To order

THE MOCHE OF ANCIENT PERU

Contact the Peabody Museum Press at:
peapub@fas.harvard.edu Tel: 617-495-4255
(or order online from our distributor, Harvard University Press)

Paperback $21.95•£16.95•19.80
ISBN 9780873654067
172 pages / 8 x 8.5 inches
70 color illustrations; 15 halftones
Peabody Museum Collections Series
Publication February 2011

PEABODY MUSEUM PRESS
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
Harvard University, 11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138
http://www.peabody.harvard.edu/publications
Copyright © 2010 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. All rights reserved. This book, or any part thereof, may not be reproduced in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or use in any information storage or retrieval system now known or to be invented, without the permission of the publisher.

Editorial direction by Joan K. O’Donnell
Copy editing by Jane Kepp
Cover design by Kristina Kachele and Joan K. O’Donnell
Text design and composition by Kristina Kachele Design, llc
Production management by Kristina Kachele Design, llc
Proofreading by Donna Dickerson
Prepress by FCI Digital
Printed and bound in China at Everbest Printing Co. Ltd., through Four Colour Print Group


Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data:
Quilter, Jeffrey, 1949–
The Moche of ancient Peru : media and messages / Jeffrey Quilter ; foreword by Luis Jaime Castillo B.; photographs by Mark Craig.
p. cm. — (Peabody Museum collections series)
Includes bibliographical references.
f3430.1.M6Q45 2010
985’.01—dc22
2010017348

This book is printed on acid–free paper.

Unless otherwise credited, all photographs and illustrations in this book are © by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. All Mark Craig photographs are also © by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Peabody Museum Press
11 Divinity Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138, U.S.A.
www.peabody.harvard.edu/publications/
Contents

List of Illustrations vi
Foreword: Luis Jaime Castillo B. xi
Acknowledgments xv

Introduction 3
Moche and Its Art Style 9
Ancient Life on the North Coast 13
Moche in Andean Prehistory 21
A Brief History of Moche Studies 31
Media for Moche Messages 39
The Messages of Moche Art 49
Gods, Priests, Lords, Warriors, and Heroes 59
Media, Messages, Religion, and Politics 67
Reconsidering Moche 79
The Peabody Museum Collection 89
Color Plates 91

Notes 142
Suggested Reading 151
Illustrations

Frontispiece: Moche ceramics ii

Figures
Maritime Frieze at Huaca Cao Viejo x
Early Moche stirrup–spout vessel 2
View of the Virú Valley 4
Nineteenth–century looting of a Peruvian site 5
Scars of looting at El Brujo 6
The Huacas de Moche 8
Map of the north coast of Peru 10
Metal nose ornament 12
Moche vessel in the florero style 15
Moche jar depicting a deer hunt 16
Aqueduct of the Ascope Canal 18
Cupisnique–style bottle 20
Time spans of Peruvian ceramic cultures 22
El Paraíso, a Late Preceramic complex 23
Stone mace head 25
Huari–style canteen 27
Courtyard at Chan Chan 28
The Great Pyramid of Moche 30
Rafael Larco Hoyle 33
Gordon R. Willey in the Virú Valley Project  36
Moche portrait head vessel  38
Castillo Modeled ceramic sherds  40
Figurine mold  42
Vessel buried with a sacrificed victim  45
Artist's rendering of Huaca de la Luna  46
Stirrup-spout vessel with a grotesque face  48
Drawing of the “Revolt of the Objects”  51
Goblet in the form of a deity head  52
Drawing of the “Presentation Theme”  53
Vessel portraying a Moche woman  54
Moche erotic vessel  54
Moche erotic vessel  55
Wooden statuette with a cut lip  57
Deity head friezes at Huaca de la Luna  58
Frieze depicting the Degollador God  61
Burial of a priestess  66
Modern woman dressed as the Señora de Cao  70
Vessel depicting a curer with mother and child  75
Ruins of the urban site of Mocollope  78
Prisoner Frieze at Huaca de la Luna  81
Prisoner Frieze at Huaca Cao Viejo  82
Aipaece Frieze at Huaca Cao Viejo  83
Moche pottery photos for Harvard classroom use  88
Flower design on a stirrup-spout bottle  94
Insect design on the same stirrup-spout bottle  94
Front view of a bottle depicting a llama  97
Rear view of a jar depicting a monster  98
Side view of a jar depicting stirrup-spout pots  106
Fragment of a slit tapestry mantle  110
Side view of a portrait head stirrup-spout bottle  112
Rear view of a portrait head stirrup-spout bottle  114
Drawing of a fine-line painting of a Moche warrior  116
Frieze of felines at Huaca de la Luna  118
Burial bundle of the Señora de Cao  128
Drawing of a scene on a Moche vessel  128
Top view of a bottle depicting a curing session  130
Low-relief modeling on a stirrup-spout vessel  132
Rear view of a figural group with cup  133
Rear view of a paired group of figures with attached cup  135
Drawing of the Decapitator God  136
Vase drawing of Moche consuming coca  138

PLATES
1  Florero with catfish design  93
2  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a Muscovy duck  95
3  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a llama  97
4  Jar depicting a fanged head  99
5  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a hunt scene  101
6  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting an owl  103
7  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a feline-headed snake  105
8  Jar depicting stirrup-spout pots  107
9  Metalworking die  109
10  Slit tapestry mantle border  111
11  Portrait head stirrup-spout bottle  113
12  Portrait head stirrup-spout bottle  115
13  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a headdress  117
14  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a puma attacking a prisoner  119
15  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a prisoner  121
16  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting anthropomorphic creatures  123
17  Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a recumbent male  125
18 Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a danse macabre 127
19 Stirrup-spout bottle depicting humans with a funeral bundle 129
20 Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a curing session 131
21 Figural group with attached cup 133
22 Paired group of figures with attached cup 135
23 Stirrup-spout bottle depicting the Decapitator God 137
24 Stirrup-spout bottle depicting a Moche deity 139
25 Trumpet 141
Detail of the Maritime Frieze at Huaca Cao Viejo, Chicama Valley, Peru. Photo by Hal Starratt.
FOREWORD

THE CHANGING WORLD OF MOCHE ARCHAEOLOGY

Luis Jaime Castillo B.

Archaeologists have long regarded the Peabody Museum’s collection of Moche artifacts as one of the finest in the world. Beginning with a contribution of materials by Julio C. Tello, one of the founders of Peruvian archaeology and a Harvard alumnus, and enhanced by later additions from various scholars and donors, the collection includes many outstanding pieces, each deserving its own detailed analysis. In the pages of this book, those acquainted with Moche research will immediately recognize emblematic objects such as the portrait head vessels in plates 11 and 12 and on the cover; the curing session presided over by an owl–healer in plate 20; or the congregation of skeletons around a mummy bundle in plate 19. With this publication, an important part of the Peabody’s collection becomes available to the general public for the first time—providing an opportunity to enjoy and ponder the meaning of these enigmatic objects.

Although archaeological dogma gives absolute primacy to objects found in situ—that is, in original settings and excavated through a rigorous archaeological
procedure—it is also unquestionable that museum collections, often composed primarily of unprovenienced artifacts, contain information that can be essential to understanding ancient societies. Purists would like us to ignore artifacts that were not found and registered by trained excavators, but to do so would exclude some of the most compelling portrayals of Moche society—objects that could have been produced by no one but the Moche. The “unique object,” a piece that has no copies or that portrays aspects of Moche life that can be seen nowhere else, can be admired and studied by scholars even as we condemn the way in which it was obtained. What we cannot do is ignore an artifact, particularly an exceptional one, for the way in which it was found. As archaeologists and museum curators, our responsibility is to preserve it for the future, not only assuring its integrity but also contextualizing it within the grand narratives of its original society. This catalog is a tribute to these types of artifacts: distinctive pieces that deserve detailed explanations, objects that beg to be considered from many angles and that are great creations of the human spirit. By themselves, however, the objects cannot accomplish the purpose of communicating who the Moche were and why their study inspires us.

In *The Moche of Ancient Peru*, Jeffrey Quilter presents the artifacts from the Peabody Museum collection—beautifully photographed and explained in great detail—wrapped in an account of the Moche that enlivens the objects and gives meaning to the society that produced them. Putting together this up-to-date narrative of the Moche, and of what archaeologists have figured out about them, has not been an easy task. An enormous amount of new information has emerged from the excavations on the north coast of Peru in the last twenty years, and readers are fortunate that this study was written by a scholar who has been at the forefront of this research.

During Quilter’s academic lifespan, the Moche of northern Peru have become one of the most thoroughly researched and recognizable archaeological cultures of ancient South America, but they remain among the most complex, mysterious, and difficult societies to summarize in a single volume. Only a few years after the discovery in 1987 of the royal tombs at Sipán—the richest ancient burials yet found in the Western hemisphere—large-scale and long-lasting multidisciplinary research programs began at the Huaca de la Luna, Huaca Cao Viejo, and San José de Moro. These
research programs were followed by many others ranging from research on specific sites to whole regions and from generic, society-level approaches to the examination of specific subjects such as paleoethnobotany, the genetic composition of populations, and the technology used to produce ceramics and metals.

Before 1987, when Walter Alva and his team of archaeologists excavated the first royal tomb at Sipán, Moche research was perceived as a fairly closed subject. It was widely thought that the excellent work led by Rafael Larco and followed by scholars like Christopher Donnan and Michael Moseley had revealed all that could be learned about this ancient people. Larco’s chronology, based largely on a detailed study of his collections, now housed in the Rafael Larco Herrera Museum in Lima, was widely confirmed, as were his ideas about Moche religion and ritual life. For much of the 1960s, ’70s, and ’80s, work had focused on the interpretation of Moche’s rich iconographic record, revealing its structure and function—including Jeffrey Quilter’s original work on the narrative structure of Moche iconography. But events unfolding in Sipán were to demonstrate that the facts of Moche life were far from settled.

No mochicologo (a student of the Moche) expected in the mid-1980s that a royal burial would be excavated in his or her lifetime. The largest Moche burial found to that point had been that of the Warrior-Priest of Huaca de la Cruz, excavated by William Duncan Strong and Clifford Evans in the late 1940s as part of the Virú Valley Project led by Harvard’s Gordon R. Willey. It was assumed that all other burials must already have been looted, many by early Spanish settlers. But when royal and high-elite burials appeared at Sipán, La Mina, San José de Moro, Huaca de la Luna, Huaca Cao, and Úcupe, we realized that the Moche were much more highly developed than originally thought. The conditions revealed by empirical archaeological data about technological advancement, social organization, political configuration, and artistic tradition proved to be more complex than anything previously imagined by Peruvianist archaeologists.

These research programs have resulted in hundreds of scholarly publications based on the extraordinary material manifestations of Moche achievements, including large research collections of artifacts with numerous museum-quality pieces; royal, elite, and commoner burials; and large temples decorated with polychrome designs.
Rather than making the Moche more comprehensible, this wealth of information and materials—ably described and analyzed in this volume—has ironically created a high level of confusion about this ancient society and reminds us that often in archaeology, the more we know of a phenomenon, the less we understand it.

Jeffrey Quilter’s concise and provocative book on the Peabody Museum’s Moche collection approaches the Moche through the lens of an anthropological archaeologist interested in understanding the social and cultural processes that shaped this unique society. Luckily for the reader, it also indulges the fascination provoked by the exceptional artistic qualities of Moche material culture. Quilter’s intimate relationship with the Moche—an enduring affair that has led him to explore many different manifestations of Moche society—is expressed in this book’s passionate and deliberately subjective account of a research subject in constant flux. Even as we write these pages, new excavations and new insights are contributing new information. *The Moche of Ancient Peru* more than fulfills its mission of introducing and illustrating some of the most fascinating archaeological investigations currently being undertaken in the New World.
Many people helped bring this book into being. I thank William L. Fash, director of the Peabody Museum, for initiating the idea that I curate the exhibit from which the book was developed, and Rebecca Chetham, then deputy director, for helping with the finances to make it happen. Thanks also to the many staff members of the Peabody Museum who helped make the exhibit a reality, particularly Samuel Tager, Nynke Dorhout Jolly, Genevieve Fisher, and Pamela Gerardi.

For this book, I especially thank Joan K. O’Donnell, Donna Dickerson, and the members of the Publications Committee of the Peabody Museum. The staff of the museum’s Collections Department was helpful in many stages of working with the Moche collection, for both the exhibit and the book. Many are to be thanked, but I offer my special appreciation to Steven LeBlanc, director of collections, David DeBono Schafer, senior collections manager, and Susan Haskell, curatorial associate for special projects. Thanks also to Mark Craig, who took the beautiful photographs for the plates in this book.
I greatly appreciate the help of Richard L. Burger, Adam Herring, and Allan Maca, pre-Columbianist colleagues who read drafts of the book and offered useful advice and comments, as did Sarah Quilter, who offered many valuable insights into ways to make the book better. Michel Conan, director of Garden History and Landscape Studies while I was at Dumbarton Oaks (DO), offered me much to consider regarding art and culture, and Joanne Pillsbury, my successor in Pre-Columbian Studies at DO, always offers important and stimulating insights whenever I talk to her. Christopher Donnan was extremely helpful in commenting and offering advice on various aspects of Moche style.

Harvard graduate students Michele Koons and Lisa Trever offered insights through many conversations, as did Yale graduate student Oscar Gabriel Prieto. Undergraduate and graduate students alike helped me to clarify my thoughts in my seminar “The Moche of Ancient Peru: Politics, Economy, Religion, and Art,” offered at Harvard University in the spring term of 2009 and in another version in spring of 2010.

Donald McClelland was generous in allowing me to use the fine renderings of Moche art made by his late wife, Donna. A number of other colleagues, friends, and institutions also lent the products of their talents, particularly Santiago Uceda and Ricardo Morales, directors of the Huaca de la Luna Project, Ándres Álvarez Calderón Larco, executive director of the Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, curator Ulla Homquist of the same institution, and photographer Ira Block.

Special thanks also to the Fundación Wiese of Lima, Peru, which has supported my work, and to Marco Aveggio of that institution, who has been so gracious and generous in aiding me. The directors of the El Brujo archaeological project, Regulo Franco, César Gálvez, and Segundo Vásquez, are also greatly thanked for a multitude of favors and support. I am grateful in particular to Luis Jaime Castillo, who has helped me in innumerable ways to conduct research in Peru and from whom I have learned much. Thanks also to the National Institute of Culture of Peru, especially its branch office in Trujillo.
The Moche of Ancient Peru
Early Moche stirrup-spout vessel. The volutes in the painted design might refer to ocean waves or the tentacles of an octopus. The design typifies Moche artists’ delight in playing with positive and negative spaces that express opposed but complimentary forces or things. PM 09-3-30/75626.9 (W 17 × H 21.5 cm). 98540019. Mark Craig, photographer.
**Introduction**

**Peru’s North Coast** is a barren strip of desert fronting one of the world’s richest maritime habitats, a bountiful fishery created by the cold waters of the Humboldt, or Peru, Current. Inland the desert gives way to mountains and plateaus of the Andes, dissected by rivers running roughly parallel to one another from east to west and debouching onto the coastal strip. From remote antiquity until today, well-engineered irrigation systems drawing on these rivers have nurtured vast green fields of maize, beans, and squash in the valley bottoms. The cornucopia of food provided by the ocean and the valleys supported a sequence of complex human societies beginning in very early times. One of the most spectacular of these ancient cultures, dating from about A.D. 100 to 800—in European terms, from the time of the early Roman Empire to the reign of Charlemagne—is known as Moche.

On the summits of dazzlingly painted, adobe-brick temple complexes, Moche priests and priestesses once stood resplendent in elaborate costumes of gold, precious stones, textiles, and feathers. Presenting themselves as gods to crowds of
onlookers gathered in plazas below, they watched as warriors armed with shields and clubs, spear throwers and slings paraded captured prisoners to be sacrificed.

Priests and warriors occupied the highest ranks of Moche society, ruling over members of the lower classes, who tilled the fields and produced the elaborate paraphernalia for rituals and war. Next to the largest temples stood cities with streets and avenues along which lay residential compounds. Within them and at specialized workshops, artisans produced some of the most beautiful metal objects found in the New World. Others created one of the Americas’ most distinctive ceramic traditions (pl. 1). The works of these craftspeople were used in rituals, served as status symbols
among the living, and entered the tombs of both low- and high-ranking Moche to accompany them in the afterlife.

Today, in museums throughout the world, Moche ceramics commonly capture the attention of visitors. The Moche’s representational art style, depicting gods, priests, warriors, animals, plants (pl. 4), and seemingly the full spectrum of everyday life, appeals strongly to modern tastes and sensibilities. It is primarily through these ceramics and the personages and scenes painted and modeled on them that scholars have attempted, for more than a century, to understand the ancient Moche.

The appeal of Moche ceramics, together with the lure of the gold that lies buried in Moche ruins, has also had unfortunate consequences. Ever since Spaniards arrived on the north coast of Peru in the 1530s, people have been pillaging Moche temples, burials, and other ancient sites for their wealth. Many archaeological sites in Peru are so pockmarked with looters’ holes that they look like the surface of the moon. Until after World War II, most of the looting was for gold. Collecting pottery in the wake of looters often became, ironically, a form of “salvage” archaeology. Many important museum collections, both in Peru and abroad, were built through this practice or through “excavation” using standards that would be unacceptable today. Even so, such museum collections, consisting of artifacts lacking detailed information about archaeological context—or provenience, as it is known in archaeology—can still aid scholarship and inform the public through exhibits and publications.

The great number of poorly documented ceramics and other artifacts in museums in Peru and around the world has created a peculiar situation for understanding the Moche.

Looting of Peruvian archaeological sites was celebrated in popular literature in the nineteenth century. In this illustration from The Gold Fish of the Gran Chimu, by Charles F. Lummis (1895), hard-working looters defend their “rights” against a proposed law banning excavations in the “mummy mines.”
We know a great deal about certain aspects of the ceramics—how they were made, how they were decorated, and how styles changed over time—yet great gaps exist in our knowledge. As just one example, until recently we have had only rudimentary knowledge of regional variations in the Moche style, because so many pots lack identification even of the valleys where they were found. Furthermore, although study of the images molded or painted on ceramics allows scholars to make reasonable inferences about Moche religion, warfare, economics, and other aspects of life, a dearth of archaeological evidence has meant that theories derived from studies of ceramics and other unprovenienced artifacts could not be tested with independent data. Happily,
this situation is changing as the results of recent field archaeology begin to be published. Archaeologists are providing valuable information about ceramics found in tombs, houses, workshops, and other locales. They offer carefully pieced-together views of political organization and other aspects of the people and societies that produced these artistic masterworks.

The Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University houses an impressive collection of Moche artifacts. These objects, especially the ceramic vessels that make up the greatest part of the collection, were media that conveyed messages about the way people thought about themselves, their gods, and their places in the universe. Because of the richness of the collection, it became the subject of an exhibition I was asked to organize for the Peabody Museum. Titled *The Moche of Ancient Peru: Media and Messages*, it ran from October 2005 to January 2008. In this book I discuss many of the artifacts shown in the exhibition and present archaeologists’ latest thinking about Moche society.
View of the Huacas de Moche site, in the lower Moche Valley, from the summit of Huaca de la Luna looking west to Huaca del Sol. The urban sector lies between the two in the valley bottom. Some excavated residential units are visible in the middle distance. Photo by the author.
Moche and Its Art Style

The name “Moche” comes from the Moche Valley, the location of two large, prehistoric adobe structures known in Spanish as the Huacas de Moche—loosely translated as “the Temples of Moche.” It was there that the first archaeological excavations of Moche artifacts took place in the late nineteenth century. The name for the valley and the site likely derived from the word “Muchik,” the name of a language spoken on the north coast of Peru at the time Spaniards arrived there in 1532. It survived until sometime in the eighteenth century. Some archaeologists use the term “Mochica,” also derived from the name for the language, to refer to the same archaeological phenomenon. This term emphasizes the long continuities that many archaeologists see on the north coast, although we do not know what language or languages the Moche spoke. Many archaeologists use “Moche” and “Mochica” interchangeably, and generally scholars place no great import on one term over the other.1 Another convenient name for the north coast area where the Moche art style and associated cultural practices predominated is “Mochilandia.”
Details of the origins and demise of the Moche style are unclear and are currently being investigated. Researchers commonly think of the Moche Valley and neighboring Chicama Valley as the Moche heartland, but variants of the art style were eventually made as far north as the Chira Valley and as far south as the Nepeña Valley.

Among the art styles of ancient South America, the Moche tradition has received much attention because of its use of a representational mode that seems “readable” to modern people, depicting plants, animals, and personages. Although other pre-Columbian cultures, especially those to the north, employed “realistic” representations in their art, Moche artists were exceptional in the degree to which they used this style, the length of time over which they developed and elaborated it, and the range of subject matter they covered.

Although Moche art initially seems very approachable, once past a superficial engagement the viewer faces many challenges in interpreting it. Why, for example, is a spiny shell depicted as a ceramic vessel? Are the personages shown in this battle scene gods or mortals? Is the ceremony depicted one that actually took place or a reference to some kind of celestial get-together among...
the gods? Over the years, scholars have offered varied views on such issues, and even today, interpretations differ considerably.

As Maya archaeologist Simon Martin has observed, the Moche mode of artistic representation provides an easy, “entry-level” means of reading the code presented by the images. Comprehending the “texts” expressed in such a code usually requires extra information, beyond the images themselves. In a comparable example, a Christian who knows the story of the birth of Jesus is able fairly easily to interpret Christmas cards and imagery such as sculptured crèches. For some art styles, written texts can provide these sorts of external references. We have no such references for Moche, which, like the other ancient South American cultures, had no writing.

The very fact that one can discuss Moche or any other art style using the analogy of texts is significant, because this is only one of many ways in which art may be interpreted. For example, some works of art, such as large, repeating, iconic images of the faces of gods or geometric patterns across a wall, may reasonably be understood not as telling a story, the way texts do, but as designed to create an experience. This is the case with much of Moche art, especially mural art at temples. Nevertheless, many Moche images were made in reference to gods and heroes and to religious narratives about them—frequently, though not exclusively, on ceramics.

Lacking written records, our understandings and interpretations of the Moche are based mostly on archaeology and the study of the rich visual record ancient artists and craftspeople left in their creations, especially pottery. Several hundred years passed between the end of Moche society and the arrival of Spaniards with their quills, inks, and papers. The Spaniards occasionally wrote down local legends and stories as they attempted to document native beliefs so that they could extirpate paganism and convert natives to Christianity. The recording of legends in aid of eliminating them unwittingly ran counter to the Spaniards’ aims, for such records now serve as testaments to pre-Hispanic beliefs. In addition, some cultural practices proved strong enough to last from Moche times into the early colonial period. Consequently, Spanish records of legends and other aspects of sixteenth-century life on the Peruvian north coast can be used, with care, to interpret the long-gone Moche.
Nose ornament, silver and gold alloy, depicting the deity called the Decapitator standing on a two-headed feline-serpent. The ornament was buried with the Señora de Cao, a high-status young woman at the site known as Huaca Cao Viejo. Courtesy Fundación Wiese.
Publications on Moche have grown exponentially since the discovery of the Sipán tombs in 1987. Despite this, synthetic discussions are relatively rare, especially in English, and sources exist mostly as professional articles and books focused on specific themes. In many ways, three foundational books in English, published more than 30 years ago and now out of print, are still of value. They are *The Mochica, a Culture of Peru*, by Elizabeth P. Benson (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1972), *Moche Art and Iconography*, by Christopher B. Donnan (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Studies 33, 1976), and, also by Donnan, *Moche Art of Peru: Pre–Columbian Symbolic Communication* (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, UCLA, 1978).

Benson’s book covers Moche in general. Much of what she discusses is still accepted, although some particulars have changed. *Moche Art and Iconography* presents Donnan’s research program for studying Moche art, including the use of ethnographic examples, archaeology, and the all-important thematic approach. *Moche Art of Peru* is an exhibition catalogue, but it provides plenty of text covering many of the points raised in Donnan’s other book.

As of this writing, the most recently published monograph on the Moche is *The Moche*, by Garth Bawden (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996). It covers the environmental setting, everyday life, political organization, and symbols and rituals of power from early times to the
Moche collapse. Bawden is the first scholar to clearly attempt to view political organization and religion as separate but related on the north coast during the Moche era.

Christopher Donnan is not only the premier scholar of Moche culture but also a prolific writer. His books on Moche topics of interest to general readers as well as specialists include the following: *Moche Portraits from Ancient Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003); *Moche Tombs at Dos Cabezas* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2008); with Donna McClelland, *Moche Fineline Painting: Its Evolution and Its Artists* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Culture History, UCLA, 1999) and *Moche Fineline Painting from San José de Moro* (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, 2007); and with Walter Alva, the catalogue for the Sipán exhibit, *Royal Tombs of Sipán* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Culture History, UCLA, 1993). As the titles suggest, these volumes include discussions of ceramic traditions and coverage of fascinating and important excavations.


A large, richly illustrated book with texts in English and Spanish discusses the extensive research at Huaca Cao Viejo at the El Brujo archaeological complex: *El Brujo: Huaca Cao, centro ceremonial moche in el valle de Chicama/Huaca Cao, a Moche Ceremonial Center in the Chicama Valley,* edited by Elías Mujica Barredo (Lima: Fundación Wiese, 2007). A more scholarly treatment of a late Moche site complex is Izumi Shimada’s *Pampa Grande and the Mochica Culture* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994). Besides looking specifically at Pampa Grande, Shimada includes a thorough introduction to Moche topics, including a review of previous studies, the environment, Andean culture history, and earlier Moche.

For readers of Spanish, the collected works of Rafael Larco Hoyle were recently published in a two-volume set, *Los Mochicas* (Lima: Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, 2001), which rapidly sold out its entire print run. We may hope for a reissue.
For readers interested in more general discussions of Peruvian prehistory, I recommend the following:

Berrin, Kathleen, editor
1997  *The Spirit of Ancient Peru: Treasures from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera.* London: Thames and Hudson.
This catalogue of some of the finest artifacts in the Larco Herrera Museum is much more than a set of pretty pictures. It includes articles by six leading scholars, mostly from the United States, and extensive discussions of the individual objects in the book. It serves as an introduction for novices and contributes new views for more advanced scholars.

Burger, Richard L.
A masterful text and many illustrations grace this book, which covers the archaeology and art of ancient Peru from the Preceramic period through Chavín. Burger’s presentation is clear yet detailed. This is “required reading” for obtaining the equivalent of an advanced seminar in the early prehistory of Peru.

Lumbreras, Luis Guillermo, editor
2007  *Peru: Art from the Chavín to the Incas.* Paris: Paris Musées/SKIRA.
This book illustrates artifacts from a large exhibition at the Petit Palais, Paris. Its essays, covering current knowledge and theories about the major archaeological cultures of Peru, are written by Peruvian and European scholars, including the editor, the preeminent Peruvian scholar of Peruvian prehistory.

Moseley, Michael E.
This is a foundation document for studying the Andean past. Moseley begins with the Inca, the best-known Andean civilization, and then returns to prehistoric beginnings, covering Andean prehistory from earliest times through the eve of Inca expansion. Although the prose sometimes reads like a textbook, Moseley packs a tremendous amount of information into relatively few pages.
Quilter, Jeffrey
Despite its hyperbolic title, this book is filled with color photographs of Andean sites and artifacts from early prehistory to the Spanish conquest. The text is relatively brief, but it summarizes the key features of major cultures and the significant events of Andean prehistory for general readers.

Stone-Miller, Rebecca
Another essential book for beginning reading on the ancient Andes. Stone-Miller, an art historian, builds her discussion outward from exemplary objects, types of artifacts, and key archaeological sites to consider the cultures and ideas that produced them. Readers gain an understanding of the way arts and crafts developed in the contexts of changing social, political, and economic forces.