
Object of Contention: an Examination of Recuay-Moche Combat Imagery

George F. Lau

This study examines a painted combat scene on a ceramic vessel of the Moche culture (AD 100–800) of the north coast of Peru. The scene portrays a series of distinctly Moche warriors fighting adversaries who feature characteristics (weaponry, ornaments and dress) that are unconventional for Moche visual culture. Correspondences in Recuay pottery and stone sculpture instead support the argument that the enemies were groups from the neighbouring inland valleys and highlands of the Pacific Andean flanks. The analysis of the imagery and its implications illuminate how societies without writing sometimes perceived and configured interaction with other groups — namely, through representations of warfare.

As long as war is regarded as wicked it will always have its fascinations. (Oscar Wilde)

It is well that war is so terrible, or we should grow too fond of it. (General Robert E. Lee)

Warfare and combat hold remarkable places in human thought — ‘fascinations’ according to Wilde. War, for one thing, is an extraordinary activity. Organizing the practice of violence, armed conflict, and the taking of human life for whatever purpose transcends everyday modes of social interaction and expectations, even for societies in which such practices are quite normal, naturalized, or requisite (e.g. Carneiro da Cunha & Vivieros de Castro 1987). Warfare has also been around for a long time and characterizes foraging, farming and industrial societies alike (Carman & Harding 1999; Keeley 1996; LeBlanc 2003a; Otterbein 1999). Recurrent patterns of resource stress and competition (e.g. Ferguson 1984; Haas 1990) lead a recent overview to conclude that ‘humans have been at each other’s throats since the dawn of the species’ (LeBlanc 2003b, 18).

Not surprisingly, warfare, in its various forms, forms an important site for cultural production throughout the world (e.g. Cuneo 2002; Hale 1990; Hassig 1988; Martin & Grube 2000; Schaafsma 2000).

Through warfare and its representation, political and national identities are fashioned and contested (Cuneo 2002; Hobsbawm 1990). Warfare cultivates heroes, denigrates the enemy, and provides good stories (e.g. Vivieros de Castro 1992; Woodford 1993). Visual expressions of armed conflict and military success, frequently sponsored by its practitioners, emerge early in the archaeological record and remain popular for many contemporary societies. There is an enchantment to the culture of warfare, invested in and summoned through things as diverse as Mesopotamian victory stelae, Fijian war clubs, the weapons cabinets at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, Picasso’s *Guernica*, and live news coverage. Although the messages are diverse and reading-specific, the imagery of war is almost always provocative.

How groups inscribe meanings through representations of warfare forms the content of this study. I examine the painted imagery of a ceramic vessel attributed to the Moche culture of Peru, c. AD 100–800. The vessel is best known for its rare depiction of two groups of combatants, who can be interpreted as Moche and non-Moche people. My aim is to present evidence to support the argument that the non-Moche figures refer to another cultural affiliation, most likely of Recuay or Recuay-related groups (AD 200–700) from the north-central highlands of Peru.

The association has been made before, but primarily as passing references or hypotheses (Benson 1984, 372–3; Berezkin 1978, 131–2; Disselhoff 1956; Kutscher 1950, 52–3; Makowski & Rucabado Yong 2000, 219; Proulx 1982, 89–90; Smith 1978, 178–9; Wilson 1988, 338).

In this study, various elements of the vessel's imagery are assessed to clarify the logic for the comparison. New data from Recuay and Moche research also help to illuminate the timing and significance of the imagery. Through the analysis, I intend to show that Moche peoples interacted with and regarded neighbouring Recuay groups, the 'Other,' in certain specific ways. Their relations were not always harmonious, a conclusion which complements other evidence for conflict between Moche and Recuay groups. The study raises a series of implications that continue to problematize notions of warfare in ancient Andean society (Quilter 2002; Topic & Topic 1997a). The observations also raise doubts as to whether iconographic study, though a powerful aid, can alone provide accurate characterizations of prehistoric warfare.

Warfare in the Central Andes

Warfare remains a vital topic in the ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological literature on South America. For the Central Andes, perhaps the most prominent citation of warfare, especially by North American scholars, is in connection to the development of social complexity. By analogy with practices documented in Amazonia and northern South America (DeBoer 1981; Ferguson 1995; Harner 1972; Métraux 1949a; Redmond 1994; Steward 1948a, b; Villamarín & Villamarín 1999; Wilson 1999), various scholars argue that inter-group warfare and territorial conquest served as prime movers in the emergence of social stratification in Peru (Carneiro 1970; Lanning 1967; Lumbreras 1974; Wilson 1988).

The influential model for the rise of archaic states formulated by Robert Carneiro (1970) was predicated on resource competition, internecine warfare, the conquest of neighbouring groups, and their eventual subjugation. Where they could not run, the defeated would form the basis for a lower class in a given region; military leaders of the victorious group would form the ruling, privileged élite. Carneiro specifically cited the circumscribed river valleys of Peru as one of the ideal geographical settings for such a process. Subsequent studies conclude that warfare was a significant variable in the rise of increasingly complex societies on the desert coast of Peru (Billman

1997; Daggett 1987; Pozorski 1987; Topic 1982; Wilson 1988) and in other parts of South America (Redmond 1994; Wilson 1999).

While acknowledging its role in social complexity, this article highlights warfare as a critical domain, or category, for cultural production. For many groups, the culture of warfare forms an especially key field for creative expression, innovation, and socialization — what Clendinnen (1991, 111) observed as a 'commitment' to 'the warrior style'. The importance of warfare manifests itself frequently in highly elaborated material culture (e.g. weaponry, apparel, imagery, and architecture), but it also extends to intangible venues. In different South American groups, for example, war narratives are vital to oral histories, chronologies and performances (e.g. Karsten 1935; Vivieros de Castro 1992). Indeed, one of the reasons for war, according to a Brazilian Xavante, is to 'propagate stories' (Salomon 1999, 59). A prehistoric account of Andean warfare and interaction, found on a Moche fineline vessel, forms the topic of this study.

Commemorative expressions of warfare and interpersonal violence appear early in the archaeological record of the Central Andes — certainly by the Initial Period (c. 1800–900 BC). At Cerro Sechín, in the Casma Valley, monolithic sculptures depict a series of armed warriors amongst gruesome representations of corpses and disarticulated body parts, probably of defeated adversaries (Tello 1956). Shelia Pozorski (1987) interpreted differences in dress to argue that the victorious invaders descended from the highlands. Although the emphasis on carnage, such as at Cerro Sechín, is rare, images juxtaposing hybrid figures (e.g. spiders, felines, warriors) and severed heads became increasingly prominent during the Initial Period and into the Early Horizon (900 BC–AD 1) on high-status portable objects as well as monuments at ceremonial centres. The popularity of the representations apparently drew upon a warfare/predation cosmology articulating notions of killing, skilled natural predators and religious authority (Salazar-Burger & Burger 1982). They prefigure sacrificer or decapitator figures in later Andean cultures.

Warfare-related imagery is manifest in many cultures throughout Andean prehistory, but perhaps appears in greatest diversity during the Early Intermediate Period (AD 1–700). This was a time of great social and cultural innovation in the Central Andes. Renowned for the diversification of regional art styles, the period also witnessed the rise of militaristic polities, the formation of urban centres, and sharp

regional distinctions in economic production, technology, and religion. Moche, Nasca, and Lima were the major cultures on the coast, while Pukara, Cajamarca and Recuay were the prominent cultures of the highlands (Fig. 1). In northern Peru, Moche and Recuay groups overlapped in geographical space and are often conceived of as neighbours with entangled socio-cultural relations, ranging from friendly trading interaction to hostile encounters.

It is notable that, during the Early Intermediate Period, a series of cultures shared preoccupations with celebrating armed conflict (Chavez 2002; Donnan 1997; Paul 2001; Pillsbury 2001; Proulx 1989; 2001). The depiction of warriors, associated clothing, weaponry and trophies became much more frequent. Such imagery has led scholars to suggest that the time was characterized by increasingly hostile interaction within and between regional cultures (Bonavia 1991; Lanning 1967; Lumbreras 1974; Makowski *et al.* 1994; Moseley 1992; Silverman & Proulx 2002; Topic 1982).

Warfare also appears to have become more institutionalized. Many cultures portray suites of features that are unique to warriors, suggesting specialized warrior ranks or societies (see Hassig 1988; Kristiansen 1998). It is possible, for example, to attribute certain items of apparel, such as headdresses and helmets, to high-ranking warriors (Donnan 1978). Specific types of practices (e.g. handling/sacrifice of captives), weapons, and accessories (e.g. trophies) also suggest new forms of specialization in crafting and ceremony based on warfare (Bourget 2001, 94; Proulx 1989). Seen sporadically earlier, for example in Paracas and Cupisnique materials, severed and trophy heads became more frequent elements in regional art styles of the Early Intermediate Period, including Nasca, Pukara, Moche, and Recuay.

Nevertheless, direct evidence for military campaigns and large-scale battles in the Andes is relatively rare (Topic & Topic 1987). This appears to characterize many early societies, as pre-modern warfare, especially violent conflict not associated with 'genocidal warfare' (Keegan 1993; Keeley 1996; LeBlanc 2003b), does not frequently leave widespread archaeological traces. Would we be as able or inclined to detect the fierce rivalries between Maya kingdoms without the help of glyphs and other visual culture (e.g. Martin & Grube 2000; Schele & Miller 1986)?

Scholars have also interpreted warfare in the Andes as ceremonial expressions of community identity and dual organizational structure. In practices of ritual warfare, communities stage contests and fights,

waged at different levels of violence, between a pre-determined pair of combatants. They were often the leaders or representatives of two complementary divisions or moieties. Such events serve as mechanisms for conflict resolution between constituent segments of a group (Topic & Topic 1997a). Ritual warfare also facilitated forms of social interaction and integration at key moments of the agricultural/ceremonial calendar (Platt 1986; Urton 1993).

Recent research draws on the literature of ritual warfare to understand Moche iconography (Bourget 2001; Hocquenghem 1978; Topic & Topic 1997b). Moche battle scenes are understood to represent mainly ceremonial episodes between Moche groups. The objective of these fights was not to conquer regions but to acquire captives for ritual sacrifice (Benson 1972; Donnan 1978; 1997; Hocquenghem 1987; Kutscher 1955). Through the offering of blood, ritual combat served to propitiate supernaturals or social and economic well-being (Hocquenghem 1987).

New mitochondrial DNA studies suggest that sacrificed individuals at Huaca de la Luna, a temple complex on the Moche site, originated from coastal populations (Shinoda *et al.* 2002). Similarities in the genetic signatures of human sacrifices and élites at the site indicate that the victims probably belonged to the same population as their sacrificers and other residents of the Moche complex. These findings are notable because sacrificial victims are usually believed to be war captives, not residents of the same local community.

John and Theresa Topic (1997a,b) believe that scholars must problematize the notion of Andean warfare. They contend that western dichotomies between secular and ritual kinds of warfare are untenable, because the evidence for such distinctions in the archaeological and ethnographic records is scant (1997a, 575). They insist that Moche warfare, though still violent and potentially deadly, is tethered to seasonal ceremonial cycles and practices that bind agrarian communities (Topic & Topic 1997a, 582–3).

The interpretation that Moche depictions portray ritual contests seems plausible given the iconographic evidence. In a sense, this is because the interpretation does not stray far from the image. A riskier proposition is to use the same imagery to: 1) explain the lack of strong evidence for military conquest; and 2) characterize wider Moche social relations, in general. The imagery of the vessel in question provides a unique opportunity to reassess the character of Andean warfare, regional cultural interaction, and intergroup perceptions during the Early Intermediate Period.

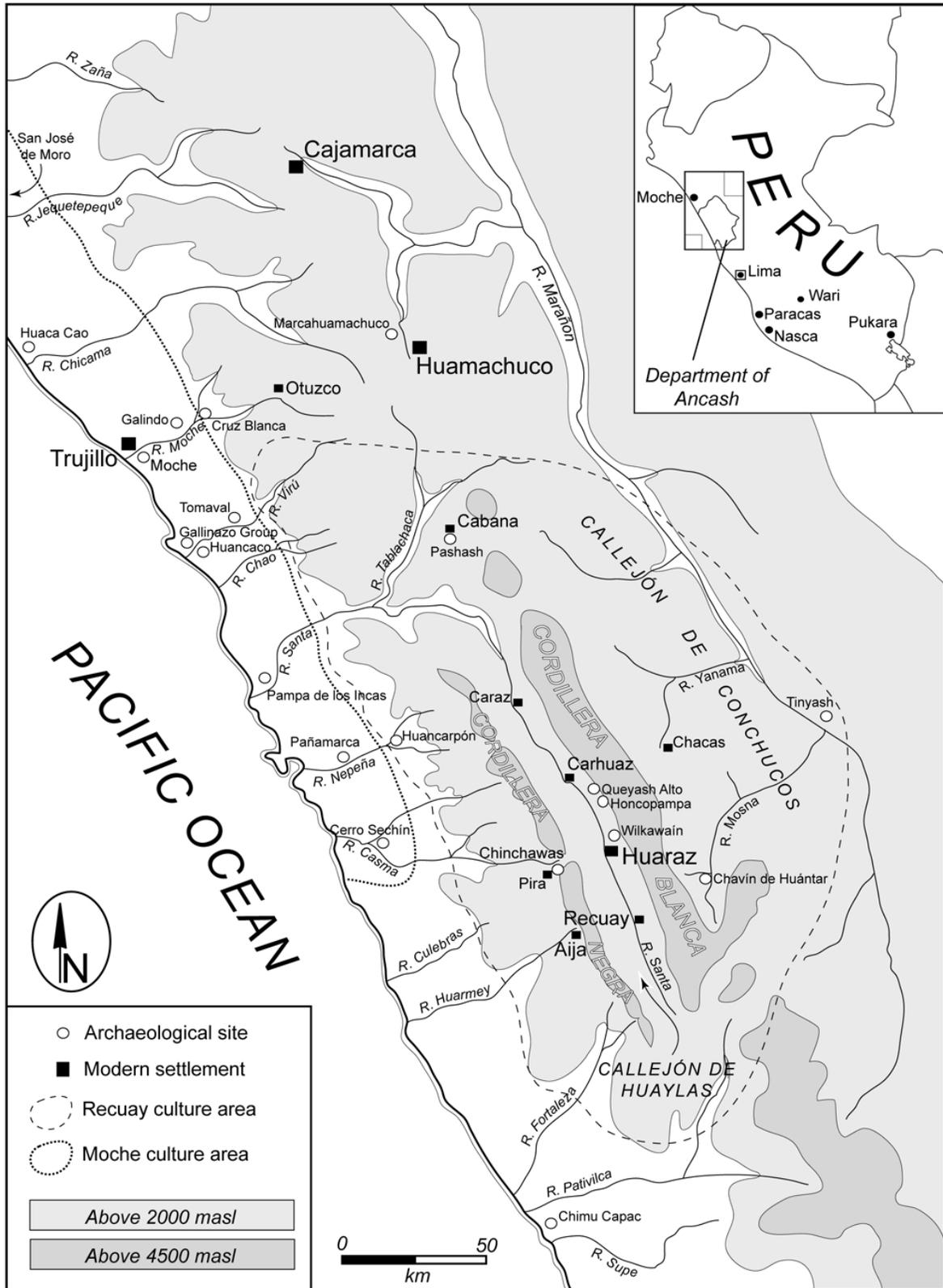


Figure 1. Map of Peru and sites, cultures and archaeological centres mentioned in text.

Description of the vessel

Originally acquired from a source around Trujillo, the vessel (Fig. 2) is now housed in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (Lührsen Collection, Museums-Nr V A 666). The vessel, hereafter the 'Lührsen vessel' (Benson 1984, 368), is a stirrup-spout bottle measuring 26.5 cm high. A *tour de force* of the Moche IV style, the vessel and its imagery have been illustrated in various publications as photos or line drawings (e.g. Donnan 1978, fig. 68; Kutscher 1950, fig. 22; Montell 1929, fig. 52; Reichert 1989, fig. 1; Schuler-Schömgig 1979, Abb. 1; Wilson 1987, fig. 10).

The stirrup narrows in diameter towards the lip, feeding into a slightly tapered Moche IV spout with a plain rim. The painting consists of fineline brownish-red brushwork over a cream base slip. Bounded by thin double lines, each side of the stirrup-spout shows three serpents with profile heads, forked tongues, and zigzagging bodies. The primary scene (Fig. 3) on the vessel shoulder and body portrays an array of Moche warriors paired with antagonists sharing non-Moche features. Register A shows a Moche warrior (Warrior 1) who has defeated and stripped a non-Moche figure (Warrior 2). Register B depicts four pairs of combatants, and the bottom Register C contains five pairs. For this study, I number each figure sequentially, from left to right and then top to bottom.

The identification of the warriors has a contentious history. Different scholars have suggested that



Figure 2. Photograph of the Lührsen vessel (V A 666). (Photo courtesy of Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.)



Figure 3. Rollout drawing from vessel showing combat scene between Moche and another group. (Redrawn from Kutscher 1950, fig. 24.)

the non-Moche may be Recuay people. Disselhoff (1956) expanded on Kutscher's (1950) identification of 'Fremdkrieger', or foreign warriors, by suggesting Recuay correspondences in the depiction of trophy heads and trophy hands (also Berezkin 1978). Smith (1978, 178–80) concurred but noted that there were similarities also in weaponry, accoutrements, and facial ornament. More recently, the imagery of the pot has been used to support regional patterns of Moche territoriality and conflict with foreign groups (Proulx 1982, 90; Wilson 1987, 66).

Schuler-Schömig (1979; 1981) asserted that the foreign combatants were not Recuay at all. She argued that they were special members of Moche society, who featured traits found on figures in other Moche artworks. Relying on ceramic imagery, Reichert (1989, 89) criticized Smith's summary comparison and conceded that the identities of the 'Fremdkrieger' remain ambiguous, although he lent support to Schuler-Schömig's argument. There has yet to be a detailed examination, however, which describes and compares the imagery from the Recuay perspective. Further, important recent advances in Recuay and Moche prehistory provide new evidence and interpretations to better contextualize the vessel's representation.

Portrayal of the Moche figures: what makes them Moche?

The Moche figures are identified by a consistent series of shared characteristics. First, nine of the ten figures carry the typical Moche war or hunting club (Donnan 1978; 1997). Second, the warriors wear headgear and apparel, such as conical helmets and long rectangular tunics, which have common analogues in other representations of Moche warriors. Thirdly, nine of the ten Moche figures wear a backflap, an important symbol of authority and identity in the Moche world (Alva & Donnan 1993; Benson 1972). The backflap and other Moche warrior regalia are conspicuously absent in the non-Moche figures. Finally, each Moche figure wears paint or tattooing, which covers the entire face or is a vertical stripe across the eye in typical Moche fashion (Montell 1929; Schuler-Schömig 1979). Only three of the non-Moche warriors show facial paint.

The fine details of apparel and accessories dramatize the general action of the scene. None of the Moche warriors is losing. The calm and mannered expressions of the Moche warriors also articulate superiority. Warriors 10 and 19 are poised to deliver finishing blows, while Warrior 11 gestures

with his index finger, as if singling his enemy out. Each pair is arranged to a basic alternating pattern according to register. The topmost warriors (Register A), distanced as a rollout drawing, are positioned head-to-head on either side of the stirrup spout. In the bottom register, the Moche figures are shown on the left side, while in the middle register they are shown on the right. This binary regularity heightens the clarity of distinction between the Moche and non-Moche peoples.

Many Moche combat scenes, premised on the capture of sacrificial victims, form part of the 'Warrior Narrative' — a series of episodes featuring the defeat, procession and eventual sacrifice of enemies (Donnan 1997, 52; Donnan & McClelland 1999, 69). The Lühsen vessel is significant because although this segment of the Warrior Narrative is familiar, the depiction of non-Moche warriors is not.

Portrayal of non-Moche figures: descriptions and Recuay correspondences

Clothing and headgear (Fig. 4)

The non-Moche combatants wear headdresses that are quite unlike their Moche counterparts. Six of the ten (Warriors 2, 5, 7, 9, 16 & 20) wear hair or a headdress arranged into a type of frontal ponytail. This has been referred to as a skullcap, forehead lock or simply forelock. The forehead lock does not feature commonly in Recuay depictions, but does occur on Moche ceramics (Schuler-Schömig 1979). There is at least one instance, however, where a Recuay personage subdues an adversary by the hair at the forehead (Grieder 1978, fig. 130; cf. Métraux 1946; Rouse 1948). This is a visual treatment through which many world cultures envisioned the process of capture and of imposing superiority (Benson 1972, 46; Donnan 1978; Hill 2000; Quilter 2002).

Two of the non-Moche warriors (12 & 14), wear a distinctive headdress comprised of a rounded helmet with three tapering spokes and circular finials. The entire apparatus is attached to the head by a strap that wraps around the chin. The three-spoke element is not found often in Recuay art, but the round helmet, basal band, and chin strap are characteristic of Recuay headdresses. They occur commonly as a type of plain turban (Grieder 1978, 143; Tello 1929, fig. 46) and with a wide semicircular fan-like element (Eisleb 1987, pl. iv).

Hand elements are the most prominent items in the headdress of Warrior 18. The headdress consists of four separate hands, each still with long parts of the lower arm. One pair is laid across horizontally

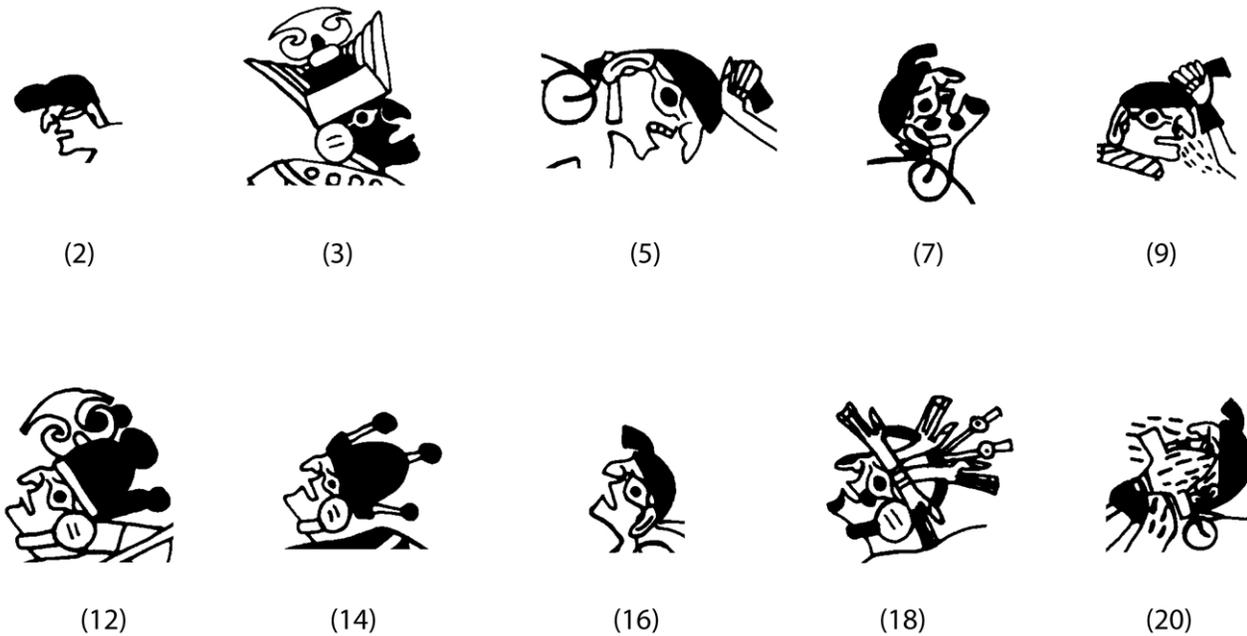


Figure 4. Detail of heads of non-Moche figures (redrawn from Kutscher 1950, fig. 24). Numbers in parentheses refer to Warriors enumerated in Figure 3.

as part of the basal helmet band, with the hands at the lateral ends. Two others stand on end behind the front band. At the back are two stick-like elements with circular pendants.

The depiction of human trophy hands, typically without the arms, is a decorative element in Recuay headdresses represented on ceramics (Disselhoff 1956). Hands are also depicted quite frequently in stone sculpture, often as paired elements arranged horizontally (Lau 2001, figs. 10–3d, 10–4b; Lumbreras 1974, fig. 128). Several sculptures from the Huaraz area, one of the core areas of Recuay development, have headdresses with horizontal and vertical pairs of trophy hands (Fig. 5).

The removal and wearing of human body parts, probably taken during raids or hunts, likely served as emblems of victory, achievement and social status (Karsten 1935; Métraux 1949a; Proulx 2001). Other prestigious trophies, such as the heads, pelts, and paws of felines and other animals worn as headdresses, are sometimes represented in Recuay and

Figure 5. Photograph of Recuay warrior sculpture, Museo Arqueológico de Ancash (Huaraz), height c. 120 cm. The figure is seated cross-legged. The headdress features a wide band with a forehead crescent and horizontal and vertical hand elements. The warrior holds a club in his right hand and carries a round shield and tasselled bag on his left arm.



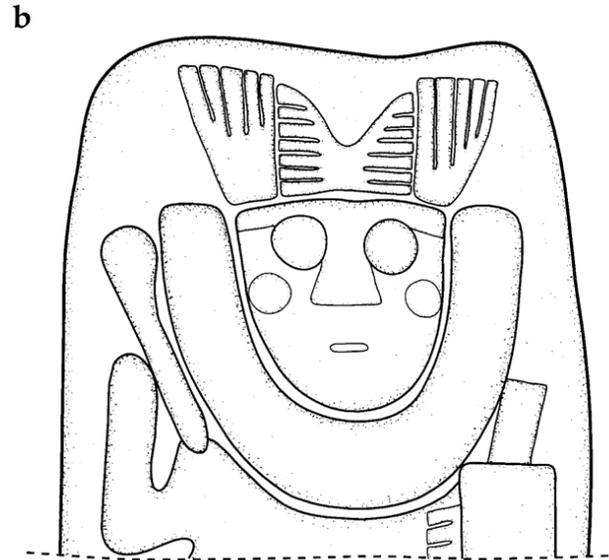


Figure 6. (a) Figure of warrior from Recuay stone-carving, carrying round-headed mace and trophy head, and wearing feather/crescent headdress, Pashash, Cabana (redrawn from Grieder 1978, fig. 150).

(b) Vertical slab sculpture with elaborate headdress, probably of feathers and human appendages, Pira region, height shown c. 60 cm. Dashed line represents what is visible above the surface.

Moche art, and suggest a similar emphasis on appropriation and status.

Warrior 3's headdress consists of the banded helmet, projecting featherlike elements, and a double crescent ornament which attaches to the top of the helmet. The feather elements appear to ring the headdress, diminishing in size around the back.

Forehead crescent ornaments occur on Recuay warrior sculptures (Fig. 5). A similar headdress occurs on a carving found at Pashash (Grieder 1978, fig. 150; cf. Antúñez 1941, fig. 15). Feathered projections, three to a side, turn upward and a crescent ornament sits at the front centre (Fig. 6a). The ornament is dissimilar in that it does not have a smaller basal crescent which turns upwards. The high sides may be alluded to by Recuay headdresses which take the form of dually-opposed step motifs. Grieder (1978, 135) called the personages with this headdress 'crowned gods' and ascribed to them divine and supernatural warrior powers. Headdresses with feather and hand-like elements also occur on representations of warrior effigy monuments in the Pira region (Fig. 6b).

Ear ornamentation or modification is another significant characteristic of the non-Moche warriors. Like headdresses, ear ornaments were social mark-

ers of status and identity in ancient Andean society. Frequently only the highest-ranking males could wear ear ornaments (Alva & Donnan 1993; Cobo 1979 [1653]; Rowe 1946, 258). Two of the ten non-Moche figures do not have ear ornaments (Warriors 2 & 9) They appear to have been already defeated and stripped of their clothing and accessories. Two combatants (5 & 7) wear ear tubes that extend horizontally from the earlobe. Several Moche warriors in the scene wear similar tubes (see also Donnan 1978, 17).

Four of the non-Moche figures wear ear plugs or spools. They are circular, cover the entire ear, and feature two short parallel slashes. The plugs are similar to those worn by some of the Moche combatants. The remaining four non-Moche figures, all of whom are half-nude without tunics, wear large circular pendants that dangle from the ears. These types of ear ornaments are not found on the Moche individuals in the scene.

Ear plugs in Recuay culture are usually represented as circular discs (e.g. Fig. 6b). The plugs commonly have a cross design, with dots in each wedge. Other Recuay ear plugs have crenellated edges and a central projection that sometimes depicts animal or human heads. These resemble the fringed borders of gold pins found at Pashash (Grieder 1978, 120–29).

Finally, the non-Moche warriors can also be distinguished on the basis of their clothing, or lack of it. While all the Moche figures wear long tunics, only four of the non-Moche warriors feature torso-covering clothing. Warriors 12 and 18 wear plain hip-length tunics, while the most elaborate attire is reserved for Warriors 3 and 14. The shirts with decorated collars (yokes) and vertical pendant rectangles are known also from high-ranking personages with coca-associations (Benson 1984; Kutscher 1950). Both Moche and non-Moche protagonists, it should be noted, are barefoot; some feet show toes or toenails.

Weaponry (Fig. 7)

Another source of differentiation between the two groups derives from the choice of weaponry. All the Moche figures hold a typical Moche war or hunting club, except Warrior 10, who is unarmed. The club has a conical tip with a projecting collar attached to a long tapering shaft.

None of the non-Moche figures is armed with this type of weapon. Instead, they prefer clubs hafted with mace heads. The mace heads are either star shaped ($n = 4$) or ovoid ($n = 3$). Mace heads are not uncommon along the coast (e.g. Donnan 1978, fig. 111), but it should also be pointed out that the weapon most often represented on Recuay warriors is the club (Antúnez 1941, fig. 15; Grieder 1978, figs. 150,152; Schaedel 1952). Depictions of clubs usually of rounded heads occur frequently in stone sculpture (Figs. 5, 6a, 6b, 8b, 8c) and also in ceramic portraits of male leaders (Disselhoff 1967, 121).

Star-shaped mace heads are found in sites throughout the Recuay area, from the La Pampa (Terada 1979, pl. 89a) to the Nepeña regions (Gambini 1984, 122–3). The star shape may also refer to the cross-section of tubular and ribbed mace heads made of cast copper (Antúnez 1941; Gambini 1984; Wegner 2000). Composite clubs, made from ribbed metal tubes, are also known from Tinyash (Antúnez 1941, fig. 22).

Finally, most of the clubs used by the non-Moche group carry a truncated or conical element at

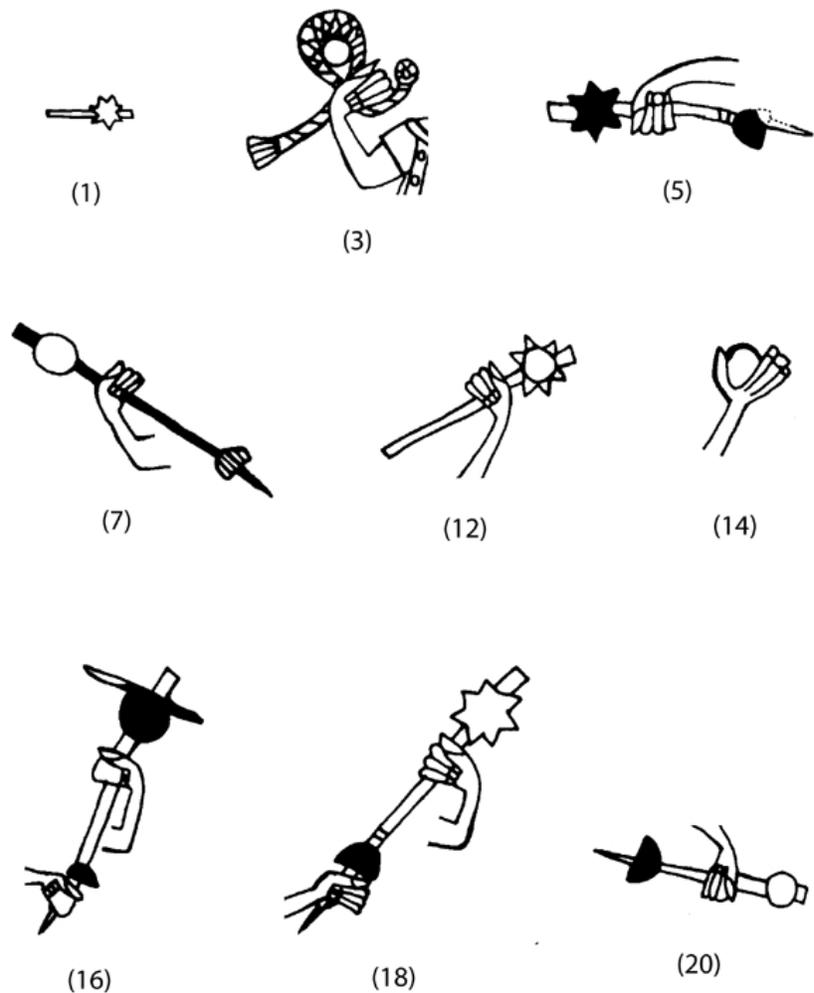


Figure 7. Detail of weapons used by non-Moche figures (redrawn from Kutscher 1950, fig. 24). Numbers in parentheses refer to Warriors enumerated in Figure 3.

the narrower end, resembling the basket feature of skiing poles. One appears to be ribbed (Warrior 7) and several clubs (Warrior 5, 18) show several notches directly above the object. It is unknown whether these features served as hand-guards, gripping knobs, propping devices, or stops limiting the penetration of the sharp ends. The Moche war clubs in the scene do not have this feature. Elsewhere in Moche art, the feature can occur three or four times on a single club, with barb-like extensions, and on the clubs of losers and victors alike (Donnan & McClelland 1999, figs. 3.50–3.51; Schuler-Schöming 1981, abb. 5).

Several figures are armed with large circular objects, probably stones. Warrior 3 holds a stone in a woven sling, while Warrior 14 grips one with his

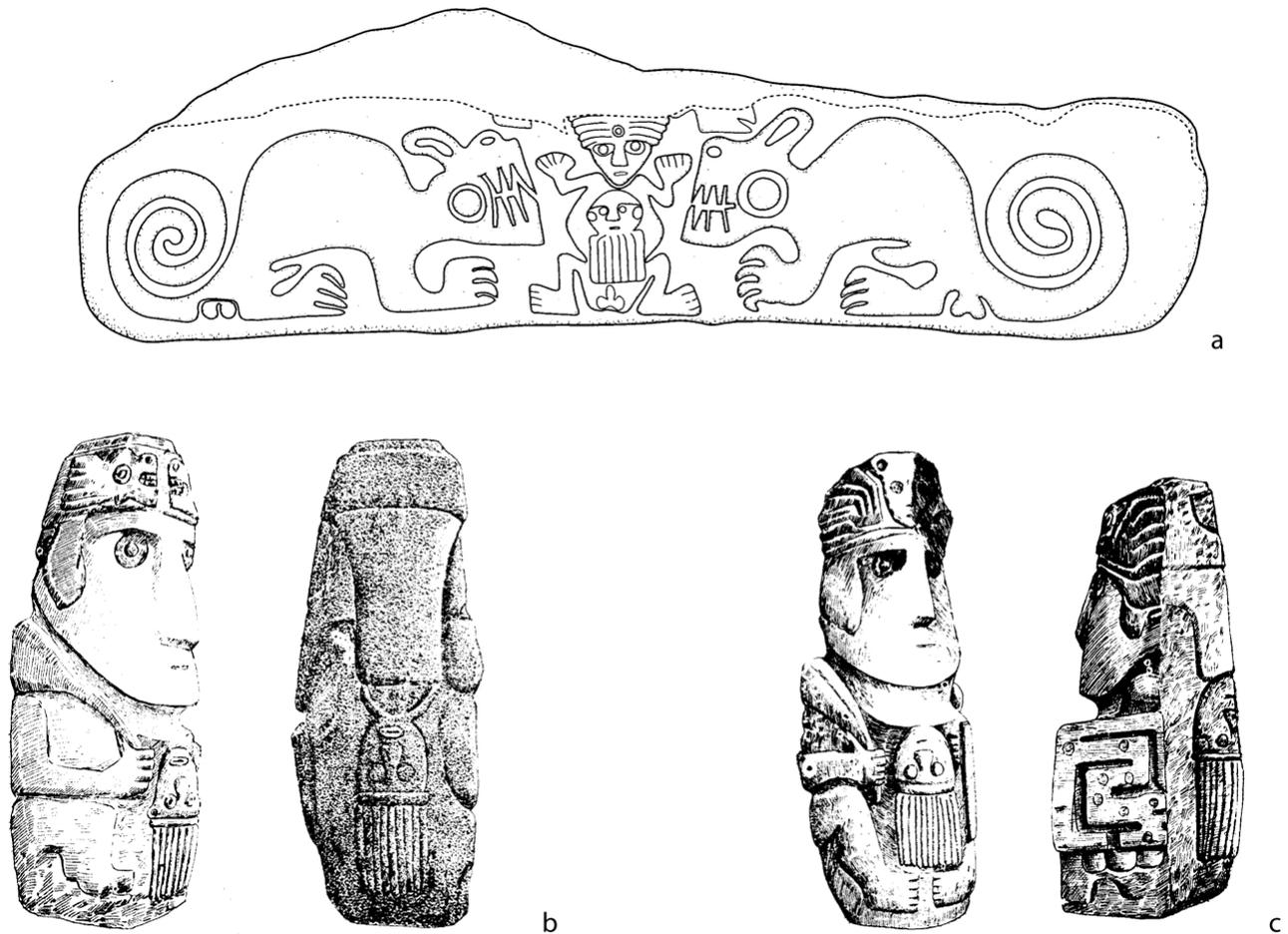


Figure 8. (a) Horizontal slab sculpture at Chinchawas, showing human figure with trophy head on torso, length 204 cm. (b, c) Stone sculptures of warriors from Aija, with trophy head adornments and clubs, heights 120 cm and 100 cm (based on Tello 1929, figs. 41, 42).

hand. Hand-sized slingstones, roughly 10 cm in diameter, have been reported at coastal hilltop sites (Topic & Topic 1987, 48).

Finally, six of the ten non-Moche figures carry a hand shield (Fig. 9). Another belonged to the vanquished Warrior 2. Warrior 1 carries it away in his bundle of spoils as he exits triumphantly. In contrast, only a few Moche warriors (1 & 6) carry shields. Six shields are circular and one is square. The shield designs are basic; including crosses or 'X's, hatching, diagonals, and wavy lines. Square and circular shields with cross designs are common on Recuay stone sculpture (Figs. 5, 6b). In the Ancash Archaeological Museum (Huaraz), over 18 warrior statues hold this type of shield (e.g. Lumbreras 1974, 116).

Trophy head ornaments (Fig. 10)

The final class of material with correspondences to

Recuay imagery are the rectangular items carried by some of the non-Moche combatants (3, 7, 12 & 16). A Moche figure (Warrior 1) also carries an example as part of the victory spoils from his defeated opponent (Warrior 2). Smith (1978, 178–80) called them 'bamboo-slat frames', while Disselhoff (1956, 25) felt they could have served a defensive function as 'shields'. Verano (2001, 113) referred to them as 'banner-like,' while Quilter likened them to Moche backflaps (pers. comm. 2003). Benson (1984) compared them to coca bags. Regardless of specific identification, they appear to function as insignias for the non-Moche warriors.

Although there is no indication that they could open or hold things inside, the argument that they are more like bags/packs or pennants is supported by the way in which they are strapped and handled. The bags from the lower two registers are rectangu-

lar, and have diagonal designs. They are most commonly slung over the back, with the strap appearing to go around the neck (e.g. Donnan & McClelland 1999, fig. 3.49). Finally, one figure (Warrior 3) holds a second version gripped in his teeth or perhaps dangled from a lip plug. On some Moche vessels, figures have small individual heads covering the lower jaw which may be a type of lip plug (cf. Benson 1984, fig. 3ab; Harcourt & Nique 1934, fig. 1).

It is unclear whether the heads are real severed or shrunken heads (Disselhoff 1956). Benson (1984, 371) also suggests that they may have been made out of metal, like the effigy heads from Sipán or Loma Negra (Alva & Donnan 1993, figs. 23, 217).

The designs, structure, and placement of the packs suggest that they were probably made of woven material (cf. Smith 1978, 178–80). In Register C, they have dangling strips and tassels. In Register B, the bags contain bodiless heads identified as trophies (Disselhoff 1956). The parallel striations may represent textile tassels but could also signify or accentuate the hair common on Recuay representations of bodiless heads and trophy-head specimens (Proulx 1989, figs. 7, 8; Tello 1929, figs. 41, 42; Verano 1995, figs. 7–10). It should be noted that several Recuay warrior sculptures in the Ancash Archaeological Museum carry small bags with three dangling fringes, which hang from the wrist or forearm (Fig. 5). These may be akin to the cloth coca bags described by Benson (1984).

Trophy heads and trophy head packs are not common in Moche warrior imagery, although they occur occasionally (Schuler-Schömig 1979; 1981). They are, however, prominent on Recuay stone sculpture and occur occasionally in Recuay ceramics. The packs feature multiple trophy-head images and are slung over the back (Fig. 11). Like the representa-

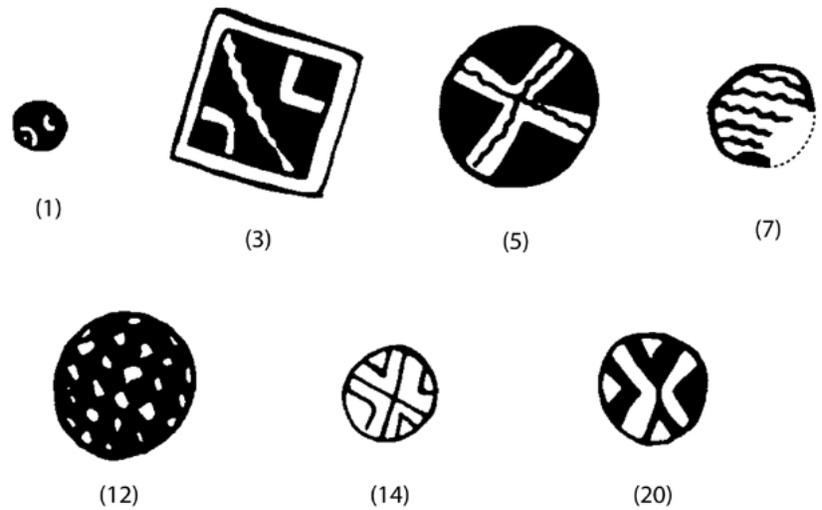


Figure 9. Detail of shields used by non-Moche figures (redrawn from Kutscher 1950, fig. 24). Numbers in parentheses refer to Warriors enumerated in Figure 3.

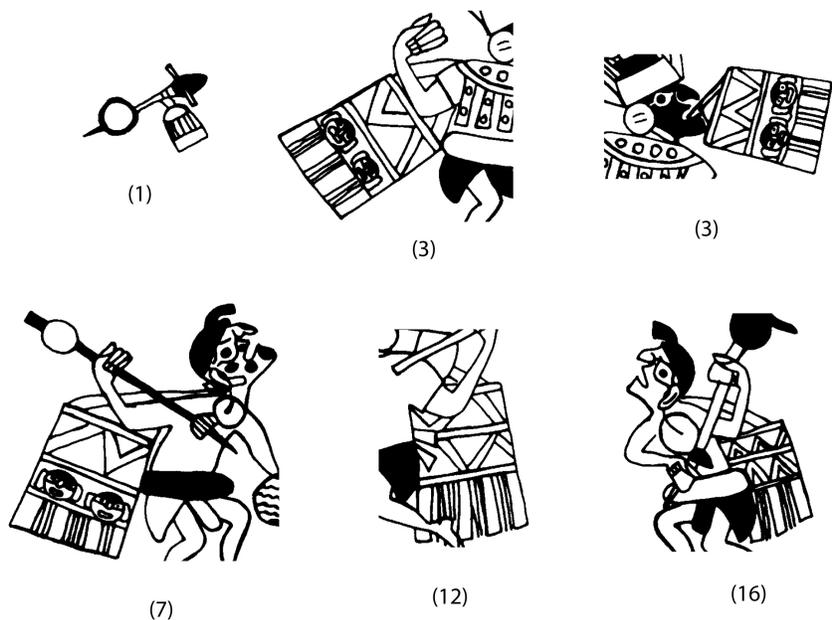


Figure 10. Detail of trophy head bags/ornaments used by non-Moche figures (redrawn from Kutscher 1950, fig. 24). Numbers in parentheses refer to Warriors enumerated in Figure 3.

tions on the vessel, the images are rendered as designs on the cloth or are attached as objects to the front of the pack. In several stone sculptures, the heads are portrayed in higher relief (not incised) to stress their three-dimensional quality, rather than being either within or woven integrally into the bag. This appears to be borne out by Recuay ceramic

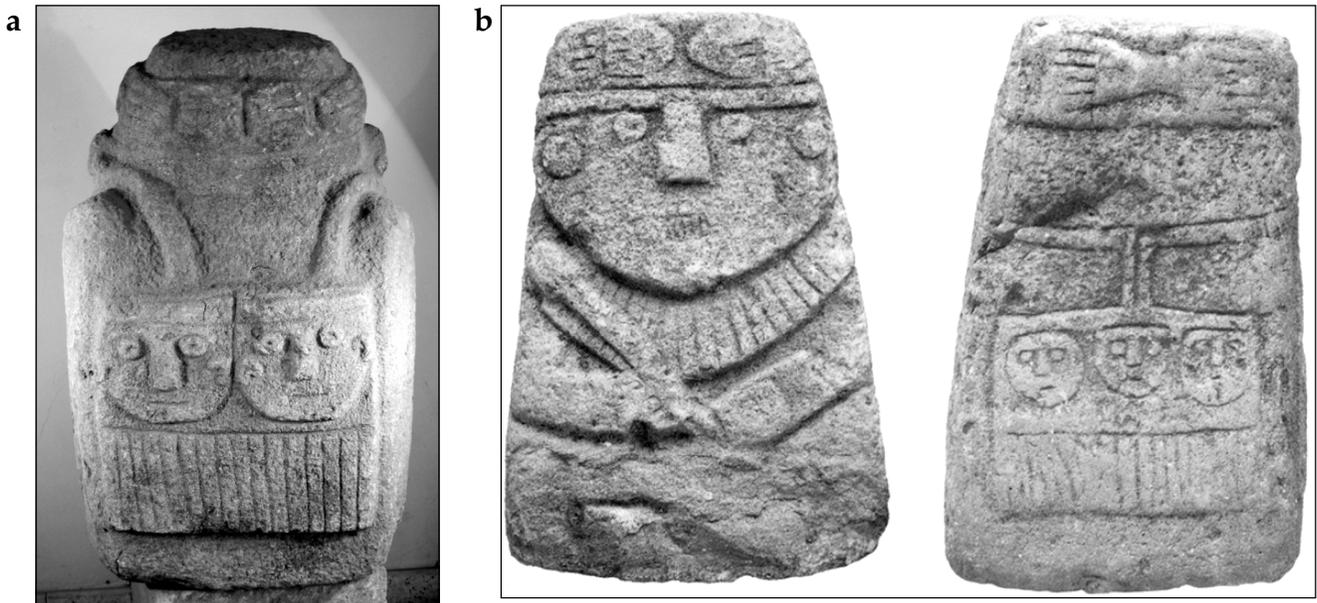


Figure 11. (a) Rear of stone sculpture, showing trophy-head 'pack', slung over the back of warrior, height c. 90 cm. (b) Front and rear view of Recuay warrior sculpture, height c. 100 cm. The pack shows three heads (after Lau 2000, fig. 2). Note the trophy hand elements on the headdresses.

depictions (e.g. Eisleb 1987, abb. 175b). Moreover, the trophy-head bags in Recuay stone sculpture have similar vertical striations to refer to hair or dangling tassels (Fig. 8). Some warrior statues display multiple trophy head images on the belt. Recuay-style horizontal slab sculptures (e.g. Fig. 8a) also sometimes have frontal figures who hold a trophy head or wear one around the neck (see also Lau 2000, fig. 7).

The rendering of the heads is diagnostic. They resemble closely how Recuay artists portrayed bodiless heads (e.g. Grieder 1978, fig. 142–51). The heads are shown frontally with a wide horizontal mouth agape and a bowl-shaped helmet or coiffure. The ears are exaggerated and abnormally large, perhaps portraying warriors or other high-status people with ears stretched from wearing ear ornaments (cf. Figs. 6a,b, 8a). Furthermore, the heads are represented without necks, indicating that they are not severed heads, but most probably trophy heads (Chavez 1992). Grieder (1978, 136–47) identified a series of bodiless heads in Recuay art as either divinities or as trophies.

Discussion

The Recuay connection: correspondences and inconsistencies

Certain features of the dress, weaponry, and accoutrements of the non-Moche figures, therefore, appear to have correspondences in Recuay culture.

Taken together, the comparisons comprise a purposeful representation of Moche versus a foreign Recuay-related people.

It is more difficult to determine whether the scene represents a bounded historical event (i.e. the defeat of ten individuals), an abbreviated reference to a series of real events (e.g. the defeat of ten communities), or a more complex mytho-historical allegory. A fundamental problem is temporal. At present we cannot distinguish whether the action occurs in real time, synchronously, or as a narrative arc of separate but linked images, like the different frames of the Sacrifice Ceremony or Burial Theme (Castillo 1989; Donnan & McClelland 1999; Quilter 1997). It is also difficult to determine whether the scene shows actual Recuay people or people dressed up as Recuay, as in a masquerade or in a re-enactment. Are the same actors present in different parts of the scene?

Some conservative observations can, however, be made. First, an artisan produced a stirrup-spout vessel which depicts an uncommon scene: where Moche people are fighting non-Moche people. The style of the bottle, Moche IV, provides a rough age for its production, probably AD 500–700. The painter portrayed the cultural distinctions of the non-Moche warriors carefully throughout the composition. A number of iconographic comparisons indicates that they are Recuay people.

In addition, from their elaborate regalia and

headgear, many of the warriors on both sides can be considered important individuals in their respective communities. The chronicler Bernabé Cobo noted that headdresses were of paramount importance as status markers for the Inka state:

The men and women of each nation and province had their insignia and emblems by which they could be identified, and they could not go around without this identification or exchange their insignias for those of another nation, or they would be severely punished ... They had this insignia on their clothes with different stripes and colours, and the men wore their most distinguishing insignia on their heads (Cobo 1979 [1653], 196).

People of conquered nations were ordered to continue wearing their headdresses as signifiers of tribal affiliation (Rowe 1946, 272).

The basic inference is that the artisan was aware of Recuay cultural practices, in their dress, weaponry, equipment and insignia. The painter expressed the superiority of the Moche over this group through the idiom of violence. The relationship between Moche and Recuay worlds, at least in this vessel, is hostile and privileges the Moche faction.

Despite the correspondences, there are observations that make a definitive Recuay identification difficult (Reichert 1989). For instance, the style and designs of the clothing itself do not readily resemble Recuay apparel found in ceramic representations (cf. Eisleb 1987, abb. 84–156). Key motifs typical of Recuay clothing (e.g. the crested or ‘moon’ animal, bicephalic serpents, interlocking triangular heads, and rayed bodiless heads) do not appear in the scene. In addition, many of the Recuay-like figures wear short-sleeved shirts and high skirts. In fact, several warriors, who are not yet stripped, appear to be unclothed except for their waist gear (e.g. Warriors 5, 7, 16, 20). This apparel, featuring irregular folds held up sometimes by a thick belt, does not have common analogues in Recuay art. One comparison can be made to a series of Pashash warriors featuring waist-length tunics with a long fringe or belt; one warrior has a triangular loincloth (Grieder 1978, figs. 152, 153).

In Recuay ceramic depictions, the preferred clothing consists of long tunics, which covered at least to the knee and were often body-length. This seems consistent with the cold montane climates associated with the Recuay heartland. The exposure of bare body or skin, including genitalia, is infrequent in Recuay ceramic representations, although it is quite common in stone sculpture (Lau 2002). The clothing worn by the non-Moche figures may be more indica-

tive of coastal river valleys than of the highlands.

A related issue concerns the location of the scene, which is suggested by a number of plant elements. Cacti and bromeliad-like plants with long prominent stalks and foliate bulbs or bracts are depicted (Hocquenghem 1987, 116–17). Notably, they are all juxtaposed with non-Moche warriors, as if to index their geographical origins (Warriors 2, 3, 5, 7, 9 & 20). Various Moche vessels depict mountain settings, in scenes of sacrifices, snail collections, and deer hunting (e.g. Donnan 1978, 144–51). Indeed, mountain scenes sometimes contain figures with trophy-head ornaments hanging from their mouths, who are associated with coca lands and ceremonies (Benson 1984; Berezkin 1978; Schuler-Schömig 1979; 1981). Yet the artist did not choose a highland backdrop for the vessel.

There are several plausible interpretations. One is that the scenery was unnecessary or was not important to the vessel’s painter. Alternatively, it seems possible that the action does not transpire in a highland setting, but more likely in the warm river valleys and xerophytic margins leading up from the coast. Settlement surveys have identified contested ‘frontier zones’ between Recuay and Moche cultures. In Nepeña, for example, both Proulx (1982) and Daggett (1986) assert that Moche peoples controlled the lower valley, while Recuay groups occupied the upper zones. Middle valley ‘buffer’ zones between coastal and highland peoples may have also obtained in Virú and Moche (Billman 1996; Topic & Topic 1982), as well as in Santa (Wilson 1988) during the Early Intermediate Period.

Function, production, and perceptions

The Lührsen vessel is the outcome of a series of technical and artistic choices on the part of the artisan(s). The shape and local artistic conventions place constraints on the imagery, such as the content, number of characters and positions, colours, shapes and sizes (Donnan 1978). The enduring appeal of the vessel testifies to the skill and dispositions of a Moche artist, the ‘Forehead Crescent Painter’ according to Donnan & McClelland (1999, 218).

The good preservation and lack of substantial wear indicate the vessel had a specialized function and a relatively short use life. Like most other intact Moche stirrup-spout vessels, the Lührsen bottle was probably a grave offering (Donnan & McClelland 1999, 18). Certainly, the bottle could have functioned to hold liquid offerings and serve libations. As a burial offering, the imagery may relate to the life of the deceased or represent a historical achievement — a testimonial to the heroics of the deceased. In her

synthesis of South American warfare, Redmond (1994, 57) observes that the desire for blood revenge often fuels warfare in tribal and chiefly societies. In particular, it is frequently a warrior's funerary ritual that catalyzes collective action and the next cycle of hostile incursions.

The bottle is remarkable because the portrayal of non-Moche people in combat scenes is generally rare. Some Recuay elements on the Lühsen vessel do occur occasionally on other Moche vessels. Schuler-Schömig (1979; 1981) reviewed many of the most distinctive 'Fremdkrieger' features reproduced in Moche ceramics (e.g. trophy-head adornments, forehead crescent, forehead locks, face painting, and the headdresses) and attributed to them to special participants of Moche ritual practices associated with coca and agricultural ceremony (also Benson 1984). Single figures with these features are found on modelled and fineline pottery, but are usually not represented engaged in combat. It is unclear whether these works constitute individual segments of the overall narrative associated with the Lühsen scene. While other Moche ceramics show figures with Recuay-like attributes, the Lühsen vessel is exceptional for its density of non-Moche figures, correspondences to Recuay culture, and the variability of paired combat action.

Fineline vessels most often depict one-on-one fights between high-status Moche males (Donnan 1997, 52). This emphasis encourages the opinion that Moche peoples *only* fought with Moche peoples, and that their warfare was mainly focused on the capture of enemies for sacrifice. But the representational emphasis on Moche–Moche confrontations does not necessarily mean that Moche people did not fight with other groups. The scarcity of foreign adversaries should only be taken to mean that Moche artists did not commonly choose to represent them. It cannot speak to whether it happened or not, or tell us about frequency. For these problems, we must rely on the archaeological evidence for hostile encounters. In addition to actual combat, there should be material correlates for pre- and post-war preparations, rituals, and associated behaviours (Topic & Topic 1987; Redmond 1994). The lack of strong material evidence for warfare probably reflects current research priorities and archaeological sampling centred on huaca complexes, urban sectors, and tombs (Quilter 2002). Outside urban and ceremonial cores, recent settlement surveys underscore again the prominence of defensive hilltop sites, especially along coast–highland frontiers and political margins, during the Early Moche (Billman 1996) as well as Late Moche periods (Dillehay 2001).

It is useful to reiterate that Moche images do not represent archives of Moche history or reality so much as they treat selected themes and points of view chosen by their artists or sponsors (Benson 1972, 45; Donnan 1978; Bourget 2001, 94). The danger of taking Moche imagery literally lies not in making correlations between representations and archaeological remains, which is, in fact, a kind of 'ground truthing'. Rather, it lies in assuming that Moche images provide real, impartial, or complete texts of the past.

Staging and the characterization of warriors

Various elements of the depiction suggest that the action is somehow contrived. There are at least two levels of orchestration. One resides as the prerogative, or license, of the artist. The other refers to the orchestrated character of the scene's action.

As others have noted for Moche contests, the match-ups occur typically in pairs (Hocquenghem 1978). In the Lühsen vessel, the design fields and alternating figure positions also neatly structure the action. There are no haphazard or disorderly encounters. The general tenor of the fights reinforces the formalized action. Many of the non-Moche people are losing or have already been defeated. Even in a rout, we would expect that the losing group would have inflicted injuries or the odd casualty, all things being equal. None of the ten Moche figures experiences the slightest difficulty from his foe. This seems consistent with Moche warfare rhetoric and is associated with elite patronage of the vessel's production.

Other things are stacked in the favour of the Moche warriors. First, their opponents' weapons do not seem to be particularly effective. The circular objects, probably stones, held by Warriors 3 and 14, are strange weapons of choice for hand-to-hand combat. Projectiles and slings are effective offensive weapons from a distance and for stealth. Up close, they lose their advantage (Métraux 1949b, 252).

Another key difference between the equipment of the two groups concerns the use of shields. The Moche in the scene do not favour or need the use of shields; Warriors 1 and 6 carry them but only as perfunctory elements of their weapons bundles. The implication is that, unlike their opponents, the Moche are the aggressors. Being on the offensive, at least in this scene, obviates the need for defensive devices.

The clubs are unusual because they are neither swung nor used as bludgeons. Both groups prefer to wield clubs with two hands held far apart, in a pushing or jabbing motion. The primary grip is near the

heavy club element. Though expertly executed by Moche Warrior 19, this technique shortens the reach of the weapon, may lessen the potential for severe damage, and is consistent with arguments characterizing Moche combat scenes as focused on disabling enemies, rather than killing (e.g. Donnan 1997; Verano 2001, 113). If the handling is not a representational convention, it seems plausible to think that holding the club in this manner may have been *de rigueur*, perhaps one of the rules of the contest to which Moche warriors had to conform.

The forehead lock is a marker on the defeated or those about to be sacrificed in Moche art (Schuler-Schömig 1979; Donnan & McClelland 1999, fig. 4.70, 4.71). The forehead locks are conspicuously useful for the Moche warriors, who use them to pull or somehow gain an advantage over their foes. They serve, it seems, like props that play on the trope of how to handle a captive. If viewed as part of a historical event, the scene may not treat the capture of the warriors, which seems *fait accompli* by this point, but rather staged activities following their capture.

Quilter (2002) suggests that some Moche combat might be compared to gladiatorial contests in ancient Rome or ritual combat practised by the Aztecs. In these circumstances, enemies were given disadvantageous weapons, lashed to a stone, or otherwise primed to lose. Such contrived performances remain popular amongst audiences today; consider a professional wrestling match or a Harlem Globetrotters basketball game. Although there may be unanticipated moments of spontaneity, there are strong biases toward a predetermined outcome. In fact, without this spontaneity the contest is deprived of the element of competition and value as a thrill. Verano (2001, 112) implies this when he asserts that losers of Moche battles did not go home. Ethnographic cases of ritual contests do not show a similar level of direction. Clashes were violent and occasionally deadly, but the outcomes were probably not prescribed in the manner evident in the Lührsén vessel.

An important issue in ancient instances of ritual combat, so far largely unaddressed in the literature, concerns how the social relationships between the participants can be articulated. In ethnographic cases, a pair of combatants are often members of complementary factions who form a larger community. The purpose of this discussion has been to show that the non-Moche figures are not drawn from the typical Moche community, as their visual presentation demonstrates. Nevertheless, given their different positions, dress, or accoutrements, there appear to be at

least some differences in status or cultural affiliation (Berezkin 1978). Can this be taken to mean participants were drawn from different communities?

The variability extends to performance. The shirtless Recuay figures with forehead locks suffer the most; these features often predispose their possessors to failure. It seems reasonable to suggest that these warriors are less skilled than or inferior to their comrades. In contrast, although none can be said to be winning, some of the Recuay figures, especially those with large headdresses (Warriors 3, 12, 14, 18) or face painting (Warriors 3, 7, 18), are competitive. This appears to follow a common reporting strategy, where highlighting the status and challenge of the enemies, especially of captains and heroes, heightens the prestige of victory and establishes grounds for valour worthy of commemoration (e.g. Keegan 1993; Woodford 1993).

Donnan (1997) indicates that Moche artists frequently used deer as visual surrogates for enemy warriors and sacrificial victims. They drew homologies between human enemies/warfare and deer/deer-hunting. Are the facial markings on Warriors 7 and 18 akin to the skin markings of deer? It should be noted that animal metaphors for enemies are prominent in Achuar hunting and warfare cosmology: both practices are valuable sources of prestige and acclaim, which aim to appropriate, through 'violent incorporation' and predation, dangerous things of the outside world, the forest (Descola 2001, 94–6). It is also worth noting that painting the face and body with black pigment was a common pre-war ritual for groups in Amazonia (see Redmond 1994). If face decoration signified a type of potency or status in combat, then the non-Moche figures, who feature little or no facial painting, may be again marked for defeat.

Dyads and oppositions

Beyond vessel function and the genre of warfare, the imagery makes broader ideas and themes visually manifest. The notion of dualism has been much discussed in Andean ethnography and archaeology. Essentially, it holds that certain dimensions of Andean culture and thought are arranged on the principle of dual organization, specifically paired opposites (Hocquenghem 1987; Isbell 1977; Urton 1993). Burger & Salazar-Burger (1993, 97) define 'dual opposition':

In its most basic sense, reality is conceived as being composed of opposing but complementary forces; these forces are not equivalent (i.e. they are different or asymmetric) but both are necessary for completion and/or balance.

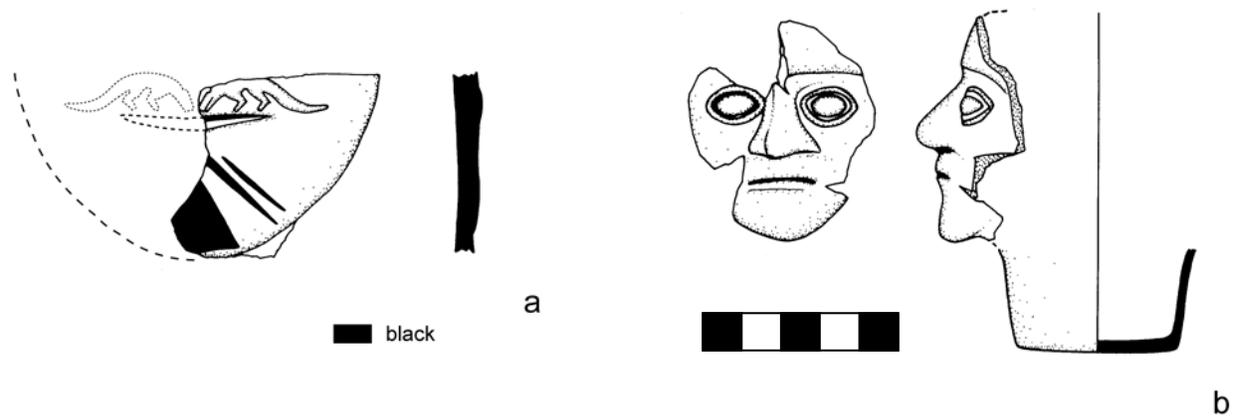


Figure 12. Moche imports found at Chinchawas. The left-hand piece (a) shows a fragment of a modelled face with face paint and probable tattoo of fox or feline. Similar pieces in Moche culture are associated with war clubs and captives. The right-hand vessel (b) is a small Moche bottle, with an effigy face.

The organization of the figures on the Lühsen vessel, in paired alternating format, is the most basic instantiation of this principle (Hocquenghem 1987; Topic & Topic 1997a).

The potter/painter was also strongly predisposed to showing the otherness of the enemy warriors. Distinctions in the dress, accessories, and action all emphasize the dichotomy between the Moche and non-Moche. It might be surmised that, from the perspective of the Moche artist, the distinctions construed 'us' versus 'them'. The Quechua word *tinku*, or *tinkuy*, is significant in this context. In addition to being the term for ritual combat between related moieties, it can signify, more generally, the joining or meeting of two (Topic & Topic 1997a, 573–5), like a marriage, the confluence of a river, or an intersection. Scholars have noted that stirrup-spout vessels, with two tubes emerging from the vessel body and converging at the spout, may express this wider Andean worldview (e.g. Stone-Miller 1995, 106). The Moche bichrome tradition of dark red and light cream painting may also be germane for considering the dualism of the entire vessel as well as in single elements, such as the backflap on Warrior 17.

Other paired opposites are suggested by association. In terms of dress, there are clear distinctions between nude and fully clothed. Following the common belief that one's clothing is a source of identity, status or prestige, the condition of nudity or being stripped was associated with defeat or shame in many parts of ancient America (Donnan 1978; Hill 2000; Marcus & Flannery 1996). It is not a coincidence that Warriors 2 and 9 are rendered nude and helpless. Four other non-Moche figures lack shirts. Their half-

nakedness and forehead locks mark their inferiority and change in status (Hill 2000). The dangling ear pendants also signal them as different. In comparison, the Moche warriors are fully attired, vigorous and in control.

The imagery ultimately addresses the distinction between winners and losers. The artist makes it unambiguous that a Moche group triumphs over another people or sets of people. It stands as a statement of the superiority of Moche civilization over the Other. The privileging of the Moche side in the vessel appears to contrast with the intent of modern ritual contests, where there is frequently no declaration of winners (Platt 1986, 238–9; Urton 1993, 128). Finally, the Lühsen vessel alludes to coast-highland interaction, which has a long history of entangled relations in Peru (Dillehay 1979; 2001; Marcus & Silva 1988; Proulx 1982).

Recuay interaction with the coast

The battle scene on the Lühsen vessel implies that Moche people were highly cognizant of their southern neighbours. Elsewhere, I have summarized the patterns in which ideas and goods crossed coast-highland borders in northern Peru, reflecting limited, but substantive cultural contact (Lau 2002–4). This appears to have operated first in terms of stylistic interchanges, especially in shared ceramic forms, decorative techniques and iconography between Recuay, Gallinazo, and Early Moche pottery.

Later, certainly by Middle Moche times, exchange of ceramic vessels becomes more established. Late Moche materials occur as late as AD 700–750 in the Casma headwaters (Fig. 12). Hybrid vessels, ap-

parently produced by Moche potters imitating Recuay vessel forms and imagery, represent another important, but little-understood, dimension of interaction between the two cultures (Bankmann 1979; Reichert 1982). Marine shell is also found in highland tombs and ceremonial buildings.

Other valued commodities, such as dried seafood, salt, and lowland cultigens (e.g. fruits, maize, and coca), were probably traded between the coastal and highland regions of northern Peru. Exchange for highland goods such as camelid fiber and tubers may have been facilitated by llama transport (Wilson 1988; Lau 2001). Unfortunately, the evidence for foodstuffs and perishable valuables, such as textiles, is rarely preserved in highland archaeological contexts (Burger 1985).

The Moche imports at Chinchawas (Fig. 12) are notable because they show Moche–Recuay ceramic exchange as far south as Casma, extending even into small highland agro-pastoral communities (Lau 2001; 2002). The few pieces also reflect similar cultural perceptions about the tenor of coast–highland interaction. One example from a fine Moche brownware bottle shows a fragment of a modelled face/mouth (Fig. 12a). The mouth features a painted design consisting of a triangular band flanked by thin stripes. Above the mouth, expressed as one-half of a moustache, is an incised figure of a quadruped with a long, thick tail, perhaps of a feline or fox; the design portrays a tattoo (Donnan 1978, 28; Montell 1929, 90–93). The face painting is characteristic of Moche personages, including warriors and captives (Montell 1929, figs. 34–8; Vergara & Sanchez 1996, 11–12). It should be noted that the animal/moustache design is sometimes represented with Moche war clubs crossing through the mouth (Donnan 1978, fig. 53), which may refer to the position and form of thorn-like pins used to suture the mouths of trophy heads. Apparently, late Recuay groups found Moche objects with warfare associations collectible.

Despite the evidence for exchange, it is unlikely that these peoples were always on terms of mutual understanding. Throughout the Early Intermediate Period, fortifications and evidence for weapons in coastal and highland zones suggest competitive, hostile interactions. It also remains unclear whether the instances of foreign materials represent traded items or perhaps spoils of war or raids (Keeley 1996, 126).

Specific elements of the Lührsen vessel, noted previously, make references to coca and to middle valley lands. The control of ‘chaupi yunga’ lands, the small circumscribed stretches of warm riverine valley (c. 300–1200 m above sea level), was particu-

larly contentious for local groups because they were: 1) the contact zone for coast–highland peoples (Proulx 1982; Topic & Topic 1983); 2) the areas of intake canals for coastal irrigation systems (Moseley & Deeds 1982; Shimada 1994); and 3) the ideal zone for cultivating desirable crops, such as fruits, chili pepper and, especially, coca (Dillehay 1979; Marcus & Silva 1988). Early Spanish judicial archives record disputes by rival lords and ethnic groups, who fought — in the courtroom as well as through force of arms — over access to scarce yunga lands used for growing coca (Rostworowski 1988). In certain north Peruvian valleys it is likely that there were belligerent encounters between Moche and Recuay groups over contested lands, resources, and routes of exchange.

Recuay warfare was not limited to the Pacific Andean flanks. Unlike Moche culture, where there is a range of unfortified settlement types (Billman 1996; Donnan 1973; Proulx 1985; Wilson 1988) the most common site type throughout the Recuay heartland is the defensible hilltop settlement. Fortifications characterized regional centres as well as small village settlements. The threat of theft, raids, and other types of intergroup conflict, it seems, was pervasive at multiple levels of Recuay society. The settlement evidence suggests that hostile interaction was both internecine and interethnic. Paradoxically, in spite of the great effort which the Recuay people invested in defensive works and weapon production, and the frequent portrayal of warrior regalia and gear, Recuay imagery rarely shows violent encounters between humans.

Conclusion

This article has examined the iconography of a peculiar Moche ceramic vessel, which depicts a scene of Moche warriors fighting a group of warriors who show foreign characteristics. Many elements of the apparel and gear of the foreign warriors have direct analogues in Recuay imagery, specifically on stone sculpture and ceramics. Strong contrasts based on dual opposition structure the content and action of the imagery. The vessel indicates that one idiom through which Moche and Recuay conceived of one another and interacted with each other was warfare.

The half-millennium long history of Recuay–Moche interaction was marked by different kinds of relations. Basic evidence exists for stylistic interaction, exchange, and conflict. I follow Proulx’s (1982) contention that there were interregional problems between Moche and Recuay groups, specifically over resources and access to middle and upper valley

areas. Tensions escalated into armed conflict, but it is unlikely that Recuay–Moche battles were regular, large-scale affairs. One confrontation, for which the painter boasted Moche victory, was memorialized on the Lührsen vessel. The nature of the representation precludes a definitive evaluation of the scale or purpose of the hostilities. But the prototype event(s), whether motivated by resources, ceremony, or other imperatives, most likely occurred along a contested frontier, specifically the Andean foothills and inland river valleys of North Central Peru (Daggett 1986; Proulx 1982).

The analysis raised a number of questions about the nature of prehistoric warfare in the Andes. Taken literally, the Lührsen vessel does appear to portray ritualized combat. But one can argue that the scene does not depict the actual process of capture so much as a series of orchestrated contests, like a re-enactment of a battle or an observance of a halcyon victory (Benson 1972).

The imagery of the Lührsen vessel can, however, be read at different levels. As others have noted (Verano 2001; Quilter 2002), intergroup conflict is represented in many parts of ancient America through abbreviation and allegory. The famous Stone of Tizoc, for example, portrays the defeat of enemies by Aztec warriors. A series of victors seize their victims, identified as patron gods of nearby communities, by their hair. Like the Moche vessel, the artisan compressed the narrative into a series of key moments referring to disablement, defeat, and capture (also Davis 1996). The imagery of the Moche bottle may likewise be multi-valent, at once referencing defeated adversaries, communities, and the activity of large-scale warfare by which victory was achieved. The other representation attributed to the Forehead Crescent Painter (Donnan & McClelland 1999, fig. 6.50) reiterates the mutability of Moche narratives. It represents the encounter, probably a version of the Lührsen scene, by condensing the action to three pairs of combatants.

Distinctive features of the Lührsen vessel, regardless of their cultural attribution, found common expression in Moche and Recuay groups. The forehead crescent and the trophy hands, for instance, were reproduced in both cultures, and apparently were understood as key emblems of authority on warrior headdresses. Similarly, the wearing and display of trophy-head ornaments conveyed a significance, centred on status and appropriation, that was mutually intelligible to Moche and Recuay people. There was therefore an interchange of familiar cultural content. This content in Moche society found

expression mainly through ceramic grave offerings. For the Recuay, it was through ancestor effigies in stone sculpture. These were media of choice for the commemoration of leaders who were, or were construed, as warriors, because of their centrality in display and mortuary ritual.

It is no coincidence that the growing emphasis on warfare imagery and culture was accompanied by new forms of political centralization and territoriality during the Early Intermediate Period. The shaping of anti-foreign sentiment is fundamental to imagining communities, to nation-building and to fomenting cooperation. Characterizing adversaries as heroes or demonized aggressors or interlopers heightens the social drama and legitimates extraordinary measures, such as the prescribed use of violence and killing. Hobsbawn (1990, 91) contends, 'There is no more effective way of bonding together the disparate sections of restless peoples than to unite them against outsiders'. In societies without formal writing, such as Moche and Recuay, the fashioning of leadership and internal/external collectivities through warfare imagery must have been intelligible, appealing and useful.

In a sense, we are at an impasse because there are limitations to the scope of interpretation achievable through iconographic analysis. This is not a strange position to be in when we try to tease out meaning from objects. Social relations, practices, and histories seem far too complicated to be illuminated by iconography alone. Just as Inka imagery places no overt emphasis on potent militarism, it seems reasonable to believe that Moche artworks may not record all the kinds, prerogatives, and outcomes of Moche warfare.

For the Central Andes, some of the most exciting discoveries in recent memory have occurred when archaeology encounters ancient contexts that compare favourably with images or textual sources (e.g. Alva & Donnan 1993; Donnan & Castillo 1992; Proulx 1989; Reinhard 1998; Salomon 1995; Uceda & Mujica 1994). We can hope that advances in future archaeological investigations and fine-grained materials analysis will provide additional evidence to shed light on the behavioural practices found in the imagery.

Acknowledgements

This study emerged largely out of a conversation with Steven Wegner, of the Instituto Cultural Ancashwain (Huaraz), who expressed a need for a detailed examination of the Recuay elements in the vessel. I owe him many thanks for all manner of consultations. The manuscript

benefited from suggestions given by Jeffrey Quilter, Margit Thøfner, Virginia Miller, Erica Hill, Andrew Mills, Elizabeth Benson, Steven Hooper, and various students at the University of East Anglia. I wish to thank Manuela Fischer, Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, for permission to reproduce several figures.

George F. Lau
Sainsbury Research Unit
University of East Anglia
Norwich
NR4 7TJ
UK
george.lau@uea.ac.uk

References

- Alva, W. & C.B. Donnan, 1993. *Royal Tombs of Sipán*. Los Angeles (CA): Fowler Museum of Cultural History.
- Antúnez, S., 1941. Las ruinas de Tinyash: exploración arqueológica, febrero 1934. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 58, 193–220.
- Bankmann, U., 1979. Moche und Recuay. *Baessler-Archiv, Neue Folge* 27, 253–71.
- Benson, E.P., 1972. *The Mochica*. New York (NY): Thames and Hudson.
- Benson, E.P., 1984. The men who have bags in their mouths. *Indiana* 9, 367–81.
- Berezkin, Y., 1978. Dve gruppy inoplemennikov na izobrazheniiakh mochika (Peru). *Sovietskaya Etnografiya* 1, 126–37.
- Billman, B.R., 1996. *The Evolution of Prehistoric Political Organizations in the Moche Valley*. Ann Arbor (MI): PhD dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara, University Microfilms.
- Billman, B.R., 1997. Population pressure and the origins of warfare in the Moche Valley, Peru, in *Integrating Archaeological Demography: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Prehistoric Population*, ed. R. Paine. Carbondale (IL): Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 285–310.
- Bonavia, D., 1991. *Peru: hombre e historia — de los orígenes al siglo XV (tomo I)*. Lima: EDUBANCO.
- Bourget, S., 2001. Rituals of sacrifice: its practice at Huaca de la Luna and its representation in Moche iconography, in Pillsbury (ed.), 89–109.
- Burger, R.L., 1985. Concluding remarks: early Peruvian civilization and its relation to the Chavín horizon, in *Early Ceremonial Architecture in the Andes*, ed. C.B. Donnan. Washington (DC): Dumbarton Oaks, 269–89.
- Burger, R.L. & L. Salazar-Burger, 1993. The place of dual organization in Early Andean ceremonialism: a comparative review, in Millones & Onuki (eds.), 97–116.
- Carman, J. & A. Harding (eds.), 1999. *Ancient Warfare: Archaeological Perspectives*. London: Sutton Publishing.
- Carneiro, R., 1970. A theory on the origin of the state. *Science* 169, 733–8.
- Carneiro da Cunha, M. & E. Vivieros de Castro, 1987. Vingança temporalidade: os tupinambá. *Journal de la Société des Americanistes* 79, 191–208.
- Castillo, L.J., 1989. *Personajes míticos, escenas y narraciones en la iconografía mochica*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Chavez, S.J., 1992. *The Conventionalized Rules in Pucara Pottery Technology and Iconography: Implications for Socio-Political Developments in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin*. Ann Arbor (MI): PhD dissertation, Michigan State University at East Lansing, University Microfilms.
- Chavez, S.J., 2002. Identification of the Camelid Woman and Feline Man themes, motifs, and designs in Pucara style pottery, in *Andean Archaeology II: Art, Landscape, and Society*, ed. H. Silverman & W.H. Isbell. New York (NY): Kluwer Publishers, 35–69.
- Clendinnen, I., 1991. *Aztecs: an Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cobo, B., 1979 [1653]. *History of the Inca Empire*. Austin (TX): University of Texas Press.
- Cuneo, P.F. (ed.), 2002. *Artful Armies, Beautiful Battles: Art and Warfare in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: History of Warfare 9, Brill.
- Daggett, R.E., 1986. The Peruvian North-Central Coast during the Early Intermediate Period, in *Perspectives on Andean Prehistory and Protohistory*, ed. D.H. Sandweiss & D.P. Kviatok. Ithaca (NY): Cornell Latin American Studies Program, 49–62.
- Daggett, R.E., 1987. Toward the development of the state on the North Central Coast of Peru, in Haas *et al.* (eds.), 70–82.
- Davis, W., 1996. Narrativity and the Narmer palette, in *Replications: Archaeology, Art History, Psychoanalysis*, ed. W. Davis. University Park (PA): Pennsylvania State University Press, 199–231.
- DeBoer, W.R., 1981. Buffer zones in the cultural ecology of aboriginal Amazonia: an ethnohistorical approach. *American Antiquity* 46, 364–77.
- Descola, P., 2001. Genres of gender: local models and global paradigms in the comparison of Amazonia and Melanesia, in *Gender in Amazonia and Melanesia*, eds. T.A. Gregor & D. Tuzin. Berkeley (CA): University of California Press, 91–114.
- Dillehay, T.D., 1979. Pre-hispanic resource sharing in the Central Andes. *Science* 204, 24–31.
- Dillehay, T.D. (ed.), 1995. *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*. Washington (DC): Dumbarton Oaks.
- Dillehay, T.D., 2001. Town and country in Late Moche times: a view from two northern valleys, in Pillsbury (ed.), 259–83.
- Disselhoff, H.D., 1956. Hand- und kopftrophäen in plastischen Darstellung der Recuay-keramik. *Baessler Archiv Neue Folge* 4, 25–32.
- Disselhoff, H.D., 1967. *Daily Life in Ancient Peru*. New York (NY): McGraw-Hill.
- Donnan, C.B., 1973. *Moche Occupation of the Santa Valley, Peru*. Berkeley (CA): University of California Publications in Anthropology 8.

- Donnan, C.B., 1978. *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication*. Los Angeles (CA): UCLA Museum of Cultural History.
- Donnan, C.B., 1997. Deer hunting and combat: parallel activities in the Moche world, in *Spirit of Ancient Peru*, ed. K. Berrin. New York (NY): Thames and Hudson, 51–9.
- Donnan, C.B. & L.J. Castillo, 1992. Discovery of a Moche priestess. *Archaeology* 45(6), 38–42.
- Donnan, C.B. & D. McClelland, 1999. *Moche Finesline Painting: its Evolution and its Artists*. Los Angeles (CA): Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California.
- Eisleb, D., 1987. *Altperuanische Kulturen IV: Recuay*. Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Völkerkunde.
- Ferguson, R.B. (ed.), 1984. *Warfare, Culture and Environment*. Orlando (FL): Academic Press.
- Ferguson, R.B., 1995. *Yanomami Warfare*. Santa Fe (NM): School of American Research Press.
- Gambini, W., 1984. *Santa y Nepeña: dos valles, dos culturas*. Lima: Imprenta M. Castillo.
- Grieder, T., 1978. *The Art and Archaeology of Pashash*. Austin (TX): University of Texas Press.
- Haas, J. (ed.), 1990. *Anthropology of War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haas, J., S. Pozorski & T. Pozorski (eds.), 1987. *The Origins and Development of the Andean State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hale, J.R., 1990. *Artists and Warfare in the Renaissance*. New Haven (NJ): Yale University Press.
- Harcourt, R. & J. Nique, 1934. La sarbacane, l'élevage des oiseaux la tête réduite chez les peuples mochica. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 26, 103–8.
- Harner, M.J., 1972. *The Jívaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls*. Garden City (NJ): Doubleday/Natural History Press.
- Hassig, R., 1988. *Aztec Warfare*. Norman (OK): University of Oklahoma Press.
- Hill, E., 2000. The embodied sacrifice. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 10(2), 317–26.
- Hobsbawn, E.J., 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hocquenghem, A.M., 1978. Les combats mochicas: Essai d'interprétation d'un matériel archéologique à l'aide de l'iconologie, de l'ethno-histoire et de l'ethnologie. *Baessler Archiv, Neue Folge* 26, 127–57.
- Hocquenghem, A.M., 1987. *Iconografía Mochica*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Isbell, W.H., 1977. Cosmological order expressed in prehistoric ceremonial centers. *Proceedings of the 42nd International Congress of Americanists* 4, 269–97.
- Karsten, R., 1935. *The Headhunters of Western Amazonas*. Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 7.
- Keegan, J., 1993. *A History of Warfare*. New York (NY): Alfred Knopf.
- Keeley, L., 1996. *War before Civilization*. New York (NY): Oxford University Press.
- Kristiansen, K., 1998. *Europe before History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kutscher, G., 1950. *Chimu: Eine Altindianische Hochkultur*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Kutscher, G., 1955. *Arte Antiguo de la Costa Norte del Perú*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Lanning, E.P., 1967. *Peru before the Incas*. Englewood Cliffs (NJ): Prentice-Hall.
- Lau, G.F., 2000. Espacio ceremonial Recuay, in Makowski (ed.), 178–97.
- Lau, G.F., 2001. *The Ancient Community of Chinchawas: Economy and Ceremony in the North Highlands of Peru*. Ann Arbor (MI): PhD dissertation, Yale University, University Microfilms.
- Lau, G.F., 2002. Feasting and ancestor veneration at Chinchawas, North Highlands of Ancash, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 13, 279–304.
- Lau, G.F., 2002–4. The Recuay culture of Peru's North-Central Highlands: a reevaluation of chronology and its implications. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 29, 177–202.
- LeBlanc, S., 2003a. *Constant Battles: the Myth of the Peaceful, Noble Savage*. New York (NY): St Martins Press.
- LeBlanc, S., 2003b. Prehistory of warfare. *Archaeology* 56, 18–25.
- Lumbreras, L.G., 1974. *The Peoples and Cultures of Ancient Peru*. Washington (DC): Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Makowski, K. (ed.), 2000. *Los Dioses del Antiguo Perú*. Lima: Banco de Crédito.
- Makowski, K. & J. Rucabado Yong, 2000. Hombres y deidades en la iconografía Recuay, in Makowski (ed.), 199–235.
- Makowski, K., C.B. Donnan, L.J. Castillo, M. Diez Canseco, I. Amaro, O. Eléspuru & J.A. Murro (eds.), 1994. *Vicús*. Lima: Banco de Crédito.
- Marcus, J. & K. Flannery, 1996. *Zapotec Civilization*. New York (NY): Thames and Hudson.
- Marcus, J. & J.E. Silva, 1988. The Chillón Valley 'coca lands': archaeological background and ecological context, in Rostworowski (ed.), 1–32.
- Martin, S. & N. Grube, 2000. *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Métraux, A., 1946. Ethnography of the Chaco, in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 1: *The Marginal Tribes*, ed. J.H. Steward. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143.) Washington (DC): Smithsonian Institution, 197–370.
- Métraux, A., 1949a. Warfare, cannibalism, and human trophies, in Steward (ed.), 383–410.
- Métraux, A., 1949b. Weapons, in Steward (ed.), 229–263.
- Millones, L. & Y. Onuki (eds.), 1993. *El Mundo Ceremonial Andino*. (Senri Ethnological Studies 37.) Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Montell, G., 1929. *Dress and Ornaments in Ancient Peru*. Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.
- Moseley, M.E., 1992. *The Incas and Their Ancestors: the Archaeology of Peru*. New York (NY): Thames and Hudson.

- Moseley, M.E. & K.C. Day (eds.), 1982. *Chan Chan: Andean Desert City*. Albuquerque (NM): University of New Mexico Press.
- Moseley, M.E. & E.E. Deeds, 1982. The land in front of Chan Chan: agrarian expansion, reform, and collapse in the Moche Valley, in Moseley & Day (eds.), 25–53.
- Otterbein, K., 1999. A history of research on warfare in anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 101(4), 794–805.
- Paul, A., 2001. Bodiless human heads in Paracas Necropolis textile iconography. *Andean Past* 6, 69–94.
- Pillsbury, J. (ed.), 2001. *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*. (Studies in the History of Art 63.) Washington (DC): National Gallery of Art.
- Platt, T., 1986. Mirrors and maize: the concept of yanatin among the Macha of Bolivia, in *Anthropological History of Andean Polities*, eds. J. Murra, J. Revel & N. Wachtel. New York (NY): Cambridge, 228–59.
- Pozorski, S., 1987. Theocracy vs. militarism: the significance of the Casma Valley in understanding early state formation, in Haas *et al.* (eds.), 15–30.
- Proulx, D.A., 1982. Territoriality in the Early Intermediate Period: the case of Moche and Recuay. *Nawpa Pacha* 20, 83–96.
- Proulx, D.A., 1985. *An Analysis of the Early Cultural Sequence of the Nepeña Valley, Peru*. (Research Report 25.) Amherst (MA): Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.
- Proulx, D.A., 1989. Nasca trophy heads: victims of warfare or ritual sacrifice?, in Tkaczuk & Vivian (eds.), 73–85.
- Proulx, D.A., 2001. Ritual uses of trophy heads in Nasca society, in *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, ed. E. Benson & A. Cook. Austin (TX): University of Texas, 137–63.
- Quilter, J., 1997. The narrative approach to Moche iconography. *Latin American Antiquity* 8(2), 113–33.
- Quilter, J., 2002. Moche politics, religion, and warfare. *Journal of World Prehistory* 16, 145–95.
- Redmond, E., 1994. *Tribal and Chiefly Warfare in South America*. (Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology 28.) Ann Arbor (MI): University of Michigan.
- Reichert, R.X., 1982. Moche iconography — the highland connection, in *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings*, ed. A. Cordy-Collins. Palo Alto (CA): Peek Publications, 279–91.
- Reichert, R.X., 1989. A Moche battle and the question of identity, in Tkaczuk & Vivian (eds.), 86–9.
- Reinhard, J., 1998. *Discovering the Inca Ice Maiden: My Adventures on Ampato*. Washington (DC): National Geographic Society.
- Rostworowski, M., 1988. *Conflicts over Coca Fields in XVIIth-Century Peru*. (Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan 21.) Ann Arbor (MI): University of Michigan.
- Rouse, I., 1948. The Arawak, in Steward (ed.) 1948b, 507–65.
- Rowe, J.H., 1946. Inca culture at the time of the Spanish conquest, in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2: *The Andean Civilizations*, ed. J. Steward. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143.) Washington (DC), 183–330.
- Salazar-Burger, L. & R.L. Burger, 1982. La araña en la iconografía del Horizonte Temprano en la costa norte del Peru. *Beitrage zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Archaologie* 4, 213–53.
- Salomon, F., 1995. 'Beautiful grandparents': Andean ancestor shrines and mortuary ritual as seen through colonial records, in Dillehay (ed.), 315–53.
- Salomon, F., 1999. Testimonies: the making and reading of native South American sources, in Salomon & Schwartz (eds.), 19–95.
- Salomon, F. & S.B. Schwartz (eds.), 1999. *Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas*, vol. 3: *South America*, part 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schaafsma, P., 2000. *Warrior, Shield and Star: Imagery and Ideology of Pueblo Warfare*. Sante Fe (NM): Western Edge Press.
- Schaedel, R.P., 1952. *An Analysis of Central Andean Stone Sculpture*. Ann Arbor (MI): PhD dissertation, Yale University, University Microfilms.
- Schele, L. & M.E. Miller, 1986. *The Blood of Kings: Dynasty and Ritual in Maya Art*. New York (NY): Braziller and Kimbell Art Museum.
- Schuler-Schömig, I.V., 1979. Die 'Fremdkrieger' in Darstellungen der Moche-Keramik. Eine ikonographische Studie. *Baessler Archiv, Neue Folge* 27, 135–213.
- Schuler-Schömig, I.V., 1981. Die sogenannten Fremdkrieger und ihre weiteren ikonographischen Bezüge in der Moche-Keramik. *Baessler Archiv, Neue Folge* 29, 207–39.
- Shimada, I., 1994. *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture*. Austin (TX): University of Texas Press.
- Shinoda, K.-I., I. Shimada, W. Alva & S. Uceda, 2002. DNA analysis of Moche and Sicán populations: results and implications. Poster presented at the 67th Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Denver. Accessed 29 November 2003. [<http://gross.anatomy.saga-med.ac.jp/shinoda/SAA/poster.html>].
- Silverman, H. & D.A. Proulx, 2002. *The Nasca*. Malden (MA): Blackwell.
- Smith, J.W., Jr, 1978. *The Recuay Culture: a Reconstruction Based on Artistic Motifs*. Ann Arbor (MI): PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, University Microfilms.
- Steward, J.H. (ed.), 1948a. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3: *The Tropical Forest Tribes*. (Bureau of Ethnology Bulletin 143.) Washington (DC): Smithsonian Institution.
- Steward, J.H. (ed.), 1948b. *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 4: *The Circum-Caribbean Tribes*. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143.) Washington (DC): Smithsonian Institution.
- Steward, J.H. (ed.), 1949. *Handbook of South American Indi-*

- ans, vol. 5: *The Comparative Ethnology of South American Indians*. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143.) Washington (DC): Smithsonian Institution.
- Stone-Miller, R., 1995. *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Tello, J.C., 1929. *Antiguo Peru: primera época*. Lima: Comisión Organizadora del Segundo Congreso de Turismo.
- Tello, J.C., 1956. *Arqueología del Valle de Casma: culturas Chavín, Santa o Huaylas Yunga y Sub-Chimú*. Lima: Editorial San Marcos.
- Terada, K., 1979. *Excavations at La Pampa in the North Highlands of Peru, 1975*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Tkaczuk, D.C. & B.C. Vivian (eds.), 1989. *Cultures in Conflict: Current Archaeological Perspectives*. Calgary: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Chacmool Conference, University of Calgary.
- Topic, J.R. & T.L. Topic, 1997a. Hacia una comprensión conceptual de la guerra andina, in *Arqueología, antropología e historia en los Andes: homenaje a Maria Rostworowski*, ed. R. Varon Gabai & J. Flores Espinoza. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 567–95.
- Topic, J.R. & T.L. Topic, 1997b. La guerra mochica. *Revista Arqueológica 'SIAN'* 4, 10–12.
- Topic, T.L., 1982. The Early Intermediate Period and its legacy, in Moseley & Day (eds.), 255–84.
- Topic, T.L. & J.R. Topic, 1982. *Prehistoric Fortifications of Northern Peru: Preliminary Report on the Final Season, January - December, 1980*. Peterborough, Ontario: Trent University Department of Anthropology.
- Topic, J.R. & T.L. Topic, 1983. Coast-highland relations in northern Peru: some observations on routes, networks, and scales of interaction, in *Civilization in the Ancient Americas*, eds. R. Leventhal & A. Kolata. Albuquerque (NM): University of New Mexico, 237–59.
- Topic, J.R. & T.L. Topic, 1987. The archaeological investigation of Andean militarism: some cautionary observations, in Haas *et al.* (eds.), 47–55.
- Uceda, S. & E. Mujica (eds.), 1994. *Moche: propuestas y perspectivas*. Trujillo: Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos.
- Urton, G., 1993. Actividad ceremonial y división de mitades en el mundo andino: las batallas rituales en los carnavales del Sur del Peru, in Millones & Onuki (eds.), 117–42.
- Verano, J.W., 1995. Where do they rest? The treatment of human offerings and trophies in ancient Peru, in Dillehay (ed.), 189–227.
- Verano, J.W., 2001. War and death in the Moche world: osteological evidence and visual discourse, in Pillsbury (ed.), 111–25.
- Vergara, E. & M. Sanchez, 1996. *Mitografía mochica*. Trujillo: Universidad Nacional de Trujillo.
- Villamarín, J. & J. Villamarín, 1999. Chiefdoms: the prevalence and persistence of 'Senorios Naturales', 1400 to European conquest, in Salomon & Schwartz (eds.), 577–667.
- Vivieros de Castro, E., 1992. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society*. Chicago (IL): University of Chicago Press.
- Wegner, S.A., 2000. *Arqueología y arte antiguo de Chacas*. Huaraz: Instituto Cultural Ancashwain.
- Wilson, D.J., 1987. Reconstructing patterns of early warfare in the Lower Santa Valley: new data on the role of conflict in the origins of north coast complexity, in Haas *et al.* (eds.), 56–69.
- Wilson, D.J., 1988. *Prehispanic Settlement Patterns in the Lower Santa Valley, Peru: a Regional Perspective on the Origins and Development of Complex North Coast Society*. Washington (DC): Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Wilson, D.J., 1999. *Indigenous South Americans of the Past and Present: an Ecological Perspective*. Boulder (CO): Westview.
- Woodford, S., 1993. *The Trojan War in Ancient Art*. London: Duckworth.

Author biography

George F. Lau (PhD 2001, Yale) is a lecturer at the Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania and the Americas, University of East Anglia. He specializes in the prehistory, anthropology and visual culture of South America, with a focus on the Central Andes. His works have appeared in *Latin American Antiquity*, *Journal of Field Archaeology* and *Antiquity* (forthcoming), and have treated problems such as ancestor veneration, public ceremony, trade, social complexity and chronology in ancient Peru. He is currently writing a book on the art and archaeology of Recuay culture.