
The Transitional Period Redefined as the Early Lambayeque Period: A Study of Elite Female Burials at San Jose De Moro

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
1. Socio-Politics in The Jequetepeque Valley.....	6
1.1 Background and Valley Description.....	6
1.2 Moche and Transitional Chronology: Ceramic Sequences Vs. 14C dating.....	9
1.3 Different Valleys Represent a United Religious and Ideological Identity.....	15
1.4 Comparative History Perspective.....	16
1.5 Wari Politics and its Effects on San Jose de Moro.....	17
1.6 Moche Religion Male-Based Until Late Moche Period.....	19
1.7 Conclusion.....	21
2. High Status Female Burials in The Jequetepeque Valley.....	24
2.1 Wari Influence in Elite Burials in SJM – The Late Moche Period.....	24
2.2 Wari Burial Practices and Women.....	25
2.3 Moche Religion and The Increased Religious Role of Women.....	27
2.4 High Female Status Demonstrated by Archaeological Evidence from Elite Burials in SJM	31
2.5 Conclusions.....	47
3. The Transitional Period as The Early Lambayeque Period.....	47
3.1 The Transitional Period as a Time of Change for the Moche, Not a Collapse.....	49
3.2 What Distinguishes the Transitional Period from the Preceding Late Moche Period? A Stylistic Analysis.....	49
3.3 What Similarities does the Transitional Period Share with the Preceding Late Moche Period? An Analysis of Mortuary Customs.....	58
3.4 Analysis of Social Markers.....	65
3.5 Female Elite Burials during the Transitional Period.....	66
3.6 Conclusions.....	72
4. Chapter 4: Elite Female Burials and Customs Continue into The Middle Lambayeque Period.....	73
4.1 The Transitional Period as the Missing Piece of the Puzzle.....	73
4.2 Lambayeque Period Tomb Data at San Jose de Moro.....	74
4.3 Compared Funerary Practices: Chornancap.....	79
4.4 Conclusions.....	84
5. Conclusion.....	85
Bibliography.....	90

List of Figures:

Figure 1. main Moche Valleys, Including Jequetepeque.....	7
Figure 2. Exact Location of San Jose de Moro Within the Jequetepeque-Chaman Valleys. Showing active occupation sites during The Moche, Transitional and Lambayeque Periods.....	8
Figure 3. Chronology of the Jequetepeque Valle Indicating phases and influences during each time period.	11
Figure 4. Stylistic sequence at San Jose de Moro showing different foreign influences which led to locals styles during each given period.....	12
Figure 5. The presentation theme as depicted on Moche stirrup spout bottles.....	29
Figure 6. Warrior ritual combat before the sacrifice ritual.....	29
Figure 7. Ceremonial cup found in Tomb M-U41.....	35

Figure 8 . Photograph and drawing of “Woman with Braids”. Found in a few Middle Moche Tombs including M-U 1515..... 36

Figure 9. “The First Priestess”. The First Discovered Moche Priestess.....37

Figure 10 . Offerings associated with the individual in tomb M-U41..... 38

Figure 11. The presentation theme as depicted on the Moche stirrup spout bottles.....39

Figures 12. The Moche Priestess Ceramic.....40

Figure 13. Drawing of a Moche priestess..... 40

Figure 14. Ceremonial cup found in Tomb M-U14.....40

Figure 15. The Young Priestess of tomb M-U103. She is surrounded by offerings..... 41

Figure 16. Fineline ceramic bottle from M-U103 (The Young Priestess) depicting a priestess on a reed raft..... 42

Figure 17 . The principal occupant of tomb M-U31, The “Girl Priestess” 43

Figure 18. The body of Tomb M-U41, notice the luxurious necklace and copper funerary mask to the right of the top of the skull..... 46

Figure.19 Cajamarca plate found in tomb M-U1111, from The Late Transitional Period..... 52

Figure 20. Costal Cajamarca plate also found in tomb M-U1111. Late Transitional Period..... 52

Figure 21. Casma Press-mold technique styles of The Transitional Period.....54

Figure 22. Example of Wari style cups. The Transitional Period. (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 32).55

Figure 23. Tomb M-U1403. This is an Early Transitional burial which shows different types of ceramics used in burials in the Transitional Period.....56

Figure 24. Middle Moche burial at San Jose de Moro. Individual is in dorsal extended body position.....59

Figure 25. Late Moche boot shaped Burial at San Jose de Moro. Individual is in dorsal extended body position.....60

Figure 26. Lambayeque Period burial. Individual retains dorsal extended body position. By the Lambayeque Period flexed burials had become more popular but dorsal extended burials still remained..... 60

Figure 27. Early Transitional (A) Tomb M-U615..... 62

Figure 28. Tomb M-U613, example of a Late Transitional (B) tomb..... 64

Figure 29. The Chamana of tomb M-U1221.....68

Figure 30. Tomb M-U1045..... 69

Figure 31. Early Transitional Tomb M-U1045..... 69

Figure 32. Copper plate of a Priestess holding a goblet..... 71

Figure 33. Drawing of copper plate found in the tomb depicting the priestess holding a ceremonial goblet..... 72

Figure 34. Body in flexed position, solo burial. Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro.....75

Figure 35. Bodies in flexed position. Group Burial. Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro.. 75

Figure 36. Presence of Funerary Groups.....76

Figure 37. Burial at San Jose de Muro with Huaco Rey Pottery..... 76

Introduction:

It is a common idea that men in Pre-Colombian Peru held the socio-political power. Recently, many female elite burials from the Moche, Transitional and Lambayeque Periods are changing this idea. At least in these cultures, there appears to be a continuity of burials of high status women (possibly priestesses) and the manner in which they were treated and interred. Based on this evidence, in this thesis, I explain that based on the recent available archaeological data, that I believe The Transitional Period is in fact The Early Lambayeque period, of which very little data has been excavated.

As a result of my analysis of the works of others who have studied the general subject (mainly: Castillo, Rucabado, Klauss, Jennings, Tung y Cook, Shimada and Swenson) I suggest that the timeline of the north coast needs to be slightly readjusted, allowing for The Transitional Period to be considered Early Lambayeque. This is not to say that these individuals have solidified this idea or strongly suggested that the Transitional Period is the Early Lambayeque Period, however they have suggested that the Lambayeque were Moche peoples. Based on their research, I believe enough evidence exists to at least call Transitional B Early Lambayeque. I agree with some of

these scholars mentioned above, that the Moche collapse of 800AD cannot really be considered a collapse but more of a rearrangement of ideology; a mixture of Moche and Highland cultures, which led to what we call the Middle Lambayeque Period. Since this is a very wide topic, I will primarily concern myself with the continuity of high class women burials in the Jequetepeque Valley, something that was immensely popular for the Moche and continued with few changes through The Transitional and into The Lambayeque Period.

This is just one continuity that exists between the Moche and Lambayeque but one worth researching as, up until recently, even in Moche culture, it was believed that power was in the hands of men. Many of these female burials show signs of decandancy (i.e. two women buried together, but during different times in the same fashion, possibly to show kinship relations or shared status as priestesses of the same cult). This research will demonstrate one of the many examples of why the Moche and Lambayeque cultures, while distinct, should be considered related: One people whose culture and ideology was changed by prestigious Wari influence (and other foreign elements) in a time of environmental and social chaos.

Chapter 1: Socio-politics of The Jequetepeque Valley

1.1 Background and Valley Description

In the Jequetepeque Valley we must divide the phases differently from Larco's phases I-V which works for the Southern Moche polities. Since the Jequetepeque Valley is located in the Northern Moche polities we must use the designation of Early

Moche, Middle Moche and Late Moche (Castillo 2010, Rucabado 2006 and Milliare 2002). This work focuses on the Jequetepeque Valley, mainly mortuary contexts at the ceremonial site of San Jose de Moro, since this thesis is studying continuity and change over time in Female Elite burials which are plentiful from the Late Moche period, through the Transitional/Early Lambayeque Period and into The Middle Lambayeque Period, at this site.

Where there once was a gap of archaeological evidence (The Transitional Period) in the regional sequence, excavations by Donnan and Castillo in San Jose de Moro have given us mortuary and social data previously unknown (Rucabado, 2006:22). To fully understand this area and the data found there, a description of the Jequetepeque-Chamán region must be given and a more detailed description of San Jose de Moro since it is a focus point for rich elite female burials.



Figure 1. The Northern and Southern Moche Regions

on the North Coast of Peru. Indicating the main Moche Valleys, Including Jequetepeque. (Castillo et al. 2007:4).

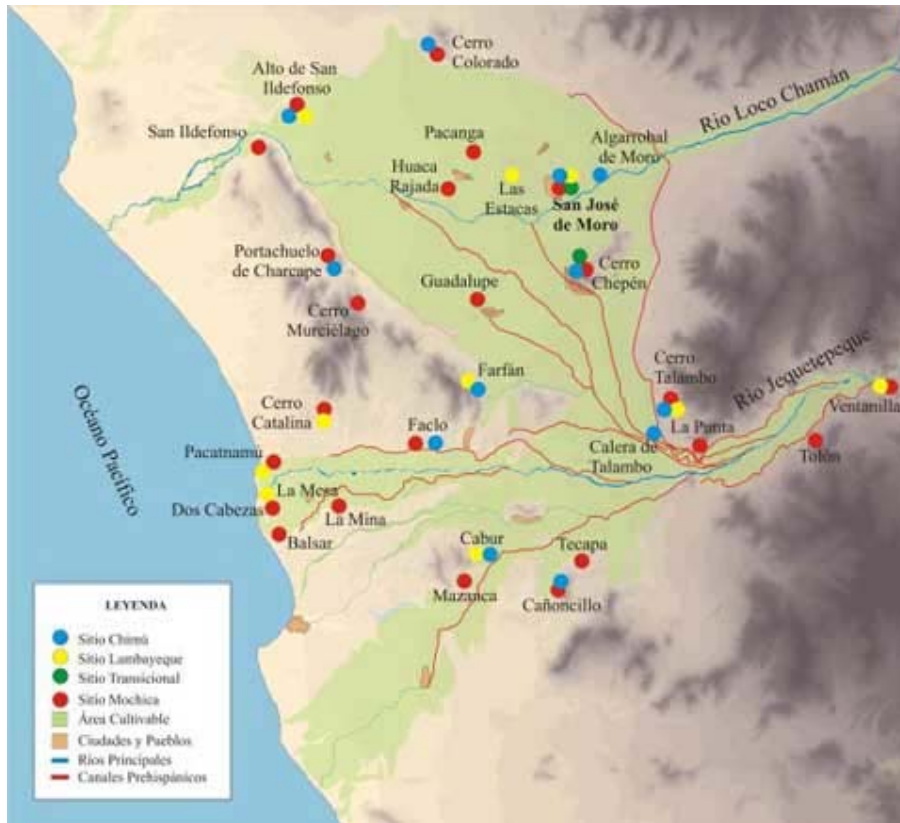


Figure 2. Exact

Location of San Jose de Moro Within the Jequetepeque-Chaman Valleys. Showing active occupation sites during The Moche, Transitional and Lambayeque Periods . (Castillo et. Al 2007: 5).

Jequetepeque and the Chamán valleys are located in the north within what is considered the northern Moche polities. The valleys were consolidated as a cultural unit beginning the Middle Moche Period, Subphase B , which today we call the “Jequetepeque-Chamán region”. San Jose de Moro is located within this region; it served as an elite cemetery and regional ceremonial center where chicha de jora was made. From its consolidation onward, the site was regularly occupied by pre-hispanic peoples into the Chimu-Inca Period up until 1432 AD.

San José de Moro is situated on ten hectares of land. It is located on a “non-irrigated sandy plateau” on the right side of the Chamán River in the Department of La Libertad, Province of Chepén, District of Pacanga. The Chamán River has an irregular

flow pattern and artificially receives water from the neighboring Jequetepeque River (Rucabado, 2006:20).

1.2 Moche and Transitional Chronology: Ceramic Sequences and 14C

Dating Revelations

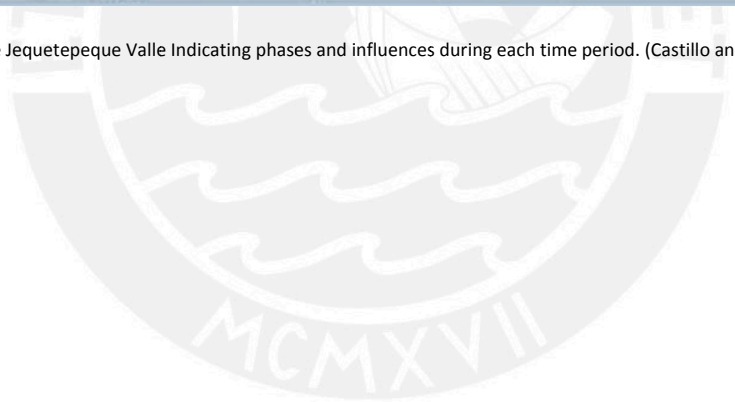
A generalized Moche Chronology is important to cover before I go further. Also a chronology is needed for the Jequetepeque Valley with regards to The Transitional Period, since the Transitional Period in San Jose de Moro is broken up into two phases A, Early Transitional and B, Late Transitional. It is also necessary to explain how some issues have arisen with the Moche ceramic chronological sequences with the improvements in 14C dating in recent years.

As I have already mentioned, investigations at northern Moche sites, such as San José de Moro, have demonstrated that Larco's five-phase ceramic sequence does not work in the North, and a revised three-stage (Early Moche, Middle Moche, Late Moche) ceramic chronological sequence has been adopted. This northern sequence correlates to Larco's sequence in the following manner: Middle Moche in the northern valleys appears to have been concurrent with the southern Moche III and IV, and Moche V in the south coincided with Late Moche in the north, even though Late Moche lasted longer than Moche V (Koons and Alex, 2014: 1041).



Figure

3. Chronology of the Jequetepeque Valle Indicating phases and influences during each time period. (Castillo and Rengifo, 2008: 5).



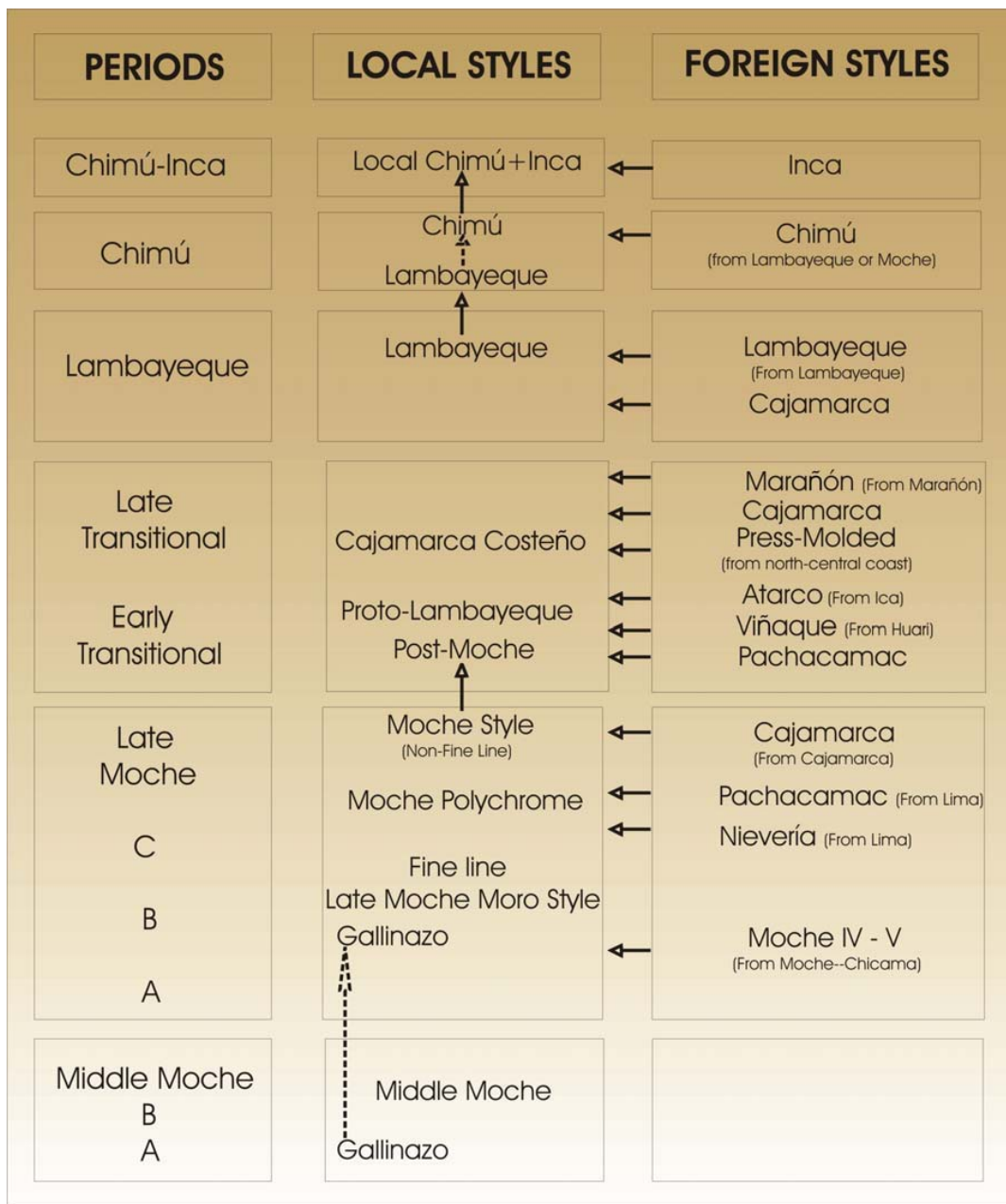


Figure 4. Stylistic sequence at San Jose de Moro showing different foreign influences which led to locals styles during each given period. (Rucabado, 2006: 26).

While the separate North and South Moche Chronologies has been widely accepted, as 14C dating methods (such as Bayesian modeling, AMS, and Consensus

calibration curves) have improved, many inconsistencies in applying the ceramic sequence for chronological purposes were noted. Prior to the improvement in 14C dating technology, it was assumed that the ceramic chronology was accurate at all sites, using either the Northern or Southern Valley ceramic chronology for a given site (Koons and Alex, 2014: 1042).

Lockard (2009) showed that Moche V at the site of Galindo was in use at the same time as Moche IV at Huacas de Moche. Before the improvements in 14C dating, it was thought that Huacas de Moche was abandoned around the time Moche IV was believed to have concluded, in AD 600, and the people that occupied the site of Huacas de Moche moved to Galindo and adopted Moche V ceramics. However, 14C dates indicate that people continued to use Moche IV ceramics at Huacas de Moche until at least AD 800, therefore the site was never abandoned for Galindo, neither was there a migration of Moche from one site to the other. The 14C data indicates that Moche V ceramics were used at Galindo between AD 650 and 800, making them contemporary with Moche IV ceramics found at other sites, such as Huacas de Moche (Koons and Alex, 2014: 1042).

A few Northern sites have recently (as of 2014) changed the idea of fixed Southern and Northern sequences. For the Southern Moche, we have already seen above how Moche IV and Moche V existed concurrently. But from there, it gets even more complicated.

Of the four Northern Moche sites which have been studied using 14C data, two are characterized by Southern Moche ceramics, which fits Larco's sequence. Other Northern Moche sites, which still do not have verifiable 14C dates, such as Huaca

Colorada and Pacatnamú have Southern Moche V ceramics (Koons and Alex, 2014: 1051). This indicates that not all northern sites follow the Northern sequence. Due to this, the original ceramic phases, Larco's 1948 Southern and Castillo and Donnan's 1994 Northern sequences, while they work for most sites, do not work for all sites, as seen by absolute chronology established by calibrated 14C dates (Koons and Alex, 2014: 1049).

Therefore, in light of these new, and accurate 14C dates, I support Koons and Alex (2014) in their affirmation that the Moche were not characterized by a northern and southern sphere, but instead, their analysis suggests that each valley had its own local ceramic style, while still being part of the aesthetic tradition that was Moche. In addition to this, Moche V ceramics at Pampa Grande and other Northern sites, could also suggest that people were in communication and even allied themselves through means such as marriage, religion, kinship, etc. (Koons and Alex, 2014: 1051).

According to 14C Dates, for the Site of San José de Moro, Late Moche ceramics were adopted at San José de Moro around AD 650. From the research and data provided by Koons and Alex (2014), we can see the original spread of Moche IV seems to have reached and influenced north coast ideology around AD 600, as aspects of Moche IV were adopted by north coast settlements around this time. Moche IV ceramic style was reinterpreted into varying local styles from which arose Moche V, Late Moche. Koons and Alex (2014) believe that our idea of Northern and Southern Moche should be reevaluated due to this, as it appears that time plays a larger factor than space in terms of shared ideology between the Moche peoples.

As Koons and Alex (2014) mention in their work, accurate 14C dating is still in its infancy. Their theories about how the current North and South ceramic sequences needing to be reexamined and a new theory (such as that given in their paper) may be found to be correct. But For the Jequetepeque Valley, the Northern Sequence is still appropriate as Early Moche, Middle Moche and Late Moche Periods are clearly defined.

For the Transitional Period, at the present time, stylistic sequences are a more useful chronological method than 14C dates as accurate 14C dates have yet to be published for The Transitional Period. The Transitional Period is generally considered to be from A.D. 750-900 or from A.D. 800-1000, these dates being approximations.

Using stylistic analyses for The Transitional Period, we can pin down a relative sequence in which The Transitional Period falls during The Middle Horizon 2 and 3 (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 38). Furthermore, The Transitional Period can be further broken down into Early Transitional (Transitional A) and Late Transitional (Transitional B). These individual layers show differences in stylistic sequences much like differences between Middle Moche and Late Moche. Two distinct layers were found by the San Jose de Moro Archaeological Project between 1991 and 1995. These layers were found between the Late Moche cultural layer and the later Lambayeque cultural layer in San Jose de Moro (and Jequetepeque as well) and were such dubbed "The Transitional Period" (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 16). Stylistic as well as mortuary customs separate The Early Transitional from The Late Moche Period, and The Late Transitional from the Early Transitional.

These two layers contain ceramics that show stylistic elements of The Late Moche Period as well as combining stylistic elements typical of the later Lambayeque Period present in San Jose de Moro. These two layers contain local elements in the Wari style such as Kero Ceramics with elevated bands located in the upper half of the ceramic body. Also some styles that remain from the Late Moche Period are present. Many ceramics show new neck and lip styles not previously seen in The Late Moche Period. Interestingly, the use of “paicas” the local term for large clay vessels or large earthenware jars, seems to have been significantly reduced compared to that of The Late Moche Period. In these layers we also find coastal cajamarcan style wares such as plates and vases of northern Wari style and bottles with black polish finish (Rucabado and Castillo, 17: 2003).

In chapter 3, I will go into a deeper discussion of the differences between The Early Transitional and the Late Transitional, with a discussion of mortuary and stylistic elements of The Transitional Period and what stylistic and mortuary styles changes between the two distinct Transitional layers.

1.3 Different Valleys Represent a United Moche Religious and Ideological Identity

To understand the socio-political atmosphere of the valley, it is necessary to know something about socio-politics of the Late Moche Period in general and also how different valleys often had different politics while maintaining a united religious and ideological identity. Archaeological evidence shows that the rise of what we call Moche culture sprung up in different valleys at different times and often followed a

different trajectory. In Piura for example, we have an example of an early Moche tradition that appears to have experienced a cultural drift away from Moche ideology and then therefore cannot be considered a pure form of Moche culture as we see in the Jequetepeque, Moche-Chicama and Lambayeque valleys. Castillo (among others such as Donnan) has developed a theory of the northern polities being separate political entities from the southern polities, where in some cases there was a more regional control and sometimes control via the separate valleys and their leaders (Castillo, 2003: 3). Most evidence at the moment for Moche political organization suggests that elites in the different valleys maintained control over their specific polities and regions but were bound together by shared ideology and religious practices.

We find a larger quantity of shared practices in the early and late Moche phases (Castillo B. and Quilter, 2010: 11-15). Therefore, in the Late Moche Period of the Northern Moche Polities we see a high correlation of shared beliefs and practices between the different valleys. However, San Jose de Moro can be an exception to this, as in Late Moche we have found Wari wares that we do not find in other areas.

1.4 Comparative History Perspective

From an anthropological and comparative historical perspective how can we view the Moche during all periods including the Late Moche Period? What was the social role of the elites in the Jequetepeque Valley? What are the main characteristics of Moche society? Is there something we can compare it to in the history of other cultures? Maya political structure has been compared to that of the Moche by scholars such as Benson.

In both cultures we see a correlation between ritual constructs of power expressed by art, a stratified, ranked society, control over craft and labor for the construction of portable art as well as important buildings (Benson, 2010:17-19). But one could argue that Egyptian Civilization shared many of the same characteristics. So then, what makes Maya culture more similar, or have a similar model to that of the Moche? The most convincing argument for this would be that both cultures produced narrative scenes featuring both mythical and daily life. Similar styles of ceramics are also seen such as a lack of geometric confines, a realistic artistic style which is not seen in other pre-Columbian cultures (Benson, 2010:19).

1.5 Wari Politics and the Effect on San Jose de Moro

During the Late Moche Period in Jequetepeque (San Jose de Moro to be more specific) we see an increase in the influence of sierra cultures such as Wari and Cajamarca (one could say that Wari style flowed to the coast via Cajamarca but this is still a debated theory). We also see influence coming from other areas in modern day Peru.

To really understand the political climate in San Jose de Moro (and the rise of the priestess class, which will be discussed later) it is important to understand how the Wari managed other areas such as the heartland, the hinterland and places where it only had influence and did not try to conquer. It appears that the Wari used different political strategies to exert control over different areas. Different strategies for allies, "colonies" and neighboring states and that these strategies changed over time (Jennings 2010, Jennings 2011, and Castillo et al. 2012:54.)

Evidence of Wari political organizations is rich but contradictory; it appears that the further a culture was from Ayacucho, political organization became more lax (Castillo et al. 2012:62). As there is no change in architecture, only Wari items of prestige; which were only used in funerary contexts and do not appear elsewhere (such as the areas of San Jose de Moro where chica de jora was produced,) invasion and conquest of the Jequetepeque Valley seems unlikely. Furthermore, a conquest or attempted conquest of the Moche seems wholly unlikely due to the fact that the Moche were not a single and homogeneous entity. Recent research suggests the conquest theory is incorrect as evidence suggests that The Moche were not socially or politically homogeneous. Instead of being a centralized state like the Wari, multiple polities coexisted in the northern valleys with varying levels of complexity, of which only a few of them seem to have developed interactions with the Wari (Castillo et al. 2012:54). Therefore, we cannot view Moche as a single, unified and centralized society which was ruled by a military elite (Moseley 2001) at Huacas de Moche. The Moche were a "sociocultural phenomenon" made up of independent interactive polities that shared a "flexible set of common ritual, social and political practices" (Castillo et al. 2012:54).

Knowing this, it is easy to focus on the Late Moche period and San Jose de Moro in Jequetepeque in particular. The Priestess class which came to power in The Late Moche period happened during a time of change both cultural and environmental. If we look at the Moche as polities (similar perhaps to the city-states of Greece) sharing a similar ideology and a "flexible set of common ritual" it is not surprising that the priestess class in San Jose de Moro was able to emerge.

1.6 Moche Religion Male-Based Until Late Moche Period

Moche religion seems to be widely male based in its early and middle periods with little references to women deities. It is worth noting that in Jequetepeque during the Middle Moche Period the richest tombs found belong to men such as those which have been uncovered at the ceremonial center of Dos Cabezas. Dos Cabezas collapsed due to the El Niño and the invasion of coastal sands which in turn lead to the collapse of the masculine elite's power (Swenson, 2012:184).

This leaves the possibility of a vacuum of power in Jequetepeque. In light of the failure of traditional Moche ideology and the El Niño effect, Wari influence became strong in the region. The rise of the priestesses seems to have been due to the degrading power of the male elites at Dos Cabezas in Jaquetepeque, the climate changes due to the El Niño and as Swensen believes, Wari influence. Shimada has theorized that these ecological problems in the valley could have to do with the priestess' rise to power (Shimada 1994). Tombs at San Jose de Moro reveal that during the Late Moche period, elites decided to include foreign items in their tombs, mainly Cajamarcan and Wari "revealing a social scenario of intense interpolity interactions" (Castillo et al. 2012:54.)

Why were these foreign items incorporated into elite funerary practices at San Jose de Moro and what does this say about the changes in Moche religion and socio-economic structure? The rise of the San Jose de Moro priestess class coincides with some religious changes (while not changing some enduring Moche traditions like the presentation theme) as well as the incorporation of foreign items.

The Priestesses are often associated with maritime symbols such as water, rafts and the moon in the iconography of The Late Moche Period in the valley (Swenson, 2012:184). While sun deities were always popular, moon deities and female deities seem to have taken root in the Middle Horizon Period (Swenson, 2012:183). The role of female deities appears to have developed quickly during the Middle Horizon Period. This being said, there always was a female deity in Moche religion, however her importance, especially in Jequetepeque, appears to have grown.

It is interesting to note that women deities in Moche fineline items appearing in San Jose de Moro in The Late Moche Period coincides with the appearance of the Dios de Los Baculos in the art and iconography of the sierra. Does this imply that Wari and Cajamarcan influence had to do with the rise of the priestess class in San Jose de Moro? Swensen claims that the diffusion of Wari/Tiwinaku ideologies helped “permit” the emergence of the priestess cult and the adoration of the lunar feminine deity. Furthermore, that the Wari did little to keep the cult of the priestess’ small and may even have been complicit in its expansion (Swenson, 2012:185).

Some groups in the Andes saw the feminine goddess and the priestess cult as a complementary opposition which gave legitimacy and power to the mountain God. However, it is clear that this idea may have not been shared by the priestess’ but that people of different groups viewed the situation as it favored them (Swenson, 2012:85).

Castillo (2012) has successfully argued that the interaction between the mountain cultures and the Moche of Jequetepeque “unleashed a chain of events of catastrophic consequences.” The priestess class and other Moche elites seem to have received power and prestige due to this interaction, as elites tightly controlled

ideology and what was and was not passed down to the lower classes. Having close relations with a foreign state which was at the time considered extremely prestigious was for a time beneficial to the Moche elites. However, this also set into motion a dependence on prestige of foreign powers) which eventually led to the demise of the Moche, according to Castillo (Castillo et al. 2012:54.)

1.7 Conclusions

Furthermore, Inclusion of foreign items contradicted Moche political discourse, even if it gave prestige to the elites for a time. Changes in Moche burial practices, practices used in sacred contexts, were part of the collective memory of the people of San Jose de Moro...changing burial practices via the introduction of foreign objects, seems to have thrown off an equilibrium between elites and the other classes which existed for centuries. The preservation of Moche ritual dogmatic standards, most importantly funerary practices, played an important role in the maintenance of the Moche superstructure. In the Late Moche Period there was much instability which did not exist in previous generations and it is very possible that ritual and dogma alone kept the Moche culture together as what we recognize as "Moche" (Castillo et al. 2012:65 -66).

The weakening of the superstructure due to the use of foreign objects undermined the dogma and ritual that had been practiced since The Early Moche Period and this would have discredited elite rulers, triggering a process of a loss of legitimacy that ended up weakening the political organization that sustained them (Castillo et al. 2012:66.) Archaeologist Christopher Donnan has suggested that all Moche art is sacred and that even the most "mundane representations are of religious

significance" (Quilter, 1990: 44). Therefore, it stands to reason that Castillo's conclusion that adding foreign items to Moche political discourse would have grave consequences; as all representations (funerary items being included as a form of art) would have had an important significance for the Moche which essentially bounded them together as a group.

Dependence on the prestige of foreign powers can only last so long, and for the Moche, it endured for their Late Period. I like to consider that the Moche did not "collapse" due to this influence or the El Niño that had been affecting the area for the last years of the Late Moche Period but instead I believe that this dependence on foreign items and the prestige one gets from being associated with them, led to a change in religion (which had already begun with the introduction of the priestess class as the most powerful class) and the introduction of prestigious Wari ideologies.

Therefore instead of an all-out cultural collapse I see the move towards The Transitional as more of a cultural revolution due to new ideas introduced in The Late Moche Period by other cultures, mainly Sierran cultures. As Swensen (2012) has pointed out, Finding Wari or Cajamarcan wares in burials is not a sign of failing religious ideology but instead a revitalization of it, which I believe we can see in the Transitional Period since some Moche constructs and ideas continued to be in use.

As the Late Moche Period came to a close and what scholars refer to as the pure form of Moche culture (that which still contained shared ritual and collective cultural memory) collapsed, a new era emerged, that which we call The Transitional Period. While this period was of relatively short duration, The changes that began in the Late Moche Period rapidly picked up pace as more and more foreign items began

to appear and burial patterns began to seem more like those of mountain cultures like the Wari, however we still see remnants of Moche culture. Larco favored the word fusional for this period due to the "fusion" of different cultural patterns. However, Transitional is now considered more appropriate as the mixing of patterns and ideas led to the Lambayeque culture being dominant in the San Jose de Moro.

In my opinion The Transitional Period shows many signs of being the yet undiscovered Early Lambayeque Period or Proto Lambayeque period. Hybrid styles were most common during The Transitional Period, and we can see many of the beginnings of what would eventually be Lambayeque (or The Middle Lambayeque Period.) which is why I like to consider The Transitional Period to be Proto Lamabyeque. As this chapter is about the socio-political atmosphere in San Jose de Moro and Jequetepeque at large during the Transitional phase, instead of going into a deep discussion of the continuities and changes in burial styles, (see chapter 3) here I will simply talk about the socio-political climate and the change from The Late Moche Period to The Transitional Period.

During The Transitional Period, new political alliances were forged, which expanding economic production, and new religious practices were adopted. Biological distance analyses have proven that Cajamarcan peoples arrived in the Jequetepeque Valley and "interbred" with local inhabitants at San José de Moro during both the Late Moche (~A.D. 650-800) and following Transitional (~A.D. 800-900, sometimes dated until 1000) Periods. Hybrid vessels that blended local Moche forms and designs with highland ones became increasingly popular, more so than in the previous Late Moche Period. During The Transitional Period we also see that people were interred to then

later have their bones “carelessly and aggressively” moved about and that new burials were added to these chamber tombs, often with Cajamarcan funerary objects which were added along with the new occupants. There also seems to be an increase in taste for Wari items as we find more Wari items in burials than the Previous Late Moche Period. (Castillo et al. 2012:66.) As the Transitional Period began to progress these hybrid items which has become increasingly popular began to look more and more like ceramics from the Middle Lambayeque Period giving credence to the theory that The Transitional Period was really a Proto-Lambayeque Period.

Chapter 2. High Status Female Moche Burials in Jequetepeque

2.1 Wari Influence in Elite Burials in SJM – The Late Moche Period

Elite Female burials did not become popular until the Late Moche Period (“popular” referring to various instances of rich burials for women, which is why the Lady of Cao is not being counted, as during that period it was a singular case as far as we know). I believe that extravagant elite female Moche burials were copied from the Wari tradition of elaborate burials for women. Elite female burials for the Moche (with the exception of Tomb M-U1515 (see later in this chapter)), such as the priestesses at San Jose de Moro coincide perfectly with the beginning of Wari influence in the region.

Since we know that it was not uncommon for Wari women of the upper class to be buried in a fantastic and rich fashion, it is definitely possible that the Moche, already looked at the Wari as a prestigious society that they wanted to be associated with, could have begun to bury their upper class women in a similar fashion, explaining

why we do not see many rich Moche female elite burials until Wari contact was well expressed in the archaeological record in the Late Moche Period.

There are multiple instances of elite Wari women being buried in a spectacular fashion, suggesting that it was the norm in Wari culture. We have some fabulous examples which may have led The Moche to copy this treatment.

2.2 Wari Burial Practices and Women

In an excavation conducted in the hinterland (Concopata to be exact) of the Wari empire (the capital tended towards richer burials due to the close cultural proximity and that many of the highest elites would have lived in the Wari capital) Tung et al. excavated a burial which included various women, possibly family members.

The senior female was buried with a turquoise bead necklace, two shell pendants carved into ducks, a carved turquoise frog, a female figurine, and a jar with a molded feline head and a painted body was also found associated with the body. A pregnant female in the tomb had a Huamanga vessel with a human hair braid inside. Even fetuses in the tomb received grave goods and special treatment such as being placed in a leather bag and then a vessel. Grave goods such as copper tupus, a ceramic spoon, and obsidian objects among other grave goods were found in association with the fetuses (Tung et al. 2006: 79-81).

The fetuses are obviously associated with the women in the tomb. Four of the women were wearing copper tupus, had blackware faceneck wari ceramics associated with their burials and were covered with cinnabar (Tung et al. 2006: 79). These women were intermediate-elites, however they were still afforded very impressive

burials. According to Tung “(Wari) females were afforded great prestige in burial treatment” (2006: 84).

Elite women at Concopata can be recognized by their placement in large stone funerary structures, similar to mausoleums, high class Wari women would also be associated with miniatures, turquoise objects, copper tupus, spondylus shells (more often associated with women of the higher elite due to the difficulty of bringing the item from the Far north), blackware face-neck vessels and depending on how high the status of the woman, various amounts of turquoise and gold could be found in the tombs.

There are more instances of women buried with gold and gold items and copper tupus in the capital than in other areas under Wari control, but it seems these traditions were adopted through out the empire (Tung et al., 2006:85). Another example where Wari women were given burials rich in grave goods was discovered by a Polish archaeological team at the Castillo de Haurmey. Three high ranking women were buried with more than 60 servants or sacrificial victims, gold objects, Wari quipus spondulyus shells, black wear ceramics and other luxury items (Quilter, 2013: 221-222).

Because Wari women were afforded such rich burials with such extravagant burial goods (even the intermediate elites as Tung et al. described in 2006) I believe that the Moche who viewed the Wari as an important and prestigious society may have copied rich burials for women of high rank in Moche society, and that is was pronounced in areas that were influenced by the Wari such as the site of San Jose de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley.

2.3 Moche Religion and Popular Customs

A discussion of Moche religion and the part women played in it is essential for understanding how elite Moche burials for woman began to spring up in the Late Moche period. Since the richest female tombs found to date are of priestesses (The priestesses of San Jose de Moro to be exact) it is important to understand the part priestesses played in the Moche religion and why they were not exalted to such a high status as far as burials are concerned until the Late Moche Period. Note: Moche Priestesses have been found in The Middle Moche Period. Tomb M-U1515 is a Middle Moche tomb. The finding of this tomb is curious as it is singular in nature.

Most of our understanding of Moche religion and ritual practices comes from iconography left behind on ceramic bottles or frescos at religious centers such as Huacas de Moche. Our current understanding of Moche religion is not the one god theory set forth by Larco but involves a pantheon of deities. A German iconographic investigation (Lieske 1992) found that there are six major deities that time and time again appear in the iconography of the Moche, and are thus, probably the principle deities.

These Deities are as follows:

- The Rayed deity who is always depicted with a cone-shaped helmet and was considered the supreme deity in the interpretations of Alva, Hocquenghem, and Donnan.
- The Warrior deity with a shirt of metal plates and a helmet with two crests.

- The female deity, dressed in a large tunic with a headdress adorned with feathers.
- The masculine Fisherman Deity, circled by a halo of club.
- The masculine deity of the hills, dressed with a semi-circular headdress with two crests.
- The masculine deity with a snake belt.

Other deities' existed as well in the Moche pantheon, however those mentioned above appear most frequently in the iconography (Gierz et al, 2006: 22). An important thing to note is that of the principal deities only one was a woman. This leads me to believe that until the Moche interacted with the Wari in the Late Moche Period, women were not taken as seriously as men, with few exceptions of course; such as the Lady of Cao.

The different valleys of the Moche while having different governments are analogous in a way to Greek city-states; separate but joined together through shared religion, culture, and rituals. Shared ritual activities such as the sacrifice ceremony, the coca taking ceremony, ritual runners and possibly ceremonial badminton (Bourget, 2006: 11, 39-40) and chicha making were an essential glue that binded the valleys together. What we know about each these ceremonial activities comes from the Moche iconography. We know most about the enduring Presentation Theme or Sacrifice ceremony.



Figure 5. The above

drawing (Donnan 1978:160) shows the presentation theme as depicted on Moche stirrup spout bottles. Drawn By Kerri Ann Wittholt-Provost.

The sacrifice ceremony consisted of a complex ritual of sacrifices where elite males would face off in combat and the loser would be sacrificed, their blood being offered to a supreme god, was then drank in tall goblets (Donnan 1979 and Bourget, 2006: 10). This ritual seems to have been very important for the Moche, as we see representations of it in every valley. It probably helped to keep the Moche of different valleys unified culturally.



Figure 6. Warrior ritual combat before the sacrifice

ritual, (Makowski, 2005) redrawn by Kerri Ann Wittholt-Provost.

From Pañamarca in the Nepeña valley to the Sipan discoveries in Lambayeque by Walter Alva, to sacrificial cups found buried with the priestesses of San Jose de Moro (Donnan et. Al 1992), we can see that this was a long, enduring part of Moche

religion which not only spanned all of Moche territory but still remained popular in the Late Moche Period when foreign items were being introduced. The tombs at San Jose de Moro are of particular interest because it would have taken a lot of investment to create such elaborate tombs with the grave goods included, something surprising considering the economic situation at the time due to the El Niños which has been affecting the area for decades.

We have less information regarding other ceremonies and rituals. What we do know about ritual runners is that they were high elites and are often represented in the iconography with a shovel-shaped plaque of disk as part of their headdress. At least five males of elite status have been found buried with copper disks. One woman was also found with a copper disk and a tumi knife indicating that she probably played a part in sacrifice rituals and may be associated with ritual running (Bourget, 2006: 39). So far, all ritual runner burials have been found near Huacas de Moche; whether archaeologists have not yet found ritual runners in other valleys or if it was something specific to the Moche Valley is still unknown.

Less still, is known about the coca taking ceremony and ceremonial badminton. What we do know is that individuals have been found that support the idea that the iconography of these events were real and did take place, and were not of a supernatural or mythical nature as, for example, one individual was found with a broken object which appears to have been a badminton instrument (Bourget, 1996:39). As far as the coca taking ceremony, with respect to the iconography in Huaca de la Luna; two individuals, priests, were found buried with items that can clearly be seen in the iconography such as a copper bottle identical to iconography

seen on bottles and an animal effigy made of copper which is also identical to that which is depicted in the coca taking ceremony.

Women in Moche religion do not seem to have a very important position until the Late Moche Period in areas with Wari contact (as we can see, of the main deities of the Moche pantheon only one is a feminine deity). They were always associated with the crescent moon (Giersz et al. 2005: 41) even from earlier periods. The importance of females, especially priestesses, peaked in The Late Moche period when Wari and mountain cultures influence peaked. I say “peaked” because earlier in this chapter I mention tomb M-U1515, which is a Middle Moche tomb which appears to be of a Moche Priestess.

2.4 High Female Status Demonstrated by Archaeological Evidence from Elite Burials in SJM

Previously, it was believed that men held the principle power in Moche society and religious life, as this is what the iconography shows us. But iconography can be a tricky thing, as much of the Moche elite iconography mixes the mythical with the real and sometimes doesn't account for differences in valleys. Grave goods from various sites will be examined to prove that male burials, while having particular status markers (such as a warrior) were not more intricate than the tombs of elite women such as that of the Priestesses of San Jose de Moro (see later in the chapter) and perhaps had more religious power and prestige than previously thought, especially in the case of the Late Moche Period in Jequetepeque, where the women were the principle players in Moche religion.

Beginning with the Lady of Cao she has male status markers as well as female status markers. In her bundle excavators found nose ornaments, ear spoons, ceremonial spears, crosiers and war clubs. These items are power symbols associated with high rank male characters (Barreda et al., 2007: 241). We now know that not all of these are power symbols only associated with males, such as earspoons or gauges, which have been found in many of the priestess burials at San Jose de Moro.

An interesting male burial is that of a priest, specifically Tomb M-U1727, located in San Jose de Moro. This male was buried with grave goods that clearly indicate that he belonged to the elite class. A Late Moche burial, the individual's attire was that of copper ornaments, a crown and around his neck was a necklace made of semi-precious stones. This tomb had more than 6000 objects associated with it, some ceramic, some metal, shell offerings such as spondylus, conus and strombus shells, and objects made out of semi-precious stones such as lapis, opal and turquoise (Castillo, 2009: 69). At first glance this seems to be a great wealth of items for one individual and in fact, there are more items of worth than in some other burials, male or female.

I believe that the extreme wealth found in this tomb has to do with the fact that two priestesses were buried with him. A guardian, two priestesses and two young individuals were also found in the tomb (Castillo, 2011: 65). While the guardian and two other individuals could be considered part of his entourage to the afterlife, I find the fact that two priestesses also present to be of some importance and may explain the wealth of the tomb, as priestesses were also buried with rich amounts of grave goods and valuable items.

An elite tomb called M-U1411, which pertains to the Middle Moche Period, could not be identified by physical anthropologist Dr. John Verano as either male or female. However, due to the funerary offerings, we can assume the individual was male due to status markers of a masculine burial, such as a chest plate. In this context the individual was found with a spondylus shell atop his chest plate. This is very significant to the burial as in The Middle Moche Period spondylus was not only more rare than in the Late Moche Period but also was used in ceremonies of blood offerings and other rituals (Castillo, 2009: 73).

There appears to be evidence of a ritual plan for this individual since the fifteen ceramic pieces found in the burial appear to have been placed in specific positions and order. We also find ritual attire in this context. This is probably due to a specific ritual that we still do not have knowledge of. Thirty-one metal rattles were also found underneath the body. The rattles had been broken down into sixty-two discs, half of which were decorated (Castillo, 2009: 73).

The fifteen ceramics associated with this burial are in themselves remarkable because it is a high quantity of ceramics for a Moche burial during this period. In fact, it is the largest registered at San Jose de Moro for the Middle Moche Period. The ceramics in themselves are interesting for stylistic reasons. In this context we do not just find ceramics that pertain to the Middle Moche Period, but also ceramics that relate it to contexts found at Sipan, Huaca de la Luna y Pacatnamú (Russell et al, 2008: 386).

Another elite male tomb, which also pertains to San Jose de Moro, but to the Late Moche period is that of M- U1512. The individual was between twenty and thirty

years of age. The elite male was buried with beads made of spondylus stone and other shells, semi-circle copper plates, three fine spoons; one of stone, one of metal and one of ceramic. Four plates of the costal Cajamaraca variety were found next to the body and the body was covered in red pigment. A younger individual, between fifteen to twenty years old, was also found but instead of in the normal extended position the younger male (obviously not the principal individual) was found seated with his knees flexed (Castillo, 2009: 77).

While male elite burials, the burials of Señores, held considerable wealth and certain markers of male status (weapons, certain metal items etc.) It does not appear that they were more elaborate or intricate than female burials such as those of the priestesses found at San Jose de Moro or that of the Lady of Cao in the Chicama Valley. The fabric of Moche society needs to be re-evaluated when it comes to the role women played in elite society and religious life. Though per the iconography it appears they did not play as big a role as males, it is becoming evident from excavations that the role of women in Moche society may still be poorly understood.

There has been some debate among scholars whether the rich Moche female burials uncovered in the last thirty years have been merely elite women or women that were priestesses, important not only in Moche religion, but in the socio-political sphere as well. Some scholars believe the women do not show signs of belonging to the religious world of the Moche. However, discoveries at San Jose de Moro are changing this.

Tomb M-U1515 is essential when discussing women's power in Moche society because it is the oldest Moche Priestess found in San Jose de Moro and is dated to the

Middle Moche Period. This indicates that while women's power in Moche society may have peaked in The Late Moche Period with Highland-Wari influence, women already had agency and some degree of power in Middle Moche society.



Figure 7. Tomb M-U1515, a Middle Moche

Priestess. (PASJM).

The grave goods associated with this tomb, as well as similar tombs such as M-U1513, M-U1411 and M-U1514, denotes that there was a female figure that played a parte in elite ceremonies in the Middle Moche Period (Ruiz, 2013:170-1). While the tombs other than M-U1515 have been male burials, with the exception of one which the sex could not be identified by Dr. John Verano, many grave goods indicate male status markers (Castillo, 2009: 73).

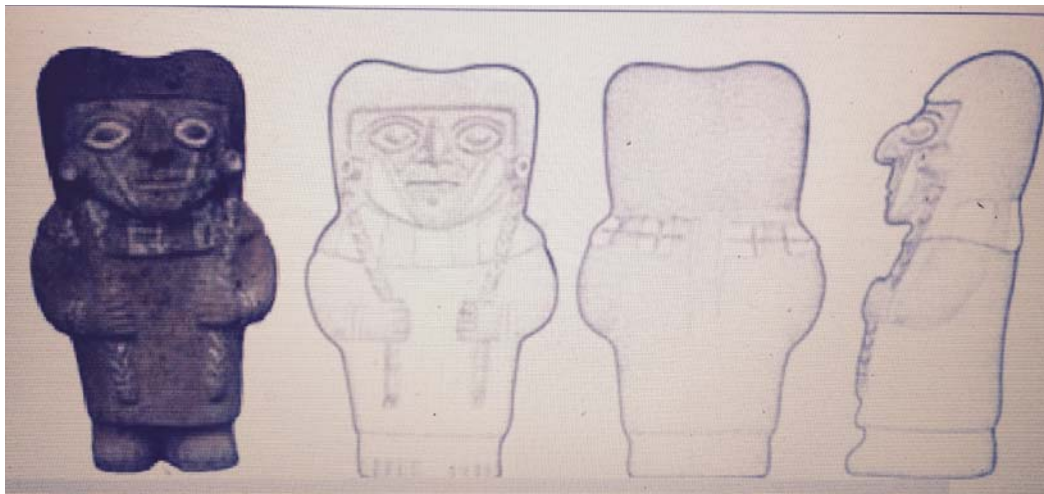


Figure 8 . Photograph and drawing of “Woman with Braids”. Found in a few Middle Moche Tombs including M-U 1515 (Ruiz, 2013:167).

The miniature “Woman with braids” is associated with tomb M-U1515, and is a representation of a priestess. The findings of these same miniatures in Middle Moche tombs such as M-U1513, M-U1411 and M-U1514 show that a priestess figure existed in San Jose de Moro before Highland-Wari contact in The Late Moche Period.

However, The power of the priestesses in San Jose de Moro, without question, grew in the Late Moche Period.

This miniature has characteristics of of a female priestess. The miniature is of women with two long braids and a biblobate headdress, ear gauges, a chest plate with a long tunic underneath and bracelets. This is known to be grave goods of a priestess. Ruiz (2013) believes that the woman may have even been buried dressed like the miniature. The headdress in dos halves (biblobate style) is the most obvious reference to a female priestess (Ruiz, 2013: 170).



Figure 9. "The First Priestess".

The First Discovered Moche Priestess. The Late Moche Period, San Jose de Moro. (PASJM).

With the discovery of the first elite female tomb at San Jose de Moro, M-U41, two very important objects that attach this woman to the priestess class were found. Among the total objects found in the tomb were: necklaces and bracelets made of materials such as shell, stone and bone, textiles as well as ear gauges with inlaid mosaic turquoise (Castillo, 2005: 8).

Seventy-three pieces of ceramic were found in the tomb as well as household items such as pots and pans, which appear to have been used in the dead's own home (thus were personal items in life). In addition to these items which only show upper class status, copper "feathers", ornaments of a complex ceremonial headdress were found attached to the coffin, which in Moche iconography is only worn by priestesses. A copper cup was found to the right of the woman's hand with a tapered pedestal, much like the cups shown in the representations appearing in The Sacrifice Ceremony,

which would contain the sacrificial blood. Among one of the many finely painted ceramic bowls and bottles, one of them shows a depiction of a priestess on a reed raft.



Figure 10 . Offerings associated with the individual in tomb M-U41.

(PASJM).

Another cup was found bearing an anthropomorphized being, which is also associated with the Sacrifice Ceremony (Castillo, 2005: 8).

Donnan, having discovered the first priestess and conducting excavations since 1991, has found that the most important discoveries at San Jose de Moro have been camera chambers of women priestesses associated with the sacrifice ceremony. At least one of the ceremonial cups was sent for testing and tested positive for human blood. The Moche left a large quantity of information about their beliefs and rituals via their detailed drawings, frescos and ceramics. One of the most intricate and important designs is that of “the burial ceremony” of a person of importance. This design was found in one of the priestess’ tombs in 1992 as a ceramic representation. The drawing

has many similarities to the tomb itself. Something important about the tombs is that that we can identify with certitude the social position of the person there. These women are definitely priestesses associated with the sacrifice ceremony or presentation theme as it is sometimes called (Donnan 1978).



Figure 11. The above drawing (Donnan, 1978:160) shows the presentation theme as depicted on the Moche stirrup spout bottles.

Drawing by Kerri Ann Wittholt-Provost.

The four final objects mentioned in association with the last priestess mentioned are a sign that this woman was a Moche priestess. Among these items I find the bottle with the priestess painted on it and the cups most exception because the cups tie directly to the sacrifice ceremony and the bottle clearly shows the image of a priestess.



Figures 12. and 13. Moche Priestess, Ceramic (Castillo 2005: 7); Drawing of a Moche priestess ((Makowski: 2005: 79) redrawn by Kerri Ann Wittholt-Provost.

The most important object found with the woman is definitely the cup or goblet which without a doubt ties the woman to the sacrifice ceremony (even more so since traces of human blood have been found), which tells excavators that she participated in the ceremony. As the iconography shows, the only part a woman could play in the ceremony is that of priestess.

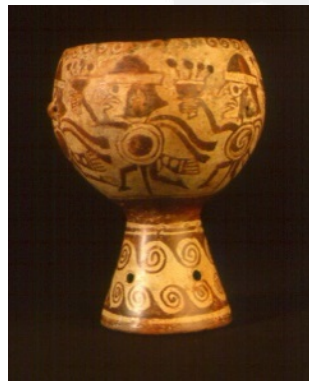


Figure 14. Ceremonial cup found in Tomb M-U14. (Castillo and Rengifo, 2008:

23).

In 1992, another priestess was found in close proximity to the first tomb. Thus, it appears this was a burial area within the cemetery reserved for priestesses (Castillo L.J, 2006) The principal occupant of the tomb (Tomb M-U103 dubbed the "Young Priestess") turned out to be a woman in her early to mid-twenties. In this tomb we also

find a wealth of ceramics and metal pieces along with spondylus shells (Castillo, 2007: 9).



Figure 15. The Young Priestess of tomb M-U103. She is surrounded by offerings. Her copper funerary mask is above the skull. (PASJM). Figure 6 29, 35,36,37 38, 39, 40 40 40, 41, 42

In this tomb we also find evidence that unequivocally denotes her as part of the priestess class. Along with the metal adorned head dress similar to that found in the previous priestess' tomb, excavators also found a ceremonial mask and a copper cup which would have been used in the sacrifice ceremony. Excavators also found in tomb M-U103 a bottle with a depiction of a priestess on a reed raft, similar to that which was found in the previous tomb (Castillo, L.J, 2006.)

The items found in this tomb denote her as part of the priestess class, but most probably due to her age she did not have the time to accumulate the wealth of the former priestess, as excavators found lower numbers of ceramics and valuable items. This tomb was dated to a short time after the first priestess, but in both cases we see

foreign influence in the bottles and ceramics left in the tomb. While the first priestess showed more ceramic of the Cajamarca variety, this tomb shows a high association with Wari grave goods. (Castillo, 2007:9). This possibly indicates that by this period prestigious Wari influence was beginning to take hold.



Figure 16. Fineline ceramic bottle from M-U103 (The Young

Priestess) depicting a priestess on a reed raft. (PASJM).

Excavators have found that high status women were buried in a manner that showed their wealth and power in life, along with being buried with items they used in life, such as the household items, such as the wares found in Tomb M-U41. A common factor in high status female burials are finely painted ceramics that apply to the period, necklaces, bracelets and chest plates, earspools or gauges and in some cases cups that would have been used in the sacrifice ceremony demonstrating their roles as priestesses.

In tomb M-U30 a Young child was found. She was found surrounded by llama bones, copper and ceramics. Six children were buried with her to accompany her into the afterlife. The girl was surrounded by offerings of ceramic models, she was in a

rectangular coffin decorated with copper strips with her body in an extended position. One of the objects found was a stirrup bottle with a depiction of a priestess on reed raft. This version of the bottle contains depictions of the moon (known to be associated with priestesses even before the San Jose de Moro priestess cult emerged (Castillo 2005).



Figure 17 . The principal occupant of tomb M-U31, The “Girl Priestess”. (PASJM).

It is worth noting that the girl priestess, while she had a wealth of grave goods, did not accumulate the same wealth as others. We can assume this is due to the fact that she was just a girl and, thus, did not live long enough to acquire more status items. The association of the young girl with the priestess class and the discovery of the stirrup bottle with the priestess depiction in Tomb M-U30 worth noting. In Moche iconography we do not see young children participating in ceremonies or taking on the role of a priest. In this case I believe from the lack of iconography, that the wealth of

Tomb M-U30 along with the stirrup bottle showing a priestess indicates girls were chosen from a young age to be part of the priestess class.

The absence of a ceremonial cup may signify that the child in Tomb M-U30 may never have participated in the Sacrifice Ceremony due to early death. In any case, the finding of a child priestess is valuable in itself because it is evidence that the Moche chose their priestesses when they were extremely young. The excavation of more burials of child priestesses would support this idea that the Moche chose the priestesses at a very young age, thus more child burials with priestess associations would need to be found.

Not all high status burials are equal. As noted earlier, there have been tombs found that have a higher quantity of grave goods or are of higher quality in both Moche and Wari burials. This could be due to age as in the case of the girl priestess, but also could have to do with the rank of the priestess herself. Moche priestesses had, by far, the most intricate burials. However all not being equal even with age being constant, shows that some priestesses may have belonged to a higher priestess class or were more important or active than others (Nelson, 2007: 124).

To demonstrate this difference, I will refer back to the three priestess I wrote about in the section of this chapter from the Late Moche Period. I will here give more detail to the grave goods buried with these ladies which shows their status in Moche society. Moche burials and styles changed through time but generally for the upper class, elites would be buried in temples or special parts of cemeteries dedicated to elites (Nelson, 2007:123). This is the reason why we find many priestess burials in

close proximity to each other, the assumption being that this part of the graveyard was reserved for the priestess class.

Returning to tomb M-U41, this individual was buried cemetery-style, the main room being seven meters below the surface. Wooden beams can be found at the top of the adobe structure and were covered with a fake floor (Castillo, 2005: 8). The underground chamber was divided into two areas: one which contained the skeletons of two young women, probably killed shortly before the burial as a sacrifice or to accompany the priestess, and the main funeral area itself, where most offerings were found surrounding the skeleton of a short, robust woman just over forty years old. This woman is the key individual of the burial. The coffin in itself is quite peculiar, as the coffin had metal arms, legs, sandals and a large funerary mask "sewn onto" the coffin, giving it a human-like appearance (Castillo, 8:2005).

Artifacts associated with the priestess include ceramics, ear gauges or spoons with turquoise inlay, necklaces, and bracelets of bone, metal and shells. Sewn onto the coffin we find what look to be copper feathers and a ceremonial headdress and chest plate. Seventy-three pieces of ceramic were found with the lady, another indicator of high status. We also find household items used in life such as pots and pans as well as stirrup bottles and other fineline pottery. Tomb M-U41 also contains a stirrup bottle of a priestess on a reed raft and two ceremonial cups, one ceramic, one of smelted copper. This priestess was also buried with non-Moche ceramics from the coast and Cajamarca, something unusual at the time of the burial (Castillo, 2006).

"The Young Priestess" of M-U103 while having the characteristics of a priestess, previously discussed in this chapter, was also buried with items that denoted her

status not only as a priestess but as someone of the elite class. The woman, reached approximately twenty years of age. Her coffin was similar to that seen in Tomb M-U41. A copper burial mask was found along with many metal and ceramic pieces. Spondyllus and necklaces using this Shell were also found (Castillo, 9:2005). Spondyllus shells were of very high importance in Moche society and denoted status as they were not a local product but had to be traded and brought from modern day Ecuador.

Llama bones and that of a male chaperone were also found associated with the burial. Along with the typical Moche pottery found with this individual we also find Cajamarca and Wari ceramics (Castillo, 2005: 9). Wari ceramics were particular signs of status as the Wari empire at the time was a prestigious society.



Figure 18. The body of Tomb M-U41, notice the luxurious necklace and copper funerary mask to the right of the top of the skull. (Castillo and Rengifo, 2008:25).

In another excavation in San Jose de Moro, another “priestess” was found in close proximity to the other, the same part of the San Jose de Moro cemetery. This

tomb is called M-U1525 and has been dubbed “The Last Moche Priestess”, as it appears she was the last priestess buried before The Transitional or Proto-Lambayeque period began. The tomb has a rectangular shape with a bench that divides the tomb into two separate levels. A wealth of grave goods were found associated with the priestess. Some of the most important being a ceremonial metal cup (a tie to the sacrifice ceremony as explained above), two metal masks, a crested headdress, two bottles depicting a winged feline, metal plaques that fit one of the two coffins found in the burial and nine painted models of houses. The ceramics found in this burial are not only Moche but come from many cultures. (Castillo, 2011:65) This gives us a good archaeological record of the political and social transformations that were happening when the Late Moche Period was eclipsing and The Transitional beginning.

2.5 Conclusions

These tombs show the wealth and socio-political power these priestesses had. Some had time to accumulate more wealth than others, but from the grave goods found we know that these were important women in Moche society. Findings such as metal items spondyllus shells, luxurious necklaces, many pieces of ceramics and ceremonial cups with traces of human blood show the power and prestige these ladies received in life, and their probable deification in death.

Chapter 3: The Transitional Period as The Early Lambayeque Period

3.1 The Nature of The Transitional Period as a Time of Change for the Moche, Not a Collapse

How can we view the end of the Moche? Failure of Moche ideology and political strategy during times plagued by the El Niño leading to a collapse of Moche society is the most accepted theory. However, is it possible to view the end of the Moche era and the beginning of the Transitional Period not as a collapse, but instead as a time of change for the Moche Peoples? Highland and other coastal cultures had exerted influence starting in the Late Moche Period. Thus, The Transitional Period can be viewed as the result of Moche culture mixing with other cultures in the Late Moche Period. Therefore, as El Niños ravaged the coast and traditional ideology and religion did not improve the situation, The Moche began a process of incorporating prestigious ideologies into their culture. By the time of the Transitional Period, Moche culture had changed so remarkably due to the introduction of foreign culture that it can no longer be considered classic Moche in nature, which has led to the assumption of collapse.

Instead of the collapse theory, I believe that Moche culture slowly changed until it became unrecognizable as Moche and eventually matured into Lambayeque culture. In order to support this alternate idea, two things are important to consider 1) what was the nature of the Transitional Period: what new things were introduced and what things stayed constant? And 2) what Moche characteristics can be seen in the Middle Lambayeque Period? Analyzing these questions can help one to view the Transitional Period not only as the being of Lambayeque culture (therefore, as the Early or Proto Lambayeque Period) but also still being a Moche culture in nature.

There are two points of view regarding The Transitional Period. Was there a clear period of transition that we can see in the archaeological record between what is considered the end of the Moche and the beginning of the Lambayeque and Chimú

cultures? Or was the transition from Moche to these other cultures quick and somewhat of an “automatic transition”? The studies conducted in the funerary and ceremonial center of San Jose de Moro since 1991 have allowed archaeologists to better understand the Transitional Period from a general perspective (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:15).

I agree with Rucabado and Castillo (2003) and Rucabado (2006) That it is necessary to study both phases of The Transitional Period (The Early Transitional (A) and the Late Transitional (B)) to truly understand the changes that went on during this period. Does the Early Transitional Lean more heavily on Moche customs that the Late Period? This is an important point in understanding this period and the relationship between the Moche and the Lambayeque. Analyzing ceramic styles and mortuary customs, and how they changed through The Transitional Period, is the best way to shed light on the Moche/Lambayeque relationship.

3.2 What Distinguishes the Transitional Period from the Preceding Late Moche Period Stylistically?

The Transitional Period at San José de Moro, can be defined through a stylistic analysis of ceramic objects from burial contexts and layers corresponding to the time period. The beginning of the Transitional Period is characterized by the disappearance of the highly standardized Moche fineline painted vessels which have been found in great quantities in the preceding Late Moche Period. There is also a disruption of the use of boot-shaped tombs. Prior to the Transitional Period, the ceramic vessels found in mortuary contexts were most commonly traditional Moche ceramics and Moche Policromo vessels with Wari stylistic elements. Only elite burials show evidence of

imported ceramics from Cajamarca, Wari and Wari-coastal combination styles (Rucabado, 2006: 40).

In 1991 and 1995, two layers were found between The Late Moche layer and the later Lambayeque layer by the San Jose de Moro Project and were thus called "The Transitional Period" (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 16). These layers contain ceramics that show stylistic elements of The Late Moche Period as well as combining stylistic elements typical of the later Lambayeque Period present at San Jose de Moro. These layers contain local elements in the Wari style such as Kero Ceramics with elevated bands located in the upper half of the ceramic body. Also some styles that remain clearly of the Late Moche Period are present. Many ceramics show new neck and lip styles not previously seen in The Late Moche Period. In these layers we also find coastal cajamarcan style wares such as plates and vases of northern Wari style and bottles with black polish finish (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:17).

During The Transitional Period, the presence of imported or copied vessels became much more common in mortuary contexts. During this period highland styles and foreign coastal styles became incorporated into what became the norm for burial assemblages of the period. Rucabado and Castillo (2003) and Rucabado (2006) have suggested that the Transitional Period was the time when cultural synthesis occurred due to a mixing of the local Moche traditions with that of foreign political entities in the highlands and central coast. Castillo and Rucabado also claim that this cultural synthesis started in The Late Moche Period. Therefore, the Transitional Period can be viewed as a continuation of this cultural fusion.

The majority of Moche style pieces found in The Transitional Period are of intermediate quality. Therefore, they lack a finish and decoration that we would consider fine (such as fineline or ceramic with pictorial decoration). However it isn't considered domestic as it lacks finger prints and certain crudeness associated with domestic items that would have a functional use. Domestic items in Moche style are often associated with The Transitional Period (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:24).

A continuation of Late Moche Period ceramic styles continues into The Early Transitional Period at the local elite level. This has been confirmed thanks to findings in tomb M-U615. While tomb M-U615 contains Proto-Lambayeque and Coastal Cajamarca ceramics, the majority of ceramics in the tomb are of the Post-Moche pottery styles (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 22, Rucabado, 2006: 132).

Before going into greater depth about stylistic continuity from Late Moche to the Middle Lambayeque Period (which would help support a claim for the Early Lambayeque Period occurring in San Jose de Moro) It is important to discuss the different ceramic styles found at San Jose de Moro during The Transitional Period, as the fusion of many of these styles appears to have led to the next dominant style in the valley, The Lambayeque.

Common styles found during The Transitional Period at San Jose de Moro are: Post Moche, Proto-Lambayeque/Lambayeque Coastal Local, Wari, Casma press-mold, Coastal Cajamarca and Cajamarca Mountain. Many of the non-Post-Moche styles, used Moche themes. The Cajamarcan Mountain style is expressed in The Transitional Period by imported pieces of high quality which correspond to The Middle Cajamarca Period. A Coastal Cajamarcan version also exists. The Cajamarcan Coastal version is one

of the most often found ceramic types associated with The Traditional Period (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:24).



Figure.19 Cajamarca plate found in tomb M-U1111, from

The Late Transitional Period. (PASJM).



Figure 20. Coastal Cajamarca plate also found in

tomb M-U1111. Late Transitional Period. (PASJM).

This style is characterized by the presence of plates with ringed bases, cream slip, pictorial decorations, circular patterns with lines, and fine lines in a winding pattern making x or spiral designs. The iconography of the coastal variety differs from the imported mountain variety. However, the decorative style is copied (note: slip cream and polished surface finish. Variants of this style have also been found in Batán Grande in Lambayeque where they were called “sican painted plates”) (shimada 1982,85; Rucabado and Castillo 2003:24)) The origin of this style has been found in

Pampa Grande at the end of The Late Moche Period occupation (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 24). Since this style has its origins in The Late Moche Period occupation of Pampa Grande, it could be argued that it came to San Jose de Moro already as a fusional style of the mountains and the coast.

The press-molded Casma style, which also has a common presence in The Transitional Period, can be seen in Moche Periods but became better developed during The Transitional Period. It is also the first time where we can see the Casma press-molded style as influencing the styling of local ceramic production at San Jose de Moro. The press-molded Casma technique is fused with common Moche themes. The Casma style vessels continue to show Moche iconographic characteristics such as animals above crescent moons, humans in sexual positions, felines confronting one another and marine scenes. Even though the manufacture style of the vessels is different from Moche, we can see certain Moche are later incorporated into Chimú and Middle Lambayeque styles (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 28). The Casma style in Jaquetepeque is, in itself, a fusion style, as it combine the Casma press-mold technique with Moche iconography and themes.



Figure 21. Casma Press-mold technique styles of The Transitional Period.

(Rucabando and Castillo, 2003: 29).

Many Wari styles seen in the Transitional Period were first introduced in the Late Moche Period (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 28-29). It is for this reason that the Early Lambayeque style seen in San Jose de Moro is so interesting for this topic, since it borrows the majority of its stylistic elements from Moche and Wari fusion (that is not to say that the following Lambayeque style didn't borrow elements from other cultures above listed, such as Casma and the two Cajamarcan varieties). Wari ceramics found at San Jose de Moro during The Transitional Period have the following popular styles: bottles with reduced ovular bodies with high divergent necks, bottles whose bodies are in the shape of a tear and the third very common style is that of a cup with elevated bands in the superior part of the body (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 28).



Figure 22. Example of Wari style cups. The Transitional Period.

(Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 32).

Early Lambayeque wares that appear in The Traditional Period are very important with regards to the theme of this thesis. The Early Lambayeque ceramic group in San Jose de Moro includes pieces locally produced during The Transitional Period, which combined foreign influences with local patterns present since The Late Moche Period. This fusion is the beginning of the new and later Lambayeque style which would become prominent in the area of San Jose de Moro as well as in what would become the Lambayeque Hearland in La Leche (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 24).

At the end of the Moche Period, there was a tendency towards reduced pieces which continues into The Transitional Period. These pieces include representations that are both zooamorphic and anthropomorphic in nature. Zooamprphic pieces often are represented at the superior or upper part of the ceramic vessels showing iguanas, monkeys, parrots, ducks and owls. Many Anthropomorfic ceramics show the beginnings of the “Lambayeque Lord/Sican Lord” which later became the central

iconographic figure for the later Middle Lambayeque State (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 26.)



Figure 23. Tomb M-U1403. This is an Early Transitional burial which shows different types of ceramics used in burials in the Transitional Period. Among other assemblages, we can clearly see the proto-lambayeque double spout-bridge in the front, as well as some cajamarcan plates. (PASJM).

The double spout-bridge design first came into usage in San Jose de Moro in The Late Moche Period but was further developed in The Traditional Period. This piece is an example of an often mixed iconography, as it uses Moche polychrome along with popular Wari themes. The Last Moche of San Jose de Moro were often buried with this type of vessel style, with such trimmings as a reduced finish and bird designs (probably a parrot). The design eventually underwent changes on the bridge and spouts and acquired a previously unseen base as it became incorporated into Middle Lambayeque Style (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:26.)

This thesis primarily focuses on the continuity of the priestess class and high status women in San Jose de Moro. To properly support this continuity, stylistic continuities need to be visible in The Late Moche Period, The Transitional Period (or Early Lambayeque Period) and into The Middle Lambayeque Period in the region.

In the Jequetepeque-Chamán region, stylistic variants from the traditional Southern Moche art (Coming from the Moche Valley) are also present. Jequetepeque locals adapted the press-molded technique (The Casma technique explained in page 46-7) to represent local designs, the most common of which being maritime scenes that were extremely common in the art of the Late Moche Period in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region and continued to be proliferated in art from the Middle Lambayeque Period (McClelland 1990, Castillo 2000; Rucabado 2006: 44; Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 28),

Furthermore, during the Transitional Period, there is evidence that Lambayeque style may have had local origins in Jequetepeque rather than imported from the Lambayeque valley. Some of the stylistic elements which we know of as Proto-Lambayeque or Early Lambayeque style have origins at the end of the Late Moche Period. This development picked up pace and continued into the Transitional Period due to a mixing of traditional iconographic elements of the Moche style with Wari styles that were locally copied in Jequetepeque. Later, Early Lambayeque designs evolved into what is known as “corporate Lambayeque style” in the Lambayeque Valley. Therefore, it appears that the Early Lambayeque style from San José de Moro could be considered the origin point of the later Lambayeque “corporate style”; that it began in The Late Moche Period and proliferated during the Moche-Lambayeque transition (Rucabado and Castillo 2003; Rucabado, 51: 2006). There is evidence to suggest that Shimada’s Early Sican style from Batan Grande (Early Lambayeque for the hinterland) corresponds to the Early Lambayeque style discovered at San Jose de Moro during the Transitional Period. In San Jose de Moro, archaeologists have discovered Early Lambayeque ceramics extremely similar to Early Sican ceramic pieces recovered

by Shimada (Shimada 1990) in burial contexts at San Jose de Moro (Rucabado, 2006: 44-5).

3.3 What Mortuary Customs Does The Transitional Period Share with the Preceding Late Moche Period?

Mortuary Customs can tell us much about a culture. The ways in which people bury their dead, and the grave goods they include often give us the most substantial information about a period and what life was like. Bioarchaeologists can tell us about nutrition and whether life was arduous or tranquil during said period. Archaeologists can analyze whether a culture was isolationist (Like Early Moche Periods) or if there was a period of cultural diffusion based on grave goods and other customs such as body orientation, and whether individuals are buried in flexed position (indicative of highland influence) or extended position, which was popular during the Moche Periods.

During the Transitional Period, almost all burials have the same general orientation of the graves as far as body placement is concerned. Bodies are almost always placed in a southwest-northeast axis (Rucabado and Castillo 2003, Rucabado 2006). This orientation axis was popular in many different regions during the Moche periods and continued to be used as part of the mortuary rituals in San Jose de Moro during The Transitional Period (Donnan 1995, Rucabado 2006). Rucabado claims that “The mortuary structure and the bodies coincides with the prevailing direction of winds on the north coast, coming south/southwest from the ocean in direction north/northeast to the highlands” (Rucabado, 2006: 54).

Another continuity between Moche and the Transitional Periods is the position of the body. By the Lambayeque Period, extended body positions had mostly been replaced with the highland seated (flexed) position. In the great majority of burials we find individuals placed in the extended position, however, there were individuals which were interred in San José de Moro in a seated position during The Transitional Period (Rucabado and Castillo 2003, Rucabado, 2006: 54).

The dorsal extended body position is a traditional element of funerary customs of the north coast populations. Therefore, this tradition was part of the collective memory of the people of the north coast. This did not change until the introduction of burials in a seated position, which became popularized as highland influence increased and, thus, became the preferred method by the time of the Middle Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro (Moseley 1982; Rucabado 2006).



Figure 24. Middle Moche burial at San Jose de Moro.

Individual is in dorsal extended body position. (San Jose de Moro Project)



Figure 25. Late Moche boot shaped Burial at San Jose de Moro.

Individual is in dorsal extended body position. (PASJM).



Figure 26. Lambayeque

Period burial. Individual retains dorsal extended body position. By the Lambayeque Period flexed burials had become more popular but dorsal extended burials still remained. This maybe due to an important collective memory of how persons should be buried on the north coast. Bernuy, 2008:56.)

Another Moche burial tradition that clearly continued into the Transitional Period is that of hierarchical burial distributions, which was first recognized by Donnan (1995). Hierarchical burial distribution implies that elites (especially high status elites) must be buried deeper in the ground than those peoples that make up the lower social classes. The necessity of mausoleums and burial chambers of elites at a greater depth is, as of present, the best theory for why boot-shaped tombs fell into disuse in The Transitional Period. By replacing boot-shaped tombs with shallow pits during the Transitional period perpetuates the Moche ideology regarding hierarchical distribution of burials. In order to build boot-shaped tombs, deep shafts needed to be constructed. The problem with this is that the shafts would “intrude” cultural deposits from early burials. And the average depth would surpass elite chambers. Since this would break

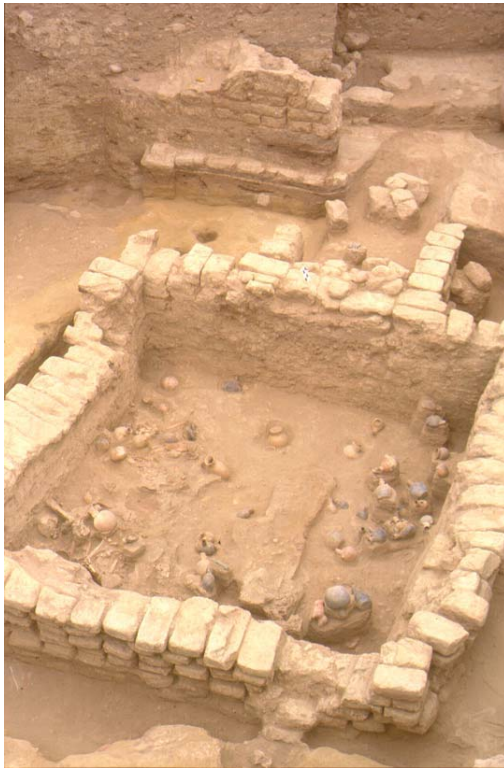
the resulted rule of hierarchical distribution, the simple pit as a common burial structure was employed for individuals who did not correspond to the most important elite lineages (DelCarpio 2004, Rucabado 2006).

Regarding The Transitional Period, it is important to study differences between Early Transitional burials (Transitional A) and Late Transitional Burials (Transitional B). In theory, Transitional B should have more similarities to The following Lambayeque Period at San Jose de Moro and Transitional A should have more characteristics of the preceding Late Moche Period.

Early Transitional high status burials are interesting at San José de Moro as they illustrate the decisions made by the local Jequetepeque elites during a period of sociopolitical crisis in the Jequetepeque-Chamán region (Rucabado, 2006: 66). Burial M- U615 is an Early Transitional multi-person tomb used over time. Rucabado believes (Rucabado 2006) that Burial M-U615, as a collective mortuary space used repeatedly, made it possible for ceremonial leaders to express and reinforce “a corporate identity of their group”, however different from Late Moche, which would “legitimized their political status and leadership rights based on hereditary succession” (Rucabado, 2006: 66).

The position of the body follows traditional Moche practices, the bodies were originally placed in an extended position, Face-up. However there are some skeletons that are also found in a semi-flexed or lateral extended or ventral positions. However, this is believed to be due to intentional displacement of bodies, which then affected the placement in which they were found. There is an extremely high frequency of individuals laying in the traditional dorsal, extended position. Therefore it appears

that this was the principal body position at burial before intentional displacement. The bodies of the tomb generally follow the traditional southwest–northeast orientation. However, some bodies have been found on the same axis but the head or the spine pointed towards the northeast. This is believed to have been due to displacement or re-organization of the space to make room for more individuals (Rucabado, 2006: 103-



4). Figure 27. Early Transitional (A) Tomb M-U615 . (Rucabado, 2006:81).

In Area A we find an exception to the typical axis of orientation. Five adult bodies were intentionally oriented northwest–southeast and southeast–northwest. Interestingly, during The Late Moche Period individuals of low status who were included as sacrificial gifts in elite chambers of San Jose de Moro were buried according to this particular spatial distribution. While this does not indicate that those individuals resting on this particular axis were sacrificial victims, it at least allows us to differentiate them from the norm of the tomb (Rucabado, 2006: 103-104).

During The Late Moche Period grave goods made of foreign raw materials (such as turquoise, lapis lazuli, and Spondylus shells) were usually included in high-status elite burials at San José de Moro. Early Transitional burials of high-status individuals show that in this period persons were buried with less embellishment than in the Late Moche Period, and thus less of these foreign raw materials are included as grave goods. This is most probably a direct result of the “collapse” of the local Moche polity, or the former form of governmental structure, and a cessation or temporal inactivity of the trade route used to acquire these materials. This acquisition issue may have resulted in changes mortuary rites and the manner of final interment (Rucabado, 2006:111).

As an Early Transitional tomb there is a stylistic heterogeneity in the ceramics, resulting in a variety of kinds of vessel forms and decoration styles. Some of the styles originated during The Late Moche Period, while other stylistic elements continued into The Lambayeque Period. While Burial M-U615 is a great example of Transitional stylistic heterogeneity, there is a definite predominance of traditional Moche stylistic elements (what is called the Post-Moche style) over other local styles present in the tomb such as Coastal Cajamarca and Proto-Lambayeque. While not present in this particular tomb, Casma press-molded, Cajamarca Mountain and Wari styles are also commonly found in tombs associated with the Early Transitional (Transitional A) Period (Rucabado, 2006: 132).



Figure 28. Tomb M-U613, example of a Late

Transitional (B) tomb. (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:34).

Tomb M- U613 is the Latest Transitional Tomb of San Jose de Moro which has been excavated. It, therefore, corresponds to the Late Transitional (B) Period. It is a Group Tomb which was partially sacked in pre-hispanic times. This tomb shows evidence of two types of ceramic styles. The tomb contains Cajamarca (mountain and costal varieties) and Early Local Lambayeque (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003: 34). It is possible that other ceramic styles were sacked, however it is also possible that Since this is the last (currently excavated) tomb before the Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro, that many styles previously mentioned coalesced and fused into the Lambayeque style present in the tomb with Cajamarcan varieties present in a similar manner to other mountain (Wari) wares that are seen as status symbols in The Late Moche Period. In this case the idea would be that the Early Local Lambayeque style would be the fixed style with Cajamarcan vessels present as elite status symbols that have been adapted from a prestigious mountain culture. I believe that this is the case. It is *unlikely* that all Casma style or Wari style ceramics would be sacked leaving only the styles found by investigators.

Even though it is a Late Transitional burial, Tomb M-U613 does not show individuals buried in the seated position seen in burials of the Lambayeque Period. Instead, individuals were found resting on the floor in an extended dorsal position. The bodies are orientated south east – north east. The bodies are associated with ceramic and stone beads, and metallic pieces (such as pins, rattles, wristbands, and nose jewelry). A red pigment was found covering the bodies (Rucabado and Castillo, 2003:34), probably cinnabar.

I believe these two tombs are good examples to show the slow move from Moche to Lambayeque. In the case of the following examples, M-U615 for the Early Transitional Period and M-U613 from the Late Transitional Period, M-U615 maintains a majority post-moche style ceramic style and the same body position and head orientation as represented in Late Moche times. M-U613 in my opinion while it continues the Moche tradition as far as body position the orientation has changed from sw-ne to a se-ne orientation, also the ceramic assemblages associated with the tomb are majority Pre-lambayeque/Local Early Lambayeque. These tombs are but just two illustrations of a the Moche from Moche peoples identifying as Moche and later, identifying as Lambayeque.

3.4 Analysis of Social Markers

As in The Moche Periods, during the Transitional we continue to see social and status markers, such as items that relate to specific trades. Spindle whorls made of stone, copper or ceramic and chalk balls are generally associated with female burial contexts that probably were of the weaving/spinning trade (Del Carpio 2004; Nelson 1997; Rucabado 2006). However, just because we find items that correspond to a

particular labor activity we cannot necessarily assume that these women were weavers by trade. They could simply have been interred with these items because they were believed to be items associated with women in general.

Just like in The Moche Periods, we find social markers of ceremonial activities, especially in mortuary contexts of elite women (I will touch on this more when I talk about the transitional priestess burial with a ceremonial goblet). Associated items include: metallic objects such as masks, goblets, tumi/knife-like objects and headdresses. These artifacts would have given these ladies a specific identity in ritual performances of human sacrifice, very similar to that of Moche times (Donnan 2003 and, Rucabado 2006). It is important to note that this kind of “ritual paraphernalia” has only been found in Early Transitional elite chamber burials (Rucabado, 56: 2006).

3.5 Female Elite Burials during the Transitional Period

For The Transitional Period the most complex tombs are those of women, and interestingly they exhibit many of the same characteristics found in the tombs of the infamous priestesses of San Jose de Moro who dominated the religious-political sphere during the Late Moche Period. I will focus on four tombs in particular. All female elites and all provide evidence to support the idea that female power and prestige continued in San Jose de Moro after The Late Moche Period. The tombs that I will use as examples are as follows: M-U1221, M-U1045 and M-U1242.

The women buried in these tombs were powerful women buried with ceremony. Even during a radical cultural change, the high status position of women

was not diminished when Moche culture, as we consider it, ended. It seems that in Jequetepeque, elite women were essential to ceremonies and religious rituals and shamanic practices. The decrease in power in Jequetepeque of elite women in San Jose de Moro from The Moche to The Lambayeque Period should not be considered as a decrease in power due to women falling from power in general, but instead a decrease in the importance of the ritual systems that gave these women their high status (Castillo, 2005: 19-20).

In tomb M-U1221 we find the remains of 6 people. While group burials weren't necessarily the norm in The Transitional Period, it does show highland, most probably Wari, influence as the Wari were known for group burials. The six individuals are surrounded by human skulls, miniatures of bone, stone and metal and ceramics. A complex sequence of burial occurred in this tomb, with two women being buried first, one beside the other, then two more women and a child were placed directly on top of the first women. And after time had passed (how much time has not been determined of yet) a young man was placed directly on top of the second burial group. It appears that eight skulls were added to the tomb as offering and correspond to the last interred individual.

The tomb M-U1221 seems to be one of the tombs associated with priest(esses) or shaman. This tomb show some differences from other transitional tombs. A clay flute was places in the pelvis area of one of the women, also we find an unusual amount of miniature ceramics associated with cuaranderismo or shamanist ceremonies. A peculiarity of this tomb is that previously interred individuals were used

as a sort of bed-layer for the last individual to rest upon (Castillo, 2005: 19; Rengifo, 2005).



Figure 29. The Chamana of

tomb M-U1221. (Castillo, 2005: 18).

In Tomb M-U1045 many of the same types of artifacts were found. Castillo (2004, 2007) has suggested that in the two cases of M-U1045 and M-U1221, the association between female burials and certain objects (such as ceramic miniatures and spoons, sea shells and musical instruments may reveal the presence of possible “chamanas” or female shamans (Rucabado, 2007: 56-7) This has led to the speculation by scholars that these items are connected to shamanistic activities.

Tomb M- U1045 appears to have been a burial that included two separate generations that were buried time apart in the same crypt. Associations between women and priestly-shamanic activities appears to be very common in San Jose de Moro, as the majority of burials of elite women contain items related to ritual.

Independent of which group or society was in power, women remained essential to ceremonial and religious acts (Castillo,2007:14).



Figure 30. Tomb M-U1045.

(Castillo, 2005: 13).



Figure 31. Early

Transitional Tomb M-U1045. (Rucabado, 2006: 48).

The M- U1045 tomb is one of the richest mortuary contexts excavated in The Transitional Period. Its construction shows a link between Late Moche tombs and Transitional ones.

This tomb is very similar in construction to that of the Moche Priestesses in The Late Moche Period. The dimensions of the chamber and the format of dividing the chamber into a principal chamber and an antechamber, and the four columns which hold up a roof of thick logs. The orientation of the principal individuals, their placement (location) within the tomb and the general organization of the tomb is very similar to that of the Moche Priestesses of San Jose de Moro. Three hundred ceramic pieces were found in the tomb, including foreign styles (Castillo,2005:13).

All these similarities show continuity of Moche burial practices in the Transitional Period. However, as we find similarities there are also marked differences, especially in the types of ceramic vessels and assemblages found in the tomb. This tomb contains large amounts of Cajamarcan ceramics, including Cajamarcan style pitchers, bowls, plates and spoons. For almost every Cajamarcan ceramic found, a twin or identical piece has also been found in the tomb (Castillo, 2005: 13).

The M- U1045 tomb shows similarities to both Moche and Lambayeque burials, and thus is a good example of a transitory tomb, as we see some Moche characteristics, however being combined with highland characteristics as well. It is obvious that occupants are not identical to the Moche priestesses but what can be seen from the grand quantity of grave good is that these elite women of The Transitional Period inherited the ability to accumulate great wealth and had among

their grave goods artifacts that not only symbolize wealth but also demonstrates the ceremonial practices in which they participated in life (Castillo, 2005: 13-14).

Tomb M- U1242 also shows the transition that was taking place from Moche to Lambayeque. This tomb appears to be that of a priestess. The dimensions of this tomb are different than that seen in that of the Chamanas. Ceramics associated with this tomb are typical of The Transitional Period: wares of different traditions such as Cajamarca, Wari, Early Lambayeque and Post Moche. The tomb includes camelid remains and a wooden coffin with copper plating and a copper plate or figure depicting the priestess holding a ceremonial goblet (Castillo,2005:13; Rengifo, 2005).



Figure 32. Copper plate of a Priestess holding a

goblet(Castillo, 2005:15).

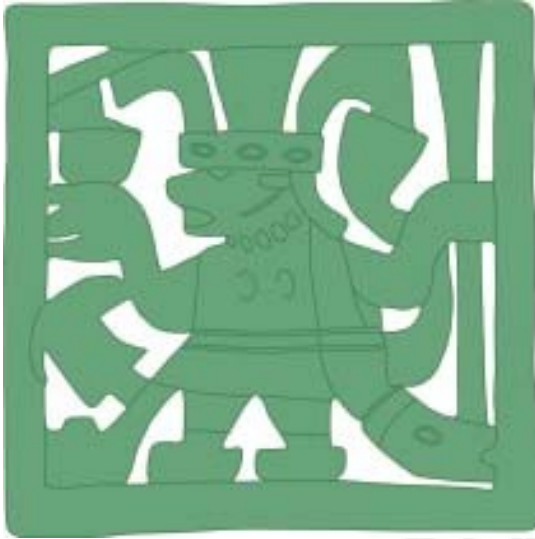


Figure 33. Drawing of copper plate found in the tomb depicting

the priestess holding a ceremonial goblet. (Castillo, 2005:15).

Tomb M- U1045 has characteristics that can definitely be considered Moche in nature, such as the presence of the Priestess. However the context in which the Priestess is placed is cosmopolitan in nature as we find ceramics of various cultures within the tomb. Due to this, this tomb is an excellent transitory example as we have characteristics of the Moche period amidst assemblages of other cultures. Another Moche characteristic of the tomb is that the priestess is nowhere to be found. There is no evidence that the tomb was sacked, only that the occupant was removed. This has been seen in many burials from Moche Periods, to remove an occupant of a tomb and rebury them in another place, perhaps with family (Castillo,2005: 13-14).

3.6 Conclusions

As seen in the examples above, The Transitional Period maintained many Moche characteristics while placing them in a cosmopolitan environment with influences from other cultures showing up in burial patterns as well as the styles and types of grave good associated with the dead. These tombs and ceramic styles both

show a shift from predominant Moche culture and ceramics to what would later become Lambayeque culture.

Chapter 4: Elite Female Burials and Customs Continue into The Middle Lambayeque Period

4.1 The Transitional Period as the Missing Piece of the Puzzle

Burying elite women extravagantly appears to have been common at the site of San Jose de Moro since The Middle Moche Period. This trend continued into The Transitional with Its lavish group burials and into the Middle Lambayeque Period at San Jose de Moro where many “Moche” funerary traditions were kept mostly intact, with, of course, slight alterations due to mountain- culture influence such as the Wari and Cajarmarcan cultures, as well as certain discontinuities in the Lambayeque Period which seem to be influenced by the Sican homeland in Lambayeque.

If we are to consider the idea that Lambayeque culture sprung from Moche culture there are many things to address. Can we indeed consider The Transitional Period in San Jose de Moro as the missing piece to the puzzle, the Early Lambayeque Period, of which no evidence has yet to be found? If this is true and the Lambayeque began in San Jose de Moro was there a rupture in “Transitional” ideology when the homeland was assumedly moved to the Lambayeque Valley (as in their oral legends), resulting in the culture that we see as Sican? Does this explain why Lambayeque Culture even in the heart of the Lambayeque Valley (sites such as Chornancap) appear to share many things in common with hinterland sites such as San Jose de Moro and continue to have Moche influence?

Extravagant burials for elite women seems to be a cultural marker at San Jose de Moro, which indicates that cultures that have had a dominant presence in the site are related. Until the Middle Moche Period in the Norte Coast, men were given the most extravagant burials, not women; with the one exception being the Lady of Cao who took on a male gender.

4.2 Lambayeque Period Tomb Data at San Jose de Moro

While registering the known tombs of The Lambayeque Period at San Jose de Moro, The following results were found given the current sample: 96% are individual tombs, while only two tombs contain three individuals each. During The Lambayeque Period tombs at San Jose de Moro consist largely of females (30 individuals), followed by infants (15 individuals), 9 males and 9 adults of unidentified sex (Bernuy, 54: 2008).

Of the 64 individuals, 29 were in a flexed position, 28 in a body-extended position, one was in "flexed-reclining" position and in 6 cases in which position could not be determined. In the case of the two Early Lambayque tomb, the individuals were all in flexed position. In the Middle Lambayeque Period the flexed position was predominant (13 cases), followed by the extended position (6 cases). However, in The Late Lambayeque Period at San Jose de Moro, the predominant position was extended, once again, with 16 cases while the 6 remaining individuals were placed in a flexed position (Bernuy, 54: 2008).



Figure 34. Body in flexed position, solo

burial. Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro (Rucabado, 2006:78; Bernuy, 2008: 56).



Figure 35. Bodies in flexed

position. Group Burial. Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro. (Bernuy, 2008: 56).

Bernuy, in her study of funeral patterns at San Jose de Moro, found that the percentage of women burials is much greater than that of males and infants. In this sample, females are better represented than males (by a ratio of 14:3) and the flexed position was most often used to bury females, while the extended position was preferred for males, infants and children. 99% of the bottles with the Huaco Rey motif were found in female funerary contexts (Bernuy, 54: 2008) and at least 1 instrument related to textile production was characteristic of female tombs (Prieto, 238: 2010.) Therefore, the grand majority of Lambayeque Period tombs at San Jose de Moro are female tombs characterized by flexed burial and Huaco Rey design ceramics. The

flexed burial pattern for women begins in this period at San Jose de Moro, as previous female burials are all in extended positon.

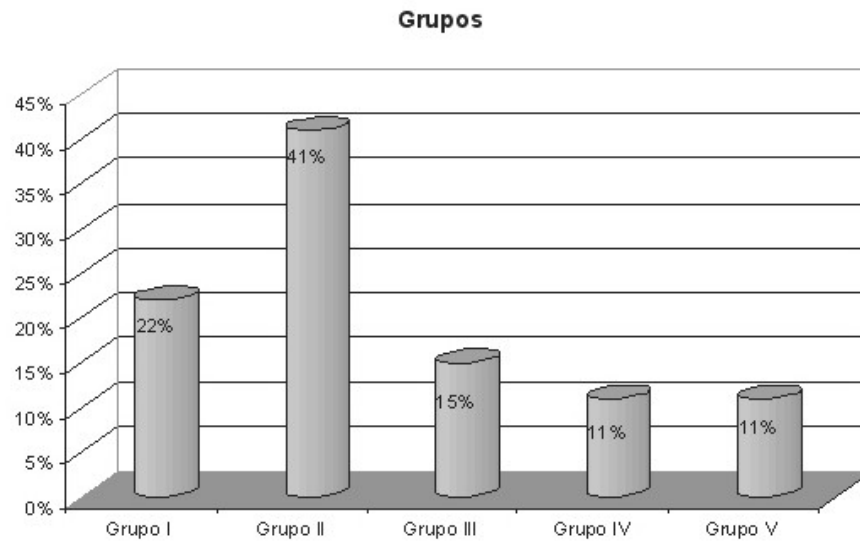


Figure 36. Presence of Funerary Groups. (Bernuy, 2008:58).



Figure 37. Burial at San Jose de Muro with Huaco

Rey Pottery. Without examining bodies, this indicates that we are dealing with a female elite tomb of the Lambayeque Period.

(PASJM).

The interesting thing about tombs at San Jose de Moro is that the statistic of more female burials doesn't just apply to The Lambayeque Period. The higher female to male ratio includes all individuals whose tombs were excavated from 1995 to 2004 at San Jose de Moro, not just for the Lambayeque occupation but for the previous occupations as well: Transitional and Moche (Bernuy, 54: 2008).

As stated, the tombs of what appears to be upper class women constitutes 22% of the overall sample. Some individuals are in extended positions, some flexed. This 22% includes more luxurious grave goods than the other burials in the sample (men, children, women of a lower status), here we have spondylus shells, animal bones (ex. Camelid feet), necklaces, luxury ceramics, ceramics for daily use, metals items such as masks, rattles, knives, needles and metal sheets. Tombs with these types of grave goods contain young adult and middle aged female individuals only (Bernuy, 57:2008).

17% of this group was buried in an individual, body-extended pose while 83% represents tombs that also were for only one individual but are in a flexed pose. Over time a shift is noticed from flexed burials (probably an influence from the Wari culture) back to an extended pose (which was used by the Moche (Bernuy, 57:2008.))

In The Lambayeque Period it appears that women received the richest burials as only women constitute the 22% of tombs with richest grave goods. Due to this fact, it is also the most studied group for the period. Due to the fact that the statistic of female burials as having the most grave goods is also correct for the preceding Transitional and Late Moche Periods, this shows evidence that the people of San Jose de Moro from the late Moche Period on were very interested in securing luxurious burials for women. This could be due to Wari influence but could also be indicative of

a high-powered female class, such as a priestess class, which gained popularity in the Late Moche Period and could have continued to have general importance for the people of the area eventually being incorporated into people's social memory as important regardless of whether it was as such in other Moche areas.

Now that we have laid out the basic statistics of the Lambayeque Occupation of San Jose de Moro, it is appropriate to discuss the continuities with the Moche, since this gives credence to the overall theory of this work, that the Lambayeque is a Moche culture changed by time and the inclusion of foreign influences, especially ideological and religious influences. Continuities continued into the Lambayeque Period with some changes: A main continuity is that the tombs from The Middle Moche Period through the Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro (Middle Lambayeque in Sicán center) is that women still received the most impressive burials. This indicates that women continued to exercise ceremonial control over the site. It appears that the Lambayeque state established an elite residence dedicated to overseeing mortuary practices the Lambayeque wanted to control these practices so that they could integrate state religion into the Moche practices that were still common in San Jose de Moro (Prieto, 2010: 245.)

In San Jose de Moro we can see even into the Lambayeque period a strong relation with the Moche culture and its burial customs. Many Moche traditions were kept intact while new customs from the Lambayeque center of power were introduced and assimilated. For example, the richest tombs of the period include an extended body position and the putting of metal fragments in the deceased's mouth which are characteristics of funerary practices during The Moche and Transitional Periods. The

flexed body position is first seen during the Lambayeque period in San Jose de Moro (Bernuy, 2008: 60-1).

In the layers associated with Lambayeque occupation one can observe a reoccurring pattern similar to the Moche, where evidence of preparation and consumption of food and drink related to funerary rites has been found. The layers associated with The Lambayeque show that occupation was ceremonial in character with a focus on funerary practices and rituals, and that these practices were interrupted during times when the site was abandoned, which is similar to the occupation of the site during The Transitional and Moche Periods (Bernuy, 59: 2008).

There is a tomb from the latest phase of Lambayeque occupation at the site which is very similar to Moche era tombs. Moche characteristics such as: rectangular burial, south-east orientation, individual in extended position. The female was buried with 2 plates of Coastal Cajamarcan style, a black paste style bottle with the huachorey design, other types of bottles and pans of the black and red paste styles, a cup made of black paste ceramic representing a human head with strong Moche stylistic features, a necklace with different strings made up of sea shell, stone and fish bones, bracelets with various strings as well. The burial is associated with metal items such as some of copper including: a mask, textile items, a tumi knife, a circular metal disk, and copper sheets (Bernuy, 60: 2008).

4.3 Compared Funerary Practices: Chornancap

A chapter on continuity of Moche burial practices in San Jose de Moro wouldn't be complete without knowledge of the funerary practice in the Sicán Heartland of the Lambayeque valley. I have, thus, decided to compare San Jose de Moro with the site

of Chornancap, which is located 8km from the modern day city of Lambayeque. The site consists of 95 hectares of sandy land.

At this site, we find something similar to the priestesses uncovered by Castillo and Donnan at San Jose de Moro. At Chornancap we also find a priestess. But instead of Moche priestesses, she is a Lambayeque Priestess. It was once thought that in The Lambayeque Culture only men were given extravagant burials and political and religious power in life (much like what was thought of the Moche until Donnan and Castillos excavations in San Jose de Moro)(Wester, 45: 2012.)) The fact the women not only had religious and political power in the Moche culture, but that this also extended through time to the Lambayeque, and that it also in the form of priestesshood shows a continuity that from the Middle Moche Period on, women had an opportunity at power, sometimes even overpowering that of males in their society. The priestess was buried in a similar fashion to the priestesses of San Jose de Moro. There is a lot of iconography pertaining to the moon and the sea. While the sea can be explained as frequent in Lambayeque era art due to the believe of the Lambayeque that they came from the west, a place close to the ocean (Wester, 48: 2012,) The crescent moon which is featured various times in the tomb, is interesting because the crescent moon was also a symbol of the Moche priestesses of San Jose de Moro and thus may be an enduring tradition that had been in use since the rise of the priestesses in The Late Moche Period. There is also a continued use of rectangular graves and the use of spondylus shells. The lavish grave goods included a gold crown, a bi-metallic silver and gold cup, possibly used for ceremonies, a spondylus shell pectoral, gold and silver ear plugs, a large amount of copper items and fine ceramics of the Lambayeque and Cajamarcan costal variety (Wester, 32: 2012.) This lavish female elite burial shows

many correlations with Moche elite women burials in San Jose de Moro. They types and quantity of lavish goods shows definitely that in both cultures women were important politically and religiously.

4.4 “Muchik” Identity within Lambayeque Culture

To really understand the extent to which Moche identity may have still been prevalent in Lambayeque society it is necessary see to what level “Muchik” identity existed during The Lambayeque Period.

Some of the most important tombs from the Lambayeque culture maintain rituals and burial traditions which are “Muchik” or Moche in nature. This is even more common among the non-elite class. Examples include: a south-north body orientation, extended body position, hoofs and heads of camelids associated with the burial, and skeletal manipulations post-burial. Sites with these characteristics include Cerro Cerrillos, Huaca Sialupe, and the Cementerio Sur de Túcume (Klaus, 221-2:2013).

In Lambayeque Culture persistence of Moche rituals and burial practices remained among the common people of the Lambayeque Valley (note examples camelid, burials with pieces of ceramic vessels, and skeletal manipulations post-burial). There is a lot of evidence indicating that there was a dynamic, vigorous, and diverse ethnic Muchik substrate beneath the surface of Middle Lambayeque society. That's not to say that the elites were not ethnically Moche, but rather the better question is whether they considered themselves ethnic Muchik or as Lambayeque?

Logically we can assume that the Muchik reproduced their own styles and were responsible for many traditional and ancestral rituals enduring the years. But, recently

the idea has emerged that they were not the only ones manipulating this process (Klaus, 228: 2013).

Recent research conducted in Farfán in the Jequetepeque valley has found evidence of what is called “internal strategies of conquest” (something known to have been used by Chimu and Inka) to intentionally preserve local ethnic identities. It is not out of the question to think that the Lambayeque could have instituted similar policies. Thus, preserving the language (in this case muchik) dress, and customs of the Moche (Klaus, 228: 2013).

One must remember that the principal motor of Middle Lambayeque society was its economy (Klaus 228:2013). Therefore, if the economy is the driving engine of the culture and all of its advances and conquests then there would be more important things to consider than making everyone “Lambayeque”.

The local population had to be coherent, satisfied and most important of all, stable. This would be necessary to maintain and create a productive, local workforce at the highest level. To try to convert everyone into “Lambayeque” could have consequences such as interruption of customs, state religion and the behavior of the general worker, such would be counterproductive to achieving economic goals (Klaus, 225:2013).

Therefore, it is not probable that the Lambayeque elite would have been interested in a total hegemony, religiously and culturally. It’s more probable that, for economic reasons, the elites would have been interested in a “laissez-faire” approach or use strategies whose purpose would be to maintain the pre-existence of the ethnic traditions (Klaus, 225:2013).

It must be taken into account that when a collapse happens, the disintegration of society mostly affects the highest levels of the social hierarchy as this is the social strata in power. Thus, when a society collapses, the lower and middle levels of society, or to say, the non-elites, stays relatively intact. This means, while a government may not maintain intact, traditions and ways of life can stay alive. In the case of the Moche, the ideology failed in 800Ad but that does not imply that Moche customs didn't continue for centuries later.

This idea is contrary to thinking of the common people of whatever society as "unidimensional"; people who live without agendas and simply wait for a leader to appear and give orders (Klaus, 22: 2013). It is likely that The Lambayeque were ethnically Moche. If they wanted to consider themselves as such is unclear, it is more likely that they considered themselves Lambayeque. This has a precedent as The Moche were ethnically Gallinazo, but considered themselves Moche. What is clear is that the Muchik identity did not die with the collapse of Moche society, as The Moche people kept the traditions, customs and rituals of The Moche and infused them with what became known as Lambayeque traditions and customs, meaning there was still a strong Muchik identity present.

In San Jose de Moro we see a marked difference in Male vs. Female burials.

Gender is a social construct separate from physical sex itself. There have been examples of women that appeared to have a male gender in society (Such as the Lady of Cao, who was buried with items commonly associated with a warrior), However as far as the Lambayeque occupation at San Jose de Moro is concerned, various characteristics of the female funerary ritual have been found. Ex. The use of cinnabar

in the face, the presence of textile items and metal needles, as well as funerary masks in female regalia (Bernuy, 58: 2008).

4.4 Conclusion

The most exceptional graves are that of women, a pattern in San Jose de Moro we see beginning with the priestesses in the Late Moche Period, continuing into the Transitional with tombs such as the multi-person tomb of M-U1045 and into the Lambayeque period with tombs M-U508 and M-U1107 being the best examples. It is uncertain whether the textile arts items associated with the Lambayeque era tombs signify that they were artisans or just high status women (Bernuy, 63: 2008.) I reject the artisan theory because, even though textiles are associated with the burials they sheer quantity of grave good casts doubt on the women not being elites.

It appears that while the woman even with the richest burials at San Jose de Moro seem to be low class elites, that they still had an important position in San Jose de Moro, although, this connection has yet to be understood completely. The findings of bottles with the Huacho rey design signals that these women were upholding Lambayeque political ideals and were important in promoting them in the region through kinship (Prieto 241: 2010).

Continuities continued into the Lambayeque period with some changes: A main continuity is that the tombs from The Middle Moche Period through the Lambayeque Period in San Jose de Moro (Middle Lambayeque in Sican center) is that women still received the most impressive burials. This indicated that women continued to exercise ceremonial control over the site. It appears that the Lambayeque state established an elite residence dedicated to overseeing mortuary practices the

Lambayeque wanted to control these practices so that they could integrate state religion into the Moche practices that were still common in San Jose de Moro (Prieto 245:2010).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

I believe that what is currently thought of as “Moche collapse” by many scholars can not be in the strictest sense considered a collapse. A total collapse would indicate that all elements of the culture disappear, not only the socio-political structures used by the elite to maintain control which had long been established.

This is not the case for the Moche, as seen in this thesis, whose aim has been to coalesce the works of many regarding Middle Moche, Late Moche, Transitional A, Transitional B and Middle Lambayeque Periods, about Moche ideology, ceramic styles and Moche customs which continued into the Transitional Period and even showed a marked presence in the Later Lambayeque Period, something of note, due to the fact that The Lambayeque had a centralized culture that they wanted to proliferate (ex. of this is Huaco Rey pottery being seen at San Jose de Moro).

It appears that while the Moche political structure collapsed; ideology, burial customs and veneration of elite females (possibly a priestess class) remained constant in San Jose de Moro. It appears that these things became ingrained in the spatial and cultural memory of The Moche. Thus, when there political society collapsed, they, especially the lower and middle classes, continued long practiced rituals. To archaeologists the most apparent of these is burial rituals since this is where we find the greatest wealth of information. All of these leads me to believe that The Moche

culture and Lambayeque culture are in fact one in the same. The Moche culture ravaged by the effects of the El Niño, resulted in the loss of power by elites. This resulted in the need to borrow ideologies and customs from other cultures in a vain effort to keep and consolidate elite power. While ultimately unsuccessful in the political sphere, the influx of new ideas ended up changing Moche culture to its core. Slowly over the years more and more changes were added with the introduction of foreign ceramics and foreign burial customs, until we end up with Lambayeque Culture. A Culture that appears to be completely distinct at first glance but still retains many markedly Moche characteristics.

Thus, I propose the following: The Moche collapse cannot be considered a true collapse but can be considered a political collapse, The Transitional Period is really The Early Lambayeque Period and the Lambayeque Period still consisted of Moche (or muchik) peoples who maintained many Moche customs such as burial customs and according to Klaus, the muchik language. This conclusion is based on mortuary evidence and stylistic evidence of ceramics for all the aboved mentioned periods only.

Continuity in Elite Female Burials from the Late Moche Period through the Transitional Period to The Lambayeque Period in Jequetepeque helps, I believe, to support: 1) the Transitional Period is the Early Lambayeque Period (of which little actual evidence has been found of the periods existence) and 2) that The Lambayeque were essentially Moche peoples whose culture has transformed into something that we no longer can consider strictly Moche.

The Transitional Period maintained many Moche characteristics while placing them in a cosmopolitan environment with influences from other cultures showing up

in burial patterns as well as the styles and types of grave good associated with the dead. These tombs and ceramic styles both show a shift from predominant Moche culture and ceramics to what would later become Lambayeque culture. This can be seen in tombs I talked about in this thesis (see chapter. 3)

Tomb M- U1045 is a good example of a transitory tomb as it has characteristics that can definitely be considered Moche in nature, such as the presence of the Priestess. However, the context in which the Priestess is placed is cosmopolitan in nature as we find ceramics of various cultures within the tomb. Here we have characteristics of the Moche period amidst assemblages of other cultures. Another Moche characteristic of the tomb is that the priestess is nowhere to be found. There is no evidence that the tomb was sacked, only that the occupant was removed. This has been seen in many burials from the Moche period, to remove an occupant of a tomb and rebury them in another place, perhaps with family (Franco et. al. 1998, Castillo, 2006: 13-14).

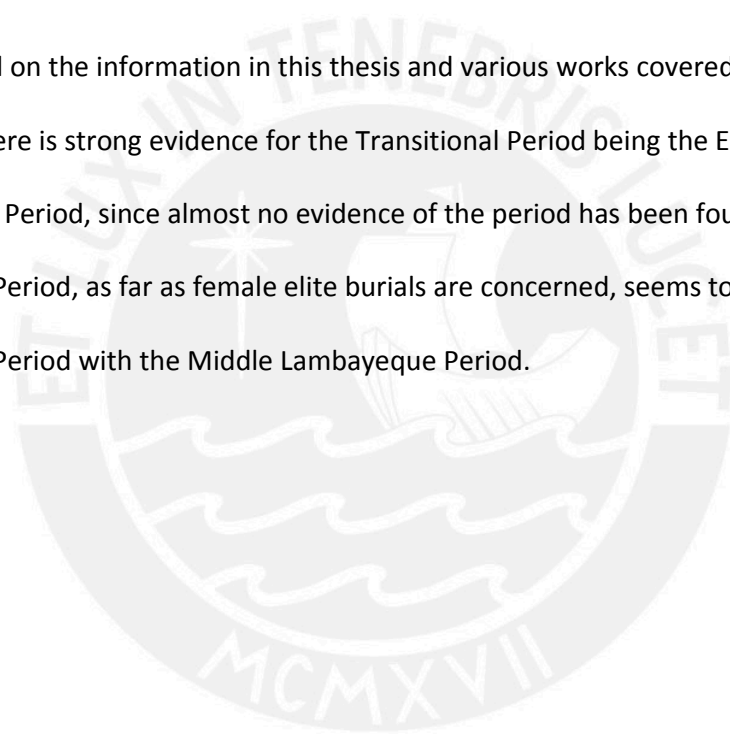
The M- U1045 tomb shows similarities to both Moche and Lambayeque burials, and thus is a good example of a transitory tomb, as we see some Moche characteristics, however being combined with highland characteristics as well. It is obvious that occupants are not identical to the Moche priestesses but what can be seen from the grand quantity of grave good is that these elite women of The Transitional Period inherited the ability to accumulate great wealth and had among their grave goods artifacts that not only symbolize wealth but also demonstrates the ceremonial practices in which they participated in life (Castillo, 2005:13-14).

This gives us evidence that The Transitional Period was very closely related in customs to the preceding Moche culture but also began to take on characteristic which would become popular in the Middle Lambayeque Period. Continuities continued into the Lambayeque period with some changes:



In San Jose de Moro we can see even into the Lambayeque period a strong relation with the Moche culture and it's burial customs. Many Moche traditions were kept intact while new customs from the Lambayeque center of power were introduced and assimilated. For example, the richest tombs of the period include an extended body position and the putting of metal fragments in the deceased's mouth which are characteristics of funerary practices during the Moche and Transitional periods, as discussed earlier (Bernuy, 2008: 60-1).

Based on the information in this thesis and various works covered in this thesis, I feel that there is strong evidence for the Transitional Period being the Early Lambayeque Period, since almost no evidence of the period has been found and the Transitional Period, as far as female elite burials are concerned, seems to bridge the Late Moche Period with the Middle Lambayeque Period.



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