

# Moche (Mochica)

Data source: Own research and secondary literature

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*\*Data Source entry, prepared based on data sourced from an external project.*

Entry tags: South American Religions, Moche religion, Landscape features, Animals, Landscape, Polytheistic, military cults, Religious Group, Pre-Inka Religions, Prehistoric South American Religions, ancestor veneration, Animist

The Moche (alternatively Mochica) were a collective of autonomous polities that participated in a shared culture and politico-religious ideology during the Early Intermediate (BCE 200 - CE 550) and Middle Horizon (CE 550 - 1000) periods. They occupied several river valleys that bisect the coastal deserts in the North Coast region of Peru. The Moche are particularly well-known for their ceramic pottery that often depicted both real-life and supernatural themes. Moche communities practiced a polytheistic religion that focused heavily on sacrifice, blood, semen, sex, funerary ritual and a warrior cult.

Date Range: 200 BCE - 1000 CE

Region: North Coast of Peru

Region tags: Peru

The North Coast of Peru consists of desert coastal plains that stretch from the Pacific Ocean to the Andes Mountains. This desert is bisected by several river valleys that provide sufficient water for occupation and agriculture.

## Status of Participants:

✓ Elite    ✓ Religious Specialists    ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

## Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Donnan, C. B. (2011). Moche substyles: keys to understanding Moche political organization. *Boletín del Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino*, 16(1)
- Source 2: Chapdelaine, C. (2011). Recent advances in Moche archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 19(2), 191-231.
- Source 3: There are many print sources available, including books, articles, and monographs.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/moche-iconography>
- Source 1 Description: Discussion of Moche iconography.
- Source 2 URL: <https://www.doaks.org/newsletter/much-ado-about-moche>
- Source 2 Description: Discussion of Moche fineline ceramics and themes therein.
- Source 3 URL: <https://www.doaks.org/resources/moche-iconography/narrative-themes>

## General Variables

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### Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

– Yes

↳ Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: The Moche were in contact, contemporaries with, or overlapped in time with the Ica-Nazaca, Recuay, Virú and Wari cultures, among other ethnolinguistic and cultural groups. It is hypothesized that the enemy warriors captured in battles and then later sacrificed in Moche ceremonies came from neighboring groups, but it is unknown if said warriors came from those cultures previously mentioned.

↳ Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Is the cultural contact neutral:

– Yes

Notes: The Moche were in contact, contemporaries with, or overlapped in time with the Ica-Nazaca, Recuay, Virú and Wari cultures, among other ethnolinguistic and cultural groups. While some of these relationships may have been antagonistic, they were also likely neutral, at least with respect to religious practices and beliefs.

↳ Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Notes: While it is hypothesized that the enemy warriors captured in battles and then later sacrificed in Moche ceremonies came from neighboring groups, it is also likely that warriors from the different autonomous polities within the Moche cultural sphere were also captured and sacrificed in these same ceremonies.

↳ Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Notes: It is hypothesized that the enemy warriors captured in battles and then later sacrificed in Moche ceremonies came from neighboring groups. The Moche were also often in conflict with peoples of the Wari culture.

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: More than likely, the autonomous polities living within the Moche cultural sphere opted into the politico-religious ideology.

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

↳ Are the priests paid by polity:

– Yes

Notes: Political leaders were also the religious specialists/priests. While they were not paid via currency, they were economically supported by other specialized but lower status groups - such as artists - and the commoner classes, including farmers.

↳ Is religious infrastructure paid for by the polity:

– Yes

Notes: Political leaders would have used communal labor taxes (i.e. drawing on the labor of non-elite peoples as part of a social tax) in order to construct religious buildings.

↳ Are the head of the polity and the head of the religion the same figure:

– Yes

↳ Are political officials equivalent to religious officials:

– Yes

↳ Is religious observance enforced by the polity:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Polity legal code is roughly coterminous with religious code:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Polity provides preferential economic treatment (e.g. tax, exemption)

– Yes

Notes: Religious specialists often also held political leadership roles.

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

## Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

– Field doesn't know

Nature of religious group [please select one]:

– Large religious group (intolerant of other affiliations)

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

– Yes

↳ Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But there probably was a hierarchy of some sort, or at least some roles may have held more prestige or prominence than others.

↳ Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

– Yes

↳ Powers are acquired by individual deeds carried out in past lives:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Different political leaders held the same religious specialist role from one generation to another. It is not known if these roles were inherited or if an individual had to prove themselves in some way in order to acquire their priestly role. Individual deeds carried out in past lives may be one way.

↳ Powers are acquired by individual deeds carried out in the current life:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Different political leaders held the same religious specialist role from one generation to another. It is not known if these roles were inherited or if an individual had to prove themselves in some way in order to acquire their priestly role.

↳ Powers are inherited:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Different political leaders held the same religious specialist role from one generation to another. It is not known if these roles were inherited or if an individual had to prove themselves in some way in order to acquire their priestly role.

↳ Powers are culturally transmitted from a supernatural being:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Different political leaders held the same religious specialist role from one generation to another. It is not known if these roles were inherited or if an individual had to prove themselves in some way in order to acquire their priestly role. A supernatural being transmitting their powers to an individual being may have been one way in which people became religious specialists.

↳ Powers are culturally transmitted from another human (e.g. teacher):

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Different political leaders held the same religious specialist role from one generation to another. It is not known if these roles were inherited or if an individual had to prove themselves in some way in order to acquire their priestly role. A religious priest could have had an apprentice who they trained in this role.

↳ Powers are associated with leadership office they assume:

– Yes

↳ Are religious leaders chosen:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Different political leaders held the same religious specialist role from one generation to another. It is not known if these roles were inherited or if an individual had to prove themselves in some way in order to acquire their priestly role. Religious leaders may have been chosen among individuals of the elite class.

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

– Yes

↳ Charges of fallibility made by a leader's own followers:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: This is a possibility since a lack of successful outcomes as a result of religious ceremonies could result in loss of followers or a revolt among the populace.

↳ Charges of fallibility made by other leaders in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: This is a possibility since a lack of successful outcomes as a result of religious ceremonies could result in loss of followers or a revolt among the populace, which would be of great concern to the other religious specialists / political leaders.

↳ Charges of fallibility made by a political ruler:

– No

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Although, not very likely. Religious specialists were tied to specific priestly roles in religious ceremonies whose outcomes were tied to agricultural / cosmological success; they did not dictate people's day to day lives.

## Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– Yes

↳ Are they written:

– No

Notes: On the other hand, Moche religious ceremonies - from the ritual battles in the desert to the Presentation Ceremony - are frequently depicted on Moche ceramics, specifically the stirrup vessels. Moche pottery also depicts other important religious themes and practices. In other words, scripture is not written or oral, but presented in visual media.

↳ Are they oral:

– Yes

Notes: The regularity with which the Presentation Ceremony is depicted on Moche stirrup vessels suggest there are oral traditions i.e. "scriptures".

↳ Is there a story (or a set of stories) associated with the origin of scripture:

– Yes

↳ Revealed by a high god:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: More than likely.

- ↳ Revealed by other supernatural being:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: But more than likely.
  
- ↳ Inspired by high god:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: But more than likely.
  
- ↳ Inspired by other supernatural being:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: But more than likely.
  
- ↳ Originated from divine or semi-divine human beings:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: But more than likely.
  
- ↳ Originated from non-divine human being:
  - No
  
- ↳ Are the scriptures alterable:
  - Field doesn't know
  
- ↳ Are there formal institutions (i.e. institutions that are authorized by the religious community or political leaders) for interpreting the scriptures:
  - Yes
  
- ↳ Can interpretation also take place outside these institutions:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: Maybe.
  
- ↳ Interpretation is only allowed by officially sanctioned figures:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: More than likely.
  
- ↳ Is there a select group of people trained in transmitting the scriptures:
  - Yes
  - Notes: The religious specialists / priests who performed the ceremonies as well as the warriors who participated in the ritual battles and either captured other warriors or were sacrificed

themselves.

↳ Is there a codified canon of scriptures:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: However, based on the frequency with which the Presentation ceremony and other important ritual themes appear on and as Moche pottery, there does appear to be a codified canon of sorts.

## Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– Yes

↳ In the average settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Varies according to the individual settlement.

↳ Size of largest single religious monument, square meters:

– Square meters: 31008

Notes: Huaca del Sol

↳ Height of largest single religious monument, meters:

– Height, meters: 43

↳ Size of average monument, square meters:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Varies according to individual settlement.

↳ Height of average monument, meters:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Varies according to individual settlement.

↳ In the largest settlement, what percentage of area is taken up by all religious monuments:

– I don't know

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:



– Yes

↳ Tombs:  
– Yes

↳ Cemeteries:  
– I don't know

↳ Temples:  
– Yes

↳ Altars:  
– Yes

↳ Devotional markers:  
– Yes

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:  
– Yes

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:  
– I don't know

Is iconography present:

– Yes

↳ Where is iconography present [select all that apply]:  
– On persons  
– At home  
– All public spaces

↳ Are there distinct features in the religious group's iconography:  
– Yes

↳ Eyes (stylized or not):

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings (zoomorphic):

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings (geomorphic):

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings (anthropomorphic):

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings (abstract symbol):

– Yes

↳ Portrayals of afterlife:

– No

↳ Aspects of doctrine (e.g. cross, trinity, Mithraic symbols):

– Yes

Notes: Symbols related sacrifice, blood, semen, sex, the warrior cult, the desert landscape where ritual battles take place, the Presentation Ceremony, the Tumi knife, and naturalistic images.

↳ Humans:

– Yes

↳ Other features of iconography:

– Yes

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

– Yes

↳ Are sacred sites oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

– Yes

Notes: Huacas are symbolically related to mountains. Sacred sites also likely related to rivers and landscape overall.

Are pilgrimages present:

– Yes

Notes: Captured warriors were paraded back from the battlefield to the back to the settlement where the triumphant warriors lived. Other pilgrimages may have also occurred as well, but are less well known.



How strict is pilgrimage:

– Obligatory for some

## Beliefs

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### Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer “no” only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

– Field doesn't know

Belief in afterlife:

– Field doesn't know

Reincarnation in this world:

– No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

– Yes



Cremation:

– No



Mummification:

– No



Interment:

– Yes



Corpse is flexed (legs are bent or body is crouched):

– Yes

↳ Corpse is extended (lying flat on front or back):

– Yes

↳ Corpse is upright (where body is interred in standing position):

– No

↳ Corpse is interred some other way:

– I don't know

↳ Cannibalism:

– No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

– No

↳ Feeding to animals:

– No

↳ Secondary burial:

– Yes

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

– Yes

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

– Yes [specify]: Orientation of corpse, grave goods, and for elite burials sacrificed attendants and animals.

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

– Yes

↳ Human sacrifices present:

– Yes

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↳ Out-group humans are sacrificed:  
– Field doesn't know

↳ In-group humans are sacrificed:  
– Yes

↳ Other humans are sacrificed:  
– Field doesn't know

↳ Animal co-sacrifices present:  
– Yes

Are grave goods present:

– Yes

↳ Personal effects:  
– Yes

↳ Valuable items:  
– Yes

↳ Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):  
– Yes

↳ Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):  
– Yes

↳ Other valuable/precious items interred:  
– Yes [specify]: Valuables specific to the individual.

↳ Other grave goods:  
– Yes

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:

– No

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Although this is a possibility.

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– I don't know

↳ Other formal burial type:

– Yes [specify]: Boot tombs or underground adobe brick-lined burial pits.

## Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: The Moche worshiped several several different deities, and while some may have held more prominence than others, it is not certain that one in particular was a supreme high god.

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

– No

↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:

– Yes

Notes: But are played by people.

↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:

– Yes

Notes: Since the priestly roles filled by religious specialists were as deities.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:

– Yes

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But more than likely.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But more than likely.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Field doesn't know

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have other knowledge of this world:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But more than likely.

↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can reward:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings can punish:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:

– Field doesn't know

↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But more than likely.

↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:

– Field doesn't know



Notes: But this is a possibility.

↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:

– Yes

↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Organized hierarchically:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Some supernatural beings may have held more importance than others.

↳ Power of beings is domain specific:

– No

↳ Other organization for pantheon:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But may be likely.

## Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Field doesn't know

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Field doesn't know

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:

– Yes

↳ Done only by high god:

– No

- ↳ Done by many supernatural beings:
  - Yes
- ↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:
  - No
- ↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:
  - Yes
- ↳ Done to enforce group norms:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: But more than likely.
- ↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:
  - No
- ↳ Done randomly:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:
  - No
- ↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:
  - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural rewards in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:
  - Field doesn't know
  - Notes: But successful outcomes as a result of ritual ceremonies were probably emphasized, especially agricultural success.
- ↳ Reward in this life consists of good luck:
  - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Reward in this life consists of political success or power:
  - Yes
- ↳ Reward in this life consists of success in battle:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of peace or social stability:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But more than likely not, given the importance of the ritual battles and the warrior cult.

↳ Reward in this life consists of healthy crops or good weather:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of success on journeys:

– No

↳ Reward in this life consists of mild sensory pleasure:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Reward in this life consists of extreme sensory pleasure:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced health:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Reward in this life consists of enhanced reproductive success:

– Yes

↳ Reward in this life consists of fortune visited on descendants:

– Field doesn't know

↳ Other [specify]

– Field doesn't know

## Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Is an eschatology present:

– No

### Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But may be likely, since the politico-religious ideology was a cultural phenomenon.

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: But possibly, based on certain themes that appear frequently on Moche pottery. However, this "virtues" are culturally specific.

## Practices

### Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Although some figures depicted on pottery clearly have tattoos, tattooing marks, or scarring.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

– Yes

Notes: Warriors captured in battle are depicted having their noses bloodied by their captures and being bound with their hands behind their backs.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– Yes

↳ Foreign, slaves:

– Yes

Notes: Warriors from neighboring groups, but not slaves.

↳ Commoners:

– No

↳ Elites:

– Yes

↳ Other:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that different in the Comments/Sources: box below.

– No

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

– Yes

Notes: For elite and other specialists, participation and attendance at ceremonies was required. Commoners may have been required to attend ceremonies as well.

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

– Yes

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– Yes

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Field doesn't know

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

i.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale “ceremonies” and “festivals.”

– Yes

↳ On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:  
– Field doesn't know

↳ What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):  
Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.  
– Field doesn't know

↳ Are there orthodoxy checks:  
Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.  
– Yes

↳ Are there orthopraxy checks:  
Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized

way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– Yes

↳ Does participation entail synchronic practices:

– Yes

↳ Is there use of intoxicants:

– Yes

Notes: Coca use was common.

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Some people are depicted with tattoos and scarification, but this isn't common.

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– Field doesn't know

## Society and Institutions

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### Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

– A state

Notes: But also these were autonomous polities engaged in a shared politico-religious ideology.

### Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Surplus agricultural resources may have been distributed to people in times of need. The later Inca society certainly did this, so these practices may have roots in earlier groups.

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

– No

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Field doesn't know

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

– Field doesn't know

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### **Education**

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

– No

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

– No

### **Bureaucracy**

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

– Field doesn't know

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

– No

### **Public Works**

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

– Field doesn't know

Notes: Surplus agricultural resources may have been distributed to people in times of need. The later Inca society certainly did this, so these practices may have roots in earlier groups.



Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

– Yes

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

– No

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

## **Taxation**

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

– Yes

Notes: Labor taxes.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

## **Enforcement**

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

– No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

– Field doesn't know

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

– Field doesn't know

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:

– No

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

## Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:

– No

Notes: Political leaders/religious specialists and other elites were warriors, but they were not organized as an separate institution with ranks and divisions.

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

## Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

– No

Notes: On the other hand, cultural beliefs, ideas, and ethical practices were expressed via a visual media.

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

– Field doesn't know

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

– Yes



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– No

### Bibliography

## General References

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