ceramic style postdates Moche IV after the abandonment of Huacas de Moche. He also suggests that occupational phases associated with Moche V pottery at Galindo and Pampa Grande (Lambayeque Valley) occurred at the same time (Lockard 2005, 2009).

Building on the pioneering Viru Valley Project and particularly on Willey's settlement patterns studies, Brian Billman (1996) undertook a survey project in the middle Moche Valley. Complementing his data with the survey carried out by the Chan Chan-Moche Valley Project,

he approaches the evolution of the valley's prehistoric settlements. Billman postulates that the formation of centralised polities in the Moche Valley relied heavily on warfare and social stratification, and lightly on the managerial requirements of production. His work reports 185 Moche sites, amongst ceremonial centres, residential areas, fortifications, cemeteries and agricultural fields. Based on analyses of settlement patterns, iconography, funerary and household data, Billman (1996) considers Moche was a centralised hierarchical polity whose leaders exerted considerable military and ideological power. In his view, warfare played a critical role since the elite class, craft production and ceremonial buildings were tied to means of military conquest. Billman's survey also regards the highlanders presence in the valley, pointing out that the abandonment of sites with highland occupation occurred alongside the consolidation of the Moche state in the region.

Afterwards, Billman centred his investigations on the origins of Moche, conducting excavations at the sites of Cerro León and Cerro Oreja. He suggests that populations from Cerro Oreja were the people who founded Huacas de Moche circa AD 200-400. Such an emergence would have generated a major expansion and settlement reorganisation. That is, people began the construction of large numbers of new settlements, monumental centres, as well as longer irrigation canals on the northern side of the valley, experiencing a significant increment of cultivable land (Billman 2010).

Billman also ran excavations at the middle valley/highland site of Cerro León, considered to be one of the most influential sites in the region. This research provides important information about daily life, household organisation in middle-size settlements, as well as ethnic and gender identities (Billman 2010; Ringberg 2012). According to Billman, Cerro León would have been inhabited not only by native coastal populations but also by people from the highlands. Highland groups had specific interests in the middle valley which would have led them into a relatively pacific coexistence with the local populace (Billman 2010; Ringberg 2012). Based on ceramics samples from residential compounds, raw materials surveys and petrographic analyses, it is proposed that Cerro León inhabitants travelled more than 5 kilometres to obtain raw resources for pottery production. Indeed, such studies suggest that those journeys would have taken them to the highlands, thus such interactions generated the adoption of highland technologies as well as daily and ceremonial practices. The abandonment of Cerro

León would have been caused by the increasing power of the Huacas de Moche elites, which forced residents to either return to the highlands, or resettle and fit into a larger community controlled by the Moche state.

The Virú Valley

In the Virú Valley, the Moche expansionist strategies sustained by Larco and the Viru Valley Project, as well as the relations between the Moche and Gallinazo phenomena have been revised. Steve Bourget conducted excavations at the site of Huancaco, coming to the conclusion that, contrary to what had been assumed, the site was not the Moche capital of the valley (Bourget 2003, 2010). Like the Viru Valley Project, he reported red wares painted with red-on-white and white-on-red motifs, initially considered part of the Moche pottery production at the site (Huancaco style). However, Bourget's analyses of form and manufacture techniques indicated that such ceramics were not produced by Moche artists but by a distinct (although related) cultural tradition. Based on the absence of classic Moche artefacts in Huancaco, Bourget posits that the Moche state never occupied the site. Furthermore, when examining the occupational dynamics of the place, he points out that Huancaco was a multi-functional palace associated with the Gallinazo polity during circa 400-700 (Bourget 2003, 2010). As this investigation stresses no evidence of a direct link with the ruling elites of the Moche Valley, it proposes a scenario where the relationships between the inhabitants of Huancaco and those from Huacas de Moche occurred in the context of interregional social networks, which allowed Huancaco to keep its own political independence.

The Moche-Gallinazo relations have been largely addressed by Jean-François Millaire (Millaire 2009, Millaire and Morlion 2009; see also Chapter 7 in this document), who ran excavations at Huaca Santa Clara in the Middle Virú Valley, considered to be as the headquarters of a local polity during the Early Intermediate Period. Millaire's excavations reported a significant amount of Gallinazo artefacts, as well as remarkable ancient textiles. His analyses of elite residential and administrative architecture and portable materials have revealed important information regarding Gallinazo socio-political organisation and land management systems. Accordingly, the Gallinazo society would have evolved into a political system centred on a

series of settlements, each one in control of its own hinterland. These communities would have been challenged by the Moche expansion during the 4th century. However, Moche leaders did not remove the local authorities from their position in the valley but left them in direct control over their land and people. Millaire states that there is no evidence of a Moche political overturn at Huaca Santa Clara, neither military nor related to any coercive means, suggesting that the local elites established diplomatic relations with Moche people, which led both parties into a dynamic exchange of goods and ideas.

After compiling related ceramic data from the north coastal valleys, Millaire (2009) has pointed out a fundamental distinction between pottery associated with the Virú polity and the Gallinazo style. He indicates that the fine-ware pottery known as Gallinazo Negative corresponds with a corporate style whose production was restricted to the Virú Valley, possibly commissioned by the political unit that governed the region—negative-painted designs in vessel forms such as stirrup spout bottles, spout and bridge bottles and double-chambered whistling bottles. Differently, the Gallinazo ceramic style specifically refers to incised and appliquéd pottery usually shaped as face-neck jars and figurines. A re-examination of the material record has yielded that Gallinazo (both incised and appliquéd) ceramics are associated with fine-ware vessels such as Vicús, Moche and Virú, in both domestic and funeral contexts. The Gallinazo style therefore, would correspond with a pan-north-coast cultural tradition distinct from the corporate styles produced by the various political entities that ruled over this territory. Hence Millaire and several other scholars have come to agree that Gallinazo was not a cultural phenomenon that succumbed under Moche, but rather a north coastal popular substrate within which a number of political entities developed (Millaire 2009).

The Santa Valley

In the Santa Valley, Claude Chapdelaine initiated the Montreal University Santa Project aiming to investigate the Moche presence in the region. Arguing the military expansionist nature of the Moche state, he explores the mechanisms utilised by the Moche elites to expand their domains over the local populations of this valley (Chapdelaine 2010). He proposes a gradual socio-political process that entails invasion, migration and colonisation of the lower Santa

Valley by landlords from the Moche Valley. Economic and ideological agents would also have played important roles in the Moche expansionist quest. Under this view, the arrival of Moche in the Santa Valley occurred during the Moche phase III, when the site of El Castillo emerged as the largest urban centre of the region. Based on radiocarbon dates from that site, as well as on artefactual, architectural and funeral evidence, Chapdelaine and his team posit an extensive Moche Phase III occupation in the region. Furthermore, dates from Gallinazo contexts at El Castillo suggest that both Gallinazo and Moche groups lived alongside each other during the Moche III occupation. It was then, during this period when Moche populations established their religious and administrative buildings on the northern side and on the lower level of the Eastern Terrace of the site. Meanwhile, the top of what Chapdelaine calls the hill sector, the upper levels of the Eastern Terrace, and the western side of the hill stayed occupied by the Gallinazo.

Excavations and radiocarbon dates from the site of Guadalupito, associated with the Moche phase IV, led Chapdelaine to propose a longer Moche occupation in the lower Santa Valley. Accordingly, the Moche IV occupation lasted until circa AD 700-800 (not until AD 600 as previously thought), which implies that the Moche decline in the Santa Valley happened during the first half of the Middle Horizon. In light of this evidence, Chapdelaine (2010, 2011) postulates a Moche III occupation in the Santa Valley as early as in Huacas de Moche, and a very late occupation at Guadalupito similar to the late dates in Huacas de Moche, confirming a longer length of the Moche phase IV. The Moche occupation in the Santa Valley therefore, spanned from AD 300 to at least 700. In this context, the sites of El Castillo and Guadalupito became the main Moche headquarters in the valley associated with the Moche III and IV occupations respectively.

On the basis of this information, Chapdelaine addresses the relationship between Moche and local populations suggesting that Moche groups started settling in sectors that had not been intensively occupied by the locals (Chapdelaine 2010). He goes further in his interpretations positing a combination of internal and external causes that could have driven leaders from the Moche Valley to pursue the control over the Santa Valley. Amongst such factors he lists: population pressure, economic pressure, environmental stress, military power and ideology of the ruling body (internal factors), year-round water availability, agricultural productivity, double-cropping, great potential for irrigation, and more benefits at lower costs (external factors)

(Chapdelaine 2010).

The abundance of Moche materials in the Santa Valley has traditionally led scholars to conclude that the Moche state took over the control of the entire Santa Valley utilising the coercive means of a state with a vast military force. Under this model, the Moche state took direct control of the valley through a limited number of Moche immigrants (mostly warriors) (Wilson 1988, 1989). On the basis of the available data, Chapdelaine considers that such a scenario can be applied to the Moche IV occupation in the valley. Differently, the limited presence of materials associated with the Moche phase III would indicate an intrusion, probably motivated by economic factors, and that such a presence would have led to an ideological conquest (Chapdelaine 2010, 2011). Through time, the Moche presence expanded. The provincial Moche elite (supported by the rulers of Huacas de Moche) consolidated their position through a gradual appropriation of the lower Santa Valley. Subsequently, during the Moche IV occupation, the Moche elites exerted coercive political and economic measures that resulted in the colonisation of other sites such as Quebrada Lacramarca. Chapdelaine (2010) posits that these two scenarios (coexistence and conquest) may have occurred throughout several centuries. In any case, such interaction between the elites of the Moche Valley and the Santa Valley populations generated a context of dynamic mobility, allowing information and style to constantly travel from one valley to the other.

Chapdelaine considers that the Santa Valley was the province of a Moche multi-valley state. At its beginnings the Moche state would have favoured political unity over at least a valley. When the Moche Valley state expanded southwards, the conquest or the socio-political and economic inclusion of other valleys transformed it into a territorial state. This was an expansion over already organised territories with local elites ruling over large populations. In this context, Chapdelaine argues that during Moche IV occupation, the Santa Valley became a Moche directly-controlled province within a multi-valley state, whereas during the Moche III occupation, this territory was indirectly controlled by the central Moche authority. That presence grew gradually via fluid interactions with the local Gallinazo elites, which would result in their cultural assimilation (Chapdelaine 2010). Based on observations of settlement hierarchies and site size diversity, Chapdelaine also indicates an intended duplication of the Moche Valley social

features in the Santa Valley. He points out that both valleys feature the same types of material culture associated with similar architectural compounds and burials, suggesting that colonists tried to organise their life according to their homeland conventions, including their class hierarchies.

The Nepeña Valley

In the Nepeña Valley, a cluster of twelve intrusive Moche and Gallinazo burials at the Early Horizon's site of Huambacho has been reported by David Chicoine (2011). His analyses of these contexts shed light on local funerary practices in relation to Moche religion, and interacting social identities. Based on evidence of inversions in body positioning and human sacrifices, Chicoine suggests a scenario of social stress during the Moche presence in the valley. Accordingly, he postulates that due to such tensions locals and some sacrificed individuals were meant to be buried in that specific place. Furthermore, he presumes that the individuals placed in a face-down position held a high social status, therefore, their funeral required rituals involving the sacrifice of people as well as the inclusion of Moche offerings and other symbolic objects. Chicoine also points out evidence of coast-highlands interactions, suggesting a scenario of complex negotiations regarding territorial domains.

In 2010, Lisa Trever conducted excavations at the temple of Pañamarca in the Nepeña Valley. She considers that Moche artists and their patrons spent extensive time and material resources on the development of media works. Based on her studies of working processes, techniques and materials of late Moche mural painting at Pañamarca (circa AD 600-900), Trever suggests that Moche mural painters lacked special attention to intentional skilled crafting, and rather prioritised quick and effective elaboration of visual content. Dripped paint and uneven plastered surfaces observed at the temple's murals are seen by Trever (2013) as evidence of the haste with which many paintings were executed, as artistry was subsumed by rapid generation of visual effect. Trever analyses the degrees and types of artistry located within different genres to approach fully intra-cultural philosophies of art, craft and imagery. Subsequently, she posits that not all Moche media were created equally nor with the same guiding principles in mind.

The Culebras Valley

The Moche presence in the Culebras Valley has been recently studied by Krzysztof Makowski, Milosz Giersz and Patrycja Przadka, who have carried out a survey in the lower and middle valley, as well as excavations at the sites of Mango I and Quillapampa (Giersz 2011; Makowski et al. 2011). They have outlined a historical sequence of the region, indicating that the earliest evidence of Moche and Gallinazo occupation corresponds with the Mango phase (AD 100-400). During this time, Gallinazo and Moche populations would have started a pacific colonisation of the valley, establishing the site of Mango I as their primary settlement. Afterwards, during the Quillapampa phase (AD 400-700) Moche leaders would have taken control over the valley having in the site of Quillapampa I their main centre and residence of the local elite. A looted elite chamber tomb was reported in Quillapampa I. It contained at least nine people placed alongside several high-quality artefacts and vessels associated with Gallinazo and Moche III styles. Most of the Moche pottery seems to have been locally produced. The subsequent Molino phase (AD 700-850) corresponds with the end of the Moche occupation in the valley. A reconfiguration of the settlement patterns would be evidence of the Wari influence in the region (Giersz 2011).

Makowski and his team stress that settlements with parallelepiped, mould-made and plain mud-brick architecture associated with Moche cemeteries are usually located on strategic sites that allowed the control of the North-South coastal road (e.g. settlements close to Castillo de Ampanú, as well as the area of Quillapampa and Panteón) (Makowski 2010). Ceramics encountered at these sites correspond with Moche and Gallinazo vessels as well as local utilitarian wares. Makowski also reports fine Moche bottles presumably found in the Culebras Valley (now in private collections) that could have been produced in the Moche or Chicama valleys; however, a distinction between imported pieces and vessels locally manufactured (either by local or foreign potters) is yet to be made.

On the basis of the project's results, Makowski, Giersz and Przadka explain the Moche presence in the Culebras Valley suggesting that during circa AD 100-400 Gallinazo and Moche populations colonised a little-populated area. The absence of fortifications would indicate a pacific scenario with neither internal or external conflicts nor political tension. The southern

Moche border is thus seen as an enclave at the end of the road controlled, not through fortified military actions but, via political negotiations with the local elites. In this context, they consider that Pañamarca, in the Nepeña Valley, was the most important ceremonial and administrative centre controlling the Moche southern frontier. Such political control would have been achieved via religious ideology, that is, peripheral populations sharing Moche rites, deities, ceremonies and perceptions of power and society. Moreover, the local elites would have been allowed to access ceremonial vessels, textiles, metal objects and other sumptuary goods (Giersz 2011).

The Huarmey Valley

Makowski, Giersz and Przadka also explored the Huarmey Valley, considering it as the southernmost frontier of the Moche world. The Moche sites recorded in the Huarmey Valley would not feature defensive characteristics and are distributed on both banks of the river. The site of Car Car, possibly one of the furthermost settlements associated with the Moche phenomenon, would have been strategically placed along a road that led to the ceremonial centre of Pañamarca in the Nepeña Valley (Makowski 2010).

3.8. Conclusions

There is no consensus in the way Moche and its material culture are interpreted. During several decades it was largely referred to as a single social phenomenon. However, the increasing amount of studies has led to a scenario of a myriad of interpretative models and methodological approaches. The current state of Moche archaeology is one of constant discovery and subsequent reformulation of its chronology, geographical expansion and socio-political organisation.

This dissertation draws upon the studies described above, as well as being informed about current Moche scholarly discussions. The data obtained from Cerro Castillo is examined under the premises of these investigations bearing in mind that perspectives on Moche will continue to change.

CHAPTER 4

The Nepeña Valley: Settings and Previous Research

The present chapter summarises the environmental and geographical characteristics of the Nepeña Valley as well as the previous archaeological investigations carried out in our area of study.

4.1. Environmental features

The region where this investigation takes place is the Nepeña Valley, located on the north-central coast of Peru in the Central Andes. The physical and climatic characteristics of the valley are determined by two features: the Andean Range and the Humboldt Current.

The Andean Range is the principal factor that determines the geographical configuration of the entire subcontinent of South America, dominating the western seaboard and bordering the green Amazon. It reaches 6,000 m altitude which results in the existence of a diversity of ecological niches, ecosystems, microenvironments and natural resources. One of these features is the South American western coast, a thin strip of arid land that lies between the Andean Range and the Pacific Ocean. The Peruvian coast is composed of a series of deserts (some considered amongst the most arid worldwide) separated by rivers that descend from the highlands flowing into the ocean. The Peruvian coastal deserts are mainly characterised by extensive pampas, windy dunes and rocky ravines. Regular fogs, mist and drizzle generate the growth of vegetation on the hillsides. Additionally, subsoil waters allow the growing of xerophytic (desert) trees. The rivers that traverse the desert are an instrumental resource for life in this area, creating natural features such as lakes and seasonal forests, as well as enabling cultural landscapes, such as the valleys that are named after the rivers they originated from.

The Humboldt Current is an ocean current that flows north-westwards along the west coast of South America. From Antarctica, it runs along the Pacific shoreline up to the surrounding area of Cabo Blanco in the north of Peru. This cold-water current makes possible the proliferation of maritime species, making the Peruvian sea one of the richest marine

ecosystems in the world and the largest upwelling system, making this cold water rich in phosphorus and nitrogen, generating the vital phytoplankton that feeds the marine species, so maintaining the food chain.

It is from the interaction between the Humboldt Current, the Andean Range and the movement of Pacific air masses that the climate of the Peruvian coast emerges. Without these complementary factors this coast would have tropical weather. In reality, it hardly rains on the Peruvian coast; on the contrary, it is on the highlands where the rainy season occurs from October to March. As the moist air masses move over the cold current they adopt the characteristics of the surface below them. They continue to move towards the continent clashing with the warm sun-heated land, which increases their moisture retention. At this point, the air masses are fully charged with water which will only be dropped when in contact with the Andean Range peaks. This has produced a normally dry narrow coast except when the El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) occurs.

ENSO is a climate pattern that occurs across the tropical Pacific Ocean. It is characterised by variations in the temperature of the surface of the tropical eastern Pacific Ocean and air surface pressure in the tropical western Pacific—warmed ocean and high air surface pressure is called El Niño; cooled ocean and low air surface pressure is known as La Niña.

Although the mechanisms that cause this oscillation are not yet fully understood, what is known is that warm-waters flow southwards intruding into the Humboldt Current action area. This intrusion takes place at irregular periods that may vary up to a dozen times a century; severe events may occur twice a century; catastrophic events once in many centuries. When El Niño occurs, it disrupts the normal environmental conditions such as heavy rains, alteration of the maritime resources, common species disappear while unknown species appear, inland fauna and flora also experience disorders, all of which have an impact on social performance.

Summing up, the presence of the Andean Range and the Humboldt Current make the Peruvian coastal weather significantly colder than other tropical latitudinal regions. As consequence, ecological habitats are more varied generating the growth of a wide diversity of vegetal species. Meanwhile, the dryness of the desert favours the formation of minerals that are deposited in the coastal sediments of the Andean Range.

4.2. The Nepeña Valley settings

The Nepeña Valley is located 393 km north of Lima, capital of Peru, bordering with the Lacramarca and Santa Valleys in the north, and the Casma Valley in the south. It belongs to the modern-day jurisdiction of the Department of Ancash, Province of Santa. Nepeña is a relatively long and narrow valley of 74 km, on a northeast-southwest axis, with a maximum width of 8 km. Most of the agricultural production of the valley is committed to the industrial production of sugar cane.

The Nepeña River, that gives its name to the valley, receives water all year, having its intake in the Chupicocha Lake, situated in the Cordillera Negra at approximately 4,600 masl (metres above sea level). Its tributary sources are the Jimbe, Salitre and Vinchamarca Rivers. Thus, the formation of the Nepeña River starts with the Jimbe with the Salitre branches merging in the vicinity of Moro, and the Vinchamarca flowing towards the Pacific Ocean near the Bahía of Samanco, a large bay that encloses the Nepeña shoreline area. The Nepeña River releases 74.7 million m³ of water per year, which is relatively low in comparison to the 172.4 million m³ of the Casma River and the 4593.9 million m³ of the Santa River.

Nowadays, the Nepeña Valley has an estimated 6,360 ha of agricultural land. Its average annual temperature is 19.7 °C, a warm, foggy, barren desert according to the Koppen System. The upper valley extends to the area of Jimbe at roughly 1,500 masl and is composed of a premontane desert proliferated with xerophytic vegetation with soil suitable for agricultural purposes.

Further down, in what is called the Yunga region, the valley soil narrows decreasing the agricultural land, flora and fauna. This region has plenty of annual sunshine and warm temperatures, allowing the growth of a variety of crops such as coca, maize, tropical fruits, chilli peppers, and others.

The natural communication route between the Callejón de Huaylas and the coastal section of the Nepeña Valley contributes to the strategic importance of the valley for human settling and interregional interaction. The Quebrada Salitre stretches up to the highland centre of Pamparomas on the western hillsides of the Cordillera Negra.

The area of Moro consists of roughly a 6 km wide strip of agricultural land surrounded

by hills. The middle and low valley extends from the Quebrada Santa Lucía to Cerro Caylán to the shoreline respectively. The area features flat ground with isolated hills and low mountains on the desert margins, which makes it suitable for the exploitation of natural resources. The pre-Columbian agricultural production included maize, beans, squash, manioc, chilli peppers, lucuma and cotton. Livestock farming included the raising of llamas, guinea pigs, and Muscovy ducks. Net fishing, raft fishing, shellfish gathering and mammal hunting were also common in order to supply food for early human settlers.

4.3. Previous archaeological research in the Nepeña Valley

The Nepeña Valley has remained archaeologically unstudied until recently. For many decades the information available was limited to the monumental area of Pañamarca.

The first documents that mention the Nepeña Valley are found in the 16th century Spanish chronicles. In 1547 Pedro Cieza de León (1924 [1524]), a Spanish conqueror and chronicler, passed by the valley describing it as a prosperous territory under the Inca dominance, particularly the areas that are known today as the middle and low valley.

Centuries later, the American archaeologist Ephraim Squier (1877) came to Peru as an appointed U.S. Commissioner, and wrote a series of reports in which he mentions the pre-Columbian occupation in the Nepeña Valley. He travelled throughout the valley visiting and recording the sites of Samanco, Huacatambo, Pañamarca, Huaca Culebra, Quisque, Paredones and Kushipampa, among others (Fig. 4.1). In 1886, the German medical doctor Ernest Middendorf (1973 [1886]) visited the Nepeña Valley recording the sites of Pañamarca, Kushipampa, and Huarcarpón.

In 1950, the American archaeologist Richard Shaedel (1951) led an exploration in the Nepeña Valley. When visiting Pañamarca, he discovered Moche polychrome mural paintings about which he would eventually write brief articles.

In 1958, another polychrome mural painting was reported (Bonavia 1959, 1961). It was a representation of the Moche Presentation Theme, one of the most iconic themes of Moche art. Unfortunately preservation measures were not taken which led to the loss of this important

finding.

In 1967, Donald Proulx carried out studies in the Nepeña Valley aiming at making a comprehensive and systematic survey in the entire area (Proulx 1968, 1973, 1976, 1982, 1985, 1993). Supported by Junius Bird, he also had planned to run an archaeological project for the ten next years; unfortunately it never happened. Proulx documented 220 sites, developing the first historical sequence of the Nepeña Valley. 37 sites were associated with Moche pottery.

One of those sites was the temple of Pañamarca (referred to as PV 31-38 in Proulx's reports), interpreted as the Moche capital of the Nepeña Valley (Figs. 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4). Proulx explored the surrounding of the temple of Pañamarca looking for settlements associated with Moche. In doing so, he surveyed the area that our investigation calls Cerro Castillo. In his reports, PV 31-40 refers to the artificial mound sited on the northern side of the site (Huaca Sector 1 in this document). He also found graveyards in the foothills of the complex, which were documented as sites PV 31-216, PV 31-217, PV 31-218, PV 31-219 (located in the area referred to as Sector 4 in this research) as well as the sites PV 31-39 and PV 31-214 (situated in Sector 2) (Proulx 1985).

Following Rowe's ideas, Proulx analysed the surface-collected ceramics taking into account shapes and motifs, also attempting to determine the chronology of the sites he visited. He observed new ceramic styles apart from Moche, as well as changes in the settlement patterns and architectural techniques. This information led him to argue that, during the Early Intermediate Period, the Nepeña Valley was incorporated into the Moche expansive state which established its regional centre of power in Pañamarca (Proulx 1982, 1985). Likewise, intrigued by the lack of Moche settlements in the valley, Proulx offered three explanations: 1) the Moche lived in small towns in the low part of the valley that were destroyed by strong rains and agricultural lands created during the last century; 2) the Moche settlements were completely covered by the later occupations; 3) the Moche occupation in the valley was not as consolidated as in other valleys, only few colonisers would have moved to Nepeña controlling from Pañamarca. In this context, Pañamarca was a sort of territorial landmark, an isolated Moche temple in the south boundary of its domains (Proulx 1985, 1993).

Additionally, Proulx reported 42 sites containing Recuay pottery in the high part of the

valley, including towns, fortified hills and cemeteries. He interpreted this scenario as a territorial coexistence of two societies where one was dominating the low part of the valley without any apparent interest in extending and conquering the high parts inhabited by the Recuay population. Proulx's survey works were continued by his student Richard Daggett during 1980-81, who added 103 new sites to the archaeological site's list of the valley. These investigations ended up in Daggett's doctoral thesis, which mostly focuses on the Early Horizon occupation of the valley (Daggett 1985). After his research in the Nepeña Valley, Proulx would dedicate his later work to the study of Nasca iconography.

4.4. Conclusions

The Moche presence in the Nepeña Valley has received little scholarly attention. The works of Donald Proulx were the only attempt of a sustained investigation on the matter. Up until 2010, no archaeological excavation had been performed in the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex, generating a glaring gap in our understanding of Moche in Nepeña. Several decades after Proulx's project, this dissertation resumes those investigations by undertaking excavations at the site Cerro Castillo.

CHAPTER 5

The Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project

The Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project is an initiative that seeks to document information related to the pre-Columbian occupation at the site of Cerro Castillo in the Nepeña Valley. The site is located mid-valley, on the right margin of the Nepeña River. Politically, it is part of the district of Nepeña, province of Santa, department of Ancash. Cerro Castillo forms part of the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex, for which the main building is approximately 600 m northeast of our area of study (measurement taken from Cerro Castillo's and Pañamarca temple's central point) (Fig. 4.4).

There is a scarcity of bibliographic information about the site due to no previous archaeological excavations having taken place there; most of the information regarding its function and chronology was simply extrapolated from the similar small studies carried out in the monumental area of Pañamarca.

The site of Cerro Castillo is composed of several hills, artificial mounds, and plain areas, covering approximately 50 hectares and drawing a perimeter of 3,414 linear metres (Fig. 5.1). Topographically, the site presents a rough terrain and is surrounded by agricultural plots of land bordering with the Nepeña River to the southeast and the Pañamarca temple to the northeast. The biggest hill (Sector 3) is situated in the central part; it has an elongated shape oriented north-south. Two smaller hills are located on the east and south sides of the site. The eastern hill presents the most uneven surface, whilst a small artificial mound surrounded by carobs lies on the northern side.

Cerro Castillo has been the subject of intensive illegal excavations, rains, overflows of the Nepeña River, lorry tracks and decades of abandonment. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that most of this damaged was caused on the flatlands of the site. The funerary areas, located on the plain sides of the hills, feature looter pits and scattered human bones across their surface. Conversely, the slopes and hilltops do not present significant traces of illegal excavations. A few looter pits are visible on the top of the hills, where it is rare to see any human remains.

In general, there is little evidence of architectural elements on the surface of the site. It

mainly consists of small portions of mud-brick walls and stone structures (some of which are only visible through the looter pit profiles in the flatlands). Fragments of pottery, the majority of a domestic nature, are mainly concentrated on the eastern side (Sector 4). This evidence progressively fades away towards the south and west.

In this context, the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project started its activities in the summer of 2010. Our investigations at Cerro Castillo aimed to examine the characteristics of the site's pre-Columbian occupation, i.e. the nature of the activities carried out at the site, its chronological sequence, the underground existing materials and its relation to the Moche phenomenon. To achieve these goals, different strategies and recording techniques were employed, all based on the traditional standards of archaeological practice such as site mapping, clearing, surveying, collecting surface materials and excavating.

5.1. Mapping and survey activities

The general mapping of the site was the first task performed by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project. Five control points were set up in strategic zones serving as base-points and for establishing the datum points. All five control points were georeferenced with the datum WGS84. We then proceeded to execute the topographic survey, determining that the extension of our area of study is 50 hectares plus 3,111.77 m², enclosed within a polygonal of 3,414.181 linear metres. The site map provides absolute elevations per metre where the highest point was measured at 133 masl. The map also details the topographic features of the terrain such as hills, hillocks, ravines and cultural elements such as looted cemeteries, stone structures and concentration of ceramic fragments.

Based on the map obtained, for methodological reasons and recording purposes, the site was arbitrarily divided into five 'Sectors' and five 'Cemeteries.' The term 'Sector' refers to the main hills of the site, while 'Cemetery' relates to funeral areas located on the plain zones between the main hills.

5.1.1. Huaca Sector 1

Huaca Sector 1, located on the northern side of the site, is an artificial mound that occupies an approximate area of 10,000 m² and elevates 13 metres from the plain surface (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2). It is surrounded by carobs and has been damaged by several looter pits. A partial clearing on the north side revealed a large, very well-preserved plastered wall indicating that Huaca Sector 1 is in fact a building composed of stepped mud-platforms. Furthermore, the ceramic fragments on the surface are, for the most part, associated with the Moche IV pottery style.

5.1.2. Sector 2

Sector 2 is located on the west side of Cerro Castillo (Figs. 5.1 and 5.3). It is composed of two connected rocky hills, covering an area of approximately 45,000 m², with its highest point at 117 masl. There is scarce evidence of archaeological materials on its surface.

5.1.3. Sector 3

Sector 3, the largest hill of the site, is situated in the central part of Cerro Castillo (Figs. 5.1 and 5.4). It covers an area of 110,000 m² with its highest point at 135 masl. It has an elongated shape with its major axis oriented north-south. Many ceramic fragment concentrations can still be seen on its slopes, although very few archaeological features can be found at its summit.

5.1.4. Sector 4

Sector 4 is situated on the eastern side of the site (Figs. 5.1 and 5.5). With an elongated shape and north-south orientation, it covers an approximate area of 90,000 m², reaching its highest point at 131 masl. The terrain is uneven, with marked level differences, and also highly deteriorated by looter pits and lorry tracks. It presents several ceramic sherd concentrations both

on its top and slopes. Scattered stones which seem to have formed parts of walls are also visible on the surface.

5.1.5. Sector 5

Sector 5, positioned on the southern side of Cerro Castillo, is composed of two connected hills with a rocky terrain (Figs. 5.1 and 5.6). It covers an area of 90,000 m², reaching its highest point at 118 masl. It has an elongated shape with its major axis oriented southwest-northeast. Archaeological materials are very scarce in this sector.

5.1.6. Cemetery 1

Cemetery 1, situated between Sectors 3 and 4, covers an estimated area of 25,000 m² (Figs. 5.1 and 5.7). It has been severely looted with its entire surface dominated by the presence of looter pits and scattered human bones.

Ceramic fragments collected from this area relate to the Moche IV pottery style.

5.1.7. Cemetery 2

Cemetery 2, located east of Sector 2, covers an area of 8,000 m² (Figs. 5.1 and 5.8). Its surface is covered with looter pits and human bones, a consequence of several illicit excavations.

Ceramic fragments were collected from this area.

5.1.8. Cemetery 3

Cemetery 3 is south of Huaca Sector 1 and north of Sector 3, covering an approximate area of 7,000 m² (Figs. 5.1 and 5.9). Looter pits and human bones can be observed across the surface of the area.

Ceramic fragments were collected from this area.

5.1.9. Cemetery 4

Cemetery 4 is situated north of Sector 2 and west of Sector 3, covering an area of 15,000 m² (Figs. 5.1 and 5.10). It was also badly damaged by illicit excavations that left the area covered with holes and scattered human bones.

Ceramic fragments were collected from this area.

5.1.10. Cemetery 5

Cemetery 5, located between Sectors 2 and 3, covers an area of 45,000 m² (Figs. 5.1 and 5.11). It is the biggest cemetery documented by the project. It has been badly damaged by illegal excavations as its surface presents numerous looter pits, mud-bricks and human bones.

Diagnostic ceramic fragments were collected from this area.

5.2. Excavations at Cerro Castillo

Excavations at Cerro Castillo sought to study the traits of the cultural contexts below the modern surface of the site. The methodology applied consisted of setting up excavation trenches, referred to as 'Units,' in areas where surface materials suggested potential archaeological occupation underneath. Most of the units had a rectangular shape aligned to the magnetic North, varying in size according to the terrain features, or when the nature of the findings required an extension of them. In specific cases, the trenches were aligned following the orientation of the walls of a determined structure.

All the units were recorded via digital photographs and field drawings. Unit drawings were done using a 1/20 scale and special contexts were documented using a 1/5 scale. All units and the materials found inside them were dug and recorded by cultural layers. Drawings produced of excavations were digitised using specialised software such as CorelDraw and AutoCad in order to facilitate empiric observations and spatial analyses.

Given the variety of materials existing in the subsoil strata, we utilised different

collection criteria for each of them. In the case of pottery, we picked up all the diagnostic fragments, i. e. those that can provide information regarding the vessel type, decoration, or any singular feature, e. g., rims, bases, stirrups, spouts, handles, sculpted, painted and decorated fragments. Regarding bones and shells, we collected all those that had conserved at least fifty percent of their original form. All pieces of metals, textiles, basketry and organic materials such as charcoal, seeds, corncobs, wood and other related artefacts were collected in their entirety. In the case of lithics and other miscellaneous materials, they were picked up if they showed traces suggesting their use.

Findings were recorded in two phases. Firstly, they were documented in situ through photographs, drawings and observations taken in field notes. Thereafter they were transported to our laboratory in the town of Nepeña where they were cleaned, photographed, classified and catalogued according to current archaeological standards. These collections were organised by the following categories: ceramics, lithics, textiles, shells, organic remains and miscellaneous. All objects were placed into cardboard boxes to ensure their preservation, with spreadsheets inside and out detailing the contents of each box.

A total of nineteen units were excavated at Cerro Castillo throughout three fieldwork seasons, covering a total area of 4,181 m². Our methodology applied a nomenclature system for the recording of the excavation areas. This consisted of assigning a correlative number to each unit as they were opened. Some units were excavated from the surface to the bedrock, whilst others were dug down to a specific floor level. All units have been geo-referenced in the site's general map which allows the proper localisation and contextualisation of the materials. At the same time each unit was treated as an independent area where contexts and findings were organised.

At the end of each fieldwork season, all the collected materials were sent to the Museo Regional Max Uhle de Casma in Sechín, where they must be stored according to the current Peruvian legislation.

5.2.1. Unit 1

Unit 1 was a 10 m by 10 m trench situated on the northern high slope of Sector 4 alongside Unit 2 (Figs. 5.1, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15). The surface level of this area yielded an elevation of 146 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S—which decreases approximately 1.5 m northwards due to the terrain inclination. Our objective in Unit 1 was to determine the nature of the archaeological occupation of this specific area where no evidence of architectural remains can be seen on the current surface. It was excavated down to its first preserved architectural floor, found at 20-50 cm from the surface. Digs at both Unit 1 and Unit 2 revealed an area associated with elite constructions

U1-L1 was a fill layer excavated before reaching the floor level. This fill consisted of semi-compacted light brown soil mixed with architectural rubble. It had an average thickness of 20 cm. The exposed occupational floor, U1-L2, presented a surface in a well-preserved condition built on different levels due to the gradient of the terrain. The southern side featured mud-brick walls associated with clean floors configuring large squared spaces organised in terraces. The poor conservation in the centre of Unit 1 did not allow a clear recognition of architectural elements but rather features of darkish soil. The northern side presented a mud-brick wall that crossed the unit in an east-west direction, connected to smaller walls oriented north-south, together with well-preserved portions of clean floors that shaped small subdivided spaces.

The ceramic sherds recovered from Unit 1 corresponded with domestic forms such as jars and cooking pots, along with decorated fragments with painted decoration, slip painting—red on white and white on red, and plastic decoration representing human body parts such as faces and arms, as well as flora and fauna representations such as maize, spider legs and owl eyes. Fragments of stirrups, spouts and strap handles were also recorded in this area. Additionally some fragments were recognised as broken sections of larger art scenes.

Textile pieces were also found in association with the floor of Unit 1, most of which corresponded to parts of nets, some still featuring their original tied knots. The lack of bones, shells and organic material, as well as the cleanliness of the floors suggest no food consumption activities were carried out in this area. Lithic objects and wooden remains were also scarce.

5.2.2. Unit 2

Unit 2 was a 10 by 10 m trench placed on the northern high slope of Sector 4 alongside Unit 1 (Figs. 5.1, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15). The modern surface of this operation reported an elevation of 148 mals, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S—which decreases 2 m southwards due to the terrain slope. Our purpose with Unit 2 was to expand the vision of the architectural configuration we were obtaining from Unit 1. In order to correlate both units at the same occupational level, Unit 2 was excavated down to its first preserved floor, recorded at 20-50 cm from the surface.

A fill layer, U2-L1, was removed before reaching the floor level in Unit 2. This fill was composed of semi-compacted light brown soil mixed with architectural rubble. It had a thickness of roughly 20 cm. The floor of the unit, U2-L2, showed ashy features and large spaces delimited by wattle and daub walls in the central and southern sides, whilst the northern side presented an agglomeration of mud-brick constructions with clean floors configuring squared spaces connected to those found at Unit 1. A set of five yarn balls (Figs. 5.16, 5.17), a bunch of thread, possibly part of a loom, and a metal needle were found in the southwest corner of this unit along with remains of basketry, nets, and cords. This evidence suggests textile production activities took place in this area.

Pottery recovered from this trench consisted of broken parts of domestic jars and cooking pots. Decorated fragments included simple and slip painting both red on white and white on red. Solid and strap handles, stirrups and spouts were also encountered whilst few animal bones, lithics, shells and botanical materials were documented in association with this area.

5.2.3. Unit 3

Unit 3 was a 7 m by 7 m trench located on the lower western flank of Sector 4, next to Cemetery 1 (Figs. 5.1, 5.18, 5.19, 5.20, 5.21). The modern surface level of this area was documented at an elevation of 136 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM

coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Works at Unit 3 looked for drawing a comparison between the lower slope of Sector 4 and the higher ground. This unit was excavated down to its first preserved floor, found at 10-30 cm from the surface.

Excavations in this area uncovered part of a ceramic workshop. It featured different spaces built using both mud-brick and wattle and daub walls. These contexts were covered by U3-L2; a 20-25 cm thick fill layer composed of brown semi-compacted soil associated with a few ceramic sherds.

At floor level, U3-L3, the space was divided into at least four quadrangular rooms (Figs. 5.18, 5.19). The one in the central-south side featured dark soil cuts and remains of an earth kiln; northwards, a rectangular space where ceramic moulds, sculptured objects as well as wooden and metal tools were encountered (Figs. 5.22, 5.23). Alongside it, there was a small empty room with a well-preserved floor, possibly used for storage. On the eastern side of the unit there was an open space that showed a cut of dark soil and ash. The evidence of a worn out floor suggests constant activity and human transit occurred in this area.

Ceramics documented within Unit 3 related to sherds of plain-ware along with decorated pieces such as painted body parts, handles, spouts and relief motifs. The presence of fragments of moulds is a key to understanding the function and activities performed in this area. A figurine mould representing an adorned woman and a mould for a jar, along with the jar itself, stand out amongst the collected materials from this unit. Few textiles and botanical remains were found in this area.

5.2.4. Unit 4

Unit 4 was a 5 m by 5 m trench sited on the central-western slope of Sector 4 (Figs. 5.1, 5. 24). The current surface of this area yielded an elevation of 147 masl, a measurement taken from its southeaster corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our work at Unit 4 sought to explore the area as it featured a high amount of ceramic sherds on its surface. The unit was excavated down to the bed rock which was found at 25-35 cm from the surface.

U4-L2 was a 12-20 cm thick fill layer recorded between the surface and the floor level.

It was composed of brown clayish semi-compacted soil. The floor level, U4-L3, was found at 5-15 cm from the surface and featured cuts of loose soil and ash. A wattle and daub wall crossed the unit in an east-west direction, having its foundations on the bedrock. An irregular-shaped hearth was recorded on the northern side of the unit. Its orange coloration suggests a low-flame fire was set up there during fairly long periods. A pile of seventeen gourd bowls was found next to this hearth, which indicates that food preparation activities would have been carried out in this area (Figs. 5.25, 5.26, 5.27). On the northeast corner, a flat mud-brick surface was documented, probably built to level the original inclination of the hillside.

The pottery collection found in Unit 4 was composed of plain-ware and decorated fragments. Face-neck jars, moulds, sculpted forms such as a war club design on the top of a rim, domestic jars and sherds with red on white and white on red painting were identified. Likewise, lithic flakes, textile fragments, corncobs, animal bones and shells were encountered in this unit (Figs. 5.28, 5.29).

5.2.5. Unit 5

Unit 5 was a 5 m by 5 m trench placed on the central-western flank of Sector 4, a few metres west of Unit 4 (Figs. 5.1, 5.30, 5.31, 5.32). The modern surface of this area reported an elevation of 144 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our objective in Unit 5 was to continue the exploration of this sector, as Unit 4 was yielding shallow archaeological deposits. The unit was dug down to its first preserved floor which was found at 10-25 cm beneath the surface.

The fill above the floor, U5-L2, had a semi-compacted texture composed of soil and rubble with 10-25 cm of thickness. The uncovered floor level, U5-L3, featured three rooms. The one on the northeast corner of the unit presented a clean, well-preserved clay floor, whilst the floor of the other two rooms had a darkish colouration possibly as a result of the activity carried out within them which would have required the constant use of these spaces. At the southeast corner of the trench, there was another mud-brick wall that ran from the mid-southern profile to the south-eastern one, which would eventually connect with a room, the corner of which was

located in Unit 6 (Fig. 8.3). For the most part, the unit floor was well preserved on the east but there was evidence of heavy wear on the west side.

The pottery sherds collected from this unit yielded jar and cooking pot rims, bases, solid handles, painted pieces, a mould and a sculpted application. Additionally, textile remnants, worked-bone artefacts, animal bones, shells, seeds and other botanical remains were recorded in this area (Figs. 5.33, 5.34, 5.35, 5.36, 5.37, 5.38).

5.2.6. Unit 6

Unit 6 was a 5 m by 5 m trench situated on the central-western slope of Sector 4 between Unit 4 and Unit 5 (Figs. 5.1, 5.39, 5.40, 5.41). The current surface of this area was documented at an elevation of 146 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Works at Unit 6 aimed to confirm the shallow occupation recorded at Units 4 and 5. The unit was excavated down to its first preserved floor which was found at 5-15 cm from the surface.

A 5-15 cm thick fill layer, U6-L2, was removed to expose the floor level. It consisted of semi-compacted brown soil mixed with rubble, pottery sherds and organic remains. The exposed floor, U6-L3, presented evidence of having been constantly used as it featured cuts of ash, soil and clay, mainly in the centre of the unit. Wattle and daub structures were documented on the northern and southern side. A mud-brick room corner was found on the northeast side of the trench where superficial clearing of the surroundings revealed that this corner was part of a larger room whose north wall had been partially dug in Unit 5 (Fig. 8.3).

Ceramics found at Unit 6 related to broken pieces of jar rims and painted vessels, both white on red and red on white. Worked-bone and metal artefacts, seeds, a fishing net-weight, animal bones and shells were also encountered in this unit (Figs. 5.42, 5.43, 5.44).

5.2.7. Unit 7

Unit 7 was a 5 m by 5 m trench located on the low central-western flank of Sector 4 (Fig. 5.1). The modern surface of this operation yielded an elevation of 134 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our purpose in Unit 7 was to examine the occupational features in one of the very few non-looted sections near Cemetery 1. It was dug down to the bedrock which was found at 1 m from the surface. Diggings at Unit 7 revealed three occupational floors corresponding to three discreet periods of use of the area.

U7-L2 was the first fill layer composed of semi-compacted soil and rubble 20-25 cm thick, which was removed before reaching the first floor level, U7-L3, found at 20 cm from the surface (Figs. 5.45, 5.46). Three mud-brick walls provided the spatial configuration of the area, two of which ran in an east-west direction on the northern and southern sides of the unit respectively, while the third one, the widest one, ran in a north-south direction, crossing the centre of the trench, next to a small ash cut. Two small mud-brick rooms were found on the northeast corner of the unit, which were probably used for storing objects. Materials found at U7-L2 and U7-L3 levels consisted of broken parts of domestic jars and pottery pieces representing a human face, botanical remains and animal bones. In addition, a funerary bundle along with two ceramic offerings were encountered next to the northern wall, recorded under the code CC-U7-T1. It was an infant's bundle associated with the Late Intermediate Period, placed into an irregular-shaped pit some time after the initial use of the surface described above (see Chapter 6 for a full description of the context).

The next layer removed, U7-L4, corresponded with the fill that covered the second floor documented in this unit. It consisted of semi-compacted soil mixed with ash and stones. The floor below this fill, U7-L5, was found at 40 cm from the surface (Figs. 5.47, 5.48). At this level, the trench presented the same three mud-brick walls as the previous floor, configuring a three-section space. In the centre of the unit, it was possible to observe the top of the walls of a square room that would eventually be better appreciated in the following layers. The floor preservation was particularly good on the northern side where organic remains and broken bits of a yellow

painted wall/ceiling were encountered in direct association with it (Fig. 5.49). The ceramic fragments found in this level corresponded with rims of plain-ware and a few sherds with plastic decoration. Additionally, other materials such as a fishing weight, metal needles, remains of basketry, textiles, clothing and ropes were also documented (Figs. 5.50, 5.51 and 5.52). A large cut of soil and ash was dug on the west side of the area which resulted in the excavation of a relatively large earth kiln consisting of burnt mud-bricks, stones, charcoal and trunk fragments. Next to this kiln, a feature, U7-L5-F1, containing an unusually high amount of ceramic fragments was excavated (Fig. 5.53). This feature was an irregular-shaped pit dug into the floor and subsequently backfilled with lumpy soil. Mud-brick fragments were also encountered inside the pit, which were probably part of earlier structures that were dismantled in order to cover the shaft. The ceramic analysis yielded that the sherds found in U7-L5-F1 corresponded with at least twelve partially entire pieces, consisting mainly of domestic jars and two sculptured lama head vessels that stand out amongst this collection. Additionally, two perforated shell-valves and a metal spindle were recorded (Figs. 5.54, 5.55 and 5.56).

U7-L6 corresponded with the fill that covered the third floor recorded in this trench, composed of brownish semi-compacted soil. The floor level, U7-L7, was found at 80 cm from the surface (Figs. 5.57, 5.58, 5.59). It featured a quadrilateral mud-brick chamber dominating the central part of the area, of which the best preserved wall measured 80 cm in height, and 65 cm in width. The room had an interior lateral bench on its eastern side and an access way on its southwest corner. Most of layer U7-L7 showed well-preserved floor, however, the intrusion of cuts recorded in the upper layers had altered the original surface. The pottery sherds recovered from this level corresponded with a variety of forms such as domestic jar rims, tubular handles, representations of human body parts and painted pieces white on red and white on brown. Other materials were also encountered such as botanical remains, corncobs, seeds, gourds, charcoal, wood, shells and perforated metal sheets. The high presence of lama bones, hair and fur in association with artefacts such as thread reels, pieces of clothing, ropes and basketry suggest textile production activities were carried out in this area (Figs. 5.61, 5.62, 5.63, 5.64, 5.65, 5.66, 5.67 and 5.68).

The floor level U7-L7 was built above a fill composed of brownish semi-compacted soil and rubble (Fig. 5.60). The earliest cultural layer of this unit, U7-L8, was documented at 90 cm

from the surface. It only featured a few lumpy soil cuts on the central side associated with no architectural construction and lithic artefacts, pieces of gourds, corncobs, basketry, a cork, nets and clothing. Pottery from this level related to fragments of plain-ware and decorated vessels such as sculptured human shapes, hands, animal forms, fineline painting decoration as well as black on white slip painting.

5.2.8. Unit 8

Unit 8 was a 5 m by 5 m trench sited on the northeast plain side of Huaca Sector 1 (Figs. 5.1, 5.69, 5.70, 5.71). The modern surface of this area was documented at an elevation of 126 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. This excavation intended to determine the nature of the archaeological deposits near Huaca Sector 1. The unit was dug down to its first preserved architectural floor which was recorded at 70 m from the surface. Thereafter, we operated a test pit to localise the next floor, found at 2.4 m from the surface (Fig. 5.72). The latter was not excavated.

U8-L2 was a fill 60-70 cm thick, excavated out before reaching the floor of this area. It consisted of a compacted clayish light brown soil. The floor level, U8-L3, presented a well conserved condition, showing several prints of wattle and daub walls, dark soil cuts and posthole traces on the central and southern sides of the unit. An empty quadrilateral mud-brick chamber measuring 2 x 1.4 m was found on the northeast corner. Its walls reached 30 cm in height and 20 cm in width, with its floor level 25 cm lower than the rest of the unit.

Pottery found at Unit 8 corresponded to a variety of diagnostic vessel parts such as plain-ware rims, handles, stirrups, as well as Moche style painted decoration and slip painting—red on white and white on red—along with a few shells and animal bones.

5.2.9. Unit 9

Unit 9 was a 5 m by 5 m trench placed on the southern plain side of Huaca Sector 1 (Figs. 5.1, 5.69). The modern surface of this area was documented at an elevation of 126 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Based

on the findings recorded from Unit 8, our objective with Unit 9 was to confirm the elite Moche nature of the area surrounding the building in Huaca Sector 1. Excavations in Unit 9 revealed three occupational floors corresponding to three successive periods of use of the area.

U9-L2 was a 20-21 cm thick fill of compacted soil recorded between the surface level and the first floor of this unit. The floor level, U9-L3, was found at 20 cm from the surface (Figs. 5.73, 5.74). It was in a fairly well preserved condition presenting three parallel walls east-west oriented on the northern, central and southern sides of the trench respectively, along with some circular cuts and postholes. Ceramics recovered from this level corresponded to a variety of forms such as jars, bottles and dippers. Decorated fragments showed red on cream, white on red and brown on orange painting. There were also sherds with plastic decoration representing human body parts such as faces and arms, representations of maize, spider tentacles and owl eyes, as well as fragments of stirrups, spouts, plain handles and relief designs. A polisher, animal bones and shells were also encountered in this level.

U9-L4 was a fill 18-20 cm thick composed of compacted soil and rubble removed to uncover the next floor of the unit, U9-L5, found at 40 cm from the surface (Figs. 5.75, 5.76). At this level, the area featured several prints of wattle and daub walls in the centre, three of which crossed the unit from side to side running north-south, southwest-northeast, and southeast-northwest respectively. The pottery recovered from this level consisted of red on white slip painted fragments, handles and bases, along with a stone grater, animal bones and shells.

U9-L6 corresponded with a 16-18 cm thick fill level of compacted brown clayish soil dug out to expose the third floor found in the trench. The latter, U9-L7, was documented at 80 cm from the surface and corresponded to the earliest occupational phase of the area (Figs. 5.77, 5.78). It presented a fairly good condition on the east side where a high concentration of both entire and broken shells was recorded. In addition, an ashy hearth and cuts of loose dark soil were recorded on the central side. Parts of walls were found on the northeast and southeast corners of the unit. This surface was built on a layer of sand just above the bedrock of the area (Fig. 5.79). Pieces of ceramic bowls, jars, handles and raw clay fragments of bottles and sculpted vessels, as well as a carved-bone artefact, quartz and animal bones were identified amongst the materials associated with this level (Figs. 5.80, 5.81 and 5.82).

5.2.10. Unit 10

Unit 10 is a 60 m by 60 m area situated on the northern slope of Sector 4 (Figs. 5.1 and 5.83). The current surface reported an elevation of 138 masl, a measurement taken from the southwest corner of Room 1—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S, which decreases about 5 m eastwards due to the terrain inclination. Diggings at Unit 10 aimed to expose the architectural layout of a large area in order to understand its synchronic dynamic. These works revealed a neighbourhood composed of a squared plaza, terraces, rooms, a kitchen and storage rooms interconnected via access ways, corridors and open spaces.

The modern surface showed destroyed and scattered remains of stone and mud-brick structures, a consequence of looting activities and vehicles passing over the area. This evidence however, suggested the presence of architectural contexts beneath the surface level. Given the damage previously caused, our intervention started by systematically cleaning the surroundings following the top of walls as they became visible, allowing the recognition of enclosed architectural spaces that are referred to as ‘rooms’ in subsequent lines. Twenty rooms were identified and included in the site’s plan as part of Unit 10; nine of which were cleaned and dug down to the base of their walls as their floor was not preserved, and six of which were excavated down to their first preserved floor (Fig. 5.84).

U10-Room-1

U10-Room-1 was situated on the northern side of Unit 10. It is the biggest room of the area with 19 by 19 m size (Figs. 5.84 and 5.85). Its dimensions and squared shape suggest it was either a plaza or a patio area for public activities. Its walls were built using stones on the top and mud-bricks for the foundations. Internally, the western side of U10-Room-1 featured a higher level delimited by a stone wall that crossed the room in a north-south direction. The eastern side presented an access way badly damaged by a looter pit.

The pottery sherds recovered from this room corresponded to domestic forms such as jars, cooking pots, bowls and a grater, along with decorated fragments. The latter featured

painted decoration, red on white slip painting and plastic decoration of human representations. Fragments of stirrups, spouts and handles were also recorded in this space. Textile remnants consisted of mainly beige clothing with coloured decoration varying between black, brown, red and yellow (Fig. 5.86). Some animal representations can still be recognised.

U10-Room-2

U10-Room-2 was located on the central side of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Room-1 to the north and U10-Room-14 to the west (Figs. 5.84 and 5.87). It consisted of poorly preserved stone walls, featuring dimensions of 8.5 m by 6 m with its major axis oriented north-south. A test pit executed on the central part of the west wall of the room revealed the first preserved floor which was found at 50 cm from the surface. The fill covering the floor, U10-Room-2-L2 and U10-Room-2-L3, contained ceramic fragments associated with domestic forms such as jars and cooking pots, some of them presenting traces of soot. Likewise, decorated sherds with white on red painting were encountered in this room.

U10-Room-3

Room 3 was a quadrilateral, walled space of 7.5 m by 5.4 m in size (Figs. 5.84 and 5.87). It was situated on the south-central side of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Room-2 to the north, U10-Room-4 to the south, and U10-Room-5 to the west. It was constructed with stone walls having a possible access-way on its western side that would connect it with U10-Room-5. It was excavated down to an arbitrary layer of 30 cm from the surface. The fill layer, U3-Room-3-L3, was withdrawn to reach the floor level. The latter was only partially exposed as it was covered by a thin layer of loose soil and sand.

Pottery found in this room related to a variety of forms and decorations. Sooty fragments of plain-wares such as jars, cooking pots and graters were found along with red on white painted sherds, plastic decoration representing human body parts, face-neck jars, as well as tubular and solid handles. Animal bones, a wooden cooking spoon, organic materials, shells and animal bones were also recorded in this area.

U10-Room-4

U10-Room-4 was located south of U10-Room-3 and west of U10-Room-8 (Fig. 5.84). It is a stone-walled space in a poor state of conservation. It had a quadrilateral shape and dimensions of 6.7 m by 4.1 m with north-south orientation of its major axis. Fragments of decorated vessels with fineline painting such as flaring bowls, sculptured figures, as well as sherds of tubular and solid handles, jars and cooking pots were found in this room.

U10-Room-5

U10-Room-5 was a walled space, 7.5 m by 3.2 m size, situated east of U10-Room-3 and U10-Room-13, and west of U10-Room-14 (Figs. 5.84 and 5.88). It featured a rectangular shape with its major axis north-south oriented. The chamber was excavated down to its first preserved floor, found 30 cm from the surface.

U10-Room-5-L2 was a fill layer composed of brown soil, stones and rubble that was removed to uncover the floor of the room, U10-Room-5-L3, which presented a flat clean surface throughout the entire area. Sherds of jars, cooking pots, graters, spindle-whorls, painted fragments, solid, plain and strap handles were encountered within this space. Likewise, pieces of clothing, nets, bags and basketry along with shells, animal bones and organic materials were recorded.

U10-Room-6 and U10-Room-7

U10-Room-6 and U10-Room-7 were two architectural spaces located alongside each other on the western side of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Room-1 to the north, and U10-Room-10 to the south (Figs. 5.84, 5.89, 5.90 and 5.93). These two spaces were separated by a 50 cm thick clay-plastered stone wall that crossed the area in an east-west direction. Both rooms were excavated simultaneously as a 7 m by 5 m trench connecting with the southern wall of U10-Room-1. For methodological purposes, the materials recovered from each side of the

unit were recorded separately. The first preserved floor of the area was found at 20 m from the surface.

Diggings at U10-Room-6 featured a fill layer, U10-Room-6-L2, composed of semi-compacted soil and rubble which was removed before reaching the floor level, U10-Room-6-L3. The latter presented a uniform, well-preserved surface with prints of dismantled walls and a circular cut that seemed to have originally contained a big ceramic jar which was removed before backfilling the room. A triangular-shaped test pit was located on the northern side of the area, revealing two floors with their respective covering fills, belonging to earlier occupations. A mud pillar was encountered on the northeast corner of the test pit (Figs. 5.91, 5.94). Its base, surrounded by a dense layer of ash, was found at 2 m from the surface, measuring 1.20 m in height and 60 cm in width.

Ceramic sherds recovered from Room 6 corresponded to a diversity of forms such as domestic jars and cooking pots, as well as decorated vessels. Relief decoration of animal and human representations, red on white painting, moulds, strap handles, solid and tubular stirrups were also identified in this area. Likewise, abundant textile and basketry remnants such as clothing, ropes, nets, entangled threads, tied nodes and organic remains were recorded along with animal bones, lithics and shells.

U10-Room-7-L2, in U10-Room-7, was a fill layer composed of semi-compacted soil and rubble taken out to expose the floor level U10-Room-7-L3. This level featured a worn out floor with two small empty storage rooms made of stones on the northern side with a rectangular stone structure which stood out at the centre of the room, documented as U10-Room-7-F1. The latter consisted of a plastered stone structure, perhaps a storeroom of 1.60 m by 0.80 m that contained an unusual variety of materials (Fig. 5.92). Textile fragments, shells, ceramic sherds, organic rests and charcoal were found all over an oval basket.

Pottery sherds recovered from U10-Room7 mainly consisted of domestic forms, some with traces of soot, plastic decoration representing human faces and red on white painting. Animal bones, lithics, shells and wooden artefacts were also encountered although in small amounts. Conversely, several textile remnants and basketry parts were recovered from this space, corresponding to decorated clothing, nets, ropes, cotton and a wooden stick that was probably part of a tool used in textile production.

U10-Room-8

U10-Room-8 was placed on the southern side of Unit 10, east of U10-Room-4 (Fig. 5.84). It featured stone walls in a very poor state of conservation. This made it difficult to determine its exact shape, although it probably was rectangular, similar to the other structures. Projected dimensions of this room yield 6.5 m by 2.5 m with its major axis east-west oriented. Ceramic fragments collected from this space related to domestic forms such as jars and cooking pots.

U10-Room-9

U10-Room-9 was located on the southwest side of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Room-11 to the north (Fig. 5.84). It was a rectangular-shaped terrace of 4.2 m by 2.1 m, with its major axis oriented north-south. It was excavated down to the first use-surface, which was found at 20 cm from the surface.

U10-Room-9-L2 was a fill excavated before reaching the use-surface level. The former consisted of semi-compacted light brown soil mixed with architectural rubble, with an average thickness of 20 cm. U10-Room-9-L3, corresponded to the use-surface of this terrace. It essentially consisted of a flattened ground level with only one very small portion of floor preserved on the central-western side of the area.

One complete jar stylistically associated with the Late Intermediate Period was found just below the modern surface of the area. Pottery fragments encountered in this space relate to domestic forms such as jars and cooking pots, plastic decoration, a mould sherd, solid and tubular stirrups, a spout, as well as red over white slip painting. A textile bundle, charcoal, organic material and animal bones were also encountered in this room.

U10-Room-10

U10-Room-10 was located south of U10-Room-7 and west of U10-Room-12 (Fig. 5.84). It was an elongated terrace of 5 m by 4.5 m, with its major axis north-south orientated.

U10-Room-10 was dug down to the arbitrary level of 50 cm from the modern surface. U10-Room-10-L2, U10-Room-10-L3, and U10-Room-10-L4 corresponded to a 40 cm thick fill of compacted brown soil mixed with stones and rubble that covered the original non-preserved surface of the terrace.

Pottery collected from this area consisted of fragments of jars, cooking pots, some of them featuring soot traces, decorated fragments with red slip on white slip painting, plastic decoration, strap handles and tubular and solid stirrups. Lithics, shells, charcoal, organic material and animal bones were also encountered.

U10-Room-11

U10-Room-11 was situated on the southern side of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Rooms-5, -10, -12 and -13 to the north (Figs. 5.84, 5.95 and 5.96). Due to its irregular shape, and the difficulties in recognising its limits by surface clearance, this area was dug as a 10 m by 3 m trench, with its major axis oriented east-west. U10-Room-11 was excavated down to its first preserved floor, found at 40 cm from the surface.

U10-Room-11-L2 was a 30-40 cm fill layer, removed in order to uncover the occupational floor of the area. It was composed of compacted brown soil, stones and rubble. U10-Room-11-L3, the floor level of this area, presented internal subdivisions such as the corner of a mud-brick structure encountered on the western side of the trench, associated with an ashy hearth. Likewise, two stone walls were recorded on the eastern part, where a mud-brick corner connected with the western wall of U10-Room-13. Some well-preserved portions of floor were documented throughout U10-Room-11. It also featured prints of dismantled walls that belonged to an earlier occupation of the area.

Ceramic fragments found in this space related to domestic forms such as jars and cooking pots, as well as decorated vessels with red on white painting. Animal bones were also recovered.

U10-Room-12

U10-Room-12 was an elongated quadrilateral 6 m by 3.10 m sized terrace with its major axis oriented south-north placed east of U10-Room-10 (Fig. 5.84). This area was excavated down to the arbitrary level of 40 cm from the modern surface, where U10-Room-12-L2, U10-Room-12-L3 and U10-Room-12-L4 were part of a 40 cm thick fill, composed of compacted brown soil and rubble that covered the original non-preserved surface of the terrace.

Jars and cooking pot sherds, graters, decorated fragments with red and white slip painting, plastic decoration representing human body parts, handles and stirrups as well as a few lithics, animal bones, charcoal and botanical remains were found in this room.

U10-Room-13

U10-Room-13 was sited on the south-central side of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Room-6 to the north and U10-Room-10 to the south (Figs. 5.84 and 5.97). It had an irregular quadrilateral shape, 6.6 m by 4.1 m with its major axis oriented north-south, featuring walls built with stones and mud-bricks. The room was excavated down to the first preserved floor, found at 35 cm from the surface.

U10-Room-13-L2, U10-Room-13-L3 and U10-Room-13-L4 were the arbitrary layers that corresponded to the fill that covered the occupational floor of the area, composed of compacted brown soil, stones and rubble. U10-Room-13-L5, the floor level of this room was well preserved, featuring two hearths, a wooden post, post prints, organic remains, textile and ceramic fragments. Additionally, remnants of what seems to be the original roof were found over the floor (Fig. 5.98).

Ceramic sherds recovered from U10-Room-13 relate to a diversity of forms, such as domestic jars and cooking pots, as well as fine vessels with painting and plastic decoration, strap handles, solid and tubular stirrups. Abundant amounts of textile and basketry remnants, such as clothing, ropes, nets, entangled threads and tied nodes were recorded in this area along with animal bones, lithics, charcoal, corncobs, seeds and other food remains.

U10-Room-14

U10-Room-14 was a terrace located east of Unit 10, bordering with U10-Room-1 to the north and U10-Room-2 to the east measuring 9 m by 4 m, with its major axis south-north oriented and connecting to U10-Room-2 (Fig. 5.84). A test pit was operated in this area, excavated down to the first preserved floor, found at 20 cm from the surface, where U10-Room-14-L2 and U10-Room-14-L3 corresponded to a fill composed of soil and rubble that covered the occupational floor.

Fragments of domestic jars and cooking pots along with white slip painted sherds were encountered in this space. Likewise, several textile and basketry remains relating to clothing, ropes, nets, entangled threads and tied nodes were recorded in this area.

U10-Room-15

U10-Room-15 was a large stone and mud wall documented on the eastern side of Unit 10. Its top yielded an elevation of 133 masl (Figs. 5.84 and 5.99). This wall presented dimensions of 42 m by 1.5 m, running in a southeast-northwest direction. Its best preserved part featured 40 cm in height and 1.5 cm in width. Although a looter pit had damaged part of this structure, it can be said that it showed a fairly good state of preservation. On its southern side, it presented a 2.7 m section made of wattle and daub. Next to it, a small clearing showed a squared floor section connected to the southern edge of the wall.

Pottery sherds found here relate to domestic forms and a variety of decorated vessels. Fragments yielded red slip on white slip painting, plastic decoration of human representations, strap handles as well as solid and tubular stirrups.

U10-Room-16 and U10-Room-17

U10-Room-16 and U10-Room-17 were two small stone square-shaped structures of 3.1 m by 3.1 m size on average, located next to the eastern wall of U10-Room-1 (Fig. 5.84). Both

structures were only superficially cleaned because they were badly damaged by looter pits. No materials were collected from these spaces.

U10-Room-18, U10-Room-19, and U10-Room-20

U10-Room-18, U10-Room-19 and U10-Room-20 were three stone structures situated north of U10-Room-1 (Fig. 5.84). These spaces were defined through a superficial clearance and were included in the map of the unit, however, no excavation or materials collection took place at any of them.

U10-Room-18 was linked to the northwest corner of U10-Room-1 featuring 5.4 m by 9.3 m dimensions. U10-Room-19 was a 13 m by 9.5 m sized space that corresponded to the area next to the northeast corner of U10-Room-1. U10-Room-20 was located on the northern side of Unit 10 presenting dimensions of 8.6 m by 7.1 m.

5.2.11. Unit 11

Unit 11 was a 6 m by 4 m trench located on the low southeast side of Sector 4 (Figs. 5.1, 5.100, 5.101 and 5.102). The modern surface of this area yielded an elevation of 125 masl, a measurement taken from its western corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our objective with Unit 11 was to determine the architectural features and the cultural affiliation of an area where the surface showed traces of mud-brick walls. A superficial cleaning of the surroundings revealed the perimeter of a large mud-brick compound, possibly a public plaza, of 16 m by 15 m with its main axis oriented 30 degrees eastwards (Fig. 5.103).

The trench Unit 11 was placed on the eastern corner of the compound following the walls' orientation, and was excavated down to the sterile soil which was found at 55-65 cm from the surface. U11-L2 was a 30-65 cm thick fill, composed of semi-compacted soil which was taken out before reaching the floor level of the compound, U11-L3, found at 60-65 cm from the surface. At this level, it was possible to observe that the compound had an interior subdivision marked by a wall running in a southwest-northeast direction, configuring an internal room of 2.8

by 6 m with its main axis oriented southwest-northeast. The best preserved wall featured 45 cm in height and 30 cm in width. It is noteworthy that the eastern wall of the plaza, the thickest one in this area, was built using two courses of mud-bricks on the sides, filling the centre with mud and lump.

The floor U11-L3, and arguably the entire compound, was built above a thick layer of sand. A test pit yielded no materials after 1.50 m beneath the floor (Fig. 5.104). A complete gourd plate perforated on the sides and two fragmented vessels were the only materials found laying on the floor of this space. A few ceramic sherds, stylistically associated with the Chimú tradition, were also encountered in this area along with several organic remains corresponding to gourds, corncobs, seeds, other fruit shells, pieces of rope, cotton, lithic and bone artefacts, textiles, basketry and shells (Figs. 5.105, 5.106, 5.107 and 5.108).

5.2.12. Unit 12

Unit 12 was a trench of 5 m by 5 m sited on a low slope on the southeast side of Sector 4 (Figs. 5.1, 5.109, 5.110 and 5.111). The modern surface of this operation reported an elevation of 132 masl, a measurement taken from its northwest corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Works at Unit 12 aimed to explore the archaeological deposits of the area. The unit was dug down to the bedrock which was found at 25-90 cm from the surface. Digs at this unit revealed two occupational floors in an area that was originally backfilled with rubble and different types of material waste.

Layer U12-L2 was a compacted texture fill composed of soil, clay and rubble with a thickness of 25-60 cm which was removed to reach the first floor level of the unit. The materials recovered from the fill consisted of several ceramic sherds and organic materials, seeds, textile shreds and remnants of basketry. The uncovered floor level, U12-L3, documented at 60 cm from the surface, presented a well preserved state on the western side whilst it was hardly recognisable on the central and eastern sides of the trench. The main feature of this level was a 52 cm thick wall shaping a corner of a major structure on the southeast of the unit. This wall was built of both mud-bricks and stones, with no apparent pattern in its construction technique.

Several remnants of textiles, ropes, basketry, shells, lithic artefacts and other organic materials such as corncobs, cotton and hair were found in this level (Figs. 5.112, 5.113 and 5.114).

Ceramic fragments of domestic jars, sculpted pieces, decorated strap handles, stirrups and red on white painting decoration were also collected from this level.

U12-L4 was a fill taken out to expose the next use-surface, U12-L5, encountered at 25-85 cm from the surface. The latter presented a surface of fill and rubble and featured a wall running in a north-south direction on the eastern side of the unit. This wall ran below the wall documented in U12-L3 and presented a small badly-preserved portion of floor. The pottery sherds collected from this level consisted of domestic jar rims, bases, solid and strap handles, white on red slip painted pieces and other sculptured forms as well as several botanical remains, corncobs, gourds, textile remnants, clothing, thread reel, basketry, ropes, nets, lithic and bone artefacts, shells, animal bones, fur and shells (Figs. 5.115, 5.116, 5.117, 5.118 and 5.119).

The different orientation of the walls recorded in U12-L3 and U12-L5, as well as the amount of rubble that covered U12-L5 and served as a base to build U12-L5, suggests that the area had at least two unrelated moments of occupation. The bedrock was found below U12-L5.

5.2.13. Unit 13

Unit 13 was a trench of 5 m by 5 m placed on the top of a hill at the southeast side of Sector 4, this is the top of the hill where Unit 12 was located (Figs. 5.1, 5.120, 5.121, 5.122, 5.123). The modern surface of this area yielded an elevation of 140 masl, a measurement taken from its northwest corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our purpose within Unit 13 was to examine the archaeological features on the hilltop of this area to be compared with the results obtained in nearby units sited in the slopes and flat areas of Sector 4, such as Units 11 and 12. The trench was dug down to its first preserved floor which was found at 25-35 cm from the surface.

U13-L2 was a 25-35 cm thick fill layer composed of compacted soil and rubble which was withdrawn to uncover the floor level of the unit, U13-L3. Two mud-brick walls shaped the corner of a large room that featured an uneven floor surface with irregular cuts of ash and loose

soil. There was no trace of the floor outside this room. Ceramics recovered consisted of sherds of black and red plain-ware, strap handles, face-neck jars and other sculpted forms, along with a few shells and a piece of textile.

Excavations at Unit 13 did not reach the bedrock. Observations at a large nearby looter pit's profile indicated that there was a very thick layer (more than two metres) of compacted soil and clay below U13-L3, which probably corresponded to the fill utilised to cover the original hill.

5.2.14. Unit 14

Unit 14 was a trench of 5 m by 4 m with its major axis oriented east-west placed on the low eastern side of Sector 3, called Cemetery 1 (Figs. 5.1 and 5.124). The modern surface of this area had an elevation of 130 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Diggings at Unit 14 sought to explore the damage caused by illegal excavations on Cemetery 1 and subsequently assess the potential of the area for further works. The unit was excavated down to the sterile soil which was found at 1.6 m from the surface.

The trench, and the entire Cemetery 1, had been badly and irreparably disturbed by antique looters. The current surface presented looter pits everywhere, along with scattered archaeological materials, mainly human bones and ceramic fragments. U14-L2, therefore, was a thick layer (1.4 m) of messed up loose soil and broken objects, a product of the illegal activities previously mentioned. The dominant feature of this level was a large stone wall, east-west oriented, built applying an orthostatic construction technique, i.e., using vertical slabs plastered and mortared with mud (Fig. 5.125). Within the trench, the wall featured 0.85 m in height, 0.60 m in width and 4.2 m in length, however, a superficial cleaning of the wall's projection led to a corner where it turned to a north-south direction, resulting in a total length of 25 m northeast-southwest by 20 m northwest-southeast (Fig. 8.7). Back in the unit, the wall presented an open space, perhaps an entry of 1 m, where a small bundle was found (U14-T1, see Chapter 6 for more details). Materials recovered from this layer were, presumably, part of looted funerary

assemblages. Amongst them, remains of gourds, shells, fragments of textiles, lithic and wooden artefacts and some conglomeration of human bones were found. The ceramic collection from this layer consisted of broken pieces of plain-ware and decorated vessels such as spout stirrup bottles, flaring bowls, face-neck jars and sculpted forms.

Layer U14-L3 was the level not reached by looters. It was recorded at 1.5 cm from the current soil, and presented a flat surface of semi-compact texture. The eastern side of the unit showed some irregular-shaped cuts of ash, whilst three big elongated paralleled darkish features were recorded on the centre and western sides (Fig. 5.126). These north-south oriented features corresponded to pits for burials that were dug intruding the sterile soil and subsequently re-opened and disturbed in antiquity. The characteristics of these funerary contexts (U14-T2, U14-T3, and U14-T4) are fully described in Chapter 6. Excavations at Unit 14 reached the sterile soil after uncovering the latter contexts, which was composed of alternate layers of sand and clay.

5.2.15. Unit 15

Unit 15 was a trench of 5 m by 5 m sited on the low slope of the central-western flank of Sector 4 (Fig. 5.1). The modern surface of this area reported an elevation of 131 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our objective within Unit 15 was to inspect the nature of the archaeological contexts on the edge of the hillside and the low areas that are part of Cemetery 1. These works revealed spaces for domestic activities as well as evidence of funerary practices. The trench was excavated down to the bedrock which was documented at 30-50 cm from the surface.

Layer U15-L2 was a 20-21 cm thick fill of compacted soil recorded below the current surface and above the first floor of this unit. U15-L3 corresponded to the first floor level, found at 20 cm from the surface (Fig. 5.127, 5.128). This level featured a stone wall on the central-northern side that crossed the trench in a southwest-northeast direction, making a corner with a mud-brick wall on the west turning north-westwards. This feature would eventually determine a spatial boundary for the type of activities carried out on both sides of the wall. The southern

side presented a large earth kiln and different cuts of ash, loose soil and some turned over mud-bricks. The northern side presented a cleaner surface, with a badly-preserved floor and a cut of dark compacted soil. Few ceramic fragments were recovered from this level, corresponding to broken parts of both domestic jars and decorated vessels. An important amount of botanical remains such as seeds, corncobs, cotton, some lithic tools, shells, animal bones and shreds of textiles, was also collected in this layer.

U15-L4 was a 20-25 cm thick fill composed of compacted soil and rubble that was taken out to expose the next floor of the trench, U15-L5, recorded at 40 cm from the surface (Fig. 5.129, 5.30). This floor level still featured the wall described above plus a small portion of a wattle and daub fence that projected in an east-west direction on the western side of the unit. The southern side showed large irregular-shaped cuts of ash and compacted soil, as well as prints of water pooled on the floor surface. Big stones, presumably utilised as anvils, were also recorded in association with this level (Fig. 5.132). Northwards the unit presented a flat surface featuring a previous version of the central stone wall previously described. It consisted of slabs placed one on top of the other, whilst the west side was built with mud-bricks in a soldier style. These architectural traits configure a large space beyond the limits of Unit 15 that will need to be extensively dug in the future. Materials recovered from this level consisted of a few fragments of domestic jars, lithic tools, textiles, corncobs, other organic remains, and several shells (Figs. 5.133, 5.134, 5.135 and 5.136).

U15-L6 was a 30-45 cm thick fill composed of compacted soil and rubble excavated before reaching the bedrock (Fig. 5.131). Southwards the trench featured a thick fill of compacted ashy soil and stones with three big rocks documented on the south-east corner. The northern side presented a flat surface with a big ashy cut on the northeast corner, whilst the two successive versions of the central wall were better observed at this level. Two funerary contexts were recorded on the northern profile; CC-U15-T11 was a bundle containing a child and CC-U15-T12 was the pit-grave of an adult woman. Both contexts are fully described in Chapter 7. Bowl and jar rims along with corncobs, gourd pieces, cotton seeds, textiles, ropes, lithic tools, several shells, animal bones, guinea pig coprolites and other organic materials were found in this level.

5.2.16. Unit 16

Unit 16 was a trench of 5 m by 4 m with its major axis oriented east-west located on a central area of Cemetery 1 (Figs. 5.1 and 5.137). The modern surface of this area had an elevation of 130 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Excavations at Unit 16 aimed to complement the works carried out at Unit 14, determining the scope of the damage caused by illegal excavations in this grave yard. The unit was dug down to the sterile soil which was found at 1.25 m from the surface.

The current surface of the area presented several looter pits and scattered archaeological materials. The first layer removed, U16-L2, was composed of messed up loose soil and broken artefacts which resulted from looting actions, yielding a thickness of 1.15 m, before reaching the level that remained untouched by looters. Materials recovered from this layer consisted of human bones, textiles, fragments of decorated vessels, shells and basketry.

Layer U16-L3 corresponded to the level not reached by looters. It was recorded at 1.20 m from the current surface, and featured a flat soil of semi-compact texture. This layer presented a total of six features dug intruding the sterile layers corresponding with graves disturbed in antiquity. These burials (U16-T4, U16-T6, U16-T7, U16-T8, U16-T9, and U16-T10) were concentrated on the southern and western sides of the unit, presenting an elongated southwest-northeast oriented shape. The individual characteristics of these funerary contexts are described in detail in Chapter 6. Excavations reached the sterile soil after uncovering the latter contexts, which was composed of alternate layers of sand and clay.

5.2.17. Unit 17

Unit 17 was a trench of 7 m by 5 m with its major axis oriented 30 degrees eastwards, placed on the western side of Huaca Sector 1 (Figs. 8.8 and 5.138). The modern surface of this area yielded an elevation of 131 masl, a measurement taken from its southeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Our purpose with Unit 17 was to determine the architectural characteristics and function of the artificial mound called Sector1. The trench was excavated

down to the floor corresponding to the penultimate preserved occupation recorded in this unit, found at 50-1.20 cm from the current surface. Excavations at Unit 17 revealed that Huaca Sector 1 was a ceremonial building, possibly a stepped pyramid, with at least two consecutive architectural versions on its northern façade.

Layer U17-L2 corresponded to a 50-90 cm fill composed of soil and rubble that was removed to expose the most recent architectural features of this side of the mound. U17-L3 corresponded to the last constructive level preserved on this side of Huaca Sector 1 (Fig. 139, 5.142). The excavations showed it featured part of a platform building, with a badly-preserved 00 cm high mud-brick plastered wall on the northeast side of the trench, which would have connected the two levels. The upper level presented a clean well-preserved floor, only visible on the southeast side of the trench, which would possibly show the same good condition southwards and eastwards of Unit 17, areas yet to be excavated. The floor of the lower level was only visible on the northeast side of the unit where it connected to the plastered wall previously mentioned. A few animal bones, textile shreds, corncobs and other organic materials along with pottery fragments of decorated flaring bowls and bottles were recovered in this version of the building.

U17-L4 was a 1-1.2 m thick fill of compacted soil and rubble taken out to expose the architectural characteristics of an earlier version of the building, U17-L5 (Fig. 5.139, 5.142, 5.143). The latter featured a well-preserved 85 cm high plastered wall that defined the two levels of a platform construction, possibly one of the visible sides of the entire building, or alternatively, one of the echelons of a stepped pyramid. The upper level featured a clean floor in a good state of preservation, mainly preserved on the central-southwest side of the trench, whilst the wall's base connected to another floor, which could be the lower level of the platform, or echelon if it proved to be the case. This wall, and possibly the entire building associated with this occupational moment, had been carefully covered with a mud-bricks fill, most of which showed prints of the cane mould utilised in their production, as well as hand prints on top of them (Fig. 5.141). No materials were found in this layer.

5.2.18. Unit 18

Unit 18 was a trench of 4 m by 4 m with its major axis oriented 30 degrees eastwards, situated on the north side of Huaca Sector 1 (Figs. 8.8 and 5.143, 5.144). The modern surface of this operation reported an elevation of 129 masl, a measurement taken from its southwest corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Like Unit 17, works at Unit 18 aimed to explore the constructive features and function of the artificial mound called Huaca Sector 1. The unit was dug down to the first preserved floor, found 20 cm from the surface.

A fill of soil and rubble, U18-L2, was taken out to expose U18-L3; a floor level badly preserved, slumped on the western side, which could not be found on the eastern side of the trench. This level featured a 75 cm thick wall built with mud-brick on the sides and filled with mud in the middle, crossing the centre of the unit in a south-north direction. Animal bones, pieces of basketry, textiles, shells, corncobs and other organic materials were found in this level. Likewise, the pottery recovered consisted of fragments of plain and decorated black-ware with paddled decoration, handles as well as sherds with red on white slip painting decoration, a sculpted face and fragments with simple white slip surface treatment.

5.2.19. Unit 19

Unit 19 was a trench of 4 m by 4 m with its major axis oriented 30 degrees eastwards, sited on the east side of Huaca Sector 1 (Figs. 8.8 and 5.145, 5.147). The modern surface of this area had an elevation of 133 masl, a measurement taken from its northeast corner—UTM coordinate 788833E-8981341S. Excavations at Unit 19 aimed to continue the work carried out in Units 17 and 18, i.e., examining the architectural features and function of the artificial mound called Huaca Sector 1. The area was excavated down to its first preserved floor, recorded 1.25 m from the surface.

A 60-120 cm thick fill composed of soil and rubble, U19-L2, was removed before reaching the floor level on the eastern side, U19-L3. This floor connected to a 0.45 m high plastered wall that ran in a south-north direction, finishing on the central-eastern side of the unit

(Figs. 146, 1.48). Apart from these elements, this level essentially featured a weft mud-brick fill, probably part of the original structural composition of the building. A worked animal bone artefact and a few pieces of plain and decorated black-ware were found in this level.

5.3. Conclusions

To date, the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project has excavated nineteen units across the site, which revealed architectural features associated with a variety of materials such as ceramics, textiles, basketry, bones, lithics, metals, shells and organic remains. Excavations indicate that the ceremonial architecture was raised on the northern side (Sector 1) whereas several residential structures were built on the hillsides of Sector 4. Funerary practices would have mainly taken place in the flatlands of the site.

CHAPTER 6

Funerary Contexts at Cerro Castillo

One of the most visible functions of Cerro Castillo is its use for ancient funeral practices. Large graveyards are noticeable across the site's surface, yet unfortunately most if not all have been severely looted. Excavations at Cerro Castillo have yielded both primary and secondary funerary contexts associated with the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period. The primary burials were essentially found on the western slope of Sector 4 while excavating domestic contexts. The secondary graves were encountered in Units 14 and 16 (see Table 6.1).

These trenches had been set on the western and central side of Cemetery 1 with the intention of evaluating the damage caused by illegal excavations (Fig. 6.1). Excavations confirmed the irreparable large-scale loss of archaeological data. Significantly and fortunately, after removing a thick layer of sand and damaged materials, digs at Units 14 and 16 revealed a flat surface of semi-compact texture. This layer had not been reached by illegal diggers and featured the cuts made for ancient tombs. It is possible—although only to be confirmed by further fieldwork—that most of the cemetery areas of Cerro Castillo have retained their earlier phases of occupation. Thus, although the contexts associated with the later occupations are badly damaged, many of the surfaces associated with the earliest occupation across the site's graveyards may still be intact (Figs. 6.2, 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5).

Certainly the state of preservation of Cerro Castillo's cemeteries is not ideal for a study of funerary practices. Valuable information has been lost and therefore certain aspects of the ancient inhabitants' funerary practices will remain uncertain such as the original shape and content of the vast majority of graves as well as their stratigraphic correlations. Nevertheless, the materials collected from these disturbed areas may still reveal some useful information. For instance, they shed light on the type of objects that circulated across the site and had a funerary-related purpose. In addition, stylistic identification of displaced objects may elucidate the cultural affiliations of the people that used these spaces for funerary rituals and also the chronological associations of these areas. Ultimately, future osteological studies of the Cerro Castillo's human remains will help to characterise the physiological features of the populations

buried in the site.

The following sections address the funerary component of Cerro Castillo by 1) discussing the general social implications of mortuary practices, 2) presenting the funerary contexts archaeologically recorded at the site, and 3) assessing the information that can be extracted from these contexts regarding the manifestation of social boundaries in death practices.

6.1. Death and social identity

Death is a universal phenomenon that all societies must confront through concepts and actions. Unlike the deeds that determine everyday life, death is a relatively isolated event that forces people to think about how to proceed, to consider the consequences of their actions and reflect on what kind of memory they wish to preserve. For any society (or group), death occasions a set of behaviours which embody notions concerning the transition and destiny of the deceased and the restoring of social order. Thus being as much emotional reactions as patterned behaviours, death can generate practices loaded with meanings which are manifested through a series of individual and collective actions, reactions and decisions. Funerary practices are determined by the prevailing ideological conditions for specific situations and moments in time. They stem from and are shaped by a number of factors such as the accumulated social experience, archetypical references, individual cases, the requirements of specialists and/or eschatological beliefs (Brown 1971; Chapman and Randsborg 1981; Huntington and Metcalf 1979; Parker Pearson 1999; O’Shea 1981, 1984).

The study below essentially follows general notions seeing burials as physical expressions of such ideas and practices. They are the static result of a number of activities—usually of ritual order—performed before, during and after the graves’ construction. The nature and scale of such activities can be archaeologically approached by assessing 1) the energy spent on the planning and construction of the grave, 2) the positioning of the body or bodies therein, and 3) the characteristics of the artefacts that constitute the funerary assemblage (Castillo 2000; Tainter 1978). Burials are the consequence of the necessity to express the nature (or character) of the deceased whilst trying to convert an abstract concept into a material formula, and to achieve

it, it is essential to choose, decide and represent a series of conceptions. The construction of a burial therefore is a process of representation that in a relatively conscious fashion recreates reality in a standardised manner. Although several counter examples can be found (Ucko 1969), there usually is a close correspondence between the individual's lifestyle and his/her funerary treatment (Binford 1971; Chapman and Randsborg 1981; Saxe 1970). The tomb portrays the identity of the person—a social construction composed of multiple dimensions—capturing his/her essence through the manipulation of a set of symbols. The inclusion or omission of the items that embody such notions—essentially symbolic artefacts—is crucial for the elaboration of the individual's funerary identity recreated 'by' and 'for' the audience (whether human or divine). Likewise, the presence or absence of certain objects is a fundamental in the visual discourse that burials convey. Hence funerary practices are a means to reaffirm, reformulate and communicate boundaries of both communal and segmentary affiliation and/or differentiation.

The interment of an individual obliges the agents involved to confront and conduct the mortuary rites. This entails the preparation of the tomb and the process of constructing the deceased's identity following shared social rules that regulate such activities which have as a common aim the expression and recognition of the social persona (Binford 1971; Saxe 1970). The social persona is essentially the sum of the multiple dimensions of identity held in life and recognised after death which serve to synthesise what any given individual achieved and represented in life. Sex, age, status, social role, lineage, group memberships, dependency relationships (mutual or otherwise) and the circumstances of death are the main factors that usually determine the funerary identity of the social persona (Binford 1971; Saxe 1970; Tainter 1978). In other words, mortuary practices commonly seek to express the identity/identities possessed by the deceased, which are assumed to be closely connected with their activities carried out in life, their most important social achievements or some form of expression of their status or group membership. The construction and negotiation of an individual's funerary identity therefore involve the consideration of a number of well-established conventions and occasionally decision-making driven by particular cases or circumstances.

The pre-Columbian populations of Peru were no strangers to mortuary procedures. Due to a wide range of historical and archaeological data, we now know of the existence of

diverse and complex funerary treatments practiced across the Andean region throughout its long prehistory (Dillehay 1995). The societies of the north coast—and the Moche in particular—were very active in terms of funeral practices, especially for those individuals pertaining to the higher echelons of their communities. The death of a Moche individual for instance, prompted the carrying-out of predetermined rituals where the expense of the ensuing funeral ceremonies reflected how the deceased's social persona was collectively perceived (Castillo 2000; Castillo and Rengifo 2008; Donnan 1995; Saxe 1970).

Based on the premises above, this investigation uses evidence of mortuary contexts in Cerro Castillo to explore different aspects of collective and individual behaviours of the site's ancient inhabitants. Cerro Castillo's burials are characterised in terms of their type and content. The material culture associated with these contexts is used to assess their both chronological and cultural affiliations, as well as to shed light on the type of items produced for and destined to be used in mortuary rituals at the site. Likewise, correlating the artefacts' cultural associations with stratigraphic observations of the recorded burials will reveal degrees of stylistic contemporaneity, which in turn will help to understand the inter-cultural relationships that took place at the site. Cerro Castillo's large graveyards suggest the development of discrete areas given over to the dead or funerary practices, which can be seen as the spatial manifestation of ideological boundaries based on perceptions of death.

6.2. Previous research on funerary practices in the Nepeña Valley

Few studies have dealt with mortuary practices in the Nepeña Valley, perhaps because very few unlooted burials have been archaeologically excavated. Many cemeteries have been reported in the valley, but since most of them have regrettably been disturbed, archaeologists have understandably limited their efforts to date these sites based on the surficial materials left behind by looters.

Proulx (1968, 1973 and 1985) identified different graveyards across the valley and basically used surficial materials to date sites to the Early Horizon, Early Intermediate Period, Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period. Proulx also explored the surrounding areas of

Pañamarca, reporting cemetery sites clustered around the natural hills to the southeast of the main building of the complex, i.e. Cerro Castillo. Such sites were recorded as PV 31-214, PV 31-216, PV 31-217, PV 31-218, PV 31-219, PV 31-39 in Proulx's report (1985). It is worth pointing out that Proulx's sites correspond with the lower flat areas of Cerro Castillo, which have been sectorised as Cemeteries 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project (see Chapter 5). Based on the stylistic traits of the surficial pottery, he associated these graveyards with the Moche and Middle Horizon traditions.

Recently, Chicoine (2011) excavated 17 intrusive burials at the Early Horizon site of Huambacho. Drawing on the stylistic associations of their content, he argues that these pit-graves were associated with the Gallinazo, Virú, Moche and Chimú traditions. Accordingly, people would have intermittently used the Huaca-A Complex of Huambacho as a cemetery for lower status Virú, Gallinazo and Moche people. Little could be reported from the Chimú burials as they had been already disturbed prior to their archaeological identification.

6.3. Burials recorded by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project

The following section describes the funeral contexts found during the first three fieldwork seasons of the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project, detailing their location, contents and cultural affiliations to the extent possible (see also Table 6.1). This information is discussed and reflected on in the final part of this chapter.

6.3.1. Tomb CC-U7-T1

The funerary context CC-U7-T1 consisted of a small bundle containing the remains of a 0-2 year-old infant. It was an intrusive grave dug and placed next to the northern wall of the central room of Unit 7, 80 cm beneath the modern surface, along with two ceramic offerings—a plain domestic pot fired in an oxidising atmosphere and a Casma-style decorated pot fired in a reducing atmosphere featuring soot traces as well as a stamped motif of waves across the upper side of the chamber (Fig. 6.6).

After being documented in situ, the bundle was transported to our laboratory in Nepeña to run the appropriate analysis of its content, where it was carefully opened and recorded by layers (Fig. 6.7). The first layer corresponded to a beige canvas bag with two tied-knot handles. It was not well preserved as had insect damage. It was also apparent that the bag had been used several times before becoming the main receptacle for the funerary bundle.

The second layer consisted of a small red and black coloured bag attached to the bundle core with a sling shot that survived in a very delicate condition. This bag had been filled up with leaves, the species of which are yet to be determined, although preliminary observations suggest coca (*Erythroxylum coca*) or lúcumá (*Pouteria lucuma*).

The third layer consisted of another beige bag, with no handles but sewn along the top (Fig. 6.8). Several textile remnants were sewn together in order to make it suitable for containing the following items. Six purple corncobs were found in the upper part of the latter bag whilst the bottom showed a little cushion of leaves which served as the base where the infant in this bundle was positioned.

The individual had been wrapped in a dark brownish striped shroud (Fig. 6.9). It was very poorly preserved as the decomposition of the human tissue had acted as a glue which had stuck the shroud to the infant's face. Given this situation, the body was not completely uncovered. However, it was possible to identify the upper half of the torso which was better preserved, particularly its back where the spine, shoulders, and hair on the skull were clearly noticeable.

6.3.2. Tomb CC-U14-T2

CC-U14-T2 was a pit burial found on the western side of Unit 14 (Figs. 6.2, 6.10, 6.11). It consisted of an elongated shaft of 1.1 by 0.60 m in size and 0.80 m depth, oriented east-west with an inclination of 30 degrees eastwards, dug into the floor level U14-L3. A few objects were recorded not far below the top of this pit, such as two gourd plates one on top of the other, a small Moche style jar with a worn out surface showing traces of painted decoration—possibly red lines on white slip on the neck and the upper half of the chamber—remnants of

a badly-preserved textile, a quartz bead, shells, pieces of wood and a few human bones that, judging by their size, would belong to a young person (Fig. 6.12).

As the excavation went on, only a few ceramic fragments were encountered as we reached the bottom of the pit. These fragments, when put together, happened to correspond to two decorated vessels that stylistically relate to the Moche IV ceramic phase. The first one, the least complete, showed part of the chamber of either a jar or a bottle, featuring a relief representation of an anthropomorphic character holding a branch of the now extinct vegetal species known as the ulluchu in its left hand, and a staff in its right hand. It was also evident that this character was wearing a neck-shoulder ornament and possibly a knotted chinstrap (Fig. 6.13).

The second vessel was a Moche IV stirrup spout bottle with a false neck (Figs. 6.13). The arch, spout and base were painted in red, whilst the chamber and the carapace presented geometric designs painted in brown on white slip. The decorative motifs consisted of two horizontal levels of squared panels drawn throughout the vessel chamber, where each square was composed of two juxtaposed right-angled triangles with an extra line in the middle of them, giving the impression that each square is diagonally crossed by three lines, when they are seen individually. When they are seen in groups of four they configure a star shape. The chamber also presented sculpted applications of the ulluchu painted with vertical lines. Although only two of these ulluchu applications were preserved, it is plausible that they were originally placed throughout the vessel chamber. The carapace featured a thick horizontal stripe painted in the middle with geometric representations of waves on top of the former. A print on the top of the vessel suggests that originally it had a sculpted application, unfortunately missing as is nearly half the bottle chamber.

6.3.3. Tomb CC-U14-T3

CC-U14-T3 was a pit burial recorded on the western side of Unit 14 (Figs. 6.2 and 6.10, 6.11). It consisted of an elongated hole of 1.60 m by 1.20 m size and 1.20 m depth, oriented north-south, excavated at floor level U14-L3. The fill of the pit yielded several human bones,

suggesting the original grave was disturbed in antiquity. When the bottom was reached, we found part of a human body still in its original position, that is, the right ribs still articulated with the spine along with some big bones which were out of place (Fig. 6.14). Accordingly, it can be concluded that the person originally buried in this grave was placed in an extended position lying on their back with their head oriented to the south.

Apart from a few shells and four ceramic fragments, no more additional materials were found in association with this grave. One of the pottery sherds corresponds to a sculpted representation of a human face with a leporine lip and nose, featuring closed beady eyes, a stern expression, no hair, and the head covered with a head band (Fig. 6.15). This sherd is stylistically associated with the Moche IV ceramic phase.

6.3.4. Tomb CC-U16-T4

CC-U16-T4 was a pit grave found on the southern side of Unit 16 (Fig. 6.4, 6.5, 6.16, 6.17, 6.19). It was around an irregular hole in the ground of 1.30 m by 0.55 m size and 0.80 m depth, dug at floor level U16-L3.

A cooking pot was recorded on top of the pit, placed on the southern profile of the trench. Its surface was poorly polished and presented some soot traces (Fig. 6.20). The pot's base was decorated with a double circle relief application with dots in between. Only a few shells, pieces of gourd and four ceramic fragments were documented in association with the grave's fill, one of which corresponded with a broken strap handle jug (presumably a local ceramic tradition, see Chapter 7) (Fig. 6.20). The latter consisted of a vertical, slightly flared neck with a strap handle that connected the former with the vessel chamber. It featured a polished red surface with three groups of three vertical white stripes on the neck and two groups of three horizontal white stripes on the strap handle. Smaller fragments of this type of jar have been documented throughout the different units dug on the site.

As the excavations continued, a human skull was found 80 cm from the grave's surface (Fig. 6.21). A superficial clearance indicated that this individual was buried facing south and the body was deposited under the trench's southern profile. Given this circumstance, the grave was backfilled to be re-dug in a future fieldwork season.

6.3.5. Tomb CC-U16-T5

CC-U16-T5 was a secondary interment consisting of a circular pit recorded on the southeast side of Unit 16, associated with the floor level U16-L3 (Fig. 6.4, 6.16, 6.17, 6.19). The pit cut presented 0.70 m by 0.70 m in size and 0.30 m depth. Only a few small human bones and a gourd bowl were encountered during the excavation of this context. The gourd bowl was found at the top of the pit, featuring a small perforation near the rim.

6.3.6. Tomb CC-U16-T6

CC-U16-T6 was a pit burial recorded on the southwest side of Unit 16 (Fig. 6.4, 6.16, 6.17, 6.19).. It consisted of an elongated hole of 1.50 m by 0.55 m in size and 0.50 m depth, oriented southwest-northeast, associated with floor level U16-L3 (Fig. 6.17). The top of the grave featured several fragments of gourd plates, some of them with small perforations, a few remnants of textiles—one of which still had visible decoration of parallel black stripes—six shells, the rim of a ceramic jar and a complete dipper (Fig. 6.22). The latter presented a polished surface with painted decoration on the backside, consisting of white lines shaping two groups of triangles across the central and upper chamber, as well as horizontal stripes on the handle. This vessel form is typically associated with the Moche IV ceramic phase. As the excavation of the grave continued, a few disturbed human bones, possibly from a young man, were found before reaching the bottom of the pit.

6.3.7. Tomb CC-U16-T7

CC-U16-T7 corresponded to the interment of an infant, probably around one year old, documented on the northern side of Unit 16. The body was found within the disturbed materials associated with U16-L2. Although the child's skeleton was still fairly articulated, suggesting a southwest-northeast orientation, it was clearly removed from its original location, which was presumably nearby.

6.3.8. Tomb CC-U16-T8

Tomb CC-U16-T8 was an irregular-shaped pit burial encountered on the central side of Unit 16 associated with floor level U16-L3 (Fig. 6.4, 6.16, 6.18). The cut featured 85 cm of average diameter and 35 cm depth. A few large and small bones, a pelvic girdle and a sacrum were found at the top level of the hole whilst a fairly articulated part of a human torso was encountered a few centimetres from the pit surface, along with several phalanges. The position of the torso corresponded to a body placed in a downwards-facing position (Fig. 6.23). Primary Moche burials with individuals laid out in a face-down position have been reported at Huambacho (Chicoine 2011). Nevertheless, it appears that this tomb was re-opened in antiquity. Whether that was the intended original position of the individual in the grave, or whether this was the individual originally interred in the burial at all (i.e. and not someone simply thrown in during a re-opening event) remains unclear.

6.3.9. Tomb CC-U16-T9

CC-U16-T9 corresponded to a pit tomb recorded on the northwest side of Unit 16 (Fig. 6.4, 6.16, 6.18). It consisted of an elongated cut of 1.40 m by 1 m in size and 0.60 m depth, oriented east-west, associated with floor level U16-L3. The top of the grave featured a few adult human bones, and only a painted ceramic fragment, a few shells and pieces of gourd plates were recorded in association with this context (Fig. 6.24).

6.3.10. Tomb CC-U16-T10

CC-U16-T10 was a funerary context found on the central-west side of Unit 16 (Fig. 6.4, 6.5, 6.16, 6.18). It was an elongated pit of 1.90 m by 0.85 m size and 0.85 m depth, oriented southwest-northeast, excavated at floor level U16-L3. Several human bones were encountered on the top level of the burial along with shells, pieces of gourds and metals.

A total of six entire pots were found on the western side of the tomb arranged in two

groups of three (one on top of the other) aligned in a south-north direction, along with more human bones which were found at the bottom of the pit (Figs. 6.25 and 6.26). The first group consisted of a strap handle jar with a stamped dotted design in the centre of the chamber. It also presented a pot with small handles and notched applications near the neck as well as a decorated black-ware pot with a carinated neck featuring stamped decoration on the upper half of the chamber consisting of triangles and two parallel stripes filled out with a dotted pattern and a rounded bulge.

The second group of vessels, found underneath the first one, consisted of a carinated-neck black-ware with stamped designs of waves, or volutes, filled out with a dotted pattern. It also presented a small strap handle jar with a horizontal dotted band in the centre of the chamber and a small carinated-neck pot with stamped decoration of triangles filled out with a dotted pattern on the upper side of the chamber. The decorative pattern of these vessels corresponds to the Casma ceramic tradition.

6.3.11. Tomb CC-U15-T11

CC-U15-T11 was a funerary context found on the northern side of Unit 15, possibly associated with floor level U15-L3 (Figs. 5.131, 6.27 and 6.28). The cut had an irregular rounded shape of roughly 50 cm of diameter and 55 cm in depth. The content of the pit consisted of a small funeral bundle, 45 cm in height and 40 cm in thickness, accompanied by seven gourd containers of varying sizes arranged next to it as offerings. It would eventually be established that the bundle contained the body of an infant placed in a flexed position facing north. After being recorded in situ, the bundle was transported to our laboratory in Nepeña to undertake the recording of its content (Figs. 6.29, 6.30 and 6.31).

The wrapping shroud, 2.20 cm by 1.40 cm in size, was composed of at least three sewn pieces of textile in a delicate state of preservation, with the major part of it wrinkled, also badly folded, possibly a consequence of its constant reutilisation. Its colour ranged from dark brown to beige. It could have had some decorative patterns but, given its poor condition, they were not recognisable.

Some offerings had been placed inside the bundle, such as three corncobs, two metal-knives, and a gourd plate which was found in the lower part of the bundle. This gourd contained a wedge-shaped metal artefact and seven pairs of pendants made of metal and stone (Fig. 6.31.).

The individual of this interment, an infant around one year-old, was originally placed in a flexed position. However, due to the decomposition of the human skin, only a few parts were still articulated when it was uncovered. The head was fairly well preserved featuring hair and most of the mandible teeth although the front teeth of the maxilla were missing.

6.3.12. Tomb CC-U15-T12

Tomb CC-U15-T12 was a funeral context located on the northern side of Unit 15 consisting of an elongated pit burial, oriented southwest-northeast, of 1.90 m by 0.70 m size, and 0.40 m in depth (Figs. 5.130, 5.131, 6.32). It was found during the excavation of Tomb CC-U15-T11. Due to its location beyond the northern unit's profile, an extension of the trench was needed. The cut of the pit was associated with floor level U15-L5, and was composed of a backfill of brown soil. The individual placed inside the grave corresponded with an adult woman, deposited in an extended position, lying on her back with her head pointing southwest. The woman had her feet crossed and her hands on her pelvic girdles. Her head presented well preserved long hair still stuck to the cranium and her semi-open mouth featured well-preserved teeth. A piece of animal bone, possibly a tool, was held in her left hand. This was the only additional artefact associated with this context. Remnants of prints found over the entire body indicated that the individual was originally wrapped in a shroud.

6.3.13. Tomb CC-U14-T13

The funeral context CC-U14-T13 consisted of a small bundle containing the remains of an infant, approximately one year old, presumably placed in a flexed position. The bundle showed a poor state of preservation (Fig. 6.33). It was found at 45 cm from the surface in the entrance-alike space configured by the slab stone wall recorded in Unit 14 (Fig. 6.11). After

being correspondingly documented in situ, it was transported to our laboratory in Nepeña to proceed with its examination.

The wrapping shroud was composed of at least three sewn pieces of textile, making a total size of 1.75 m by 1.10 m (Figs. 6.34). This beige cloth was made of vegetal fibre and did not show any evidence of pattern or decoration. A gourd plate was the only artefact found inside the bundle.

6.4. Discussion: mortuary practices at Cerro Castillo

The funerary contexts encountered at Cerro Castillo shed light on the mortuary practices carried out at the site during the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period. Two general types of burials have been identified: bundles and pit graves.

Bundles

The three bundles found (CC-U7-T1, CC-U15-T11 and CC-U14-T13) corresponded with the interment of infants of approximately one year old. In all three cases the individuals were arranged in flexed position and wrapped in reused and mended pieces of textiles suggesting that these two aspects were a common custom in infants' funeral treatment. In addition, it is worth noting that the three bundles were encountered in the upper layers of their respective excavation areas. The pottery found in CC-U7-T1 corresponds to the Casma tradition, which is chronologically associated with the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period (Vogel 2003). These observations suggest that the interment of these individuals occurred during that span of time and that the people involved in the mortuary rituals had connections with the Casma culture. Future radiocarbon dates will help to refine this preliminary chronological association.

Although the three bundles show similar general characteristics, their funerary assemblages present noticeable qualitative and quantitative differences, which indicates differential expenditures of energy in the funerary treatment for these individuals. Burials of infants are usually cases of ascribed status—in contrast to achieved status (Chapman and

Randsborg 1981). That is, the social identity expressed in an infant's grave is essentially a reflection of the cultural affiliation and socio-economic status of their dependency units—usually the household—rather than those of the deceased himself/herself. That being said, qualitative and quantitative differences amongst the funerary assemblages of these graves would indicate that the mortuary rites for these infants were conducted by households that differed in their economic capacity and/or status. However, it is impossible to make a definite assessment about the original value set upon the artefacts placed in these interments. Whether decorated pottery—as in CC-U7-T1—was valued more highly than gourd plates—as in CC-U15-T11—or not for instance, is a subject that needs further investigation. What is evident though is that the material expenditure of the funerary treatment for CC-U7-T1 and CC-U15-T11 surpassed the one for CC-U14-T13.

The items found in association with these bundles reveal some customs about the objects placed in these types of graves. Gourd plates and corncobs seem to have been of regular use in mortuary practices. Pottery, metal knives, pendants and leaves would have also been utilised, although with less regularity. Both the shrouds and bags utilised to wrap the deceased and contain the funerary bundle were made of reused and mended pieces of textiles. This suggests that people did not produce textiles that were going to primarily have a funerary purpose, at least not in the case of infants.

Pit graves

Nine pit graves were recorded at Cerro Castillo, being CC-U15-T12 (found in Unit 15) the only primary one. It had an elongated shape, oriented north-south and corresponded with the interment of an adult woman placed in extended position. Evident prints from a textile extending across the body indicate the woman of this tomb was fully wrapped in a shroud which was a common practice at the site. The grave did not contain any material that could help to identify the cultural affiliation of the deceased and/or the social unit involved in the mortuary rituals. Nevertheless, the stylistic traits of the pottery sherds encountered in the surface, which was itself dug to place the grave as well as its stratigraphic position—below the layer associated with the bundles previously described—suggest that this interment occurred during the Middle Horizon.

The eight pit graves found in Unit 14 and Unit 16 (both located in Cemetery 1) corresponded with secondary tombs that were reopened and disturbed in antiquity. The contour of the cuts characteristic of most of them suggests that they originally presented an elongated shape with its major axis oriented north-south. The depth of the shaft varied from 30 cm to 1.20 cm. The spatial location and stratigraphic position of these graves suggest 1) a tendency to arrange burials in clusters and 2) a certain degree of contemporaneity amongst them. Regarding the latter, the ceramics encountered in these tombs indicate that people affiliated with the Moche, local and Casma traditions used Cemetery 1 for funeral ceremonies—as three burials contained Moche ceramics (CC-U14-T2, CC-U14-T3 and CC-U16-T4); one revealed a local style jug (CC-U16-T6) and another yielded six Casma vessels (CC-U16-T10). In addition, gourd plates seem to also have been a common element in pit graves.

Preliminary observations of the bones found in these burials suggest that they were adults. Although in most cases the human remains were scattered inside and outside the pit, in a few cases the remains of articulated body parts indicate that the individuals in these contexts were originally placed in an extended position. Only one case, CC-U16-T14, may suggest a body placed in an extended face-down position. Moche burials with similar body positioning have been reported in the nearby site of Huambacho (Chicoine 2006).

The secondary graves of Cerro Castillo suggest collective behaviours driven by singular perceptions of ancestry and tombs' sacredness. Cases of burial reopening have been documented in other Moche sites such as San José de Moro, El Brujo and Huacas de Moche (Castillo et al. 2008; Franco et al. 2001; Uceda et al. 2002). It has been argued that secondary burials may be related to a means of desacralisation based on Andean principles of ancestry and territorial adherence (Kaulicke 1997; Zuidema 1973). That is, disturbing an ancestor's grave was seen as an effective way to uproot a household's prestige and legitimacy across a community. Alternatively, it has been pointed out that burial reopening was a common practice in pre-Columbian times, which essentially consisted of disinterring an ancestor's corpse for either ceremonial purposes or for its relocation (Franco et al. 2001; Millaire 2004). Since both scenarios present similar archaeological evidence—displaced bones, incomplete skeletons and shattered artefacts—it is not possible to determine whether the burials of Cerro Castillo correspond with one or the other. Indeed, it is possible that both situations may have occurred at

the site, i.e. 1) in times of social tension Cerro Castillo's inhabitants regarded graves and their content as a means to reformulate the prevailing political or segmentary boundaries, and/or 2) burials were reopened because some ceremonial occasions required the physical presence of ancestors. Both cases may have lead to the dismantling and relocation of the original interment.

The grave pits found in Cerro Castillo's Cemetery 1 also suggest a shared perception of funerary ceremonies as a means to express cultural identities and affiliations. The presence of decorated pottery associated with the Moche, local and Casma traditions indicates the circulation and consumption of these goods across the site as well as their customary use in mortuary situations. The abundance of fragments of fine Moche vessels in particular attests to their popularity amongst the site's ancient inhabitants. Additionally, evidence of local and Casma pottery points to the likelihood that Cemetery 1 was utilised by different cultural units which, based on their stratigraphic position, possibly co-resided at the site. If that was the case, such coexistence would have occurred during the Middle Horizon, yet this needs to be further assessed with absolute dates.

6.5. Conclusions

This chapter presented the thirteen tombs excavated by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project, which correspond with two general types of graves: bundles and pit graves. This evidence reveals a number of funerary behaviours of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of the site such as the elaboration of a funeral bundle for children, the use of shrouds for wrapping the dead bodies as well as the use common of gourds as offerings. This corpus of burials also provides evidence of social differentiation and distinct economic capacity between the site's inhabitants.

The use of flatlands for funerary purposes indicates a spatial separation of funerary spaces from residential areas (the latter are concentrated on the hillsides). Furthermore, material culture associated with these graves suggests people buried in Cemetery 1 had affiliations with cultural traditions of the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period such as Moche, local and Casma, indicating a persistent use of these areas as cemeteries.

CHAPTER 7

Archaeological materials: Ceramics

Excavations at Cerro Castillo revealed a considerable amount of archaeological materials, which play a critical role in the building of our current interpretations of the site's occupational history and the activities carried out by its pre-Columbian inhabitants. These materials have been classified in eight categories: ceramics, textiles, basketry, shells, bones, lithics, metals, and organics. This chapter describes and assesses the ceramics collected throughout three fieldwork seasons in order to elucidate the site's chronology and cultural affiliations. Analyses of the other materials remain for further investigation.

7.1. Methodological considerations

As is well-known, pottery is essential for establishing the chronological and cultural affiliations of a given region, site or context. Pottery was by far the most abundant material collected by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project. At Cerro Castillo, pottery was the only genre present in all the units excavated, whereas the occurrence of other materials varies in wider ranges. A total of 4,147 ceramic sherds and 20 entire, or nearly entire, vessels were recovered over three fieldwork seasons. Due to time limitations, it was not possible to run exhaustive analyses of paste or manufacture techniques. Nor it was possible to perform a comprehensive analysis of the plain/non-decorated sherds collected. Rather, our analysis prioritised decorative attributes over plain-wares since the former may more straightforwardly provide information related to the stylistic and cultural correlations of the ceramics. On this basis, the entry 'undetermined sherds' (consisting of non-diagnostic fragments in terms of form and decoration) was suppressed from these analyses. Overall, the assemblage examined in this chapter consists of 3,164 ceramic pieces.

The sample was classified into four main categories of wares: 'Black-wares (Chimú and Chimú-related)', 'Diagnostic fancy wares and styles', 'Moche wares' and 'Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.' Analyses of decorative attributes were prioritised over plain-wares largely

because the former may more straightforwardly provide information related to the stylistic, cultural and chronological associations of the contexts recorded. This choice however, presents some setbacks that need to be taken into consideration. First, certainly setting plain-wares/domestic forms apart leaves a gap in our understanding of these ceramic collections, which is an issue that should be addressed in the future. Second, there is an inevitably degree of subjectivity in our own stylistic appreciation since we cannot access the abstract notions that lie behind ancient decorative features. Third, since natural and anthropogenic factors have altered several of the cultural deposits of the site, the stylistic and cultural correlations obtained from this approach will need to be refined with absolute radiocarbon dates.

Nevertheless, there are some principles that frame this chapter's analysis. First, social interaction can be measured through a stylistic approach since co-existing pottery styles would suggest interacting populations, agents, knowledge and practices. Second, stratigraphic correlations may indicate stylistic resilience, change, tendency, influence and/or decline. Third, decorated artefacts tend to change through time, whether gradually adapting to the social circumstances or abruptly disrupting a given communal dynamic. The pace of change however, is highly variable and sometimes unpredictable, as so are the reasons that motivate that stylistic change. Fourth, the presence of foreign artefacts and/or the addition of exotic iconographic elements denote external influences or at least interaction (whether direct or indirect) between different cultural systems as well as between and within co-existing units which may have produced objects stylistically distinct. Fifth, stylistic identification of decorated objects enables to outline scenarios that led to stylistic transformations and homogeneity. Finally, due to their generally utilitarian nature, plain-wares may be less sensitive to political or ideological transformations. Recent studies have demonstrated that the production of domestic pottery is often more decentralised than decorated/symbolic vessels (Ramón 2007). The former can be manufactured at a local household level or transported and exchanged by itinerant artisans or played as secondary elements in the rituals and ceremonies in comparison to the role and impact of fancy objects (DeBoer 1990, 1991; Hegmon 1992; Rice 1987; Renfrew and Bahn 1991; Sackett 1977, 1991; Trigger 2007; Wobst 1977, 1999, 2000)

7.2. Artefactual style, homogeneity and differentiation in material culture

In Andean archaeology, due to its abundance and durability decorated pottery is considered to be a reliable material to assess chronological and cultural affiliations. It is also commonly used to explore other societal aspects such as social differentiation, cultural transformations, human agency and technology amongst others.

Archaeologists have traditionally identified cultural/social/segmentary units through the spatial patterning of a given style under the premise that social groups are often spatially localised and stylistically bounded (Rice 1987; Stark 1998; Wobst 1977). In other words, a cultural unit is shaped by a wide range of shared actions, habits, ideas and beliefs maintained by regular interaction—social practice (Bourdieu 1977, 1990)—which in turn is manifested in material culture (Hodder 1982; Renfrew and Bahn 1991; Trigger 2003). Since these tasks are usually performed by interacting characters, social practice becomes shared endeavours with shared objectives and eventually a shared social identity expressed through shared visual features or style. Under this premise, scholars have tended to establish a fixed correspondence between style, cultural identity and social boundaries. That is, the spread of artefacts of a given style would correspond with the geo-political extension of the social group that produced them. In Andean studies for instance, territoriality and cultural affiliations have been largely addressed on the basis of these perceptions. For example, the Moche phenomenon is a case in which the distribution of Moche style artefacts (mainly pottery) has been seen as the geographic indicator of a political entity. Nevertheless, current studies argue that artefactual styles and cultural units may not always match one another (Gibson 2003; Hodder and Hutson 2003; Stark 1998).

Anthropological and ethnographic analogies of pottery production and distribution have shown that the spread of artefactual styles does not strictly correspond with a homogeneous cultural unit (Stark 1998; Dietler and Herbich 1998). That is, a ceramic style can be widely spread over a determined region without meaning that all the people that live in that territory belong to the same group, share the same origin, speak the same language or are part of the same political entity. One ceramic style can be produced and utilised by different groups that may operate under different socio-political structures. Inversely, people from the same social unit, who share the same origin and operate under the same political structure, may produce

a variety of ceramic styles that can simultaneously circulate over a large territory. These two extreme scenarios grade each other generating a wide range of cases of stylistic homogeneity and differentiation, whose examination require taking into account several intersecting considerations of cultural practices. A contextual study of ceramics, in addition to other materials, is crucial in the elaboration of solid interpretations.

Making the same observations in archaeology presents some obvious issues since findings are static results of processes that cannot be accessed. Nevertheless, stylistic approaches to material culture offer the opportunity to understand social boundaries in terms of evaluating levels of stylistic homogeneity and differentiation, which in turn sheds light on the levels of cultural integration and/or fragmentation of a given community—e.g. examining the presence/absence of a pottery style in a given spatial unit as well as its evolution and/or disappearance within the archaeological record. In studies of pre-Columbian Andean societies, stylistic homogeneity has traditionally been attributed to the agency of the elites (Silverman and Proulx 2002; Schreiber 1992; Uceda and Mujica 1994), implying the existence of mechanisms that promote integration and prevent social fragmentation (the latter usually associated with periods of stress and instability).

Stylistic approaches to material culture also need to assess the qualitative dimension of artefacts since not everything that a society produces is equally affected by the processes of social change (especially within the realms of politics, ideology or institutions in general). Religious objects and artworks for instance, are the type of artefacts often imbued with symbolic meaning and/or political agenda (Appadurai 1986; DeBoer 1991; Gardner 2004; Gell 1998; Jackson 2009; Lau 2011). In this regard, archaeologists have tended to interpret artistic conventions as canons established by a ruling group, who would have sought the maintenance of the social structure through the regulation of the physical aspects of the communal rituals and ceremonies (DeMarrais et al. 1996). Thus, the forms, decorations and iconography of fancy artefacts would correspond with features consciously chosen that in turn imbued such artefacts with meaning and value. However, the state's capacity to regulate these processes seems to have been largely assumed rather than tested.

It has been argued that one of the ancient states' sources of power was the control of the production and distribution of symbolic objects and, an effective way to achieve such power

was by controlling the specialists (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Costin 1991, 1996; Costin and Hagstrum 1995; Helms 1993). In this respect, symbolic artefacts are considered to be an efficient source of power as long as they keep their special nature (DeMarrais et al. 1996). Frequently, they are produced by socially distinguished individuals, in special locations, perhaps during a specific season, under particular processes of production, made of exotic materials, have a restricted distribution and feature singular forms (Inomata 2001). Moche scholars for instance, have stated that Moche elites exerted full control over the production and distribution of these artefacts (Larco 2001; Morales 2003; Shimada 1994; Uceda 2010). However, this model (or presumption), in which the manipulation of symbolic objects favoured the interests of certain social segments, disregards (or marginalises) the agency of artisans and the agency of objects, which can hold power and significance beyond the intention of the people that commissioned their creation (Dobres 2000; Gardner 2004; Gell 1998; Gosselain 1998). Moreover, the production and circulation of both symbolic and utilitarian artefacts can be seen as expressions of deliberate political actions made by artisans and people that sought to reinforce, deny or contest a number of competing agents and identities.

Stylistic traits may also reveal levels of decision-making processes (Chilton 1998; Gosselain 1998, Sackett 1977, 1991; Stark 1998; Wobst 2000). Fancy artefacts are thought to have played an active role in the processes of information exchange and in the boundary-making processes. A pottery style for instance, can both actively and passively reflect people's deliberate iconographical choices and also communicate messages regarding group affiliation and self identity (Sackett 1991; Wiessner 1983; Wobst 1977, 1999). It can also be used by an agent as a means to generate reactions (whether the desired ones or not) in an audience susceptible to be impacted by the information conveyed by such style (Dobres 2000; Gell 1998). Thus, exploring stylistic variability helps to understand cultural change throughout time and space and also sheds light on the social contexts in which interactions and transformations occurred.

Trade, ceremonials, rituals and feasts are considered to be the common activities for stylistic and cultural interaction. It is in these contexts where people from a large region reinforce their links, alliances and disputes, which may result in subtle changes in material culture, altering both stylistic homogeneity and/or stylistic differentiation. Other factors such as people's mobility and the itinerancy of artisans have recently been taken into consideration

in studies of cultural and stylistic diffusion and creolisation (Ramón 2007), which contrast with models that privilege the coercive methods of a centralised state.

Studying pottery styles in both time and space—their development, diffusion, popularity, stagnation and disappearance—help reveal societal aspects beyond chronology and cultural affiliation. This can be achieved through a systematic identification of the stylistic traits and variations of a given ceramic sample, considering at the same time their stratigraphic and spatial context. This type of study also allows inferring the social agents that led to either stylistic homogeneity or stylistic differentiation, e.g. the state, political institutions, a local leadership, trading networks, artisans and/or household-based traditions.

7.3. Pottery styles at Cerro Castillo

Based on the considerations above, this investigation examines the stylistic characteristics of the ceramic styles identified at Cerro Castillo to assess the site's temporal and cultural affiliations as well as the nature of their interactions. Works at Cerro Castillo yielded ceramic styles corresponding to different pre-Columbian cultural traditions. The sample is far from being a solid representation of the Nepeña Valley's cultural history. To date, the work that has more thoroughly dealt with this issue is the one carried out by Proulx (1968, 1973 and 1985). Utilising Rowe's Andean cultural chronology (Rowe 1962), he organised the ceramic styles recorded during his survey project highlighting the presence of the Cupisnique, Moche, Wari, Chimú and Inca cultures. Approaching the valley historical development through a ceramic sequence is a task yet to be addressed therefore the results obtained from this study intend to be primarily representative for Cerro Castillo.

Excavations at Cerro Castillo yielded a significant amount of pottery associated with the Moche, local, Casma and Chimú styles, as well as smaller numbers of other fancy styles such as Gallinazo, Cajamarca and Wari. The following offers an overview of the current research on the main pottery styles found at Cerro Castillo aiming to 1) better contextualise the implications of their presence at the site, and 2) delineate the way in which these wares have been accounted within the categories and sub-categories of the Cerro Castillo's pottery sample.

7.3.1. Moche Ceramics

The Moche pottery style is one of the most developed ceramic styles of the pre-Columbian Andes. Moche artisans/populations produced highly elaborate pieces with characteristics that stand out from any other ancient society in the region. The most classic Moche vessel shapes are the stirrup spout bottle, the spout and handle bottle, the flaring bowl, the jar and the dipper. There are also a number of distinctive formal variations and combinations especially amongst sculpted shapes. Moche potters developed sophisticated decorative techniques (fineline painting, for instance) and an iconographic repertoire with grand imagery elaboration (Donnan and McClelland 1999, 2001). For these reasons, Moche pottery represents a window to explore the social dynamics and transformations that occurred along the north coast of Peru throughout a period of about eight centuries.

Many scholars consider Moche pottery to be a reflection of the history of the populations that produced it. Scholars approach the style's origin, development and disappearance as ways to understand the political and ideological trajectory of the culture (Donnan 2010; Castillo 2010, Jackson 2009). Moreover, studying Moche ceramics with other aspects of the archaeological record have helped to reveal a wide range of prehistoric traits, for instance: the garments worn at those times, the physiological features of ancient coastal populations, the natural environment, circulating artefacts, stylistic tendencies, historical episodes, cosmological perspectives, social hierarchies, cultural boundaries and foreign influences amongst others (Alva and Donnan 1993; Bourget and Jones 2008; Castillo and Donnan 1994; Donnan 2004; Larco 2001).

Assessing the history of the Moche pottery style sheds light on the history of Moche populations themselves. That is, studying the development of this pottery's formal and technological features, its diffusion, the conditions that generated it, how and where Moche themes and iconographic motifs originated and how they distinguished from each other valley to valley, would eventually lead to understanding the social interactions and agency that lies behind these ceramics (Castillo 2010, Donnan 1978; Gardner 2004; Jackson 2009; Quilter 2010). Scholars have stated that Moche fine vessels were powerful items, ideological symbols that legitimised the wielding of power and social control to those who controlled their use and distribution (DeMarrais et al. 1996; Jackson 2009). The manipulation of such assets allowed the

elites to reaffirm and legitimise their power and holding favourable positions in the political and ideological affairs.

Moche ceramics have been studied from different angles, from technological to iconographic perspectives (Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999; McClelland et al. 2007); they have been understood as the expression of a monolithic phenomenon (Larco 2001) or, recently, as a multi-valley expression with regional variations (sub-styles) that reflect the varied social conditions of the time (Castillo 2010; Castillo et al. 2008; Quilter and Castillo 2010; Donnan 2010). The latter approach goes beyond the aesthetics of these objects. It questions their origin and the causes for their distribution, whilst also aiming to understand the socio-political variability of each territorial unit where these objects circulated. The Nepeña Valley for instance, became part of the Moche world at a late stage of its history. Therefore, its socio-political scenario differed in many aspects from the way in which Moche developed in the other valleys. For that reason, the presence of Moche vessels in Cerro Castillo needs to be understood from both a site level perspective and a larger regional scale.

The quandary of Moche pottery studies

At this point, it is important to briefly describe ongoing debates regarding the Moche ceramics and their spatial distribution. Larco (1948) proposed a five-phase ceramic sequence based on the vast pottery assemblage he collected from the Chicama, Moche, Virú, and Nepeña valleys. It was a stylistic classification that developed into a chronological sequence, subsequently confirmed through archaeological excavations and stratigraphic observations. This sequence was based on the formal evolution of the stirrup spout bottle, perhaps the most classic Moche vessel form. When correlating his collections with field notes and stratigraphic observations, Larco noted that the upper spout changed from a short and rather thick shape with a pronounced lip during the earlier phases, (Phases I and II) to a flaring contour during what he called Phase III. Then it got taller than in any other phase during Phase IV featuring parallel sides, to be finally tapered towards the top and back to be as short as during early phases during Phase V (Donnan and McClelland 1999; Larco 1948, 2001.).

Donnan and McClelland (1999) built on Larco's work correlating his sequence with

the development of other vessel forms archaeologically found in association with stirrup spout bottles whose phase was already known. Using an art historical approach, they noticed phase-to-phase changes in the manufacturing technology of stirrup spout bottles as well as changes in the artistic canons and scenery complexity of the themes in fineline-painted vessels. Larco however, had not included in his sequence the regions of Jequetepeque, Lambayeque and Piura, essentially because in those times no Moche artefacts had been reported from those valleys. As a result, Larco did not consider them part of the Moche territory or area of influence.

Larco's sequence was re-evaluated in the early 1990s, when considerable new Moche data were reported from the regions of Piura, Lambayeque, Jequetepeque, Chicama and Moche. The main issues of debate, predictably, turned on the Moche presence in the valleys north of the Paiján desert. Castillo and Donnan (1994) noted significant inconsistencies: 1) the absence of certain classic Moche forms in the valleys north of the Paiján desert (such as flaring bowls, spout and handle bottles, portrait vessels), 2) likewise, the limited presence of Moche IV-style pictorial themes; 3) the remarkable high quality of sculpted pieces featuring human beings and animals associated with the Early Moche period; 4) the abundance of cooking pots and face-neck jars during the Middle and Late Moche periods; and 5) the outstanding development of the Late Moche fineline painting decoration.

Consequently, scholars agreed on the use of two separate and compatible ceramic sequences, Early-Middle-Late for the valleys northwards the Paiján desert and Larco's I-V phases for the southern ones. This in turn led to seeing the Moche phenomenon as divided into two territorial units: the Northern Moche and Southern Moche (Castillo and Donnan 1994).

Since then, more issues have arisen with new data and research. The cultural drift of the region of Piura for instance, where Early Moche vessels were followed by Vicús and Moche-Vicús styles (Makowski 1994). Pampa Grande, one of the largest Moche sites in the Lambayeque Valley, is associated with the Moche V ceramic style which allegedly had not crossed the Paiján desert (Shimada 1994). Huancaco, in the Virú Valley, has been recently redefined as a non-Moche site to instead be considered as a separate polity associated with a Virú-Huancaco style (Bourget 2003, 2010). The presence of Moche pottery in the Santa Valley has been interpreted as a consequence of a state expansion from the Moche Valley which eventually generated a regional sub-style that maintained the core features of the classic

Southern Moche ceramics but with local variations in their forms and decorative motifs (Chapdelaine 2010). Since studies of Moche pottery are turning increasingly detailed in terms of stylistic features and manufacturing techniques, the use of Moche sub-styles seems a way to conciliate local and regional approaches (Donnan 2011).

This investigation helps to inform some of these proposals by providing new data associated with residential, funeral and ceremonial contexts. For the purpose of this analysis, the ceramic sample of Cerro Castillo is examined within the frame proposed by Castillo and Donnan, following the stylistic attributes that typify pottery from the Northern Moche and Southern Moche regions.

Moche ceramic forms and decoration

The most diagnostic Moche vessel forms are stirrup spout bottles, spout and handle bottles, flaring bowls, dippers, jars and bowls, many of which may have been combined or added with a plastic/sculpted form (Donnan 1978). Decorative motifs vary from broad either vertical or horizontal bands on the vessel's neck or chamber to geometric forms painted with simple techniques (usually with a thick brush). These types of pieces have been highly diagnostic to identify Moche presence or influence in the different valleys of the north coast of Peru essentially because of their large-scale mould production (Chapdelaine 2010; Jackson 2009; Shimada 2001; Uceda and Rengifo 2006).

The known sample of Moche ceramics is broad and presents a combined variety of forms, manufacture techniques and decorative motifs, e.g. moulded artefacts with relief decoration and simple painting on polished surfaces, stirrup spout bottles with simple pictorial decoration, modelled pieces in form of animals, portraits, human or mythic characters, slipped jars with decorative motifs and bowls with geometric designs are amongst the most typical examples. This repertoire also includes three-dimensional moulded and/or modelled vessels featuring naturalistic portraits of commoners, elite individuals, warriors, super natural beings, animals, vegetables and other complex scenes. These pieces may present relief decoration, simple painting on a polished surface, slipped surface treatment and/or fineline painting decoration. It is common to find several of these vessels (entire and in a good state of

preservation) in a single burial (Donnan and Mackey 1978). When found in domestic contexts, architectural fills, rubbish dumps or ceremonial settings, they are rarely whole and their numbers reduce considerably (Uceda 2010). Sometimes archaeologists have been able to recognise cases of vessels that were made from the same mould (Donnan 2004).

The Moche fineline painting tradition refers to the pictorial decorations applied to usually high-quality vessels, featuring elaborate figures drawn generally with thin reddish-ochre strokes over a white to cream slip background. Through time, some extra colours such as purple or orange were also utilised (Donnan and McClelland 1999). Although the term 'fineline' may entail a certain degree of subjectivity, it is useful for classificatory purposes since it enables a distinction between finely-made and other, generally simpler forms of decoration. Donnan and McClelland (1999) examined the evolution of this singular style. Using an art-historical approach, they explored the decisions made by Moche painters which eventually shaped the style's trajectory. Their work also provides a representative corpus of ceramic forms where fineline decoration was applied, e.g. stirrup spout bottles, spout and handle bottles, flaring bowls, dippers and bowls. Nevertheless, the same forms can be related to simpler-decorated vessels or even non-decorated ones.

Moche ceramics in the Cerro Castillo's sample

The research at Cerro Castillo yielded a considerable amount of sherds of Moche vessels corresponding to a variety of forms and decorative motifs. A quantitative and qualitative examination of this sample may shed light on the circulation of Moche vessels across the site as well as on the nature of their consumption and diffusion within the site's population.

Due to their stylistic ubiquity, 'Moche style wares' constitutes a category on its own in the present analysis. All ceramic sherds from Cerro Castillo featuring any Moche trait have been included within this category which is in turn subdivided into formal and decorative sub-categories. In some cases, the fragments are diagnostic enough to be accounted into a specific vessel shape sub-category (e.g., a rim of a flaring bowl or an arch of a stirrup spout bottle). Some special pieces such as moulds were set apart into a single sub-category given their relevance in the understanding of the pottery production at the site.

Other cases, however, presented issues that required a different approach. A decorated sherd for instance, could correspond with a broken part of more than one vessel shape, e.g. fragments of bases could have belonged to either a bottle or a jar, and the same can be said about sculpted and painted sherds. To address these issues, the ‘Moche style wares’ category includes additional sub-categories such as bases, sculpted shapes, relief decoration and human face attributes.

Painted fragments also present an issue since a few range of painting techniques can be noted in the sample. These differences have implications regarding the quality intended for the vessel and the mastery of the manufacturer. For that reason, four Moche sub-categories specifically address the qualitative distinctions in painting techniques: ‘fineline painting’ (sherds that correspond with fineline pictorial vessels), ‘red on white slip,’ ‘white on red slip’ (ceramics in which these painting techniques were identifiable) and ‘painted sherds’ (fragments that do not show any other feature but simple painting).

7.3.2. Gallinazo Ceramics

The Gallinazo pottery style is a topic that has been recently re-evaluated (Millaire 2009; Millaire and Morlion 2009). Gallinazo ceramic style is increasingly seen as incised and appliquéd pottery usually shaped as face-neck jars and figurines; these have been reported in all the north coastal valleys of Peru (Millaire 2009). Gallinazo style ceramics feature a coarse temper compared to fine-wares, with little surface treatment; it is mostly unburnished. They may feature simple decorative motifs, generally on their necks or upper chambers, portraying sketchy human faces, birds and animals. To depict their eyes and mouths, potters employed appliquéd and incision techniques as well as simple lines and dots on their cheeks (Donnan 2009).

For decades, the Gallinazo/Virú phenomenon had been considered as a political formation that had its core-centre in the Virú Valley, spread through the Peruvian north coast, and to subsequently fell under the Moche dominion during the Early Intermediate Period. This interpretation had their grounds on a misled association between two pottery styles. On the one hand, there was a fine-ware pottery that Bennett (1939, 1950) called Gallinazo Negative. Larco (1948) had previously called it Virú, hence the indistinct/interchangeable use of both terms.

Such a ceramic style features negative-painted designs in a range of vessels forms that includes the stirrup spout bottle, the spout and bridge bottle and the double-chambered whistling bottle amongst the most popular. On the other hand, there was the Gallinazo incised and appliquéd ceramics described above (originally, Bennett named them Castillo Incised and Castillo Modelled).

Both styles were understood as the expression of a political entity called Gallinazo/Virú. Nonetheless, during the last three decades Gallinazo incised and appliquéd ceramics have been consistently reported throughout the coastal archaeological sites from Piura to Casma, whilst Bennett's Gallinazo Negative is still mainly confined within the Virú Valley. In light of current studies, the latter type of vessels relates to a corporate style whose production was restricted to the Virú Valley, likely to have been commissioned by the political unit that ruled that area throughout the Early Intermediate Period (the Virú polity), whilst the Gallinazo style is understood as a pan-north-coast cultural tradition distinct from the corporate styles produced by the various political entities that ruled over this territory.

Gallinazo (both incised and appliquéd) ceramics have been found in association with fine-ware vessels of Vicús, Moche and Virú style, in both domestic and funeral contexts. This has led scholars to suggest that Gallinazo was not a cultural phenomenon that was shut down by the emergence of Moche but rather a north coastal popular substrate within which a number of political entities developed. That is, it was a separate ware, probably an utilitarian pottery, which was produced, used and discarded by groups that shared a common ethnic identity (Millaire 2009).

Excavations at Cerro Castillo have yielded fragments of Gallinazo vessels associated with public and domestic contexts. Furthermore, these sherds were found along with other well-known pottery styles such as Moche and Casma. For the purpose of this study, sherds featuring Gallinazo features have been considered within the category 'Diagnostic fancy wares and styles,' wherein in turn, they have been sub-divided in two sub-categories: 'Gallinazo Incised' and 'Gallinazo Appliqué.'

7.3.3. Casma Ceramics

Excavations at Cerro Castillo also revealed Casma style pottery associated with architectural and funerary contexts. The majority of studies regarding the Casma polity have been drawn upon its ceramic style, mainly associated with the Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period (circa 600-1350). The Casma pottery style has been divided into two major types: Casma Incised and Casma Moulded (Collier 1962; Vogel 2003). This division builds on pioneering investigations run by Kroeber (1944) and Tello (1956).

Casma pottery has been located in different valleys and has been given different names by archaeologists through time. This research follows the recent considerations of Vogel, whose work provides descriptions of ceramics found in the heartland of this polity, i.e. the Casma Valley. Following Collier's descriptions (1962), Vogel explains Casma Incised pottery as red-ware cooking pots decorated with incisions, punctuations and stamped designs such as circles, dots and various appliquéd bumps, serpents and zoomorphic motifs such as the rope design around the neck (Vogel 2003). In addition, Daggett's analyses of Casma pottery from the Nepeña Valley offer descriptions similar to those provided by Collier, mentioning small, thick handles attached to the shoulders of jars and rim decorations such as appliquéd nodules, rope designs, short incised lines and bird shaped modelled figures that have been applied to the vessel (Daggett 1983).

Building on Daggett's work, Vogel's Casma style classification includes the Serpentine Appliquéd style, which is a red-brown utilitarian ware similar to Casma Incised but differing in the type and placement of designs and in that some fragments feature a slight burnish. According to Vogel (2003), these designs consist of appliqués in a crescent or squiggle shape with incised small circles that seem to shape a spotted serpent. These appliqués are placed on the vessels' shoulder but, unlike Casma Incised jars, they do not extend from the rim. Serpentine Appliquéd is found with red press-moulded ware (Vogel's Casma Moulded style) and a red-white-black painted ware.

Some scholars have pointed out that many of the characteristic designs of Casma pottery can be traced back as early as the Early Horizon, being associated with the Chavín style. They

argue that the principal design of the Casma Incised style consists of a deeply impressed dot within a circle (Fung and Williams 1977). As Vogel points out, if this design is as ancient as suggested, the definition of the Casma style then becomes a more complex challenge that should consider the possibility of earlier roots, a long-term continuity and widespread distribution along the Peruvian coast.

In the Nepeña Valley, Proulx (1973) reported fancy vessels featuring the raised circle and dot design, zoned punctuation, press moulding geometric incision and appliquéd elements decorated with incision or punctuation, including snakes, lizards and birds. Vogel reckons that the description of these wares, which Proulx called Huari Norteño B, fits better with what most scholars nowadays would consider Casma Incised and Moulded styles. Proulx also described some fine-wares such as black-ware face-neck jars and press-moulded flaring bowls, which today would correspond with the period of Casma influence in the region (Vogel 2003).

At Cerro Castillo, entire Casma vessels were found in association with funerary contexts. Additionally, sherds featuring Casma decoration were found in residential and public areas. In light of this evidence, this study has included the sample of Casma pottery within the category 'Diagnostic fancy wares and styles,' which features both sub-categories 'Casma Incised' and 'Casma Moulded.'

7.3.4. Chimú ceramics

Most of the fancy pottery associated with the Late Intermediate Period in the north coast of Peru bear influence from the Chimú polity. As the wares of the Middle Horizon are characterised by a high diversity of forms and decorative designs—also reminiscences from the Early Intermediate Period (or even earlier than that) and some others more innovative, combinative or experimental—the Late Intermediate Period seems to have been a time of standardisation, at least in the realm of ceramic production, and the Nepeña Valley was not an exception.

Proulx (1973) pointed out the Nepeña Black-on-White style and the Chimú style as the dominant ceramics of the Nepeña Valley during the Late Intermediate Period. On the one

hand, the former would have been a purely local production, i.e., a result of the Middle Horizon Nepeña Black-White-Red (possibly Cajamarca) influenced by the Wari presence (Huari Norteño A and B). The necked jar or flask would have been the most popular Nepeña Black-on-White fancy vessel type. Jars could present lug handles (also called false handles) and a modelled figure on the neck, although this could be considered a proper Chimú style feature. Additionally, jars' chambers can be painted with black geometric elements. Decorated bowls such as painted-tripod bowls and pedestal-based bowls were also associated with the Late Intermediate Period in the valley (Proulx 1973).

The Chimú style, on the other hand, seems to be highly noticeable within the pottery samples of the north coast of Peru. It essentially consists of polished black-wares corresponding to vessels forms whose development date back to the Early Horizon. Amongst the most popular forms associated with the Chimú style are: 1) the stirrup spout bottle, which could feature a small modelled monkey or bird at the base of the spout, 2) the double chambered bottle which could present a modelled seal on one chamber, 3) the spout and figure bottle featuring a modelled human character on the top of the chamber connected to the spout by a strap handle, and 4) the head and spout double-chambered vessel which is a combination of the two previously described forms. The Chimú style also includes domestic forms such as handled jars with press-moulded designs (either geometric or dotted decoration) and appliqués on the chamber, necked modelled jars (also called face-neck jars), whose chamber can feature a variety of sculpted shapes with press-moulded dotted decoration and simple rounded jars.

At Cerro Castillo, broken parts and entire Chimú wares were found in domestic and public structures. Accordingly, these wares have been counted within the category 'Black-wares (Chimú and Chimú-related).' Fragments accounted into this group were subdivided in sub-categories of form and decoration when their identification was possible. Hence these sub-categories consider vessels forms such as 'stirrup spout bottles' and 'sculpted shapes' as well as Chimú classic decorative motifs such as 'stipple stamping' and 'paddle stamping.' Sherds presenting other type of features such as 'pre-fired incision,' 'plastic decoration,' 'reduced-fired plain-ware' and 'strap handles' were accounted within these sub-categories accordingly.

7.4. Cerro Castillo's sample: ware categories

This section synthesises the accounts of the ceramics found in the areas excavated in Cerro Castillo. The sample is presented following the four main ware categories in which it has been divided: 'Black-wares (Chimú and Chimú-related)', 'Diagnostic fancy wares and styles', 'Moche wares' and 'Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.'

Figures 7.57 to 7.69 also show the data in terms of percentages of occurrence and distribution. Detailed numbers, percentages and provenience of the sample are provided in Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3. Likewise, the appendix of this document offers quantitative and descriptive information about the ceramics in relation to the compound where they were found (see Appendix of this document).

It is also important to note that throughout the following sections, units in close proximity have been integrated as part of one joint compound. This enables analysing the sample in terms of its association with coherent spatial units—i.e. grouped-up trenches—individually of the relative numbering utilised throughout different fieldwork seasons. Units 4, 5 and 6 for instance, are located near each other, therefore they and their content are analysed as belonging to the same contextual area, which is referred to as Units 4-5-6 (the same logic has been applied in the architectural analysis of Chapter 8).

7.4.1. Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

The category 'Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)' corresponds mainly with ceramics fired in a reduction atmosphere, which is typically associated with the Chimú style of the Late Intermediate Period (Figs. 7.1 to 7.7). This assemblage consists of 432 fragments, accounting for 13.7% of the total ceramic sample. These sherds were essentially collected from the modern surface and upper layers of the excavation units (e.g. U2-L1, U11-L2).

These sherds feature a polished, and occasionally burnished, surface. Our analyses identified broken parts of stirrup spout bottles (4.6% of the category) and sculpted shapes (2.3%). Several fragments present diagnostic Chimú decorative motifs, such as the paddle

stamping (2.3%) and stipple stamping (the latter also referred to as ‘goose skin’ decoration). Other sherds feature pre-fired incisions (2.1%) and plastic decoration (12.5%). Strap handles (9.3%) are also present in this sample. The majority of this assemblage however, corresponds with fragments of plain-ware, that is, with broken parts of jars and cooking pots fired in a reducing atmosphere (62.7%).

7.4.2. Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

The category ‘Diagnostic fancy wares and styles’ is composed of broken parts of identifiable forms, as well as decorative motifs associated with some known ceramic styles of the Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon (Figs. 7.8 to 7.19). This assemblage is represented by 461 fragments, which constitute 14.6% the site’s sample. The majority of these sherds were found in association with the strata underneath the modern surface and first layer of fill (e.g. U7-L3, U12-L5).

This category features broken parts of stirrup and bridge bottles (1.5% of the category) and sculpted shapes (4.6%). Other sherds present plastic decoration (11.7%) or may correspond with carinated shapes (3.9%). The assemblage also includes strap handles (5.9%), moulds (1.3%) and several sherds showing simple painting (13.2%).

A few fragments could be associated with identifiable pottery styles, such as Wari (2.0%) and Cajamarca (2.4%). Sherds associated with the Gallinazo style were also accounted in this category, featuring the Gallinazo Incised (4.3%) and Gallinazo Appliquéd (2.6%) types.

There is a significant occurrence of broken parts of strap handle jugs, showing either a rough surface treatment or a polished surface. Many of these sherds feature painting decoration (20.4%), consisting of parallel lines painted on the strap and/or on the jug’s neck. This finding has important implications since this type of vessel seems to correspond with a local pottery style (see section 7.5.2 in this Chapter)

A significant percentage of ‘Diagnostic fancy wares and styles’ were recorded in Unit 10 (35.1%); however, it is important to note that this high occurrence is due to the large size of this excavation unit. Units 4-5-6 (12.8%), Units 8-9 (15.6%) and Units 12-13 (11.1%) also

show significant percentages of sherds of this category. It is worth noting an important presence of painted strap handle jugs in Unit 10 (7.8%), Units 12-13 (2.6%) and Units 8-9 (4.1%). A few Gallinazo Incised fragments were found in Units 4-5-6 (1.3%), Unit 10 (1.1%) and Unit 8-9 (1.1%).

There is a noticeable occurrence of Casma ceramics, in the form of the Casma Incised (2.4%) and Casma Moulded (12.6%) types. In this respect, it is important to note that most of these fragments were found in the fill layers of Unit 10 (5.6%) and the disturbed deposits of Units 14-16 (3.5%). Therefore, more secure contexts are necessary to assess the stratigraphic provenance of the Casma fragments.

7.4.3. Moche style wares

The category 'Moche style wares' is composed of ceramics that correspond with pieces of Moche pottery forms and/or sherds featuring Moche decorative motifs (Figs. 7.20 to 7.50). Excavations at Cerro Castillo yielded 852 fragments of Moche vessels, making up 26.9% of the full pottery recovered from the site. The majority of these fragments were encountered in association with the strata underneath the modern surface (e.g. U1-L3, U9-L3), except those found in the disturbed deposits of Units 14-16 in Cemetery 1.

The assemblage of this category includes broken parts of stirrup spout bottles (9.6% of the category), spout and handle bottles (6%), flaring bowls (5.5%), dippers (0.5%) and sculpted shapes (8.8%). Fragments showing relief decoration (12.2%), human face attributes (6.5%) and moulds (0.8%) have also been accounted in this sample. In addition, several sherds feature painting decoration—whether the fineline painting style (7.7%), red on white slip (5.4%), white on red slip (2.2%) or simple painting (28.3%)—showing lines, circles, dots or different geometric designs.

The sample features an important presence of Moche style wares in almost every excavated unit. In this regard, it is worth noting the high occurrence of stirrup spout bottles in Unit 10 (4.9%), as well as flaring bowls (1.9%) and fragments showing relief decoration in Units 8-9 (3.4%). The assemblage also includes a few moulds, mostly found in Units 3-7-15 (0.7%).

7.4.4. Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

At Cerro Castillo, the 1419 sherds of plain-wares and utilitarian forms encountered during excavations represent the 44.8% of the sample. They essentially correspond with broken parts of jars and cooking pots (66% of the category) fired in an oxidising atmosphere. The assemblage also includes fragments large jars, also called tinajas (6.2%), as well as sherds featuring traces of soot (25.5%). Graters (1.1%), drilled shreds (0.6%) and spindle-whorls (0.6%) were also accounted in this category (Figs. 7.51 to 7.56).

Fragments corresponding with this category were found in every excavated area. A large percentage was encountered in Unit 10 (803%), however, as previously said, this is mostly due to the large size of this excavation unit. It is also worth noting that graters were only encountered in Unit 10 (1% of the category).

7.5. Discussion and interpretative considerations

The foregoing section described the pottery found through excavations in Cerro Castillo considering its spatial location and stylistic affiliation. The corpus presented can be examined from various perspectives. This investigation focuses on stylistic traits of ceramics with their contextual associations to elucidate the cultural phenomena associated with the site's history, their chronological frame and interrelations. Alongside, the accounting of plain-wares and other utilitarian forms complement this study providing a preliminary view on the domestic activity at the site.

Regarding the general accounts of the sample (3,164 ceramic pieces), 13.7% corresponds with black-wares associated with the Chimú style, 14.6% makes up the category 'Diagnostic wares and styles,' 26.9% is represented by Moche style wares and 44.8% corresponds with plain-wares and utilitarian forms (Figs. 7.57). These results bring up three lines of discussion: 1) the site's chronological frame and its occupational sequence, 2) the site's cultural affiliations with the Moche, Chimú and other traditions such as Gallinazo, Casma and a local one that had not been accounted prior this research, and 3) the site's association with both ceremonial and domestic activities.

7.5.1. Chronological considerations

Identifying the stylistic traits of Cerro Castillo's ceramics helps to reveal the cultural traditions affiliated and/or connected to the site's history which in turn sheds light on the temporal span during which the site may have been inhabited. The chronology of the site's ceramics can be framed within the general sequence proposed by Rowe (1962). The ceramics suggest that Cerro Castillo experienced at least three main occupational epochs.

Occupation A (Late Intermediate Period, AD 1100-1470)

Results of pottery analyses point out that Cerro Castillo would have been inhabited for the last time during the spread of the Chimú culture, which would indicate that this occupation occurred during the Late Intermediate Period. In this regard, Chimú and Chimú related black-wares were found in all the compounds dug at the site—13.7% of the sample—being largely encountered in association with the modern surface and upper layers of the excavation units (Fig. 7.58 and 7.59). During this occupation, vessels featuring stipple stamping, paddle stamping and plastic decoration as well as blackened stirrup spout bottles, handled jars and plain-wares were of common circulation across the site (Fig. 7.60). In addition, it is possible that Casma ceramics also circulated during this occupation.

No Late Horizon or Inca-related evidence has been found at the site which suggests that Cerro Castillo was abandoned after the Chimú decline. However, it is necessary to consider that the site was plundered on several occasions, possibly throughout centuries. If so, the archaeological contexts of the Late Horizon would have been the first and easiest target for looters, which would also explain their absence in the archaeological record.

Occupation B (Middle Horizon, AD 700-1100)

Based on the ceramic findings and contextual associations, the most intense occupation of Cerro Castillo would have occurred during the Middle Horizon, a time when cultural traditions such as Moche, Casma, Wari and others made their way into the site (Figs. 7.61

and 7.62). Moche (26%) and other diagnostic fancy styles (14.6%) were recorded in all the compounds excavated essentially in association with one another (Figs. 7.57, 7.58 and 7.59).

At this point, it is important to highlight the comparatively late nature of the Moche presence in Cerro Castillo. The vast majority of Moche wares of the sample are associated with the Moche phase IV ceramic style (only a few sherds may be related to the Moche phase V or to the northern Late Moche style). To date, there is no evidence of Moche phases I, II or III, nor of Early or Middle Moche wares. This account bears on three points. First, the Moche presence at Cerro Castillo happened during the peak of the Moche phase IV ceramic style and the development of Moche phase V. Such presence occurred at a time when artefacts associated with other traditions such as Wari and Casma were also circulating in the region. Finally, if that was the case, this context of contemporaneity is likely to have taken place during the Middle Horizon rather than during the Early Intermediate Period.

These considerations find support in excavations and radiocarbon dates from the site of Guadalupito in the Santa Valley, which is stylistically associated with the Moche phase IV (Chapdelaine 2010). In this regard, Chapdelaine has posited that the Moche IV occupation in the lower Santa Valley lasted until circa AD 700-800 (not until AD 600 as previously thought), which implies that the Moche decline in the Santa Valley happened during the first half of the Middle Horizon. Furthermore, these dates match the late Moche IV occupation at Huacas de Moche (Uceda 2010), pointing out a longer length of the Moche phase IV across the region.

In addition, scholars have recently suggested the contemporaneity between the temple of Pañamarca and the New Temple of Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley, the latter dated AD 600-850 (Uceda 2010; Uceda et al. 2002). If so, it is not impossible that the temple of Pañamarca would have been built circa the same dates of proposed for Guadalupito in the neighbouring Santa Valley, which is AD 700-800. The temple of Pañamarca is the most noticeable feature of the Moche presence in the Nepeña Valley and its history is closely connected to the one of Cerro Castillo since both are part of the same archaeological complex. The construction of the temple of Pañamarca must have occurred at a time when Moche had a solid presence in the area, which is evidenced in the archaeological record of Cerro Castillo. This correlation reaffirms the hypothesis that Moche and other cultural traditions made their way into Cerro Castillo during the first half of the Middle Horizon.

Although future analyses will likely reveal a more accurate sequence, this investigation indicates a chronological overlap of styles which in turn suggests degrees of contemporaneity and coexistence of the cultures represented. In this sense, the Middle Horizon at Cerro Castillo would have been a time that saw the circulation of ceramics associated with different cultures. The Moche and local traditions were the most popular, whereas material culture related to other traditions such as Gallinazo, Wari, Cajamarca and eventually Casma, circulated in lower numbers.

Occupation C (Early Horizon/Early Intermediate Period)

At present, there is no evidence at Cerro Castillo associated with any of the Early Horizon fancy ware traditions. Nevertheless, it would be premature to write off the possibility of an earlier occupation at the site. Some architectural features seem to indicate so—e.g. a pillar recorded in U10-Room-1 or the orthostatic stone wall found in Unit 14 (see chapters 8 and 9), typical of earlier cultures in the valley (Chicoine 2006, 2010; Ikehara and Chicoine 2011).

In addition, the Early Intermediate Period (AD 100-700) is little represented in the pottery sample by only 32 sherds featuring Gallinazo style traits (3.6% of the sample). However, cane-marked mud-bricks associated with Huaca Sector 1 would indicate a solid Gallinazo presence at the site (see chapters 8 and 9).

Due to different reasons, excavations in some units did not reach the sterile soil, leaving an open question about the first occupation of Cerro Castillo.

7.5.2. Cultural affiliations

The ceramics of Cerro Castillo show features related to different regional cultures. Their presence nevertheless, has to be assessed in terms of their quantitative occurrence and spatial distribution across the settlement. For instance, although the assemblage features Cajamarca and Wari-related pottery, their presence is minimal compared to the ones of Moche and Chimú, which constitute the most abundant styles of the sample.

For the purpose of this specific section, the sample was reorganised considering only a cultural-stylistic criterion, i.e. all the non-decorated and no style/culture indicator sherds were set aside. In doing so, the sample was reduced to 879 pieces and divided in seven categories named after the cultural style identified in the sample. Accordingly, this assemblage has yielded stylistic traits corresponding with seven cultural traditions—Moche, local, Gallinazo, Wari, Cajamarca, Casma and Chimú—whose accounts are subsequently described (Figs. 7.64 and 7.65).

Moche pottery in Cerro Castillo

Moche ceramics in Cerro Castillo are represented by 852 fragments (55.9% of the style sample) which were accounted into this category on the basis of their stylistic traits that allow their identification as part of Moche style vessels (Figs. 7.64). Accordingly, broken parts of well-known Moche vessel forms have been identified such as stirrup spout bottles (16.7%), spout and handle bottles (10.4%), flaring bowls (9.6%) and sculpted shapes (15.3%) (Fig. 7.67).

In terms of its distribution, Moche style wares were found in all the compounds excavated except in Unit 11 (the latter corresponds with a building built centuries later during the Late Intermediate Period). This evidences a wide circulation of Moche artefacts across the site which in turn suggests a spread interest from Cerro Castillo's inhabitants in the consumption of these items. Unit 10 presents the highest percentage of Moche style wares (44.2%) however, this high number needs to be assessed considering that this excavation area is notably larger than others. Units 1-2 (8.1%), Units 3-7-15 (8.6%), Units 8-9 (18.3%) and Units 14-16 (8.6%) also yielded important percentages of Moche pottery (Figs. 7.65).

When examined in contrast to other styles' presence per compound, Moche pottery is clearly the dominant one in Units 1-2 (52.6%), Units 3-7-15 (57.5%), Unit 10 (57.4%), Units 12-13 (47.8%), Units 14-16 (58.3%), Units 8-9 (68.2%) and Units 17-18-19 (77.8%) (Fig. 7.66).

The sample also presents an important percentage of the elaborate painting technique known as fineline painting (13.4%). In addition, there is a significant amount of fragments featuring relief decoration (21.2%) and human face attributes (11.2%) (Fig. 7.67). This suggests

an important circulation of pictorial and three dimensional ceramics throughout the site.

The circulation of pictorial vessels and sculpted forms suggests consumption of and knowledge about the imagery depicted in this type of media. This consideration is supported by the identification of characters and subject matters of the Moche art in the Cerro Castillo's pottery sample—e.g. a relief decorated fragment showing women in an architectural structure interacting with anthropomorphised birds (compare Fig. 7.45 with Donnan and McClelland 1999: 15 fig. 1.5). In this respect, scholars have pointed out the evocative nature of Moche art (Donnan 1978), i.e. the representation of a given icon and/or character would evoke a larger theme where more characters and symbolic elements also took part of—allegedly representation of ceremonies and/or rituals that were performed in the real ground. Thus the presence of fragments featuring Moche art scenes in Cerro Castillo indicates not only the circulation of Moche imagery but also its demand and consumption, which in turn suggests its importation and/or locally-based production. Ultimately, these considerations lead to posit that Cerro Castillo's inhabitants had knowledge or at least a fair understanding of the politico-ideological agenda encoded in Moche imagery. Moche art consumers had the capacity to understand its meaning and also be affected by its agency.

Strap handle jugs and the local component

Excavations at Cerro Castillo revealed a significant amount of broken parts of strap handle jugs—146 sherds accounting for 16.6% of the style sample (Fig. 7.64). Although no complete strap handle jug has been found during the excavations, fragments corresponding with different parts of this vessel form indicate that they may or may not present painting decoration, which mostly consists of parallel lines painted on the strap and/or on the jug's neck (Figs. 6.15b, 7.15, 7.16 and 7.19). Additionally, these strap handle jugs may show either a rough surface treatment or a polished surface.

Fragments of strap handle jugs have been reported in all the compounds excavated, which attests to their wide circulation across the site. Unit 10 is the one that concentrates 39.7% of them however similar to in the case of other styles this high number is due to the large size of

the area. Other compounds such as Units 1-2 (7.5%), Units 4-5-6 (8.2%), Units 12-13 (13.7%) and Units 8-9 (19.2%) also present important percentages of this ceramic form (Fig. 7.65).

Contrasting the strap handle jugs' occurrence per compound in relation to other styles reveals a significant presence of these vessels in Units 4-5-6 (27.3%), Units 12-13 (29.9%) and Units 8-9 (21.1%). Other compounds such as Units 1-2 (14.5%), Units 3-7-15 (8.2%), Unit 10 (15.3%), Unit 11 (15.8%) and Units 14-16 (21.2%) also feature an important presence of strap handle jugs in association with other pottery styles (Fig. 7.66).

Little is known about the provenience of this specific type of vessel, thus its cultural affiliation requires further investigation. Its stratigraphic association however, suggests that strap handle jugs circulated throughout Cerro Castillo along with other pottery traditions such as Moche and Casma, which in turn would help to elucidate its chronological frame—i.e. the Middle Horizon. Strap handle jugs and Moche ceramics feature a consistent incidence in all the compounds excavated, which evidences their solid presence in the consumption preferences of the site's inhabitants. On this basis, this research preliminarily suggests that strap handle jugs may correspond with ceramics associated with local groups that had settled at Cerro Castillo prior to the arrival of other traditions such as Moche and Casma.

Gallinazo ceramics

32 sherds of the decorated pottery of Cerro Castillo present Cajamarca-related stylistic traits, making up 3.6% of the sample (Fig. 7.64). This assemblage is essentially composed of ceramic fragments featuring traits that can be identified as Gallinazo Incised and/or Appliquéd.

Regardless of the small quantity of Gallinazo pottery found in the excavation units, its distribution is noticeably centred in Units 4-5-6 (25%), Unit 10 (25%) and Units 8-9 (25%) (Fig. 7.66). This may suggest that this type of pottery circulated essentially amongst residential compounds. Furthermore, its stratigraphic association with other ceramic styles indicates that Gallinazo wares circulated in areas where Moche vessels and local strap handle jugs were also consumed.

Polychrome Wari-related pottery

Only 9 fragments of the sample show Wari-related features, making up 1% of the decorated pottery (Fig. 7.64). Due to the small amount of this ceramic style, it is not possible to offer major inferences about the relationships between Cerro Castillo and the Wari phenomenon other than the arrival and circulation of some Wari-related material expressions. Based on stratigraphic correlations, the latter would have occurred at a time when other traditions also arrived at the site.

Cajamarca-related pottery

11 sherds of the decorated pottery of Cerro Castillo present Cajamarca-related stylistic traits, making up 1.3% of the style sample (Fig. 7.64). The small amount of this ceramic style only allows inferring the arrival and circulation of some material expressions of this culture. Their stratigraphic association with other materials suggests that Cajamarca-related vessels circulated at the site along with the material expressions of other cultures.

The nature of the connections between Cerro Castillo and the highlands is a subject that requires further studies.

Casma ceramics in Cerro Castillo

The Casma culture in the Cerro Castillo's pottery sample is represented by 69 decorated pieces—7.8% of the sample (Fig. 7.64). This assemblage is essentially composed of ceramic fragments featuring Casma Incised and/or Casma Moulded traits.

43.5% of these sherds were encountered in Unit 10, whereas 5.8% were found in Units 4-5-6, 8.7% in Units 3-7-15, 8.7% in Unit 11 and 7.2% in Units 12-13 (Fig. 7.66). This evidences a significant circulation and consumption of Casma artefacts across the residential spaces of Sector 4. In addition, 7 complete Casma vessels (along with other Casma fragments) were found in association with secondary funerary contexts in Units 14-16 (Cemetery 1), which

is a reliable indicator of the consumption of this type of artefacts for funeral rituals at the site. No evidence of Casma pottery was found in Units 1-2, Units 8-9 and Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1).

When contrasted to the presence of other styles per compound, Unit 11 (31.6%) and Units 14-16 (25%) are the areas where the occurrence of Casma pottery is noticeable. Although in lower numbers, Units 4-5-6 (9.1%), Units 3-7-15 (8.2%), Unit 10 (7.9%) and Units 12-13 (7.5%) have also yielded Casma ceramics (Fig. 7.66).

The Chimú presence

The presence of Chimú in Cerro Castillo is evidenced by 432 potsherds showing visual traits commonly related to this culture (13.8% of the style sample) (Fig. 7.64). The sample features broken parts of Chimú vessel forms such as stirrup spout bottles (16.5%) and sculpted shapes (8.3%) as well as fragments featuring typical Chimú decoration such as stipple stamping—goose bump pattern—(14.9%), paddle stamping (8.3%) and plastic decoration (44.6%) (Fig. 7.68).

Chimú style pottery has been found in every excavated compound of Cerro Castillo. Its distribution suggests the site was widely occupied during the Late Intermediate Period. Many of these ceramics have been encountered in Unit 10 (47.9%) however this elevated number is due to the large extension of the area. Other areas such as Units 1-2 (18.2%), Units 3-7-15 (8.3%), Units 12-13 (8.3%) and Unit 11 (6.6%) also yield a significant presence of this pottery style (Fig. 7.65).

When contrasted to the presence of other styles per compound, Unit 11 is the one that yields the most solid Chimú presence (42.1%), followed by Units 1-2 (28.9%), Units U17-U18-U19 (16.7%) and Unit 10 (15.3%). Under the same logic, other compounds such as Units 12-13 (14.9%), Units 3-7-15 (13.7%) and Units 4-5-6 (13.6%) also feature a solid occurrence of Chimú style ceramics (Fig. 7.66).

Based on these results, it is plausible to argue the wide circulation and consumption of Chimú pottery across the site during the Late Intermediate Period. Likewise, the majority of the compounds excavated—allegedly built before the Chimú arrival—would have been reused and/

or refurbished during the Late Intermediate Period. Furthermore, the absence of other pottery styles in association with the layers where Chimú pottery was found suggests that during this time Cerro Castillo (like many other settlements) were part of the expansionist Chimú state based on Chan Chan in the Moche Valley.

7.5.3. Residential and domestic activities

The pottery recovered from excavations at Cerro Castillo presents a high percentage of plain-wares and utilitarian forms (44.8% of the sample) (Fig. 7.57), which suggests sustained residential and domestic activities. The assemblage is largely composed of rims of jars and cooking pots (66%) and large containers also called tinajas (6.2%), many of which feature soot traces (25.5%). The high number of this utilitarian pottery indicates that both food preparation and food storing were carried out at the site for prolonged periods of time. Other utilitarian forms such as graters (1.1%) and spindle-whorls (0.6%) are also present in the sample although in small percentages (Fig. 7.69).

Due to time limitations, a more detailed study of this sample remains as a task for future investigations. Moreover, further studies of this assemblage will need to be assessed along with other lines of evidence typically related to food preparation and consumption such as gourd plates, hearths, charcoal and the varied remains of food encountered in the excavation units (corncobs, seeds, animal bones and shells).

Likewise, the study of the other material genres recorded from excavations at Cerro Castillo such as textiles, basketry, metals and lithics is an endeavour for further investigations.

7.6. Conclusions

This chapter described the ceramics found in Cerro Castillo. An analysis of their stylistic attributes and contextual provenience suggests that the site experienced at least three main occupational periods. The last one, Occupation A, occurred during the Late Intermediate Period and was associated with the Chimú presence at the site as evidenced by a large quantity of

Chimú wares in different sectors of the site.

The most significant one, Occupation B, relates to the Middle Horizon. Analyses reveal that, during this time, a large amount of pottery associated with the Moche culture circulated across the site. The sample includes an important number of decorated sherds, presumably broken parts of vessels that represented different subject matters of the Moche imagery. Furthermore, this study also suggests that the strap handle jug would correspond with a localised ceramic style that coexisted and circulated alongside the Moche ceramics. Cultural expressions of Gallinazo, Wari and Cajamarca would have also arrived at the site, although in a less noticeable fashion compared to the others.

Finally, Occupation C would have occurred during the Early Horizon/Early Intermediate Period however, evidence of this occupation is limited to a few Gallinazo ceramics.

CHAPTER 8

Architecture and spatial organisation

This chapter examines Cerro Castillo's architecture and spatial organisation. The following sections provide detailed information about the building materials and construction techniques utilised by the ancient inhabitants of the site. The chapter then discusses issues of spatial boundaries examining the architectural compounds in relation to their use, distribution and associated materials. By doing so, this work aims to elucidate the nature of the activities performed, or intended to be carried out, in these spaces as well as the inhabitants' decisions regarding proxemics.

8.1. Methodological considerations

For the purpose of this investigation, architecture is understood to be the practice of designing and constructing a physical structure, as well as the structure itself (Oxford English Dictionary 2012). Digs at the site revealed architectural remains associated with cultural phenomena of the Early Intermediate Period and subsequent pre-Columbian eras (Rowe 1962). This chapter analyses such data addressing four lines of evidence: building materials, masonry techniques, architectural compounds and spatial distribution. This analysis aims to report and evaluate architectural differentiation that relates to social boundaries.

It is worth noting that archaeological architecture at Cerro Castillo, like in many other Andean sites, presents some setbacks that need to be taken into account. First, as previously mentioned, the preservation of the archaeological features at the site is far from ideal. Both natural and anthropogenic agents have played a damaging role that has irreversibly altered most of the cultural deposits. Several remains of architectonic structures are scattered throughout the site, and in numerous cases looters dug large and deep pits that reached the sterile soil, meaning that vast amounts of archaeological contexts were destroyed. Second, since the site was occupied during different pre-Columbian periods, building materials were commonly removed from their original place to be reutilised in subsequent constructions. This scenario needs to be considered

if we are to establish temporal correspondences between structures and their building materials. Third, some buildings contained materials from different cultural periods, raising questions regarding the structures' temporal filiations. A possible explanation is that those constructions were originally built during an early period and reutilised by later inhabitants; or, those buildings were built during a late period and for whatever the reason, people moved early period materials into the compound. Fourth, the archaeological evidence of the architecture largely corresponds with the limited remains of the constructions, largely consisting of foundations, bases and prints of walls, as well as variably-preserved floors. No wall featured at its original height, and many of them did not present an associated walking surface. In many cases the wall's length has been projected. Finally, there is a noticeable absence of some architectural features that almost surely were used by the ancient inhabitants of the site (e.g. doors, lintels, windows, ceilings, etc.).

This analysis of Cerro Castillo's architectural characteristics uses a number of conceptual and methodological resources that help overcome the above issues. In that respect, architectonic evidence offers a highly valuable archaeological hint: location. Whereas artefacts may have experienced several processes of transport (whether by environmental or human agents, and if the latter, the purposes and circumstances are numerous), architecture has remained in place leaving *in situ* evidence. Whether abandoned, dismantled or remodelled, constructions typically reflect a conscious choice of location (Canziani 2009; Van Gijseghem 2001). Bearing that in mind (and depending on the scale of the excavation as well as on the preservation of the contexts), archaeologists are well-positioned to approach other related choices such as masonry technologies, intended dimensions, distances and purposes—spatial organisation. The presence of architecture implicitly evidences socio-organisational levels—planning—that varied in accordance to the nature of the construction to be undertaken, suggesting joint participation of community members to various degrees (Canziani 2009, 2010; Chapdelaine 2001; Moore 1992). Thus, architectural remains are physical manifestations of a series of communal projects driven by forces that ranged from primary necessities to factional agendas (Bawden 1977; Shimada 1994). In this sense, some constructions could have sufficiently been undertaken by only household members, whilst other buildings may have required the intervention of organised manual labourers (masons) and specialised leaders

(architects).

To better assess the nature of Cerro Castillo's buildings, architectural evidence is anchored with stratigraphic observations (architectonic and artefactual superposition), stylistic associations and contextual evidence of activity. Integrating these aspects of the archaeological record helps to establish a solid basis from which we can explore a number of societal traits that range from archaeologically visible features (such as the distribution of the space) to others that require certain degrees of inference (e.g. the household practices and its socio-economic implications).

Cerro Castillo's architecture is examined considering its qualitative and technological variability in time and space. The logic of architectural quality relies on similar principles applied to other aspects of material culture, essentially relating to the overall energy spent on the construction of a given project (Canziani 2009). Since all architectural features were a consequence of cognitive processes, the energy spent on their construction, and therefore their quality, can be approached by exploring a number of connections between the archaeological traits and the behavioural characteristics of the social units (Canziani 2009, 2010; Moore 1992; Shimada 1994; Swenson 2004; Van Gijseghem 2001). 1) The size of the group involved; whether structures required the participation of only one household, several households or the entire community. For example, prints of wattle and daub fences suggest the participation of a small social unit whereas the perimeter wall of a plaza may relate to a wider public interest and intervention. 2) The characteristics of the raw materials employed; which entails choices made by masons regarding how unique a building was intended to be considering raw material availability or exoticness. Terraced rooms for instance, required cobbles, which were available throughout the site, whereas the construction of orthostatic walls implies a search for specific types of slabs. 3) Structural resilience; which may be an indicator of investment capacity and settling intentions. This aspect may also reflect the participation of masons with distinct expertise and understanding of building materials' properties, e.g. remains of plastered mud-brick walls featuring good-quality earthen floors compared to stone walls associated with tapped surfaces. 4) Aesthetics; related to the finishing touches given to an architectural element which may reveal a purposeful display of power, authority, and/or segmental adherences, e.g.

residential compounds featuring remains of painted walls and ceilings. 5) Desired functionality; the characteristics of some architectural compounds (location, size, quality, materials, etc.) may reflect architectonic conventions for spaces destined to hold certain activities. For instance, noticeable building quality patterns can be observed on spaces where food was prepared, as on structures where food was stored.

Assessing the qualitative differences between the architectural features of Cerro Castillo leads to the examination of architectural variability integrating its horizontal and diachronic dimensions. Horizontally, variability of building materials, masonry techniques, and types of compounds may relate to social differentiation at a community level. When examined alongside artefactual distribution, the horizontal differences of construction quality may correspond with distinct social segments, with discrete economic capacity and status (Uceda 2010; Van Gijseghem 2001). When anchored with stylistic features they may shed light on interacting cultural backgrounds or competing political factions.

Diachronically, variability of architectural traits may reveal changing patterns in the use of building materials and constructive techniques, as well as in the logic of spatial organisation (Van Gijseghem 2001). It sheds light on how differently people exploited certain raw resources through time. It may also reveal patterns of change and/or continuity regarding the use of building materials and masonry principles. In the same vein, a diachronic examination of the types of architectural compounds and their spatial distribution may indicate distinct periods of occupation and abandonment of certain sectors, or the site in general (Van Gijseghem 2001).

Based on the above considerations, this work intends to assess the interconnected relationships between the quality of the constructions, the social practices and the occupational continuity (or not) of the architectural compounds. As many scholars have considered, construction quality is generally a reflection of different economic resources, capacity of investment, as well as an exterior manifestation of aesthetics and stability (Canziani 2009; Van Gijseghem 2001). In short, examining how Cerro Castillo's architectural quality varied in time and space constitutes a way to explore the site's social boundaries, settlement dynamics and occupational history.

8.2. Building materials and masonry techniques

The pre-Columbian inhabitants of Cerro Castillo applied notions of traditional masonry to build a series of structures throughout the site. In this regard, masonry refers to the practice of building of the structures, from individual units laid in and bound together by mortar, and to the units themselves (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008; Oxford English Dictionary 2012). Masonry as a form of construction is significantly affected by the materials utilised, the quality of the mortar and workmanship and the pattern in which the units are assembled. Architectural structures at Cerro Castillo were built employing predominantly three elemental units of widespread masonry materials which relate to three specific types of masonry works: brick, stone and wattle and daub.

8.2.1. Brickwork masonry (adobe)

Excavations at Cerro Castillo revealed several architectural spaces delimited by brickwork masonry. Brickwork refers to a type of masonry constituted of bricks and mortar where rows of bricks—courses—are laid one on top of another to shape a structure (e.g. a wall) (Brown and Clifton 1978). It is one of the most traditional construction techniques developed by ancient Peruvian societies, and as such, the Moche employed it in a variety of building projects, from elementary residences to monumental edifices such as Huaca del Sol. Similar to many other worldwide cases, brickwork in Cerro Castillo was composed of bricks, ‘beds’ and ‘perpends’. Accordingly, a brick is a block made of an earthenware material. Cerro Castillo’s bricklayers only utilised solid mud-bricks, also called adobes, which was one of the most popular building units at the site. A Cerro Castillo mud-brick featured average dimensions of 32 x 20 x 18; however, although mud-bricks may look generally similar, variations in their size, shape and bonding may correspond with distinctive temporal and social contexts (e.g. cane marked mud-bricks are typically associated with Gallinazo buildings). The ‘bed’ refers to the mortar (usually a composite of clay and mud) upon which a mud-brick was laid, whereas a ‘perpend’ corresponds with the vertical joint between any two mud-bricks (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008; Fleming et al. 1999). At the site, the perpend was generally filled with mortar and

occasionally with a ceramic sherd or a stone, with mortar beds between mud-bricks commonly presenting an average separation of 1 cm or less, whereas perpends can vary from 1 cm to 5 cm.

Depending on the required structural characteristics, Cerro Castillo's bricklayers applied traditional coordinating principles of brickwork masonry which result from the combination of the mud-bricks orientation, cut and bonding. For a simple understanding of the matter, the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project uses the classic terminology coined into brickwork masonry worldwide. Accordingly, an *in situ* mud-brick is classified according to how its face is oriented in relation to the face of the wall it belongs to. Six types of orientations have been defined (Harris 2001): 1) stretcher: a brick laid with its long narrow side exposed; 2) header: a brick laid flat with its width at the face of the wall or parallel to it; 3) soldier: a brick laid vertically with the long narrow side of the brick exposed; 4) sailor: a brick laid vertically with the broad face of the brick exposed; 5) rowlock: a brick laid on the long narrow side with the short end of the brick exposed; and 6) shiner: a brick laid on the long narrow side with the broad face of the brick exposed.

In the majority of cases, when raising walls masons usually intend to lay uncut full-sized bricks so that the brickwork will hold its maximum possible strength. Occasionally however, builders have to cut a brick for a number of reasons: whether to fill a gap, or to fit certain spaces, or to obtain a specific desired shape, or to fulfil some aesthetic purpose. As a result, five types of brick cuts have been coined (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008; Harris 2001): 1) quarter bat: a brick cut to a quarter of its length; 2) half bat: a brick cut in half across its width; 3) three-quarter bat: a brick cut to three-quarters of its length; 4) queen closer: a brick cut in half down its length; and 5) king closer: a brick with one corner cut away, leaving one header face at half its standard width.

Works at Cerro Castillo revealed that ancient bricklayers followed one of the most broadly utilised building principles to obtain a stable mud-brickwork under a varied range of loads. That is, perpends did not vertically align in any two successive courses but were interspersed, so that the force acting on any mud-brick was distributed across a wider area in the next successive course. Based on this principle, Cerro Castillo's brickworks were mostly laid in header and stretcher bonds (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008). The header bond consists of courses of only headers, with the bricks in each new course being staggered by half a header (a

three-quarter bat may have served to fill gaps and corners in alternate courses). The stretcher bond (or running bond) consists of courses of stretchers, with bricks in each successive course placed over the length of half a stretcher. The stretcher bond presents a variant reported at the site: the raking stretcher bond. It refers to courses of stretchers where perpends either did not align at all, or where they aligned in some pattern other than that of standard stretcher bond. The stretcher bond is considered to be one of the simplest bonding patterns, and it was usually used in the building of walls one-half brick thick (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008). Perhaps due to the thinness of these types of walls, most of them were tied to other walls to gain some stability.

In some cases, masons built stretcher bonded walls to be the outer face of a cavity wall. A cavity wall comprises two totally discrete walls, each one of which is called a leaf. A cavity separates the two leaves so that there is no masonry connection between them at all. Although the two leaves may not share the same structural load, their transverse rigidity comes from the insertion of a fill of mud and stone into the cavity (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008). Cavity walls were generally thicker than any other type of walls. In masonry terminology, the thickness of brickwork is usually measured in bricks. A brickwork (a wall for instance) is said to be one brick thick if it has a total width equal to the length of one of its regular component bricks. Accordingly, a wall of a single-leaf is a wall of one half brick thickness; a double-leaf wall is said to be one brick thick, and so on. Cerro Castillo bricklayers provided walls with specific thickness considering a variety of factors such as intended functionality, weather protection, required ventilation and capacity of expenditure. The majority of mud-brick walls in Cerro Castillo ranged from half a mud-brick to two mud-bricks thick, especially in cases of cavity walls. Also, when preservation permitted, it was noticeable that the body of brickwork was originally thicker than what nowadays remains in place due to the use of a layer of mud and clay plaster (Campana 2000).

8.2.2. Stonemasonry

Excavations at Cerro Castillo also yielded significant evidence of stonemasonry. Several structures were built using stones possibly acquired from nearby quarries, the Nepeña River, or from the site itself. Known evidence of stonemasonry in the Nepeña Valley includes the

Early Horizon site of Caylán whilst one of the most complex examples lies at the site of Cerro Sechín in the neighbouring Casma Valley. According to what has been documented throughout this investigation, Cerro Castillo masons utilised, and eventually shaped, pieces of rock, often joint with mud mortar, to raise architectural structures. As discussed, some cases seem to have required the participation of specialised stonemasons who would have cut rough blocks of rock into the required sizes and shapes.

The predominant rock in Cerro Castillo was granite; most were cobbles and pebble-sized. Granite is one of the hardest igneous stones, and requires specific techniques if it is meant to be worked on. Cerro Castillo's inhabitants probably intended to exploit its strength and durability. A cobble (6.4 to 25.6 cm in diameter; Krumbein and Sloss 1963) is a loose clast of rock susceptible to being transported by natural forces such as water currents, landslides, etc. Cobbles generally feature rounded, semi-rounded or oblong shapes, without edges or corners, and a fairly smooth surface. The latter is due to wear provoked by erosive processes during their transportation (either by corrosion or hydrological erosion). Due to its proximity to the Nepeña River, the likelihood is that most of the cobbles used in Cerro Castillo's stonemasonry were obtained from that source. A pebble is also a clast of rock of the same nature as cobbles but smaller (0.4 to 6.4 cm in diameter; Krumbein and Sloss 1963). In many cases, both cobbles and pebbles turned into artefacts, whether through man-made transformations or not, being reutilised as construction materials, or vice-versa. Like cobbles, pebbles mostly present a smooth surface.

Cerro Castillo's builders employed mainly three types of stonemasonry: rubble stonemasonry, ashlar masonry and slipform stonemasonry (Davies and Jokiniemi 2008; Fleming et al. 1999). Rubble stonemasonry consisted of rough, non-worked shaped building stone set in mortar and laid in irregular courses. It was largely the most utilised type of stonemasonry at the site. Most of the stone structures feature rubble stonemasonry as both the outer face and as part of the structural core of walls. In some cases, stone walls were faced and combined with brickwork and clay plaster.

Only a few examples of coarse-ashlar masonry have been documented at Cerro Castillo. It corresponds with cut and worked stonemasonry where an individual stone has been worked until squared. It also refers to the masonry built of such stone which entails the use of surface treatments to obtain fairly smooth walls. Although Cerro Castillo's stonemasonry seems to have

been generally uncoursed, excavations yielded a few cases where both rubble and coarse-ashlar masonry were laid in coursed rows. It was also noticeable that stonemasons selected and cut stones to fill up structural gaps in some constructions.

Although only one case has been documented, slipform stonemasonry was also employed at Cerro Castillo. Slipform stonemasonry corresponds with a hybrid wall of reinforced mud-and-mortar fill with a rubble stone face (Elpel 2010). Stonemasons might have used a formwork (a sort of a wall-mould, likely of wood) to contain the rocks and mortar while keeping the walls straight. Formworks were placed on both sides of the wall to serve as a guide for the stone work. Subsequently, stones were placed inside the formworks with the outer faces against the formwork, and then mortar and fill were poured behind the rocks. The case documented at Cerro Castillo was only faced on one-side.

8.2.3. Combined brickwork and stone masonry

Excavations at the site also exposed constructions that combined brickwork and stonemasonry. Cerro Castillo builders utilised mud-bricks and stones, joined with mud mortar to raise structures that featured the following combinations: 1) Walls whose bottom part featured brickwork (of different thickness) whilst their top was built using rubble masonry. These types of walls provided buildings with a more solid structural stability; however, they may also correspond with remodelling works over spaces that were utilised during two occupational moments. 2) Other structures presented walls constructed with both mud-bricks and squared stones arranged in no apparent order. These cases may reflect the masons' choice of either saving materials, or urgencies that required the project to be finished in a short time. 3) Structures that featured entire walls made of brickwork and stonemasonry. This usually happened when two compounds shared a perimeter wall.

8.2.4. Wattle and daub

Alongside brickwork and stonemasonry, the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project yielded evidence of the employment of the wattle and daub technique for fences (also called

quincha). Wattle and daub is one of the most ancient building materials in the Andes (Campana 1983). The wattle consists of a woven web of thin branches (presumably whole and/or split reeds/canes) shaped up as loose panels slotted in a transportable frame, or alternatively, it may have been made right in the place where the wall was desired to be located.

Wattle is daubed with a sticky material. Despite the poor preservation of daub in Cerro Castillo, it was likely made from a mixture of ingredients from three categories: binders, aggregates and reinforcement (as is still used in rural communities in the valley today). The main binder that held the mix together was clay. The aggregates that provided the mixture with volume and stability were earth, sand and possibly crushed stone. Reinforcement was obtained through straw, hair, cane or other fibrous materials which helped hold the mix together as well as controlled shrinkage and provided flexibility. As in many other ancient cultures, daub might have been mixed by hand and treading. Then, it was rubbed through the wattle and allowed to dry, and afterwards often whitewashed to increase its resistance to rain.

8.2.5. Posts

Excavations at Cerro Castillo revealed the use of posts as structural elements in the architectural compounds. Remains of wooden posts as well as prints of postholes were encountered in association with brickwork and stone constructions. Seemingly, Cerro Castillo builders employed wooden posts as the vertical support for roofs as well as to provide constructions with straight up stability. Wooden posts would have also been important elements of wattle and daub structures. In some cases, evidence of postholes indicated that the posts went deeper than the wall foundations; they often reached sterile levels.

Although only one example of a pillar has been documented at the site, the use of this architectural technique needs to be taken into consideration. It consisted of a rectangular pillar set into an early floor featuring dimensions of 0.5 m per side and 1.3 m high preserved. It was made of mud-bricks, mud and clay. Pillars that supported the roofed areas of ceremonial patios have been reported in edifices of the Early Horizon (Chicoine 2006).

8.2.6. Roofing

The roofing of the pre-Columbian structures of Cerro Castillo is an aspect that remains uncertain. Preservation of roofs is very rare in archaeological sites of the Peruvian north coast; however, excavations revealed material evidence that suggests the use of thatching. Thatching is an ancient roofing method particularly reported in tropical and temperate climates. The likelihood then, is that roofs at Cerro Castillo may have been crafted using dry vegetation such as straw, water reed, sedge or rush grass shaped up in layers that prevented water from filtering into the inner roof. For larger buildings, such as temples, it is possible that Cerro Castillo builders utilised thatching alongside beams supported by posts.

8.2.7. Flooring

Several structures were associated with architectural floors, that is, man-made walking surfaces. Flooring quality and preservation varied throughout the site. However, despite such grading distinctions, two dominant flooring types were noted: earthen floors and tamped surfaces. Earthen floors were mainly made of earth and clay, and occasionally other ground materials which were mixed with sand and bits of straw to obtain a thickened, hard consistency. Such a mixture was laid over the top of a fill and then left to dry. Once the fill was flattened, a layer of earthen floor was spread over using clay as the key element that provided floors with water resistance and durability. These well-made floors may be a reflection of their inhabitants' desire to produce a walking surface capable of resisting constant traffic over long periods.

A tamped surface refers to a type of flooring of lower quality compared to earthen floors. At Cerro Castillo, it consisted of a tamped mixture of ground, clay and mud-brick fragments; other cases featured hard-packed rubbish topped off with soil. Like earthen floors, tamped surfaces also required a fill or sub-surface to build over. It is possible that some structures were not intended to have an architectural floor at all since those spaces might have been used as corrals, food processing spaces, or for any sort of firing. The choice of flooring quality might have been affected by a number of factors such as intended endurance, maintenance effort and expenditure capacity.

8.2.8. Fills and sub-floors

The majority of structures of Cerro Castillo were built on top of an architectural fill. A fill refers to a building layer (that eventually became a sub-surface) composed of soil, sand and/or rubble whose purpose was to provide a more solid structural strength to the flooring and the structure in general. Depending on the nature of the construction, the thickness of architectural fills ranged throughout the site from 10 cm to 1.5 metres or more. Several structures were placed on a hillside; therefore a fill was needed to flatten the terrain inclination. To do this, builders utilised a variety of materials such as earth, stones, sand, rubbish and rubble, as well as layers of mud-bricks.

8.2.9. Terracing

Several structures at Cerro Castillo were built on the slopes of hills. To achieve this, ancient inhabitants of the site employed terracing for their architectural works. Terraced spaces corresponded with hillsides that were divided into artificially flattened plots of land. Such flat surfaces were built utilising soil fill supported from below with walls functioning as buttresses, configuring successive platforms or step levels.

8.3. Architectural traits per compound

8.3.1. Units 1-2

Excavations at Units 1-2 yielded architectural features that suggest this area would have corresponded with elite residences (Figs. 5.13 and 8.1). The structures were built on the slope of the northern hill of Sector 4 using a fill largely composed of soil and clay. Little evidence of rubble or rubbish was found in association with the structural fill or with the architectural spaces of these units. Such cleanliness would indicate a careful selection of the building materials to be employed in the construction of these spaces. It also suggests that the area was under constant maintenance, transit throughout was restricted, and very little if any, food consumption activities

were carried out in these premises.

Brickwork was the predominant masonry type in this area where walls were mainly laid in header bond. Only one double-leaf wall was recorded (two-bricks thick) which might have corresponded with a division of two distinctive residential compounds. Rooms varied in size; however the use of ample spaces was noticeable. The constructions of this area were north-oriented with a slight inclination westwards. They were predominantly rectangular and square shaped, presumably connected from one terraced level to the next. Small square spaces might correspond with storerooms. Although not all floors were preserved, the employment of good-quality flooring associated with brickworks was noted. Wattle and daub fences were also utilised in this area, particularly for delimiting large spaces on the southern side, featuring tamped surfaces and hearths. No stone structures were found in this sector. Prints of dismantled mud-brick walls and wattle and daub fences may indicate that the spatial configuration of these residences was occasionally remodelled.

8.3.2. Units 4-5-6

Excavations at Units 4-5-6, located on the western hillside of Sector 4 (nearly meeting the eastern hillside of Sector 3), exposed brickwork and wattle and daub structures associated with domestic materials, suggesting food preparation and consumption activities (Figs. 5.21, 5.24, 5.25, 5.26 and 8.2). Likewise, worn out floors indicates constant transit throughout the area. Masons built on different terrain levels, flattening such gradient with rubble fills and mud-brick platforms. Residential spaces were set on the lower side of the slope, where the rooms and spaces required certain maintenance, whilst cooking activities seem to have been more intense a few metres higher.

Good-quality architecture was mainly sited on the lower side of the slope (Unit 5), possibly corresponding with a residence of a high-ranked household. Such constructions consisted of mud-brick walls laid in stretcher bond (half-brick thick) featuring the remains of clay-plaster. Builders arranged large and mid-size spaces presenting a different quality and preservation of flooring. Out of five spaces, two presented a clean and well-preserved floor. The other three featured worn out surfaces associated with food remains, as corncobs and seeds were

collected inside them.

A clearance and follow-up of the walls located in the southeast corner of Unit 5 and the northwest corner of Unit 6 revealed a large space, possibly a patio (U5-6-Room-1) that connected the findings of both units. Unit 6 presented a tamped surface associated with hearths and ash features attesting the constant use of the place. Remains of hearths, food and sherds of cooking pots indicate the circulation of food around the place. Furthermore, sections of wattle and daub fences suggest little architectural expenditure on these specific structures.

Similarly, on the higher side of the slope (Unit 4), structures mainly corresponded with wattle and daub fences built on tamped surfaces. Indeed, a large wattle and daub wall crossed the area in a northeast-southwest direction. The fill used to level the gradient of the terrain was mainly composed of rubble and soil; however, some parts required a layer of mud-bricks. This surface was associated with scattered mud-bricks and cooking rubbish, including rests of a large earth kiln found along with 18 gourd bowls, presumably left behind after use. Moreover, shells, corncobs and seeds were also recovered from this kiln. This evidence suggests an area constantly transited by people transporting domestic materials and carrying out cooking activities.

8.3.3. Units 3-7-15

Evidence of production activity was noticeable on the surface of the western slope of Sector 4 (Fig. 8.3). Works at Units 3-7-15 confirmed such observations revealing remains of good-quality constructions associated with high-ranked people involved in productive activities. These architectural spaces were built on a levelled surface, nevertheless due to the small extent of the excavations, whether the constructions of this area were terraced or not is yet to be confirmed. People may have transited around these buildings through the natural gradient of the slope, whilst circulation inside the compounds would have happened via corridors and access-ways. Only brickwork and wattle and daub were utilised to build structures in this area since no stonemasonry was found.

Spaces of Unit 3 were delimited using both brickwork and wattle and daub fences (Fig. 5.17). Mud-brick walls were laid in stretcher bond (half-brick thick) integrated at the same time with wattle and daub hurdles configuring at least six rectangular rooms of different dimensions.

The smallest room seems to correspond with a well-made clean pantry, whilst the narrowest, adjacent to the latter, contained remains of rubbish, ceramic moulds as well as wooden and metal tools. In general, Unit 3 was built with good-quality flooring which was constantly used and transited as hearths and cuts seem to attest. In addition, such resilience indicates not only the energy spent on the flooring of this area but also the masons' awareness of the purpose intended for these spaces. The materials recorded in Unit 3 suggest pottery production took place within and around these premises as evidence of ceramic moulds and wooden and metal tools was found. Some moulds were also collected from the surface of the surrounding area which supports the former statement (Fig. 5.18). Unit 3 presents worn floors associated with hearths, which indicates the constant use of these spaces. The presence of a small storage room supports this case as it is a feature that has also been recorded in other workshops on the north coast.

The architectural traits of Unit 7 suggest residential and productive activities associated with high ranked households of three occupational periods. The earliest occupation, U7-C, featured a squared room, U7-Room-1, whose walls (one brick thick) presented mud-bricks laid in header bond (Figs. 5.45 and 5.46). The flooring was of good quality and also featured an internal lateral bench. Although U7-Room-1's traits suggest a resting place, several artefacts camelid-related (camelid skin, fur and bones) were recovered from inside this structure, which instead points towards a place for processing camelid wool. The room's southwester corner presented an access way that connected to another space, U7-Room-2, which may correspond with a patio area. Remains of wall painting were found in association with this space. From this patio one could have walked into a corridor (U7-Room-3) towards the northeaster side of the area. During the subsequent occupation, U7-B, two small storerooms were built adjacent to the latter corridor (Fig. 5.36). It is also worth noting the variety of artefacts found all over this occupation's floor outside the northeast corner of U7-Room-1: camelid hair, basketry, textile shreds, and cooper needles. Also during this occupation, the patio U7-Room-2 may have been used for activities involving controlled firing. In this regard, a large earthen kiln was encountered along with a cut containing several ceramic fragments (U7-L5-F1, see Chapter 5) corresponding with at least twelve vessels of middle range quality, as well as two carved Spondylus shells. The association between those ceramics and the kiln is unclear; they may

correspond with broken pieces of vessels fired in that specific furnace, or, alternatively, they both may have been related to different activities. The next occupational moment, U7-C, featured a similar architectural configuration to its previous occupation, although few changes were made (Fig. 5.35). The corridor U7-Room-3 was extended one brick thicker. The western wall of U7-Room-1 was reinforced by adding another leaf to the inner wall's face. It featured mud-bricks laid in stretcher bond, leaving a cavity in the centre that was filled with mud-bricks cut in quarter and half bat. Seemingly, room U7-Room-1 was roofed with large beams as is suggested by a large posthole next to the remodelled wall.

Excavations at Unit 15 revealed the use of distinctive architectural features for spaces associated with domestic activities and for those related to ritual practices. Accordingly, it was noted that masons built a fairly large stone wall to mark the separation between the domestic spaces and the nearby funerary area (Cemetery 1) (Figs. 5.98, 5.99 and 8.3). During the earliest documented occupation of the area, such a stone wall was built utilising granite slabs which, although aligned, were not placed in a neat order. During a subsequent occupation, this wall was remodelled utilising rubble masonry consisting of small granite slabs. The domestic side (towards the hillside) presented a tamped surface featuring rests of kilns and large hearths associated with food remains. The side of Unit 15 closer to Cemetery 1 featured parts of mud-brick walls laid on header bond, as well as one of the few cases where masons laid mud-bricks on soldier bond. The latter wall was remodelled during a subsequent occupation, this time featuring mud-bricks laid on stretcher bond. The flooring of this section corresponded with a tamped surface featuring scant materials and two funerary contexts (Tombs CC-U15-T11 and CC-U15-T12, see Chapter 6).

8.3.4. Unit 10

Works at Unit 10, sited on the northern side of Sector 4, revealed a series of constructions associated with domestic and public activities which reflect a range of the activities performed at Cerro Castillo. The architectural layout as well as the materials found inside the structures suggests that Unit 10 was a highly transited area, perhaps corresponding

with one of the site's neighbourhoods (Fig. 8.4). Due to the gradient of the terrain, building on this area required considerable amounts of fill which was composed of rubble and soil configuring successive terraced levels. The structures of Unit 10 were built combining both brickwork and stonemasonry. Likewise, the flooring of such structures corresponds with earthen floors and tamped surfaces. The structure U10-Room-1 is the largest room of the area (Fig. 5.65). Its perimeter consisted of cavity walls whose internal and external faces were mud-brick walls laid on combined header and stretcher bonds. The cavity or gap was filled with sand and lumpy soil. Afterwards, perhaps during a subsequent period, these walls were remodelled and re-raised with stonemasonry (mainly cobbles). Internally, the flooring of the plaza U10-Room-1 seems to have been built in two levels, since remains of a 20-30 cm high platform were noted on the eastern side of the compound. The use of internal platforms and benches in plazas has been widely reported at other north coastal sites from the Early Horizon to the Late Intermediate Period. The dimensions and location of this compound suggest it may correspond with an architectural feature around which the other rooms and terraces of the area were organised. The amount and diversity of material associated with it suggests a communal space where crafting and trading activities took place. Accordingly, items encountered in U10-Room-1 corresponded with a variety of pottery fragments along with textile remains and tools for textile production. This evidence altogether indicates that this venue was highly transited, and social interaction occurred in forms of production, consumption and trading of a varied range of goods.

The plaza U10-Room-1 was surrounded by various rectangular terraced rooms which varied in size, content and presumably also in function. Stone walls configuring articulated rooms, corridors, storage structures and open spaces were documented north of the plaza U10-Room-1 (Fig. 8.4). Although these features have not been dug yet, such architectural layout seems to be associated with the activities carried out in U10-Room-1.

Structures in U10-Room-6 and U10-Room-7, located on the south-western side of the plaza U10-Room-1, correspond with a set of storerooms for food and possibly other goods as well (Figs. 5.69 and 5.70). In fact, a considerable amount of food remains were found inside U10-Room-7-F1 which is unusual considering that, in the vast majority of the cases, storage rooms were left empty (Fig. 5.72). Whether such remains were purposely or accidentally left in

that store-room remains uncertain. What is clear, however, is that the builders' paid particular attention to the architectural quality and finish of these spaces. The area featured one of the few cases of a wall made with slipform stonemasonry whose faces were finished with clay plaster. Storerooms (including U10-Room-7-F1) were made employing simple ashlar masonry and occasionally mud-bricks. The flooring quality is good compared to other surrounding terraced rooms, featuring prints of dismantled walls and a large ceramic container.

The southern side of Unit 10 presented a group of terraced spaces (U10-Room-3, U10-Room-5, U10-Room-13, U10-Room-12 and U10-Room-10) linked through access-ways that lead from one level to the next (Figs. 5.67, 5.68 and 8.4). These spaces were delimited with rubble and ashlar stonemasonry, utilising slabs for the bottom part of the walls and cobbles for the top. U10-Room-5 featured a well-made earthen floor, which suggests that other rooms might have been originally covered with the same type of flooring. The content of U10-Room-13 is worth noting since it preserved parts of a collapsed roof on the floor (Fig. 5.74), as well as the wooden posts to support it placed on the room's corners and central sides. Likewise, material items relate to food production and consumption activities such as vegetable and animal remains alongside hearths and fragments of utilitarian and high-quality vessels. It is also one of the few cases in which one of the room's walls was built with mud-bricks laid on stretcher bond and another with wattle and daub.

Architectural features recorded in U10-Room-11 indicate that the terraced system possibly extended towards the southern hillside of Sector 4 (Fig. 5.73). It also provided evidence of the combined use of mud-brick walls laid on header bond with rubble stonemasonry. In addition, prints of dismantled brickworks attest to remodelling works of these structures, possibly associated with two successive occupational moments of the area.

A large and thick perimeter wall (U10-Room-15) was placed on the eastern side of Unit 10 (Figs. 5.76 and 8.4). It was built as brickwork reinforced with rubble stonemasonry on the top. Its southern section featured a wattle and daub fence, possibly corresponding with a gate, associated with a poorly preserved earthen floor.

8.3.5. Unit 11

Excavations at Unit 11 (southwester plain side of Sector 4) revealed a large architectural compound possibly corresponding with a public and/or ceremonial plaza (Fig. 8.5). This structure was built on top of a thick layer of sand (approximately 1.5 m thick) employing brickwork masonry (Figs. 5.78 and 5.79). The plaza had approximate total dimensions of 16 m by 15 m. Its perimeter consisted of cavity walls where both leaves laid on a mixed header and stretcher bonds—one stretcher between every header, and headers centred over stretchers in the course below. The cavity was filled with lumpy soil. Several remains of thatch roofing were encountered on the outside of the compound's walls. An internal compartment of 2.8 m by 6 m in size was set on the plaza's eastern side. The structure was covered with a well-made earthen floor, which seems to have been constantly cleaned since only a gourd and a vessel were found in association with the surface of this structure.

8.3.6. Units 12-13

Works at Units 12-13, placed on the bottom and top sides of the southern hill of Sector 4 respectively, exposed architectural features possibly associated with locals' residences (Fig. 8.6). Constructions consisted of combined brickwork and stonemasonry with no evidence of plaster, which suggests masons' had little concern about the quality of the architectural finishing but an emphasis on the structures stability and functionality (Figs. 5.84 and 5.94). Although order is not apparent in the walls of these units, most of them consisted of cavity walls where mud-bricks on both leaves were laid on stretcher bond. Several gaps and corners were filled with mud-bricks cut in quarter and half bats as well with reutilised stones. Despite noticeable evidence of wearing away, the original flooring was of good quality suggesting the builders foresaw the high traffic these spaces were meant to resist. Structures of Unit 12 were built on a fill composed of rubble and several rubbish remains whereas those of Unit 13 were constructed on a thick (more than 1.5 m) fill of soil and clay. Few remains of an earlier occupation were recorded in Unit 12, consisting of mud-brick walls laid on stretcher bond with a slight variation in their orientation compared to the subsequent occupation described.

8.3.7. Cemetery 1: Units 14-16

Based on what is visible on the terrain's surface, several structures were built on the funerary areas of Cerro Castillo, particularly on Cemetery 1 (Fig. 8.7). Remains of brickworks and stonemasonry constructions are scattered throughout the graveyard; however, since such evidence is what was left after the intense plundering the area was subjected to, the chances of encountering articulated architectural contexts are minimal, to say the least. Furthermore, whether such structures were associated with the funeral ceremonies or were of domestic order remain uncertain. Despite these setbacks, diggings at Unit 14 revealed one of the few architectural features of Cemetery 1 that remained partially in situ: a large stone wall possibly part of a ceremonial plaza (Figs. 5.95 and 5.96). Two sides of this presumed plaza were documented, yielding dimensions of 25 m in a northeast-southwest direction and 20 m in a northwest-southeast direction. This perimeter wall was built using slipform masonry employing large stone slabs vertically set (orthostats) joined with mud mortar (Fleming et al. 1999). The use of this orthostatic technique has been reported in Early Horizon sites associated with public ceremonial architecture (Campana 2000; Chicoine 2010). The east-west side of the wall stopped for 1.5 m where a funerary bundle had been placed, suggesting it may correspond to an entrance to the compound. There was no evidence of the flooring.

Apart from this structure, no other architectural features were found in association with the preserved cultural layer encountered at the bottom of Unit 14 and Unit 16. This stratigraphic level, corresponding with the earliest occupation of Cemetery 1, featured a flattened surface associated with pit graves dug down into the sterile soil. Postholes were also documented in this level, suggesting the placement of temporal roofed structures possibly during the performance of the funeral rituals.

8.3.8. Units 8-9: the surroundings of Huaca Sector 1

Diggings at Units 8-9 revealed architectural features presumably associated with the ceremonial activities carried out in the main building of Huaca Sector 1 (Fig. 8.8). Constructions on these units correspond with brickworks and wattle and daub structures (Figs. 5.55 and

5.58). Stratigraphic observations indicate that wattle and daub rooms were the predominant structures during the earliest occupational moments of this area. Several prints of this type of wall were recorded in association with well-made earthen floors featuring several postholes. The length and configuration of such wattle and daub walls suggest quadrangular rooms that were rearranged more than once. Large sections of the flooring present evidence of wear associated with hearths, shells and a few other rubbish remains.

All these wattle and daub structures were subsequently covered with a fill composed of soil and rubble. Such fill served as a sub-floor for the subsequent occupation where masons reconfigured the area creating larger spaces delimited by thick mud-brick walls (Fig. 5.57). In this area, Cerro Castillo masons built double-leaf and four-leaf walls combining header and stretcher bonds. They probably used clay plaster however it has not been preserved.

The architectural traits found at Units 8-9 attest to the builders' awareness of the ceremonial practices that were going to be performed within these spaces. The location of these constructions set this entire sector apart from the domestic areas, having the edifice Huaca Sector 1 as the central venue. Traffic around the southern side of Huaca Sector 1 may have occurred through long streets as suggested by the thick long parallel walls uncovered in Unit 9. Nevertheless, the original architecture would have been wattle and daub structures possibly associated with domestic activities as the worn-out floors suggest. The northwest side of Huaca Sector 1 yielded little materials related to food consumption. A mud-brick chamber and a wattle and daub room are the main architectural features found in Unit 8 which would correspond to structures associated with the building Huaca Sector 1. The proximity of these features suggests that our findings in Unit 8 would have been related to the performances carried out in Huaca Sector 1.

8.3.9. Huaca Sector 1: Units 17-18-19

Huaca Sector 1 refers to an artificial mound built on the northern side of Cerro Castillo, possibly corresponding with a temple or huaca (Fig. 8.8). Archaeological evidence suggests this edifice was rebuilt at least twice, been associated with the Gallinazo, the Moche and the Chimú occupations of the site. Accordingly, three architectural projects undertaken at this compound

have been documented: Huaca Sector 1-Edifice A, Huaca Sector 1-Edifice B and Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C, which are next chronologically described.

Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C corresponds with the earliest version of the compound (Fig. 5.107). In this regard, excavations at Unit 17 revealed key aspects of its architectural features. Like many other huacas of the north coast, Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C was a mud-brickwork construction composed of successive platforms placed one on top of the other; although only two platform levels have been identified, the total number of platforms that constituted the entire building is yet to be determined. In this regard, diggings exposed part of the eastern face of the edifice which consisted of a large high-quality plastered wall of 0.85 m high. Each of these platform levels was covered with well-made earthen floors whose good preservation suggests little traffic and constant maintenance of the place.

After an undetermined span of time, Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C was closed-down and buried, and a new edifice was subsequently built. The floors were covered with a fill composed of lumpy soil, pebbles and randomly arranged mud-bricks. Materials associated with this fill consisted of a few Moche ceramic sherds. Differently, the walls' outer faces were carefully covered with a fill consisting of three leaves and ten courses of mud-bricks laid on header bond. The mud-bricks utilised in the making up of such fill presented cane marks on their sides, a result of the mould used in their production. Some of them also had one or two hand prints on the top (Fig. 5.108). These features may be helpful evidence to elucidate the cultural affiliation of Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C since the use of cane moulds has been largely associated with the Gallinazo phenomenon. In this respect, such evidence opens some scenarios: 1) Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C was a Gallinazo temple built by Gallinazo groups; 2) the cane-marked mud-bricks utilised to cover Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C correspond with reutilised building materials that originally belonged to an earlier Gallinazo edifice of Huaca Sector 1 yet to be uncovered; 3) those cane-marked mud-bricks were transported to Huaca Sector 1 from nearby Gallinazo constructions.

Once Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C was covered, a new, larger and higher building project was raised, Huaca Sector-1-Edifice B. Archaeological evidence suggests this edifice had the same structural characteristics as its preceding version. That is, a structure with platform levels one on top of the other finished with clay-plastered walls and good-quality flooring. The floor

presented few cuts possibly corresponding with large ceramic containers that were removed before the close-down of the building. Although excavations were limited, it was noted the use of larger spaces associated with the platform levels. Huaca Sector 1-Edifice B was eventually closed-down and buried employing a fill composed of lumpy soil and scattered mud-bricks.

Diggings at Unit 19 revealed part of the southern outer face of the compound which featured a clay-plastered wall associated with a good-quality floor. Whether this wall is associated with Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C or Huaca Sector 1-Edifice B is yet to be determined. It was also noted that the use of a thick architectural fill of mud-bricks, which could correspond to the structural core of the compound, or with a fill covering earlier architectural features of Huaca Sector 1. These mud-bricks were normally arranged laid in header bond, nevertheless, considerable parts of these fills were laid in stretcher bond and several gaps were filled with mud-bricks cut in quarter and half bats.

Huaca Sector 1-Edifice A corresponds to the last preserved architectural project of the compound. Very little is left of this construction since, due to its superficial stratigraphic location, it was constantly affected by wind and rains, as well as easily spotted by plunderers in search of valuable antiques. Excavations at Unit 18 yielded a large architectural fill consisting of mud-bricks generally arranged in header and stretcher bonds, whilst gaps were filled with lumpy soil as well as with mud-bricks cut in quarter and half bats. Several Chimú ceramics were encountered in association with this occupational phase which suggests Huaca Sector 1 was also functioning during the Chimú occupation of Cerro Castillo.

8.4. Architectural units

Based on the data previously presented, this section outlines the types of architectural units built at Cerro Castillo. Building materials and masonry techniques were means to set bounded spaces that can be examined as architectural units. These architectural units are analysed and compared to one another in terms of their layout, associated materials and the way they articulate with other spaces in order to shed light on their functions and purpose. Pre-Columbian architecture at Cerro Castillo mainly consisted of five types of architectural spaces.

The term 'room' has been used to refer to an architecturally enclosed space that was occupied or where something was done.

8.4.1. Plazas and public spaces

Plazas are large public (usually square shaped) spaces where people gather for a number of purposes, whether on a daily basis or ceremonial occasions (Chapdelaine 2003; Chapdelaine et al. 2003; Uceda and Tufinio 2003). In many regards, plazas are the centre of community life since they may hold daily economic activities i.e. a marketplace, as well as they may become a central venue in times of either crisis or celebration.

Plazas at Cerro Castillo consisted of large squared rooms, either brickwork or stonemasonry constructions. Two examples of plazas were documented at Cerro Castillo. The plaza U10-Room-1 featured dimensions of 19 m by 19 m (Figs. 5.65 and 5.79). The materials found in association suggest a highly transited place where social encounters of different natures took place. Remains of clothing and weaving tools indicates textile production took place in the plaza or in the nearby areas. Evidence of fine and domestic pottery, as well as food remains may attest to economic transactions and public relations of different kinds. Similar conditions have been suggested for the urban centre of Huacas de Moche (Chapdelaine et al. 2003). A well-known Moche flaring bowl representing weavers and other characters holding meetings may well illuminate the type of interactions that occurred at this plaza.

The plaza recorded at Unit 11 presented dimensions of 16 m by 15 metres. Nevertheless, scarce materials were found inside it (only a bowl and a gourd), and it featured a clean floor. This evidence points towards a space conceived to hold periodic ceremonial activities, and was meant to be maintained.

8.4.2. Patios

A patio refers to an outdoor area adjoining a dwelling, or to the roofless inner courtyard of a house. Recreation activities are typically associated with this type of space, although it can also be used for food consumption and to undertake manual labour tasks (Chapdelaine et al.

2003; Topic 1977).

Two cases of patios were documented at Cerro Castillo: U7-Room-2 and U5-6-Room-1 (Figs. 5.45 and 8.2). The patio U7-Room-2 corresponded to a rectangular area associated with a residential construction, featuring dimensions of 3.5 m by 2.8 m. This patio was remodelled twice, and each occupation yielded materials associated with different activities. During the earliest occupation, U7-C, the surface was fairly well maintained as few artefacts were found in association. Afterwards, during the occupation U7-B, this patio was used for firing, possibly related to pottery production. Finally, little material evidence was encountered in association with the occupation U7-A, mainly due to the bad preservation of this archaeological level.

Although the patio area found between Units 5 and 6 (U5-6-Room-1) was not excavated, its connection with both residential rooms and cooking areas suggests a place integrated into a dwelling.

8.4.3. Kitchens

A kitchen is a room where food is prepared and cooked, although it can also be utilised for food consumption and storage. A kitchen is archaeologically identified through a conglomerate of elements related to such activities. Hearths and kilns are typical indicators of cooking activities, likewise, worn out tamped surfaces associated with cooking pots, food remains, fired stones and mud-bricks, cooking tools and charcoal (Van Gijseghem 2001). This type of evidence has been used to identify kitchens in other Moche sites such as Pampa Grande and Huacas de Moche (Johnson 2010; Topic 1977)

Kitchens at Cerro Castillo were associated with residential compounds and public spaces which indicates a non-exclusive spatial use for food preparation and consumption. Cases of kitchens were documented at Unit 4, Unit 6, Unit 7, Unit 10-Room-11, Unit 10-Room-13 and Unit 15 (Figs. 5.21, 5.74 and 5.98). They corresponded with rectangular spaces of different dimensions built with brickwork, stonemasonry, or wattle and daub, featuring tamped surfaces with hearths and/or kilns associated with food remains. This suggests a non-fixed convention for the architectural design of such spaces. Unit 4 provided a case of a kitchen area associated with most of the above listed elements: a large kiln with fired mud-bricks, charcoal, food remains

(corncobs, seeds) along with gourd plates. Interestingly, evidence of weaving was also found in this unit. U10-Room-13 featured a tamped surface associated with hearths, sherds of cooking pots, food remains and artefacts used in cooking tasks. Fragments of fine pottery were also encountered in association with cooking activities.

8.4.4. Storerooms

Storerooms are spaces where items are stored. In coastal Andean archaeology, they usually correspond with rooms of small dimensions that were accessed through their top (Chicoine 2006). At Cerro Castillo their average surface area varied from 0.80 to 2.20 square metres. Depending on the builders' economy and the nature of the materials to be stored, storerooms were made of brickwork or stonemasonry. Storerooms were generally not decorated, although they may present a varied range of wall finishings, including clay-plaster (see also Uceda and Chapdelaine 1998 as well as Shimada 1994 for more examples of storerooms in Moche sites).

Storerooms at Cerro Castillo normally featured a squared shape, and corresponded with structures attached to different types of compounds such as residences, workshops or public buildings. Since all but one were found empty, their storing functions are inferred through their layout and spatial features. Also, the scale and period of the storage is still unclear. Storerooms were documented at Units 1-2, Unit 3, Unit 7, Unit 8, U10-Room-7 and U10-Room-11 (Figs. 5.17, 5.36 and 5.70). The storeroom U10-Room7-F1 corresponds with an unusual case of a storeroom where a considerable amount of food was left behind. Shells, seeds, corncobs, along with charcoal, remains of a textile, cotton and fragments of a figure, all of which were placed in an oval basket (Fig. 5.72).

8.4.5. Workshops and production areas

From an archaeological perspective, a workshop is a physical space in which goods are manufactured and where the amount of such produced materials exceeds the consumption needs of the household unit, since most of such production is destined to econo-politico-ritual

exchange (Canto 1986; Manzanilla 1986). This definition may entail one or more working spatial units where tasks related to the production of a specific type of objects occur. An area of production presents surfaces and volumes of associated concentration of raw materials, tools and debris, which should reflect the particular activity that took place in such spaces. Generally, these areas are spatially bounded through architectural features (Manzanilla 1986). A workshop, as an area of production, implies aspects of the chain of production such as the supply of raw materials (from quarries or places outside the settlement) and the diverse processes of manufacture of the objects (Shimada 1994b). The people that worked at these places, and who were therefore responsible for the production of different goods, are known as artisans or specialists (Clark 1995; Costin 1991; Rengifo and Rojas 2008; Shimada 2007). Craftsmanship does not necessarily imply a sophisticated means of production. Specialisation develops along with knowledge about a specific activity as the latter becomes more complex, as well as with the increasing number of necessities to meet through the practice of such activity (Soto de Arechavaleta 1986).

Excavations at Cerro Castillo revealed architectural spaces where goods production took place since evidence of workshops was recorded at Unit 3, Unit 7, Unit 9 and Unit 10-Room-1 (Figs. 5.16, 5.18, 5.19, 7.14 and 5.41). These workshops did not feature a standardised architectural layout nor a surface area. In fact, a workshop may have encompassed more than one room or architectural unit, and/or outdoors spaces. The spatial features of workshops depended on the production activities performed at them. It is important to note however, that the archaeological evidence recovered from these spaces suggests that more than one production activity could have taken place at any given architectural unit and that those activities were not always detached from daily domestic and public tasks. Moreover, production activities seem to have been spatially integrated, since evidence related to more than one artisan's activity came from the same spaces.

The spatial proximity of Unit 3 and Unit 7 suggests the architecture may have been part of the same neighbourhood. Materials related to pottery production were recovered from Unit 3. Ceramic moulds, metal and wooden tools, as well as remains of ceramics cast aside during the production process were found in association with rectangular rooms built with mud-bricks and wattle and daub. Such ceramics corresponded with sherds of plain-ware along with

decorated pieces such as painted body parts, handles, spouts and relief motifs associated with the Moche style. The best preserved fragments of moulds corresponded with a mould for a figurine representing an adorned woman and a mould for a jug. The latter was found along with the jug itself, probably discarded during its manufacturing process. Certainly the amount of production evidence is low; however, since the majority of such materials were encountered at this area, it is likely that part of the process of pottery production took place at Unit 3 and its surroundings. The worn-out surfaces of these spaces as well as the evidence of hearths and burnt materials are coherent when examined along with the materials found in association. In fact, the earthen kiln found in Unit 7 might have been related to these activities due to its size and the concentration of discarded pottery found next to it. In addition, the only space kept clean was a storeroom; a feature that has also been reported in workshops at Huacas de Moche and Pampa Grande (Shimada 1994; Uceda and Rengifo 2006).

The production of textiles presents a different scenario. Remains of textiles along with tools for textile production have been recorded at Units 4 and 6, Unit 3 and 7, and Unit 10-Room-1. Tools such as needles, spindles, weaving reels and yarn balls were found in association with remains of clothing. Such materials were also associated with spaces where food preparation and consumption occurred, as is the case of Units 4 and 6, or were also associated with public compounds as is the case of the plaza U10-Room-1.

8.4.6. Shelter rooms

A shelter room corresponds with an architecturally enclosed space that provides shelter and intimacy. These practices leave little or no evidence in terms of materials, therefore identifying the spaces where they occurred requires taking into account the following considerations. 1) The implicitness of their existence, i.e. a settlement certainly had to have rooms that provided its inhabitants with warm shelter. 2) Such rooms should present some basic architectural features to function as such, i.e. walls, flooring and a ceiling. 3) In the same vein, shelter rooms should feature dimensions that allowed the accommodation of at least a small household. 4) As previously said, little or no remains of rubbish of production activities are

expected in this type of room. 5) Identifying spaces that held activities/functions of other nature (e.g. kitchens, workshops) allows the isolation of spaces that, considering the previous points, may match the characteristics of shelter rooms.

At Cerro Castillo, shelter rooms have been identified at Units 1-2, Unit 5, Units 8-9, Unit 10, and Units 12-13 (Figs. 5.13, 5.24 and 5.94). They feature a rectangular shape and average dimensions of 2 m by 1.5 m to 5.5 m by 4.7 m. Their walking surfaces were well-preserved, mostly clean or associated with little or no artefactual materials. U10-Room-2, U10-Room-3 and U10-Room-5 may have been interconnected terraced shelter rooms (that is considering their size, shape, associated materials, layout and location one next to the other) (Fig. 5.64). Similar traits have been documented in other contemporaneous settlements of the region (Campana 1983; Chapdelaine et al. 2003)

Evidence suggests that at Cerro Castillo different household units may have been accommodated at certain habitation rooms, and at the same time, shared activity spaces for food preparation, consumption and storage.

8.4.7. Major buildings-Ceremonial compounds

The building that dominates the landscape of the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex is the temple of Pañamarca, a large brickwork construction at the north-western side of the complex composed of stepped platforms and plazas. Although our work did not centre on that area, it is important to take it into account as a significant feature of the overall history of the settlement.

At Cerro Castillo, the largest building was the Huaca Sector 1, sited on the northern side of the site (Figs. 8.8 and 5.106). This brickwork edifice differs in several ways from the regular domestic or production areas previously described. It was located apart from areas where primary daily activities were carried out. The levels of energy spent on its construction were significantly high when compared to other residential or public buildings. The quality of its walls, platforms and floors attest to a large amount and careful selection of building materials. Even when the building was remodelled, the fills utilised to cover the older versions of it were

carefully arranged.

In many regards, Huaca Sector 1 was built following a regional tradition of ceremonial architecture largely shared by the north coastal societies during the Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon. The core of a ceremonial building was composed of large stepped platforms featuring clay-plastered outer faces. In major Moche sites, the façades of this type of buildings were mural-painted (e.g. Huacas Moche, El Brujo), whilst other similar buildings (Huancaco, Pañamarca) presented mural paintings in their internal compartments (Bourget 2003; Campana 2000; Franco et al. 2003; Uceda and Tufinio 2003). Whether Huaca Sector 1 was mural-painted at all is yet to be confirmed. In the same vein, Huaca Sector 1 was buried and rebuilt at least twice. Similarly to other documented cases (e.g. the old temple of Huaca de la Luna; see Uceda and Tufinio 2003), after a certain span of time, the building was completely covered to build a new edifice. This new version was larger and higher in dimensions but built with similar architectural features and spatial distribution (Uceda and Tufinio 2003). Evidence suggests that the remodelling projects of Huaca Sector 1 would correspond with different cultural periods; Gallinazo, Moche and Chimú respectively, of which the Moche edifice is, so far, the best preserved.

The artefactual remains recovered from excavation mostly correspond with fragments of fine vessels, which suggest domestic and production activities did not take place at Huaca Sector 1. On the contrary, such evidence points towards ceremonial activities that entailed restricted transit throughout the building as well as constant cleaning and maintenance. Accordingly, it seems like people who operated at Huaca Sector 1 were high-ranked individuals, leaders who performed a starring role during the community ceremonies.

In addition, the high quality of the materials and architectural spaces documented at Unit 8 and Unit 9 (located at the northern and southern bottom sides of Huaca Sector 1 respectively) suggests that Huaca Sector 1 was surrounded by residential structures of high-ranked individuals. A tamped surface associated with an earthen kiln, few to-be-fired clay figures and several shells suggest some production activities may have taken place at these premises.

8.4.8. Graveyards

Cerro Castillo's flatlands are largely characterised by the scattered remains of ancient cemeteries. Although such archaeological deposits have been heavily damaged by illegal excavations, it is evident that the flatlands of the place were highly regarded as graveyards. Five graveyards have been recorded. Although such demarcation is arbitrary, it is based on their distribution between the natural hills of the site. Whether all of them feature the same occupational history or not, and whether the people buried at these cemeteries belonged to the same social segments or not, are issues yet to be solved.

To date, the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project has only excavated two trenches at Cemetery 1 (Fig. 8.7). The contexts encountered shed light on the cultural periods when the area was utilised for funerary purposes, in particular by people related to the Moche, Casma and Chimú cultural traditions. Although little evidence of architectural structures remained in situ, a large perimeter orthostatic stone wall suggests the place was spatially bounded.

8.5. Spatial and functional distribution

Having assessed the varied qualitative and functional features of Cerro Castillo's architecture, this section examines such variability in terms of their spatial distribution. Excavations at Cerro Castillo yielded distinct architectural structures ranging from simple basic parapets to ceremonial buildings, some of which were built for temporary purposes whereas others were reused during different cultural periods.

The most noticeable feature about the spatial distribution of Cerro Castillo's architecture is the presence of distinct but interconnected spaces: residential areas, graveyards and ceremonial architecture.

Residential architecture and domestic activities

Residential architecture was placed on the slopes of the natural hills of the site. Works at Sector 4 revealed varied architectural patterns regarding construction quality, spatial dimensions,

internal segmentation and the occupational continuity of structures. Structures documented at Units 1-2, Units 4-5-6, Unit 10 and Units 12-13 (Figs. 5.13, 8.2, 8.4 and 8.6) may correspond to residences of large households or corporative multi-household units that did administrate a number of primary resources as well as accessed valued commodities.

Internally, these compounds were spatially bounded through walls of different types and quality configuring rooms of characteristics that met the needs or specific purposes addressed. Activities such as food preparation and consumption as well as textile production and goods exchange were carried out in architecturally large (occasionally open) spaces with little or no architectural division. Those spaces may correspond to spacious and ventilated venues that could hold a constant circulation of people (and possibly animals). Remains of these activities were usually found altogether within plazas, patios and kitchens. For example, the kitchen recorded at Unit 4 would correspond with a large room delimited with wattle and daub fences associated not only with the remains of food and a kiln, but also with textile fragments and tools for weaving.

The architectural features of the rooms associated with the above domestic activities differed from those utilised for sheltering purposes. The latter were built with higher-quality building materials and were smaller in size. Such characteristics may relate to some essential functional aspects such as resilience to environmental conditions (protection against wind, water and animals) as well as to capacity to accommodate at least a small household unit. The shelter rooms found at Unit 5 for instance, featured good-quality walls and flooring, and their dimensions were big enough to accommodate a reduced number of people inside (e.g. a nuclear family) and small enough to keep the room warm and restrict circulation inside it.

Production areas

Whereas the production of certain goods such as textiles and basketry seem to have been undertaken alongside other primary domestic activities, the manufacture of decorated pottery may have occurred only at specific premises. It is necessary to bear in mind the previously discussed distinction between utilitarian pottery and fancy vessels as well as its purposes and implications. At Cerro Castillo, pottery was both imported and locally produced, and it is likely

that the latter happened at more than one place at the site. However, the most solid evidence of a fancy-vessels workshop has, so far, been found at Unit 3 (Figs. 5.17, 5.19 and 7.14) since first, very little evidence of other activities that could have been carried out at those spaces, and second, the lack of evidence of specialised pottery production at any of the other units excavated. It is important to consider that some tasks of the production of vessels may have taken place at open non-specialised areas, such as patios, or simply anywhere outdoors.

Funerary architecture

To date, there is limited information about the architectural characteristics of the funerary areas of Cerro Castillo. The only one excavated, Cemetery 1, yielded an orthostatic perimeter wall (Figs. 5.95 and 5.96), possibly part of a plaza associated with the funeral practices carried out at the place. In addition, the surface of Cemetery 1 presented scattered remains of mud-brick and stone walls, which reinforces the idea of an area with architecture, whether ceremonial or residential.

Ceremonial architecture

The ceremonial spaces were set apart from the residential areas as the location of the edifice Huaca Sector 1 indicates (Figs. 5.1 and 5.56). To date, only small-scale excavations have been conducted at the compound; nevertheless it is possible to assess its ceremonial nature and its basic architectural features. Its architectural features (dimensions, visibility and quality) correspond with a shared regional convention of what a ceremonial building should be like, or in other words how an ideological cause should be materialised. Large platforms, one on top of the other, clay-plastered walls, good-quality flooring and selected building materials are fundamental aspects identified at Huaca Sector 1. In addition, little material evidence (mainly fancy ceramics) suggests regular maintenance and limited access to these premises.

8.6. Conclusions

Excavations at Cerro Castillo revealed different types of architectural constructions. This chapter examined such features to identify public plazas, patios, kitchens, storerooms, workshops, shelter rooms, ceremonial compounds and graveyards. Based on the spatial distribution of these architectural units and the characteristics of the materials found inside them, this study suggests that Cerro Castillo's inhabitants carried out different types of activities as evidenced by residential architecture, production areas, funerary architecture and ceremonial compounds.

CHAPTER 9

Life in Cerro Castillo: occupational history and settlement dynamics

This chapter synthesises the data obtained from archaeological excavations at Cerro Castillo as well as the artefactual and architectural analyses of such data under the theoretical framework that this research explores.

9.1. Cerro Castillo's occupational history

Excavations at Cerro Castillo have revealed the site to have been a settlement that experienced at least three main occupations associated with the Early Intermediate Period, Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period from the general Andean chronological sequence. It is important to consider that the site had an irregular vertical and horizontal growth. Some sectors featured only one occupational moment whilst others presented two or all three occupations identified which also suggests intervals of abandonment or little occupation.

9.1.1. Occupation A (Late Intermediate Period)

The data obtained during this research indicate that Cerro Castillo was occupied for the last time during the Late Intermediate Period (circa AD 1100-1470). This occupation has been identified mainly through the significant presence of decorated Chimú pottery in the surface and upper layers of the excavated units. Unit 10, Units 3-7 and Units 4-5-6 yielded most of the documented Chimú and Casma ceramics. However, little can be said about their spatial context since most of the architectural features associated with this occupation were poorly preserved. It is possible that some rooms in Unit 10 were reused during the Late Intermediate Period (U10-Room-6, U10-Room-9 and U10-Room-13) as ceramic evidence suggests.

Huaca Sector 1 would also have been occupied during the Late Intermediate Period occupation. Unit 18 also revealed Chimú ceramics associated with architectural fill possibly as part of Huaca Sector 1-Edifice A, the latest version of the compound.

The only architectural feature clearly associated with the Late Intermediate Period occupation at Cerro Castillo is the plaza documented at Unit 11. Although few materials were found in the floor, Chimú pottery was the only diagnostic material encountered in association with the perimetric walls and outer surroundings.

9.1.2. Occupation B (Middle Horizon)

Cerro Castillo experienced its most intensive occupation during the Middle Horizon (circa AD 700-1100). All the excavated units, except Unit 11, yielded materials associated with cultural traditions of this time, which makes the site a particularly good case for interactions that can be archaeologically explored. The cultural entities that shaped this scenario have mainly been identified through ceramic analyses, whilst the nature of their interaction has been addressed through proxemics approaches. To assess the former, this research has integrated traditional pottery analyses used by scholars to identify the presence/absence of a given cultural tradition (e.g. identification of features that typically characterise Moche pottery) with stratigraphic and associative observations of the archaeological record (e.g. Moche pottery found alongside local vessels).

The ceramic analyses indicate that the cultural units associated with this period of Cerro Castillo were Gallinazo, Moche, Wari, Casma and a local component. Certainly, more excavations and dating analyses will provide a finer sequence, shedding light on the chronological appearance (and disappearance) of the identified traditions. Based on the present data, the local and Moche components were the dominant cultural units during this period. Ceramics of both traditions were encountered in every excavated trench. Their abundance is reflected in their quantity and distribution, especially when compared to the other ceramic traditions identified. The consideration of both cultural entities as part of the Middle Horizon and not of the Early Intermediate Period has implications that need to be addressed.

The length of Moche is a matter that is currently experiencing a process of reformulation. Traditionally, it has been addressed mainly as an Early Intermediate Period culture, that is, from AD 1 to 600, which matches Rowe's Andean chronological framework

and the idea of an intermediate span of time characterised by regional developments between two dominant cultural horizons (Chavín and Wari respectively). The temporal origin of Moche has been little challenged mainly because there is a relative concordance between the end of the Early Horizon and the emergence of sites with Moche I-II and/or Early Moche pottery (e.g. Vicús, Dos Cabezas, Huacas de Moche). Furthermore, radiocarbon dates obtained from sites with Moche I-II and/or Early Moche pottery have so far confirmed the correlation between the emergence of the Moche phenomenon and the beginning and middle stages of the Early Intermediate Period (Donnan 2008; Makowski 1994; Shimada 1994).

The late episodes of the Moche history however, present more complexities. First of all, now it is known that the Moche phenomenon did not finish along with the end of the Early Intermediate Period but continued until AD 850-900, well into the Middle Horizon as radiocarbon dates from San José de Moro, Huacas de Moche and other sites indicate (Castillo 2010; Chapdelaine 2010; Lockard 2009; Uceda 2010). Secondly, such an extended time span implies that Moche coexisted with cultural traditions typically associated with the Middle Horizon such as Wari and Cajamarca. Thirdly, cultures such as Lambayeque and Casma, typically associated with the Late Intermediate Period, may have emerged during the Middle Horizon. This scenario had not been addressed mainly because it was assumed that the beginning of each Horizon implicitly marked the end of all the regional developments. The archaeological data from Cerro Castillo highlights this issue since it has revealed temporal connections between various cultural phenomena of the region.

In the absence of radiocarbon dates for the site, Cerro Castillo's Middle Horizon occupation has been assessed by integrating associative and stratigraphic information. Due to its well-developed chronological framework and its prolific presence at the site, the Moche component has been utilised as the central core to which all other components have been anchored. The temple of Pañamarca is the most prominent feature of the Moche presence at the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex and in the Nepeña Valley. It would correspond with one of the last Moche major monumental enterprises. According to what is known from the works undertaken by Lisa Trever at the temple of Pañamarca, the mural paintings found in the temple seem to be stylistically contemporaneous with the mural paintings of the New Temple of Huaca

de la Luna in the Moche Valley dated to AD 600-850 (Uceda 2010). Therefore, it seems likely that by AD 750 Moche probably had a solid presence at both Cerro Castillo and the monumental area of Pañamarca, implying a close degree of contemporaneity and interaction between these two major sites.

At Cerro Castillo, Moche style pottery and associated archaeological contexts and materials associated with Moche pottery were used during the first half of Middle Horizon. Architectural features of Units 1-2, Units 4-5-6, Unit 3-7, Unit 10, Units 12-13 and Huaca Sector 1-Edifice B were associated with Moche pottery and, in nearly the same amounts, with strap handle jugs, which seem to correspond with a localised ceramic style. In addition, both Moche and local ceramics were found alongside Gallinazo, Cajamarca and Wari-alike pottery, although they represent a small percentage of the site's ceramic sample. Finally, works at Units 14 and 16 (both in Cemetery 1) revealed secondary funeral contexts associated with Moche, local and Casma vessels.

9.1.3. Occupation C (Early Horizon/Early Intermediate Period)

The earliest and so far least documented occupation at Cerro Castillo occurred during the Early Horizon (circa 900 BC-AD 100)/Intermediate Period (circa AD 1-700). This occupation corresponds with only a few architectural features and ceramic fragments. Excavations at the plaza U10-Room-1 revealed a pillar associated with the earliest occupational layers of Unit 10. This type of pillar has been reported at the neighbouring Early Horizon's site of Huambacho, where patio areas featured colonnades of rectangular pillars associated with clean floors and little material remains (Chicoine 2006). Similarly, no diagnostic materials were encountered in association with the pillar of Cerro Castillo's U10-Room-1; however, its stratigraphic location (below the southern perimetric wall of the plaza) suggests it may correspond with an earlier version of the plaza U10-Room 1.

Excavations at Unit 14 and a superficial cleaning of its surroundings exposed a large orthostatic wall, possibly a perimeter of a plaza. Like the colonnades previously discussed, orthostatic walls have been documented at the Early Horizon's site of Caylán (Chicoine 2010).

Due to the high level of disturbance of archaeological deposits in Cemetery 1, no materials were found in reliable association with the orthostatic wall previously described. Nevertheless, its architectural characteristics (similar to those of Cayán's structures) and the absence of associated materials may suggest that orthostatic wall of Cemetery 1 was built during the latest stages of the Early Horizon or the beginning of the Early Intermediate Period.

Works at Huaca Sector 1 revealed the use of an architectural fill of cane-marked mud-bricks to cover an earlier version of the edifice—Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C. The use of cane-marked mud-bricks is generally associated with the Gallinazo tradition, which in turn is understood to be a north coastal phenomenon of the Early Intermediate Period that preceded and coexisted alongside the Moche phenomenon. The presence of cane-marked mud-bricks at Huaca Sector 1 may be an indicator of a Gallinazo component in the history of Cerro Castillo, and therefore of an Early Intermediate Period/pre-Moche occupation at the site. Given the ceremonial nature of Huaca Sector 1, this Gallinazo component may have been related to ceremonial activities. It is worth noting however, that few diagnostic materials were found in association with Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C. Since some fine Moche pottery was recovered from this cane-marked mud-brick fill, it may be the case that such fill was produced by a Gallinazo population at the end of the Early Intermediate Period/beginning of the Middle Horizon, when the Moche presence at the Nepeña Valley developed. More data through excavation are needed to identify the Gallinazo or other cultural affiliation of the construction. Also, whether there are earlier versions of Huaca Sector 1 underneath Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C or not remains uncertain.

More broadly, the Gallinazo presence at Cerro Castillo, and therefore an Early Intermediate Period occupation, is also evident in the ceramics. Although in small numbers, fragments of Gallinazo Incised and Gallinazo Appliqué were encountered in all the residential areas so far identified. These cases appear to correspond to the beginning of the Middle Horizon.

9.2. Cerro Castillo's settlement dynamics

The study of the archaeological evidence of Cerro Castillo has revealed aspects of its functional dynamics and the cross-cutting social boundaries that shaped the site's development. This section focuses on the site's dynamics, especially during the Middle Horizon—the period most represented in our sampling at Cerro Castillo.

Cerro Castillo's Middle Horizon occupation was arguably the heyday of the site's history, an era when the site prospered under the influence of prestigious cultural traditions such as Moche. It was characterised not only by the establishment of an internal social hierarchy (reflected in the qualitative differentiation of architecture and ceramics) but it was also a span of time when artefacts and ideas circulated at a pace that the site had not experienced before.

Excavations have demonstrated that during this time Cerro Castillo was a fully-functioning settlement with everything required for daily life. The site currently features the size of a modern small village (60 ha). At its peak, most of the slopes may have been terraced to hold residential and public compounds. Sector 4 was probably the most populated area as attested by the remains of terraced constructions. The way in which architectural features were spatially distributed allows an estimation of 10 built-hectares in the hillsides. It is possible that Cerro Castillo's builders chose to build on the slopes to avoid flooding issues.

Although no structural water channel has been encountered so far, it is plausible to presume that inhabitants found ways to supply themselves with water from the closest water source, the Nepeña River. Water management was arguably a fundamental in the site's growth. In this regard, the proximity to the Nepeña River may have been a determining factor when choosing the location of the residential areas. In addition, it is possible that during the Middle Horizon, the growing population increased food production and therefore the cultivable areas.

Artefactual and architectural analyses of Sector 4 areas suggest that most of the architectural compounds may have accommodated households of different social status. On the one hand, evidence suggests that wealthier families resided in the higher parts of the slopes as would be the case of the high-quality structures found at Units 1-2. On the other hand, compounds Units 4-5-6 and Units 3-7-15 (on the western slope of Sector 4) may correspond

with residences of more economically heterogeneous households.

Archaeological evidence also suggests a tendency to integrate domestic tasks within the realm of specialised production. Open spaces were conceived for multi-functional purposes, integrating daily domestic tasks (e.g. food preparation and consumption) with the production and trade of primary goods (e.g. textiles, basketry and pottery). Little evidence indicates rigid spatial boundaries for a number of practices since domestic tasks seem to have been perceived as part of public life. In such case, shelter rooms would correspond with places where households had rest, intimacy, and protection.

Economic life at Cerro Castillo focused on agriculture. Preliminary observations of the site's food remains indicate that inhabitants were supplied with traditional crops such as maize (*Zea mays*), potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*), lúcuma (*Pouteria lucuma*) and custard apple (*Annona reticulata*). It is also possible that they grew food in terraces at the site, facilitating themselves access to closely-manageable species such as chilli (*Capsicum*) or others seeds. They also accessed maritime species such as shells and certain fish species; however, whether they were acquired directly by the site's dwellers or, traded with fishers' communities that came to the site, remains uncertain. Cerro Castillo's residents also raised llamas and guinea pigs. Remains of both species have been accounted in association with kitchens, public areas and workshops (e.g. Unit 7). Breeding llamas along with the exploitation of cotton would have boosted local textile production, providing weavers with the essential raw materials.

The construction of residential and public architecture changed the social landscape of Cerro Castillo. Some construction projects required communal participation at different scales. Households may have sufficed themselves to building their own residences, whilst larger social units may have organised to build structures for public use such as patios, plazas and other ceremonial forms. In this sense, manual labour may have been met through reciprocal co-operation. Thus evidence suggests that, during the Middle Horizon, Cerro Castillo was as busy as some other contemporaneous settlements of the region such as Guadalupito, Pampa Grande and Huacas de Moche (Chapdelaine 2010; Shimada 1994; Uceda 2010)

The ceremonial building Huaca Sector 1 may be the result of such co-operation. Its location (apart from the residential areas) suggests that the circulation and access to the building

were limited. Additionally, its size and architectural quality indicate its ceremonial nature and an intended political agenda. Although more data are necessary, its general architectural features suggest that the construction of Huaca Sector 1 followed shared regional conventions for temples, i.e. mud-brick platforms one on top of the other finished with clay-plastered outer surfaces and good-quality flooring. The small amount of associated materials evidences the constant maintenance of the structure.

It is possible that the presence of Huaca Sector 1 affected the type of activities carried out in the areas surrounding it. Excavations revealed a significant amount of fancy ceramics associated with high-quality architecture around the edifice. Little evidence of food consumption and production activities was reported in these areas, which suggests that these spaces were not for residential purposes. Instead, it is possible that the circulation and the activities carried out around these spaces were related to the ones undertaken in Huaca Sector 1.

Finally, life in Cerro Castillo was closely related to perceptions and activities of death. The flatlands of the site feature large evidence of funerary practices, possibly carried out by people settled in Sector 3 and Sector 4. Excavations at Units 14 and 16 revealed that people associated with the Moche, local and Casma cultural traditions were buried in Cemetery 1. Graveyards where various cultural traditions converged have also been reported in the Jequetepeque Valley (Castillo et al. 2008). In addition, disturbed materials collected from looter pits indicate that ceramics of different quality were placed as offerings in the tombs of this graveyard, which in turn suggests that people from different social segments were buried in this cemetery. Whether specific sectors of the graveyards were associated with specific residences on the slopes is a subject that requires further investigation.

9.3. Conclusions

This chapter integrated the results of ceramic and architecture analyses to outline the general occupation at Cerro Castillo. Occupation A (Late Intermediate Period) is mainly characterised by the presence of Chimú wares associated with the upper layers of the different excavation units. Occupation B (Middle Horizon) corresponds to the main occupational

period. Most of the architectural structures documented in the excavation units correspond to this period, as well as the materials found in association. Occupation C (Early Horizon/Early Intermediate Period) was inferred on the basis of some architecture and the presence of few Gallinazo ceramics.

Based on the material evidence associated with Occupation B, the chapter also offers an interpretation of the settlement dynamics during this period, concluding that it was fully-functioning settlement composed of variable household units. Residential and production activities were mainly centred on the hillsides whereas funerary practices were carried out in the flatlands. Huaca Sector 1 was the only major building of the site, and its presence in the northern side suggests that ceremonial activities were concentrated on that area.

CHAPTER 10

Moche, 'Moches,' the Nepeña Valley, Cerro Castillo and the north coast of Peru

One of the main sources of confusion when trying to explain the pre-Columbian past of the Peruvian north coast is the way in which archaeologists name and address social phenomena, such as political entities, cultural units, settlement-communities and territories. Using archaeological evidence from Cerro Castillo, the following sections offer an alternative perspective by which the historical development of this region can be approached. It starts by defining, and/or clarifying, some terminology that has been widely (and somehow indistinctly) used to refer to a number of aspects of the ancient north coastal societies. This should be taken as a simple interpretative exercise, not as an attempt to rediscover the wheel, nor as a challenge to what has been written so far. In fact, the ideas presented here stem from previous works that have greatly contributed to our understanding of the subject (Bawden 1996; Castillo et al. 2008; Donnan 1978; Larco 2001; Shimada 1994; Uceda and Mujica 1994, 2003; Pillsbury 2001; Quilter and Castillo 2010). The work at Cerro Castillo continues to problematise views of Moche as a social and cultural phenomenon.

10.1. 'Moche as a state', 'Moche as a nation', 'Moche as a belief system'

An increasingly popular question from university students is: what is Moche? Or more straightforwardly, what do archaeologists mean by Moche? The people? If so, what people? The elites or everyone? Or the material culture? And what materials specifically? The pottery, the imagery, the temples? But what about the Mochicas? To make it even more complicated, in specialised literature one will find that the term Moche can also refer to the Moche Valley, or to the ancient inhabitants of the Moche Valley, or to the ancient inhabitants of the site of Huacas de Moche (the latter also referred to as Huacas del Sol y de la Luna, or Moche Viejo, or simply the Moche site). Recently, scholars have opted for utilising 'the Moche phenomenon' as a neutral term that however still comes across as vague (Quilter and Castillo 2010; Quilter and Koons 2012). The problem lies in the fact that there is not a simple way to describe complex historical times, nor is there a succinct explanation that can account for the many cultural phenomena that

impacted this region over such a long span of time.

Researchers have crafted persuasive interpretative models to explain one or several characteristics of the Moche archaeological record. Nevertheless, it is difficult to reconcile views that put so much weight on warfare as the driving force for cultural change, with models that particularise everything to the point that one loses sight of the larger regional picture. The answer to the initial question of this section ranges from 'Moche was an expansionist state that expanded from Piura to Huarmey' to 'the Moche were a number of politically independent entities (various states) that shared similar material culture' to 'Moche was an elite political ideology practiced from Piura to Huarmey.'

The problem is archaeologists are dealing with material culture solidly spread throughout a large territory that at first sight would seem to correspond with what remains of a state structure. However, the features that we most readily identify with a modern state (e.g. flags, anthems, demarcated territory and language) either elude the archaeological record or simply did not exist in pre-Columbian times. Such is the riddle: what looks like a state, but is not a state? By way of an illustrative exercise, a brief (although basic) analogy of how states, nations and belief systems are currently conceived and perceived may shed light on how Moche and its material culture can be better understood. In other words, how would we characterise Moche if it existed today?

To view 'Moche as a state', expansionist or not, suggests a geo-political entity; a bounded territorial unit administrated by one governmental body. The state view often converges with the idea of 'Moche as a nation', which conveys connotations of shared culture; that is, communities with a common language, ethnicity and historical origins (e.g. Egyptians). Finally, the view of 'Moche as a belief system' entails unified credos, values, practices and worldviews (e.g. Buddhism). The problem for Moche scholars is that the spectrum in which these definitions can overlap is immense; a nation can be a state and at the same time share the same religion (India and Hinduism), but a state is not always a nation (Belgium), and a nation is not always a state (the Romani); a state can be composed of more than one nation and one religion (Inca), a belief system can be shared by several nations and states (Christianity), a nation can be part of more than one state (Kurdistan), and so forth. That being said, which definition best fits Moche?

If Moche is understood as an example of state formation (whether archaic, pristine, military, or otherwise; see also Feinman and Marcus 1998; Stein 2001) then it would be useful to apply the terminology corresponding to such a definition. That is, the term Moche would imply a bounded territory (in this case the north coast of Peru) that encompassed several communities that were governed by a political body based on a capital or central settlement (Huacas de Moche). Regardless of the differences between archaic and modern states, using the term Moche would provoke similar connotations as the referent 'Ecuador'. The archaeological record however, increasingly conflicts with the idea of a Moche 'state' (of whatever type) simply because its material culture lacks the sequential spread and homogeneity expected in a state's territorial growth. It would also imply a shared perception of the man-made territorial demarcations normal in a state's patrimony. In this regard, the 'Moche as a state' view seems too rigid to accommodate the different processes of cultural development that would have occurred in more than eight centuries of its existence. To portray the complexity of this, we just need to recall how many state formations have appeared and disappeared in the last fifty years (Breuilly 1993).

The view of 'Moche as a nation' offers more room to integrate the features that characterise its material culture. It certainly is a better match in terms of the degree of homogeneity and heterogeneity found in the archaeological record. Furthermore, the core features of a nation (i.e. language, origins, subsistence and household practices; see also Arnold 1990; Dietler 1994; Meskell 1998) tend to survive political transformations, which match the longevity of Moche material culture. Therefore, saying 'Moches' would convey similar connotations to saying 'North American Indians' or 'Arabs'. However, 16th century and Colonial Period sources suggest that there were several language groups on the ancient north coast of Peru (Cerrón Palomino 1995; Torero 2002). Moreover, although the term does not exclude hierarchical relations, the view 'Moche as a nation' does not necessarily explain the large expenditure in monumental architecture as well as the extravagance of ceremonial practices and iconographic narratives present throughout the region.

Some also view Moche primarily as 'a belief system' (Bawden 1996; Donnan 2010). Donnan (2010) has postulated that religion was the unifying force between the Peruvian north coastal populations during circa AD 100-850. Empirical data from some Moche sites correspond

with a number of features that corroborate this view. If Moche was a religion, its physical manifestations (material culture) would show certain degrees of homogeneity, in particular related to iconographic symbols, characters, narratives and sacred places. Moreover, its territorial and chronological distribution would not necessarily follow those of an expansionist state, which has two important implications. On the one hand, material culture associated with the Moche phenomenon should relate to practices shared during at least eight centuries, surviving political transformations and periods of social stress. On the other hand, geographic and ideological growth of 'Moche as a religion' can be compared to the territorial expansion of other religions, which tend to be delineated by abstract boundaries (Figs. 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3). For instance, there is no such a thing as a fixed territorial map of Christianity. Religions and their physical manifestations spread according to the fluctuations in regional interactions and between different socio-political units. Our investigation at Cerro Castillo considers these premises to characterise the Moche presence at the site.

10.2. Moche, 'Moches,' Mocheans; Nepeñans and Cerro Castilloans

The above points suggest that what archaeologists have identified as Moche in the archaeological records may correspond with the physical manifestations of an institutionalised belief system. This system would involve religious, ideological, political and philosophical dimensions, effectively, a worldview based on an idea or set of ideas that conform to a certain lifestyle and predictable behaviours (Geertz 1966) that, if present, can be traced archaeologically. This worldview would also be based on visual representations of key events in the lives of a number of prominent characters (i.e. rulers or deities) who were repeatedly depicted in artworks and a variety of media. Adherents of Moche or Moches produced, promoted and consumed such material culture, which also suggests they conducted their social practices within the behavioural lines of this belief system. In this view, being Moche was akin to being a Buddhist, that is, the ideological boundaries were not geographically marked but rather behaviourally.

Moche territorial boundaries did not strictly correspond to the territorial expansion of the polities that were affiliated with it, nor with the size of a settlement associated with Moche

material culture. Nevertheless, the ubiquity of Moche material culture suggests it significantly impinged on the social practice of numerous communities along the ancient Peruvian north coast, at both political and household levels, generating vertical and horizontal relations throughout eight centuries. To date, Moche was the most enduring cultural phenomenon that ever existed in the region. Archaeological evidence indicates that it did not experience a gradual territorial growth but periods of both popularity and struggle; some locations exhibit long-term adherence to a Moche 'lifestyle,' whereas others either followed a different trajectory or only conformed to Moche practices at much later points in their particular organisational development.

The so-called Moche territorial expansion is better understood as dovetailing with the growth of an increasingly influential lifestyle that was fully or partially adopted by different political units across the region. It is possible that the way Moche was adopted regionally varied from one polity to the next, and it is traceable in the archaeological record—particularly in the regional and site-based pottery where the occurrence of identifiable iconographical sub-styles increases along with more detailed observations. This suggests a scenario where the development of 'Moche as a belief system' does not necessarily have to match the political transformations of valley-based units. Recent literature refers to the Moche of Santa and the Moche of Jequetepeque in a way similar to that in which we currently refer to the Christians of Russia and the Christians of Spain; different political units, different languages and ethnicities, different ways of political management, but similar foundational belief system, the same holy personages, similar iconographic styles and related sub-styles. For practical purposes, the use of valley demonyms may facilitate the way in which we refer to their ancient populations, since a demonym carries connotations of place rather than cultural or chronological affiliations. Nepeñans (Nepeñanos in Spanish), for instance, would refer to people from the Nepeña Valley, and Mocheans (Mocheros in Spanish) would refer to people from the Moche Valley, independently from their political adherence or the period lived in.

The considerations above, however, may still be too simplistic to outline a model that encapsulates such a complex society that lasted for such a long period. One of the most pressing problems is that since we largely ignore the behavioural and institutional boundaries that underlay ancient worldviews, we end up simplistically applying our own. Nowadays for

instance, we place different aspects of our lives into well-bounded categories—work, trade, religion, politics—however, it is possible that these partitions did not exist in the past, or at least not in the way we understand them today. Indeed, the archaeological record suggests that religion, politics and economy were blended within the social fabric rather than being distinct categories of social roles in, and of, themselves. Moche ceremonies had religious foundations, political connotations and economical consequences. Ceremonies not only reinforced a belief system but also legitimised social order; they reaffirmed hierarchical relations and generated relationships between individuals within different social segments. Ceremonies and interactions also imbued sites with prestige, re-shaping regional hierarchies and social boundaries. In this respect, the relationship between Moche settlements and temples would not have been one of a fixed hierarchical structure but one of dynamic competition. The Moche temples of Huaca de la Luna in the Moche Valley, and Huaca Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley, may well illustrate one of the earliest examples of such a scenario. Likewise, at the latest stage of Moche history, the Pañamarca Complex and San José de Moro would have been central to the shaping of inter-valley relationships (Fig. 10.3). In this context, Cerro Castillo can be seen as a competing community whose power and prestige grew during the late stages of the Moche history.

This study suggests that inter-valley contacts were fluid and widely promoted by trade. Goods exchange, however, does not seem to have been the only reason why people travelled long distances or settled in distant places such as the Pañamarca Complex. Their motives may have been related to something as profound as ceremonial participation that led to the exchange and reinforcement of beliefs and ideas. Although ceremonies may have been politically driven—hidden agendas accompanied by many initiatives, e.g. diplomacy—they would have entailed wider social significance with repercussions in peoples' daily lives. Trade networks provided a basis for the transmission of spiritual and intellectual ideas. Certainly archaeology cannot on its own show how interconnected all aspects of Moche political, religious and economic life were; this idea needs to be integrated with theoretical approaches from historical and linguistic perspectives to infer the existence of such abstract notions. What archaeology shows, however, is the process and consequences of such interactions.

10.3. Moche, the Nepeña Valley and Cerro Castillo

It has been traditionally assumed that circa AD 500-700, as part of its expansionist quest, the Moche state of the Moche Valley forced its way into the Nepeña Valley, crushing the native populations and establishing a new provincial capital, as it had been done previously in the valleys of Virú and Santa (Chapdelaine 2010; Topic 1982; Willey 1953; Wilson 1988). Under this view, the Pañamarca Complex (composed of the temple of Pañamarca and Cerro Castillo) was the result of such occurrences: a typical example of populations dominated by invasion from stronger groups. It could be said that, to a certain extent, the monumentality of Pañamarca prevented us from understanding this period, limiting explanations to core-periphery models. In fact, when mural paintings were discovered at the site for the first time, it was naturally assumed that they were a physical symbol of a Moche regime that took control over the populations and resources of the Nepeña Valley. Understandably, since no excavations were conducted at the place afterwards, little reflection followed.

In general, the main problem of core-periphery approaches is the simplistic tendency to associate cultural contact and change with domination and conquest, seeing them as inevitably oppressive processes. At this point, it is worth considering that archaeology is in many ways a product of its time. As such, archaeologists from the 1940s through to the 1970s were highly influenced by their own circumstances. Bearing in mind a fresh memory of World Wars I and II, and subsequent conflicts, people grew attached to the idea of invasions to explain cultural change, which was also supported by plenty of historical cases describing the arrival of a powerful military force taking over ‘weak’ and ‘naive’ communities. In their eyes, warfare was the driving force for social change (Carneiro 1970; Haas 1987; Mann 1989; Redman 1990; Schreiber 1992; Service 1975). In addition, the idea that the collapse of a powerful state is followed by disaster and chaos was commonly assumed (Tainter 1988; Yoffee and Cowgill 1988). This view, long accepted as a natural part of human history, significantly influenced archaeological interpretations worldwide. Despite their geographic isolation from the western world, the pre-Columbian Andean societies were also addressed in this fashion (Moseley 2001; Schaedel 1972).

Moche has been seen as a state with an expansionist agenda that progressively and

inexorably took official control over the Peruvian north coast valleys, wiping out pre-existing cultures and customs. In this view, the Nepeña Valley would have been composed of a collection of weakened farming communities without major leadership prior to Moche's arrival. The relationship between the pre-Columbian Nepeña Valley and the major Andean cultural phenomena is conventionally described as one in which Nepeñans sank into a state of lethargy after the decline of a dominant regional force, being revived only by a substantial infusion from a new external order (Moche, Wari or Chimú).

The abundance of Moche pottery in several sites, for instance, is considered evidence enough for a military imposition across the valley (Proulx 1968, 1973, 1985; Willey 1953; Wilson 1988). The discussion then, seems to be centred on how the valley and its populations were led and administered. Whereas some favour the idea that it was ruled by viceroys sent from the Moche Valley, others argue that local individuals fought their way to the top by allying with, and subjecting themselves to, the Moche Valley's leaders. Whatever the case, such leadership was administered from the temple of Pañamarca, whose construction at the top of a noticeable promontory seems to correspond with the state's plan to occupy a dominant position in the landscape, sending a permanently visible message about the legitimacy of the ruling elites.

The archaeological data from Cerro Castillo provides some evidence that problematises traditional core-periphery approaches when explaining the site's history and its relationship with the Moche. It is difficult to archaeologically confirm whether the changes seen in the material culture resulted from large numbers of people who moved from abroad to the Nepeña Valley. It is worth noting however, that some historical examples suggest that migrations are not always the cause of cultural transformations and political shifts (Beach et al. 2009); cultural change can be marketed 'indoors,' brought about by cultural insiders, often generating even more dramatic effects than an invasion. Certainly, Moche made its way into the Nepeña Valley, but to conclude that a state's expansionist agenda was the driving force seems to be an assumption rather than an evidence-supported explanation. The evidence from Cerro Castillo does not support a clear 'colonisation' model. Few, if any, archaeological contexts of Cerro Castillo indicate military operations, social struggle or population replacement, nor do they point to a classic case of an unoccupied area.

Archaeological remains of a centralised state's expansion usually leave clear physical

evidence. The Chimú incursion of circa AD 1200-1300 and the Inca invasion in the 15th century both left their archaeological mark in the form of military architecture, war cemeteries and deliberate attacks on settlements and sacred places (D'Altroy 1992, 2002; Moseley 2001). Cerro Castillo's architecture and spatial characteristics (e.g. residential and ceremonial buildings, lack of defensive structures and accessibility through open flatlands) do not seem consistent with any military orientations or practice. In general, as far as current data show, there is little evidence at Cerro Castillo of attack, or threat of attack, by foreign Moche warriors.

Archaeological evidence from Cerro Castillo (a large hilly area located southeast of the temple of Pañamarca) conflicts with the conventional core-periphery theoretical model between Moche and the Nepeña Valley. Our investigation at the site suggests that this was not a history of populations under Moche control, nor was it a case of population replacement. This work posits that, far from a scenario of a subjected periphery, the Moche presence at Cerro Castillo represented a time of major development and creativity. Material culture from the site indicates people with their own sense of communal identity and social boundaries—an enduring localised culture that, rather than being dependant on others' will, engaged selectively with neighbouring cultures and groups.

The next sections aim to reconstruct the sequence of major cultural developments at Cerro Castillo, placing them in their regional and temporal context. Their understanding requires examining both local occurrences along with the greater regional events that took place in the Andes during AD 600-900. At Cerro Castillo, the arrival of Moche impinged on the life and boundaries of the site in a distinctive fashion.

10.4. Moche's move onto Cerro Castillo

Evidence indicates that prior to the Moche arrival, the Nepeña Valley had been a prestigious region inhabited by a vibrant society with a unique and lasting cultural tradition (Chicoine 2006, 2010; Proulx 1968, 1973, 1985; Tello 1943). Important sites such as Punkurí, Huambacho and Caylán support the view that the Early Horizon and the Early Intermediate Period were times that saw the forging of regional identities that emerged within pan-Andean trends.

At Cerro Castillo, architectural features of the Early Horizon (circa 900 BC-AD 100) in the form of orthostatic constructions, the remains of colonnades and Gallinazo cane-marked mud-bricks indicate that the site's life began long before the Moche arrival. In addition, an Early Horizon structure at the top of the monumental area of the Pañamarca Complex backs the idea that the area's prestige dates back to those times.

Recent research indicates that by circa AD 600 the north coast of Peru had become a series of autonomous valley-based polities, the result of a long cultural continuum whose foundations date back to the Early Horizon (Castillo and Uceda 2008; Castillo and Quilter 2010). Nevertheless, political autonomy did not prevent fluid interactions across a large territory. Indeed, several aspects of these communities' social practice, reflected in the material culture, attest to the rise of a shared worldview that sought to make sense of these peoples' origins, fate, and way of being; a belief system that archaeologists call Moche. Similar approaches can be found in the Hopewell 'interaction sphere' (Caldwell 1964) and the Recuay 'commonwealth' (Lau 2011). Moche however, was adopted and lived differently by each one of its constituent polities, as well as by the different segments within each social unit. Whereas some polities played a part in the beginnings of Moche (e.g. Jequetepeque), others joined the Moche world at later points in its development (e.g. Nepeña) (Figs. 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3).

It is possible that the core of Moche (as a belief system) was shaped and sustained by complex long-standing rituals and ceremonies, which explains the recurrent presence of certain symbols and characters across the north coastal valleys in a span of circa eight centuries (Donnan 1978; Donnan and McClelland 1999). It would also explain chronological and spatial changes/variations in the physical manifestations of Moche—also considering that rituals and societal principles tend to preserve their structure whereas the way they are materially depicted and perceived tends to vary according to singular regional practices and temporal transformations in aesthetics trends. In this view, the societal principles that characterised Moche may have been embraced in various ways at different times by polities that diverged from each other in terms of territorial circumstances and culture, whereas rituals, symbols and characters depicted in Moche art were recurrent and similar across discrete political units. If so, Moche regional histories need to be extrapolated with caution. Moreover, a belief system itself may present variations that may only make sense to certain populations during a specific period

of time. In this regard, comparing how Moche rituals were performed and perceived by the populations of the Jequetepeque Valley of the 6th century and the ones of the Nepeña Valley of the 9th century, would be like comparing how the Catholic mass was performed and perceived by Peruvians of the 17th century and Argentineans of the 20th century.

All evidence suggests that Cerro Castillo was a community that only joined the Moche world during the later stages of Moche development. To better assess the significance of this period, this work has centred attention on the archaeology of Cerro Castillo's populace, addressing how regional and pan-Andean changes and interactions affected people's daily lives.

This dissertation shows how excavations at Cerro Castillo have revealed significant material expressions (e.g. building foundations of residencies and public architecture as well as funerary contexts) of a resilient political entity that lived its heyday during the Middle Horizon. Remains of refurbished buildings associated with different pottery styles, suggest a span of time when Cerro Castilloans were attuned to, and interested in, the different cultural developments that were already shaping other parts of the Central Andes. By that time (AD 700-850), traditions such as Wari and Casma were emerging and spreading from the central highlands and from the neighbouring Casma Valley respectively. Nevertheless, it was Moche, an already prestigious and consolidated culture, that made its way into the heart of the settlement.

The arrival of Moche at Cerro Castillo was a breakthrough in the site's history. Moche art embodied the lifestyle qualities Cerro Castilloans wanted to be identified with, a sophisticated ceremonial world of mythical characters that had brought cohesion and balance to societies. Regardless of our ignorance about the details of the story underlying Moche art, it certainly had enormous attraction, and like many other myths, it inspired the imagination of artists for centuries across many communities, as it did at Cerro Castillo. Ceramic sherds encountered at the site evidence the arrival of Moche subject matter such as images associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony, supernatural characters (e.g. Ai-Apaec), death figures, representations of ritual runners and portraits of elite characters. There is also evidence of other evocative icons such as the stepped symbol, the war club as well as representations of plants (e.g. the ulluchu) and animals which are commonly associated with erotic scenes and hunting ceremonies (e.g. Figs. 7.34, 7.36 and 7.37).

Moche imagery was the product of the way several generations perceived themselves;

it was an evocative idea, dramatic and full of meaning. It was promoted not only by leaders, but also by artisans who, commissioned or not, embraced a narrative of themes that explained the origin and destiny of their world. In many regards, Moche imagery reflects the development of the making of a culture's identity. It goes without saying that it is a matter of major complexity to which archaeologists have limited access. However, the increasing identification of Moche sub-styles is surely leading us closer to the recognition that such stylistic differences do not only correspond with hierarchical levels of skill and artistry but also with particular ways of living and perceiving Moche practices and boundaries.

At Cerro Castillo, the Middle Horizon was a period of dynamic cultural ferment. The emergence of large scale temples, artworks and complex imagery suggests that the arrival of Moche ideas into the valley brought a new way of thinking, which is a cultural feature that normally eludes the archaeological record. Archaeological evidence indicates that Moche certainly made its way into the aristocratic, urban and commoners' lives. There was high circulation and consumption of Moche art at the site, not only from the elite spheres but also from households of different socio-economic orders. Moche artworks were arguably perceived as stunning luxurious items in terms of their aesthetics and their worldview discourse. The arrival of masterpieces of art as well as artists, painters, architects and other specialists, changed perspective on aesthetics at Cerro Castillo. The construction of the temple of Pañamarca, for example, represents a marvel of engineering.

The diversity of Moche fancy pottery found at the site suggests that people did not simply acquire fashionable objects but learnt the underlying meaning of Moche artworks and icons, becoming conscious of the agenda evoked by them. Several ceramic fragments found at Cerro Castillo correspond with decorated vessels depicting either entire scenes of Moche themes or evocative figural representations of them in pictorial, sculpted and relief formats. Fine pottery was not only a symbol of authority but a representation of culture. Moche narratives may also have seeped their way into the social practices of Cerro Castilloans who engaged in a much larger belief system. However, the intent does not appear to have been one of displacing local customs entirely, or at all. Such consumption of Moche imagery reveals a generalised interest in exploring new and complex worldviews, and knowledge was an essential part of that—knowledge of the images, its mythology, characters and evocative meaning. Within this view, it

is possible to presume that Cerro Castilloans were people able to engage in esoteric discussions and debate about the ideas circulating in front of their eyes.

The Middle Horizon and the arrival of Moche at Cerro Castillo represented a major change for the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex and the Nepeña Valley. In general, it was a period of novelty: new buildings, new people, new ideas, new confidence and none of it coming from an expansionist state, but from a long-standing ‘way of being.’

10.5. Mochesised Nepeñeanas

The idea of people adopting a prestigious culture is an alternative to the conventional view of subjected communities. However, as previously said, there is little, if any, archaeological evidence to support the argument of a military occupation at the site. Instead, material evidence suggests that local traditions (in the form of local elite pottery) coexisted alongside the Moche presence. Thus, this investigation posits that the high-quality residential structures and fine pottery encountered at the site would not correspond with the dwellings of Moche governors sent to a peripheral outpost, but with the houses of high-ranking Mochesised Nepeñeanas. Fancy Moche and local pottery associated with residential, public, funeral and ceremonial contexts suggest a widespread consumption of the material expressions of both traditions.

Excavations at Cerro Castillo indicate that temples, plazas, houses and storerooms were built prior to, during, and after the Moche presence at the site, which indicates that a significant part of the populace was from the Nepeña Valley. This evidence supports a different model for the spread of the Moche phenomenon: these were Nepeñeanas living like Moches and adopting Moche social practices, which reached their culminating point with the construction of the temple of Pañamarca.

Under this scenario, Cerro Castilloans would have adopted Moche imagery to express their affiliation to a prestigious worldview. Indeed, the circulation of Moche portraits (allegedly depicting real personages; see also Donnan 2004) suggests fluid contacts between Cerro Castilloans and high-ranking Moche personages. In this regard, trade and mutual co-operation may have driven inter-valley interactions that led to the reinforcement of relationships through marriages, goods exchange and regional ceremonies, amongst others. Regional ceremonial

centres such as San José de Moro illustrate this type of scenario (Castillo et al. 2008). In the same way, at Cerro Castillo, public architecture (e.g. Huaca Sector 1) and ceremonial spaces (e.g. cemeteries) would have been the arenas where trade and interaction occurred. The Cerro Castillo excavations revealed imported fancy ceramics associated with both residential and public architecture as well as in funerary contexts.

A scenario of open boundaries would probably be less likely in an oppressive state. Little evidence can be related to a Moche state's military actions over local traditions, such as overthrown elites, destroyed temples, or massacred populations. The Moche presence did not eradicate Cerro Castilloans nor their traditions. People of all social segments continued to consume local fancy pottery (e.g. decorated strap handle jugs) which circulated in both domestic and ritual contexts. It is worth mentioning that, to date, the local pottery from Cerro Castillo could not be matched to any other ceramic style, suggesting a highly localised tradition.

Furthermore, works at Huaca Sector 1 revealed a ceremonial building originally associated with the Gallinazo tradition of the Early Intermediate Period. The venue was refurbished at least twice, and continued operating throughout the Moche presence during the Middle Horizon, and later on, during the Late Intermediate Period. In this sense, it can be said that Cerro Castilloans developed an ability to absorb foreign influences without them supplanting their traditional practices or features of their identity in times of critical pan-Andean transformations.

10.6. The rise of Cerro Castillo

Mocheans and Moches have been thought of as foreigners who arrived at Nepeña, occupied and exploited it, and then left. However, Cerro Castillo represents a case where local populations were Mochesised. For this reason, allocating a rigid cultural identity to the site's inhabitants at any social level seems contradictory to their ancient circumstances. Surely the site had a hierarchical structure and a shared sense of social order. To date, however, excavations have revealed little or no evidence of a military state's headquarters. Such features are commonly associated with Chimú and Inca sites, i.e. states that aimed to regulate trade and

interaction (D'Altroy 2002; Moseley 2001). At Cerro Castillo, public architecture essentially corresponds with ceremonial buildings, public spaces and storerooms that operated during different occupational periods. Accordingly, social interaction occurred before, during and after the Moche presence, which suggests that the Pañamarca Complex (including Cerro Castillo) may have been one of the regional centres of the time rather than an outpost of a Moche oppressive state.

Instead of assuming warfare-driven relationships, the rise of Cerro Castillo seems to have occurred under circumstances of competing Moche entities in different north coast valleys. Power and prestige may have intermittently shifted from one valley to the other which explains the variant periods of proliferation and stagnation of Moche sites along the north coast. The Nepeña Valley was a late participant in the history of Moche yet it played a significant role in times of turmoil in the Moche Valley. It has been argued that around the beginning of the Middle Horizon, Huacas de Moche experienced a population drain: artists moved northwards to the Jequetepeque Valley, which eventually originated the fineline painting style of San José de Moro (Castillo 2003; Castillo et al. 2008). Hence, it is plausible that people also moved southwards to the valleys of Santa and Nepeña.

What did Cerro Castillo have to offer to other valleys' populations? Certainly contact in itself was important, but people, traders and leaders did not travel into the Nepeña Valley to visit a deteriorating place. As such, I argue that Cerro Castilloans' embracing of foreign traditions significantly increased the site's prestige. Ceremonies and festivals were ideal occasions for the exchange of goods and knowledge. Therefore, people arrived at a culturally and economically flourishing place, where the inhabitants had commodities and ideas to share with the rest of the region. Unfortunately, due to the lack of written sources, behavioural features such as diplomacy, esoteric knowledge and language proficiency largely escape archaeological interpretations; however, there is no reason to rule out the idea that such cultural traits may have played a pivotal role in the building of the site's status.

Bearing the above in mind, this research postulates that the Middle Horizon saw Cerro Castillo's heyday. Hard evidence suggests that Cerro Castillo became a venue where distinctive cultural units encountered one another, leading a period of popular interest in each others' ideas,

and an increase in trade and diplomatic missions. It was a place where cultural boundaries of Moches and Cerro Castilloans would eventually blend or clash. Further investigations will help to reassess the scale and importance of these interactions.

10.7. The Casma component

Another important impact at Cerro Castillo came from the Casma polity of the Casma Valley (Vogel 2003). Excavations at the site revealed secondary burials containing fancy Casma ceramics which suggest close relationships between locals and Casmas. Casma pottery was also found in association with domestic and public spaces, suggesting its circulation amongst the residents of the site.

Casma was an emerging neighbouring phenomenon that possibly arrived at Cerro Castillo driven by economic and political forces. It is unlikely that, for these societies, fancy vessels were politically neutral. They were perceived as items of a special nature—imbued with value, meaning and a political agenda—which explains their recurrent presence in ritual contexts. Hence, for both sides (Casmas and Cerro Castilloans), interaction may have been a way for each to associate itself with another prestigious polity.

However, the presence of Casma pottery at Cerro Castillo poses questions about the timing of the arrival of Casma material culture at the site. Casma has been traditionally thought of as a tradition that emerged after the decline of Moche. At San José de Moro, Casma pottery has been reported in association with burials of the Transitional Period, after the collapse of Moche. At Cerro Castillo, material expressions of both phenomena were found in secondary burials alongside local pottery. Given the altered nature of this type of contexts, the scope of our interpretations of these contexts is limited. Excavations of primary Casma contexts will allow a better assessment of its presence at the site. The lack of radiocarbon dates is also an issue to address in the future. Nevertheless, similar to the way scholars have revised the temporal length of Moche, the chronological start of the spread of Casma artefacts may require further evaluation.

10.8. A multi-cultural settlement

Cerro Castillo was not a place cut-off from what was happening in the Andes. Rather, it developed strongholds with prestigious regional groups as evidenced by the presence of foreign ceramics. In light of these mixed interactions, and as an alternative scenario to the invasion perspective, this research posits that Cerro Castillo gradually became a preferred destination for traders and elites interested in reinforcing connections with a growing multi-cultural settlement. As interactions increased, so did Cerro Castillo in terms of demography and importance (particularly during the Middle Horizon as evidence suggests).

The mobilisation of populations was fundamental to this growth since, independently of their original motives, it generated a fresh flow of ideas and practices. If we can assume that Moches from other valleys moved to Cerro Castillo, it can be argued that the second generation of these migrants were likely to be more culturally open than their predecessors. Trade may have encouraged fluid interactions where Moche figures either visited, or were invited to, the Nepeña Valley, and from that point participated in inter-valley festivities, alliances and even marriages. Their growing presence was not associated with a military agenda intent on eradicating local culture, but rather on the development of an increasingly diverse society. In this view, the temple of Pañamarca would have been built to reinforce allegiances, in effect a commemoration of the welding of diverse boundaries rather than a reminder/symbol of Moche oppression.

The archaeological evidence from the Middle Horizon occupation of Cerro Castillo was a result of this context. Architecture was built by locals before the Moche arrival and also by first-generation immigrants. It cannot yet be determined whether the immigrant component of Cerro Castillo's population came from nearby towns or from the other valleys. Based on preliminary observations, most of the artefacts recovered from the site's cemeteries seem to correspond with funerary assemblage for locals and immigrants (either short-term visitors or fully-settled outsiders) rather than for foreign warriors. It could be argued that the number of newcomers, (Moches, Casmas and possibly others) did not visibly outnumber the local population.

10.9. A competing community

Although more research is needed to assess the regional status of Cerro Castillo before, during and after the Moche arrival, it is plausible that its inhabitants took advantage of growing interactions, not only to increase their wealth, but also to reinforce and/or reshape their identity and cultural boundaries. The circulation of elaborate Moche imagery, Casma icons and other foreign symbols, suggests a learned community with economic surplus and time on their hands to explore the practices of both emerging cultures and those already regarded as prestigious and highly developed.

Nevertheless, multi-cultural coexistence is not only difficult to achieve, but also a delicate matter of complex maintenance. This investigation also revealed evidence of inter-community competition that challenged local traditions and structure. Economic and ritual practices were probably widespread through the site, as were sectorial alliances, interests and disputes. Such a socially charged context may have led to periodic times of cultural clash which, when it came to a point of high tension, resulted in the disturbance of funerary contexts in the flatlands of the site.

The disturbance of sacred contexts (temples, burials) is generally seen as a reflection of widespread discontent since such alterations presume a direct attack on someone's property, beliefs and identity (Castillo et al. 2008). In this respect, secondary burials at Cerro Castillo can be understood in several ways. On the one hand, it may be related to means of desacralization based on Andean principles of ancestry and territorial adherence (Kaulicke 1997; Zuidema 1973). That is, disrupting an ancestor's grave was seen as an effective way to uproot a household's prestige and legitimacy at the site. On the other hand, the secondary funerary contexts of Cerro Castillo may be evidence of events associated with burial reopening; a known Moche practice that consisted of disinterring an ancestor's corpse for ritual purposes (Franco et al. 2001; Millaire 2004). The problem is, both cases leave a very similar mark in the archaeological record: displaced bones, incomplete skeletons and the shattered remains of offerings. At the current stage of this research it is not possible to determine which case matches more closely with the archaeological evidence, but it is not impossible that (or it seems probable that) both scenarios may have occurred at the site.

In sum, Cerro Castillo appears to have experienced times of social conflict and tension. The secondary burials found at the site reveal a complex multi-cultural situation, marked especially by competing funerary practices and styles of different north coast traditions.

10.10. Life transformations at Cerro Castillo

The Middle Horizon was a time of profound cultural transformations for the north coastal societies and for the Central Andes in general. Cerro Castillo was a community that had to deal with these changes. What began as a small farming village transformed into a densely populated settlement where people assimilated regional trends into their daily practices, and in doing so, reshaped their landscape and boundaries.

Cerro Castillo's architecture and artefacts typify the affluence as well as the social upheaval of the era. Residences and public edifices were built and/or refurbished on the slopes of the natural hills of the site. Excavations suggest that, at its peak, the site featured an estimated 10 built-hectares, occupying large parts of the hillsides whereas the flatlands would have been used for funerary purposes. Greater numbers may have led to an increase in food production that, in turn, meant an expansion of the surrounding farming lands, although scarce evidence remains.

Pottery and burial practices underwent dramatic changes during the Middle Horizon as fashions from the northern and southern valleys arrived at the site. Materials recovered from the looted cemeteries of Cerro Castillo suggest that there was a greater consumption of artefacts for funeral purposes. Some of them, particularly fancy Moche and Casma pottery, seem to have been imported from other valleys (based on their style), whilst others may have been locally produced.

Cerro Castilloans aligned themselves with regional styles and regional ideas. It is possible that other features such as clothing, basketry, gourd-making and woodwork also experienced technological changes. At the same time though, it is likely that in the process of learning to make Moche pottery for instance, Cerro Castilloans retained the structure of their own technological ways (e.g. clays, paint colours, surface treatment). Other aspects, such as cuisine and language, may also have experienced changes; however they elude the archaeological record.

The transformations in Cerro Castilloan lives during the Middle Horizon came, not from a wave of invasions, but from a prolonged period of contacts with neighbouring regions. The wide consumption of Moche artefacts for instance, did not make these populations politically dependant on the polities of the Moche Valley by default. This research postulates a scenario where the people from Cerro Castillo adopted new fashions, possibly learnt a new language, and shifted their political allegiances in order to keep up with the changing times. Just as the patterns of pottery consumption changed in this period (e.g. the proliferation of foreign pottery), so might other aspects of material culture (e.g. style of clothes) and identity boundaries (e.g. language).

10.11. Cerro Castillo and the Moche aftermath

The emergence and spread of Moche are in contrast with the details of its decline. Whereas the former occurred at discrete places and at different times, the latter seems to have happened in just a span of half a century across the north coastal region (from Lambayeque to Huarmey). For instance, the collapse of Moche in the Jequetepeque Valley is thought to have occurred around AD 850 (Castillo 2010; Castillo et al. 2008, Rosas 2010). Similar dates have been reported for Pampa Grande in the Lambayeque Valley (Shimada 1994), Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley (Uceda 2010) and Guadalupito in the Santa Valley (Chapdelaine 2010).

The events and processes leading to the end of Moche is a matter currently under debate. Scholars have considered a number of reasons to explain the fall of such an enduring culture, ranging from external threats, climatic disaster and internal crisis, or all of these at the same time (Bawden 1994; Castillo 2001a, 2003; Moseley et al. 1981; Shimada 1994; Willey 1953). Nevertheless, little evidence suggests a popular revolt in towns and villages, foreign military attacks (from Wari or others), or the abandonment of settlements due to hard weather conditions. On the contrary, life in most of the towns and villages carried on with little change to their domestic and economic activities. Likewise, the presence of Wari and other cultures' artefacts seem to be the result of prolonged periods of contact and peoples' interest in the acquisition of exotic goods. Moreover, the localised climate stress of the 7th century was long gone and overcome by sustained building and refurbishment projects in the major settlements of the region. It has also been argued that the causes for the Moche collapse would have differed from

one valley to the next, since each polity experienced its own political circumstances. However, the timing of such an event seems to point to a disturbance of regional scope.

At the Nepeña Valley, the end of Moche has been generally addressed from a core-periphery viewpoint, presuming it led to the abandonment of the entire Pañamarca Complex, including Cerro Castillo. By assuming the centralised statehood of Moche as well as the provincial/peripheral nature of the Nepeña Valley, the decline of Moche at the Pañamarca Complex has been seen as a side effect of the events in the capital city of Huacas de Moche in the Moche Valley. Thus, the matter has been approached as a typical case of a well-established state that was militarily crushed by a stronger political unit (likely Wari), and as a consequence, the dependant provinces were inevitably shut down, or annexed to the territorial domains of the new conquering force.

However, excavations at Cerro Castillo demonstrate that the end of Moche brought little change to people in their daily lives. The high presence of utilitarian pottery across the site's Middle Horizon contexts, found alongside fancy pottery from the Casma Valley and the central highlands, suggests a scenario of continuity of daily practices and inter-valley trade. The problem perhaps lies, once more, in the way we understand and therefore refer to, complex phenomena such as Moche, which may significantly differ from how it was perceived in antiquity. Core-periphery models and the view of 'Moche as state' do not readily explain two contrasting pieces of evidence: the occupational continuity archaeologically observed at most of the main settlements of that time (Middle Horizon), and the abrupt (and almost synchronised) disappearance and/or disuse of Moche material culture across the north coast.

Following the view of 'Moche as belief system', this research suggests that Moche came to an end due to a profound rupture in the core notions in Moche authority and the legitimacy of the system. Such ideological breakdown demanded the immediate abandonment of the most iconic Moche practices, leading polities into a state of ideological reformulation. The nature of such principle(s) may be elusive to archaeologists however, they can observe the physical consequences of its rise, and from that viewpoint, trace the patterns of its decline. The halt of Moche art and media production, the closure of temples and the change of funerary practices may have been a generalised response to an unforeseen situation, of which there were no previous experiences from which to recall. As a result, Cerro Castilloans, like many other north

coastal communities, turned their back on Moche and looked for a different future.

How were order and legitimacy assumed under circumstances that had never been experienced before? How could the institutional structure and its principles of authority be organised? How could the old order be reconfigured? And what would replace it? It is plausible that under such an unexpected context, authority was executed by agents whose legitimacy did not depend on the old institutional structure. Corporate and economic leaders would have represented some of the natural hierarchies within a community system, since their position of authority was not politically appointed but emerged from well-rooted principles of rank and ancestry (as well as from work and achievement).

The problem is, what emerged was probably not just one authority but many, generating a scenario of struggle and negotiation between a series of competing alternatives and political opportunities. The opposite views of core-periphery models and particularising approaches may have led us to miss the complexity of the regional picture; thus, a complex global phenomenon was explained in simplistic single-causal terms, or it disintegrated in valley-based and local interpretations. The integrated study of local realities along with regional transformations will help us to understand better the complex patterns of development and interconnected socio-political scenarios. Furthermore, a holistic approach will lead us to explain better the long processes of boundary-making, and to understand that social boundaries have never been static societal features but rather dynamic multidimensional constructions that constantly shape and challenge peoples' practices and identities.

Based on the information so far collected, Cerro Castillo confirms the abrupt end of Moche; its cultural expressions (imagery production for example) were not just changed, but totally reformulated. Stratigraphic observations help trace chronological transformations in the consumption of decorated pottery, but it does not explain the sudden abandonment of the most resilient belief system the Peruvian north coast has ever had. Based on what happened a few generations later, power was apparently transferred from the priesthood to the secular spheres of society, that is, to those social segments whose leadership did not depend on the old order. As a result, the production and perception of symbolic imagery would never be the same.

Traditional views have pointed out that the fall of the Moche state led to social turmoil

throughout a large part of the Peruvian north coast. This thesis however, suggests that the decline of a major regional phenomenon, such as Moche, does not necessarily mean a generalised anarchical scenario of famine and plunder, nor any sort of barbarian reactions, nor that people disappeared or just went back to eking out a living through subsistence farming. The end of Moche was not a collapse with disastrous ramifications. Archaeological evidence from Cerro Castillo rather suggests that, after the collapse of Moche, the site continued to grow.

The story of Cerro Castillo is one of continuity; deep-rooted ideas from the Early Horizon persevered well into the Middle Horizon keeping pace with the dramatic and changing times across the Andes.

The real invasion only arrived later. It certainly originated in the Moche Valley but with a different spirit than that of the Moche. Cerro Castillo's fate was sealed during the Late Intermediate Period, when the dynamic interactions and cultural exchanges that had contributed to its growth ceased, or, the social mechanisms that generated them were suppressed by the Chimú state.

10.12. General conclusions

This dissertation started posing three issues to address: the pre-Columbian occupation at Cerro Castillo, the site's settlement dynamics and its relation with Moche. In this thesis, I have described the theoretical framework for structuring the project as well as reviewed perspectives on the Moche culture, leading to the methodology used to collect and analyse the new data. The study described in these chapters can be summarised in the following contributions.

Cerro Castillo

Perhaps the most basic contribution is the simple addition of Cerro Castillo into the history of the Nepeña valley and the regional pre-Columbian picture. Prior to the works undertaken by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project, the site was largely overlooked in archaeological accounts and interpretations of the Nepeña Valley and the Moche history. Indeed,

explanations of the Moche occupation in the Nepeña Valley were largely based on what could be assumed from the monumentality of the temple of Pañamarca and/or by extrapolating socio-political circumstances of the neighbouring valleys such as Santa.

This research highlights Cerro Castillo's place in the history of the Nepeña Valley and in the development of Moche, considering it to have been an influential settlement rather than as a side effect of the temple of Pañamarca. The present study offers significant new data that constitute the basis for current and future interpretations.

Cerro Castillo's cultural history

This investigation outlines the first cultural history of Cerro Castillo. The first occupation of the site may date back to the Early Horizon (circa 900 BC-AD 100). The presence of Gallinazo pottery and cane-marked mud-bricks indicates that the site may also have been occupied during the Intermediate Period (circa AD 1-700).

The main occupation occurred during the Middle Horizon (AD 700-1100). Archaeological evidence suggests it was a time when the site experienced its heyday largely due to the influx of Moche and interaction with other cultural traditions such as Casma, Wari and Cajamarca. It also indicates that, during this period, construction projects of residential, public and ceremonial order spread across the site along with imported and locally-produced fancy objects.

The site would be occupied for the last time during the Late Intermediate Period (1100-1470), when it appears to have been annexed by the Chimú state of the Moche Valley.

Cerro Castillo's boundaries and settlement dynamics

This work also provided an assessment of the settlement dynamics of Cerro Castillo during its most dense occupational period. Data analyses indicate that Cerro Castillo was a dynamic settlement where residential, production, trade, funerary and ceremonial activities were carried out. The ancient community of Cerro Castillo was composed of diverse cultural, political

and segmentary units whose boundaries (of affiliation and differentiation) were maintained, communicated and reformulated through daily, public, ceremonial and funeral practices.

Moche and the Moche boundaries

This research also offered an alternative perspective to explain Moche and its relation with north coastal communities such as Cerro Castillo. It considered Moche material culture as the physical manifestation of an institutionalised belief system: a set of ideas that conformed to a certain lifestyle and predictable behaviours. In this view, Moche boundaries did not correspond to territorial or political expansions, nor to the size of a settlement. That is, Moche boundaries were not geographically marked.

Rather, this investigation theorised boundaries as resulting from changing behaviours and lifestyles that were fully or partially adopted by different political units across the north coast of Peru. Cerro Castillo was seen as a competing community whose power and prestige reached their peak during the late stages of the Moche history. Instead of regarding Cerro Castillo and the Pañamarca Complex as the southern outpost of a Moche state, this study demonstrated significant local socio-political developments, whose boundaries were constantly shaped by cultural contact and interaction.

Boundaries and society

This dissertation contributes to the global discussion of social boundaries and cultural interaction. In this work, boundaries are seen as constantly-in-motion social constructs of multidimensional nature which shape cultural-political-segmentary levels of integration and differentiation. This investigation posits that social relations can be better addressed by an in-depth and contextual understanding of the behavioural boundaries that characterise the interacting social units, rather than by simplistic territorial demarcations. Cerro Castillo represents a case of an ancient community that kept pace with a changing world by reaffirming its local identity and at the same time reformulating its cultural boundaries.

Future perspectives

Cerro Castillo is a site that has significant potential for future archaeological research. Although this investigation establishes the importance of the site, many aspects remain to be addressed. For example, the initial occupation of the site and its subsequent growth will be better understood with more excavations in sectors with deep stratigraphic deposits. In a related vein, the occupational sequence proposed in this work will likely be improved with radiocarbon dates. This type of analysis in turn will provide a solid chronological frame that will broaden our understanding of the historical development of Cerro Castillo in relation to the regional cultural phenomena.

Further excavations will also help to understand the process of growth of the site since there are sectors and cemetery areas that are yet to be archaeologically tested. More fieldwork will provide new lines of evidence that will contribute to our understanding of the site's logic of social integration and differentiation, both spatially and diachronically. Finally, life in Cerro Castillo will be better approached through analytical studies of domestic pottery and other materials such as textiles, basketry and food remains, which will expand our knowledge about Cerro Castillo's daily practices, diet and economy.

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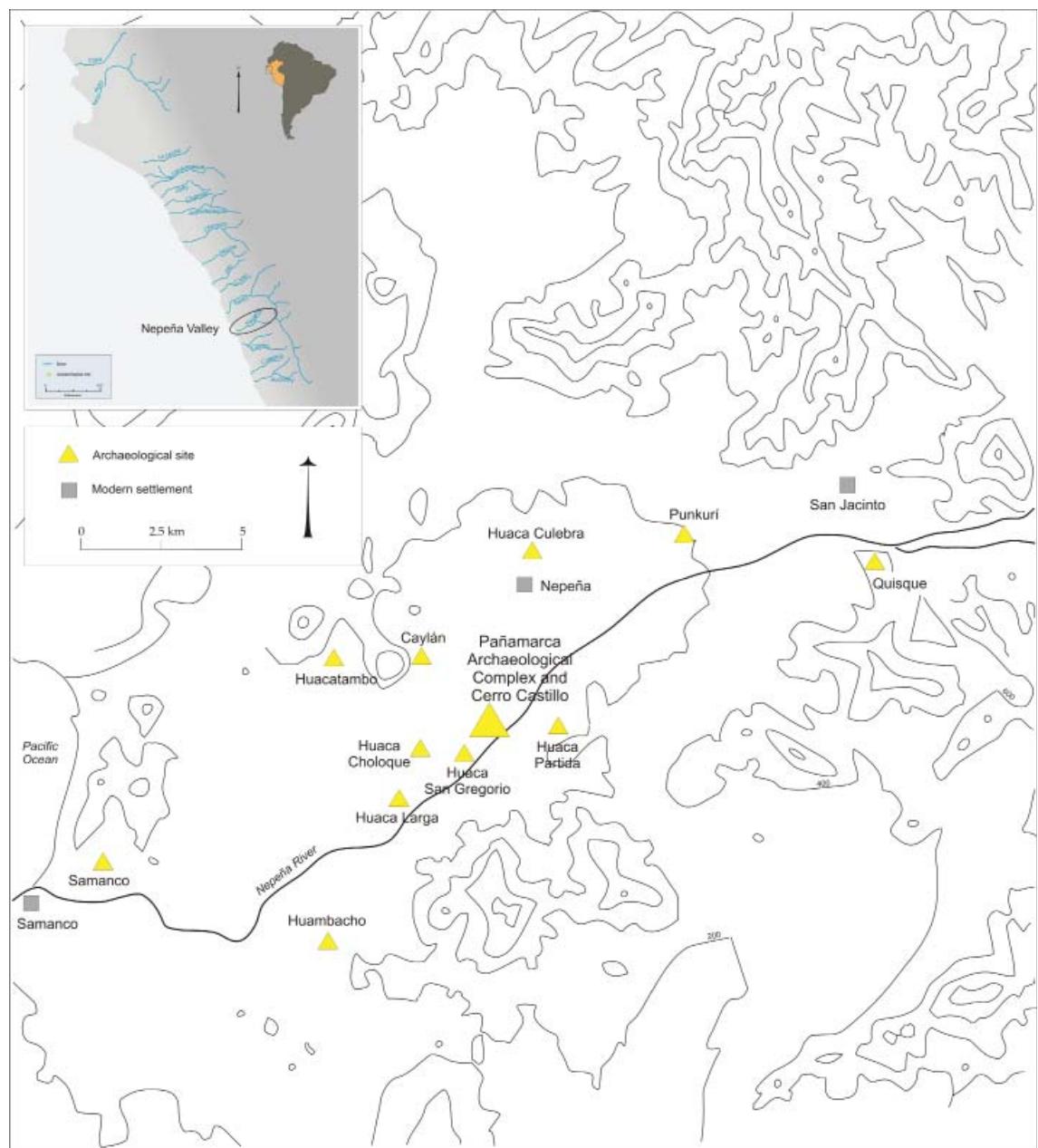
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Figures



3.1. Map of the north coast of Peru with the main sites mentioned in the text.



4.1. Map of the Nepeña Valley indicating the location of the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex and Cerro Castillo, as well as other sites mentioned in the text.



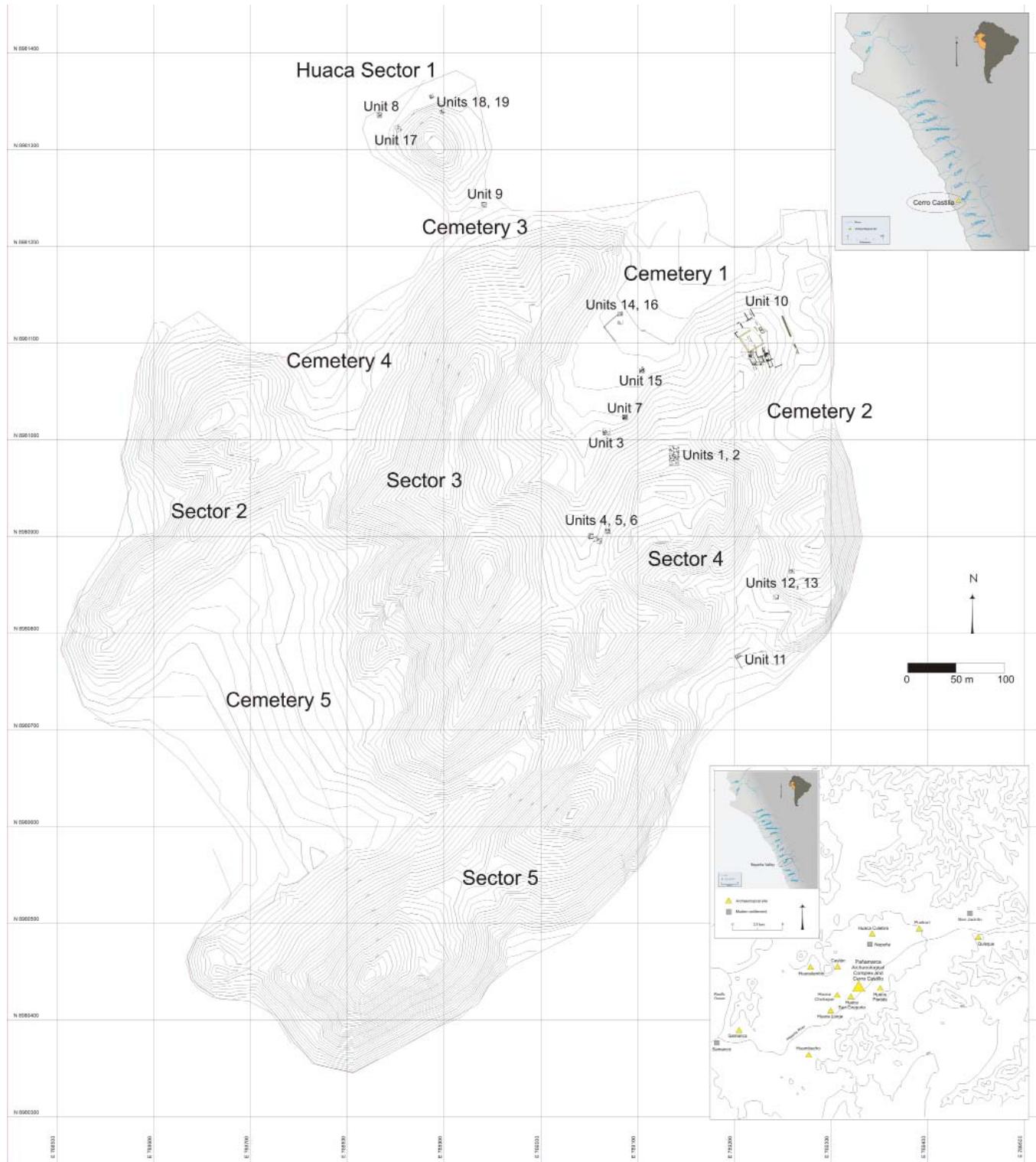
4.2. The temple of Pañamarca, the main building of the Pañamarca Archaeological Complex.



4.3. Remains of large architectural spaces of the temple of Pañamarca.



4.4. The temple of Pañamarca seen from Cerro Castillo



5.1. Site map of Cerro Castillo showing the sectorisation of the site and the location of the excavation units opened by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Program.



5.2. Huaca Sector 1.



5.3. Sector 2 viewed from Cemetery 4.



5.4. Sector 3 viewed from Cemetery 4.



5.5. Sector 4 viewed from its top central side.



5.6. Sector 5 viewed from Cemetery 5.



5.7. Cemetery 1 viewed from Sector 3.



5.8. Cemetery 2 viewed from Sector 2.



5.9. Cemetery 3 viewed from Sector 3.



5.10. Cemetery 4 viewed from Sector 3.



5.11. Cemetery 5 viewed from Sector 3.



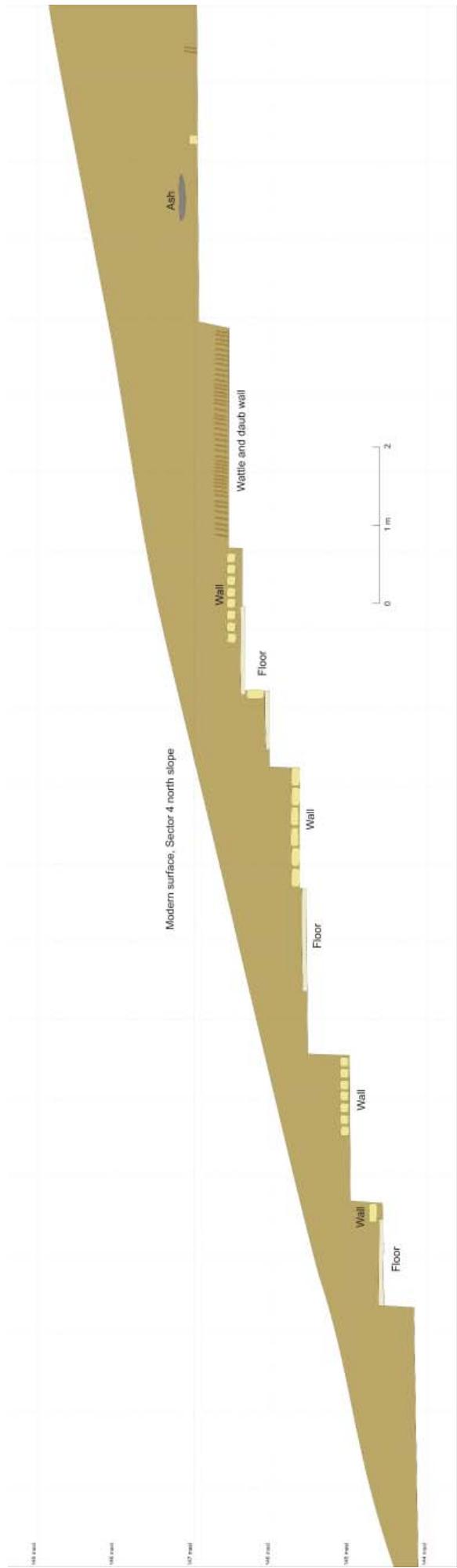
5.12. Unit 1 and Unit 2 showing layers U1-L2 and U2-L2 from the north. Note the floors and gradient of the terrain (trench total dimensions 20 x 10 m).



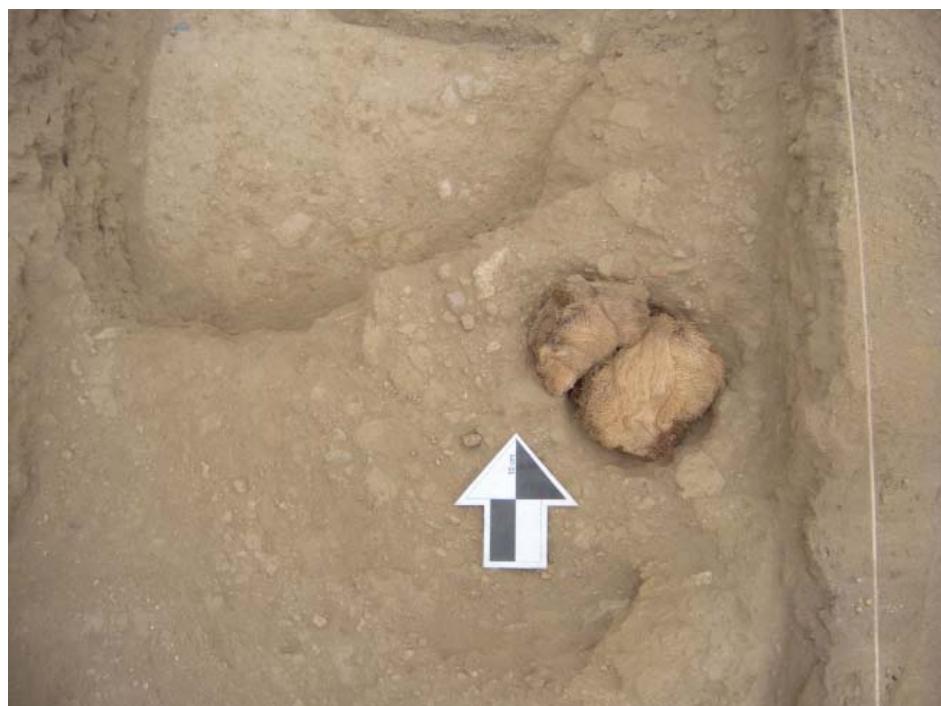
5.13. Unit 1 and Unit 2 showing layers U1-L2 and U2-L2 from the west. Note the remains of architectural spaces (trench total dimensions 20×10 m).



5.14. Plan view of Units 1 and 2.



5.15. Section drawing of the west side of Units 1 and 2.



5.16. Yarn balls found in Unit 2.



5.17. Detail of yarn balls found in Unit 2.



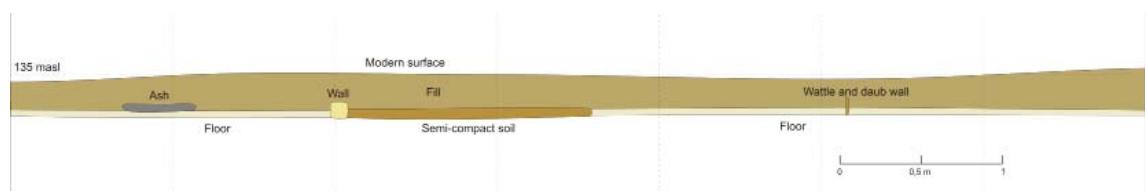
5.18. Unit 3 showing layer U3-L3 (trench dimensions 7 x 7 m).



5.19. Detail of features found in layer U3-L3.



5.20. Plan view of Unit 3.



5.21. South profile of Unit 3.



5.22. Detail of ceramic moulds encountered in layer U3-L3.



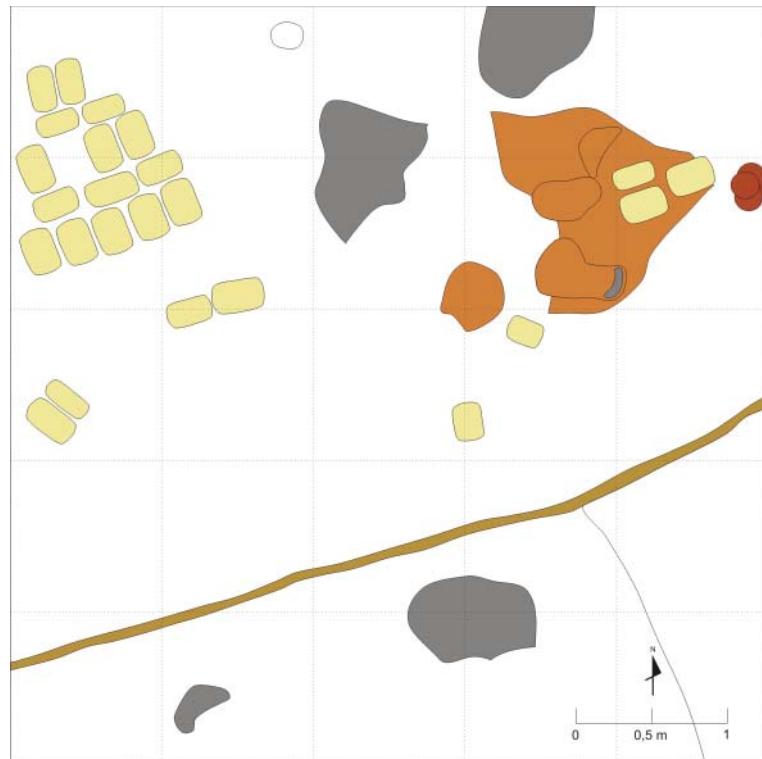
5.23. Wooden and metal tools found in Unit 3.



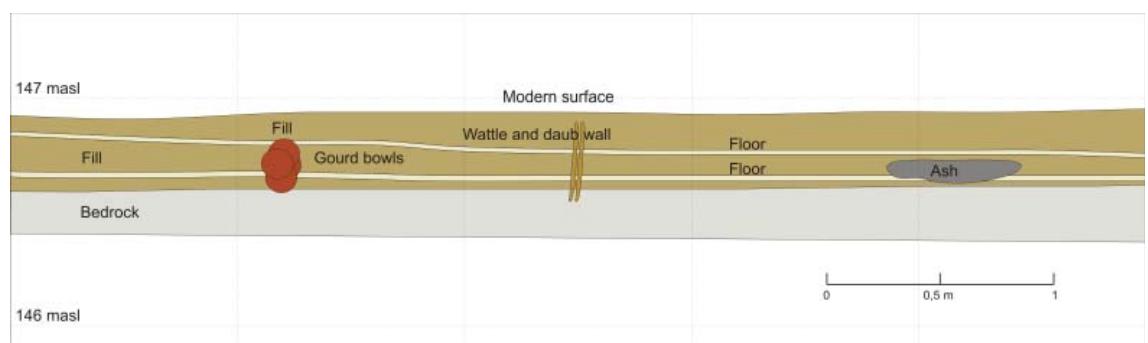
5.24. Unit 4 showing layer U4-L3 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.25. Detail of gourd bowls found in layer U4-L3 of Unit 4.



5.26. Plan view of Unit 4.



5.27. East profile of Unit 4.



5.28. Textile encountered in Unit 4.



5.29. Shells found in Unit 4.



5.30. Unit 5 showing layer U5-L3 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.31. Plan view of Unit 5.



5.32. South profile of Unit 5.



5.33. Fragments of textile found in Unit 5. Note the variety of the assemblage.



5.34. Botanical remains found in Unit 5. The sample includes different seeds, corncobs and fragments of gourd bowls.



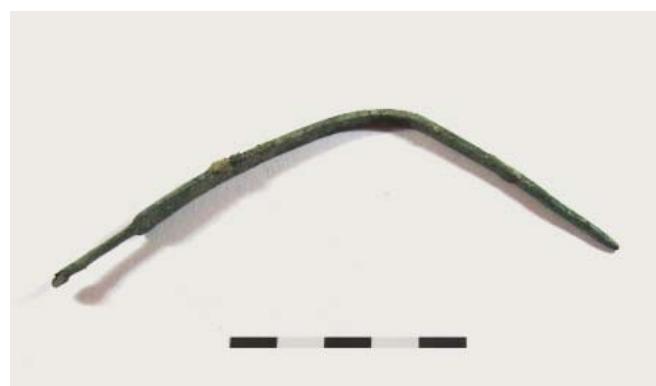
5.35. Shells found in Unit 5.



5.36. Animal bones found in Unit 5.



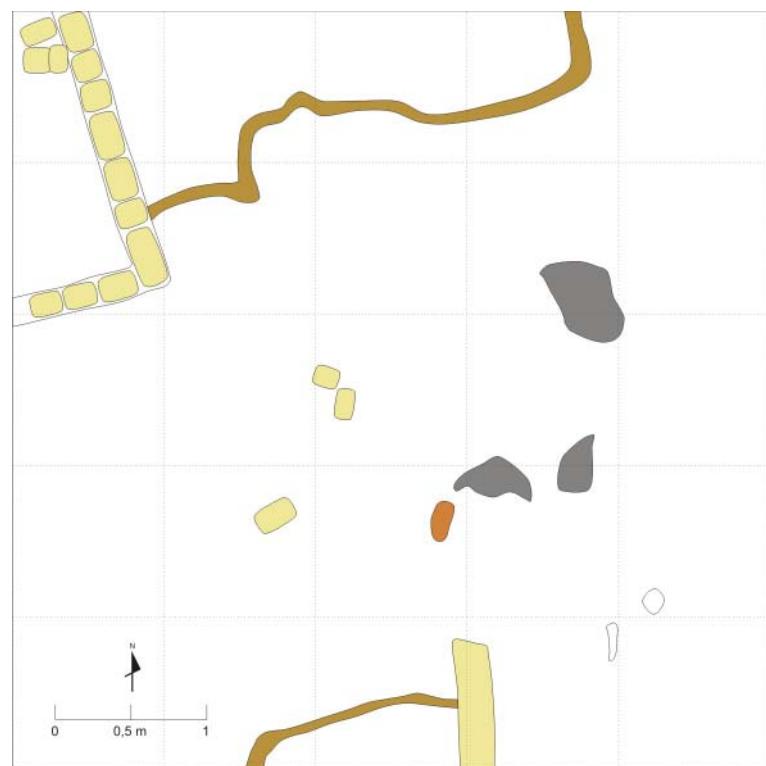
5.37. Carved bone encountered in Unit 5.



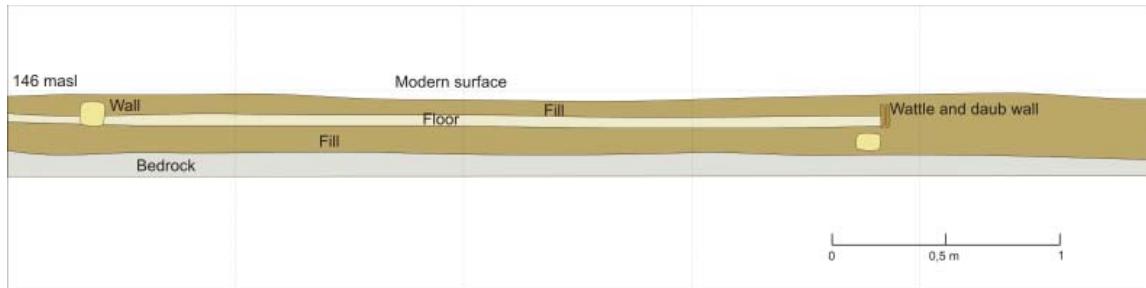
5.38. Metal tool found in Unit 5.



5.39. Unit 6 showing layer U6-L3 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m). Note the worn out surface.



5.40. Plan view of Unit 6.



5.41. North profile of Unit 6.



5.42. Botanical rests found in Unit 6.



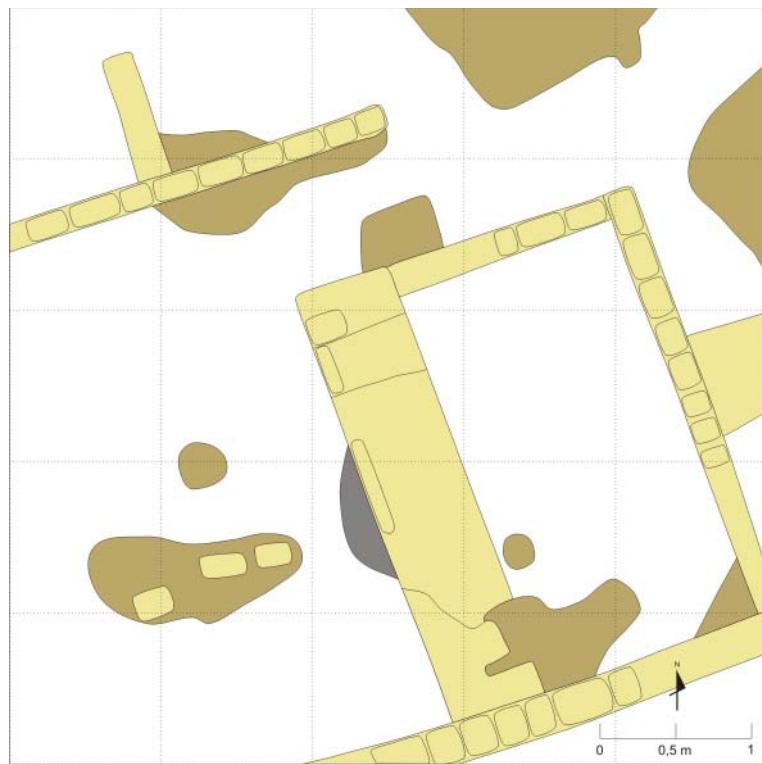
5.43. Worked bones encountered in Unit 6.



5.44. Metal needle encountered in Unit 6.



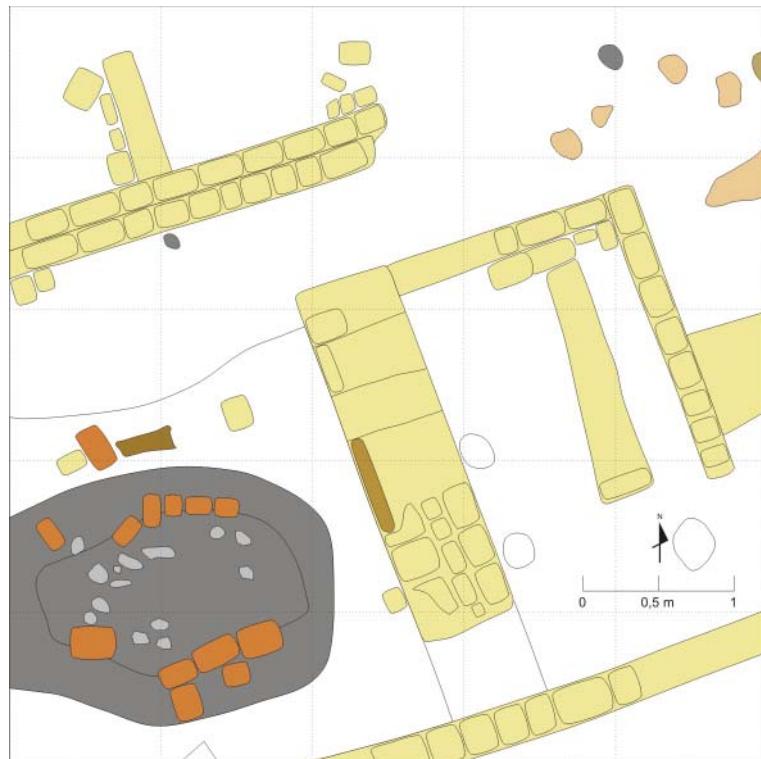
5.45. Unit 7 showing layer U7-L3 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.46. Plan view of Unit 7, layer U7-L3.



5.47. Unit 7 showing layer U7-L5 and remains of an earth kiln (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.48. Plan view of Unit 7, layer U7-L5.



5.49. Fragments of painted wall/ceiling found in Unit 7.



5.50. Pieces of textile found in Unit 7.



5.51. Botanical remains found in Unit 7.



a



b



c

5.52. a) Piece of metal tight with a cord found in Unit 7. b and c) Metal tools encountered in Unit 7.



5.53. Detail of the concentration of ceramic fragments (U7-L5-F1) next to an earth kiln.



5.54. Detail of ceramic fragments found in U7-L5-F1.



5.55. Pottery found in U7-L5-F1 after being put together in the lab.



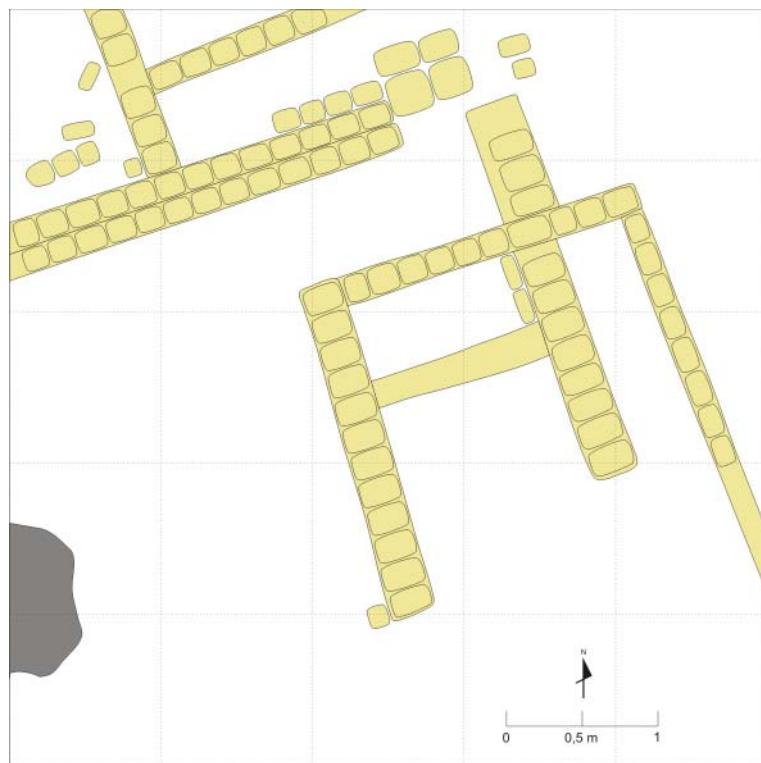
5.56. Carved shells found in U7-L5-F1.



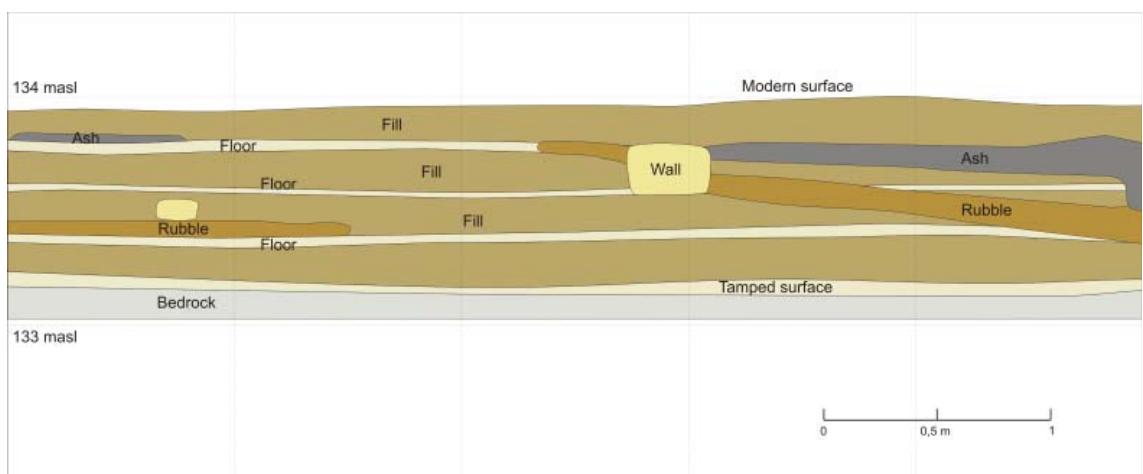
5.57. Unit 7 showing layer U7-L7.



5.58. Unit 7 showing the interior of the central room (U7-Room-1) of layer U7-L7.



5.59. Plan view of Unit 7, layer U7-L7.



5.60. South profile of Unit 7.



5.61. Botanical remains found in U7-L7.



5.62. Botanical remains found in U7-L7.



5.63. Pieces of metal found in U7-L7.



5.64. Various fragments of textile and basketry found in U7-L7.



5.65. Weaving reels and items found in U7-L7.



5.66. Animal hide and fur found in U7-L7.



5.67. Animal fur encountered in U7-L7.



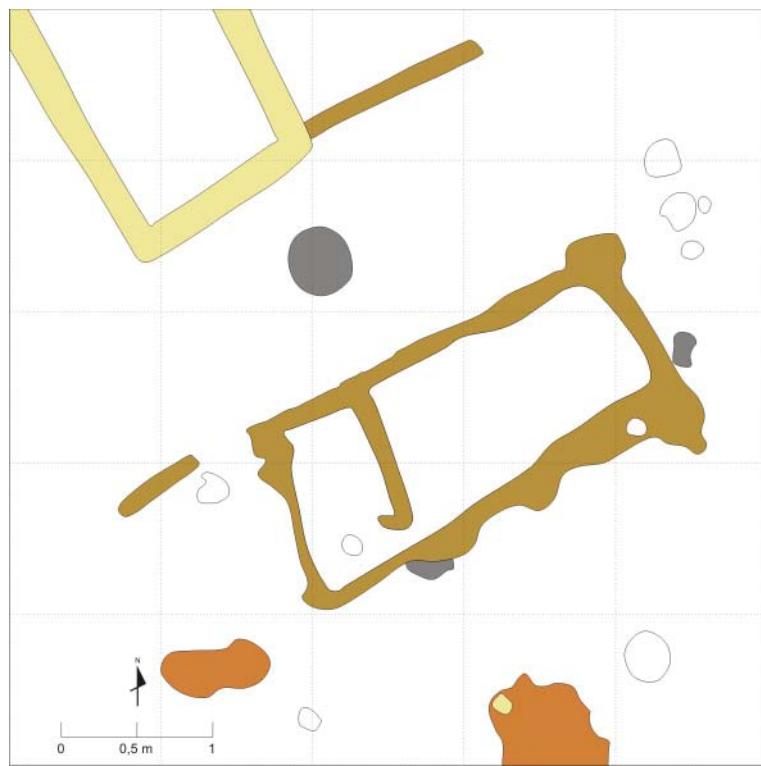
5.68. Animal bones encountered in U7-L7.



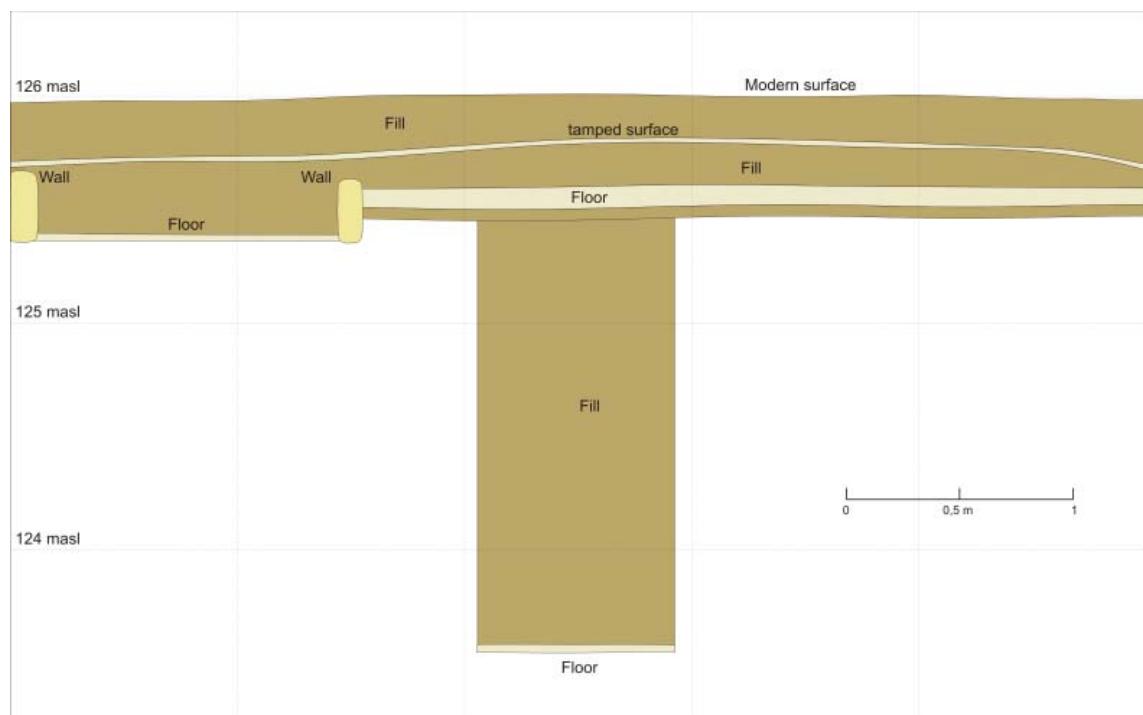
5.69. View of Huaca Sector 1 and its surroundings.



5.70. Unit 8 showing layer U7-L3. Note prints of wattle and daub structures (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



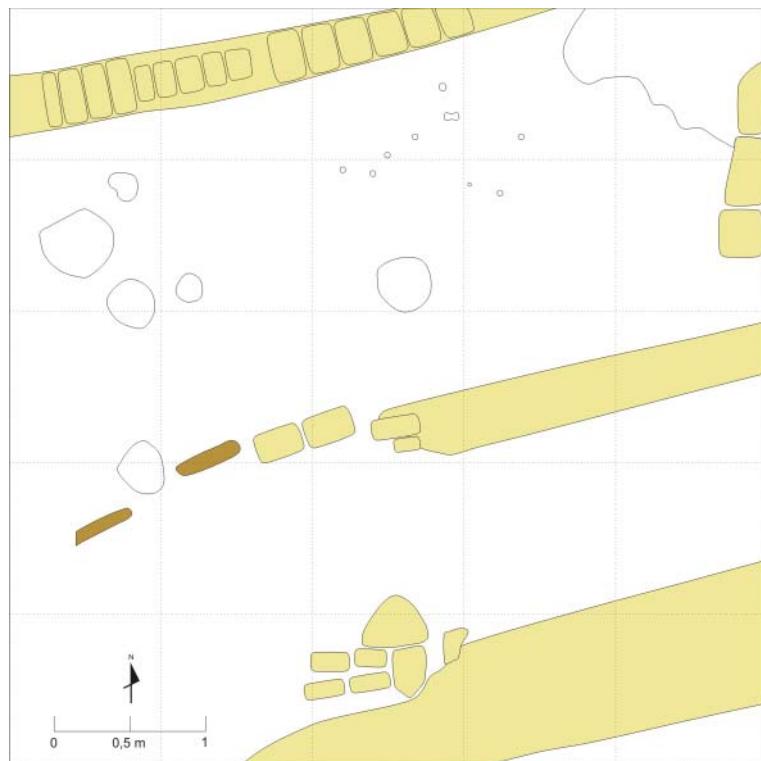
5.71. Plan view of Unit 8.



5.72. North profile of Unit 8.



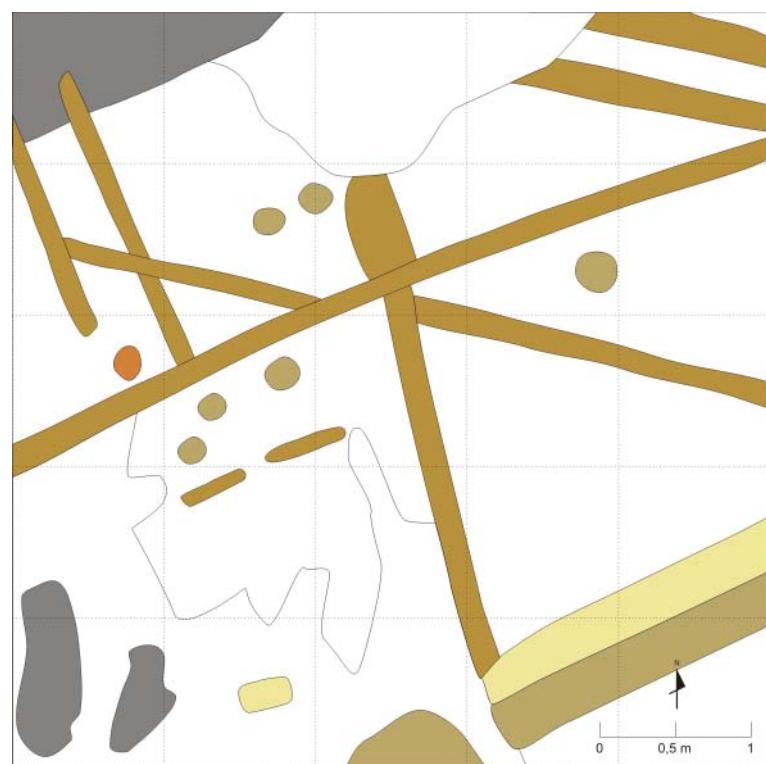
5.73. Unit 9 showing layer U9-L3 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.74. Plan view of Unit 9, layer U9-L3.



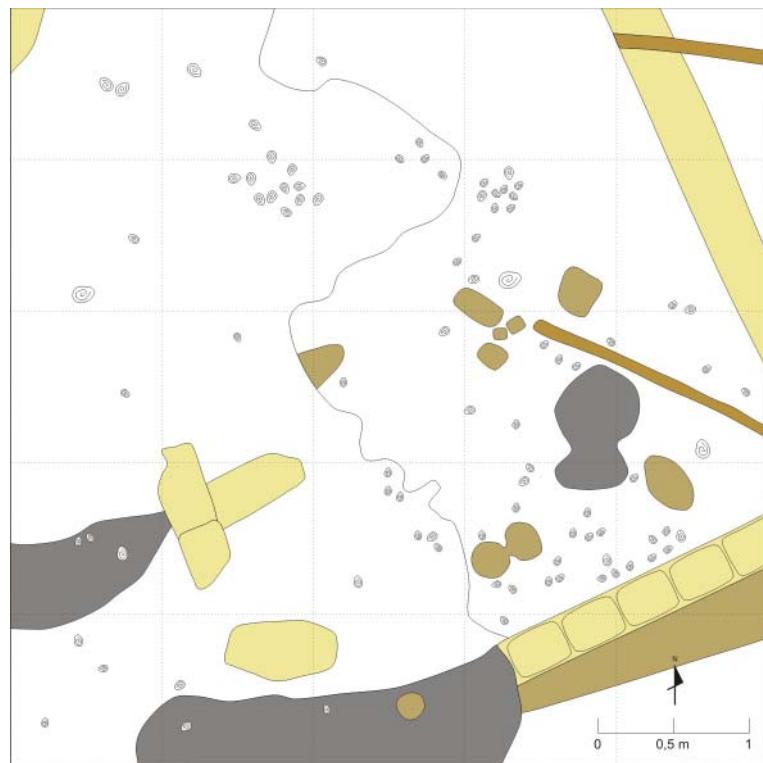
5.75. Unit 9 showing layer U9-L5 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.76. Plan view of Unit 9, layer U9-L5.



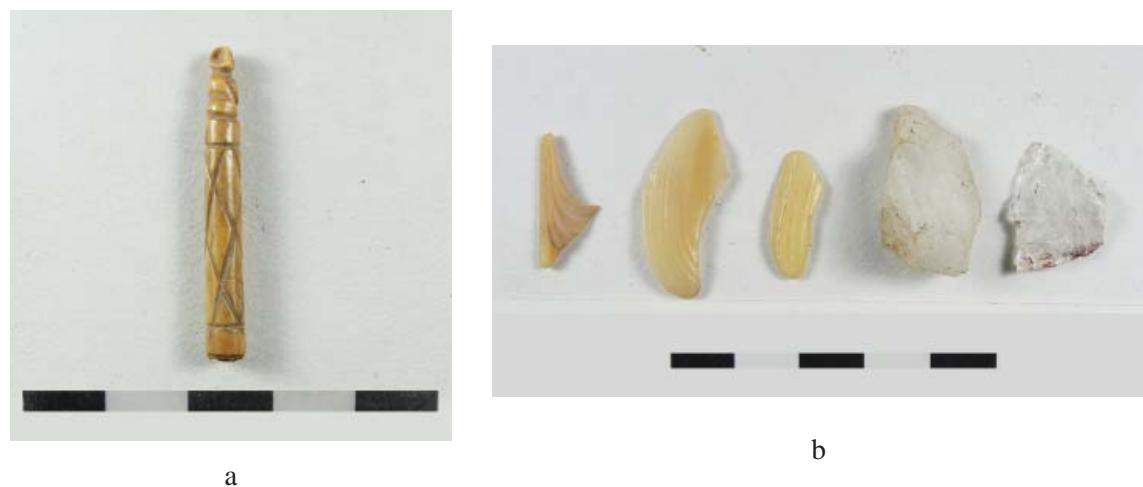
5.77. Unit 9 showing layer U9-L7 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.78. Plan view of Unit 9, layer U9-L7.



5.79. East profile of Unit 9.



5.80. a) Worked bone found in Unit 9. b) Pieces of quartz encountered in Unit 9.



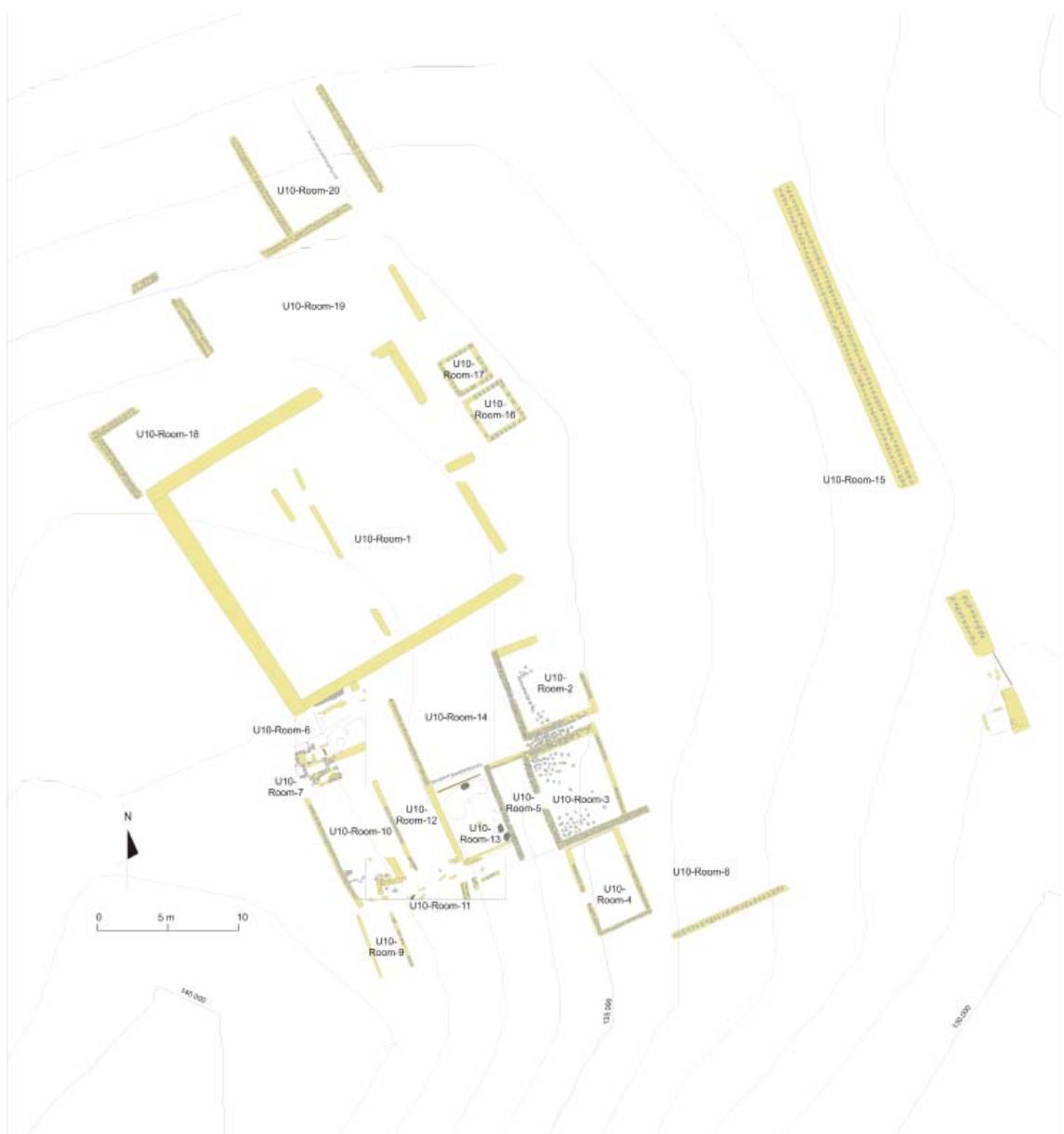
5.81. Animal bones found in U9-L7.



5.82. Clay figures encountered in U9-L7.



5.83. North side of Sector showing Unit 10.



5.84. Plan view of Unit 10 indicating the rooms identified.



5.85. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-1. Note its large dimensions (19 x 19 m) and walls built with mud-bricks and stones.



5.86. a) Fragments of textile found in U10-Room-1. b) Weaving reels encountered in U10-Room-1.



5.87. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-2 and U10-Room-3.



5.88. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-3 and U10-Room-5.



5.89. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-6, U10-Room-7 and Unit10-Room-1.



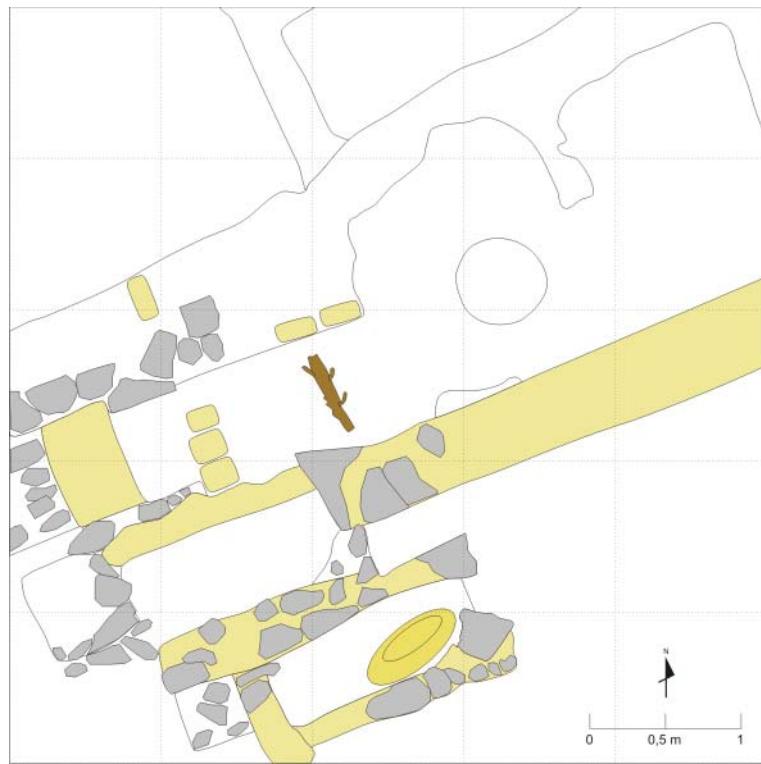
5.90. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-6 and U10-Room-7 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



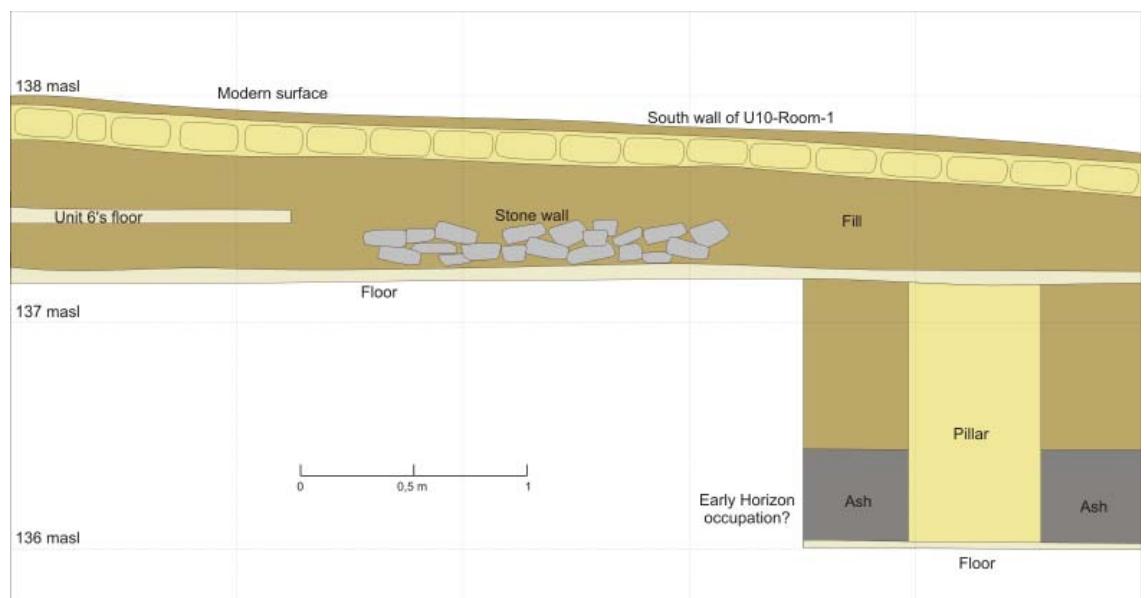
5.91. Remain of a pillar found in U10-Room-6.



5.92. Storeroom with food remains encountered in U10-Room-7.



5.93. Plan view of Unit 10, U10-Room6 and U10-Room-7.

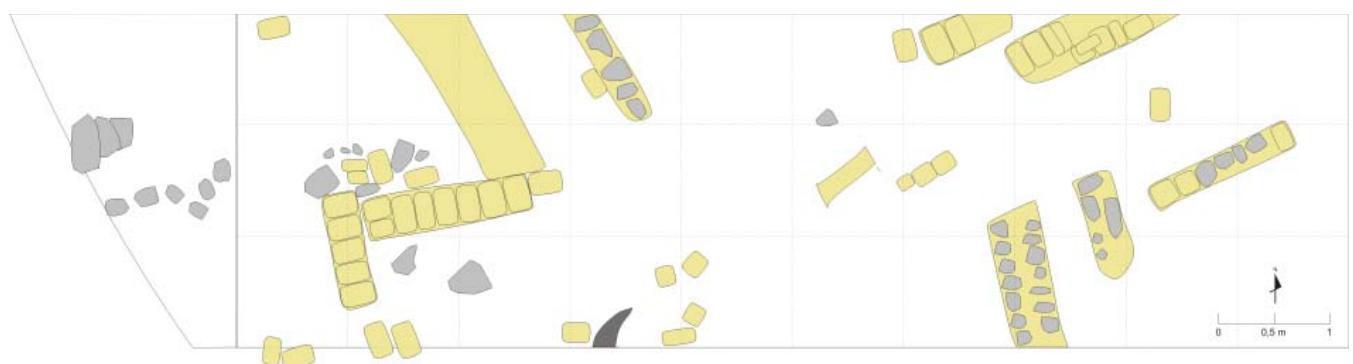


5.94. Section drawing showing the stratigraphy of the south-west side of the plaza U10-Room-1.

Note the pillar that may be associated with an Early Horizon version of this plaza.



5.95. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-11 (trench dimensions 10 x 3 m).



5.96. Plan view of Unit 10's U10-Room-11.



5.97. Unit 10 showing U10-Room-13.



5.98. Botanical remains found in U10-Room-13, including jar lids, seeds of various species, corncobs and fragments of gourd bowls.



5.99. Unit 10 showing the stone and mud wall documented on the eastern side of Unit 10 (U10-Room-15; wall total extension 42 m).



5.100. Unit 11 and Unit 12 viewed from Unit 13.



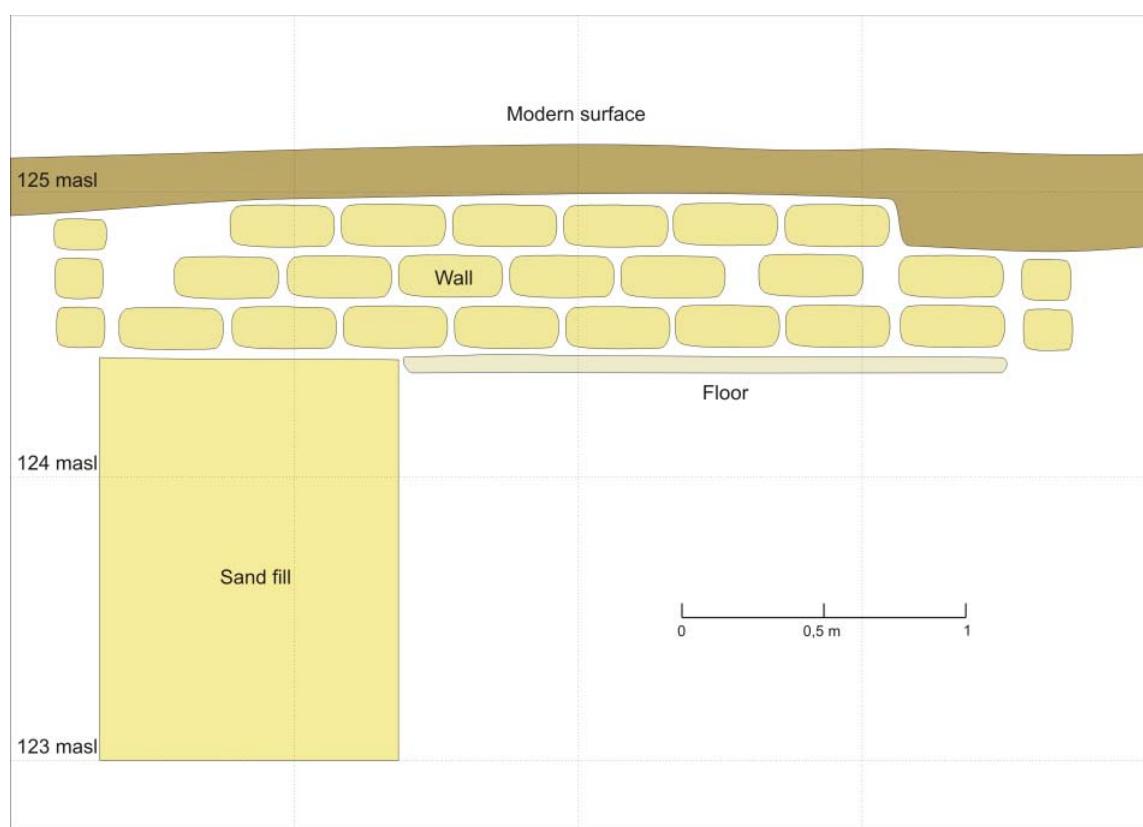
5.101. Unit 11 showing floor level U11-L3 (trench dimensions 6 x 4 m).



5.102. Perimetric wall of the compound (16 x 15 m) uncovered through excavations in Unit 11.



5.103. Plan view of Unit 11.



5.104. West profile of Unit 11.



5.105. Shells encountered in Unit 11.



5.106. Corncobs encountered in Unit 11.



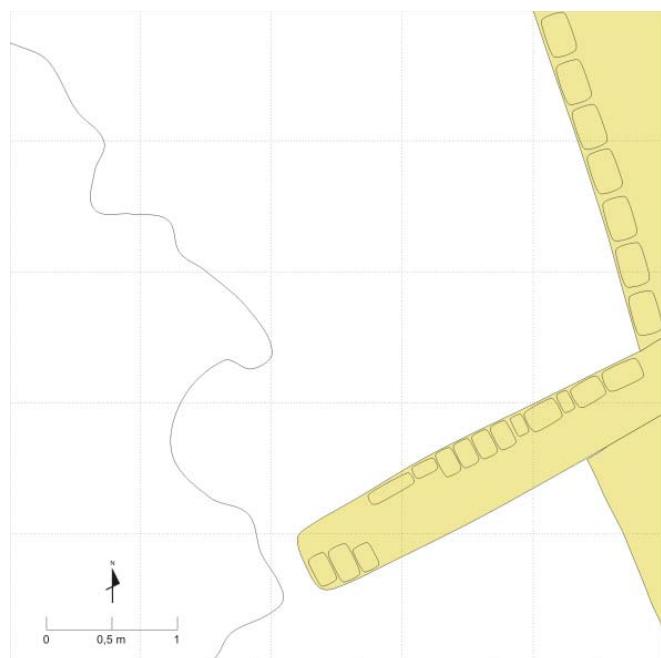
5.107. Botanical remains encountered in Unit 11. Note the variety of seeds.



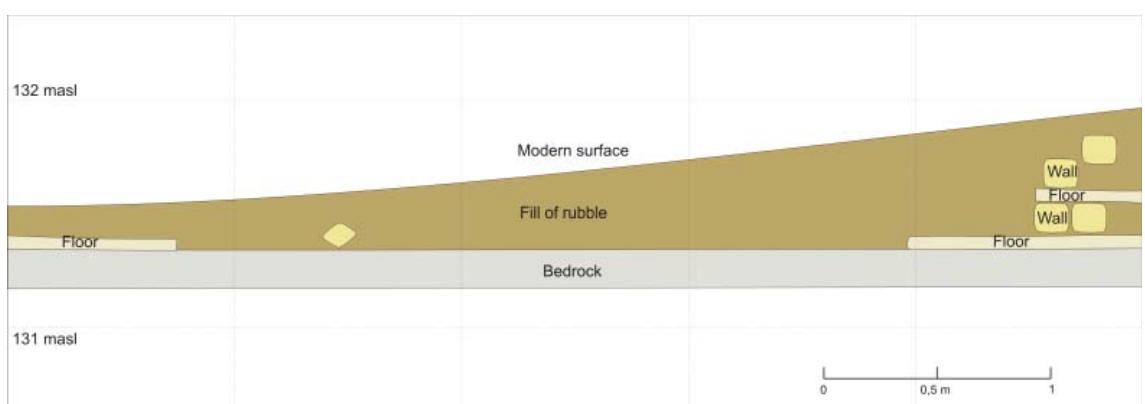
5.108. Botanical remains encountered in Unit 11.



5.109. Unit 12 showing floor level U12-L5 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.110. Plan view of Unit 12.



5.111. North profile of Unit 12.



5.112. Textiles found in Unit 12.



5.113. Botanical remains found in Unit 12.



5.114. Lithic artefacts encountered in Unit 12.



5.115. Fragments of textile and basketry encountered in U12-L5.



5.116. Fragments of a net and textile found in U12-L5.



5.117. Thread reel and bundles of yarn encountered in U12-L5.



5.118. Botanical remains found in U12-L5.



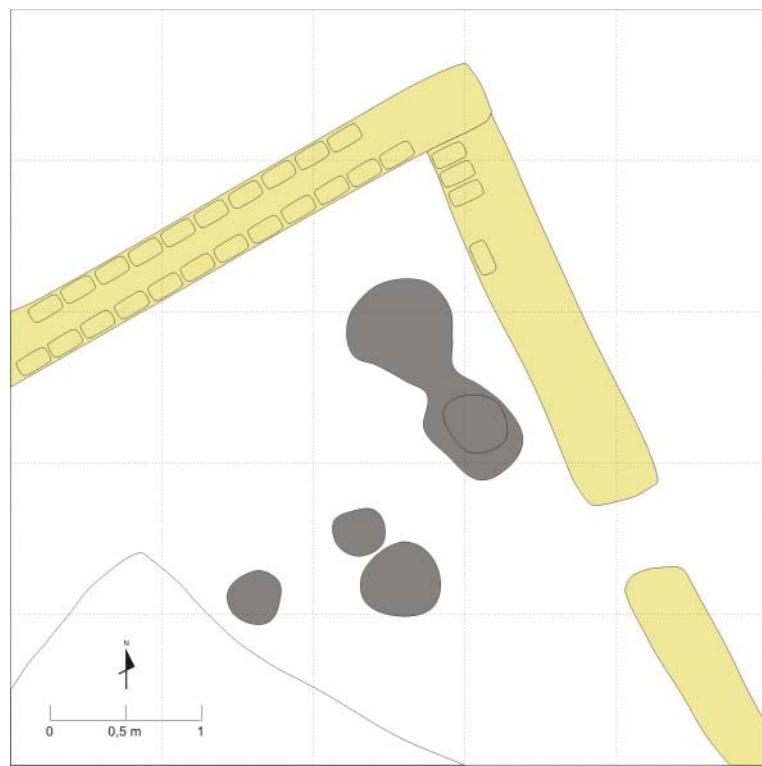
5.119. Shells encountered in U12-L5.



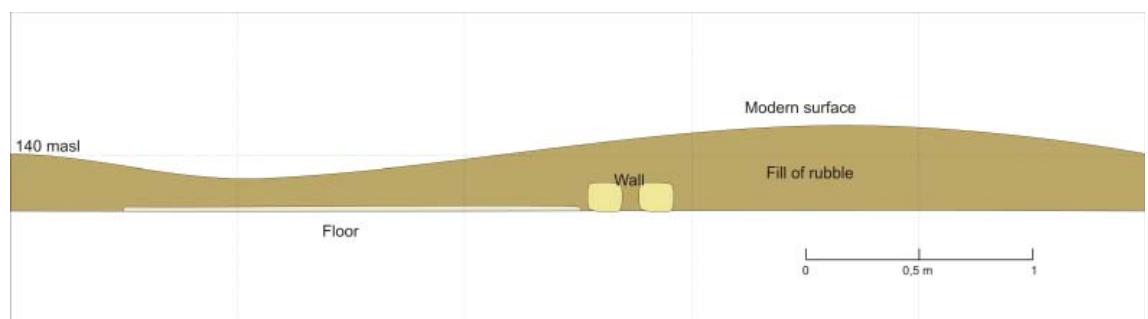
5.120. Unit 13 showing its location on a hill of Sector 4.



5.121. Unit 13 showing layer U13-L3 (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m).



5.122. Plan view of Unit 13.



5.123. West profile of Unit 13.



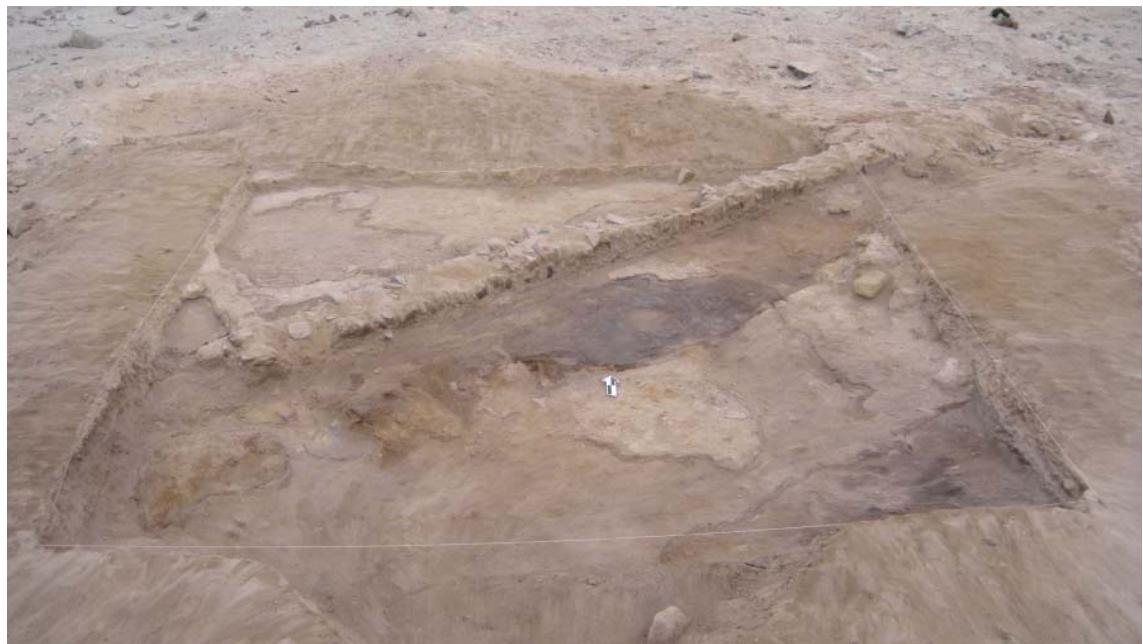
5.124. Unit 14 showing an orthostatic wall crossing the area (trench dimensions 5 x 4 m).



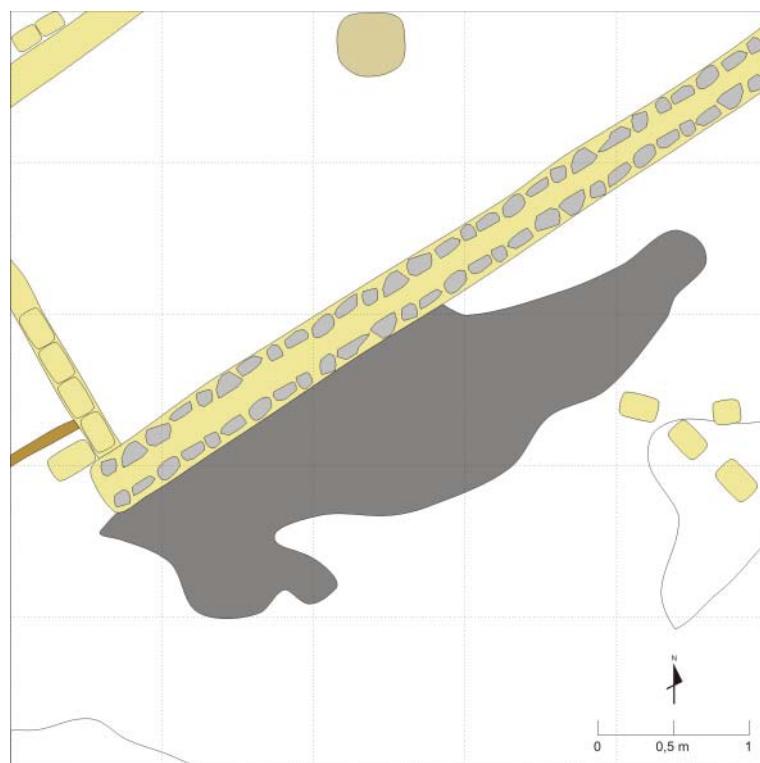
5.125. Detail of the orthostatic wall found in Unit 14.



5.126. Unit 14 showing layer U14-L3 and burials' cuts (dark-coloured).



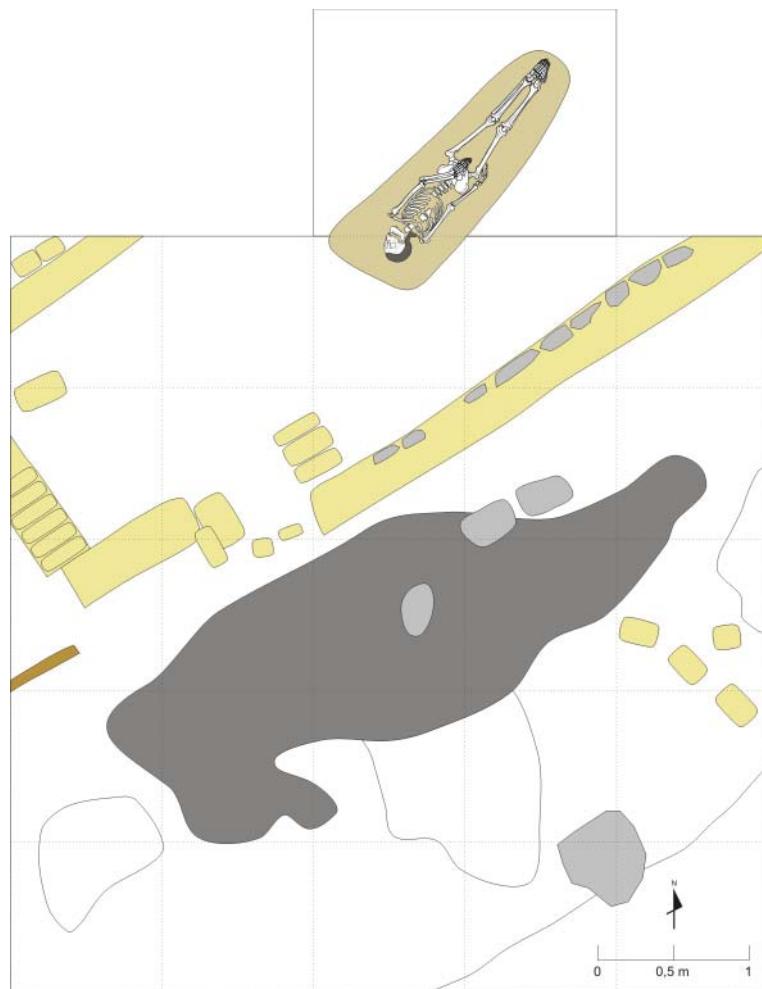
5.127. Unit 15 showing layer U15-L3. Note the dark soil and cuts of ash, remains of an earth kiln (trench dimensions 5 x 5 m)



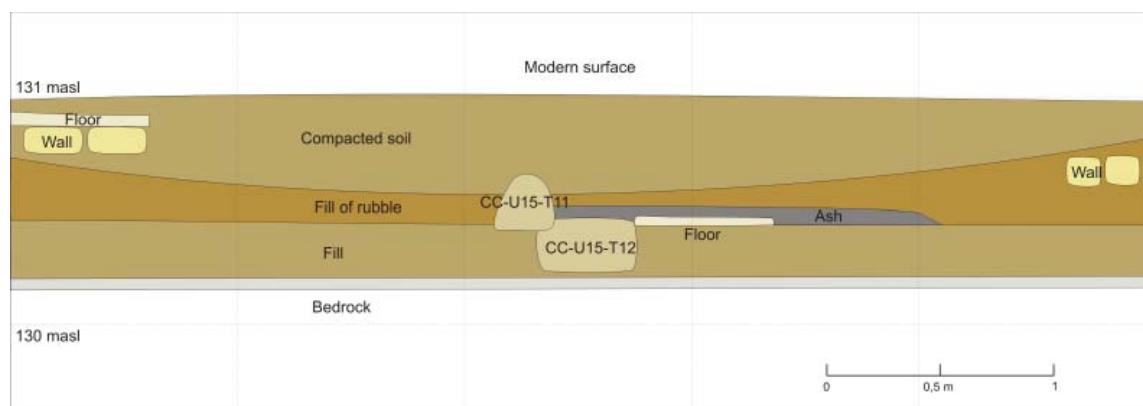
5.128. Plan view of Unit 15, layer U15-L3.



5.129. Unit 15 showing layer U15-L5 (trench dimensions 5×5 m).



5.130. Plan view of Unit 15, layer U15-L5.



5.131. North profile of Unit 15.



5.132. Lithic artefacts found in Unit 15. Note the flattened surface of the two above



5.133. Shells of various species encountered in Unit 15.



5.134. Animal bones found in Unit 15.



5.135. Botanical remains found in Unit 15, including cotton, seeds and corncobs.



5.136. Fragments of cords and a textile encountered in Unit 15.



5.137. Unit 16 showing floor level U16-L3 and tombs' cuts (trench dimensions 5×4 m).



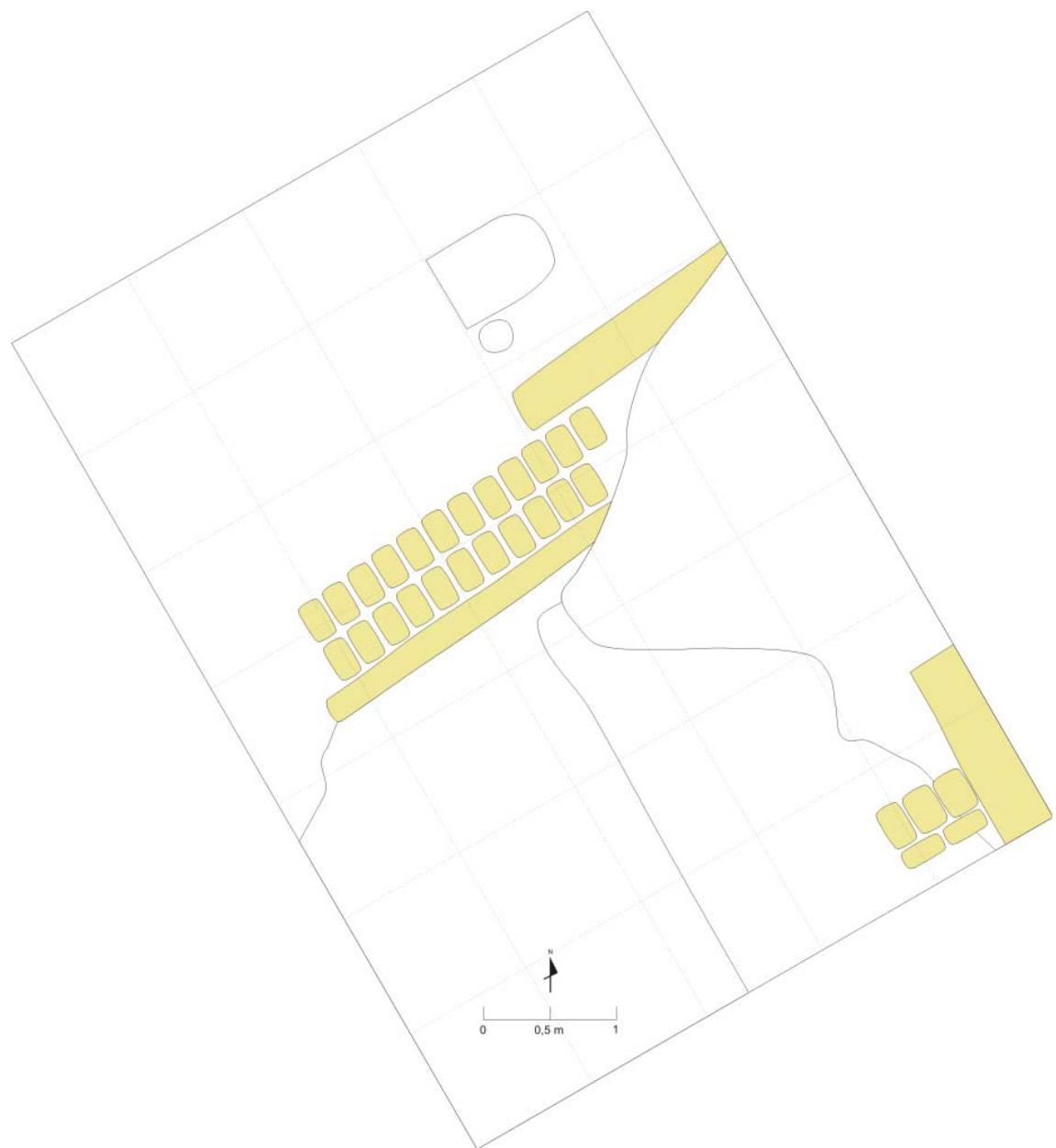
5.138. Unit 17 located on the northeaster side of Huaca Sector 1 (trench dimensions 7 x 5 m).



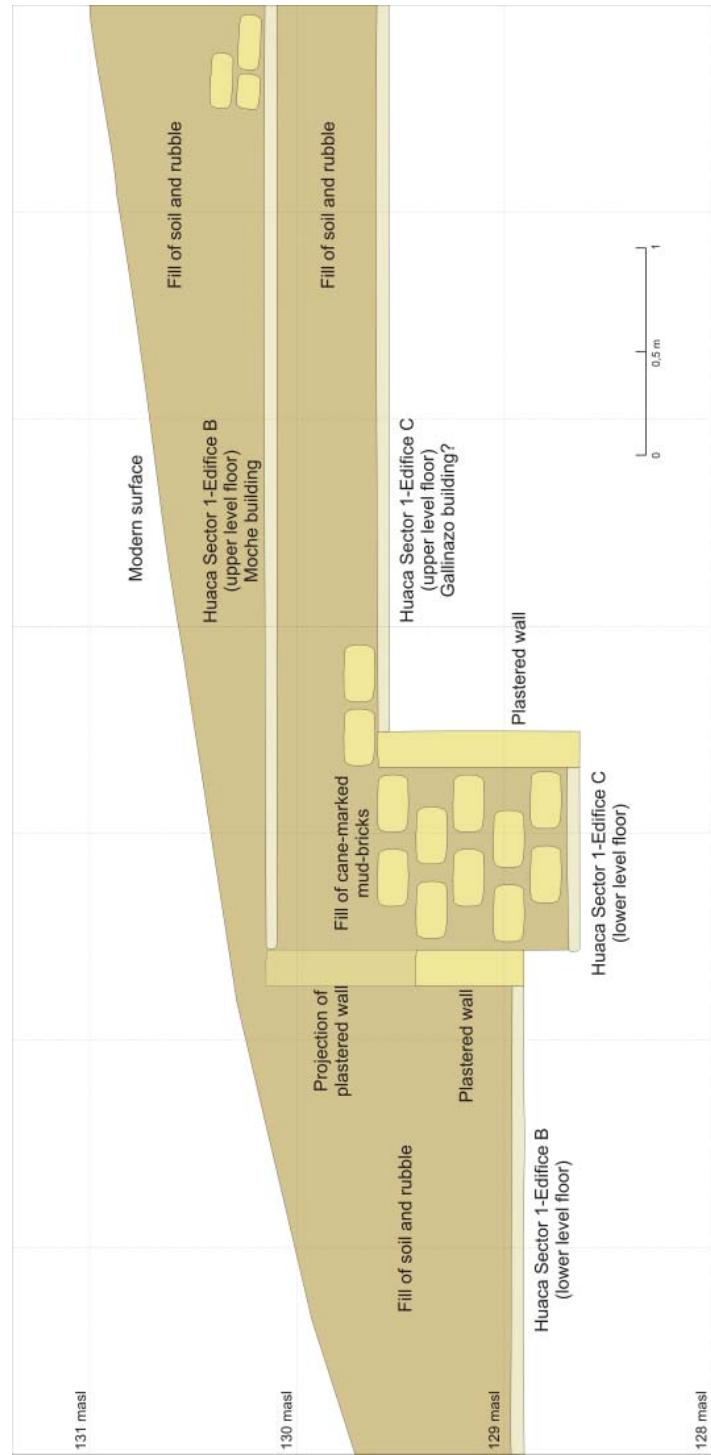
5.139. Unit 17 showing the platform levels and plastered walls associated with layers U17-L3 and U17-L5 (trench dimensions 7 x 5 m). Note that Huaca Sector 1-Edifice B was built covering Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C



5.140. Hand-marked and cane-marked mud-bricks encountered in Unit 17.



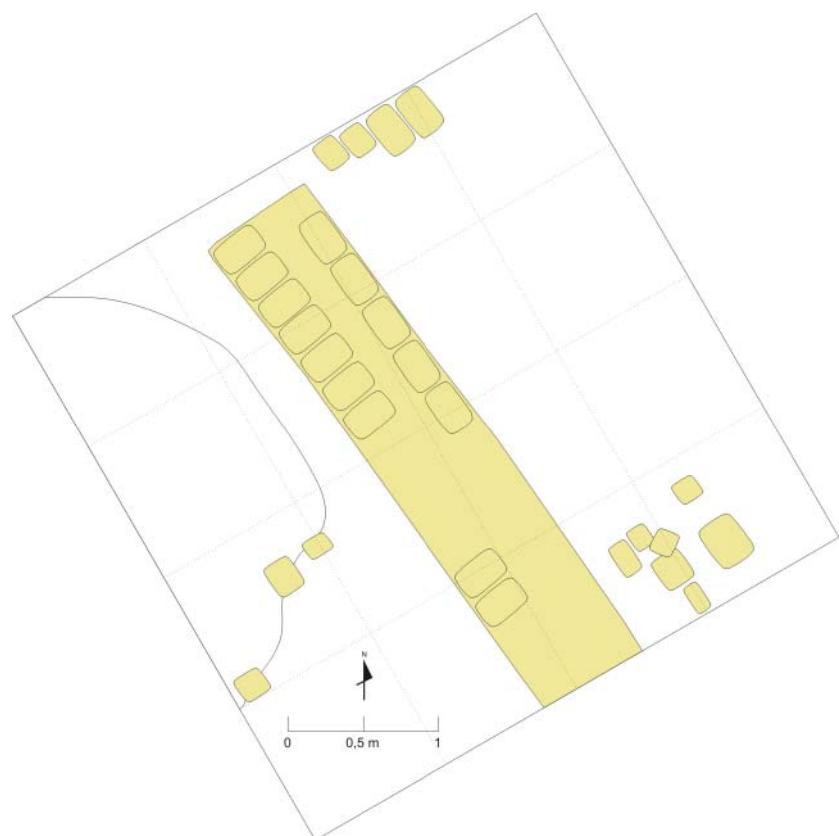
5.141. Plan view of Unit 17.



5.142. Section drawing of the west side of Unit 17. Note how Huaca Sector 1-Edifice B was built on top of Huaca Sector 1-Edifice C, possibly associated with a Gallinazo component at Cerro Castillo.



5.143. Unit 18 showing layer U18-L3 (trench dimensions 4 x 4 m).



5.144. Plan view of Unit 18.



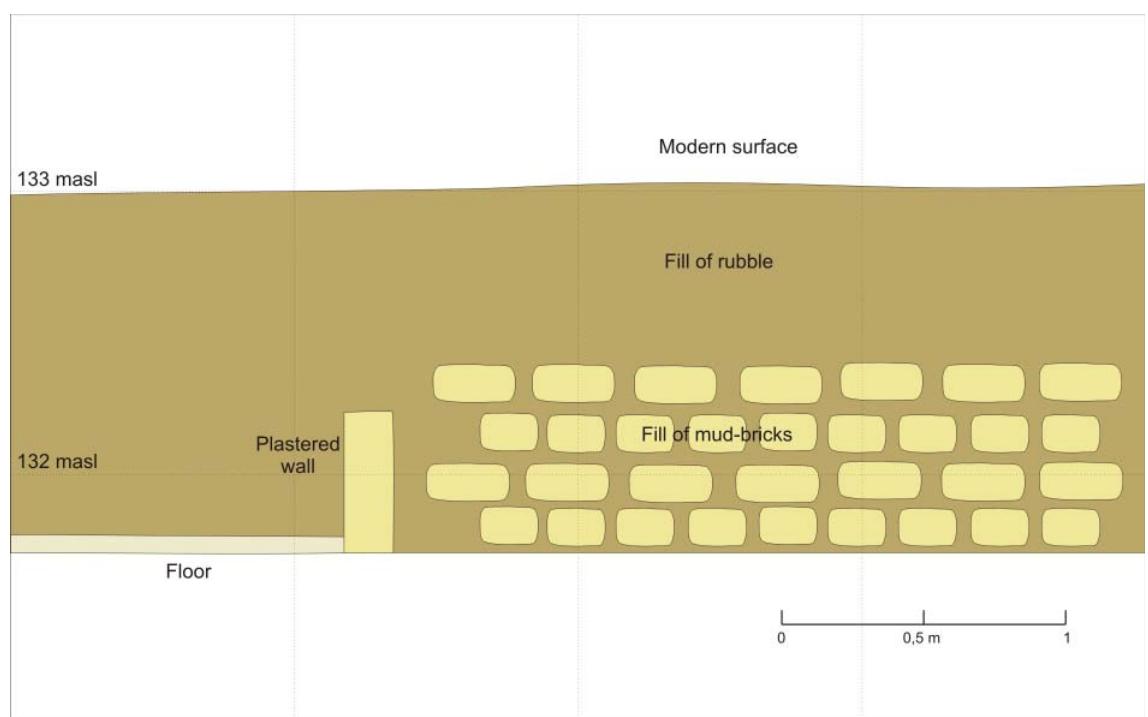
5.145. Unit 19 showing layer U19-L3 (trench dimensions 4 x 4 m).



5.146. Detail of floor and plastered wall encountered at Unit 19.



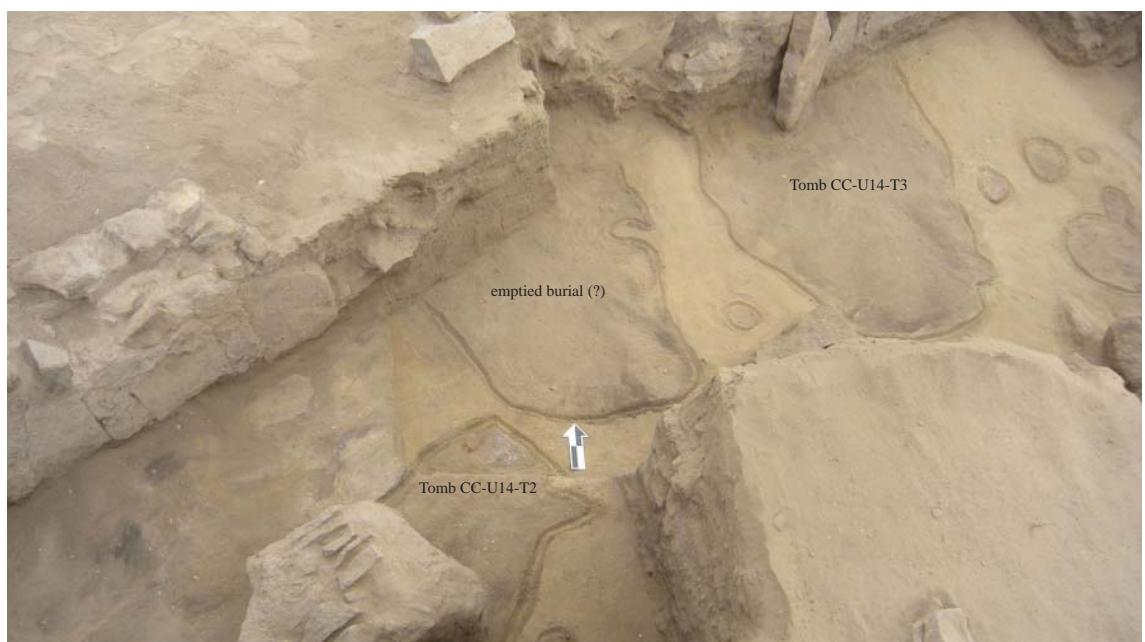
5.147. Plan view of Unit 19.



5.148. North-south section view of Unit 19.



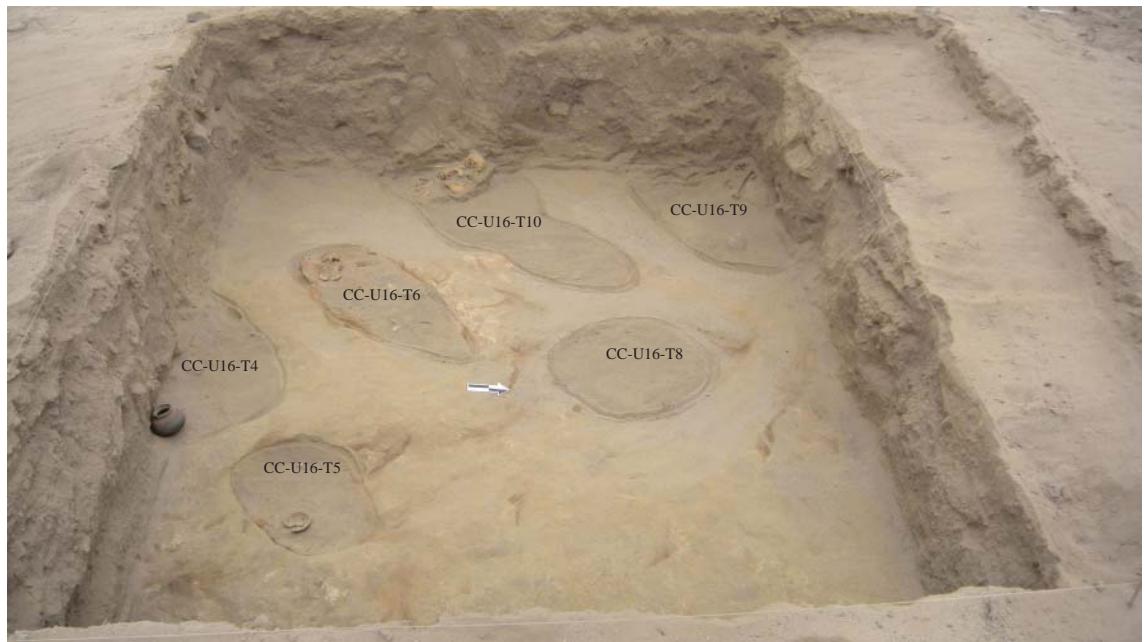
6.1. Cemetery 1 and excavations at Unit 14.



6.2. Unit 14 showing burials CC-U14-T2 and CC-U14-T3.



6.3. Unit 14 showing the relative depth of the burials encountered in the area.



6.4. Unit 16 showing burials' cuts (trench dimensions 5 x 4 m).



6.5. Unit 16 showing burials excavated (trench dimensions 5 x 4 m).



a



b

6.6. a) Tomb CC-U7-T1 when found in situ showing its ceramic associations.

b) Detail of the bundle CC-U7-T1 in situ.



a



b



c



d



e

6.7. a) CC-U7-T1 at the moment of its examination in the laboratory. b) Bag that served as a container for Tomb CC-U7-T1. c) CC-U7-T1 showing a small red and black coloured bag attached to the bundle. d) Detail of bag filled up with leaves. e) Sling shot found in CC-U7-T1.



a



b



c



d

6.8. a) Detail of items placed inside the bundle CC-U7-T1. b) Detail of bag containing items of CC-U7-T1. c) Corncobs found in CC-U7-T1. d) Leaves found inside bundle.

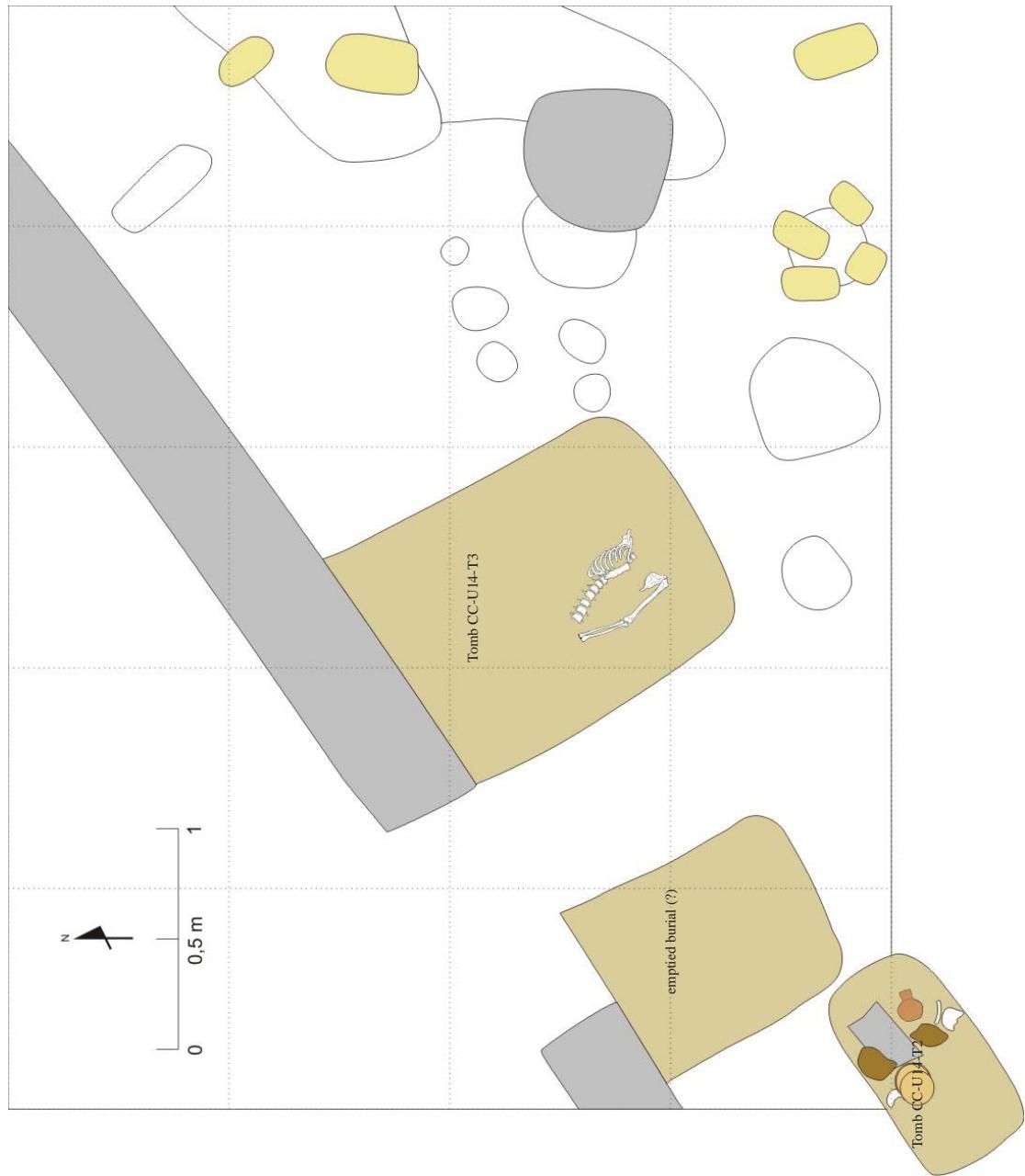


a

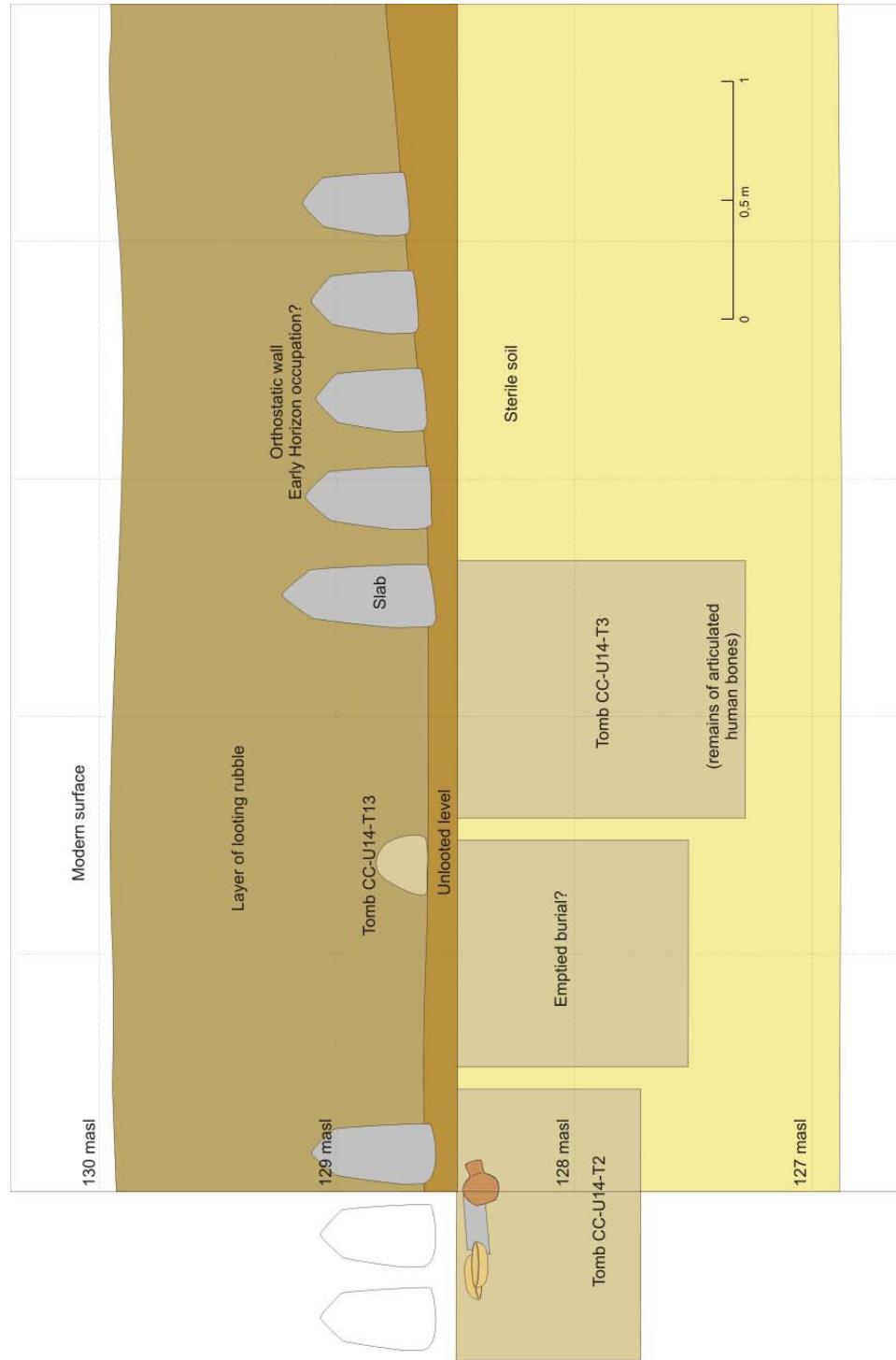


b

6.9. a) CC-U7-T1 showing individual wrapped in a shroud. b) CC-U7-T1 showing the back of individual.



6.10. Plan view of Unit 14 showing the burials found in this area.



6.11. Section drawing of the north side of Unit 14 including the tombs excavated in this area.



6.12. Burial CC-U14-T2 during its excavation.



6.13. Pottery encountered in CC-U14-T2.



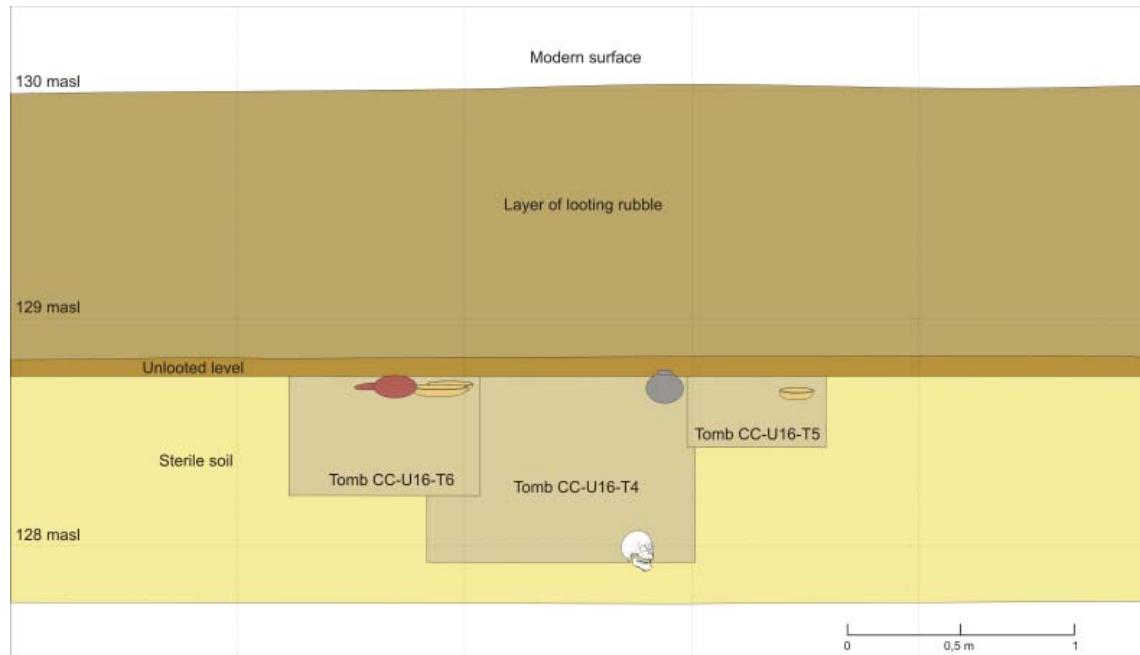
6.14. Tomb CC-U14-T3 showing articulated human bones.



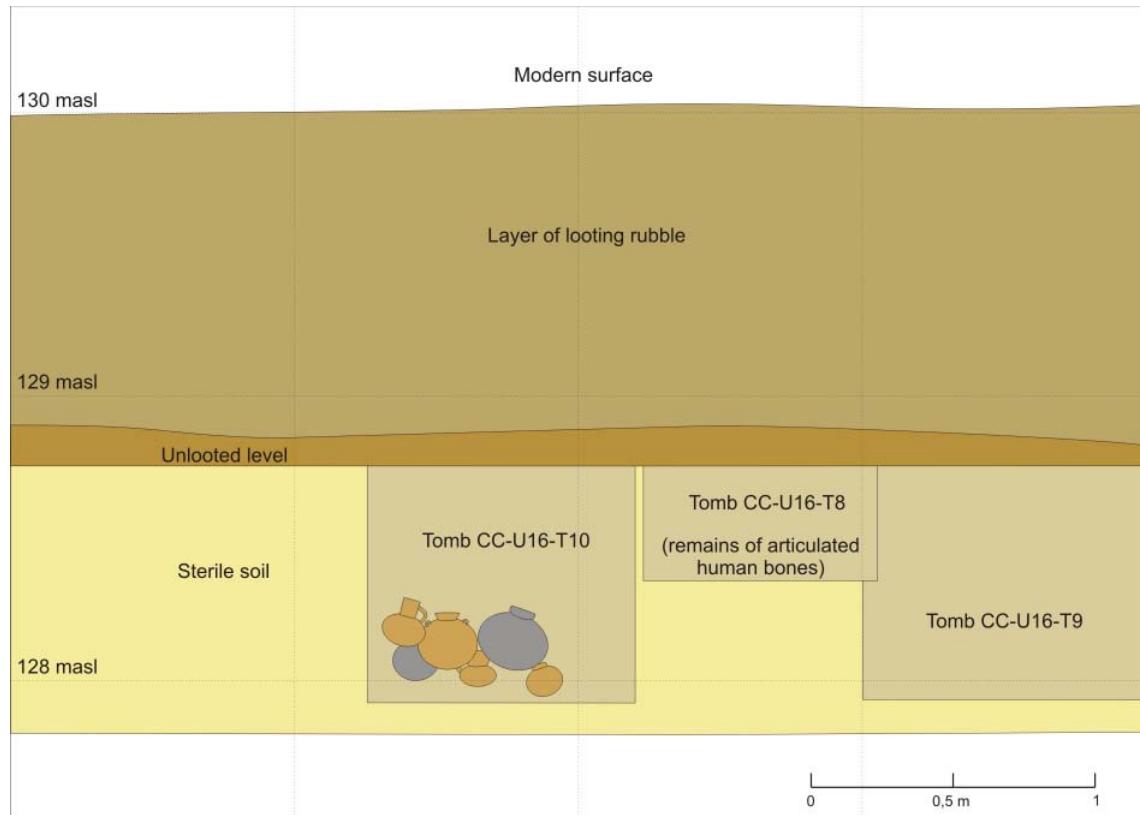
6.15. Ceramic fragment encountered in CC-U14-T2.



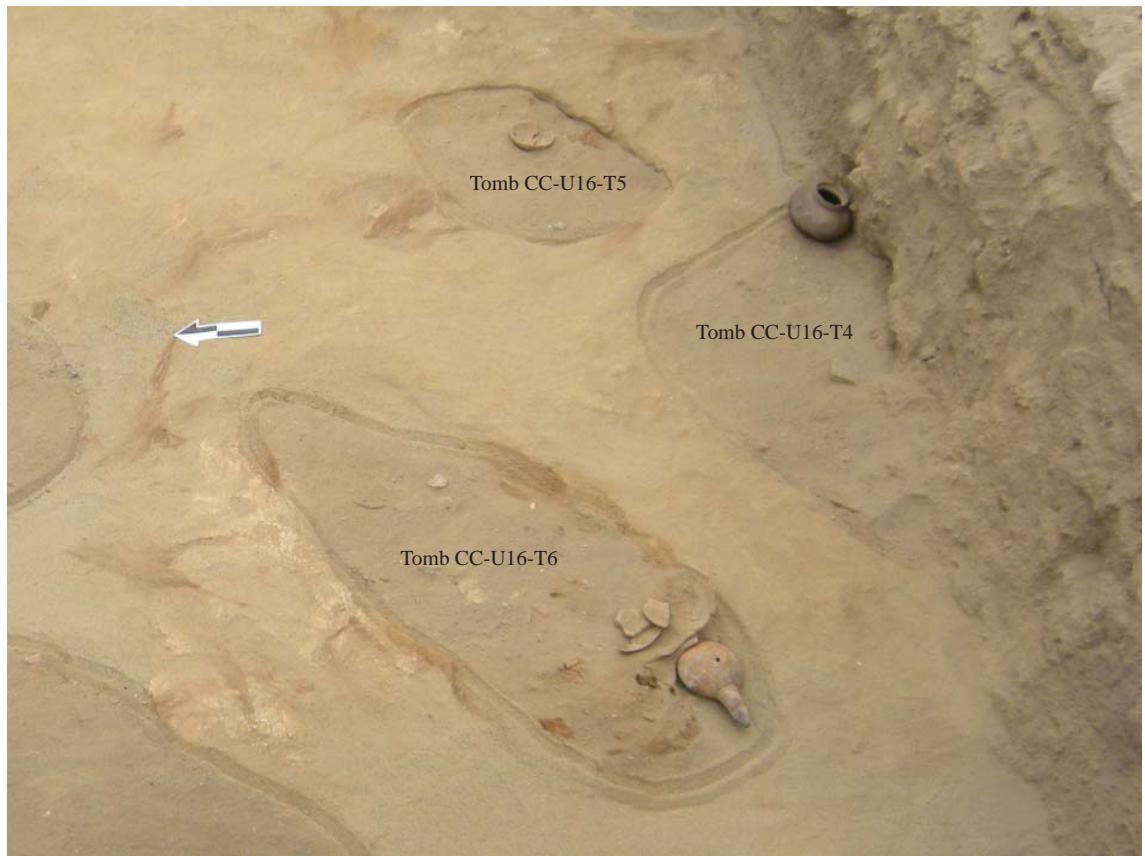
6.16. Plan view of Unit 16 showing the location of the burials recorded in this area.



6.17. Section drawing of the south side of Unit 16 showing tombs CC-U16-T4, CC-U16-T5 and CC-U16-T6.



6.18. Section drawing of the west side of Unit 16 tombs CC-U16-T8, CC-U16-T9 and CC-U16-T10.



6.19. Unit 16 showing detail CC-U16-T4, CC-U16-T5 and CC-U16-T6.



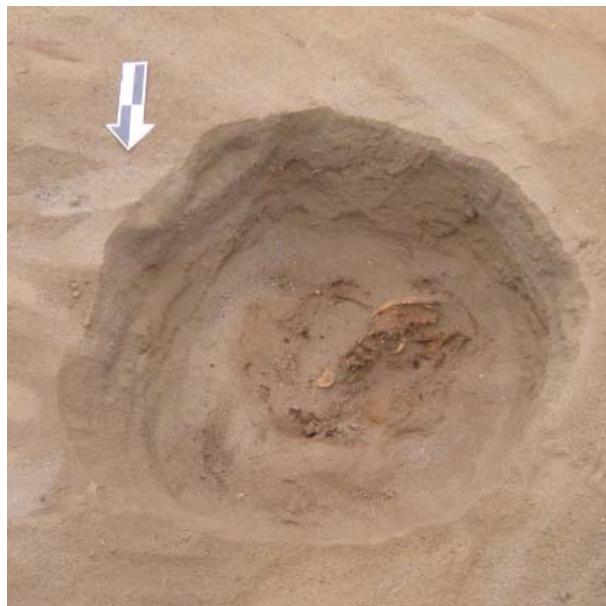
6.20. Pottery found in CC-U16-T4. Note the fragment of a decorated strap handle jug.



6.21. CC-U16-T4 showing individual at the bottom of the pit.



6.22. Dipper found in CC-U16-T6.



a



b

6.23. a) CC-U16-T8 when encountered in situ. b) Ceramic fragment found in CC-U16-T8.



a



b

6.24. a) Pieces of gourd bowls encountered in CC-U16-T9.
b) Painted ceramic fragment found in CC-U16-T9.



6.25. CC-U16-T10 and pottery found during its excavation.



6.26. Vessels encountered in CC-U16-T10.



6.27. CC-U15-T11 before its excavation.



6.28. CC-U15-T11 during its excavation.



6.29. CC-U15-T11 when examined in the laboratory and detail of shroud. Note the individual's head and its apparent flexed position, as well as the shroud after being cleaned.



6.30. Gourd bowls encountered in CC-U15-T11.



6.31. Adornments found in a gourd bowl of CC-U15-T11.



a

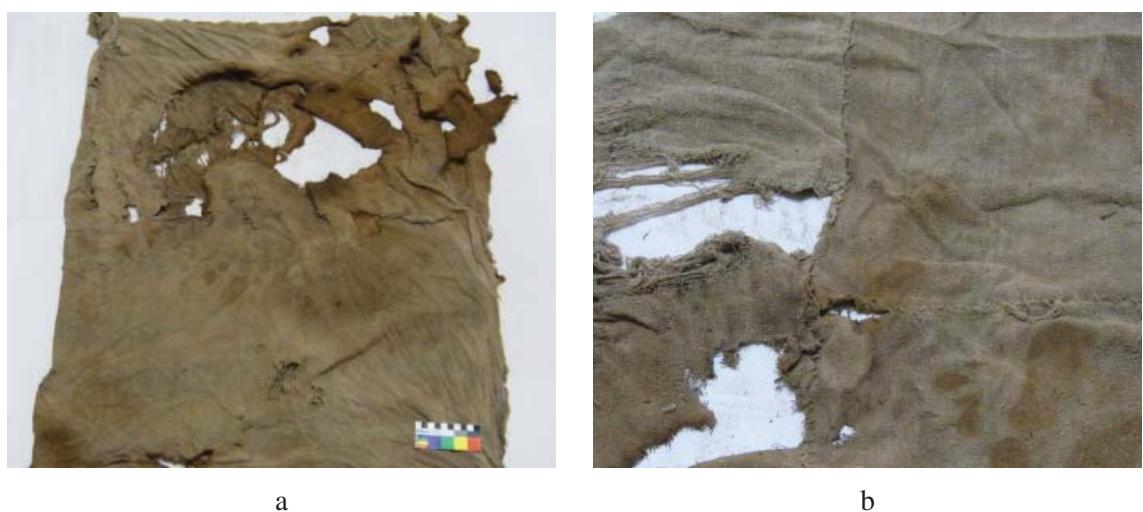


b

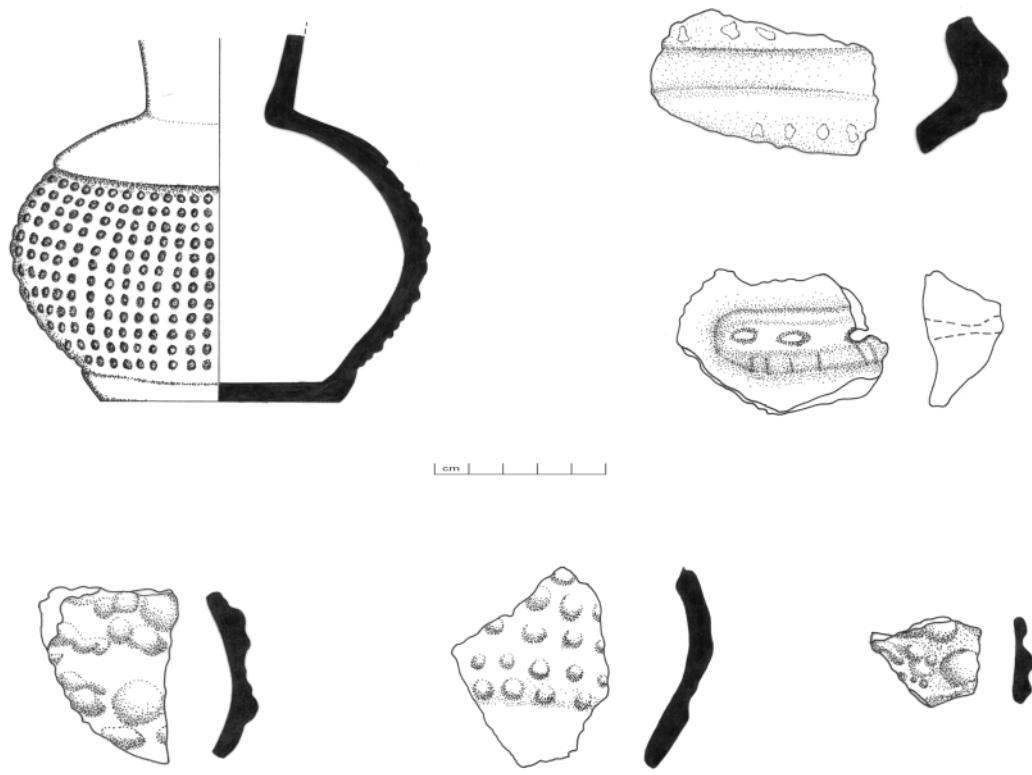
6.32. a) CC-U15-T12 before its excavation. b) CC-U15-T12 during its excavation.



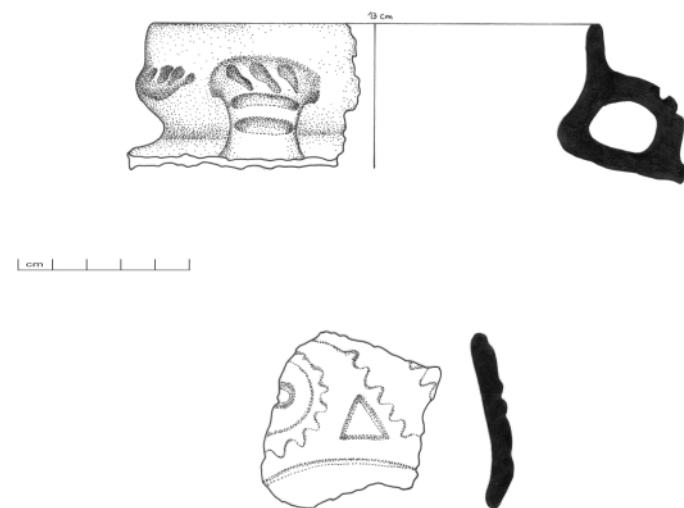
6.33. CC-U14-T13 when encountered in situ.



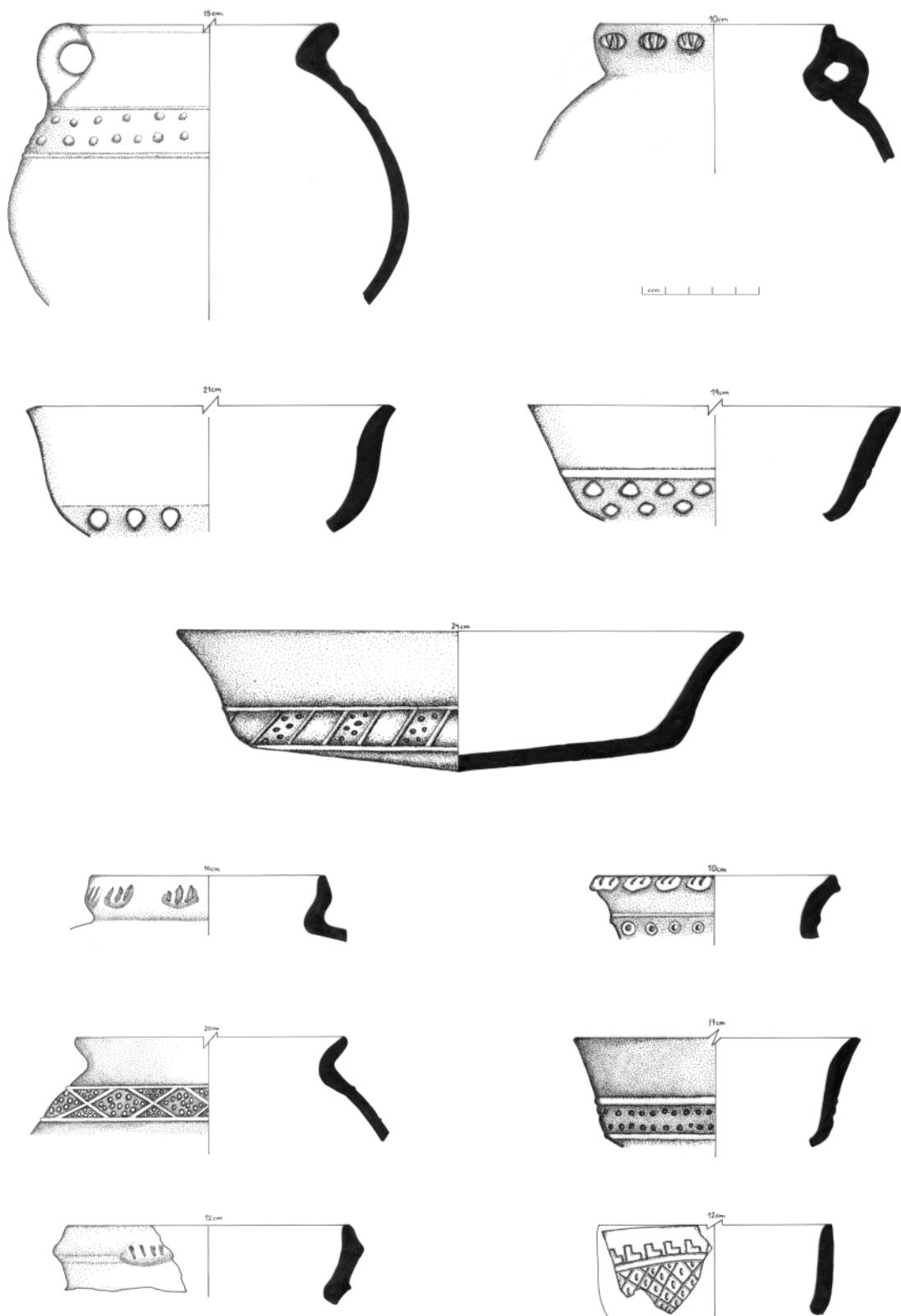
6.34. a) Shroud of CC-U14-T13. b) CC-U14-T3 when found in situ. b) Detail of shroud of CC-U14-T13 showing pieces of textile sewn together.



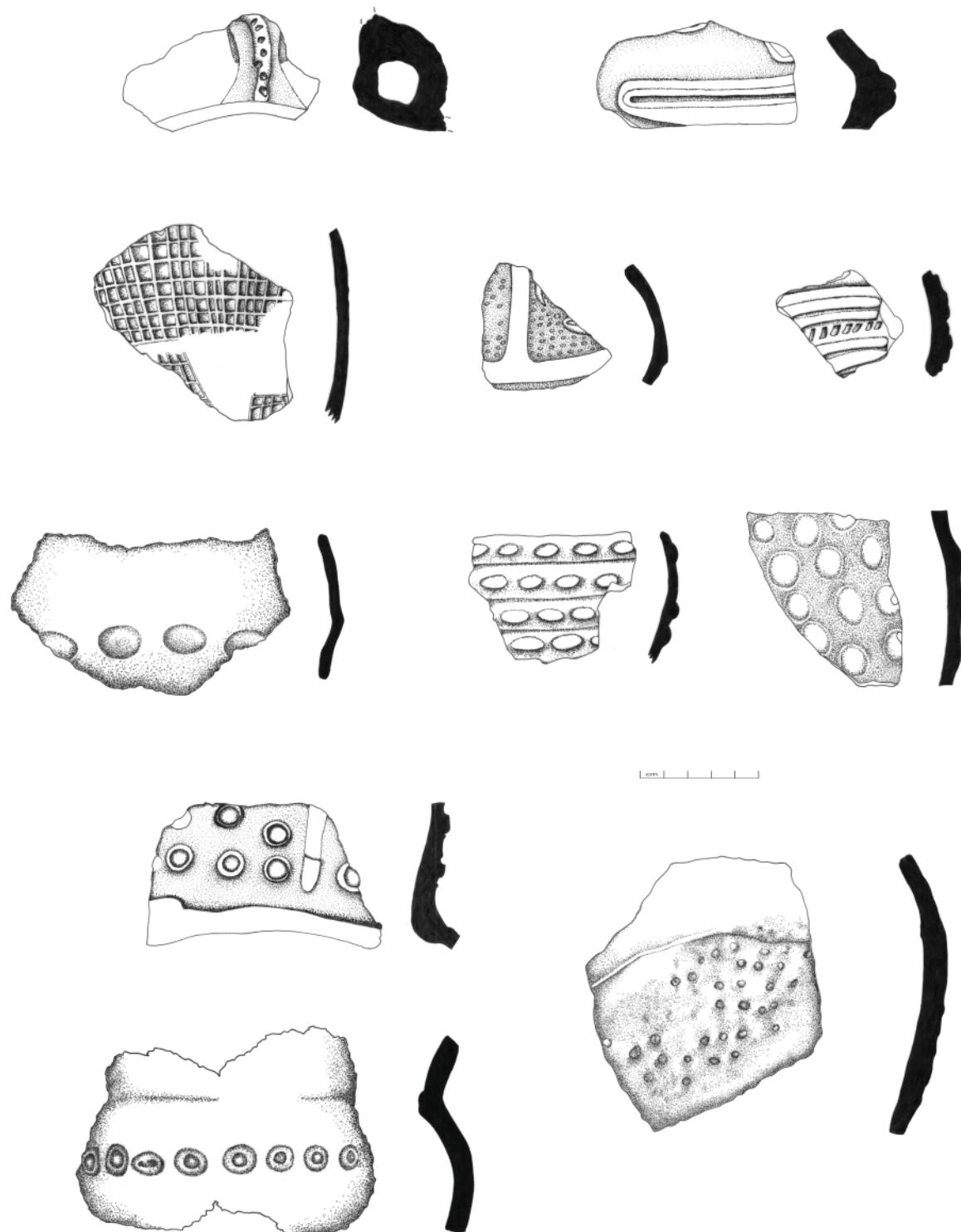
7.1. Units 1-2, Black-wares.



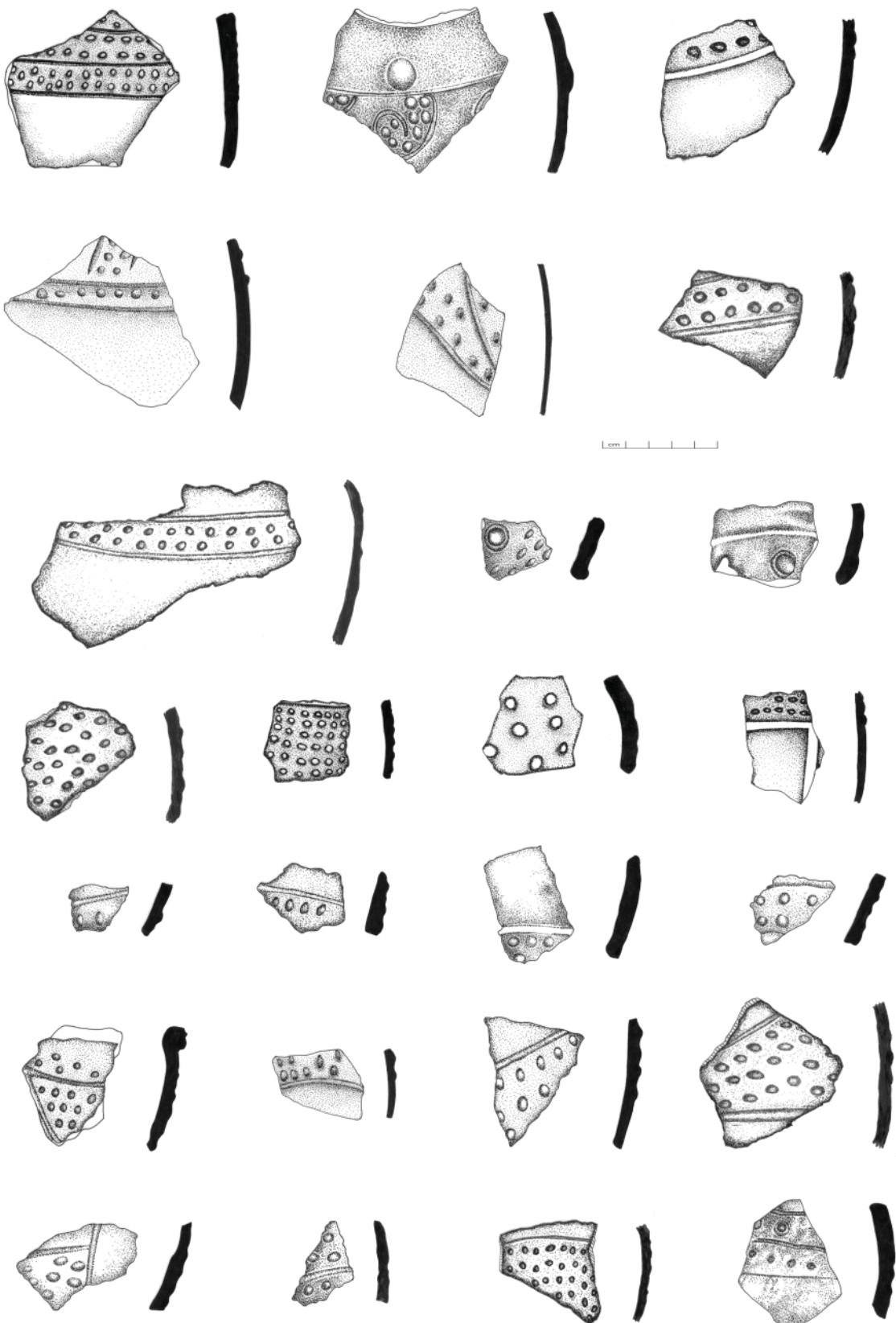
7.2. Units 3-7-15, Black-wares.



7.3. Unit 10, Black-wares.



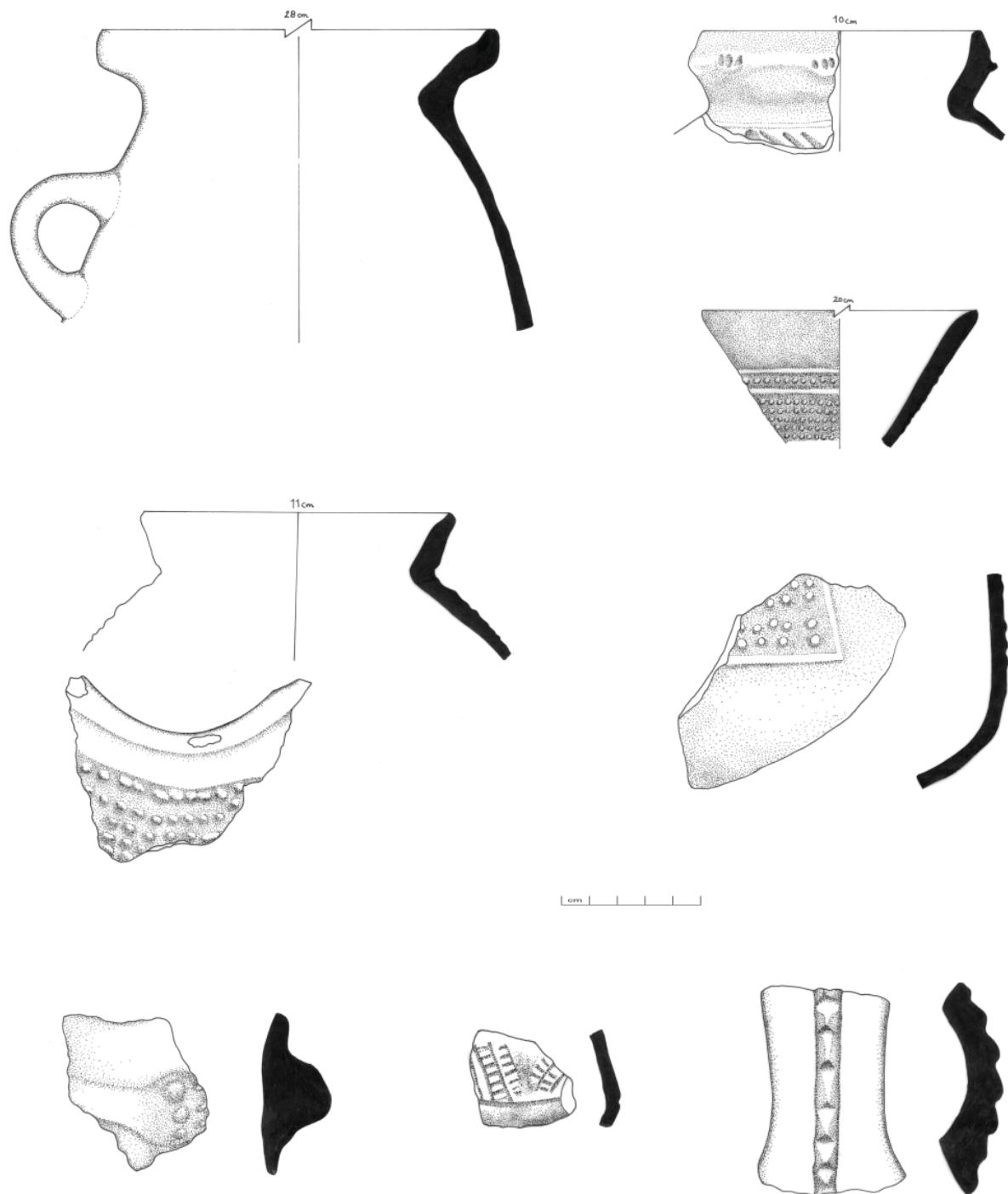
7.4. Unit 10, Black-wares.



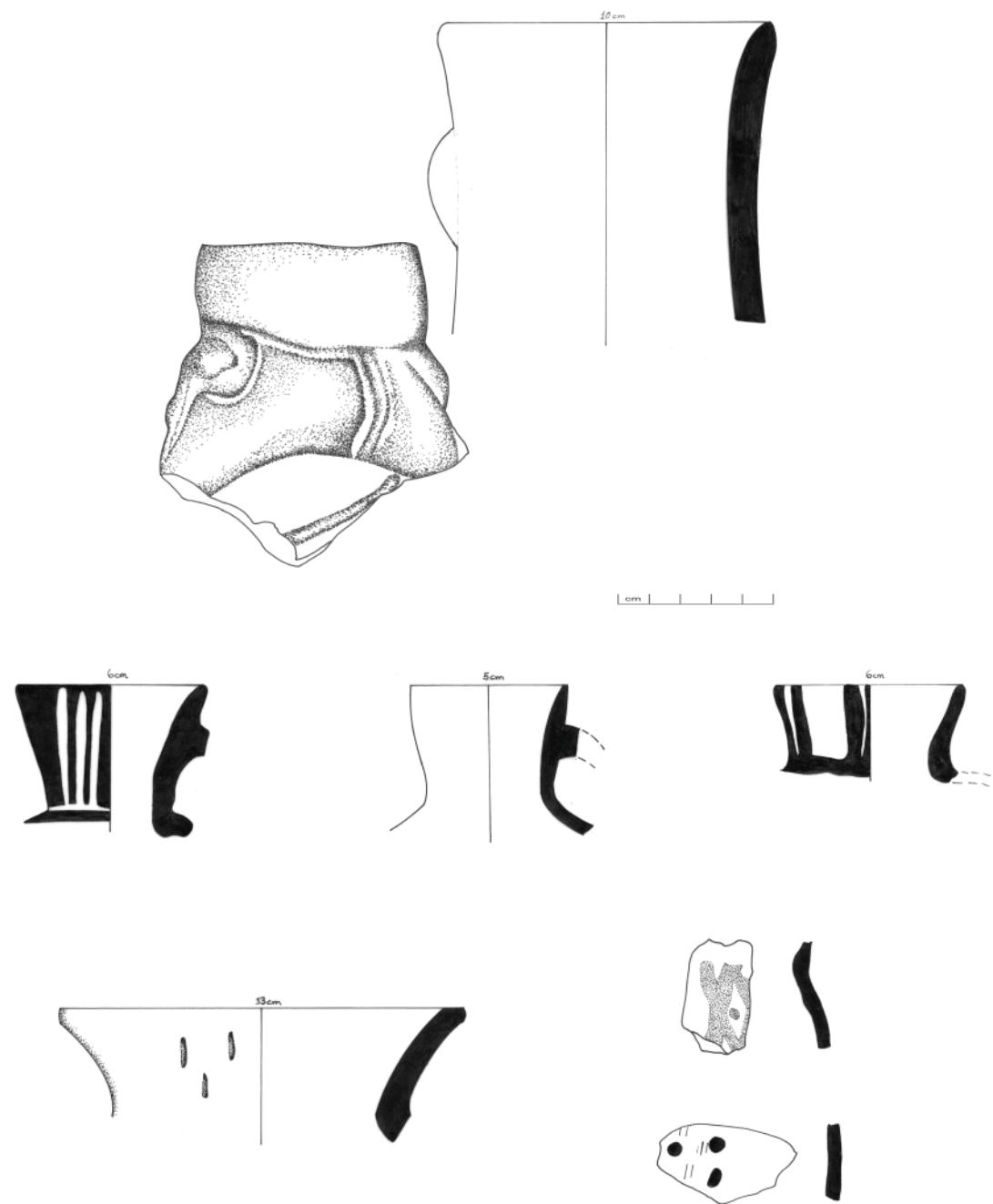
7.5. Unit 10, Black-wares.



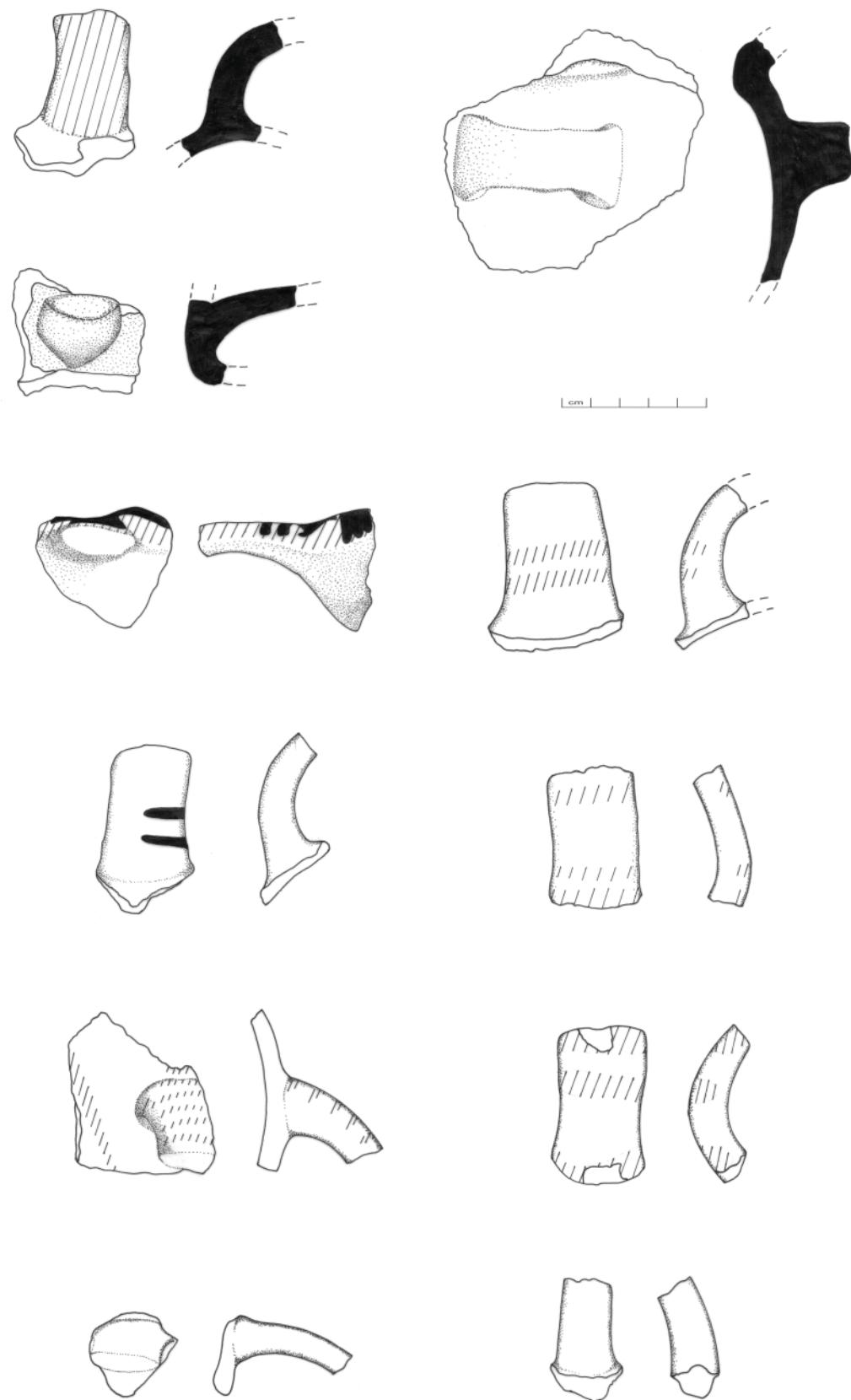
7.6. Cemeteries surface, Black-wares.



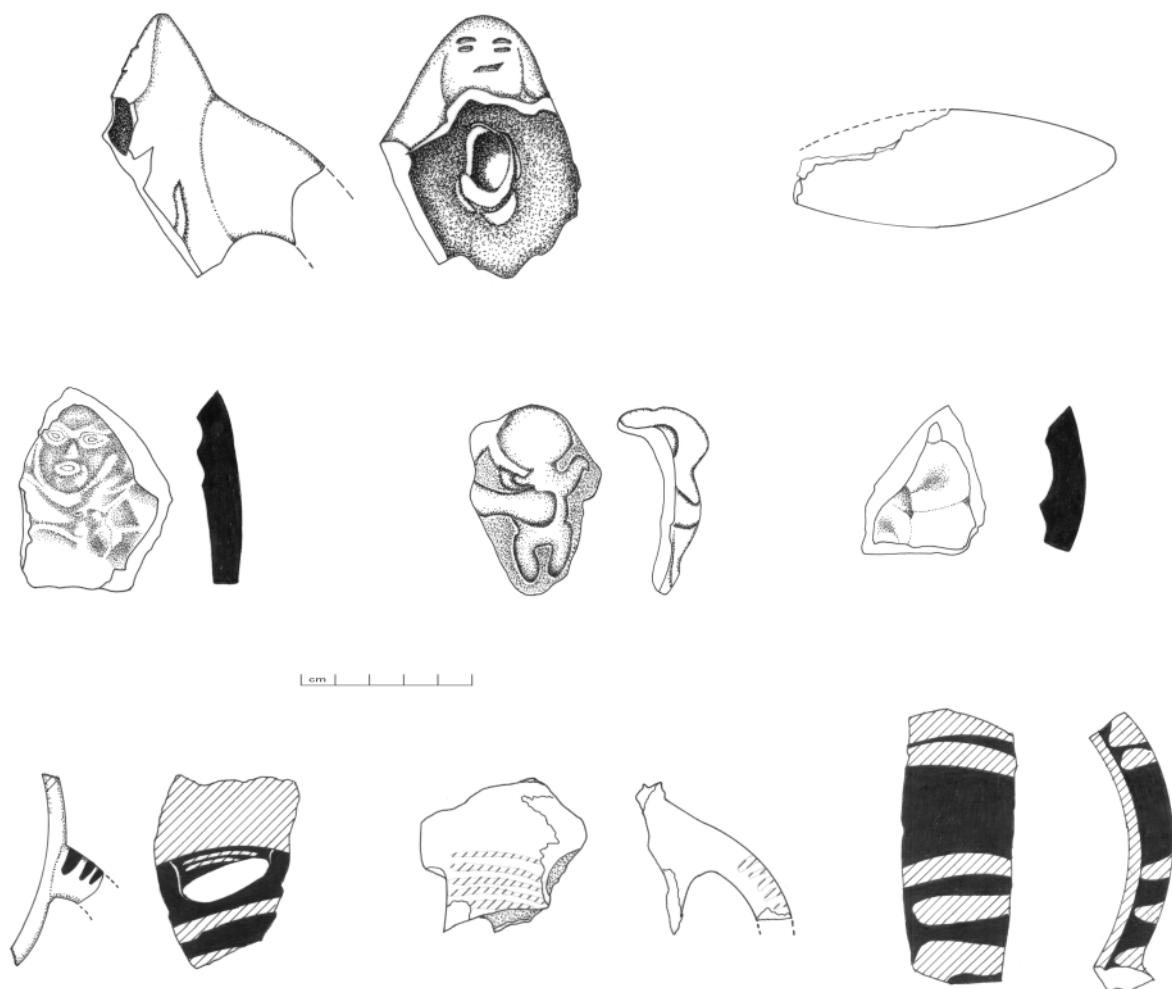
7.7. Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1), Black-wares.



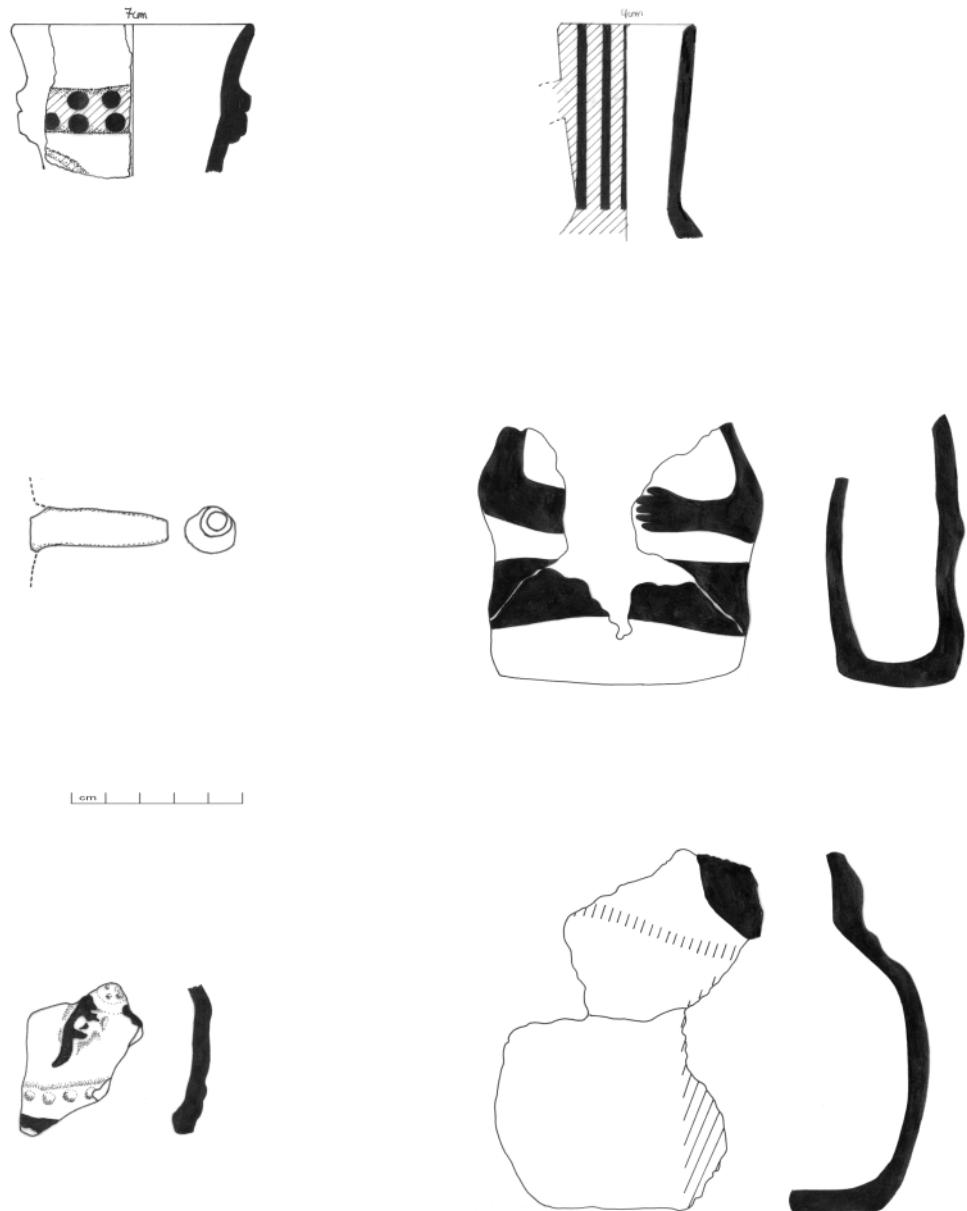
7.8. Units 1-2, Fancy wares and styles.



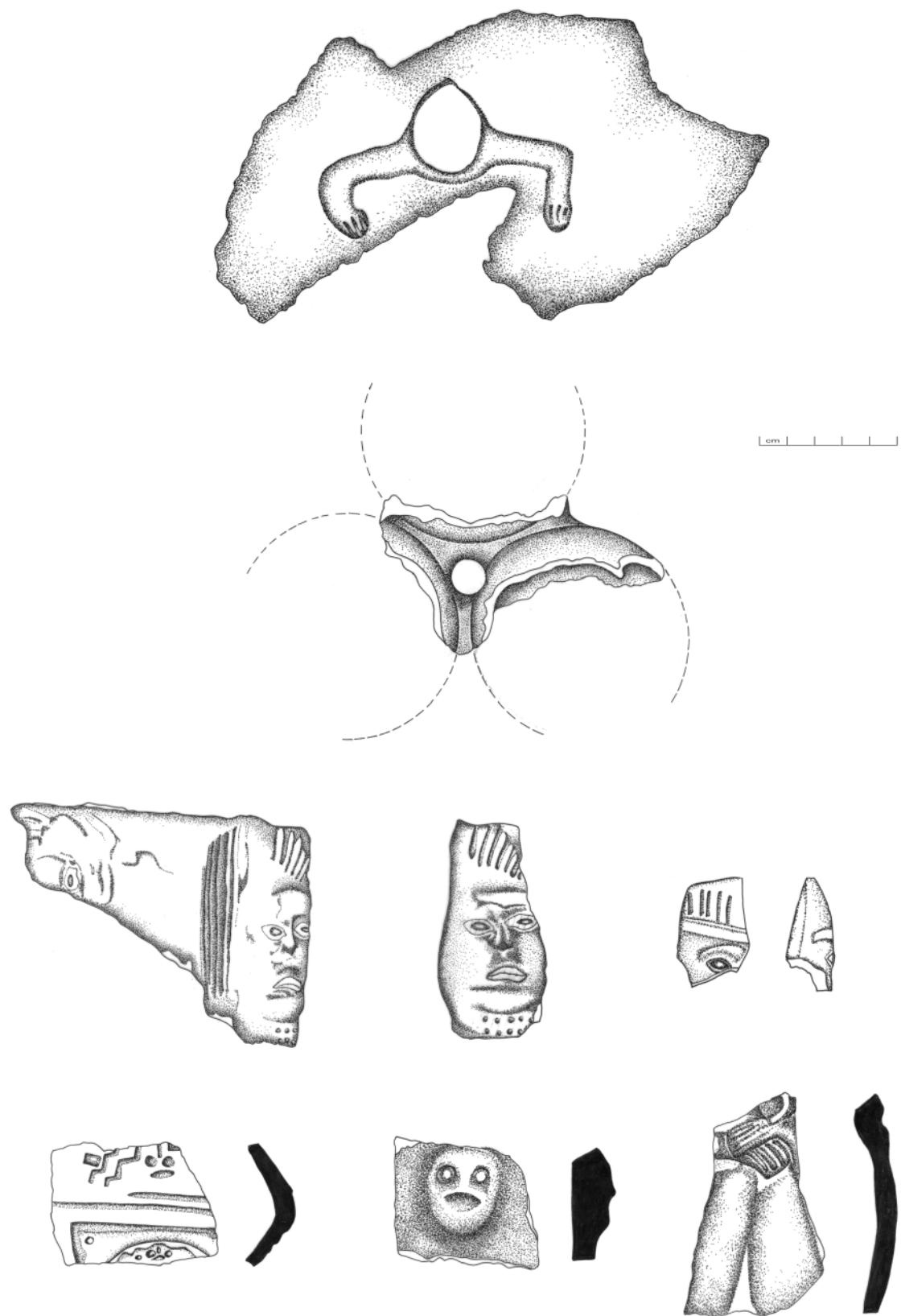
7.9. Units 1-2, Fancy wares and styles.



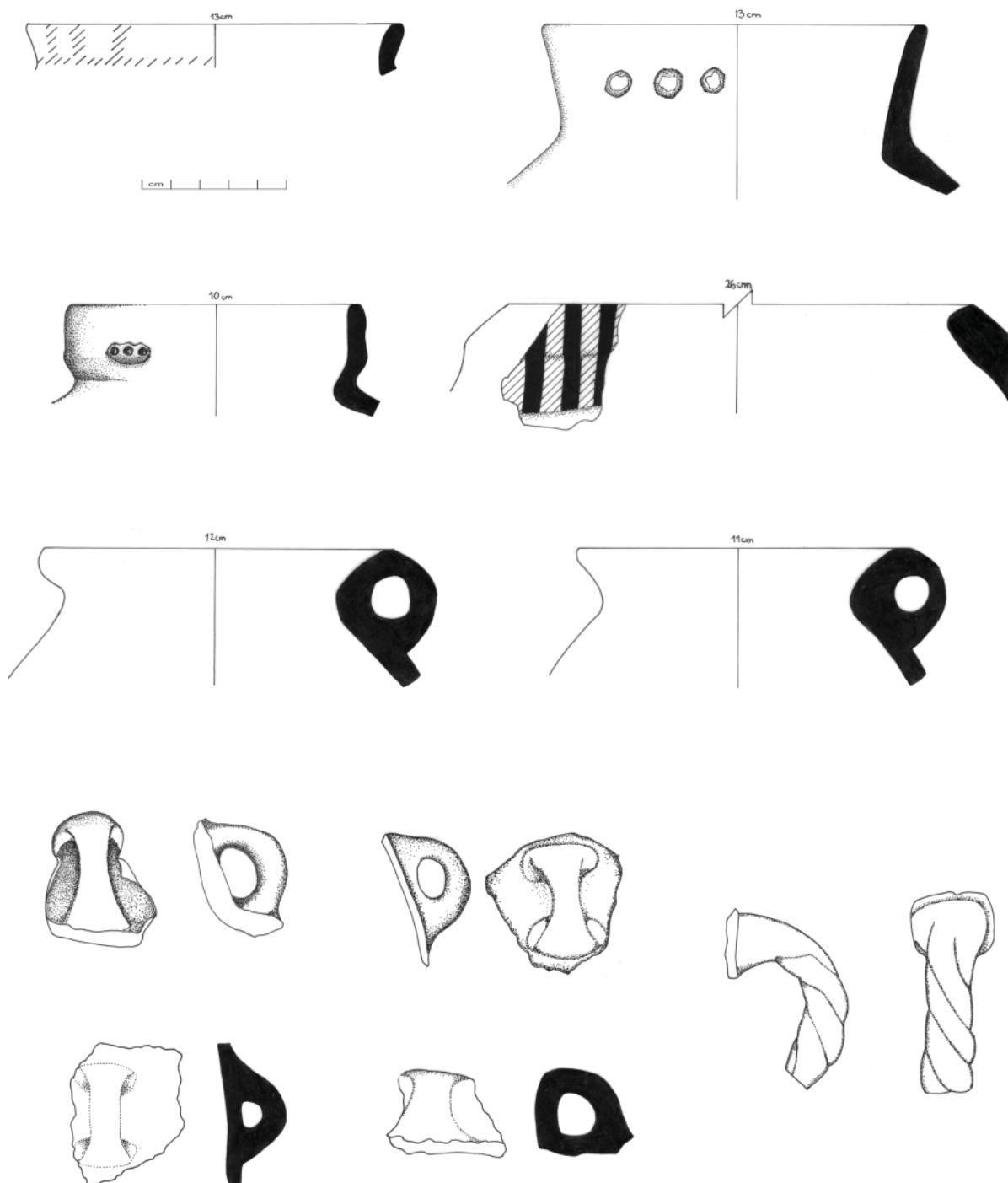
7.10. Units 4-5-6, Fancy wares and styles.



7.11. Units 3-7-15, Fancy wares and styles.



7.12. Unit 10, Fancy wares and styles.



7.13. Unit 10, Fancy wares and styles.



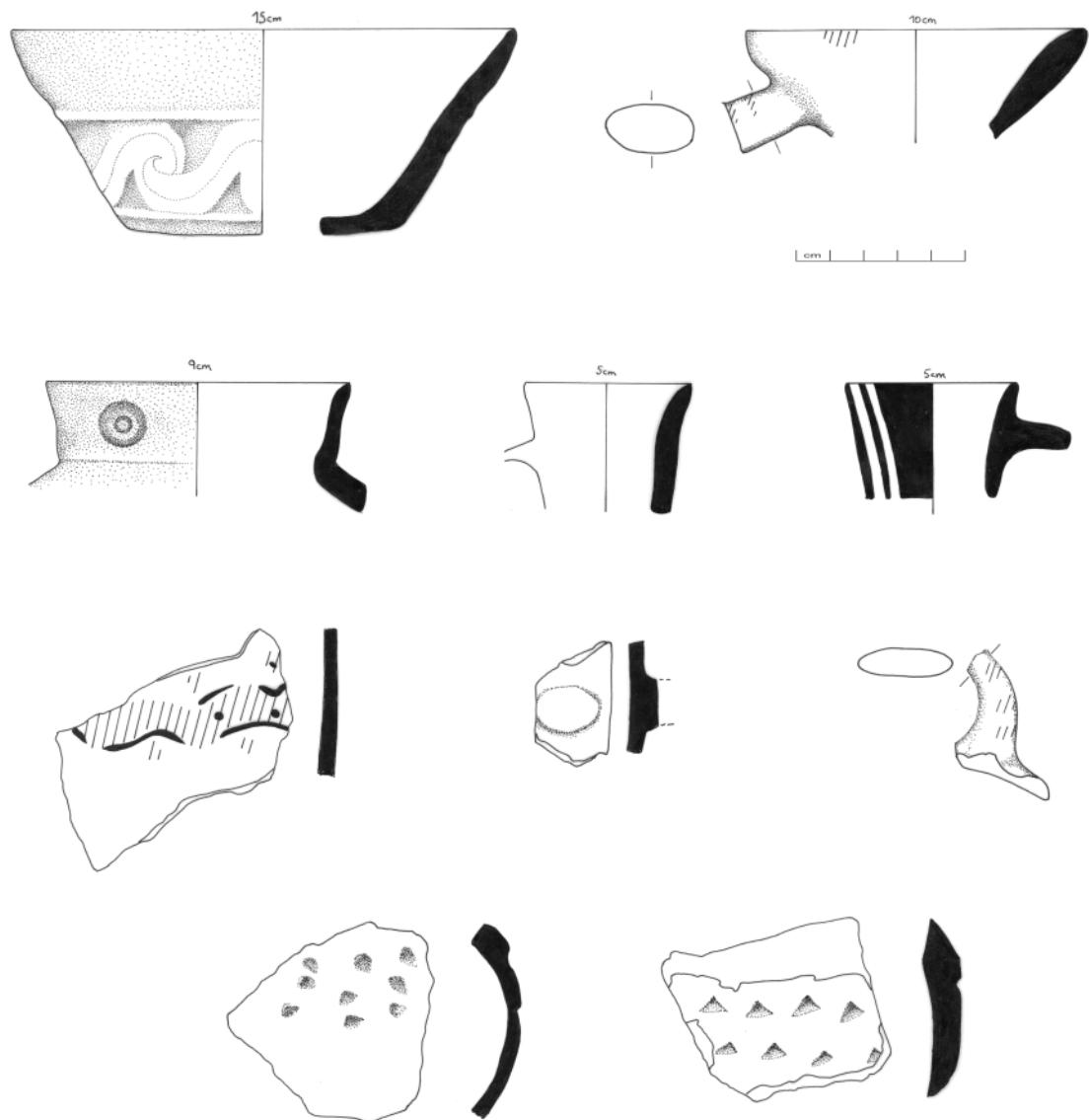
7.14. Unit 10, Fancy wares and styles.



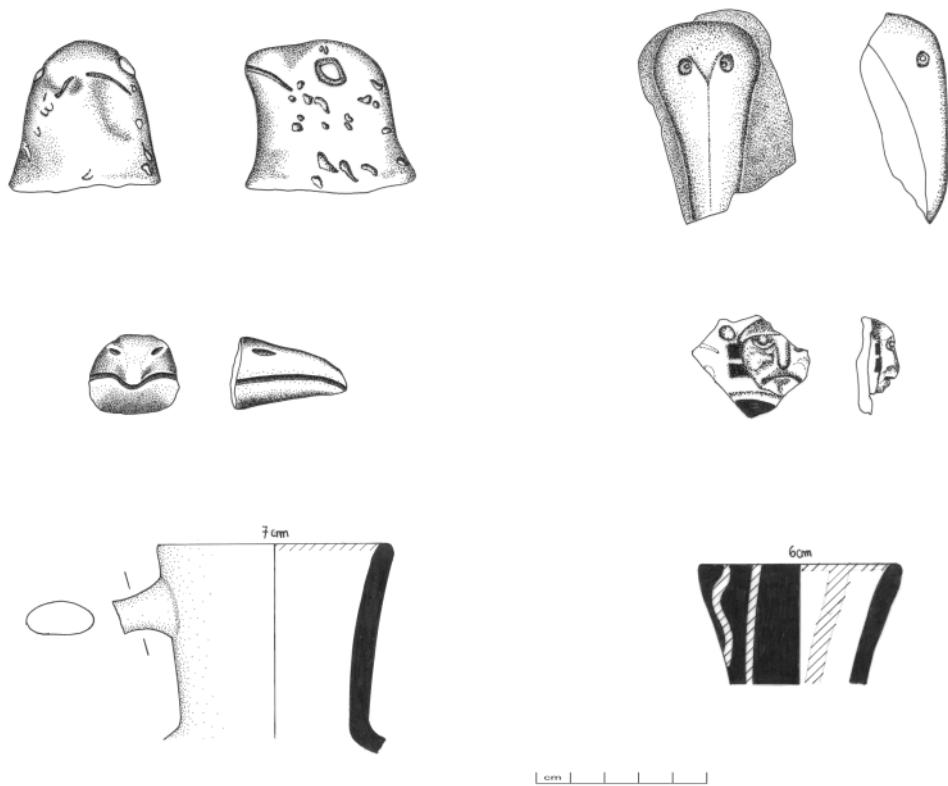
7.15. Unit 10, Fancy wares and styles.



7.16. Unit 10, Fancy wares and styles.



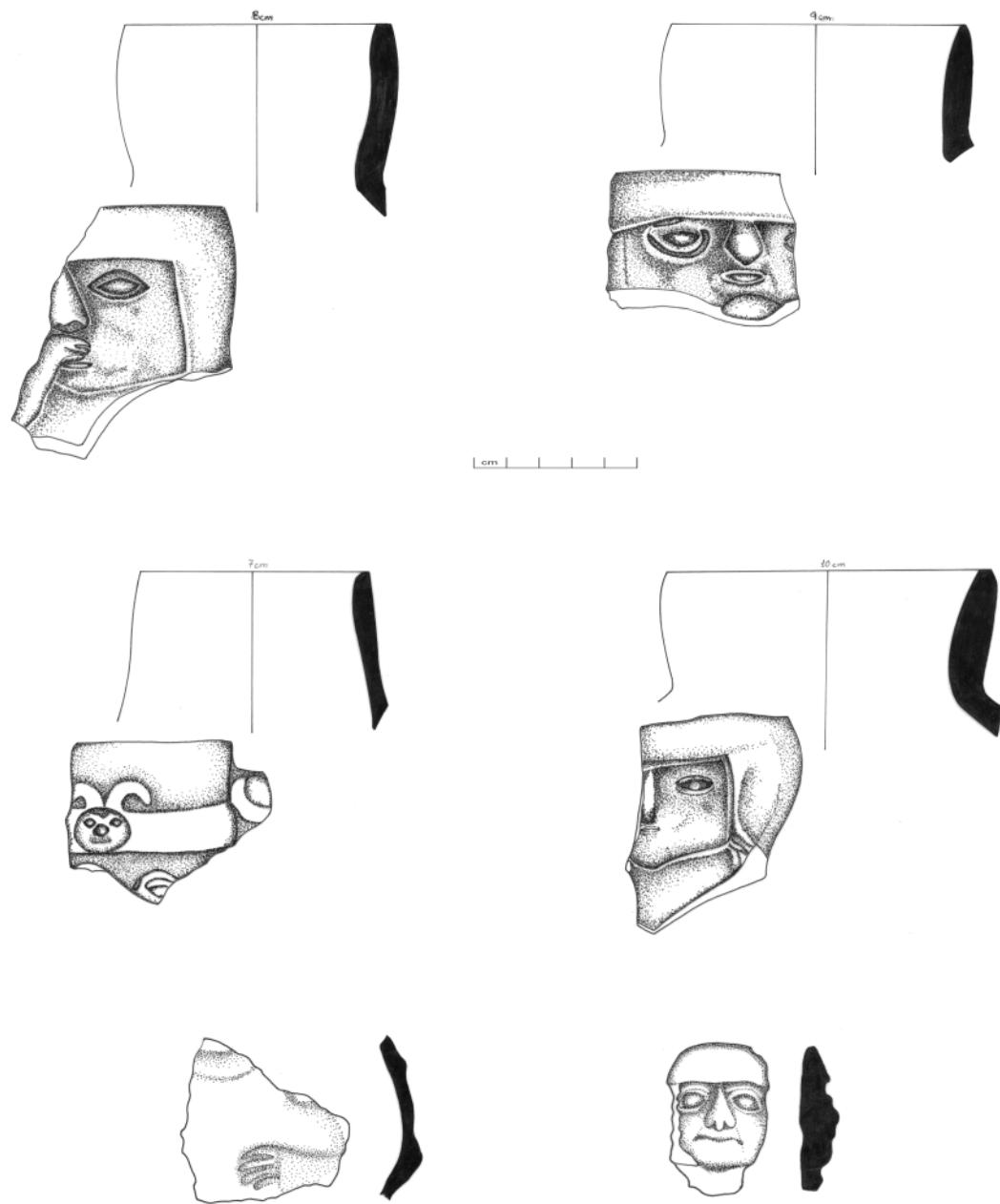
7.17. Cemeteries surface, Fancy wares and styles.



7.18. Units 8-9, Fancy wares and styles.



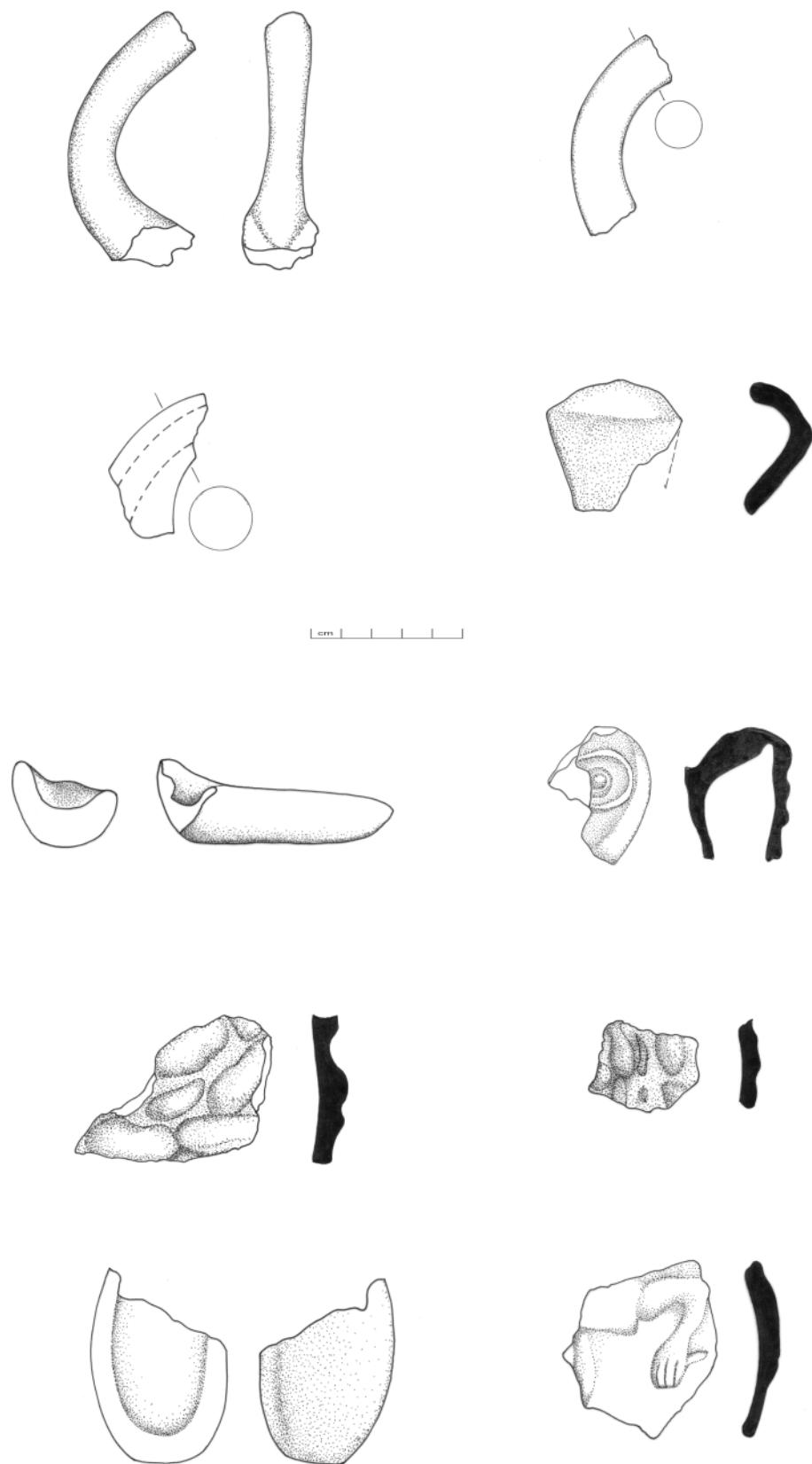
7.19. Units 8-9, Fancy wares and styles.



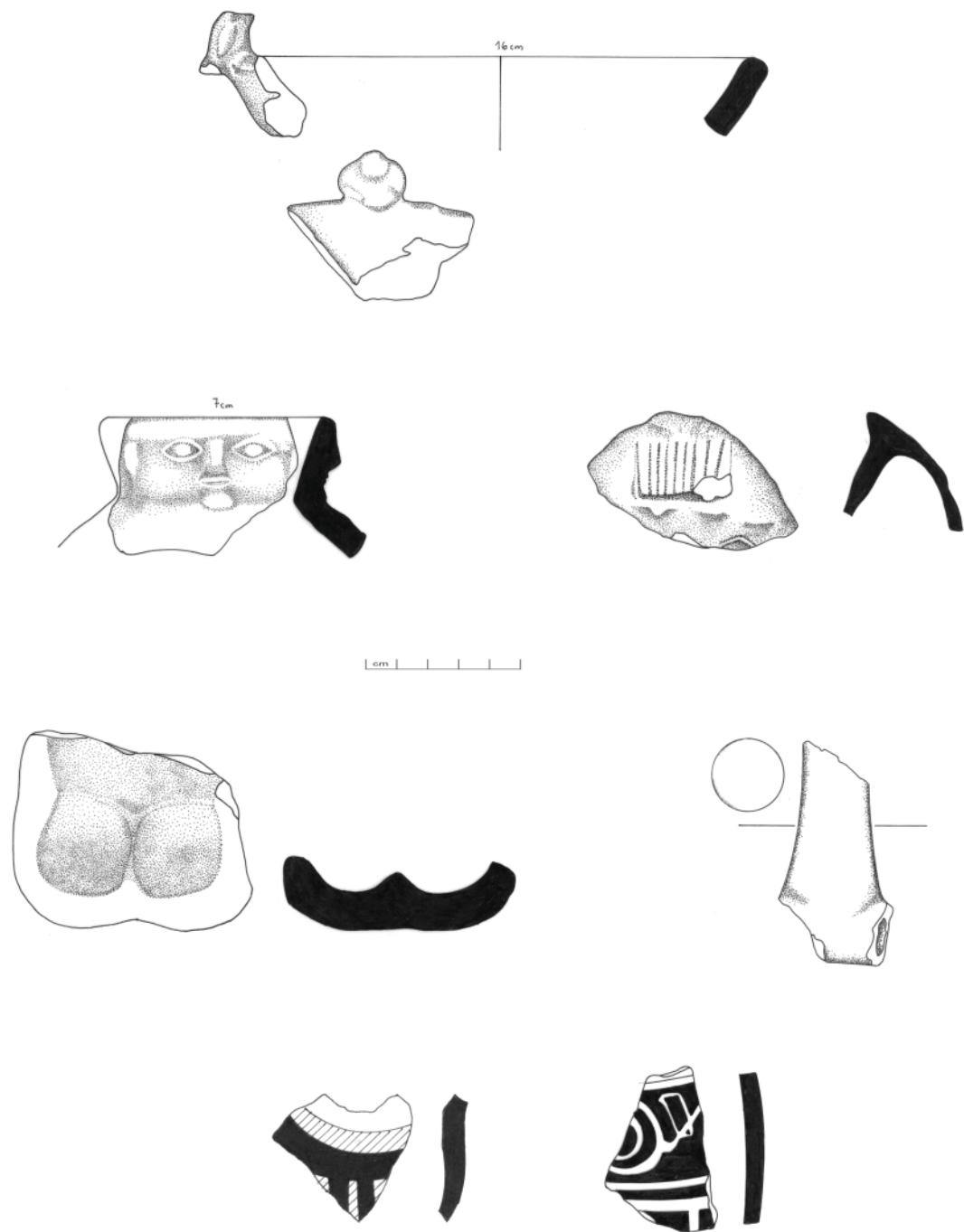
7.20. Units 1-2, Moche style wares.



7.21. Units 1-2, Moche style wares.



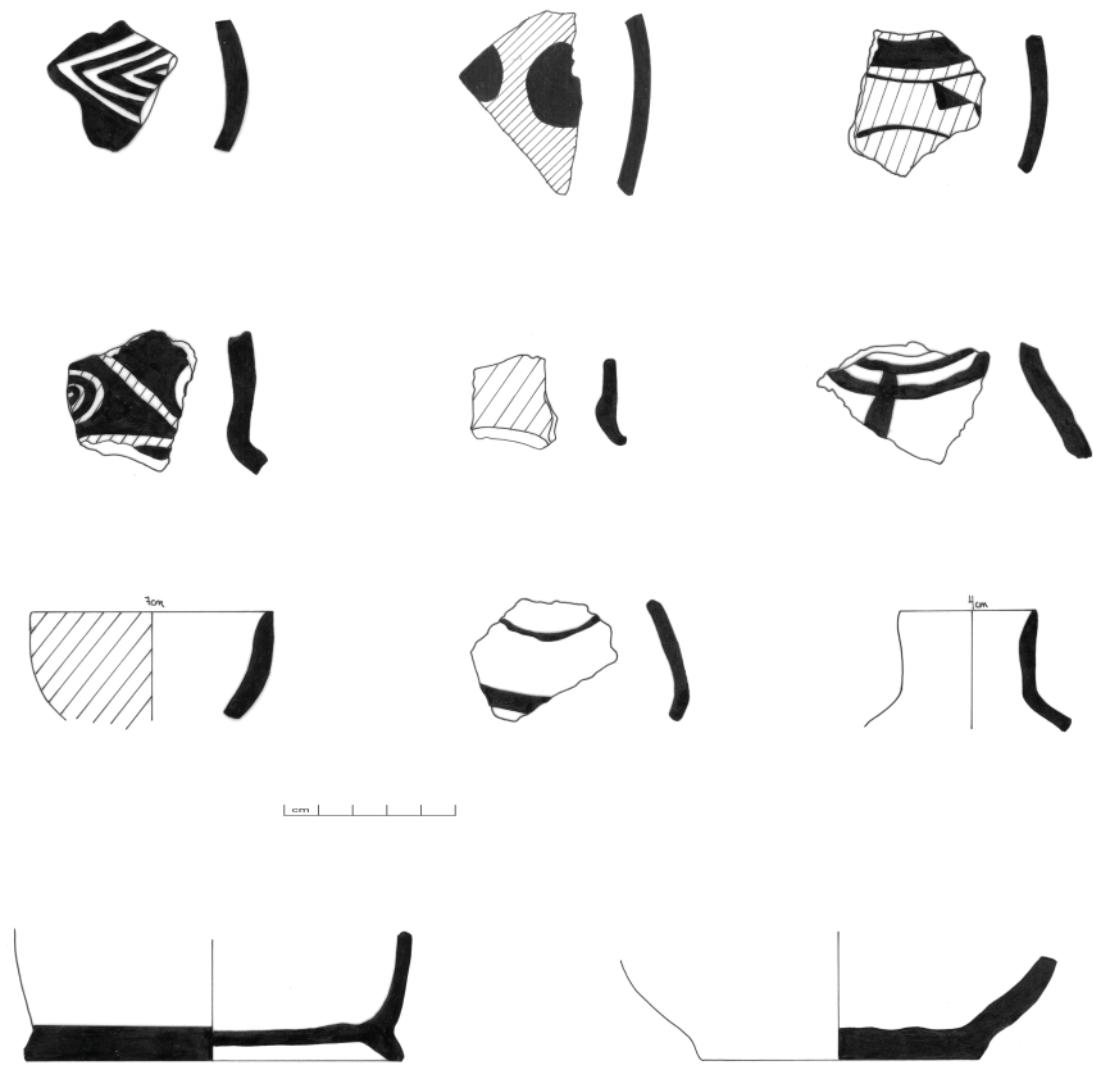
7.22. Units 1-2, Moche style wares.



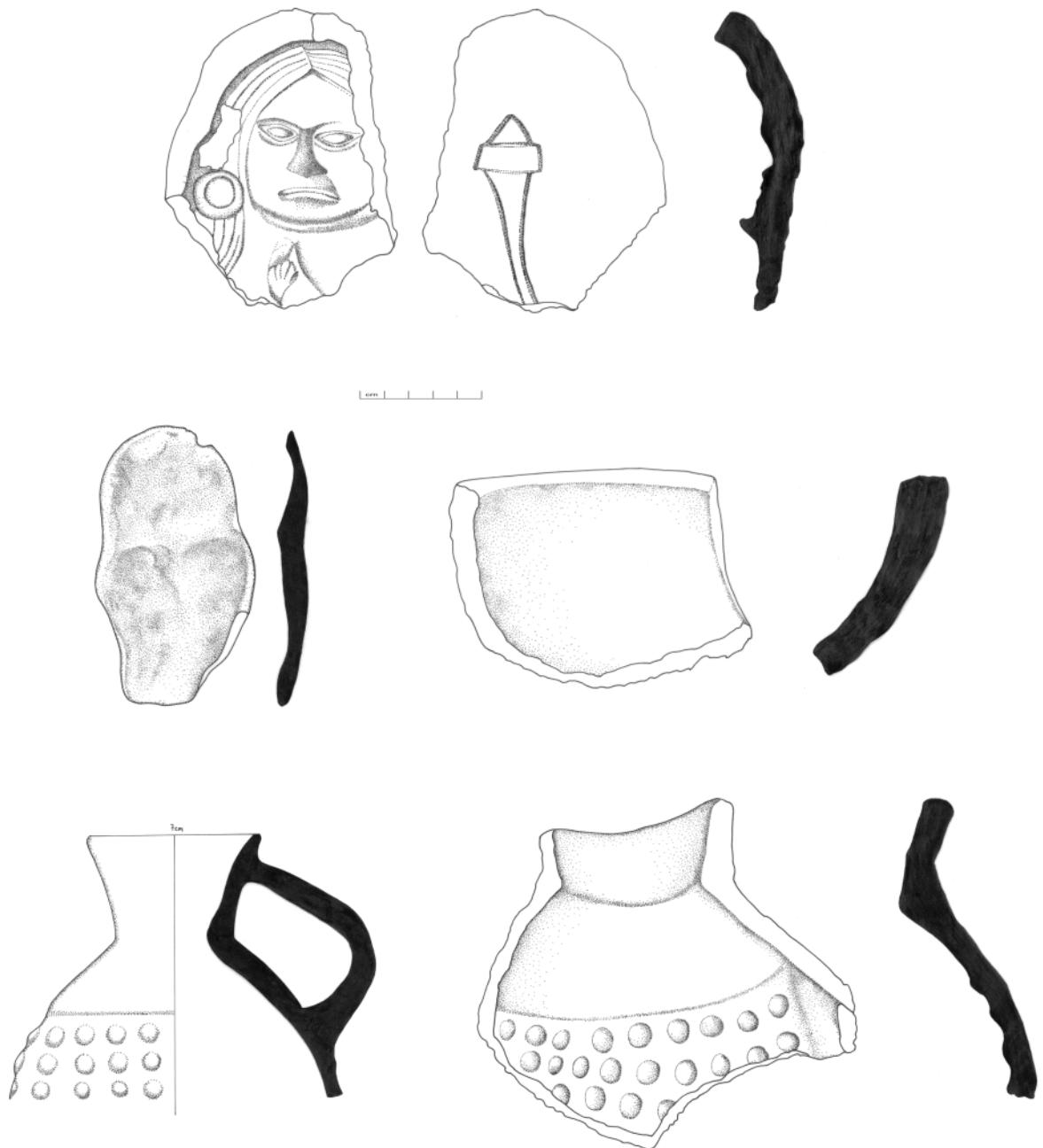
7.23. Units 4-5-6, Moche style wares.



7.24. Units 3-7-15, Moche style wares.



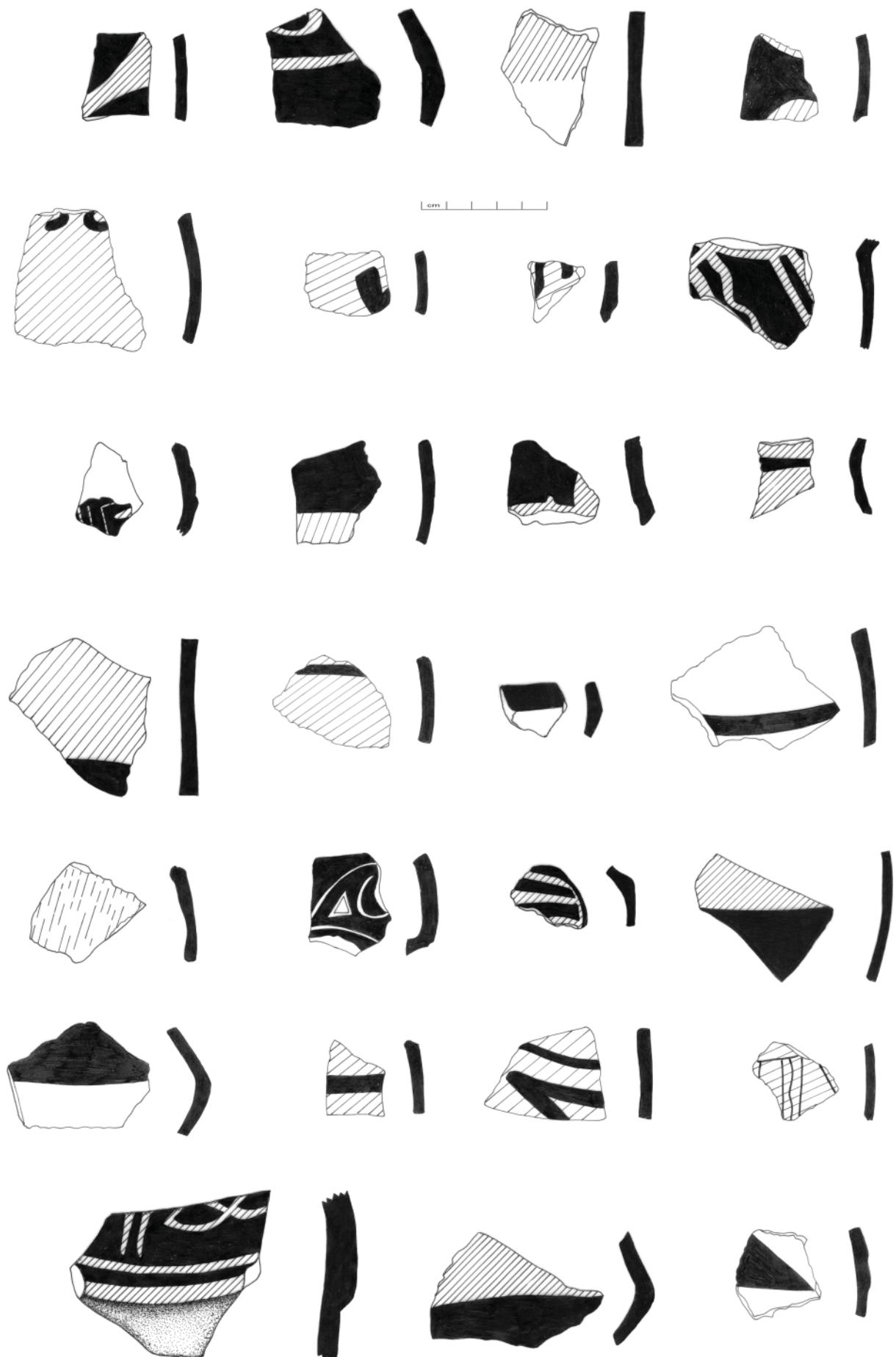
7.25. Units 3-7-15, Moche style wares.



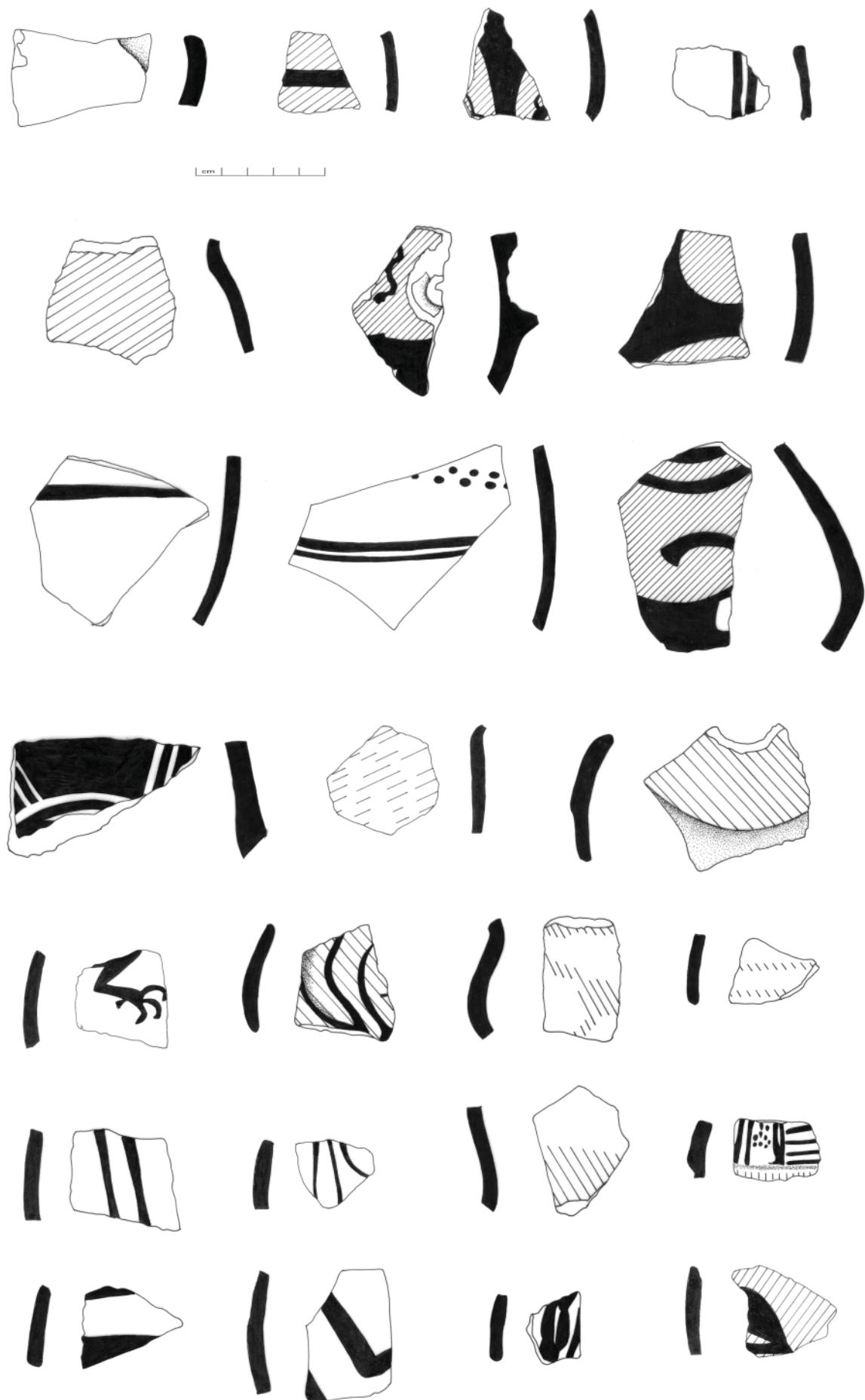
7.26. Units 3-7-15, Moulds.



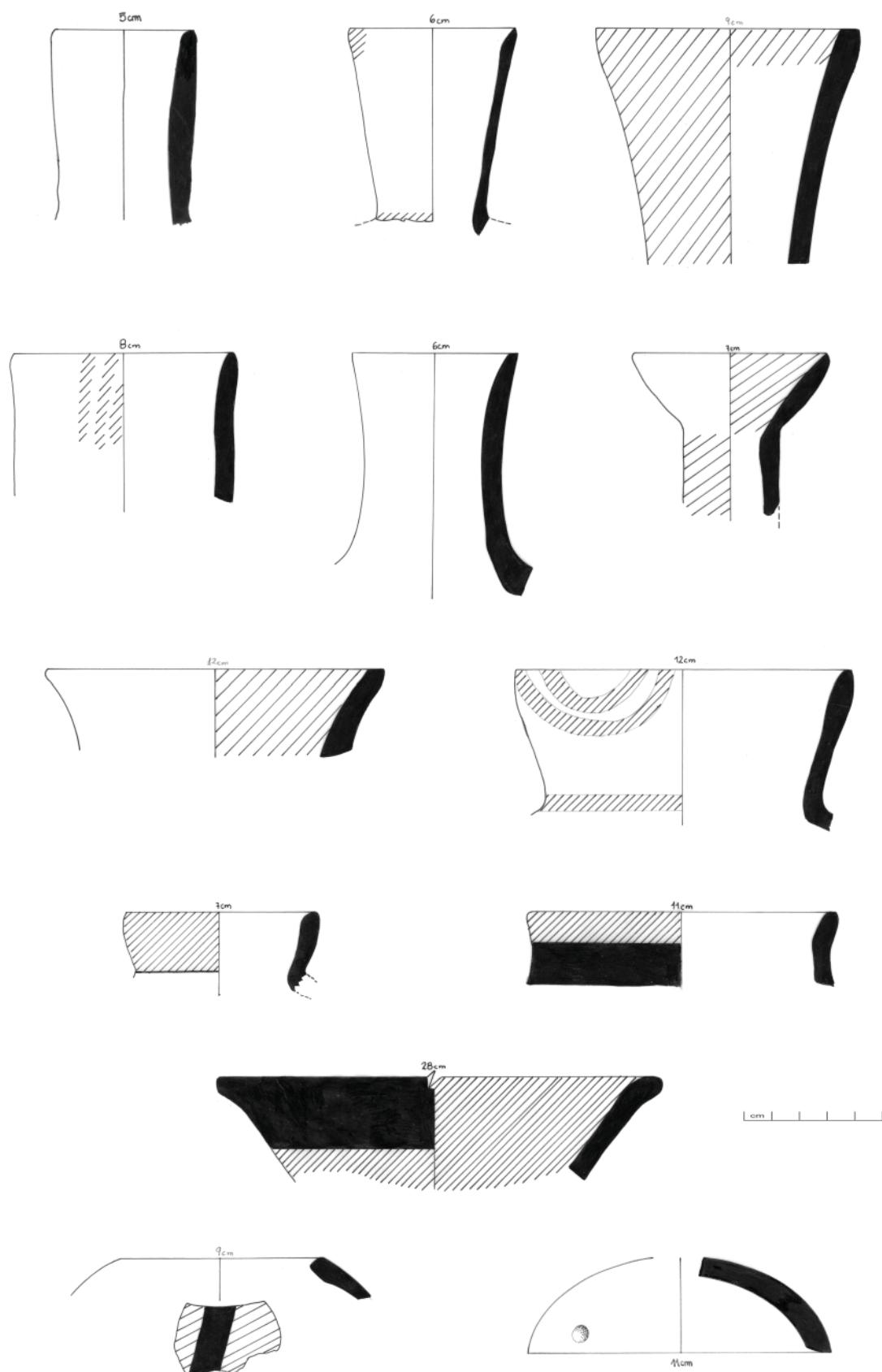
7.27. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



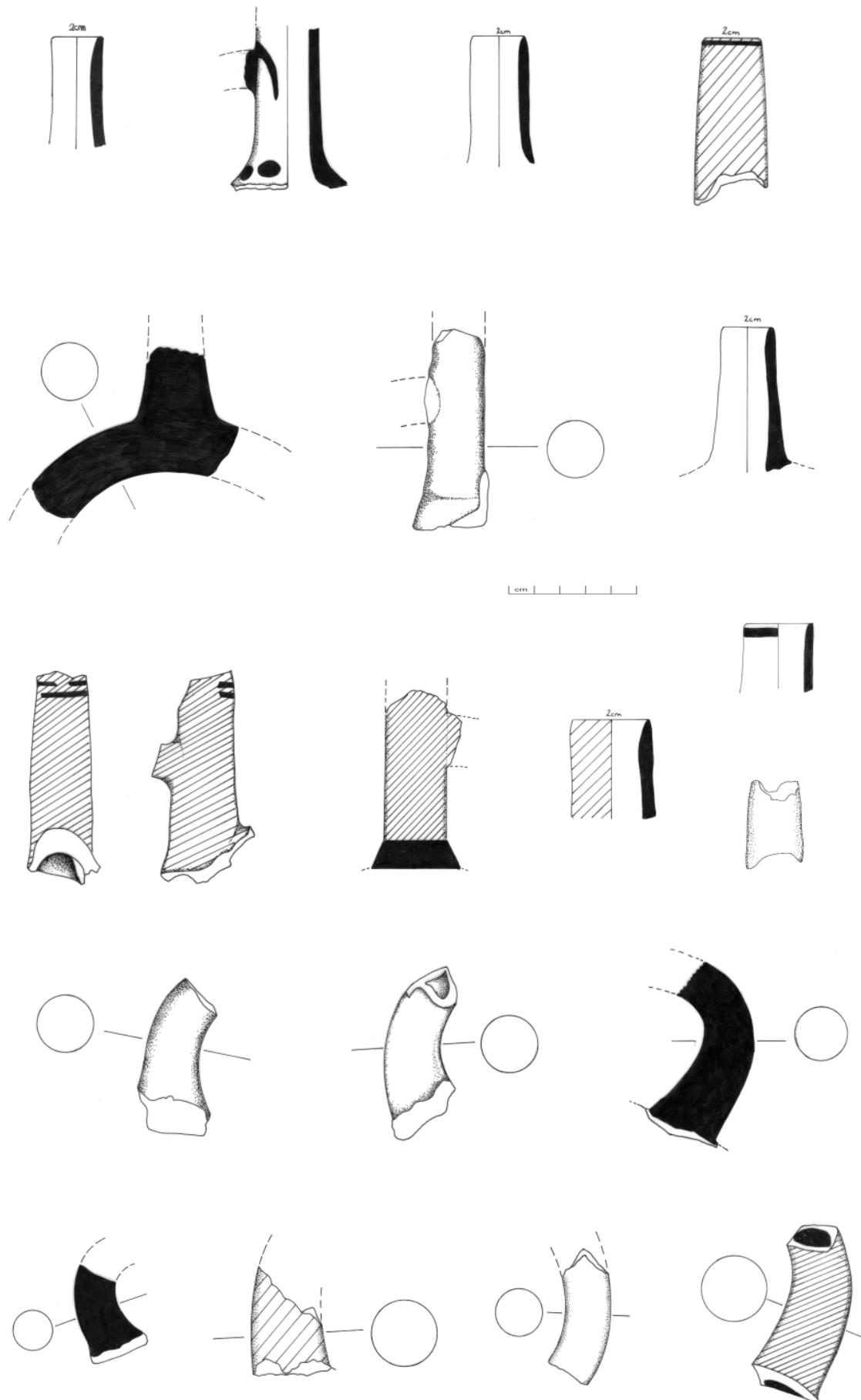
7.28. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



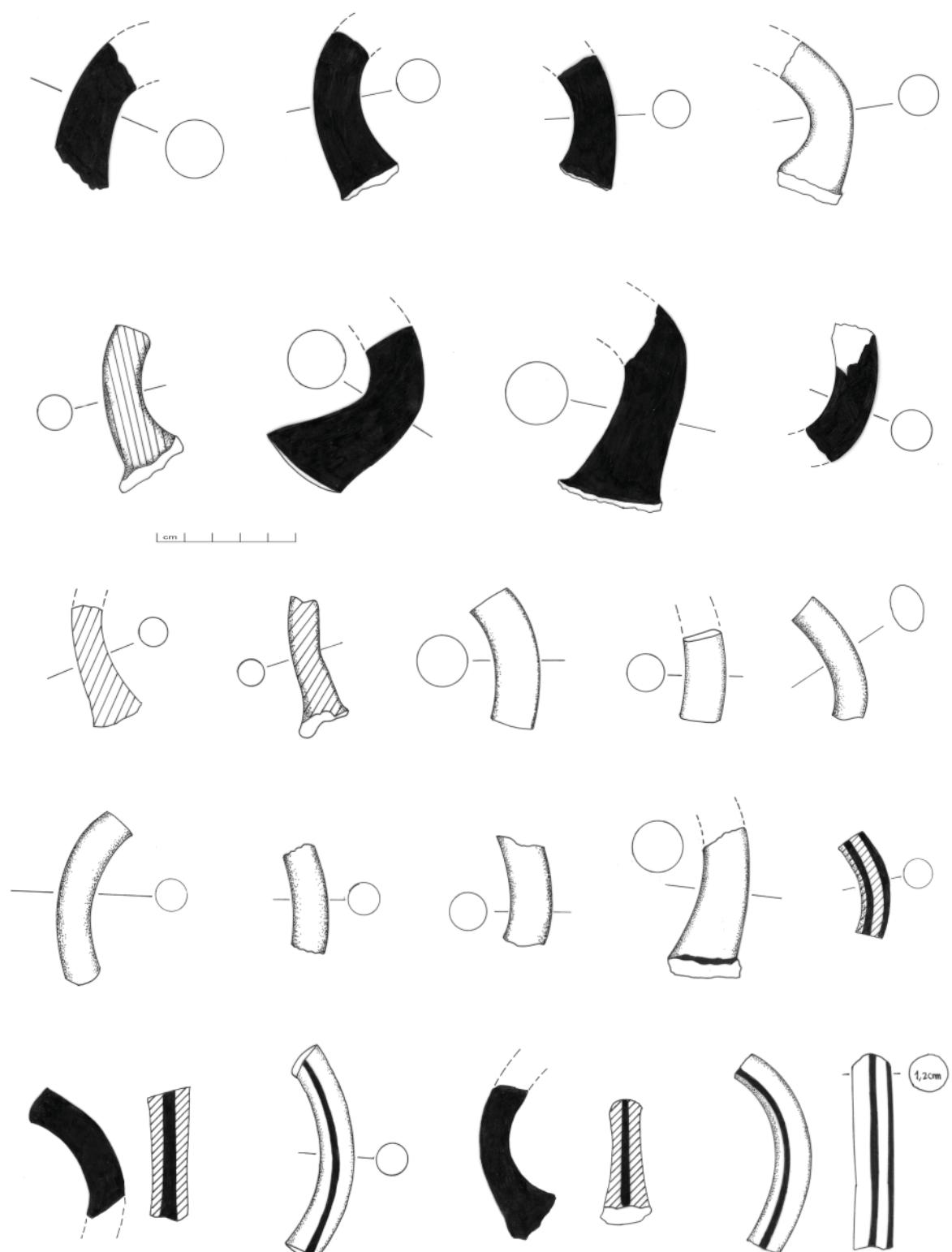
7.29. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



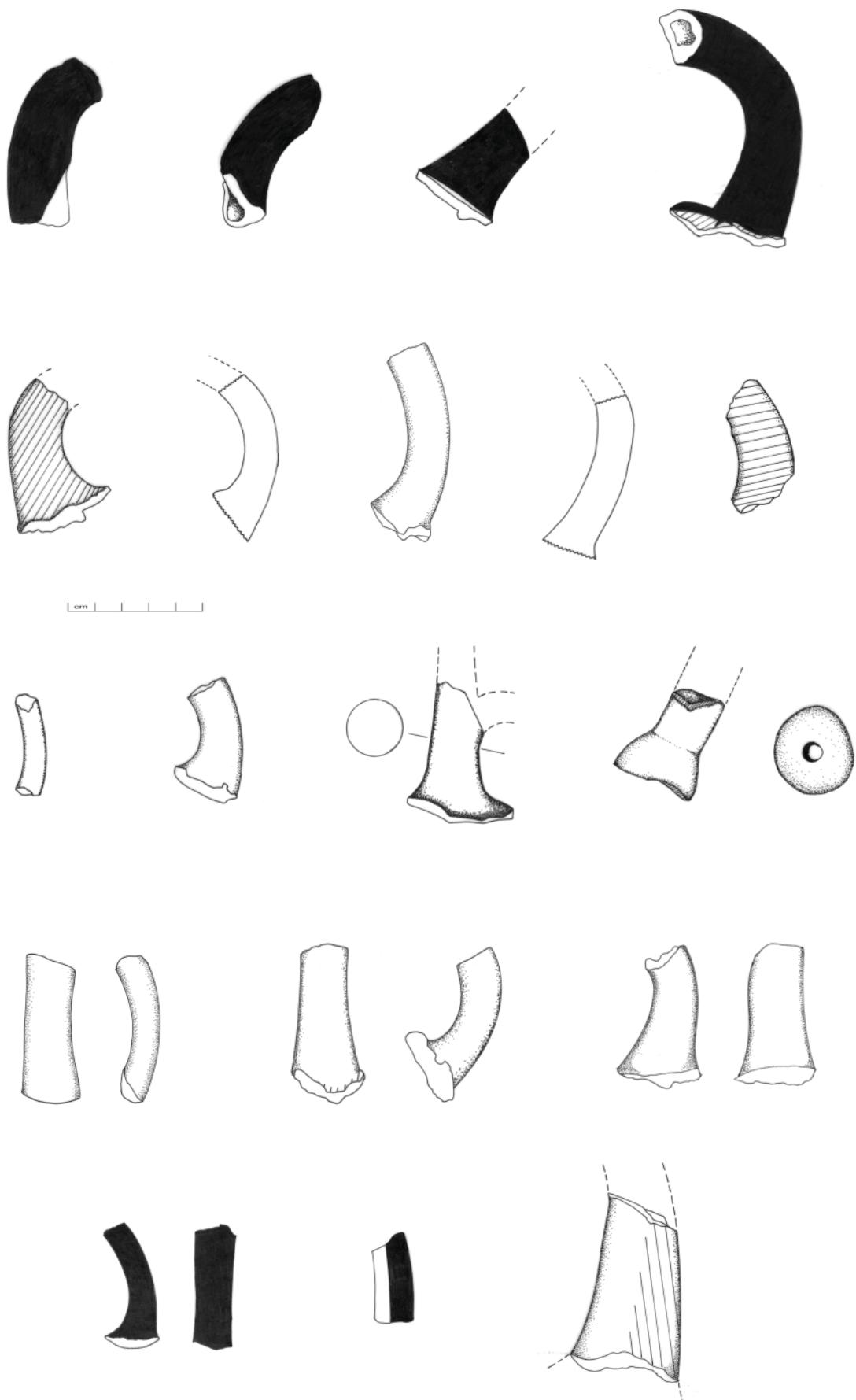
7.30. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



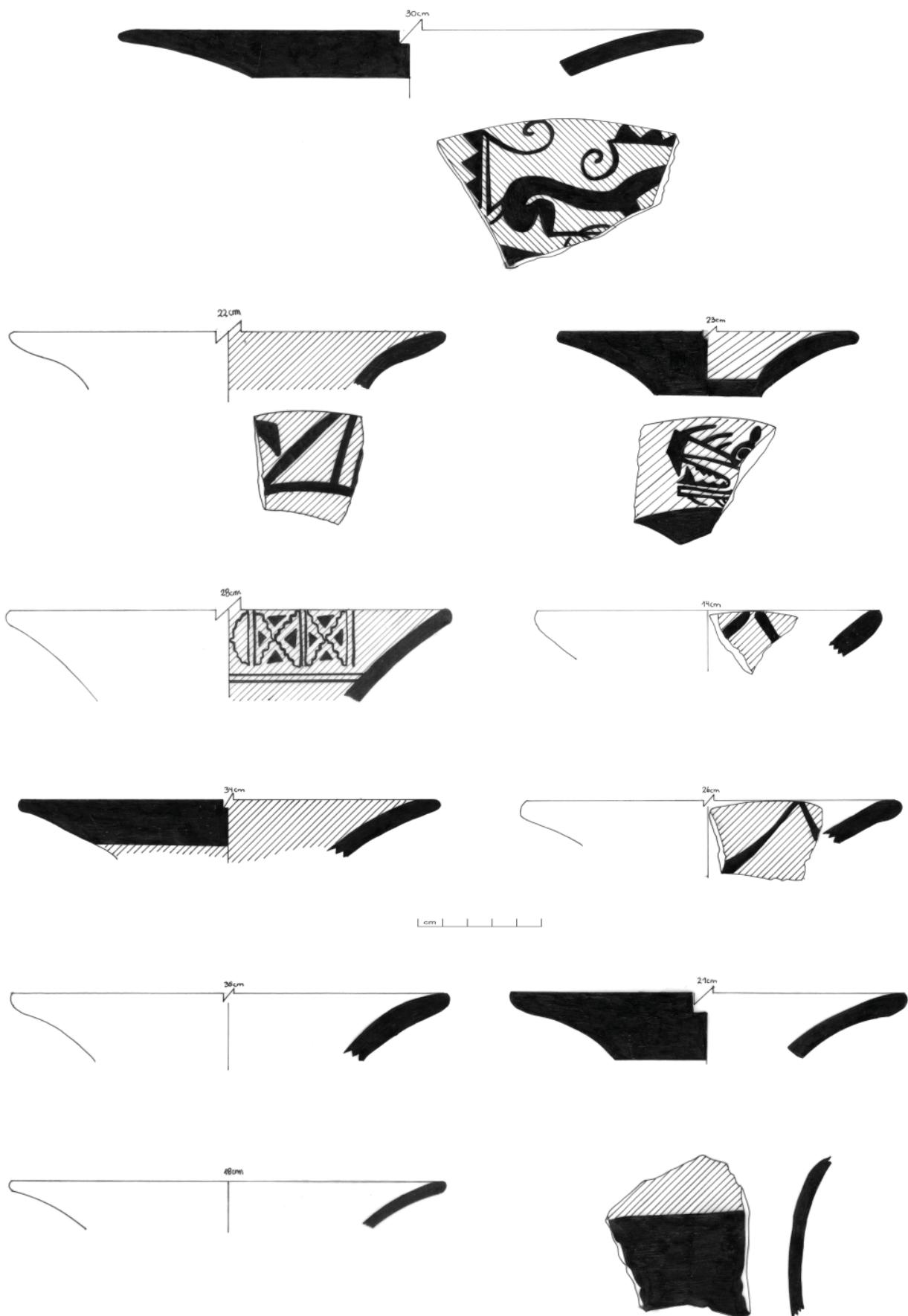
7.31. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



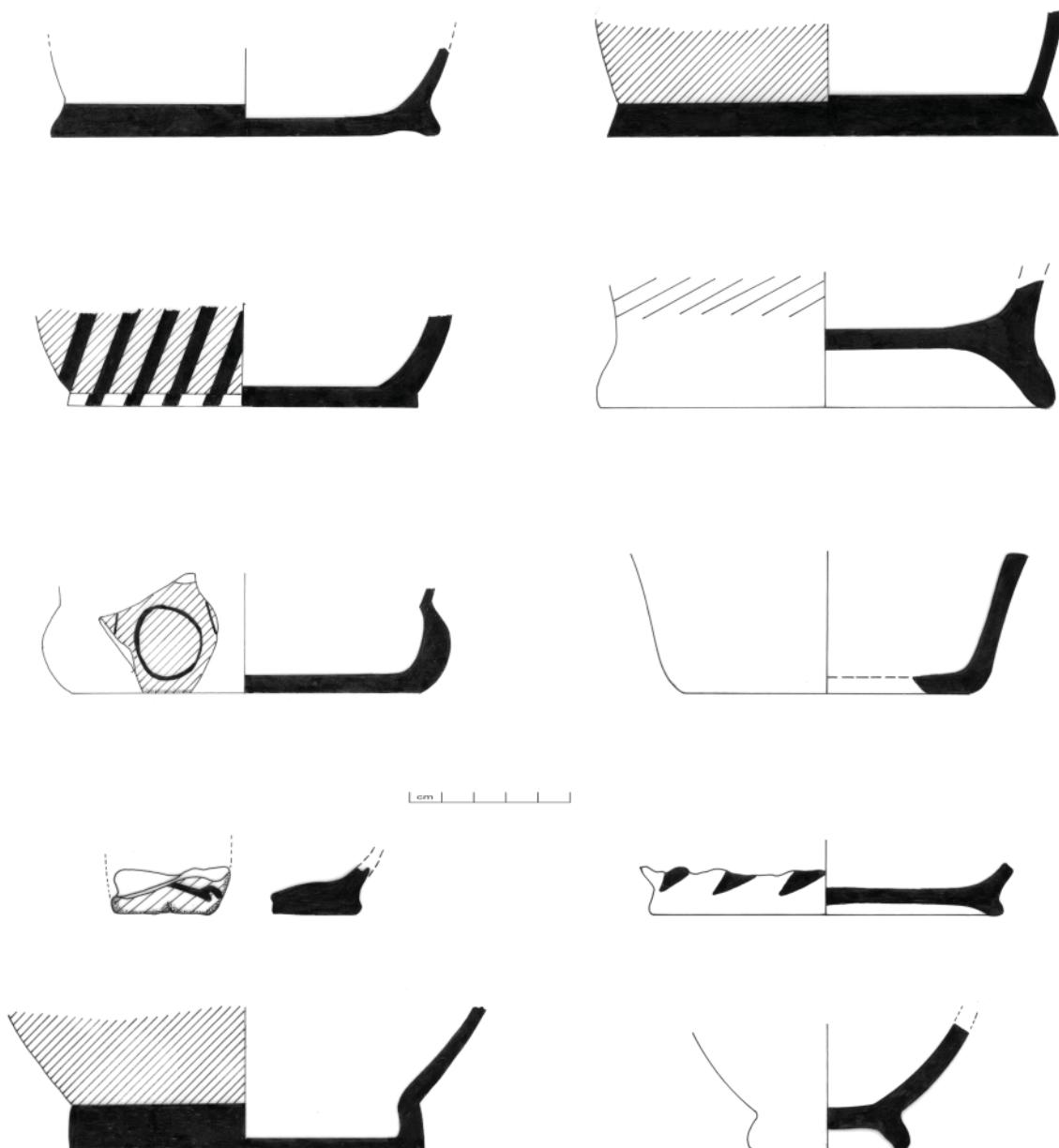
7.32. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



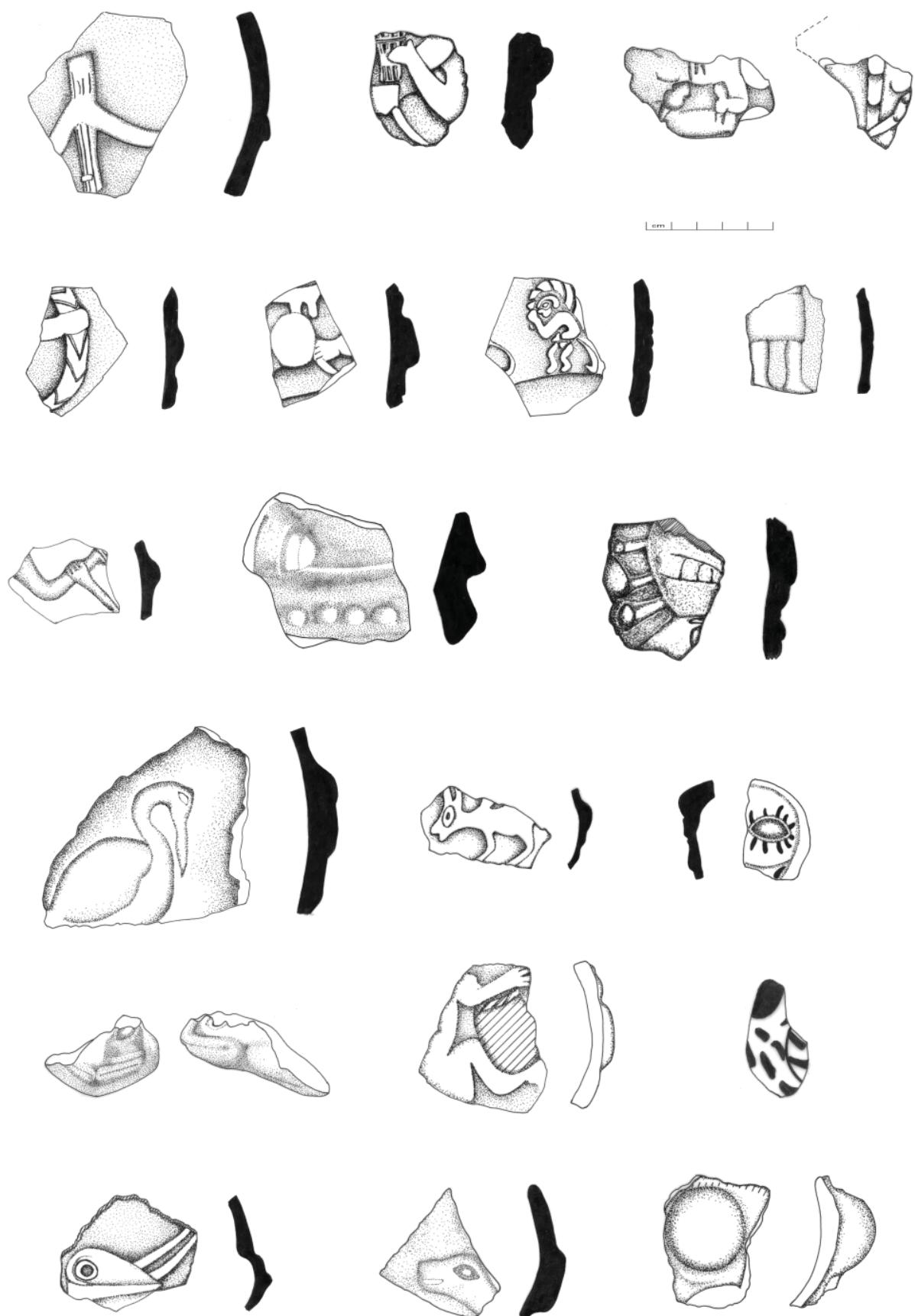
7.33. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



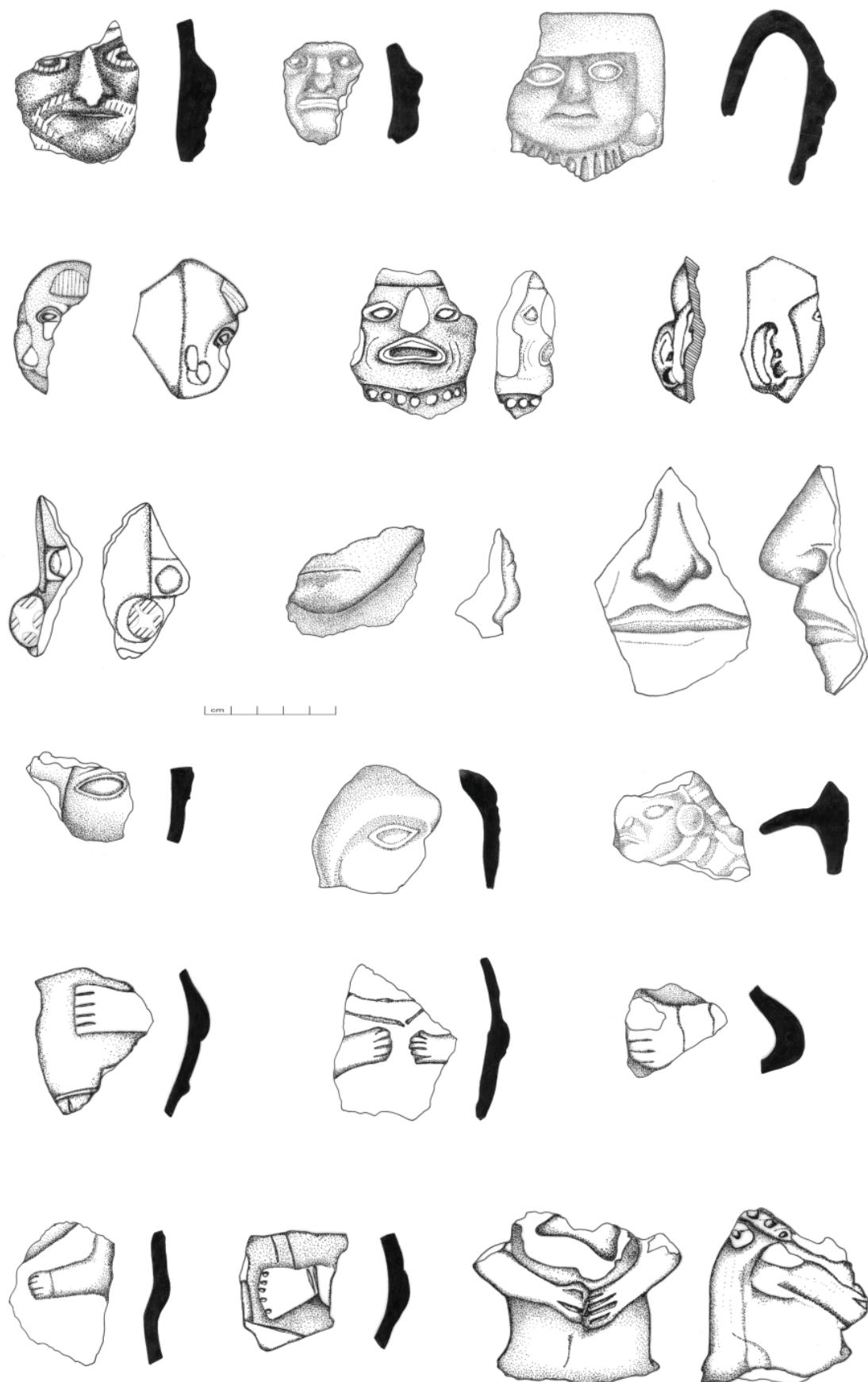
7.34. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



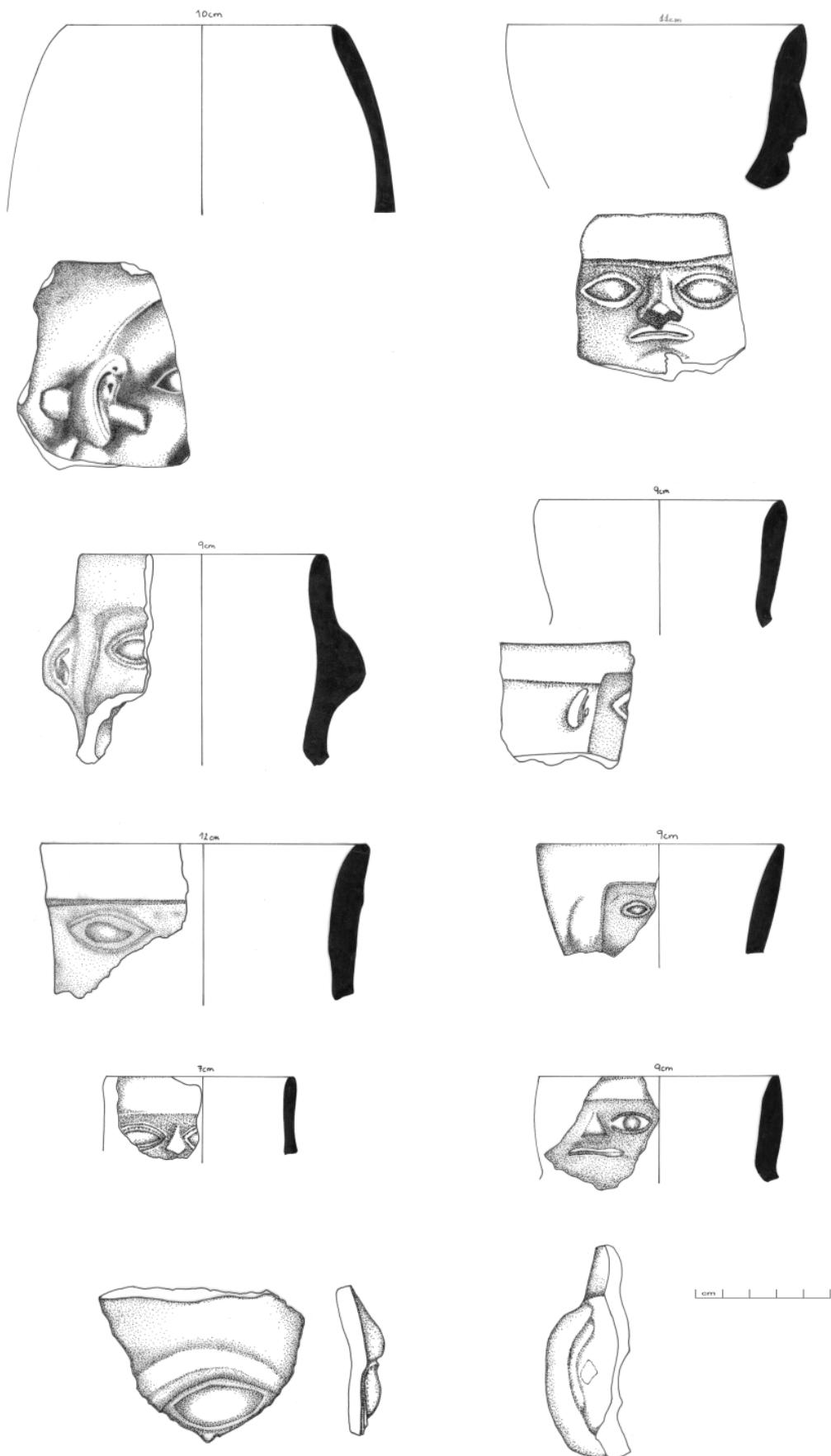
7.35. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



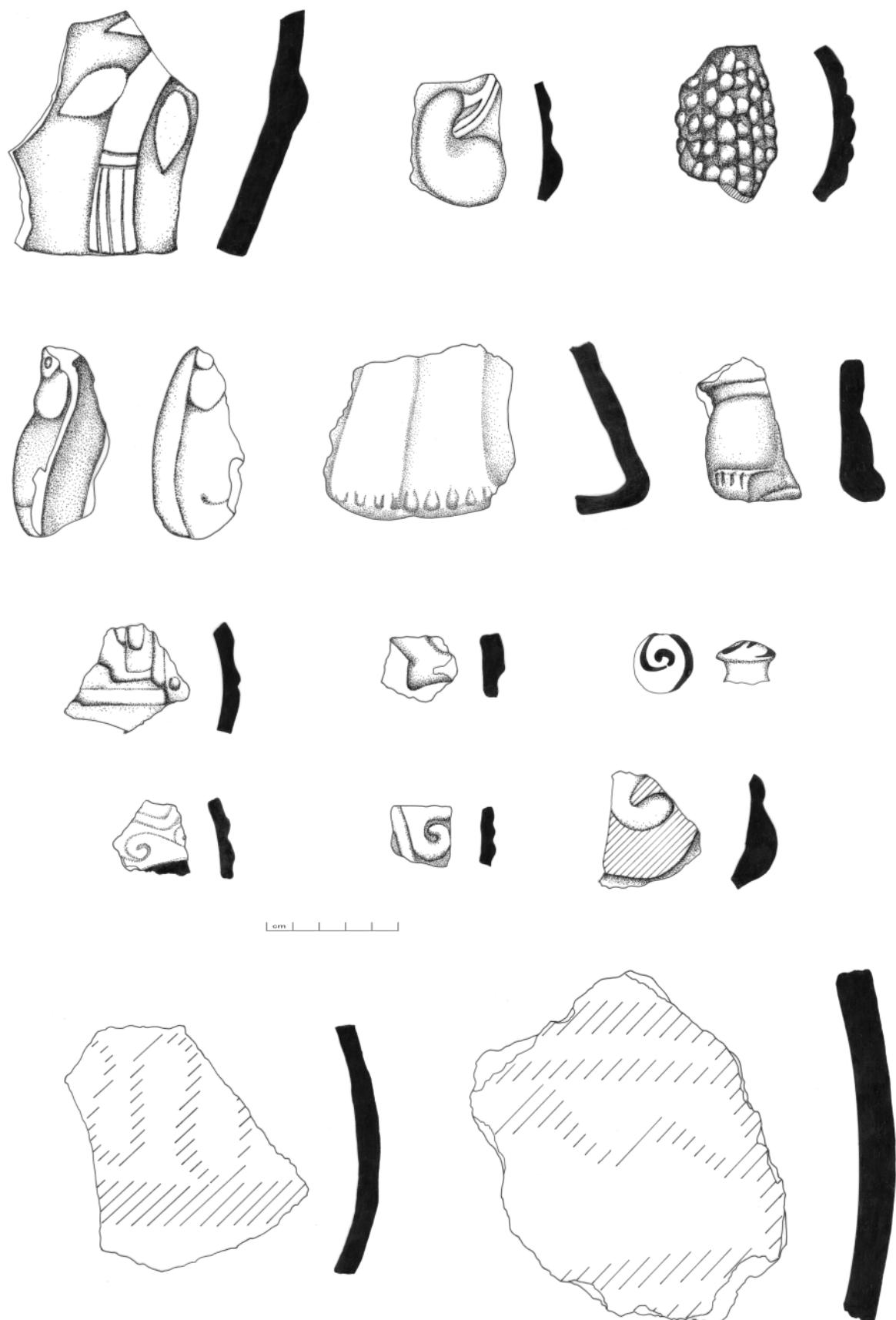
7.36. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



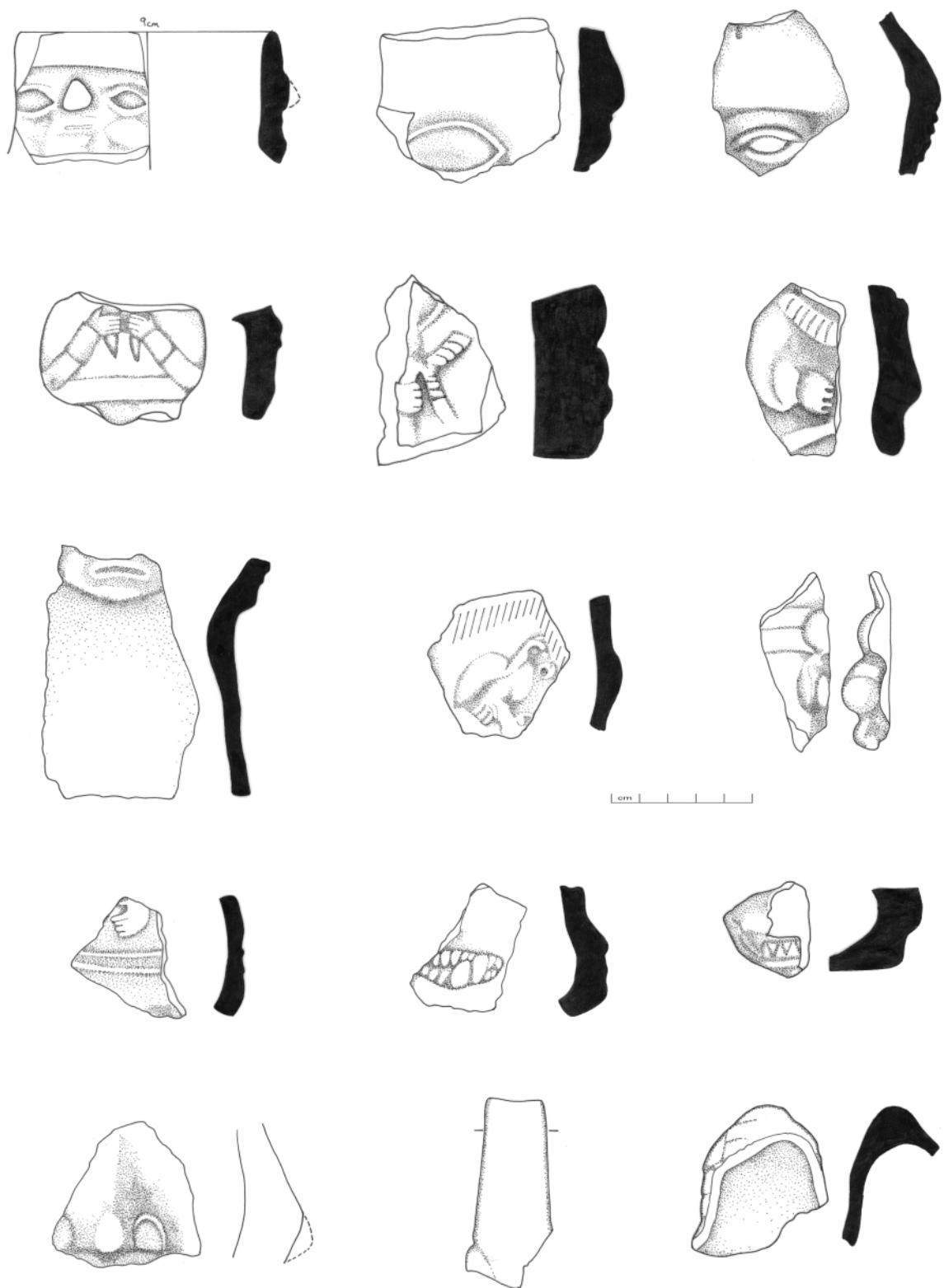
7.37. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



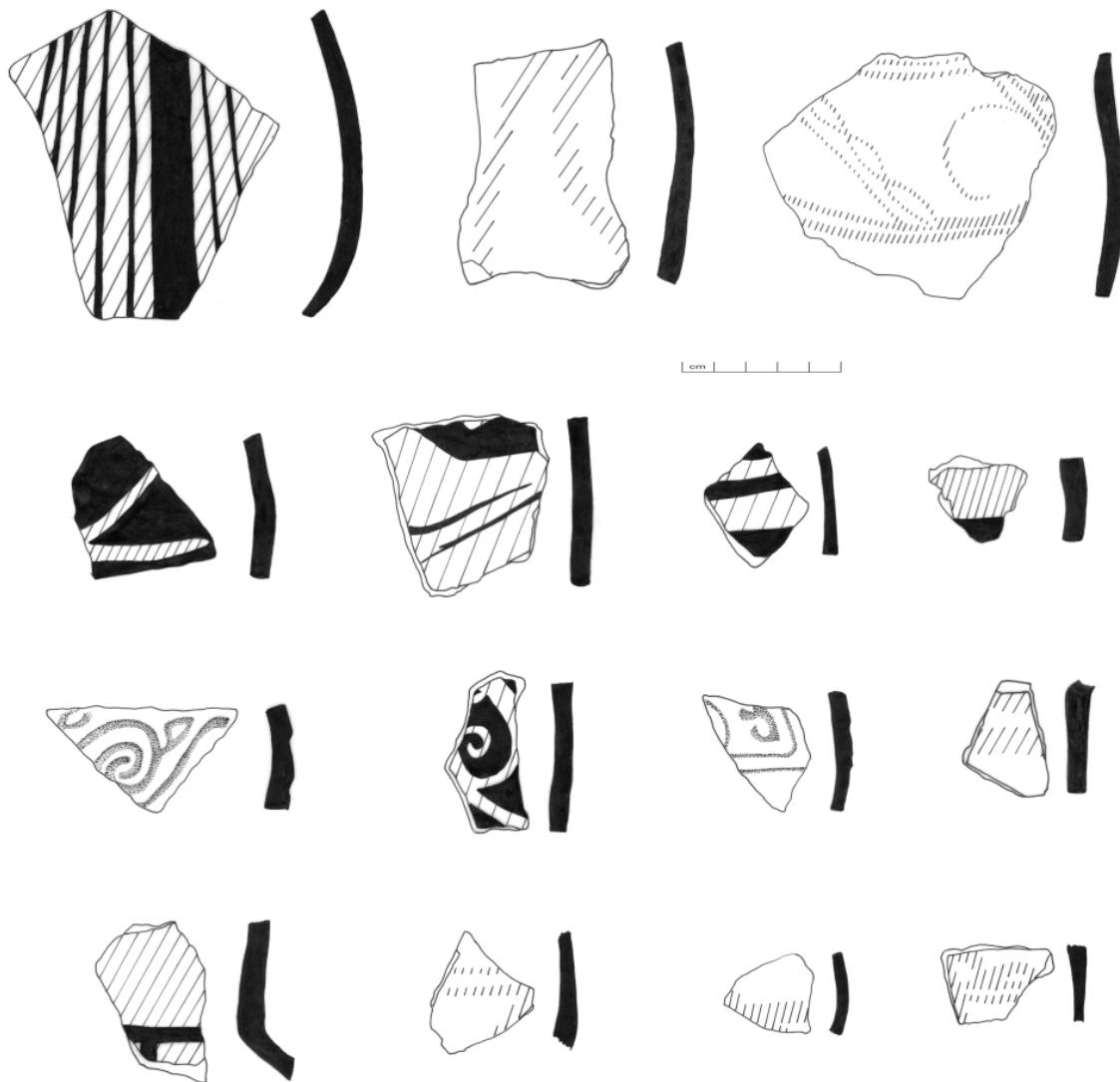
7.38. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



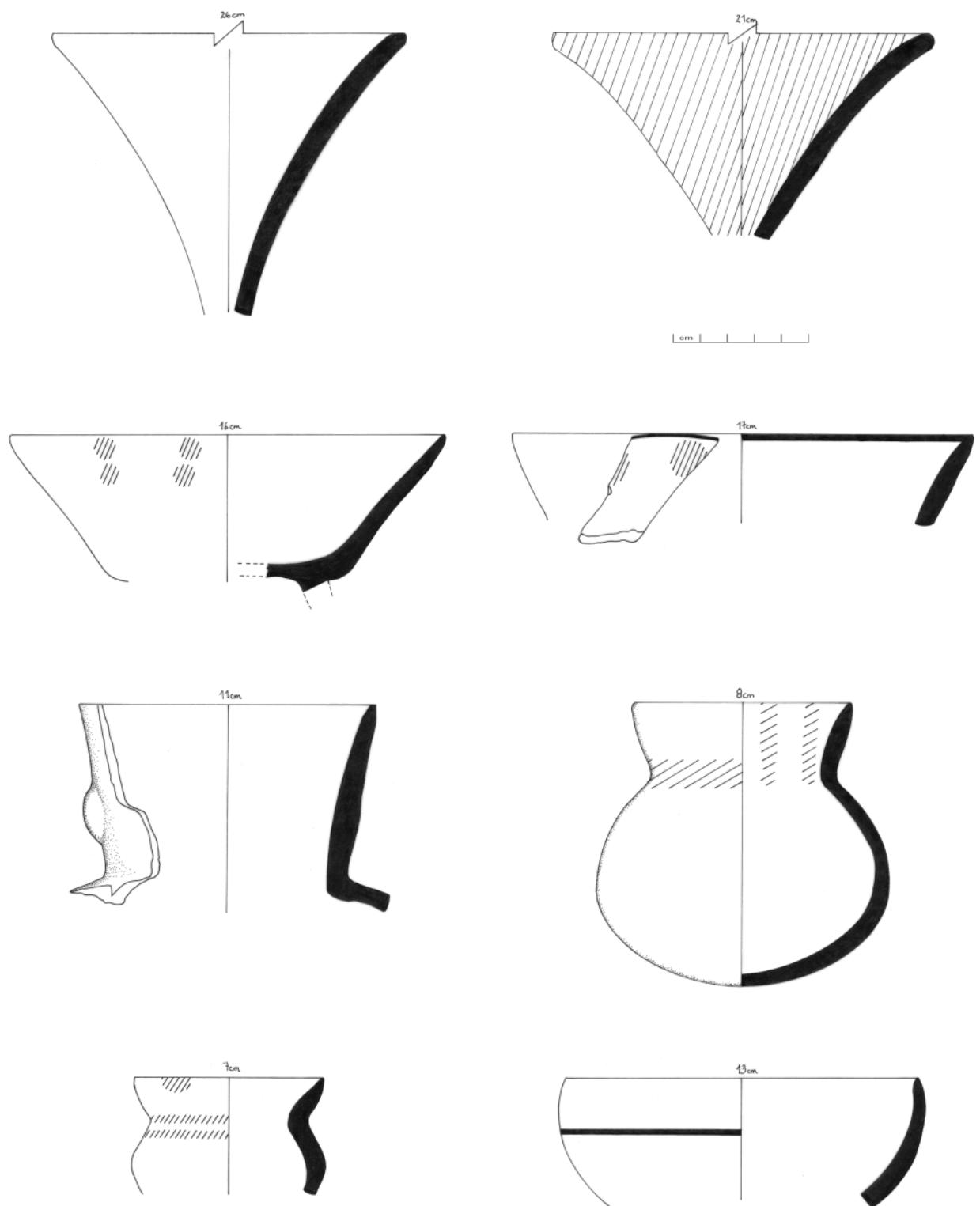
7.39. Unit 10, Moche style wares.



7.40. Cemeteries surface, Moche style wares.



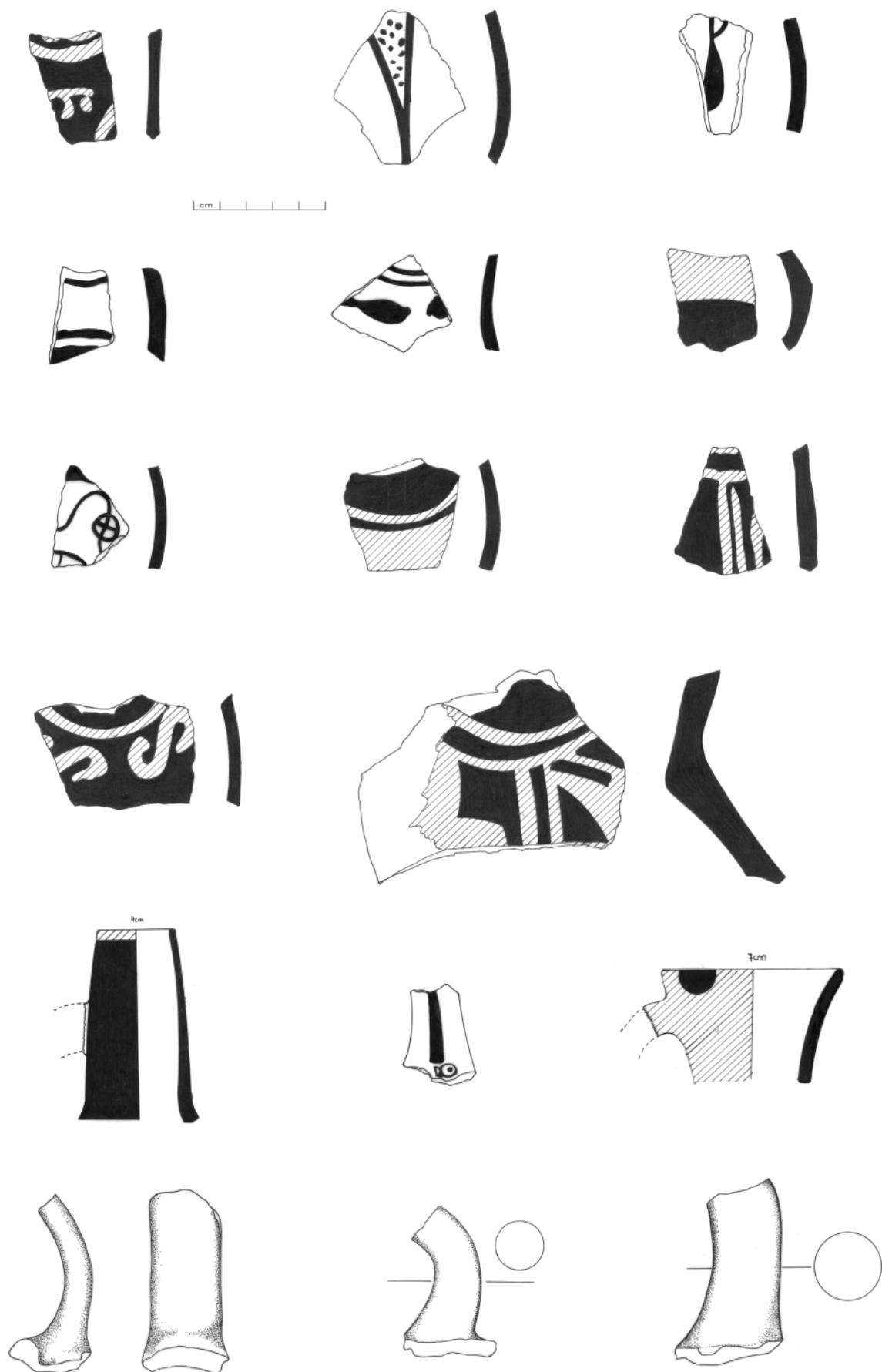
7.41. Cemeteries surface, Moche style wares.



7.42. Cemeteries surface, Moche style wares.



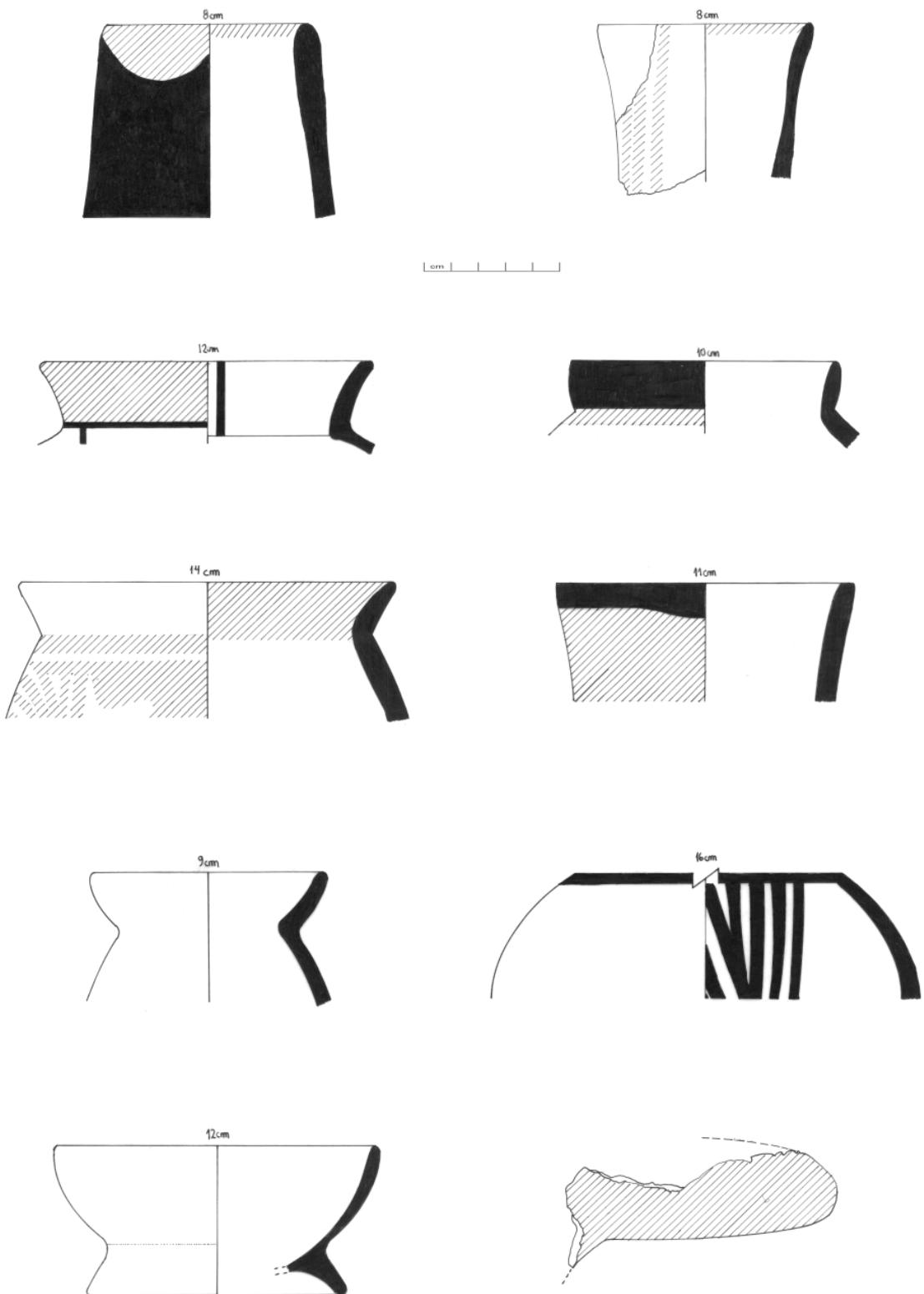
7.43. Unit 16, Moche style ceramic. Compare with Donnan and McClelland 1999:15 fig. 1.5.



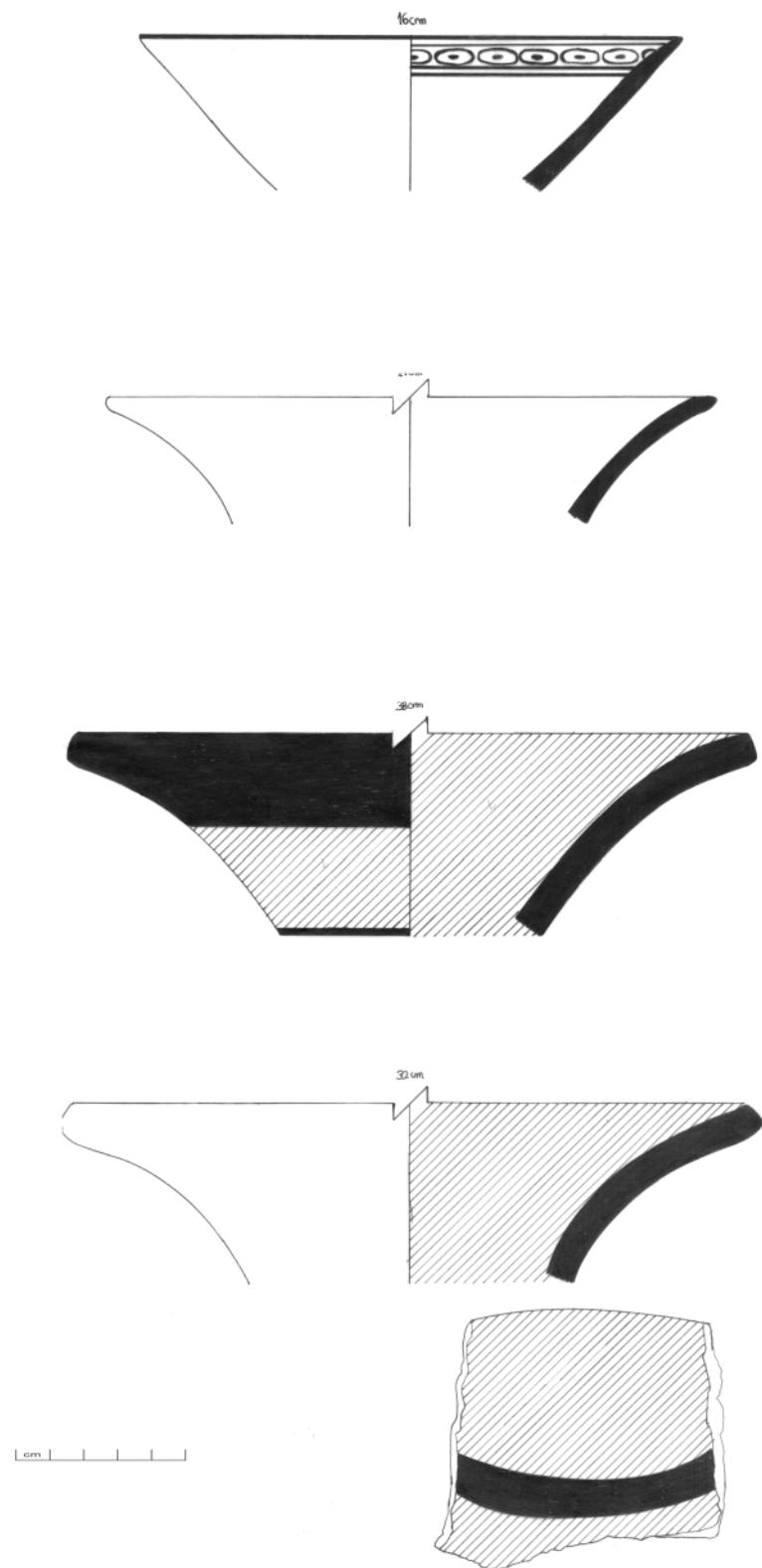
7.44. Units 8-9, Moche style wares.



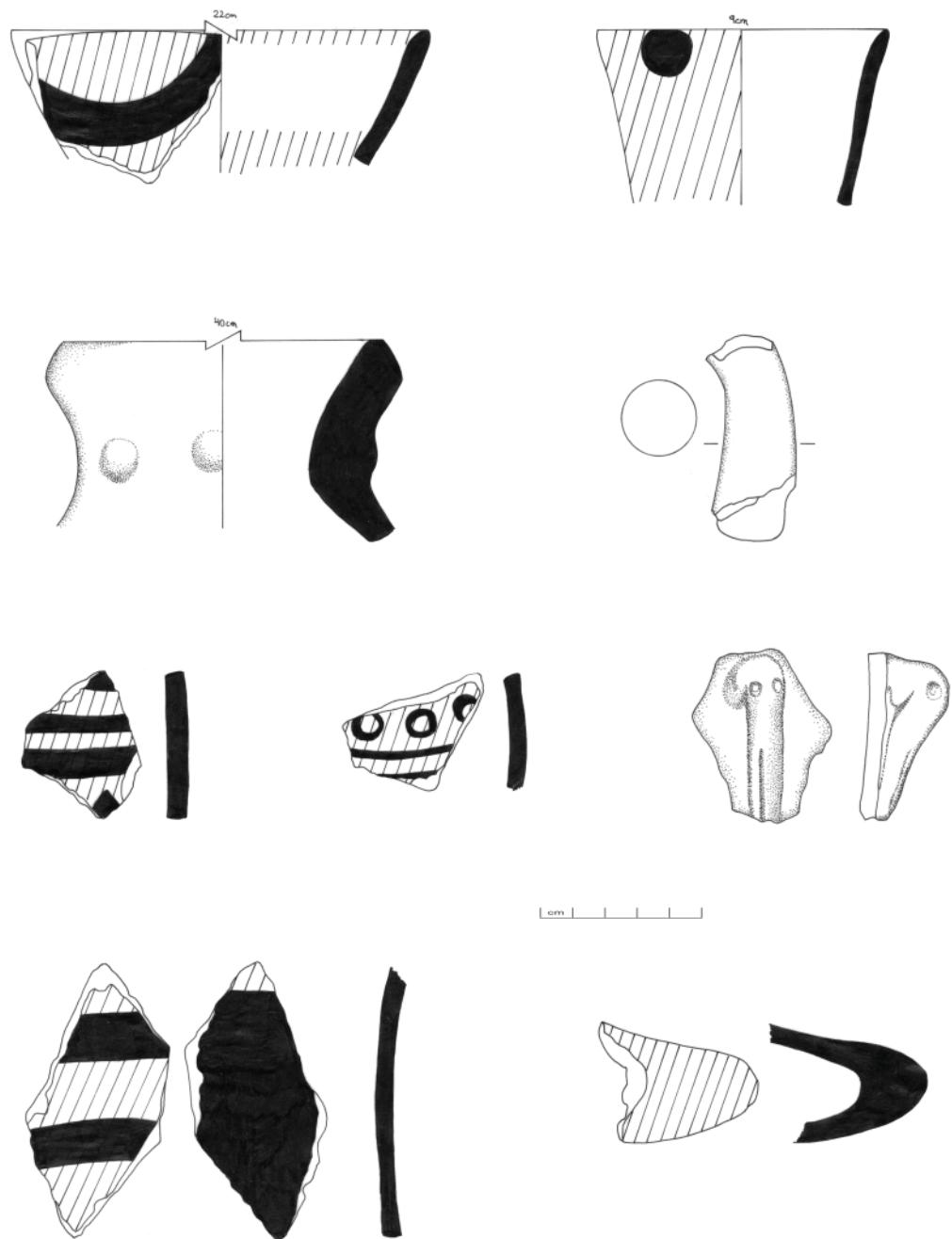
7.45. Units 8-9, Moche style wares.



7.46. Units 8-9, Moche style wares.



7.47. Units 8-9, Moche style wares.



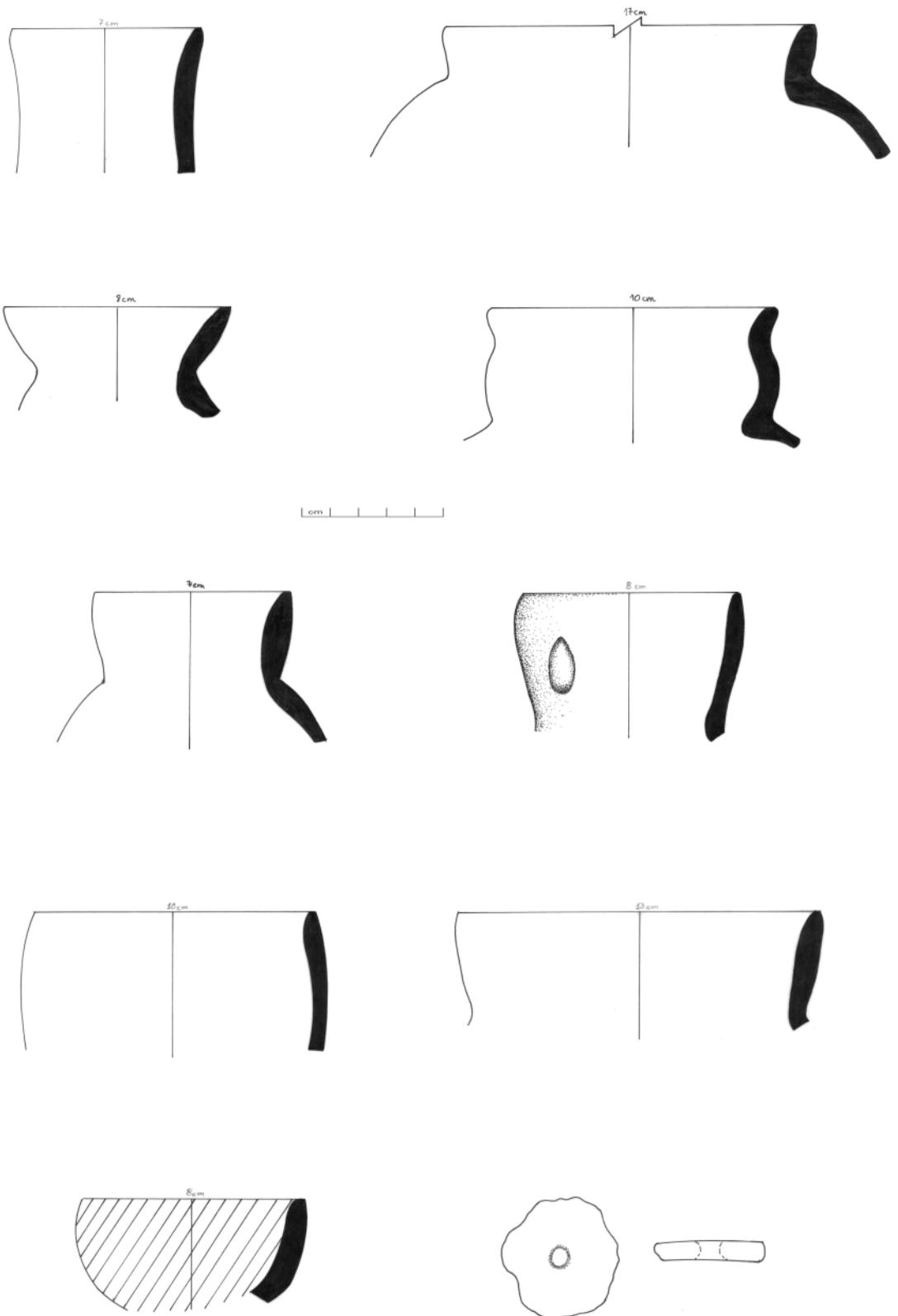
7.48. Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1), Moche style wares.



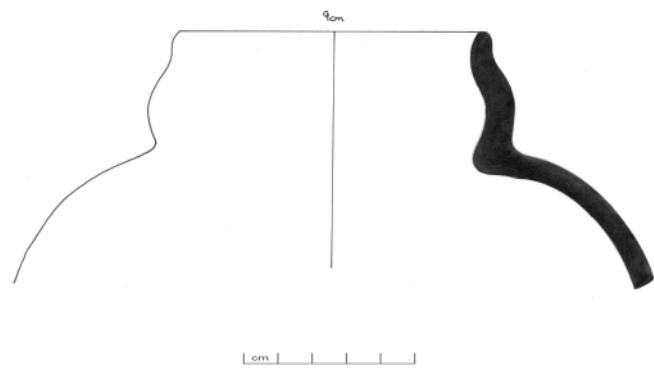
7.49. Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1), Moche style wares.



7.50. Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1), Moche style wares.



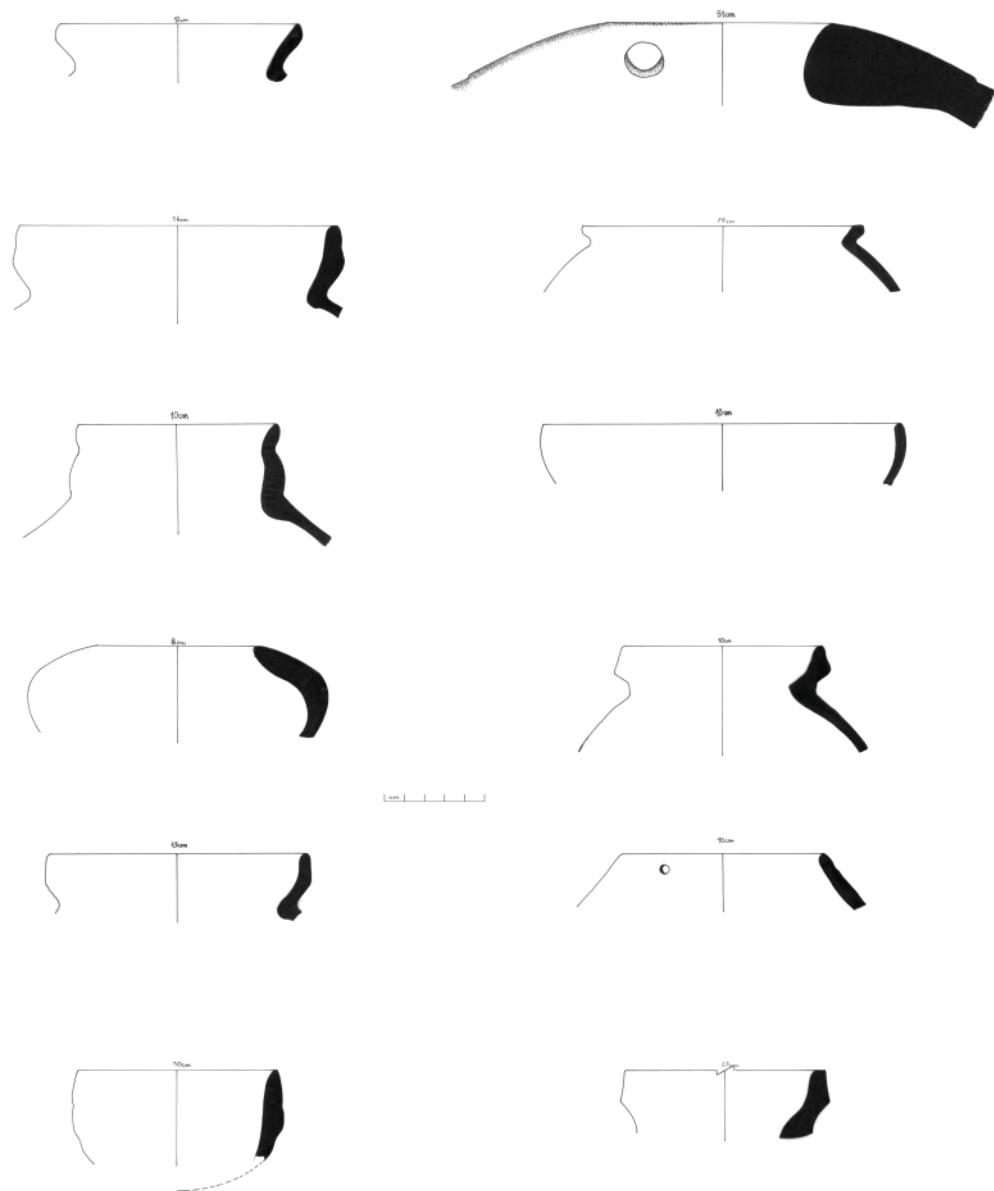
7.51. Units 1-2, Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.



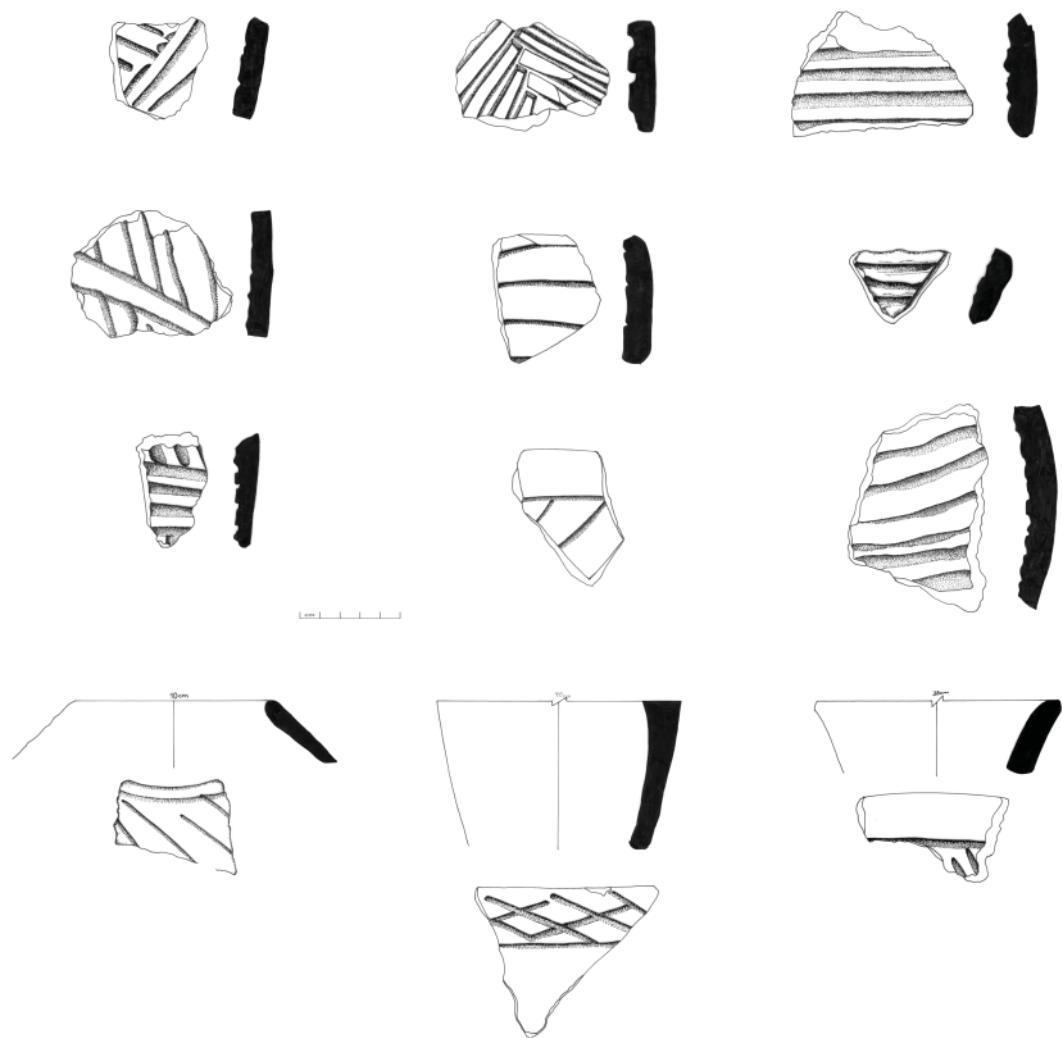
7.52. Units 3-7-15, Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.



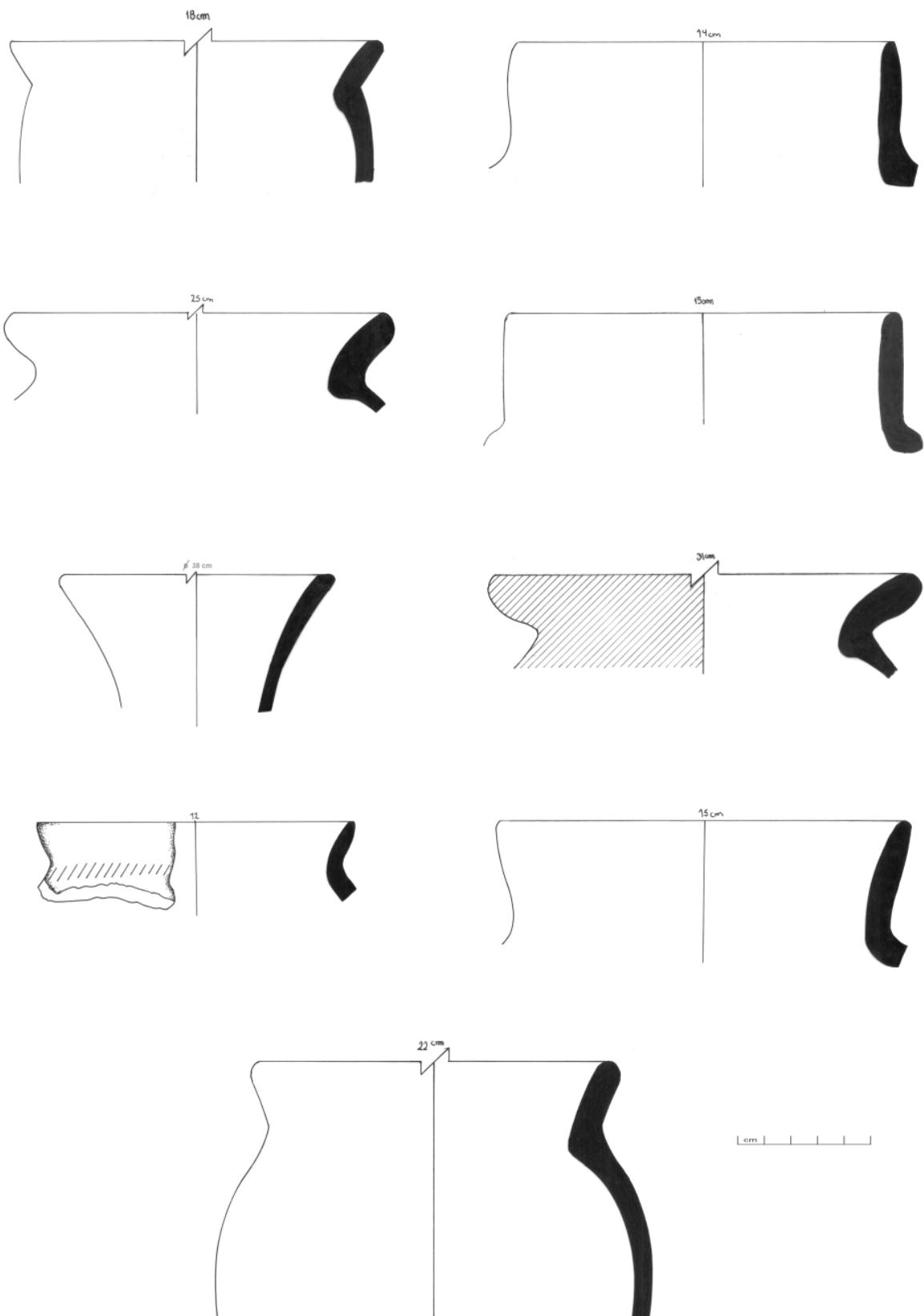
7.53. Unit 10, Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.



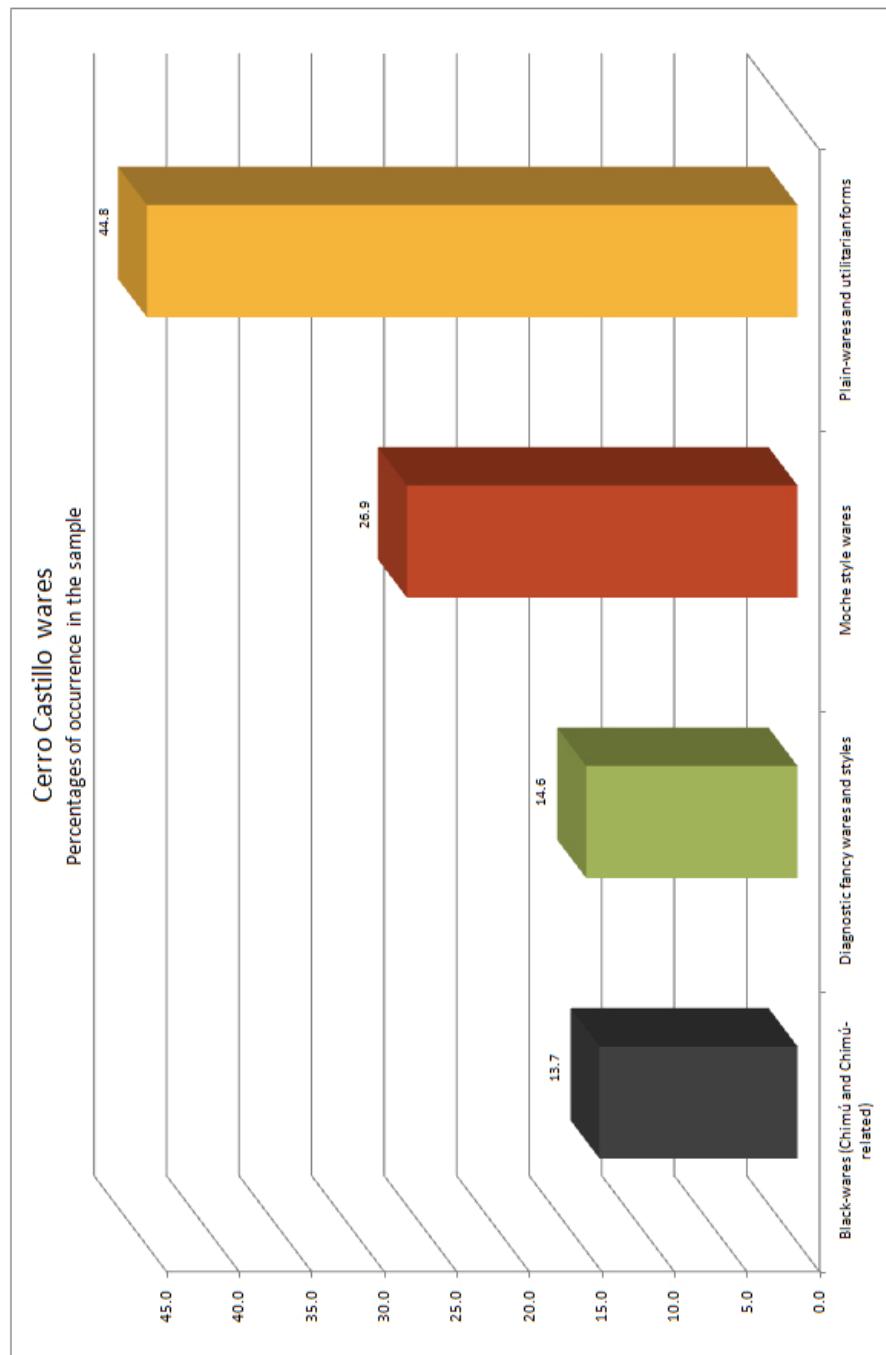
7.54. Unit 10, Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.



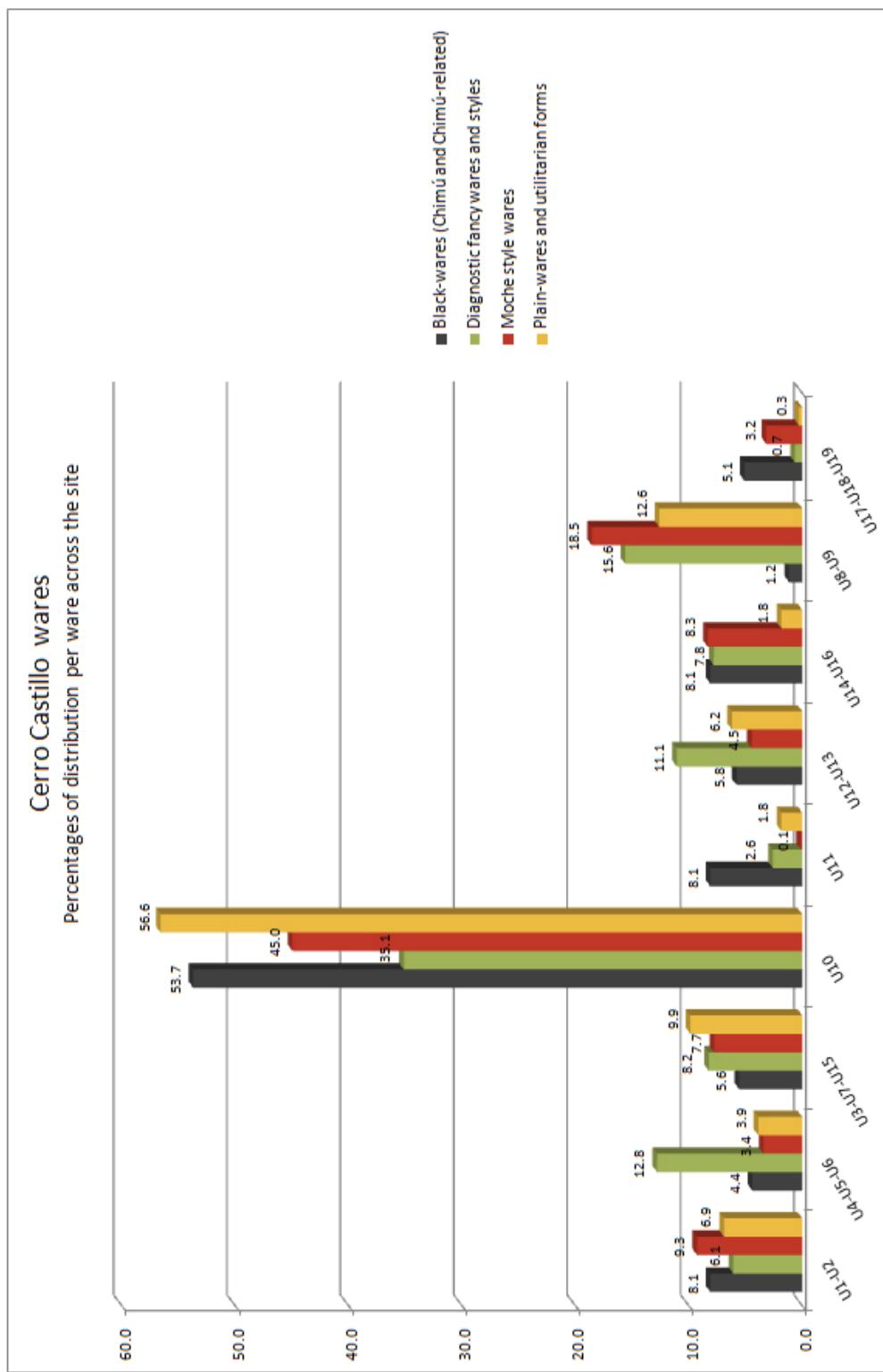
7.55. Unit 10, Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.



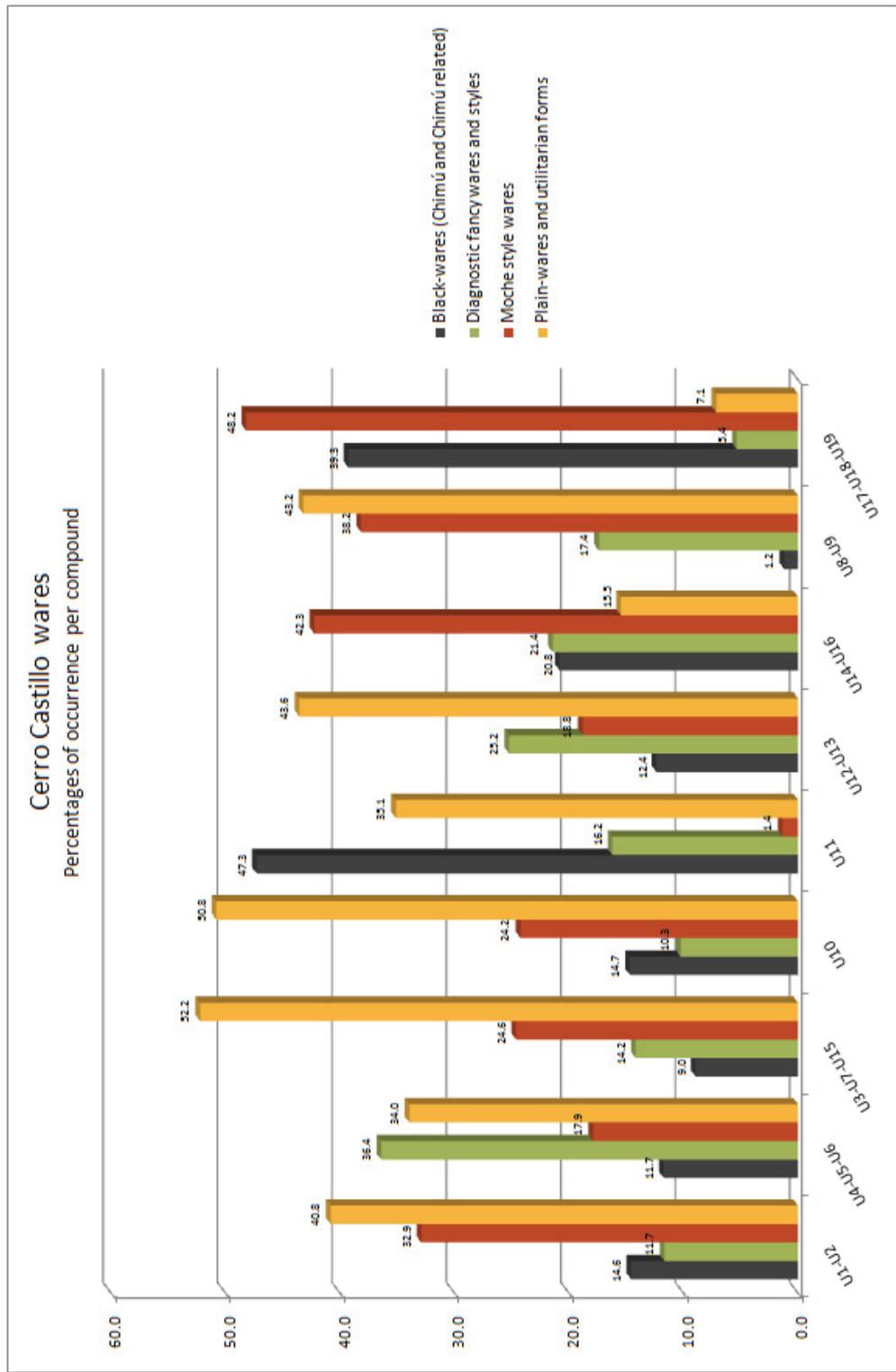
7.56. Units 8-9, Plain-wares and utilitarian forms.



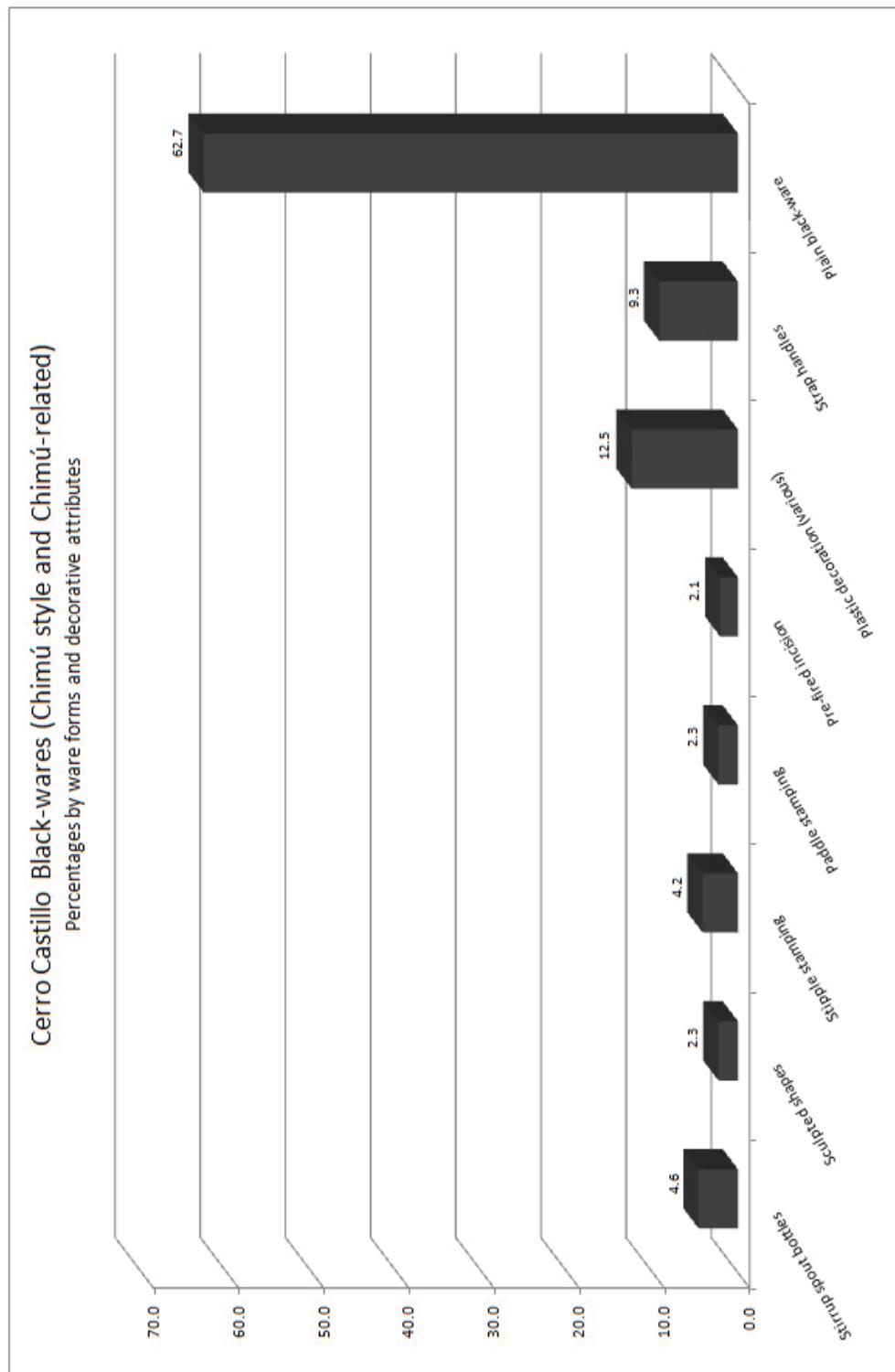
7.57. Wares percentages of occurrence at Cerro Castillo's ceramic sample.



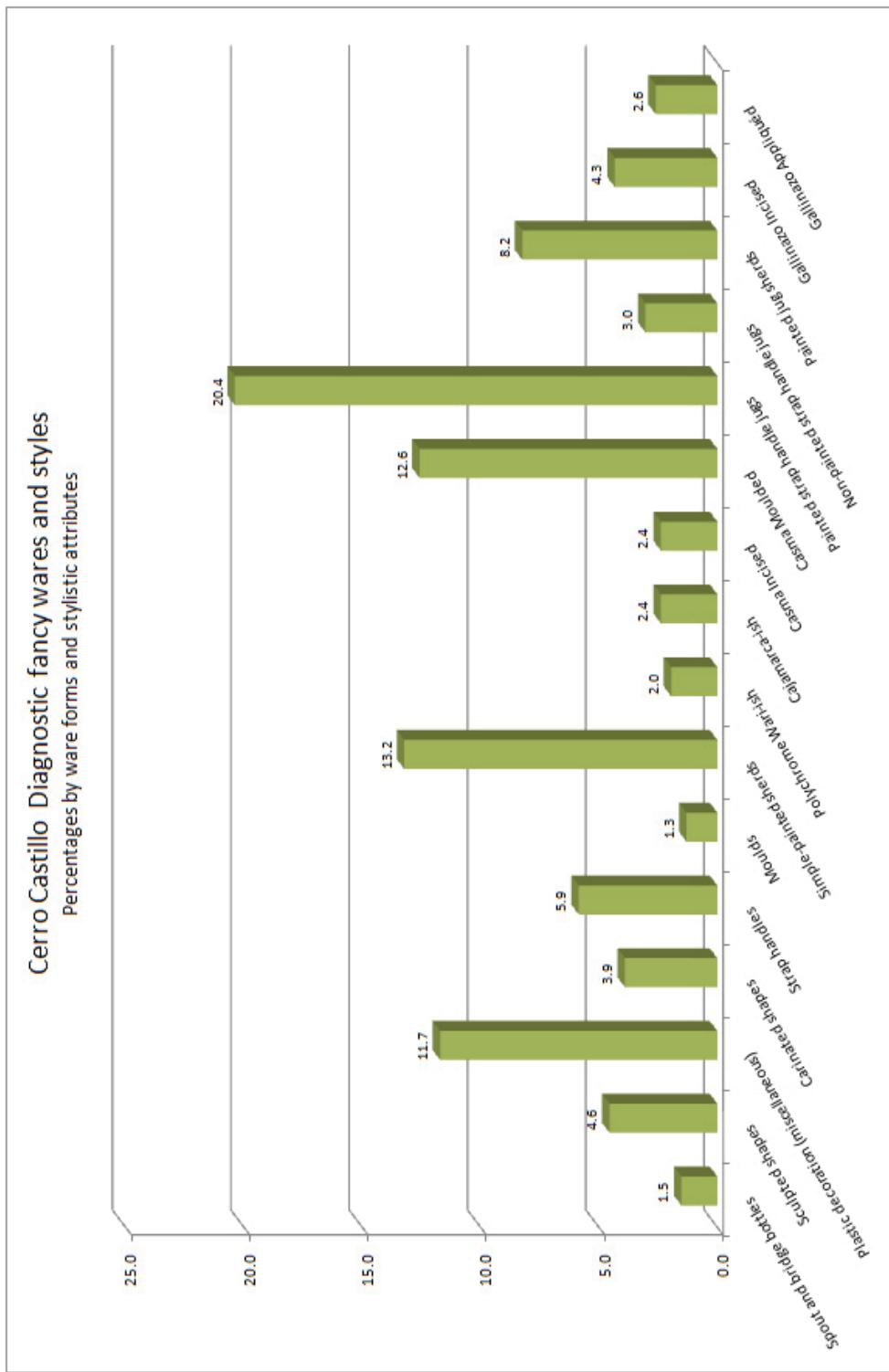
7.58. Percentages of distribution per ware across the site. Bear in mind that Unit 10 presents higher percentages due to its large size in comparison to the other units.



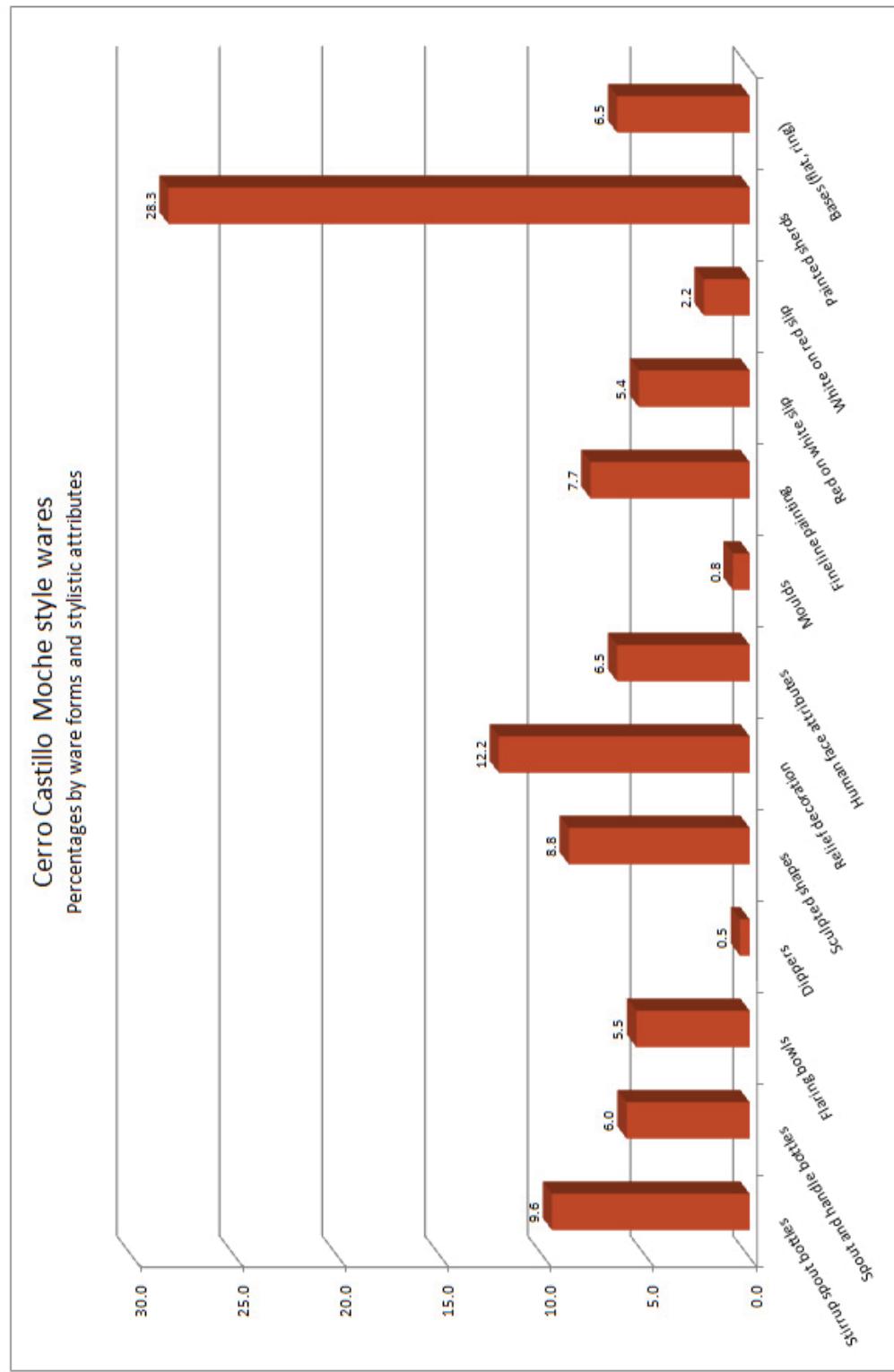
7.59. Wares percentages of occurrence per compound (in relation to one another). Note the low presence of 'Plain-wares and utilitarian forms' in non-residential areas such as Units 14-16 (Cemetery 1) and Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1).



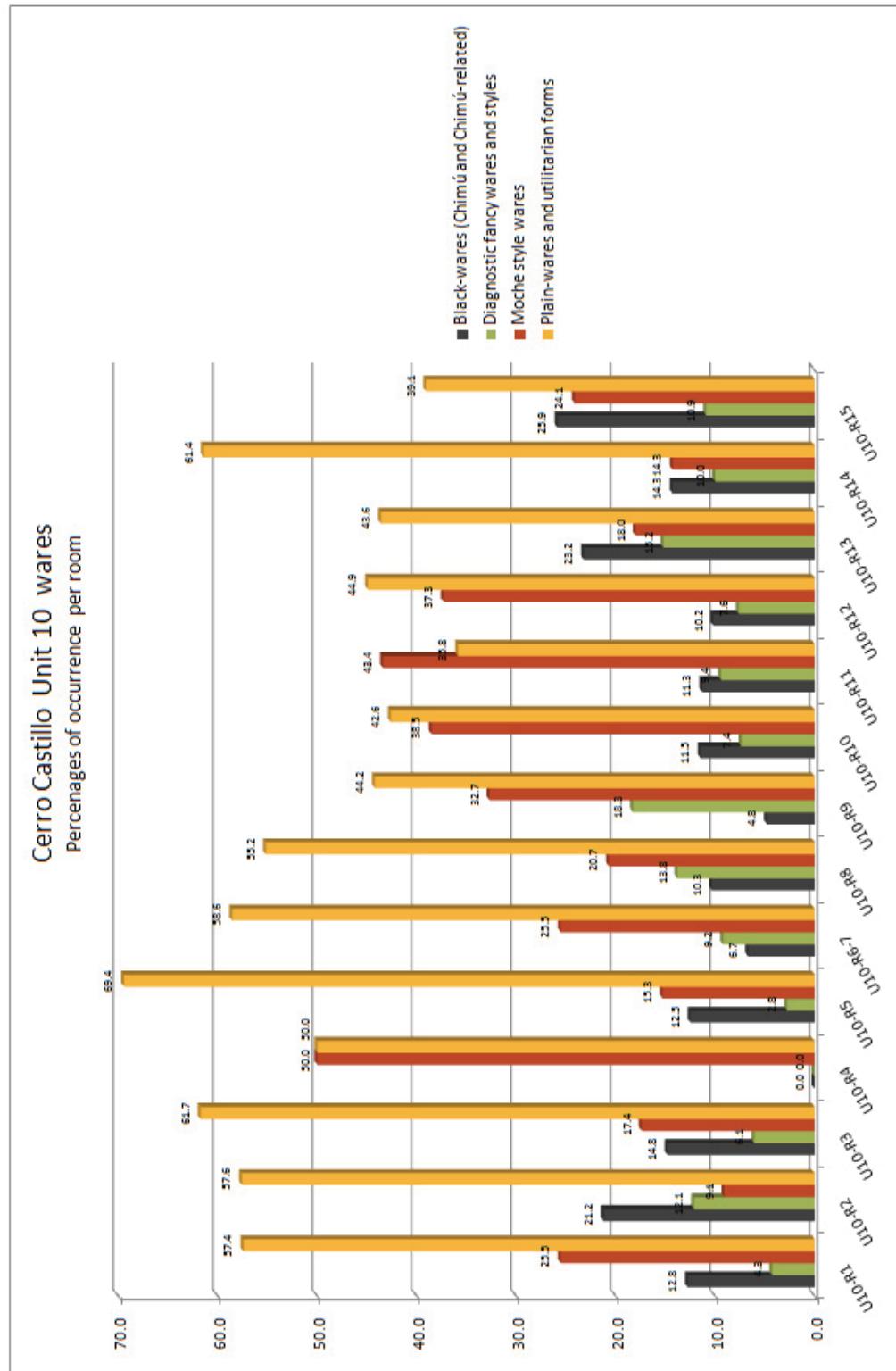
7.60. Black-wares percentages by ware forms and decorative attributes.



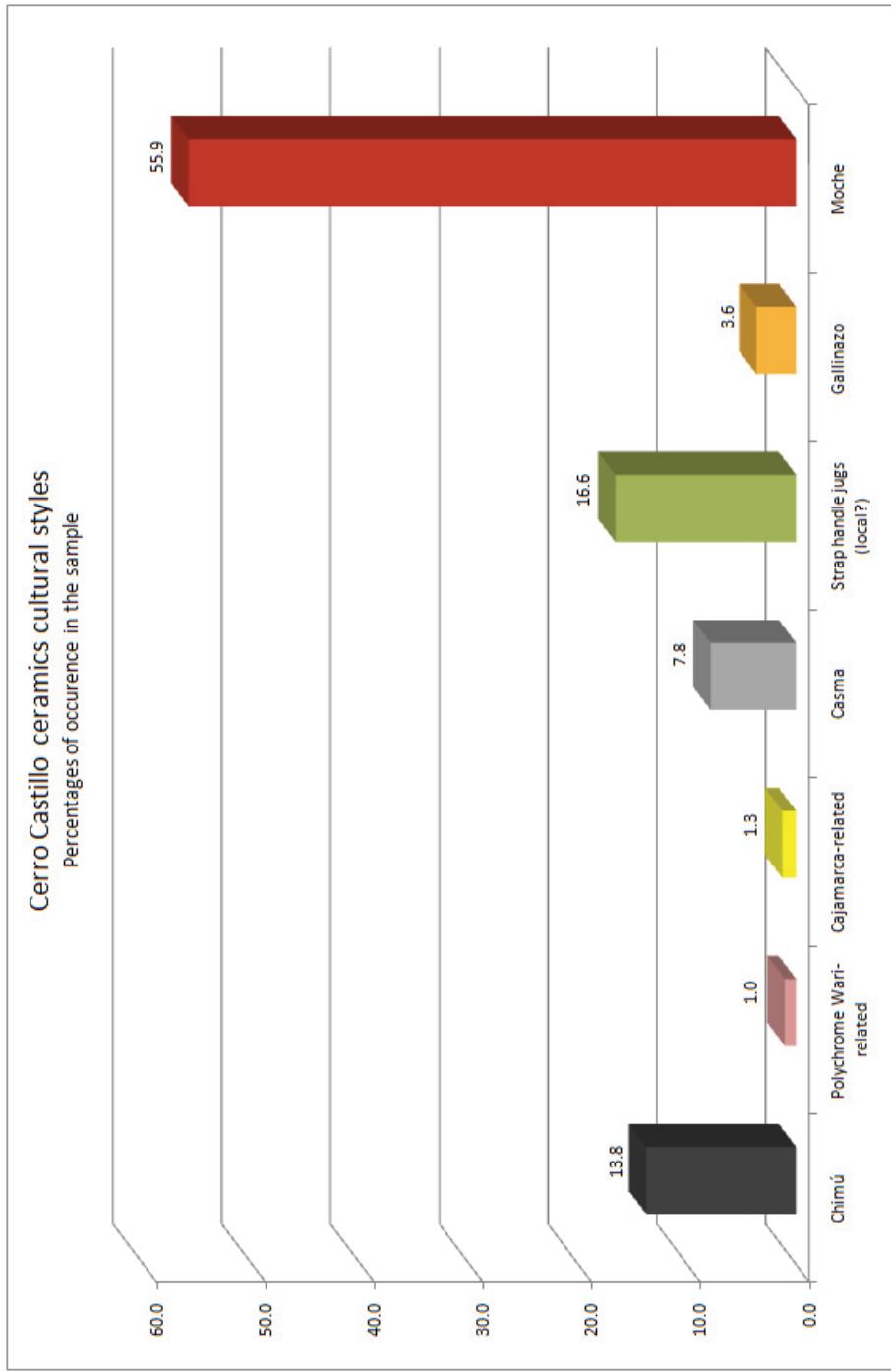
7.61. Diagnostic fancy wares and styles percentages by ware forms and decorative attributes. Note the high percentage of 'Strap handle jugs.'



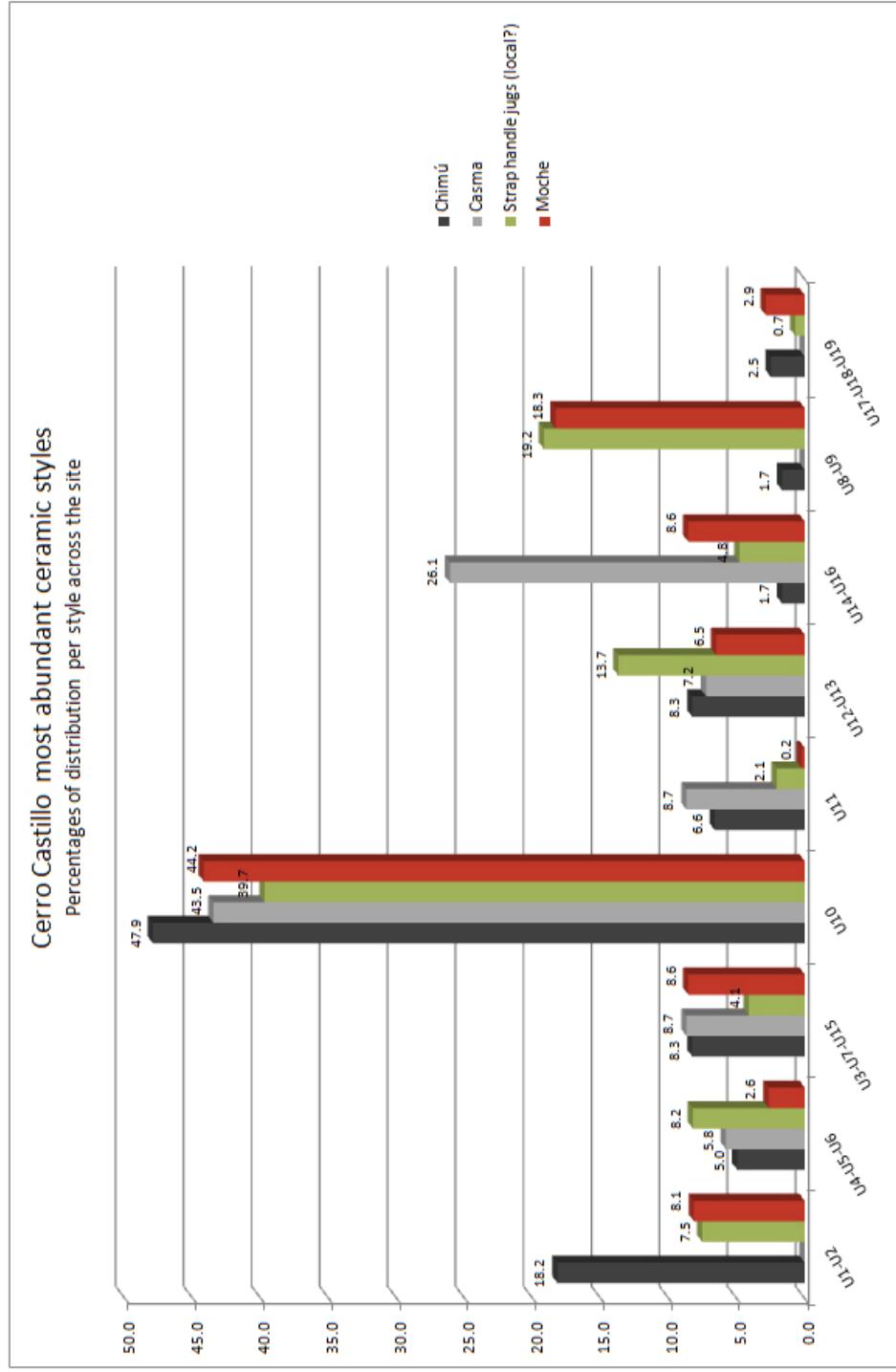
7.62. Moche style wares percentages by ware forms and decorative attributes.



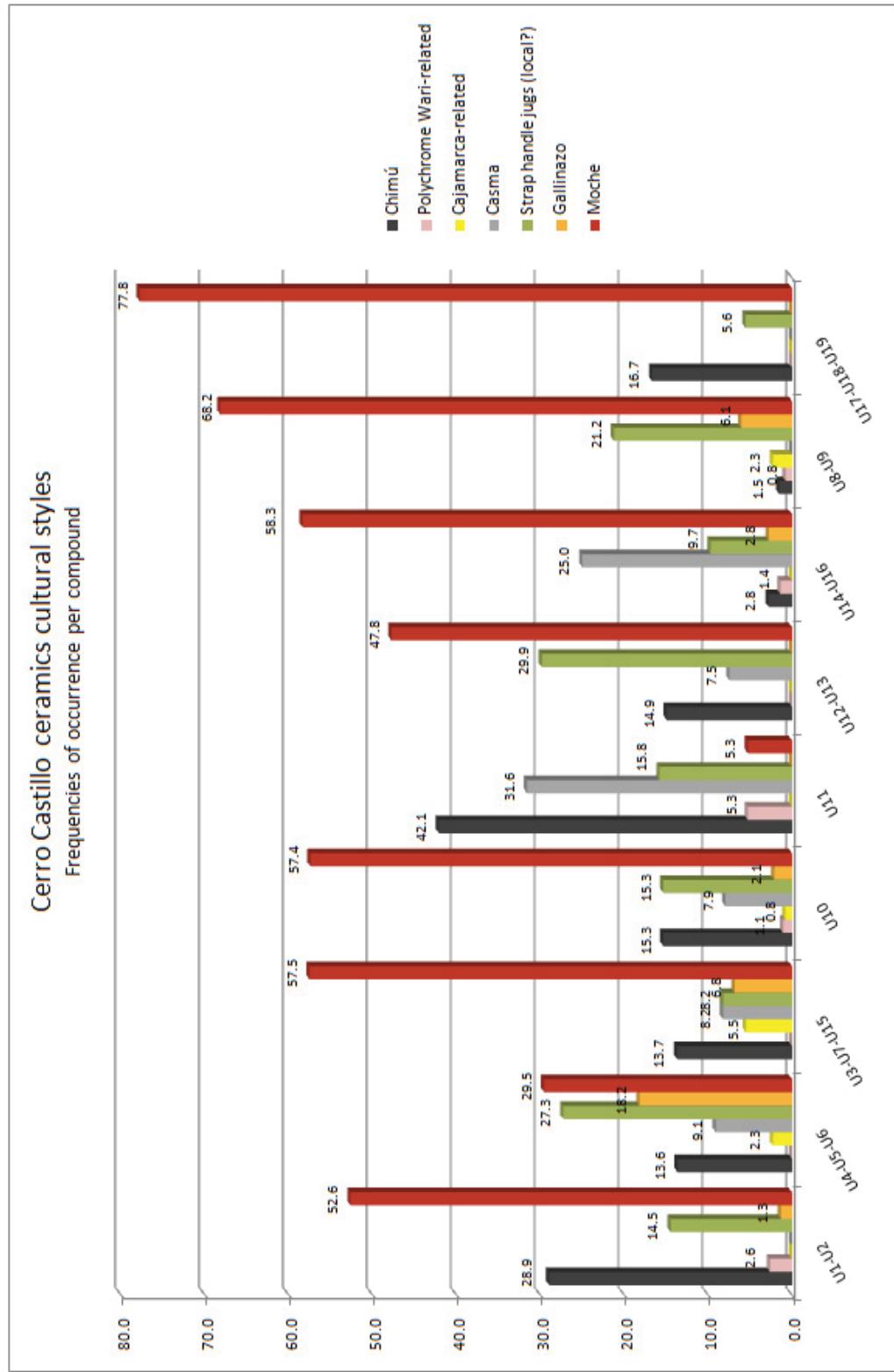
7.63. Unit 10 wares percentages of occurrence per room.



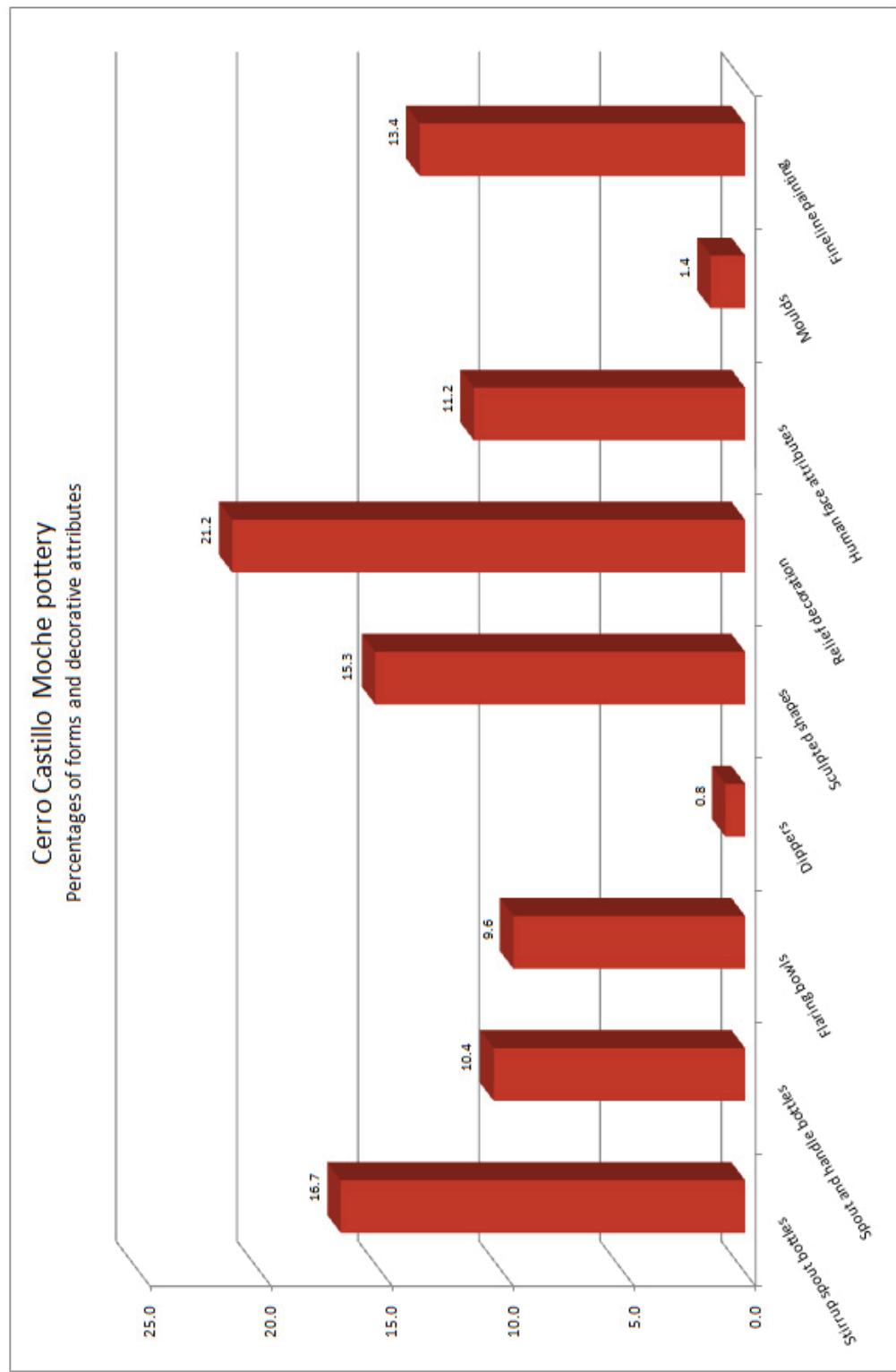
7.64. Ceramic styles percentages of occurrence in the sample. Moche, Strap handle jugs, Casma and Chimú are the most abundant styles in the sample.



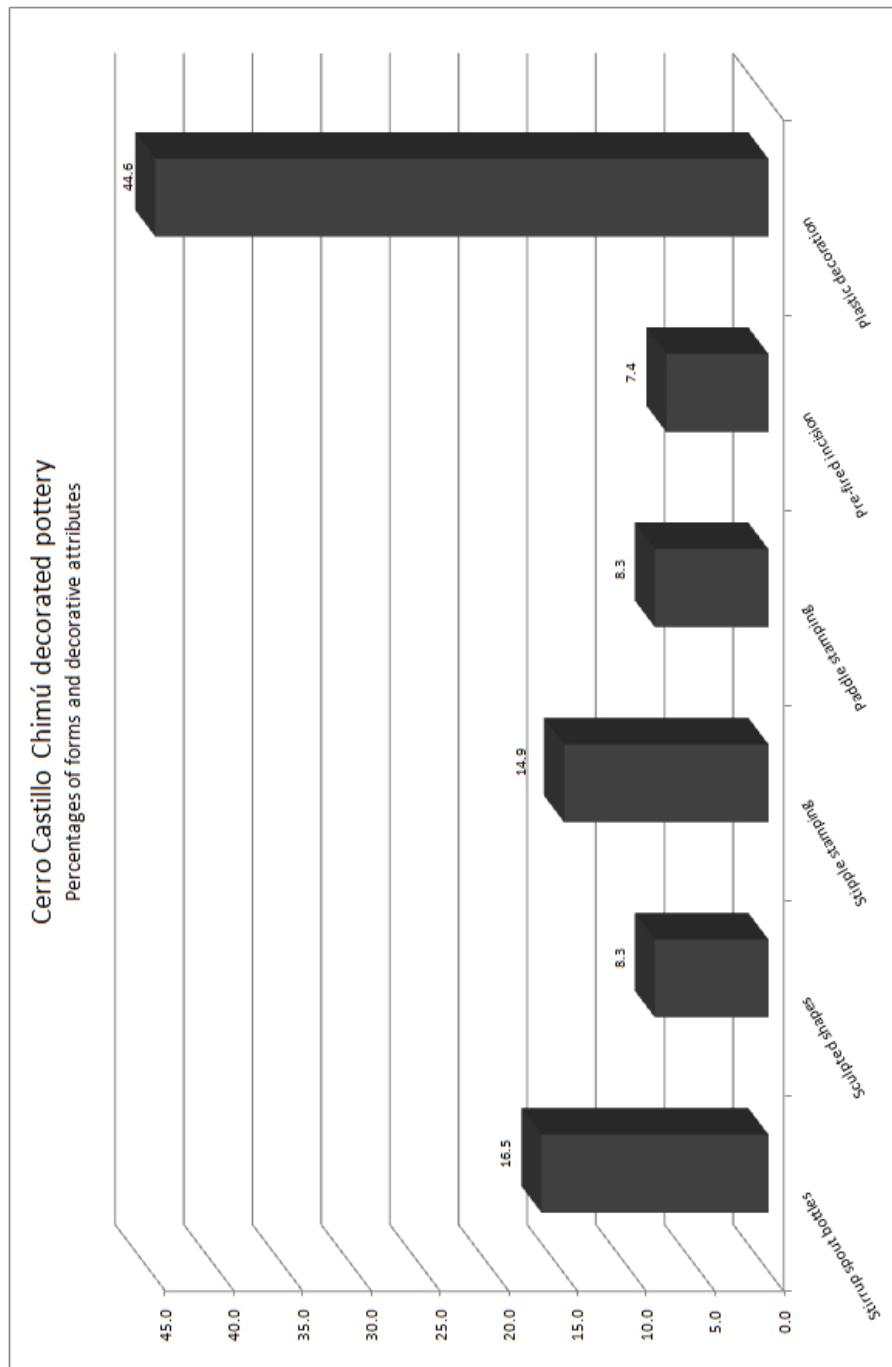
7.65. Most abundant ceramic styles showing percentages of distribution per style across the site.. Note that there is a significant, and almost equal, presence of Moche and 'local' styles in Unit 10 and Units 8-9 (surroundings of Huaca Sector 1).



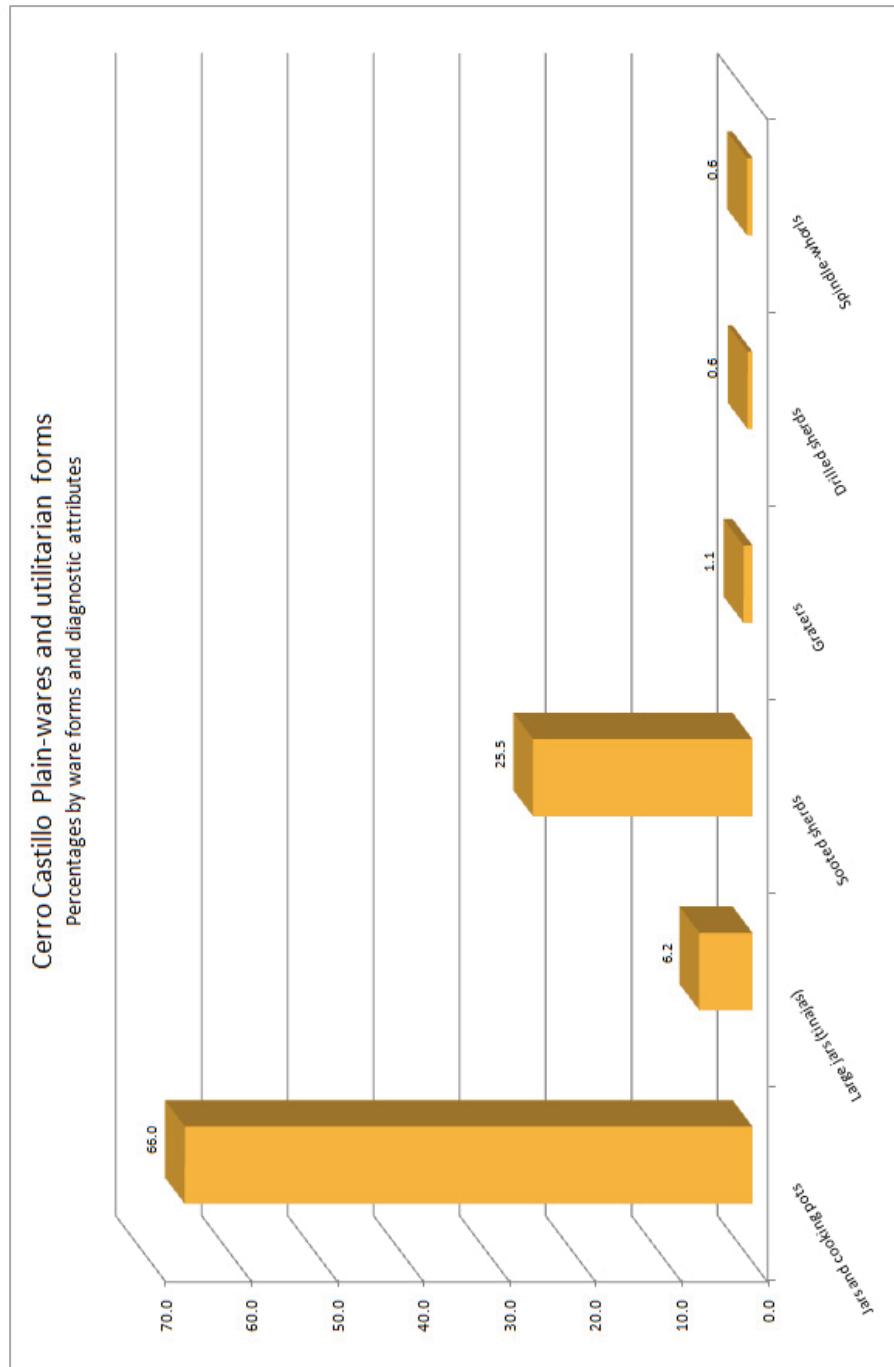
7.66. Ceramic styles frequencies of occurrence per compound (in relation to one another). The is a solid presence of Moche style pottery in every compound, except in Unit 11, which is mainly associated with the Casma and Chimú styles.



7.67. Moche pottery percentages of forms and decorative attributes.



7.68. Chimú decorated pottery percentages of forms and decorative attributes (bear in mind that this chart does not include non-decorated or plain black-wares).



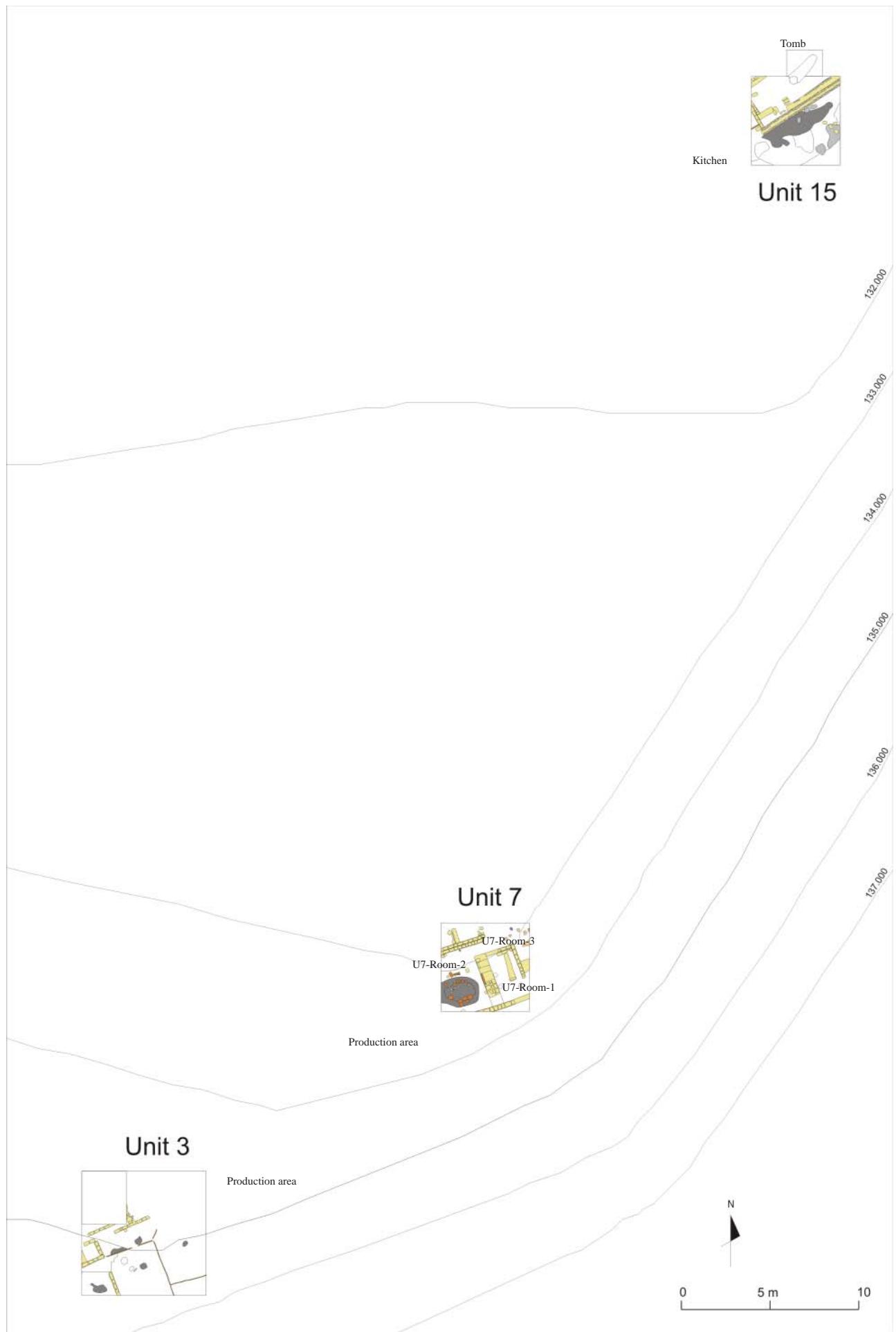
7.69. Plain-wares and utilitarian forms percentages by ware forms and decorative attributes.



8.1. Plan view of Units 1-2. Note the predominant use of brickwork (adobe).



8.2. Plan view of Units 4-5-6.



8.3. Plan view of Units 3-7-15, where significant evidence of production activities was found.



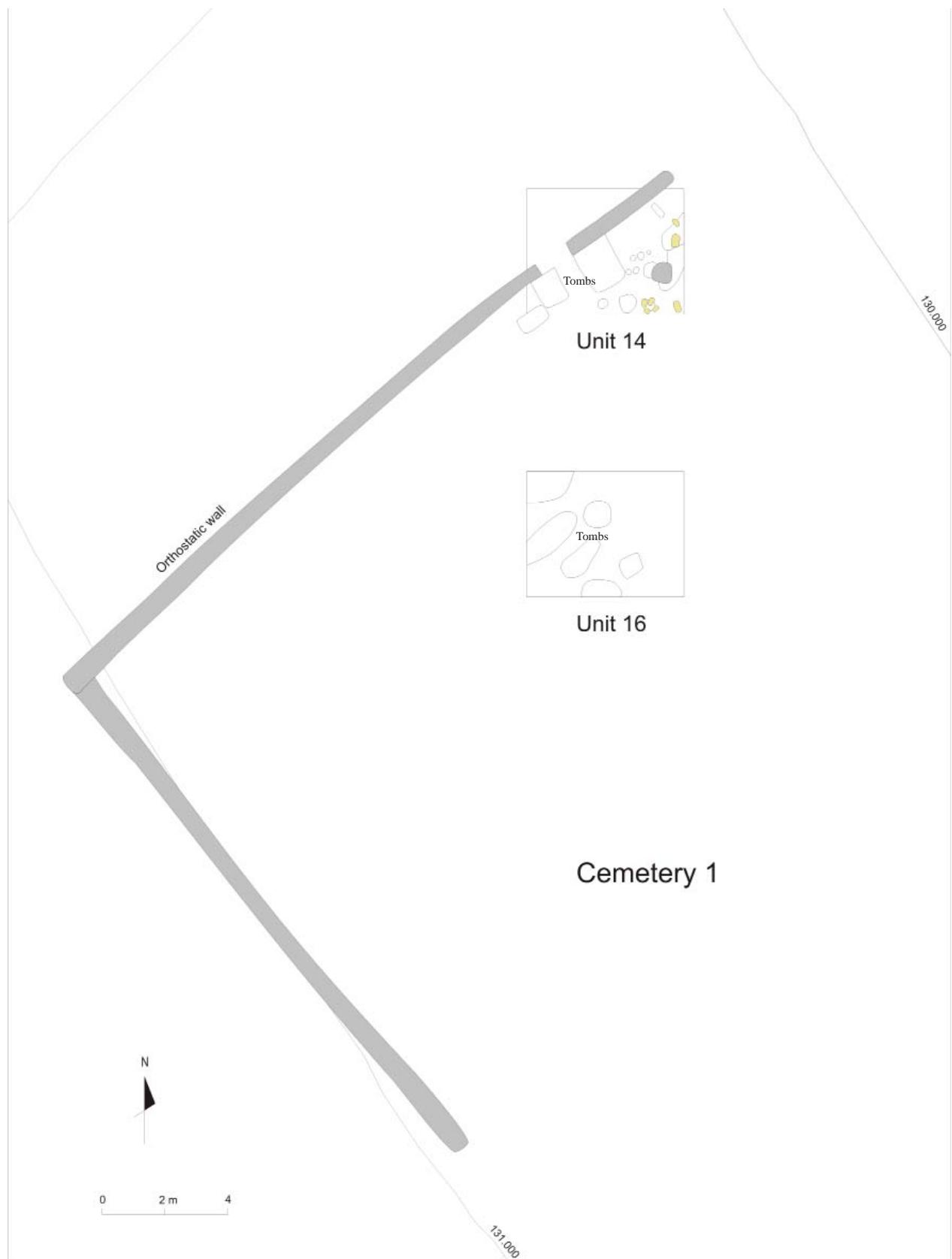
8.4. Plan view of Unit 10. Architectural and artefactual evidence suggest this area was constantly transited.



8.5. Plan view of Unit 11, possibly a plaza built during the Late Intermediate Period.



8.6. Plan view of Units 12-13. Note the structures were built both at the top and bottom of the hill.



8.7. Plan view of Units 14-16 in Cemetery 1.



8.8. Plan view of Huaca Sector 1 indicating the location of Units 8-9 and Units 17-18-19.



10.1. Map of the north coast showing the spread of Moche during its early stages, mostly associated with Early Moche and Moche I and II pottery styles.



10.2. Map of the north coast showing the spread of Moche during its middle stages, mostly associated with Middle Moche and Moche III and IV pottery styles.



10.3. Map of the north coast showing the spread of Moche during its late stages, mostly associated with Late Moche and Moche IV and V pottery styles.

Tables

Tomb	Location	Type	Condition	# Individuals	Age	Male/Female	Position/treatment	Content
CC-U7-T1	Unit 7	Bundle	Primary context	1	± 1 year old	n/d	flexed/wrapped in a shroud	2 pots, corncobs, textiles, leaves
CC-U14-T2	Unit 14	Pit grave	Secondary context	1?	n/d	n/d	n/d	1 stirrup spout bottle, 1 jar, 1 decorated sherd
CC-U14-T3	Unit 14	Pit grave	Secondary context	1?	adult	n/d	extended	1 human face pottery fragment
CC-U16-T4	Unit 16	Pit grave	Secondary context	1	adult	n/d	n/d	1 pot, 1 strap handle jug fragment
CC-U16-T5	Unit 16	Pit grave	Secondary context	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	1 gourd bowl
CC-U16-T6	Unit 16	Pit grave	Secondary context	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	1 dipper, 2 gourd bowls
CC-U16-T7	Unit 16	Pit grave	disturbed	1	± 1 year old	n/d	extended	-
CC-U16-T8	Unit 16	Pit grave	Secondary context	1	adult	n/d	face-down	1 decorated sherd
CC-U16-T9	Unit 16	Pit grave	Secondary context	n/d	adult bones?	n/d	n/d	gourd bowl fragments, 1 painted sherd
CC-U16-T10	Unit 16	Pit grave	Secondary context	n/d	adult bones?	n/d	n/d	6 vessels
CC-U15-T11	Unit 15	Bundle	Primary context	1	± 1 year old	n/d	flexed/wrapped in a shroud	7 gourd bowls, metals and lapidaries
CC-U15-T12	Unit 15	Pit grave	Primary context	1	adult	female	extended/wrapped in a shroud	1 animal bone
CC-U14-T13	Unit 14	Bundle	Primary context	1	± 1 year old	n/d	flexed/wrapped in a shroud	textile

Table 6.1. Summary of the funerary contexts recorded by the Cerro Castillo Archaeological Project.

Table 7.1. Distribution of wares showing counts and percentages in relation to the ware category. E.g. 3 sherds of Moche stirrup spout bottles represent 0.4% of the 'Moche style wares' category

		U1-U2						U3-U5						U6-U10						U11-U15						U16-U17						U18-U19					
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%						
Modern surface and upper layers; Chinu style and Chinu-related Occupation A	Stirrup spout bottles	1	0.4	1	0.6	3	1.1	10	0.6	0	0.0	4	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.8	20	0.6																
	Sculped shapes	4	1.7	2	1.2	1	0.4	0	0.0	1	1.4	2	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.3														
	Stipple stamping	4	1.7	3	1.9	3	1.1	7	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	18	0.6														
	Paddle stamping	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.3														
	Pre-fried incision	1	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.2	2	2.7	0	0.0	1	0.6	2	0.5	0	0.0	9	0.3																
	Plastic decoration (various)	12	5.0	0	0.0	3	1.1	28	1.8	5	6.8	4	2.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	1	1.8	54	1.7																
	Strap handles	2	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	20	1.3	8	10.8	4	2.0	4	2.4	0	0.0	2	3.6	40	1.3																
	Plain Black-ware	11	4.6	13	8.0	14	5.2	154	9.7	19	25.7	11	5.4	29	17.3	3	0.7	17	30.4	271	8.6																
	Black-ware (Chimu and Chimu-related)	35	14.6	19	11.7	24	9.0	232	14.7	35	47.3	25	12.4	35	20.8	5	1.2	22	39.3	432	13.7																
	Spout and bridge bottles	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.4	0	0.0	1	0.1	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	1.0	0	0.0	7	0.2														
	Sculped shapes	1	0.4	5	3.1	5	1.9	2	0.1	1	1.4	6	3.0	1	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	21	0.7														
	Plastic decoration (mislabeled)	9	3.8	12	7.4	4	1.5	13	0.8	0	0.0	10	5.0	2	1.2	4	1.0	0	0.0	54	1.7																
	Carinated shapes	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	0.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	1.7	0	0.0	18	0.6														
	Strap handles	1	0.4	0	0.0	4	1.5	11	0.7	0	0.0	6	3.0	3	1.8	0	0.0	2	3.6	27	0.9																
	Moulds	0	0.0	5	3.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	0.2																
	Simple-painted shards	3	1.3	12	7.4	3	1.1	21	1.3	1	1.4	2	1.0	2	1.2	17	4.1	0	0.0	61	1.9																
	Polychrome War-ish	2	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.3	1	1.4	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.2	0	0.0	9	0.3																
	Cajamarca-ish	0	0.0	1	0.6	4	1.5	3	0.2	0	0.0	1	0.5	2	1.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	0.3																
	Casma Incised	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	1.1	4	0.3	1	1.4	1	0.5	16	9.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	58	1.8																
	Casma Moulded	0	0.0	4	2.5	3	1.1	26	1.6	5	6.8	4	2.0	12	5.9	5	3.0	19	4.6	1	1.8	94	3.0														
	Painted strap handle jugs	7	2.9	10	6.2	3	1.1	36	2.3	1	1.4	12	5.9	2	1.2	2	0.5	0	0.0	14	0.4																
	Non-painted strap handle jugs	1	0.4	1	0.4	1	0.4	7	0.4	0	0.0	15	0.9	2	2.7	8	4.0	0	0.0	7	1.7	0	0.0	38	1.2												
	Painted Jing shards	3	1.3	1	0.6	2	0.7	5	0.3	0	0.0	6	3.7	2	0.7	0	0.0	1	0.6	5	1.2	0	0.0	20	0.6												
	Gallinazo Incised	1	0.4	6	3.7	2	0.7	5	0.3	0	0.0	3	1.1	162	10.3	12	16.2	51	25.2	36	21.4	72	17.4	3	5.4	461	14.6										
	Gallinazo Appliquéd	0	0.0	2	1.2	3	1.1	162	10.3	28	36.4	29	17.9	162	10.3	12	16.2	51	25.2	36	21.4	72	17.4	3	5.4	461	14.6										
	Diagnostic fancy wares and styles	3	1.3	4	2.5	7	2.6	42	2.7	1	1.4	2	1.0	1	0.6	4	2.4	10	2.4	0	0.0	82	2.6														
	Stirrup spout bottles	1	0.4	5	3.1	30	1.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	3.6	16	3.9	4	7.1	47	1.5																		
	Spout and handle bottles	0	0.0	1	0.6	3	1.1	17	1.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.6	1	0.2	0	0.0	4	0.1																
	Flaring bowls	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	51	1.6														
	Dippers	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	3.3	38	2.4	0	0.0	6	3.0	3	1.8	9	2.2	1	1.8	75	2.4																
	Sculped shapes	8	3.3	1	0.6	9	3.4	38	2.4	0	0.0	6	3.0	3	1.8	29	7.0	0	0.0	104	3.3																
	Relief decoration	16	6.7	0	0.0	5	1.9	38	2.4	0	0.0	10	5.0	6	3.6	14	6.9	6	3.6	4	1.0	55	1.7														
	Human face attributes	9	3.8	2	1.2	3	1.1	16	1.0	0	0.0	14	6.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	0.2														
	Moulds	0	0.0	6	2.5	1	0.1	0	0.0	1	0.1	34	2.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	5.4	51	1.6																
	Fineline painting	3	1.3	2	0.8	4	1.5	20	1.3	0	0.0	10	6.0	6	1.4	0	0.0	16	3.9	51	1.6																
	Red on white slip	1	0.4	8	4.9	0	0.0	2	0.1	0	0.0	3	1.8	5	1.2	0	0.0	19	0.6	0	0.0	362	11.4														
	White on red slip	27	11.3	4	2.5	14	5.2	122	7.7	0	0.0	6	3.0	11	6.5	45	10.9	12	21.4	241	7.6																
	Painted shards	9	3.8	0	0.0	6	2.2	22	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	3.0	12	2.9	1	1.8	55	1.7																
	Bases (flat, ring)	79	32.9	29	17.9	66	24.6	383	24.2	1	1.4	38	18.8	71	42.3	158	38.2	27	48.2	832	26.9																
	Moche style wares	79	32.9	29	17.9	103	38.4	473	29.9	23	31.1	71	35.1	22	13.1	937	35.4	3	5.4	296																	
	Jars and cooking pots	72	30.0	40	24.7	6	2.2	66	4.2	1	1.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	88	2.8			88	2.8																
	Large jars (tinajas)	5	2.1	2	1.2	13	8.0	28	10.4	242	15.3	1	1.4	16	7.9	4	2.4	39	9.4	1	1.8	162	11.4														
	Sooted shards	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.4	14	0.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	15	0.5																
	Graters	2	0.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	8	0.3																
	Drilled shards	1	0.4	0	0.0	2	0.7	140	52.2	803	50.8	26	35.1	88	43.6	26	15.5	179	43.2	4	7.1	1419	44.8														
	Plain-wares and utilitarian forms	98	40.8	55	34.0	140	52.2	803	50.8	26	35.1	74	100.0	168	100.0	202	100.0	56	100.0	3164	100.0																
	Total	240	100.0	162	100.0	7.6	5.1	240	1																												

Table 7.3. Distribution of wares showing counts and percentages in relation to the total sample. E.g. 3 sherds of Moche stirrup spout bottles represent 0.1% of the [total] sample.

Appendix

Ceramics distribution per compound

This appendix provides quantitative and descriptive information about the ceramics found in the areas excavated in Cerro Castillo. The sample is described in accordance to the excavations units where the different sherds have been encountered.

Trenches in close proximity to one another have been integrated as part of one joint unit. This enables analysing the sample in terms of its association with coherent spatial units—grouped-up trenches—Independently of the relative numbering utilised throughout different fieldwork seasons. Units 3, 7 and 15 for instance, are located near each other, therefore they and their content are analysed as belonging to the same contextual area, which is named Units 3-7-15 (the same principle has been applied in the architectural analysis of Chapter 8).

Each subheading describes the pottery found inside each compound, following the four main categories in which the sample has been divided: ‘Black-wares (Chimú and Chimú-related)’, ‘Diagnostic fancy wares and styles’, ‘Moche wares’ and ‘Plain-wares and utilitarian forms’ (see also Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3).

Units 1-2

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

Most of the materials collected from the modern surface of Units 1-2 correspond with black-wares—pottery made under a reducing firing atmosphere—typically associated with the Chimú style of the Late Intermediate Period (Fig. 7.1). This assemblage consists of 35 fragments, accounting for 8.1% of the total black-wares sample and 14.6% of the total pottery documented from Units 1-2. These sherds feature a burnished surface, occasionally with relief decoration such as a relief-decorated sherd representing a corn. Some fragments present stipple stamping (also referred to as ‘goose skin’ decoration), highly diagnostic for the Late Intermediate Period in the region, as it is the case of an oxidising-fired jar featuring goose skin decoration on its chamber and a white band painted on the neck and top of the chamber. There

are also fragments of plain-wares corresponding with parts of jars and cooking pots without any special surface treatment.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares and styles found in Units 1-2 are represented by 28 fragments, which constitute 6.1% the total of the category and 11.7% of the total pottery from this compound. This sample is constituted by fragments featuring plastic decoration, simple painting and pieces of strap handle jugs (Figs. 7.2 and 7.3). The latter can show either a roughly polished surface with no decoration or painting decoration, mostly parallel horizontal white stripes. Some of these sherds are blackened with soot. Two painted fragments were decorated with black dots, circularly arranged, surrounding a red irregular circle painted on the vessel's surface. Additionally, the sample contains a Gallinazo style fragment.

Moche style wares

Units 1-2 yielded 79 sherds of Moche vessels, making up 9.3% of the Moche style sample and 32.9% of the full pottery recovered from this compound (Figs. 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6). Fragments representing human faces are amongst the most noticeable, featuring the classic Moche oval eyes, broad nose and stern expression. Two of them wear a circular and quarter-moon nose ring respectively. Another piece shows a human face wearing a forelock whereas another sherd seems to be a representation of the same motif but in relief decoration. Some face representations only allow recognising half face or some facial attributes such as eyes.

There is only one fragment of the fineline painting style, which features parallel fine red lines stroked over a white slip background. Other painted fragments include volute designs confined between two parallel stripes, a red circle painted on a white surface and red or white bands painted on the vessels' surface.

Broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles—highly diagnostic for identifying the Moche style—were also found in these units. Relief decoration is also present in the sample featuring curvy and parallel stripes, one of which seems to be the representation of a spider's legs.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

The 98 sherds of plain-wares encountered in Units 1 and 2 represent the 6.9% of this category and 40.8% of total ceramics recovered from these areas. They essentially correspond with broken parts of jars and cooking pots made under an oxidasing firing atmosphere. Some of them present a polished surface whereas others are blackened with soot. A few cases present a drilled hole just below the rim (Figs. 7.7).

Units 4-5-6

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

The modern surface of Units 4-5-6 yielded 19 fragments of black-wares, representing 4.4% of the style sample and 11.7% of the total pottery collected from this compound. This sample is composed of rims of plain-wares, some of which feature white painting. It also includes sherds presenting goose-skin decoration, a part of a stirrup spout bottle and a fragment of a vessel with a human face incised in one of the sides.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares and styles found in Units 4-5-6 are represented by 59 sherds, which constitute 12.8% of the category and 36.4% of the total pottery found in this compound. This sample features strap handles decorated with parallel horizontal stripes which were encountered along with solid handles, both associated with the fill and floor of these units (Fig. 7.8). There are also fragments presenting painting and/or plastic decoration such as a human body application, a human face representation, incised lines as well Casma and Gallinazo style decoration.

Moche style wares

Excavations at Units 4-5-6 yielded 29 pottery fragments corresponding with the Moche tradition, accounting for 3.4% of the style and 17.9% of the wares of the area. The majority of them consist of fragments with either white painting on the vessel's surface or red painting on a slip white background. Designs are not fully distinguishable apart from some bands, circles

or fine strokes although, in one case a stepped design with volute can be inferred. A mould and a sherd of a sculpted vessel depicting an individual wearing a forelock are also present in this sample. Only one face-neck jar has been accounted in this section (Fig. 7.9).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

Fragments of plain-wares and utilitarian forms are the most common type found in Units 4-5-6. The sample consists of 55 sherds, accounting for 3.9% of the category and 34% of the total pottery documented in these units. They correspond with broken pieces of no-decorated jars and cooking pots. Some of them present traces of soot on the surface and one case presents a sculpted design of a war club on its rim. Additionally, two fragments of moulds and human representation appliquéd are part of this sample.

Units 3-7-15

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

Fragments of black-wares associated with the Chimú style were encountered on the surface and upper layers of Units 3-7-15 (Fig. 7.10). This sample is composed of 24 sherds which account for 5.6% of this category and 9% of the total pottery recovered from these units. The assemblage consists of rims of jars. It also features parts of a bottle, a strap handle jar with notches on the rim and handle, a red relief-decorated fragment with a design of a sawed volute, a sculpted bird head, a representation of a human face and broken parts of face-neck jars.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Units 3, 7 and 15 yielded 38 sherds of fancy wares, making up 8.2% of this category, and 14.2% of the total documented in these areas. The sample consists of decorated fragments featuring black painting on white slip, white painting on the vessel surface and plastic decoration representing human attributes such as face or hands. It also includes pieces of decorated strap handle jugs (Figs. 7.11).

Moche style wares

Excavations at Units 3-7-15 reported 66 ceramic fragments associated with the Moche ceramic style, constituting 7.7% of this category and 24.6% of the pottery of these areas.

Examples of plastic decoration feature a piece of a figurine with the representations of a sculpted feline claw, a backflap in relief decoration, a hand holding an object and a representation of a character, probably male, wearing a necklace holding his hands on his chest. Broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles are also present in this sample. Painted sherds show white bands on the vessel surface or red strokes on white slip background. A few fragments of fineline painting decoration were found in these units featuring parallel curvy lines crossed by a red stroke or red circles painted on white slip. White painting on the vessels surface is also featured, and although some lines are visible, it is difficult to recognise the designs due to the small size of the fragments (Figs. 7.12 and 7.13).

A few moulds were encountered in these areas, particularly in Unit 3 (Fig. 7.14). Three of them stand out in the sample. The first one is a figurine mould representing a woman with a central parting hairstyle, wearing circular earrings and holding a stern facial expression. The outer surface of this mould shows an incised war club. The second mould corresponds with one utilised to produce a plain jar. The third one is to make a jar decorated with relief dots. Indeed, part of a jug possible made out of this mould was found alongside. Although the latter mould and jug are not of a Moche style, I considered their description as part of this category because of their contextual association with the other moulds of this area.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

Plain-ware and utilitarian pottery found in Units 3-7-15 represents 9.9% of this category and 52.2% of the total sherds of these units. It is composed of 140 broken parts of no-decorated jars and cooking pots as well as two spindle whorls made of recycled broken potsherds. Some fragments present traces of soot on their surface (Fig. 7.15).

Unit 10

Excavations at Unit 10 reported a total of 1,580 ceramic fragments of which 14.7% account for black-wares associated with the Chimú style (Figs. 7.16 to 7.18), 10.3% for fancy wares and styles (Figs. 7.19 to 7.23), 24.2% for the Moche style (Figs. 7.24 to 7.36) and 50.8% make up the plain-wares and utilitarian forms category (Figs. 7.37 to 7.39; also see Figs. 7.59 and 7.63). Since Unit 10 was dug following enclosed architectural spaces referred to as 'Rooms', each room and its content was examined both individually as well as a part of the larger contextual area called Unit 10. Thus the following sections report the accounts and characteristics of the ceramics found within each room of this compound, maintaining the same logic of analysis applied in the other areas across the site.

U10-Room-1

Moche style wares

12 pottery sherds related to the Moche style were found in U10-Room-1, which constitute 3.1% of the style within the unit, 25.5% of the ceramics counted in the room and 0.8% of Unit 10. They consist of broken pieces of stirrup spout bottles with red painting on white slip, one of which present two horizontal parallel lines just below the top of the spout (Fig. 7.29). Other fragments feature designs of a wave and a human leg (Fig. 7.24). There is only one fragment of a sculpted vessel which represents a character holding his/her hands together (Fig. 7.34).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

27 rims of jars and cooking pots and a grater (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39) are the evidence of plain-wares and utilitarian forms found in this space, which constitute 3.4% of the category in the area, 57.4% of the pottery of the room and 1.7% of the unit.

U10-Room-2

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

A total of 21 fragments of black-wares associated with the Chimú style were collected from the surface of this room (Figs. 7.16, 7.17 and 7.18). They consist of rims of black jars with a strap handle. They represent 9.1% of the style in the unit, 21.2% of the ceramics found in the room and 1.3% of Unit 10.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares found in U10-Room-2 are represented by 12 jar rims of strap handle jugs, one of which present two parallel horizontal red lines on white slip just below the rim (Fig. 7.22). Fragments featuring white painting on the vessel's surface were also found in this space along with pieces of Casma and Gallinazo style vessels. This sample constitutes the 7.4% of the style within the area, 0.8% of the total pottery encountered in the room and 12.1% of the unit.

Moche style wares

9 Moche style fragments were collected from this room. One presents white lines painted on the vessel's surface and the other shows relief decoration of an undetermined design. They represent the 2.3% of the style in area, 9.1% of the wares in the room and 0.6% of the unit.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

57 rims of jars and cooking pots compose the plain-wares of this space. They account for 7.1% of this category in the area, 57.6% of the wares of the room and 3.6% of the unit.

U10-Room-3

Moche style wares

Moche style pottery recorded in U10-Room-3 is composed of 20 fragments, making up 5.2% of the style in the area, 17.4% of the ceramics of the room and 1.3% of Unit 10. This sample features sherds decorated with red painting on white slip background, some of which

correspond with the fineline painting style (Figs. 7.24, 7.25 and 7.26). In addition, broken parts of stirrup spout bottles such as a base as well as tubular and solid handles are part of this assemblage (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30). Plastic decoration is also accounted with two fragments representing a human face with a fierce expression and a hand holding an undefined object respectively (Fig. 7.33).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

71 rims of jars, cooking pots and a grater sherd (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39) are the plain-wares and utilitarian forms encountered in this area, accounting for 8.8% of the category in the area, 61.7% of the ceramics of the room and 4.5% of the unit. One fragment of a big jar presents a perforation just below the rim.

U10-Room-4

Moche style wares

9 sherds of Moche pottery were collected from U10-Room-4, which constitute 2.3% of the style in the area, 50% of the ceramics of the room and 0.6% of the unit. The sample features broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30) as well as fragments showing fineline painting decoration. One sherd corresponding with the rim of a flaring bowl feature stepped symbols within a double-lined squared panel (Fig. 7.31). A sculpted representation of an animal head was also identified. Although incomplete, the fragment shows feline attributes.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

The assemblage of plain-wares and utilitarian forms encountered in this room consists of 9 rims of jars and cooking pots as well as a grater (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39), making up 1.1% of the category in the area, 50% of the pottery of the room, and 0.6% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-5

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

2 fragments of fancy wares were found in U10-Room-5, accounting for 1.2% of the category in the area, 2.8% of the pottery of the room and 0.1% of the unit. The sample features a part of a strap handle jug decorated with parallel horizontal red lines on white slip as well as a sherd showing Casma style decoration.

Moche style wares

11 sherds corresponding with the Moche ceramic style were found in this space which account for 2.9% of the style in the area, 15.3% of the pottery of the room, and 0.7% of the unit. One fragment is a part of a spout and handle bottle and the other features red dots painted on white slip background.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

50 fragments of plain-wares and utilitarian forms were found in U10-Room-5, representing 6.2% of the category in the area, 69.4% of the pottery documented in this space, and 3.2% of the unit. The sample consists of rims of jars and cooking pots as well as of two blank whorls and a grater (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39).

U10-Room-6-7

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

16 fragments of black-ware were found in U10-Room-15. Plastic decoration, strap handles and pieces of black plain-ware compose this assemblage (Figs. 7.16, 7.17 and 7.18). This sample makes up 2.6% of the style in the unit, 12.8% of the wares of the room and 1% of Unit 10.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares encountered in U10-Room-6-7 are represented by 22 fragments,

representing the 13.6% of the category in the area, 9.2% of the pottery of the room, and 1.4% of Unit 10. They consist of broken parts of strap handle jugs as well as sherds with black painting on red slip and others with white painting on the vessel's surface (Figs. 7.22 and 7.23). It also includes fragments featuring polychrome painting and Gallinazo style decoration.

Moche style wares

A total of 61 fragments associated with the Moche ceramic style were documented in U10-Room-6-7, making up 15.9% of the style in the area, 25.5% of the sample recovered from these rooms, and 3.9% of the unit. The sample consists of sherds featuring red painting on white slip background. Although it is not possible to identify the designs in their entirety, lines, bands and other geometric forms can be inferred (Figs. 7.24, 7.25 and 7.26). Broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles are also part of this assemblage, which can be fully painted in red or white slip. One case shows a vertical red line painted following the stirrup arch. (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30) Plastic decoration is composed of sherds depicting human faces or partial human facial attributes such as eyes or ears (Fig. 7.34). Relief representations of an animal head, a deer and a corn are also present in this sample.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

140 rims of plain-wares such as jars and cooking pots were encountered in this space, which constitute 17.4% of this category in the area, 58.6% of the total encountered in these rooms and 8.9% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-8

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

U10-Room-8 features 4 fragments of fancy wares, which make up 2.5% of the category in the area, 13.8% of the ceramics of the room and 0.3% of the unit. They consist of sherds with white painting on the vessel's surface, Casma style decoration and a relief decoration representation of a character playing a musical instrument.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

16 rims of plain-wares and utilitarian forms such as jars, cooking pots and graters (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39) were recorded in this area, representing 2% of this category in the area, 55.2% of the wares of the room and 1% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-9*Diagnostic fancy wares and styles*

19 fragments related to fancy wares were encountered in U10-Room-9, accounting for 11.7% of the style of the area, 18.3% of the ceramics of the room and 1.2% of the unit. They consist of pieces of strap handle jugs, fragments with incised decoration and relief applications (Figs. 7.21, 7.22 and 7.23).

Moche style wares

The assemblage of Moche style pottery collected from U10-Room-9 is composed of 34 sherds, constituting 8.9% of the style of the area, 32.7% of the ceramics of the room and 2.2% of the unit. The sample consists of decorated fragments of flaring bowls, stirrup spout bottles and sculpted forms (Figs. 7.28, 7.29, 7.30 and 7.31). It also presents fragments with red painting on white slip, most of which feature designs of lines and bands. A piece of a flaring bowl depicts a fox head painted on the interior top of the vessel (Fig. 7.31), whilst another sherd shows part of a human face (nose and mouth) with a stern expression (Fig. 7.34).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

Excavations in U10-Room-9 yielded 46 broken pieces of plain-wares such as rims of jars and cooking pots, some of which present soot traces, as well as a grater (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39). This sample accounts for 5.7% of the category in the area, 44.2% of the ceramics found in the room, and 2.9% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-10*Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)*

The modern surface of U10-Room-10 featured 14 fragments of black-wares consisting of a partially broken black jar with a strap handle and other plain fragments. They make up 6% of the style in the area, 11.5% of the ceramics of the room and 0.9% of Unit 10.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares found in U10-Room-10 consist of pieces of strap handle jugs decorated with horizontal parallel white stripes painted on the vessel's surface. The sample also features Casma and Gallinazo style decoration. It makes a total of 9 sherds, accounting for 5.6% of the category in the area, 7.4% of the pottery of the room and 0.6% of the unit.

Moche style wares

Works in U10-Room-10 provided 47 Moche style pottery sherds, which represent 12.3% of the style in the area, 38.5% of the wares of the room and 3% of the unit. The sample presents fragments corresponding with the fineline painting style, most of which feature red painting on a white slip surface. Their full designs cannot be determined since the sherds size only allows the recognition of straight and curvy lines (Figs. 7.24, 7.25 and 7.26). Only in one case it is possible to appreciate the stepped symbol. Broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles are also part of this assemblage (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30). Two fragments feature relief decoration representing hands held in the chest of non-identified characters. There is also a sculpted representation of a roof adornment in the shape of a painted war club (Fig. 7.36).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

U10-Room-10 contained 52 broken pieces of plain-wares such as rims of jars and cooking pots, some of which present soot traces on the surface. They constitute 6.5% of this category in the area, 42.6% of the ceramics of this room and 3.3% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-11*Moche style wares*

23 sherds of Moche style pottery were encountered in U10-Room-11, representing 6% of the style in the area, 43.4% of the ceramics of the room and 1.5% of Unit 10. This sample consists of fragments decorated with red painting on white slip background. One case features a design of a wave adorned with dots. Fragments of stirrup spout bottles and a sherd of a sculpted piece were also recorded in this space.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

19 rims of jars, cooking pots and graters (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39) constitute the plain-wares and utilitarian forms encountered in this area, which represent 2.4% of this category in the area, 35.8% of the pottery of the room, and 1.2% of the Unit 10 pottery sample.

U10-Room-12*Diagnostic fancy wares and styles*

9 parts of strap handle jugs constitute the sample of fancy wares found in U10-Room-12, which account for 5.6% of the category in the unit, 7.6% of the ceramics of the room, and 2.3% of the unit.

Moche style

Excavations in U10-Room-12 yielded 44 pottery fragments corresponding with the Moche style, accounting for 11.5% of the style in the area, 37.3% of the wares of the room and 2.8% of Unit 10. The assemblage consists of sherds featuring fineline painting decoration, mostly red painting on white slip background. White painting on a smoothed red surface was also documented in this sample as it is the case of the rim of a flaring bowl featuring a serpent motif painted on the exterior side of the vessel, as well as other fragments with undefined geometric designs. Although full designs could not be identified, the variety of red strokes suggests that these fragments correspond with broken parts of bottles and flaring bowls that

represented typical Moche iconographic themes (Figs. 7.24, 7.25 and 7.26). Parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles were also found in this space. A human ear, a relief decorated fragment representing a character dancing along with another character playing a wind musical instrument and a human eye are the sculpted decoration identified in this sample (Figs. 7.33 and 7.34).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

A total of 53 rims of plain-wares and utilitarian forms such as jars, cooking pots and graters were found in this area (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39). They make up 6.6% of the category in the area, 44.9% of the ceramics of the room and 3.4% of the unit.

U10-Room-13

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

The modern surface of U10-Room-13 yielded 58 fragments of black-ware typically associated with the Chimú style. Motifs in relief, stipple stamping and paddled surface treatment are the dominant decorative types in this assemblage (Figs. 7.16, 7.17 and 7.18). This sample makes up 25% of the style in the unit, 23.2% of the wares of the room and 4.3% of Unit 10.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

U10-Room-13 yielded 38 fragments of fancy wares, which constitute 23.5% of the style in the area, 15.2% of the ceramics of the room and 2.4% of Unit 10. This assemblage presents parts of strap handle jugs which may feature white parallel horizontal white stripes painted on the vessel's surface or red parallel horizontal white stripes on white slip background, or also may show rough polishing with no decoration (Figs. 7.22 and 7.23). Fragments featuring Casma and Gallinazo style decoration and sherds with white painting on the vessels' surface were also included in this group.

Moche style wares

Decorated fragments corresponding with the Moche ceramic style were encountered in

U10-Room-13. The sample is composed of 45 sherds, which account for 11.7% of the style in the area, 18% of the ceramics of the room and 2.8% of the unit. The sample consists of sherds featuring white slip, some of which present red bands or thin lines that may be part of a non-identified design (Figs. 7.24, 7.25 and 7.26). Broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles were also recorded in this space (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30). Plastic decoration is represented by an owl eye, human feet, a human hand and a relief wave design.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

A total of 109 rims of plain-wares and utilitarian forms such as jars, cooking pots and graters were found in this area (Figs. 7.37, 7.38 and 7.39), some of which present soot traces. This sample represents 13.6% of the category in the unit, 43.6% of the wares of the room, and 6.9% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-14

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

The modern surface of U10-Room-14 featured 20 fragments of black-wares associated with the Chimú style, accounting for 8.5% of the style in the area, 14.3% of the pottery of the room and 3.2% of the unit. The sample consists of rims of black jars and cooking pots. In addition, a sherd with stipple stamping and another with incised decoration stand out in the sample (Figs. 7.16, 7.17 and 7.18).

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares encountered in U10-Room-14 consist of 14 sherds, accounting for 8.6% of the style in the area, 10% of the ceramics of the room and 0.9% of the unit. The sample feature parts of strap handle jugs, in which both the neck and the handle may present horizontal parallel white stripes painted on the vessel's surface. Representations of a human hand and a human face with basic attributes were also considered in this assemblage (Figs. 7.19, 7.22 and 7.23).

Moche style wares

Excavations at U10-Room-14 yielded 20 fragments of Moche vessels, making up 5.2% of the style in the area, 14.3% of the pottery of the room and 1.3% of Unit 10. This assemblage consists of sherds featuring white slip, which correspond with broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and flaring bowls. Pieces of spout stirrup bottles and spout and handle bottles were also documented in this space (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30). A representation of a human face with a stern expression is the only plastic decorated fragment of this group (Fig. 7.35).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

U10-Room-14 contained 86 broken pieces of plain-wares such as jars and cooking pots, some of which present soot traces on the surface. They constitute 10.7% of the category in the unit, 61.4% of the wares of the room and 5.4% of Unit 10.

U10-Room-15

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

45 fragments of black-ware were found in U10-Room-15. Motifs in relief, stipple stamping, paddled surface treatment and pieces of black plain-ware compose this assemblage. This sample makes up 19.4% of the style in the unit, 25.9% of the wares of the room and 4.4% of Unit 10.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

U10-Room-15 features 19 fragments of fancy wares, accounting for 11.7% of the category in the unit, 10.9% of the pottery of the room and 1.2% of Unit 10. Pieces of Casma style vessels, sherds of strap handle jugs, some of which show painted parallel horizontal lines or white painting on the vessel surface, and a sculpted representation of a human face with a stern or fierce expression compose this assemblage (Figs. 7.19, 7.22 and 7.23).

Moche style wares

Moche style pottery recovered from U10-Room-15 consists of 42 broken parts of stirrup

spout bottles, flaring bowls and sculpted forms, which constitute 11% of the style in the area, 24.1% of the ceramics of the room and 2.7% of the unit. Fragments of stirrup spout bottles show red painting and/or white slip. Curvy strokes and circles can also be noted as one case presents a vertical red line in the stirrup arch. Parts of spout and handle bottles are also present in this sample (Figs. 7.28, 7.29 and 7.30). The interior side of the rims of flaring bowls feature a white band and one case shows a zoomorphic design. Plastic decoration is represented by a human face wearing a forelock and another face in relief.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

A total of 68 rims of plain-wares such as jars, cooking pots and graters were encountered in this space, making up 8.5% of the category in the area, 39.1% of the pottery of the room, and 4.3% of the ceramic sample of Unit 10.

Unit 11

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

Excavations at Unit 11 yielded potsherds that correspond with black-wares typically associated with the Chimú style. This sample consists of 35 fragments, accounting for 8.1% of the category and 47.3% of the total pottery documented in Unit 11. The fragments recovered feature a polished surface, and some present relief decoration such as the goose skin pattern, highly diagnostic for late periods in the region.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Fancy wares found in Unit 11 are represented by 12 sherds, which constitute 2.6% the category and 16.2% of the total pottery from the area. This assemblage presents fragments of strap handle jugs as well as sherds featuring painting and plastic decoration. The sample also includes fragments with traits associated with the Casma style such as a sculpted plait, incised circles with a central dot and incised lines.

Moche style wares

Unit 11 yielded only one sherd of Moche style, making up 0.1% of the style sample, and 1.4% of the full pottery recovered from this area. It consists of the arc of the upper part of a stirrup spot bottle.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

26 fragments constitute the plain-wares found in Unit 11, representing the 1.8% of the category and 35.1% of the ceramics recovered from this area. They correspond with broken parts of jars and cooking pots made under an oxidasing firing atmosphere.

Units 12-13*Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)*

Works at Units 12-13 yielded 25 ceramic fragments of black-wares associated with the Chimú style, making up 5.8% of this category and 12.4% of the total pottery recovered from this compound. The sample consists of broken parts of black plain-ware. It also features strap handles as well as goose skin, incised and plastic decoration.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

The pottery sample of Units 12-13 feature 51 sherds of fancy wares and styles, accounting for 11.1% of this category and 25.2% of the total documented in these areas. The sample consists of fragments featuring plastic decoration, parts of sculpted vessels and Casma style motifs. It also shows pieces of strap handle jugs, some of which feature painted parallel horizontal stripes or a band painted on the rim. Other sherds feature simple white lines painted on their surface.

Moche style wares

38 fragments of Moche vessels were encountered in association with Units 12-13, occurring to be 4.5% of the style sample and 18.8% of the total ceramic of these trenches. This assemblage presents pieces of sculpted forms such as face-neck jars featuring a human character

touching its face, or other human attributes such an eye, an eye with a head ornament, an owl eye, a nose, teeth and hands, and a human face wearing a forelock. Broken parts of stirrup spout bottles and spout and handle bottles, as well as fragments with red painting on white slip or simple painting on their surface are also part of this sample.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

Plain-wares and utilitarian forms encountered in Units 12-13 is composed of 88 broken parts of non-decorated jars and cooking pots, sherds with soot traces, a spindle-whorl and a drilled fragment. This sample represents 6.2% of this category and 43.6% of the total ceramics found in the area.

Units 14-16 (Cemetery 1)

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

35 ceramic fragments constitute the black-wares associated with the Chimú style encountered in Units 14-16, making up 8.1% of the style sample and 20.8% of the total wares recovered from these units. The assemblage consists of broken parts of black plain-wares and decorated sherds. Amongst the latter there were accounted pieces featuring goose skin pattern, incised decoration and strap handles (Figs. 7.40).

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

Excavations in Units 14-16 yielded 36 sherds of fancy wares and styles, accounting for 7.8% of the category and 21.4% of the total pottery documented in these units. The sample consists of parts of strap handle jugs, some of which feature painted parallel horizontal stripes, fragments painted with simple white lines on the surface and plastic decoration of undetermined sculpted vessels (Figs. 7.41 and 7.42).

Moche style wares

The ceramic sample from Units 14-16 yielded 71 fragments of Moche vessels, occurring to be 8.3% of the style sample and 42.3% of the total ceramics found in these trenches. The

assemblage is composed of broken parts of decorated jars, stirrup spout bottles, spout and handle bottles, flaring bowls, dippers and sculpted forms (Figs. 7.43 and 7.44). Pieces of flaring bowls present painting on both the outer in interior sides, the latter may feature a horizontal white band which in one case included triangle motifs. This sample also includes sherds representing human faces, featuring the classic Moche oval eyes, broad nose and stern expression. These fragments could correspond with broken parts of either face-neck jars or stirrup spout bottles. One of the most noticeable fragments of this assemblage consists of a vessel's chamber showing in low relief part of a scene featuring two women standing in a stepped structure interacting with an arguably anthropomorphised bird. A larger version of this scene has been published by Donnan (1999, 2004) (Fig. 7.45). Fragments corresponding with the fineline painting style are also part of the sample, featuring designs of waves, the ladder and volute motif, beans, bands, spirals and geometric forms. Other painted sherds include red painting on white slip and white painting on red slip with designs of dots or lines.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

Plain-wares recorded in Units 14-16 are constituted by 26 broken parts of non-decorated jars and cooking pots, representing 1.8% of this category, and 15.5% of the pottery encountered in this area.

Units 8-9 (areas adjacent to Huaca Sector 1)

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

5 ceramic fragments of black-wares were found in Units 8-9, making up 1.2% of the category and 1.2% of the total pottery recovered from these units. Broken parts of black plain-ware and incised fragments compose this assemblage.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

72 fragments of fancy wares and styles were encountered in Units 8-9, accounting for 15.6% of the category and 17.4% of the total pottery documented in these units. The sample consists of pieces of plastic decoration such as a bird head. It also presents sherds of strap handle

jugs featuring parallel horizontal stripes, fragments with simple painting, a jar rim with negative painting and sherds showing Casma style decoration (Figs. 7.46 and 7.47).

Moche style wares

Excavations at Units 8-9 yielded 158 fragments of Moche pottery, making up 18.5% of the style and 38.2% of the total ceramics collected from these units (Figs. 7.48 to 7.51). The sample includes several painted fragments showing red painting on white slip background and white painting on red slip background. Identified designs correspond with dots, circles, bands, 'S' shape and undetermined strokes. Examples of plastic decoration include perforated false handles, incised and relief representations of human hands, human facial attributes such as a human nose, a whistling human face, as well as an arm holding a sacrifice knife, paralleled relief bands and spider legs.

Broken parts of typical Moche shapes were encountered in these units, such as stirrup-spout bottles, dipper, flaring bowls and different sculpted forms. Additionally, pieces of no-fired vessels are part of this sample, corresponding with a bottle spout, jar pieces and a sculpted leg.

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

The sample of plain-wares and utilitarian forms recorded in Units 8-9 is constituted by 179 broken parts of no-decorated jars and cooking pots, most of them presenting with a rough surface treatment, few of which feature soot traces. They account for 12.6% of the category and 43.2% of the total pottery encountered in these areas (Fig. 7.52).

Units 17-18-19 (Huaca Sector 1)

Black-wares (Chimú style and Chimú-related)

Diggings at Units 17-18-19 yielded a 22 ceramic fragments of black-wares associated with the Chimú style of the Late Intermediate Period, making up 5.1% of the category and 39.3% of the total pottery recovered from this compound (Fig. 7.53). Broken parts of black plain-ware, an incised sherd, a strap handle and a plastic decorated fragment compose this assemblage.

Diagnostic fancy wares and styles

3 sherds associated with fancy wares were recorded at Units 17-18-19, accounting for 0.7% of this category and 5.4% of the total ceramics documented in these units. The sample consists of three fragments of strap handle jugs, two which feature painted parallel horizontal stripes.

Moche style wares

Units 17-18-19 yielded 27 fragments of Moche vessels, occurring to be 3.2% of the style and 48.2% of the total ceramic of these trenches. The assemblage is constituted by fragments that correspond with the fineline painting style, featuring red lines on white slip which possibly are part of larger designs. The sample also includes broken parts of a face-neck jar, a stirrup spout bottle, decorated jars and flaring bowls (Figs. 7.54, 7.55 and 7.56).

Other diagnostic plain-wares and utilitarian forms

Plain-wares recorded in Units 17-18-19 are constituted by 4 broken parts of non-decorated jars and cooking pots, representing 0.3% of this category and 7.1% of the ceramics recorded in these areas.