THE CHAVÍN INFLUENCE ON EARLY HORIZON PERUVIAN NORTH COAST CERAMICS AND DATING IMPLICATIONS

by

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B.A., The University of British Columbia, 1974

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES Department of Fine Arts

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA October 1980

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ABSTRACT

From 1500 to 500 B.C. a religious cult now known as Chavín disseminated religious beliefs throughout the North Highlands and Coastal areas of Peru from a central location on the north-eastern slopes of the Andean Cordillera. Chavín beliefs are reflected in an art style which utilized stone, ceramic, textile, bone, gold, shell and adobe mediums and conformed to a number of highly developed artistic conventions.

The aim of the study is to examine the dispersion of Chavín culture to the North Coast through an art historical analysis of Chavín-related iconography on ceramics from that area of Peru. An understanding of the iconographic relations between Chavín lithic art and North Coast Chavín-related ceramics provides a clearer understanding of the impact of Chavín dispersion and supports evidence for a proposed revision of John Rowe's Chavín stone chronology (Rowe 1967), as outlined in a paper by Maitland, Mowatt, Phillips and Watson (1976).

Iconographic relations between North Coast Chavín-related ceramics and the art of Chavín have never before been thoroughly studied. Until this time it has been generally assumed that North Coast Chavín-related ceramics paralleled the sequence of art styles at Chavín. The study shows that Chavín influence arrived during the final phases of the Chavín sequence (Period III). In addition, it defines the stylistic nature of Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics in comparison to other Chavín-related North Coast ceramic styles and further differentiates between regional and Chavín-related aspects of the style. The result is a clearer understanding of the physical and temporal impacts of Chavín
culture on the North Coast and the relations between highland and coastal manifestations of Chavín art styles.
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I wish to gratefully acknowledge Dr. Alan R. Sawyer for the encouragement, guidance, and generous sharing of his specialised knowledge.

Thanks is extended to Dr. Marvin Cohodas for his helpful advice and to my relatives and friends who kindly gave me their valuable time and support during this project.
INTRODUCTION

The temple of Chavín is situated in the Mosna River Valley on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Blanca approximately 3,000 meters above sea level (Figure 1). The ruins take their name from the modern village of Chavín located within the Province of Huari, Department of Ancash. Today the village occupies land that once supported part of the settlement associated with the temple (Berger 1978, Map 1).

Recuay is located 40 kilometers to the south-west on the other side of the cordillera and Huari can be reached by travelling north along the Mosna River for a distance of 28 kilometers. The Wacheqsa, (or Pukcha, Tello 1960, Fig. 5), and Mosna (or Mariash, Tello 1960, Fig. 5), Rivers converge at Chavín and flow north-east to meet the Marañón River, one of the eleven major tributaries of the Amazon. Gotosh, a Chavín site five kilometers to the south-west in the Wacheqsa River basin, is included with Chavín because of its geographical proximity.

Scholars have commonly referred to the site as Chavín "de Huantar". However, recent information indicates that the residents of Chavín have strong objections to this nomenclature because "Huantar" is the name of a nearby village with which they have an intense rivalry (p. c.: John H. Rowe 1978: from Richard Berger). Rowe has suggested that the site be called Chavín in Ancash; this would eliminate any bad feelings and also serve to clarify its approximate location.

On the basis of what we now know, the temple at Chavín was the geographical and ideological focus of a religious cult which may have originated in the tropical lowlands of the Marañón River basin. Images influenced by the style and iconography of Chavín stone carvings have
Figure 1. Map of Peru.

From: Sawyer, A.R., Ancient Peruvian Ceramics; The Nathan Cummings Collection, 1966: 8.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
been found in diverse cultural contexts in both coastal and highland areas of Peru. In the northern highlands Chavín-related temples have been discovered throughout the Mosna-Marañón drainage, at Kotosh in the Huánuco area near the headwaters of the Huallaga, and at Kuntur Wasi (La Copa), and Pacopampa near Cajamarca (Figure 1). On the coast of Peru, Chavín influence extended from the Piura Valley in the Far North to the Nasca Valley in the south. Included in this area are the well known temple complexes of Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley; Cerro Blanco in the Nepeña Valley, Pallca in the Casma, Garagay in the Rimac, and Curyacu near Lima on the Central Coast. Although Chavín-related temple complexes have not been excavated on the South Coast, both ceramic and textile remains indicate regional variations of the Chavín style occurred in that area. (For a detailed description of Chavín dispersion see Patterson 1971: 29-47; Lumbreras 1974: 57).

Regional manifestations of the dispersion of Chavín-related images are interpreted as evidence of a theocratically oriented society that established outposts or "colonies" in order to communicate certain basic religious beliefs (Conklin 1978: 8). This was accomplished in a chronological period known as the Early Horizon.

"Horizons" are defined as units of time during which relatively uniform ceramic styles occur over extensive geographical areas (Willey 1948: 9; Rowe 1967: 6). Discoveries of Chavín-related artifacts over widespread areas of Peru have led scholars to designate Chavín as a Horizon culture. Pan-Peruvian Horizons are supported by numerous Carbon 14 dates and the limits of the Early Horizon have been variously interpreted and are under a constant revision. The chronological boundaries of the Chavín Horizon are presently determined by the existence of
Chavín-related motifs on regional art styles. For purposes of this study, the Peruvian chronology formulated by John Rowe, which places the Early Horizon at 1500-600 B.C., has been adopted (Rowe, Menzel 1967: "A Chronological Table of the Peruvian Sierra").

The aim of this study is twofold:

1. To examine the highland-coastal connection, or evidence of Chavín dispersion on the North Coast and its relation to the lithic art at Chavín. The North Coast is defined as that area which is bounded by the Lambayeque Valley on the north and the Casma Valley on the south (Sawyer 1966: 14)(Figure 1). In order to accomplish this first goal, a detailed analysis of Chavín iconography and its relative chronology will be undertaken.

A recent study completed at The University of British Columbia by four students under the direction of Alan R. Sawyer resulted in a proposed revision of a Chavín chronology formulated by John H. Rowe in 1964 (Maitland, Mowatt, Phillips, and Watson 1976). This paper will examine correspondences between the proposed revised chronology and Chavín-related North Coast ceramics.

2. A second equally important objective will be to determine the stylistic nature of Chavín-related ceramics from the Chicama-Tembladera area as well as associated specimens alleged to have come from the North Coast. Observation indicates that there persists a great deal of confusion in differentiating between North Coast Chavín-related ceramic styles. The study will attempt to define and clarify iconographic and stylistic characteristics of the above mentioned sample.

Comparative images on Chavín and North Coast Chavín-related stone, adobe reliefs, ceramic, bone, soapstone, and shell remains will
be examined in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the cultural context as we know it today.

THE SAMPLE

Only those ceramics with iconography comparable to that which is found on Chavín stone carvings, meaning that they are 'Chavín-related' or 'Chavín-influenced', are included in the sample. Chavín-related is a term that has been suggested by John H. Rowe as a substitute for 'Chavinoid', a nomenclature originated by A. L. Kroeber in 1942; because, according to Rowe, Chavinoid is philologically incorrect (Kroeber 1942: 82; Rowe p. c.: 1978).

The sample is restricted to Chavín-related ceramics (both complete vessels and sherds), all grave offerings, which correspond to one or more of the following criteria:

1. Ceramics from the Chicama Valley published as "Cupisnique" by Rafael Larco Hoyle in 1941.

2. Ceramics from the Upper Jequetepeque Valley near the town of Tembladera found by local pot hunters (commonly called 'huaqueros'), during the 1960's.

3. Ceramics with no known province but said to come from the North Coast and included because they exhibit iconographic and stylistic characteristics similar to those in the first two categories.

The total sample includes 77 ceramics; of these, approximately 26 are from Larco's Cupisnique sample and the remainder are said to come from the Tembladera area or the North Coast.

For reasons of simplicity many previously published North Coast ceramics have not been illustrated in this paper.
SOURCES

A number of Chavín-related North Coast ceramics have been photographed by Alan R. Sawyer who has generously made his archives accessible for study and illustration in this paper. Thanks to those archives, approximately thirty unpublished North Coast ceramics located in both private and public collections were available for study. Without Alan Sawyer's invaluable knowledge and advice on the subject, this study would not have been possible.

Two publications, Rafael Larco Hoyle's *Los Cupisniques* (1941) and Julio C. Tello's *Chavín: Cultura Matriz de la Civilización Andina, Primera Parte* (1960), were principal references because of their considerable number of illustrations and indispensable information. Approximately fifty percent of the ceramics in Larco's sample are Chavín-related; the remainder of the sample consists of a variety of stylized animals, plants, human figures, and plain ware.

In order to study the ceramics first-hand and possibly increase the sample size, the author visited the Museo Nacional and the Amano and Larco Museums in Lima, as well as the Trujillo University Museum in Trujillo during the summer of 1978. Observations of Cupisnique ceramics in the Larco Museum served as valuable cross checks against the illustrations in *Los Cupisniques* (Larco 1941). It was possible to match many previously unidentified illustrations with the vessels from which they had been taken. This provided important data on correspondences between vessel shapes and iconography. (See notes on individual specimens under data section.) Various scholarly publications and exhibition catalogues augmented the number of specimens in the sample.
Scientific information on North Coast Chavín-related ceramic styles is sparse and often unreliable but all relevant information that is presently available has been factored into this study. Valuable contributions to the study of Chavín culture have been made by a number of scholars and references to their work will be made under the appropriate sections.

**METHODOLOGY**

An art historical analysis of the visual imagery forms the basis of the methodology employed. This approach provides a valid means of assessing religious beliefs and formulating relative chronologies based on stylistic analysis when there is a paucity of scientific information.

When an art style reflects the social and religious organization of the culture it represents, it may be defined as the collective embodiment of consistent though evolving forms, elements, qualities, and expressions of an individual or group over a significant length of time (Shapiro 1953).

Translation from one material to another usually incurs discrepancies in style and iconography. Coastal Chavín images were executed in adobe relief, stone, ceramics, woven fabrics, bone, wood, shell and gold. Adobe instead of stone reliefs were found at Cerro Blanco and Huaca de los Reyes and other coastal Chavín-related temple complexes. Painted plain weave textiles found on the South Coast near Carhua, but thought to have originated in the North (Wallace 1979: 43), afforded the perfect medium for unrestricted Chavín-related designs. Stone carving
is normally executed on a large scale, takes careful compositional planning, and a longer time to complete. A relatively greater degree of artistic freedom is available in the ceramic medium. Some ceramic techniques may represent attempts to imitate effects achieved in stone (relief decoration or strapwork); however, the spatial format is comparatively restrictive and reduction or partial imagery is a natural outgrowth of the use of this medium.

The author will apply the following art historical methodology in order to facilitate the study of the ceramic sample.

1. **Typological Analysis**

   A typological analysis classifies iconographic content according to subject matter. This analysis will facilitate a recognition and understanding of motifs and distinguish among typical, exceptional, and aberrant imagery.

2. **Trait Analysis**

   Dorothy Menzel has defined a trait as "any stylistic detail that can be distinguished from other stylistic details by contrast and repetition" (Menzel 1976: 7). Trait analysis will group stylistic details and seriate the sample accordingly.

3. **Ceramic Shape**

   An analysis of vessel shape and comparison with others of similar shape offers clues to the seriation of the sample.
4. **Technique**

The ceramic sample will be examined for the occurrence of a variety of techniques such as broad line incision, fine line incision, punctation, crosshatching, modeling, applied relief (strapwork), and incised relief.

5. **Grave Association**

Information on grave association may furnish comparative data on the contemporaneity of ceramic styles, shapes and iconography of objects found in a single tomb.

6. **Design Analysis**

The principal elements of Chavín style will be defined in relation to the following terms: line, spatial organization, symmetry, multiple imagery, repetition, modular width, kennis, reduction and compartmentalization. They are sensitive monitors of stylistic and chronological changes over extended periods of time.

a) **Line:** is a communicative and emotive device that expresses unity, tension, harmony, vitality, duality, and balance in a design. The 'quality' of a line describes the configuration of an image and may be curvilinear, rectilinear or naturalistic. Naturalism is defined as the artist's conception of an image as it is seen in nature.

b) **Spatial Organization:** defines the arrangement of an image within a specified area. The ratio of positive to negative space and the placement of the design within the design space are two necessary considerations in spatial organization.
c) **Symmetry**: Anna O. Shepard defines symmetry as the recognition of a 'motion' or 'combination of motions' employed in the repetition of a design. Motion(s) described in relation to imaginary lines, points or axes may be bilateral, rotational, or radial (Shepard 1948: 217).

d) **Multiple Imagery**: occurs when two images share a common feature and form a third image that is a composite of the first two.

e) **Repetition**: is the multiplication of motifs within an individual image.

f) **Modular Width**: is a term suggested by Lawrence E. Dawson to describe a design "composed of a series of bands of approximately equal width" (Rowe 1967: 77).

g) **Kennings**: were first recognized and defined by Rowe as a series of visual comparisons or metaphors suggested by substitution (Rowe 1967: 78). Kennings indicate that the imagery has multi-leveled meanings and, as a result, the intended symbolism is often obscure.

h) **Reduction**: is a process of abstraction which eliminates individual traits and sometimes entire anatomical parts of the figure. A knowledge of the intermediary stages of reduction is necessary in order to reconstruct the original image.

i) **Compartmentalization**: a compositional technique that restricts individual motifs within the whole to compartments or invisible rectangles of differing sizes.
7. **Comparative Data**

A discussion of comparative data will attempt to point out iconographic correspondences between the ceramic sample and related artifacts found in ceramic and other mediums both at Chavín and on the North Coast.
CHAPTER TWO
Figure 2. The Ceremonial Complex at Chavín (after Lumbreras, 1969, 1977).

DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONIAL COMPLEX AT CHAVÍN

The ceremonial complex is constructed of rectangular structures, platforms, and terraces which reach approximately 12 to 14 meters in height in places. Outer walls are faced with a veneer of solid dressed stone blocks, laid in alternating narrow and wide courses, and set in clay mortar. Within the buildings there is a network of multi-leveled 'galleries' composed of passageways, stairways, and small storage rooms that also extend underneath the ceremonial plazas. Interior walls are rubble-filled and traces of plaster paint and carved stone lintels indicate that certain areas were decorated. The galleries are roofed with semi-corbelled capstones and passageways are ventilated by rectangular horizontal airshafts that pass to the outside of the temple.

Large quantities of deliberately broken ceramics exhibiting a variety of artistic styles and physical properties have been found inside the galleries along with numerous marine shells, llama, guinea pig and fish bones. This indicates that they may have served as depositories for ritual offerings brought to the temple by religious pilgrims from other areas of Peru (Lumbreras 1974: 62).

The plan of the temple complex as we know it today is thought to be the product of several centuries of growth. The most archaic section of the complex, a U-shaped structure called the Old Temple, is composed of an easterly oriented central building and two symmetrical wings on the north and south. The area inside the U-shaped bay is occupied by a Sunken Circular Plaza and a central stairway leads from the Plaza to the upper levels of the temple. The religious focus of the temple is centered around a carved stone called the Lanzón, an anthropomorphic feline located at the center of a cruciform passage-like chamber in the core of the Old Temple.
The size of the carving and the fact that it is tenoned into the floor and ceiling of the gallery indicates that it was placed in the temple during construction (Figure 2).

Somewhat later the size of the South Wing of the Old Temple was augmented by a platform addition. Remains of a second, unfinished platform are visible on its south side. A monumental entranceway called the Black and White Portal and a Fore Temple on its eastern facade confirmed a shift in the ceremonial focus to that area of the complex. A final large scale construction period is evidenced by a monumental stairway leading from the Fore Temple to a Sunken Central Plaza. The Central Plaza is a square courtyard, sunk approximately six to seven meters below ground level and enclosed on its north and south sides by temple platforms. The platforms were made accessible from below by three wide stairways on either side of the Plaza. Requirements of additional ceremonial space necessitated the expansion of the complex as Chavín became an object of pilgrimage. It is evident from the overall plan that the desire for a symmetrical arrangement dictated the results of expansion (Figure 2).

It was apparent to the earliest visitors to the site that the external walls of the temple complex had once been richly ornamented with stone sculptures in the form of carved tenoned heads, low-relief quadrangular or rectangular stone slabs and cornices (Tello 1960: Introducción). Today, after a massive landslide covered the site in 1945, few stone carvings remain in situ.

Chavín stone reliefs depict a variety of anthropomorphized figures. A few such as the Lanzón have been assigned major deity or cult status (Rowe 1967: 84). These carvings may be the purest expression of Chavín art upon which all regional styles were modeled. An understanding of
Chavín dispersion is dependent on a knowledge of their style, symbolism or themes and chronological implications and, for this reason, descriptions of their recovery and interpretation will comprise the bulk of the following history.

**HISTORY OF CHAVÍN INVESTIGATIONS**

The temple of Chavín is mentioned in the writings of early post-Conquest travellers such as Cieza de León (1550), A. Vásquez de Espinosa (1616), Antonio Raimondi (1873), and E. W. Middendorf (1886) (Tello 1960: Introduccion).

Vásquez describes Chavín as the location of an ancient oracle and pilgrimage center to which people journeyed from all parts of Peru (Lumbereas 1971: 1). Raimondi's name is associated with an important carved stone stele that was transported from Chavín to Lima in 1874 and named in his honour (Tello 1960: 188). Middendorf was the first to recognize that Chavín was the site of a pre-Inca culture but he was unable to determine its antiquity or sphere of influence (Middendorf 1895: 88-104).

These realizations were left to Julio C. Tello, the first eminent Peruvian archaeologist. Tello conducted investigations at Chavín three times: in 1919, 1934, and finally in 1940 (Tello, 1943 and 1960). His first visit took place as part of an exploration of the Mosna-Wacheqsa River basin. At that time he studied the iconography of the tenoned heads, cornices, and reliefs that were found either in situ on the temple or scattered about the site.
In the town of Chavín, Tello discovered a carved stone obelisk that local officials had placed by the doorway of the church. He was told that it had been found in 1908 by a farmer who was cultivating his field in what is now known as the Central Plaza. An examination of the area in the center of the Plaza produced a stone base that may have supported the Obelisk (Tello 1960: 177). Tello shipped the carving to Lima where it subsequently became known as the Tello Obelisk.

As a result of his 1919 observations, Tello was able to recognize Chavín motifs on ceramics, gold, and shell in various private and public collections throughout Peru (Tello 1943: 135). By 1926 he had observed Chavín motifs on ceramics from sites in the Callejón de Hualyas, at Ancón-Supe on the Central Coast, and on the Paracas Peninsula in the South (Tello 1929: 99; 1943: 136). In particular, he noted that a certain type of blackware ceramic, similar to those observed at Chavín and other sites throughout the Northern Highlands, was found on the coast.

From these observations Tello concluded that: (a) he had isolated a unique ceramic style which appeared to originate in the highlands more specifically at Chavín, and that, (b) Chavín was the center of a Pan-Peruvian culture that had exerted widespread influence over diverse geographical areas. He referred to the period of Chavín influence as Andean Archaic (Tello 1929: 100).

In 1934, Tello undertook a survey of the Marañón Highlands. Upon arriving at Chavín he was surprised to find that the Mosna River that flows along the eastern boundary of the site had altered its course, causing one-third of the South Central Platform to be undermined (Figure 2). Eight meters below the surface of the exposed platform, Tello found
numerous sherds of black, grey, brown, and red incised and polished relief-stamped ceramics. In total, the 'accidental' excavation yielded nearly one hundred sherds, some of which exhibited imagery similar to those found on the stone carvings. With this find, Tello believed he had ascertained the "technical, morphological, ornamental, and representative aspects" of "classic" Chavín pottery (Tello 1943: 152).

In 1938, Wendell C. Bennett conducted excavations at Chavín. His descriptions and measurements provided further statistical information on the site. A number of sherds of both Chavín and post-Chavín styles were recovered. Chavín sherds were identified on the basis of their similarity to designs on stone carvings but analysis indicated that only a small percentage of the total number excavated showed related iconography (Bennett 1944: 71).

Descriptions of Chavín sherds found by Tello and Bennett indicate that they are thick-walled brown or blackware specimens. Designs were formed by fine line or broad line incision and strapwork. Most appear to be sections of flat-bottomed, flaring rim bowls or globular bodied thick-necked vessels (Tello 1960: 319-352; Bennett 1944: 81-87).

In 1940 Tello set up a field museum in a colonial chapel located on top of the North Wing of the Old Temple (Figure 2). A few small stone fragments and plaster casts of all the major reliefs made during that time were sent to the Museo Nacional and the University of San Marcos in Lima.

We are indebted to Bennett for his early observations on the style and iconography of Chavín stone carvings and valuable technical information on Chavín ceramics. His recognition of the distinctive nature of Chavín art enabled him to record the existence of Chavín-
related artifacts on the coast and thus formulate an idea of the extent of Chavín dispersion to those areas.

In 1943 Bennett proposed that Chavín be categorized as a Pan-Peruvian style along with Tiahuanaco and Inca (Bennett 1943: 326). The next year, A. L. Kroeber published a description of Chavín stone carvings and Chavín-related artifacts (Kroeber 1944: 82). His observations corroborated Bennett’s conclusions and the idea, first postulated by Tello (1929) that Chavín was a Pan-Peruvian culture became generally accepted.

From 1941 until 1945 Tello worked on his Chavín field notes with the idea of publication in mind. His unfinished manuscripts form the bulk of a posthumous publication entitled Chavín: Cultura Matriz de la Civilización Andina (1960). This reference is indispensable as a source for plans, photographs, drawings, and descriptions of the site, its stone carvings, ceramics, and various related artifacts.

In 1945 a massive landslide covered the temple area with hundreds of tons of debris. Subsequent clearing has revealed some carvings but most of the stones stored in Tello’s site museum on top of the Old Temple have not yet been recovered. Fortunately, Tello had recorded almost everything in the museum in the form of plaster casts, drawings, or rubbings and many are illustrated in the 1960 publication. Subsequent excavation of the site has, however, brought to light an additional number of previously unrecorded ornamental stone pieces.

Tello’s fundamental contributions to our knowledge of Chavín culture are unparalleled. He was the first to survey and excavate the site, to postulate the magnitude of Chavín influence on contemporaneous cultures and to define its distinctive art style. Although we now know
that some of the objects and sites Tello ascribed to Chavín (Tello 1946, fig. 26) are in fact unrelated styles, most of Tello's original concepts have proven to be essentially correct.

Tello died in 1947 convinced that the landslide had destroyed his work at Chavín. Tello's assistant, Marino Gonzáles Moreno, began re-excavating the site in 1954 and eventually he was able to uncover most of Tello's original work. On the eastern face of the New Temple, only a few meters away from the spot where Tello had stopped digging in 1945, he discovered the remains of a monumental entrance now called the Black and White Portal (Figure 2).

Reconstruction of the superstructure of the Portal beyond the first level is problematical. Illustrations in Rowe (1967, figs. 3 and 4) and Kauffman Doig (1973, fig. F. 187) show that it protruded slightly beyond the temple facade and was enclosed on either side by screening walls and two carved stone columns. The walls and columns may have supported a lintel and cornice superstructure and a screening wall composed of rectangular stone reliefs. Behind the screening wall, two staircases, still visible, ascend in opposite directions to the north and south and enter the temple at an upper level. Between 1967 and 1968, sections of a carved lintel found in the area of the Fore Temple were laid on top of the columns and side panels. This reconstruction is inaccurate because a joint in the center of the lintel completely violates the canons of post and lintel support systems.

At the base of the temple, on either side of the Portal, and in the area of the Fore Temple, a significant number of fragmented reliefs have been uncovered. They resemble the style and iconography of the Portal columns and may have ornamented a wall frieze. They may have formed a
screening wall which hid the stairway leading to the upper levels of the
temple. (See illustration of reconstruction in Kauffman Doig 1973:
190).

In 1961, John H. Rowe surveyed the ruins at Chavín and the results
of his work which include the first proposed stone chronology appeared
in an article entitled "Chavín Art; an inquiry into its form and meaning"
(1962). The following year he returned to Chavín and an amplified version
of his original paper was published in 1967. An understanding of the
conclusions of Rowe's study is essential to the arguments presented in this
paper.

His work began with a survey of the interior galleries. This
revealed that two symmetrical additions had been made to the Old Temple
complex and that the New Temple had been constructed by an addition to the
South Wing of the Old Temple. The completion of the Black and White
Portal diverted the ceremonial focus away from the Old Temple (Rowe
1967: 75). A second expansion to the south was planned but not finished.
Its completion would have placed the Black and White Portal on the
central axis of the New Temple.

Rowe's plan of the site includes a structure called the "Patio",
which might more accurately be called the "Fore Temple" (Figure 2). It
is located directly in front of the Black and White Portal and fragments
of at least four columns and reliefs indicate that it may have been designed
as an atrium to the entranceway. Remains of a monumental stairway and a
lower level containing a Sunken Central Plaza and two flanking temple
platforms complete the easterly oriented axis of the New Temple
(Figure 2).
While examining the evidence for a sequence of temple construction, Rowe realized that certain carvings were architecturally associated, either as cult objects, structural embellishments, or decoration, with specific areas of the temple, and could be dated accordingly. Some carvings had been reused and were unsuitable as chronological indicators but others such as the Lanzón, tenoned inside the Old Temple, and the columns of the Black and White Portal were indubitably related to specific building phases (Rowe 1967: 74).

By correlating architecturally associated stone carvings with unassociated reliefs of similar style, Rowe was able to formulate a relative stone chronology. His sequence is comprised of four phases: AB, C, D, and EF. (Some letters were grouped together to allow for future subdivisions.) Phases AB and D are directly associated with the architecture. Phase AB is represented by the Lanzón and the Old Temple and Phase D by the Black and White Portal and the New Temple. Unassociated reliefs, the Tello Obelisk and the Raimondi Stele, were dated to Phases C and EF on the basis of his stylistic analysis.

Rowe's relative sequence of construction and stone carvings was a major breakthrough in establishing the chronological evolution of Chavín culture through its art. We are indebted to him for his perceptive synthesis of the chronology, as well as his excellent definitions of Chavín artistic conventions.

In 1966, Luis Guillermo Lumbreras and Hernán Amat Olazaval joined Marino Gonzáles in a programme of excavations at Chavín. Results of their work appear in publications by Lumbreras and Amat (1965) and Lumbreras (1968, 1970, and 1977). The following is a summary of their finds.
Between 1966 and 1967, large deposits of broken ceramics were recovered from the "Galerie de las Ofrendas" in the North Platform of the Old Temple (Figure 2). It is believed that the ceramics found therein were ceremonial offerings that had been ritually destroyed. Lumbreras published a carbon date of 750 B.C. for the material from the Ofrendas Gallery and divided it into three distinct ceramic styles: Ofrendas, Wacheqsa, and Mosna (Lumbreras 1970: 132).

A second group of ceramics called "Rocas" were recovered in 1969 by Amat from subterranean passageways in the South Wing of the Old Temple (Figure 2). González considers these passageways to be 'desbordes' or run-off channels constructed to drain water from the temple. (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer from González 1978). A carbon date of 1200 B.C. was established for Rocas ceramics at that time (Lumbreras 1970: 130).

In 1971 Lumbreras published a chart depicting his interpretation of the evolution of Chavín ceramics. The chart indicates that he believed that Ofrendas and Wacheqsa styles were contemporary with each other and later than Rocas (Lumbreras 1971, fig. 6). The sherds found by Tello in 1934 were tentatively placed between Rocas and Ofrendas in a transitional phase (Lumbreras 1971: 25).

In 1972 Lumbreras excavated the area of the U-shaped bay in front of the Old Temple and discovered a sunken Circular Plaza. Plans of the Plaza were not published until 1977, but a few photographs of carvings from the interior walls depicting felines and anthropomorphic felines were available in 1973. (Taken by Pedro Rojas Poncé who visited the site with Alan R. Sawyer in 1973. A complete set was taken by Christopher Donnan in 1975. p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1980).
In 1974 Lumbreras published a revised chronology that placed Rocas ceramics after Ofrendas (Lumbreras 1974: 72). A third ceramic chronology, one which corresponds closely to Rowe's stone sequence, was published in 1977 (Lumbreras 1977: 35). Rocas ceramics, initially placed earliest in the chronology (1971), were re-dated to the Black and White Portal phase (Rowe: D), and Ofrendas ceramics were assigned to the Tello Obelisk phase (Rowe: C). The Chavín sequence was divided into two major epochs: "Chavín Antiguo", represented by the Lanzón, the Old Temple, the Circular Plaza, the Tello Obelisk, and Ofrendas ceramics (Rowe: AB and C), and "Chavín Tardío", corresponding to the New Temple, the Black and White Portal, the Fore Temple, and Rocas ceramics (Rowe: D and EF) (Lumbreras 1977: 35) (Figure 14).

The discovery of the Circular Plaza and the appearance of a group of Chavín-related textiles said to come from the Carhua area on the South Coast (Sawyer 1972: 92) prompted a re-examination of Rowe's Chavín chronology by a group of students at The University of British Columbia. The work, completed during the 1975-76 academic year under the direction of Alan R. Sawyer resulted in a joint paper which was given at the annual conference of the Institute of Andean Studies in Berkeley, California (Maitland, Mowatt, Phillips, Watson 1976).

THE PROPOSED REVISED CHAVÍN CHRONOLOGY

The paper entitled, "A Proposed Revision of Rowe's Chavín Chronology", argues for the re-location of the chronological placement of the Tello Obelisk from Rowe's Phase C to a later date in Phase EF. Four major stone styles were determined on the basis of a stylistic
analysis of the lithic art and, following Rowe's lead, specific stone carvings were keyed to developmental stages in the ceremonial center (Periods I - III). An understanding of the four styles will facilitate a recognition of chronological indicators on North Coast Chavín-related ceramics.

PERIOD I: THE OLD TEMPLE - CIRCULAR PLAZA FOCUS (1500-1200 B.C.)

Lanzón
Feline Cornices
Circular Plaza Sculptures

PERIOD II: THE SOUTH WING FOCUS (1200-900 B.C.)

Black and White Portal
and Fore Temple Sculptures

PERIOD III: THE EAST PLAZA FOCUS (900-600 B.C.)

Raimondi Stele*
Assorted Stone Fragments
The Gotosh Monument*

Tello Obelisk
Ofrendas Ceramics

* The Raimondi Stele is seen as transitional between Period II and Period III styles and the Gotosh Monument is seen as belonging to a very late Period III phase.
Figure 3. The Revised Chavín Chronology (U.B.C. Study 1976), showing co-traditions of Cayman and Feline cults. (Broken lines indicate beginnings of transitional phases.)
PERIOD I STYLE

Period I style is defined by round cornered discontinuous curved lines that often end in elaborate serpent or feline kennings. For this reason Period I style is often referred to as the curvilinear style. Multiple imagery is common as are guilloches and S-curves. Composition is based on a horizontal modularity and designs are repetitive and tightly controlled within the outline of an individual figure.
Figure 4. Period I Style.

Drawing of the cornice feline at the south-west corner of the New Temple.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 17.
1. Round eyes and upturned rounded pupils. Superorbital ridges follow the curve of the eye and curl upwards in snake kennings.

From: Rowe 1967: fig. 17.

2. Lipbands are rounded at the corners and are often upturned. They terminate at the profile of the face.
3. Fangs terminate at the limits of the lipband.
4. Secondary fangs are square.

From: Rowe 1967: fig. 17.

5. Noses are defined by spiral lines.

From: Rowe 1967: fig. 17.

6. Numerous eyes appear within spirals, curves and guilloches.

From: Rowe 1967: fig. 17.

7. Snakes have separate eye, nose and mouth elements.

From: Rowe 1967: fig. 17.

8. Claws are separate from paws and are short and recurved.

From: Rowe 1967: fig. 17.

Figure 5. Elements of Period I Style.
PERIOD II STYLE

This style is characterized by rectilinear lines and vertical as well as a horizontal modularity. Rounded corners and tight curves are contrasted with sharp angles that penetrate undecorated background areas. Emphasis is placed on variety and occult balance rather than repetition or exact symmetry as seen in Period I.

Period II style is animated and expressionistic. Figures are controlled through rhythmic repetition of details and an integrated compositional structure. A high degree of tension is created by opposing diagonals which emit a vital energy that is indicative of the style.
Figure 6 a. Rollout of the figure on the south column of the Black and White portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 9.

Figure 6 b. Rollout of the figure on the north column of the Black and White portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 8
1. Fangs that protrude beyond lipbands.
2. Central Profile fangs.
3. Lipbands that extend over the profile of the face.
4. Triangular secondary teeth.
5. Bracket-pointed mouth.
   From: Rowe 1967, fig. 8.

6. Teeth that extend over the profile of the face.
   (Restricted Use Secondary trait)
   From: Rowe 1967, fig. 9.

7. "L" Shaped fangs. (Secondary trait)
   From: Rowe 1967, fig. 8.

8. Rectangular eyes, upturned rectangular pupils, angular superorbital ridges lacking kennings.
   From: Rowe 1967, fig. 9.

9. Square noses and forelocks.
   From: Rowe 1967, fig. 8

10. Serpent heads with a single line representing the eye, nose and mouth.
    From: Rowe 1967, fig. 15.

11. Lipbands bracketed at either the top or bottom of primary lipbands.
    From: Rowe 1967, fig. 19.

Figure 7. Elements of Period II Style.
PERIOD III STYLE

Period III is represented by two divergent cults that are distinguished by their subject-matter, which is either cayman-related or feline-related and their individual artistic styles.
PERIOD III

THE CAYMAN-RELATED STYLE

A revolutionary style that is characterized by cayman, human, and vegetal imagery. The shift to agricultural motifs represents an innovative approach that will be discussed further in this study. This style is seen as contemporary with the feline-related style but representative of an alternate semi-realistic cult that combines traditional and progressive Chavín traits. Earlier cayman imagery is found in Period II, the Fore Temple Lintel and the Yauya Stele, from a nearby site. Both reliefs have been identified as caymen.

Kennings are less important than in Periods I to III (the feline-related style), as are multiple imagery and repetition. The compositional structure is subordinated to a system of compartments or invisible rectangles of differing sizes. Minor figures compartmentalized within the whole figure take on symbolic associations according to compositional juxtapositions. (See Lathrap 1977: 333-351 for more detailed discussion of symbolic associations among images found on the Tello Obelisk.)
Figure 8. Period III: The Cayman-related style.
Drawing of the Tello Obelisk.
From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6.
1. Bracketed eyes with multiple bracketed superorbital ridges.
2. Multiple lipbands.
3. Striated fangs.
4. All fangs issuing from the top of the mouth.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6

5. Relations between felines and vegetable iconography.

From: Lathrap 1974, fig. 1R

6. Relations between felines and vegetable iconography and human beings.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6

Figure 9. Period III: Elements of the Cayman-related style.
PERIOD III

THE FELINE-RELATED STYLE

This style continues in the tradition established during Period II with less emphasis on the original concepts of that style and a proliferation of trait elements. Subject matter is indicative of the feline cult but differences occur in a nervous repetition of details, fear of negative space (horror vacuii), and non-descriptive combinations of traits.

A sterile central balance such as that seen on the Raimondi Stele (Figure 10) and a number of small modular repeats impart a static quality when compared to the vitality expressed in Period II. Repetitive multiple imagery and the subordination of the figure to its embellishments indicate an unsuccessful attempt to maintain the energy of that time.

This style represents the final vestiges of the feline cult. It occurs during the same time span as the alternate cayman cult which is seen in the style of the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics. The Raimondi Stele is a transitional piece and is placed in early Period III, while the Gotosh Monument is indicative of the final phase of the style.
Figure 10. Period III: The Feline-related style.

Drawing of the Raimondi Stele

From: Tello 1960, fig. 33
1. Downturned lipbands on primary mouths
   From: Tello 1960, fig. 33.

2. Space fillers: scrolls, recurred rays, fangs, snakes.
   From: Tello 1960, fig. 39.
   From: Tello 1960, fig. 52.
   From: Tello 1960, fig. 46.

3. Rectangular Eyes with concave tops and bowl shaped bottoms.
   From: Tello 1960, fig. 33.

4. Fangs and secondary teeth extending over the profile of the face.
   From: Roe 1974, fig. 23.

5. Long hooked claws.
   From: Roe 1974, fig. 23.

Figure 11. Period III: Elements of the Feline-related style.
ARGUMENTS FOR A PROPOSED REVISION OF ROWE'S CHAVIN CHRONOLOGY

From a paper read in Berkeley, California, at the Institute of Andean Studies by Maitland, Mowatt, Philipps and Watson 1976. The study was based on a four-part analysis of temple construction (Mowatt), stone carvings (Maitland), Chavín-related Carhua textiles (Watson), and Ofrendas ceramics (Phillips).

It has been previously noted that Period I and Period II styles are architecturally related to specific building stages. On the basis of a stylistic analysis of trait elements, the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics are thought to correspond to the later East Plaza Focus, or Period III. The main points of the argument are summarized below.

Analysis of decorated stone reliefs from Chavín indicated that stylistic traits:

1. Compose an extensive visual vocabulary and appear in a variety of modified and evolutive forms according to the period in which they are found.

2. Some traits are diagnostic of specific styles and act as chronological indicators whereas others function as archaisms that have been revived after prolonged periods of disuse.

Design and trait analysis supports a post-Period II date for the Tello Obelisk. A trait analysis of Circular Plaza carvings isolated four traits that are characteristic of Period II style:

1. Fangs overlapping their lipbands.

2. A frontal fang on a profile feline mouth.
3. Lipbands that curve over the profile of the face.
4. Triangular secondary teeth.

These traits indicate that there was an unbroken stylistic transition from the Old Temple - Circular Plaza reliefs of Period I (Rowe's AB) to the reliefs of the Black and White Portal, Period II (Rowe's D). This is schematized in diagram on the following page (Figure 12).

The Tello Obelisk shows traits that are indicative of Period II and Period III Styles (Figure 13).

1. Fangs extending over their lipbands.
2. Triangular secondary teeth.
3. Serpents with one line defining the eye, nose and mouth.
4. Bracket-pointed lipbands on primary mouths.
5. Frontal fangs on profile agnathic mouths.
6. Claws joined at the pads of the feet.

The Tello Obelisk is stylistically unrelated to either the Period I or Period II styles. Analysis demonstrates that it is representative of a third style characterized by the following traits and design conventions:

a. Striated fangs.
b. Multiple lipbands.
c. Bracketed eyes with multiple bracketed superorbital ridges.
d. Vegetal motifs.
e. Human imagery.
f. Compartmentalization.
g. Stylized naturalism.
Figure 12. Trait Analysis of Circular Plaza Carvings.

From: Rowe 1967, figs. 16 and 17 and photographs courtesy Christopher B. Donnan and Alan R. Sawyer

CIRCULAR PLAZA
(Transitional Sculptures)

1. Fangs overlapping their lipbands.

2. A frontal fang.

3. Lipband curving over the profile of the face.

4. Triangular Secondary teeth.
Figure 13. Drawing of the Tello Obelisk showing traits indicated on page 42.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6.
Innovative handling of the design space is seen in the depiction of realistically rendered individual compartmentalized images. In addition, a departure from the standard visual vocabulary is seen in representations of caymen, vegetal motifs, and human beings. With the exception of the Fore Temple Lintel and the Yauya Stele, indications of these concepts are lacking in Periods I and II sculptures.

The University of British Columbia paper proposes that the cayman-related and feline-related cults co-existed during Period III. Feline subject matter confirms the continuance of the cult throughout the final phases of Chavín art; however, repetition of details and confused trait combinations imply a loss of artistic discipline and a misunderstanding of the basic design conventions of earlier styles. Innovative handling of space and design and lack of conformity to traditional subject matter shown in the Tello Obelisk denotes the existence of an alternate style.

Symbolic connotations of agricultural fertility and their relations to Chavín cosmology and the Tello Obelisk have been discussed in depth by Lathrap (Lathrap 1974). The U. B. C. paper argues that the Obelisk reflects the existence of an alternate symbolic system that arose out of a disaffection with the feline cult and a concern of allied coastal people with agriculture.

Analysis of Carhua textiles and Ofrendas ceramics further supports this hypothesis. In the late 1960's textile fragments known to have come from the Carhua area on the South Coast appeared on the art market (Sawyer 1972: 92). The designs on the textiles are related to the complex iconography of Chavín stone reliefs. A trait analysis indicated that the majority of the sample dated to Period II and none were earlier. Some that were later in date (Post-Period II) showed characteristics associated with the Style of the Tello Obelisk. Vegetal imagery, caymen,
a stylized naturalism, and compartmentalization were recognized as indicators of the Tello Obelisk Style.

An examination of Ofrendas ceramics indicated a stylistic affinity to the Tello Obelisk. Ofrendas ceramics show caymen and vegetal motifs, as well as Tello Obelisk traits such as striated fangs, multiple lipbands and bracketed eyes and a stylized naturalism.

Lumbreras argues that because the Ofrendas Gallery is located underneath the north side of the Circular Plaza, and the ceramics of the gallery are stylistically associated with the Tello Obelisk, the date of the Obelisk is confirmed as contemporary with the Circular Plaza (Rowe: C) (Lumbreras 1977: 16). There is, however, no similarity between the style of the sculptures of the Circular Plaza and the Tello Obelisk or Ofrendas ceramics.

In addition, sherds found by Tello in the fill of the South Temple Platform (Figure 2) are similar to Ofrendas ceramics, thus suggesting late architectural associations with the East Plaza Focus of Period III.

The U.B.C. study concluded that the Tello Obelisk was improperly dated in Rowe's sequence and that it represents an alternate cult based on a mythic structure which takes the cayman as its supreme deity. Stylistic analysis of stone reliefs, textiles, and ceramics, and corresponding correlations to periods of temple construction all support the proposed revised chronology which places the Tello Obelisk in Period III.
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<tr>
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<td>Lanzón</td>
<td>PERIOD I: LANZÓN FELINE CORNICES</td>
<td>EPOCH I: CHAVÍN ANTIGUO</td>
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<td>ROCAS GALLERY CERAMICS</td>
<td>CIRCULAR PLAZA SCULPTURES</td>
<td>OFRENDAS GALLERY CERAMICS, WACHESQCA MOSNA, RAKU CERAMICS</td>
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<td>OFRENDAS GALLERY CERAMICS</td>
<td>PERIOD II: BLACK AND WHITE Portal SCULPTURES ROCAS CERAMICS</td>
<td>EPOCH II: CHAVÍN TARDIO ROCAS CERAMICS</td>
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<td>EF: RAIMONDI STELE</td>
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<td>600</td>
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<td>GOTOSH MONUMENT</td>
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Figure 14. A review of the four Chavín chronologies proposed by Rowe (1964), Lumbreras (1971, 1977) and the U.B.C. Study (1976).
CHAPTER THREE
Figure 15. Map of the Chicama Valley.
From: Larco 1948: 9
The North Coast is generally described as the area between the Casma and Lambayeque River Valleys including those of the Jequetepeque, or Pacasmayo, Chicama, Moche, Virú, Santa and Nepeña. The Lambayeque Valley and the territory north to the Chira River is defined as the "Far" North Coast (Sawyer 1975) (Figure 1).

In 1933, Julio C. Tello partially excavated a temple structure at Cerro Blanco, a ceremonial complex in the Nepeña (Figure 1). Initial construction levels revealed remains of adobe reliefs decorated with painted Chavín designs. This stratigraphic evidence led Tello to deduce the relative age of Chavín as pre-Chimu (Tello 1943: 137). Fragments of blackware vessels with incised motifs resembling those found at Chavín were associated with rubble that had been used as fill in subsequent building stages (Tello 1943, pl. XIVa). Tello's excavations confirmed the existence of a coastal Chavín culture which varied in degrees of stylistic purity when compared to the stone carvings at Chavín.

The following quotation demonstrates Tello's thoughts on the meaning of his finds:

The Nepeña discovery definitely cleared up the true character of Chavín culture on the coast. In the first place, it is now proved that this culture was rich in representative material, that it was unmistakable in its distinctive features, and identical to the trans-Andine culture in its essential characteristics. In the second place, it was demonstrated that its
remains occupy a lower stratum than the cultures regarded by
other investigators as the first and oldest in Peru. The Chavín
people developed on virgin soil in the Nepeña Valley a civiliza-
tion without precedent in respect to both originality and
excellence of artistic production. The same architectural
style, employment of the same kind of decorative and symbolic
motifs, and particular methods of utilizing local materials,
adapting them to pre-established standards give the Chavín
culture features of its own.

(Tello 1943: 139)

It is evident that Tello recognized the coastal impact of Chavín
dispersion and the distinctive character of regional styles which
flourished as a result of its influence.

In 1934 Rafael Larco Hoyle visited a barren riverbed (quebrada)
in the desolate Cupisnique Valley to the north of the Chicama Valley
(Figure 15). He called it the "Pampa de los Fósiles" because of the
numerous lime concretions on its surface (Bennett 1939: 90). From
the surface of the quebrada, Larco collected incised sherds that he
recognized as having similarities to those which Tello called coastal
Chavín. During this time, complete vessels, said to come from the
Chicama Valley, were being sold by local 'huaqueros'. Larco felt that
because the ceramics were technically related the sherds he had found
on the Cupisnique Quebrada he called them "Cupisnique" (Larco 1941: 8).

In 1936, Wendell C. Bennett conducted a survey of North Coast
archaeological sites. His descriptions of Cerro Blanco, the Cupisnique
Quebrada, and Chongojape, a site in the upper Lambayeque Valley (Figure 1),
are of specific interest in that they summarized North Coast Chavín-
related finds up to that time (Bennett 1939: 17-133).

While at the Cupisnique Quebrada, Bennett gathered a total of 1435 sherds from the surface of the "Pampa de los Fósiles". An analysis of the sample indicated that approximately fifty percent were similar to the type previously identified by Larco as Cupisnique (Bennett 1939: 92). In Bennett's opinion, this confirmed the existence of Chavín cultural influences in the Cupisnique Quebrada.

The following quotation illustrates his thoughts on the subject:

The polished and incised black, brown, and redware, and two-color incised and polished wares are, without doubt, of the type ceramics called "Chavín Coast style" by Tello and, following the discovery of this quebrada, "Cupisnique style" by Larco. Comparison of the pieces with whole vessels found in the Chicama Valley shows that the sherds correspond in type ware, shapes, characteristic thick stirrup-spouts with projecting edge rims, and design.

(Bennett 1939: 92)

In 1938, information regarding the location of graves in the Chicama reached Larco and by 1939 he had located and excavated burials in three cemeteries (Barbacoa, Palenque, and Salinar) on the Hacienda Sausal, as well as six others, all in the Chicama Valley (Larco 1946: 149) (Figure 15). Unfortunately, the cemeteries had been previously looted and much of Larco's sample lacks grave association because it was purchased from grave robbers (p. c.: A. R. Sawyer 1978).

These findings did, however, enable Larco to arrive at a clearer understanding of the temporal position of North Coast ceramic styles.
Grave stratigraphy, although somewhat unreliable, indicated that Moche and Chimú ceramics were superimposed on top of Cupisnique levels and therefore post-dated that culture (Larco 1941: 8; 1946: 150).

In the same year, a survey of the Virú Valley headed by Ford and Willey found that Chavín-influenced cultures in the Virú and Chicama overlaid a long pre-ceramic phase (Willey and Corbett 1954: Introduction, xiii).

Larco believed that Cupisnique ceramics were representative of a distinct culture which he described as 'similar' but different from that which had produced the stone carvings at Chavín (Larco 1941: 8). Tello's discoveries of large ceremonial complexes in the Nepeña led Larco to postulate that Cupisnique ceramics were part of an independent feline cult that had originated in that area. He argued that the "Nepeña Culture" had established religious outposts in the Casma, at Paracas on the South Coast, and in the Central and Northern Highlands. The temple at Chavín was, in Larco's opinion, a satellite pilgrimage site (Larco 1941: 2). Today, it is generally accepted that Chavín was the religious center of the culture and that decorative motifs on coastal temples and artifacts were influenced by the style and iconography of its stone reliefs.

Larco published *Los Cupisniques* in 1941. Ten graves are listed, but none of the contents are described in detail and photographs are so poor that iconographic details which may have provided information on stylistic associations are obscured. Most of the ceramics illustrated were obtained from local "huaqueros" and lack provenience. Those in the collection of Victor Larco Herrera, Larco's uncle, and now in the Museo Nacional in Lima, were acquired from the same sources.
Based on his observations of the sample and grave stratigraphy, Larco published a chronological synopsis of Chicama Valley cultures in 1948. He cites seven Epochs from Pre-Ceramic times until the Conquest. Each Epoch is divided into three Periods: "Inicial", "Medio", and "Último". Cupisnique culture was placed in the third or "Evolutiva" Epoch. The following diagram is excerpted from Larco's chronology:

TABLE 1. Synopsis of Cultures of the Chicama Valley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÉPOCA</th>
<th>PERÍODO</th>
<th>CULTURAS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>EVOLUTIVA</td>
<td>Salinar</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Virú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cupisnique - Santa Ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>MEDIO</td>
<td>Cupisnique - Transitorio</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cupisnique</td>
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<tr>
<td>INICIAL</td>
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<td>Pre-Cupisnique</td>
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(From: Larco 1948: 10)

The "Inicial" Period recognized the existence of a pre-Chavín/pre-Cupisnique ceramic culture (Larco 1948: 13-16). The "Medio" Period was subdivided into Cupisnique, Cupisnique Transitorio and Cupisnique-Santa Ana. The following is a summary of Larco's analysis of the Cupisnique, Cupisnique Transitorio, and Santa Ana ceramic styles.

1. Cupisnique ceramics were decorated with incised, modeled and relief images that included anthropomorphs, zoomorphs and phytomorphs. The most common subjects were religious in character and, in Larco's opinion, influenced by the stylized feline deity of the Nepeña Valley. Technical observation indicated that the ceramics were reduction ware of uneven texture and colour (brown, black or grey-yellow). Imperfections in the colour and texture occurred as a result of incomplete
control during the firing process. Larco identified four distinct stirrup and spout forms and noted that a specific spout form always corresponded to a certain type of stirrup handle (Larco 1941: 36). Opportunities for seriating Cupisnique ceramics on changes in vessel shape will be pursued at a later point in this study.

2. Cupisnique Transitorio ceramics have predominantly geometric designs, many of which are symbolic abbreviations of Cupisnique motifs and the Chavín-related religious element is either simplified or non-existent. For this reason, they have been omitted from this study. Processes of reduction firing continue but an advanced technical knowledge produced a higher quality ceramic with a finer texture and clearer colour.

3. Cupisnique-Santa Ana ceramics were classified as late local variants of the Cupisnique style. They show South Coast traits such as whistle spouts and corn popper shapes evidently carried north by the Salinar and Virú cultures that appear at the close of the Cupisnique period (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1979). They do not exhibit Chavín-related iconography and for this reason discussion of the style is omitted from this study. (See Larco 1948: 19-22.)

Larco's 1939 excavations re-affirmed his conviction that Chicama ceramics were the same as those that he had recovered from the "Pampa de los Fósiles" in the Cupisnique Quebrada (Larco 1946: 140). In recent years this opinion has been questioned.

Between 1964 and 1968, Alan R. Sawyer made several reconnaissance trips to the Cerro Zorro region of the central Cupisnique Quebrada in the company of Fritz Smichek, a local antiquarian who had visited the area numerous times and acted as his guide. Neither was able to identify any Chavín-related sherds among those they found, and Smichek stated
that he had never found a single Chavín-related sherd in his many trips to the area (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1979).

While in Berkeley in 1979, the author was able to examine sherds given to A. L. Kroeber by Larco in 1939 (Lowie Museum Accession #6565). No precise provenience is given but they were alleged to have been found by Larco on the Cupisnique Quebrada. Among them, a fragment from a long necked bottle with a striated fang motif is similar to those seen on some Ofrendas ceramics (Lumbreras 1974: Fig. 17b). Others are of a type usually associated with Chongojape "feathered" ware (Lumbreras 1971, Figs. 8b, 8c).

What percentage of the sherds that Bennett collected from the Cupisnique Quebrada were of the type illustrated by Larco in *Los Cupisniques* is unknown. None of the sherds given to Kroeber that are now in the Lowie Museum corresponds to those indicated by Larco as coming from Chicama graves.

In the early years of Chavín studies, many ceramics attributed to the Chavín period proved after more thorough research, to be from other North Coast cultures, particularly the Chimú. Larco and Tello both fell into this trap simply because they were pioneers in the field. Today the existence of a variety of regional Chavín-related styles are known but their proveniences are vague.

The above observations give credence to Alan R. Sawyer's suggestion that Larco's use of the term Cupisnique for ceramics found in Chicama graves may be a misnomer (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1978).

During the 1960's many ceramics said to come from cemeteries near Tembladera, a town in the Upper Jequetepeque, appeared on the international art market. Undoubtedly this group included material from other sites as well. Technically and stylistically, some of the ceramics resemble
Larco's Cupisnique sample while others display characteristics of other regional styles. Those with Chavín-related traits are important additions to this study.

Many ceramics with identifiable North Coast Chavín-related imagery that are traditionally said to come from the North Coast are included because it is felt that their inherent significance is too important to be overlooked.

Recent North Coast discoveries that are pertinent to this study are: a joint publication on the adobe reliefs from Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley by M. Edward Mosely and Louis Watanabe (1974) and, more currently, Thomas Pozorsky's archaeological excavations (Pozorsky 1975: 211-251) and William J. Conklin's analysis of the architectural sequence at the same site (Conklin unpublished paper delivered at Berkeley 1980).
CHAPTER FOUR
ANALYSIS OF THE CERAMIC SAMPLE

Analysis of the ceramic sample will be accomplished through the following methods:

TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS: a classification according to thematic content.

TRAIT ANALYSIS: analysis of stylistic details.

CERAMIC FORM: an identification of vessel shape.

TECHNIQUE: the use of varying decorative techniques.

GRAVE ASSOCIATION: data on the contemporaneity of ceramics in a single tomb.

CERAMIC SUMMARY: an iconographic discussion of individual ceramics, including design analysis.

TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Tello, Rowe, Lathrap and others have identified jaguars, harpy eagles, caymen, and anacondas, all jungle animals, on the stone reliefs from Chavín. Tello was the first to note a dominant feline cult (Tello 1923: 583-606; 1929: 83). The majority of stone reliefs depict felines, anthropomorphic felines, feline-raptorial birds or feline serpents, while a smaller percentage includes snakes, fish, human beings, and an assortment of symbolic images and vegetal motifs.

Rowe postulates hierarchical distinctions within the imagery classifying the Lanzón, Raimondi Stele and Tello Obelisk as cult objects and others as architectural embellishments with secondary status (Rowe
1967: 83). On the basis of evidence known to Rowe at the time of his study, he was able to propose that the staff god, an anthropomorphic feline with outstretched arms holding staff-like objects had "more than local importance" (Rowe 1967: 86). This was further substantiated by the discovery of a group of textiles from Carhua on the South Coast (Sawyer 1972: 91-92). Many fragments depict staff gods dating to Rowe's Phase D (Period II) or later (Cordy-Collins 1977: 360-361; Maitland, Mowatt, Phillips, and Watson 1976).

Tello believed the image on the Tello Obelisk was feline, but Rowe has argued for a crocodilian or, more precisely, cayman interpretation (Tello 1923: 583-606, 1929: 83, 1960: 177-78; Rowe 1962: 18, 1967: 83). In 1971, Donald W. Lathrap presented convincing data for the acceptance of Rowe's hypothesis. Lathrap describes the Obelisk as a visual expression of a complex mythic structure in which the cayman is symbolic of agricultural fertility (Lathrap 1971, 1974). In 1976, the U.B.C. Study proposed that the Obelisk represented a religious schism brought about by an increased emphasis on agricultural fertility.

Archaeological discoveries on the Central Coast indicate that imagery associated with the Obelisk is found in that area (Lumbreras 1977: 17). For example, cayman-raptorial bird images are seen on fragments of tapestry weave textiles from Ancón-Supe (Willey and Corbett 1954: pl. 24). In addition, cayman-related imagery has been found on Carhua textiles from the South Coast (U.B.C. Study 1976). These discoveries and interpretations suggest that cults other than the feline gained power and were manifest in regional Chavín-related styles. Chronological comparisons between Chavín imagery and periods of diffusion indicate that motifs on North Coast ceramics may provide clues to the sequence of events at Chavín itself.
TYPOLOGY: A classification according to thematic content.

Observation of the sample indicates that Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics and associated North Coast ceramics that are thematically related to Chavín stone reliefs fall into six groups. These groups are listed below according to their relative frequency:

1. Felines
2. Feline-raptorial birds
3. Human beings
4. Anthropomorphic felines
5. Human heads on vegetable forms
6. Snakes and Feline Serpents
7. Isolated Symbols

An alternate list which would reflect Chavín hierarchical status would place anthropomorphic felines in first place, then felines, feline-raptorial birds, snakes and feline serpents, human beings, human heads on vegetable forms, and isolated symbols.

1. Felines
   a) Full Figure Felines:

   A variety of full figure felines are found on Chavín reliefs. Stylized felines composed of multiple kennings contrast with less kenned semi-naturalistic depictions. Stylistic complexity is unusual in the current sample with the exception of Figure 16 which shows similarities to Ofrendas ceramics (see Lumbreras 1971, Fig. 11). In general, the sample consists of unkenned felines such as those seen in Figures 17 and 18.
Figure 16. Vessel 4. A full figure profile feline.
Rollout courtesy Alan R. Sawyer.
Figure 17. Vessel 60. A full figure modeled feline.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 18. Vessel 50. A full figure partially modeled feline.

Photo courtesy of The British Museum
b) Profile Feline Heads:

An examination of Larco's Cupisnique sample indicates that a number of fine line incised profile feline head vessels were found in the Chicama Valley. They have irregular rectangular eyes, square-cornered upturned lipbands, and straight-sided rectangular fangs encompassed by lipbands. The distinguishing characteristic of this image is a row of fangs and teeth extending around the upper and lower profile of the face. The bottom lipband curls under the chin and the top curves into an upper fang. Lines extruding from the mouth normally lead to a second feline profile head similar to the first (Figure 19). Variations include the treatment of the crest of the head (the superorbital ridge), location of the ears, number of teeth, number of lines defining features, and degree of rectilinearity achieved in the rendering of lines. A prototype for this image is found in the Gotosh Monument which is dated to Period III, the final period of the revised stone chronology. Peter Roe has also noted the similarity between the profile feline heads from the Chicama and the Gotosh Monument in his 1974 study of Chavín iconography (Roe 1974: 29).

A third image found on ceramics said to come from the Tembladera area combines a profile feline head similar to the Gotosh Monument with an abstracted feline body and snake appendages (Figure 20). This image is related to both the Gotosh Monument and the profile feline heads in Larco's Cupisnique sample.

2. Feline-Raptorial Birds

The body of a feline is combined with wings and a raptorial bird beak. Rowe and Lathrap have argued that raptorial birds are either
Figure 19. Vessel 42: Profile feline heads.

From: Larco 1941, rollout from Chapter Heading IV, page 9
Figure 20. Vessel 32. Profile feline with abstracted feline body.

Rollout courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
hawks or harpy eagles (Rowe 1967: 82; Lathrap 1971: 76-77). They appear in Period I (Rowe 1967, figs. 11-13) and continue throughout the entire sequence of Chavín art. They may have functioned as "guardians of the deity" and their dominance in the imagery of North Coast ceramics is likely the result of their highly visible profile and traditionally close physical and symbolic association with the deity. Two types of feline-raptorial birds have been identified in the present sample: splayed and profile figures. They will be discussed under separate headings.

a) **Splayed Figures**:

The body is spread, feet are turned outward, wings are outstretched and the head is in profile. This pose resembles that found on Period I reliefs at Chavín (Rowe 1967, figs. 11-13). In the North Coast sample this image is found on ceramics that exhibit numerous Chavín traits (Figure 21).

b) **Profile Feline-Raptorial Birds**

Two types of profile feline-raptorial birds occur in the sample; one is a complex figure in strapwork relief; the other is a simplified rendering in broad line incision. Both have feline bodies with upturned heads, frontal paws under the chin, and wings extending outwards from the back of the body.

The strapwork examples have a profusion of agnathic mouths which fill up the design space. The majority of these images have double outlining similar to the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics. They have round or square cornered upturned lipbands and frontal paws with three lines representing claws (Figure 22).
Figure 21. Vessel 1. A splayed feline-raptor bird.

Photo courtesy Alana Cordy-Collins
Figure 22. Vessel 21. A profile feline-raptorial bird.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
The broad line incised images have round corner mouths encompassing straight-sided fangs and lipbands that curve around the profile of the face (Figure 23). Eyes are round and pupils are missing. Claws are long and recurved on the upturned paw. Claws on the hind foot are often joined onto the pad of the foot. Evidence of this type of image in the stone reliefs at Chavín is lacking, but subject matter and Chavín-related traits indicate that it was influenced by the stone style. Reduced versions were found by Larco in Tombs 17 and 21 at Barbacoa (Larco 1941, figs. 23 and 210). Feline-raptorial bird heads are identifiable as reductions of the original full figure version (Figure 24).

A modeled feline-raptorial bird is iconographically divergent from the current sample and has been omitted because it is judged to be of questionable authenticity. It is stylistically associated with a group of ceramics said to come from the Tembladera area (See Lapiner 1976, fig. 72).

3. Human Beings

Human heads are identifiable by their downturned fangless mouths and upcurling noses. Eyebrows are omitted and usually a distinctive peaked headdress covers the head (Figure 25). The peaked headdress is often associated with modeled vegetable form ceramics and Alan Sawyer has suggested that it may denote a plant form such as a leaf or seed pod (p. c.: Alan Sawyer 1980).

A group of dismembered human heads interconnected by a series of lines that appear on angular-sided ceramics (Figure 26) may be indicative of a trophy head cult. Evidence of a trophy head cult is seen in a Chavín figure which holds a severed human head in its hand (Rowe 1967, fig. 20).
Figure 23. Vessel 9. A profile feline-raptorial bird.

Rollout courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 24. Vessel 18. A profile feline-raptorial bird, head.

Photo courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian
Figure 25. Vessel 67. Human heads on a vegetable form ceramic.

Photo courtesy of the Museum of the American Indian
Figure 26. A vessel depicting possible trophy heads. (See VESSEL 75)

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer

Private collection: Lima
Larco discovered a finely modeled vessel portraying a human face incised with numerous lines as if to indicate old age (Figure 27). The face of the human on the vessel is similar in style to that found on a full figure seated man shown in Figure 28. Photographs in *Los Cupisniques* indicate that it was found in Tomb 19 at Barbacoa in the same grave as an angular-sided vessel with incised human head imagery of the type discussed above (Figure 26). The depiction of naturalistic imagery such as that seen in Figures 27 and 28 is characteristic of a distinctly regional style based on realistic representations of the human figure and has not been factored into this study because it is unrelated to the art of Chavín.

4. **Anthropomorphic Felines**

Anthropomorphic feline images are uncommon and representations of entire figures such as that seen in Figure 29 are rare. These figures show varying regional and Chavín-related traits. Figure 29 shows bowl shaped eyes similar to those seen on the anthropomorphic feline from the Gotosh Monument and a slab-like mouth and fangs like those seen on adobe sculptures from Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley (Pozorsky 1975, fig. 1).

Regional traits such as irregular rectangular eyes, downturned fanged lipbands, straight-sided rectangular fangs and an upturned scroll nose are seen in Figure 30. The divergent nature of the traits associated with both figures indicate that there was no standard representation of the anthropomorphic feline image on the North Coast.
Figure 27. Vessel portraying a modeled human head.

From: Larco 1941, fig. 266, Tomb 19

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 28. A vessel depicting a full figure modeled human being.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 29. Vessel 61. A modeled anthropomorphic feline.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 30. Vessel 36. Two anthropomorphic felines.

From Larco 1941: Rollout, p. 134.
5. **Human Heads and Vegetable Forms**

Modeled vegetable form ceramics are usually found in conjunction with fine line incised human heads. The juxtaposition of human beings and vegetal motifs is thematically associated with the Tello Obelisk. One vegetable has been identified by Larco as a yucca (Larco 1941, fig. 57). Possibly a second species is seen in Figure 31; however, Alan Sawyer has suggested that this shape may represent a bundle of trophy heads inside of a net bag (p. c.: A. Sawyer, 1980). This is based on an observation made by Jane Dwyer that net bags containing trophy heads are carried by Paracas embroidered figures (p. c.: Alan Sawyer, 1980, from Jane Dwyer, doctoral dissertation).

6. **Snakes and Feline Serpents**

In 1974, Peter Roe made the distinction between the two varieties of snakes depicted on Chavín stone reliefs. The "simple snake", or viper, has a lenticular eye, a nostril hole for a nose and a single line demarking the mouth. The "collared cat-snake" or feline serpent, is portrayed with a cat ear, a neck collar, and feline mouth with single or double fangs (Roe 1974: 10).

Representations of snakes are uncommon in the North Coast sample. Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics show few kennings and this may account for the lack of snake imagery which occurs on many kenned images on Chavín stone reliefs. Snake imagery is found on ceramics that are closely related to Chavín stone iconography and its absence in ceramics of more regional character is suggestive of a localized disregard for standard Chavín design conventions.
Figure 31. Vessel 71. A modeled ceramic with human head imagery.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Feline serpents are usually modeled or partially modeled. The entire body is covered with pelt marks that are characteristic of the anaconda. The feline serpent is found on stone reliefs from Chavín from Period I onwards (Tello 1960, fig. 71) (Figure 32).

A group of long snouted profile heads executed in fine line incision may be feline serpents. All show traits that are diagnostic of modeled feline serpents: long snouts (twice the length of ordinary profile feline heads), single fangs issuing from the top of the lipband, and various mouth extrusions, one of which (Figure 33) is similar to that found on the feline serpent cornice at Chavín (Tello 1960, fig. 71). Compositional consistency indicates that this is a homogeneous group rather than a series of aberrant images. A hunchback figure said to come from Tembladera has two interconnected stylized serpents incised on its back (Figure 34). A rollout of the design shows appendages similar to those which function as symbolic snakes on other ceramics (Larco 1941, figs. 19 and 38). The composition of the image is similar to a simplified rendition seen in Figure 35. An alternate interpretation of the feline serpent image would suggest a possible cayman identification but this is less likely in light of the above iconographic evidence.

7. Isolated Symbols

As previously noted, symbolic devices were used throughout all periods of Chavín art. The S-curve or peanut shape is reproduced on three low relief, nearly identical feline-raptorial bird vessels (Figure 20).
Figure 32. Vessel 54. A partially modeled feline serpent.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 33. Vessel 29. A possible feline serpent.

From: Larco 1941: 31
Figure 34a. A hunchback figure with a feline serpent design incised on its back. Vessel alleged to come from the Tembladera area.

Figure 34b. A rollout of the feline serpent motif.

Photos courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 35. Vessel 30. A feline serpent motif.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Larco discusses the symbolic element in Cupisnique Transitorio ceramics. He describes their geometric nature noting a frequency of "crosses, angles, concentric circles, rudimentary stairways, broken lines, volutes, romboids, and frets" which represent symbolic Chavín traits such as jaguar tail volutes, concentric pelt marks, feline eyes, and serpent head crests (Larco 1948: 19). Comparison of these motifs with similar motifs on Cupisnique ceramics in the sample indicates that the symbolic designs that Larco refers to are derived from those sources (Figure 36).

Symbolic ceramics have been omitted from the trait analysis because they lack sufficient diagnostic Chavín-related traits (Figure 36). A discussion of symbolic elements on individual specimens has been included in the ceramic summary.

A SUMMARY OF THE TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Profile human heads on modeled vegetable form ceramics and feline-raptorial birds comprise the bulk of the imagery found in the present sample. These are followed in order of decreasing quantity by felines, feline serpents, snakes, and anthropomorphic felines.
Figure 36. A vessel depicting symbolic Chavín-related motifs.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Most Chavín traits have long and continuous histories, yet undergo radical alterations over specific periods of time. In a study of Ocucaje ceramics, Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson proved that an examination of regional Chavín-related traits could provide information regarding the sequence of events at Chavín when they found that the bracket-pointed lipband of Rowe's Chavín Phase D corresponded to a similar trait found on Chavín-influenced Ocucaje 4 and 5 ceramics (Rowe 1967: 76). In recent years the discovery of Carhua textiles and Ofrendas ceramics has modified the Ocucaje chronology but their original proposition remains valid.

The introduction of a trait often foreshadows a new Period Style (U.B.C. Study, 1976). Once a trait is introduced, it either remains in circulation or reappears at a later date. The reappearance of an earlier trait is a form of "archaism", defined as the direct imitation or revival of earlier traits or styles. Archaism is found throughout the entire sequence of Chavín art and has contributed significantly to the confusion surrounding the dating of Chavín or Chavín-related artifacts.

In 1974, Peter Roe completed a study designed to augment the number of artifacts assigned to Rowe's Chavín chronology in order to "make the content of each period more explicit" (Roe 1974: 10). He listed 148 'features' which he described as "stylistically discernible units (Roe 1974: 10). When they were listed on a chart, some features clustered in individual phases while others reappeared regularly throughout the sequence. Unfortunately, Roe tended to choose features that were explicit rather than universal; in other words, those that were indicative of individual artifacts instead of entire phases.
For this study, an alternate approach which omits secondary traits or features and isolates primary traits occurring on both Chavín stone reliefs and North Coast ceramics has been chosen. In addition, traits that are indicative of Chavín-related Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics have been factored into the study in order to demonstrate the regional characteristics of those ceramics.

The relative date of a ceramic may be determined by correlating progressive or innovative traits with the chronological periods in which they first appear at Chavín. This will show that a ceramic corresponds to a stone period no earlier than that which is indicated by its most progressive trait. Observations made at the time of the U.B.C. Study (1976) determined that types of eyes, lipbands, fangs, claws, or combinations of these are sensitive indicators of stylistic and chronological change.

Pointed corner mouths and frontal fangs on profile faces, two traits indicative of Period II, have been omitted because they are absent from the current sample. This exclusion may be chronologically significant.

A second omission is the rectangular eye with concave bottom, inverted bowl shape top, and eccentric pupil which first appears as a secondary trait on Period II carvings. Its usage as a primary trait is rare and as a secondary trait it is often combined with agnathic mouths. Examples of this can be seen on the Raimondi Stele (Figure 10).

Superorbital ridges conform to the shape of the eye. When the eye is geometric, it reflects that shape, and when it is curvilinear, the same is true. In Period I superorbital ridges are kennd as serpents, but in Period II the kennings are replaced by geometric forms. Occasion-
ally they are omitted from primary faces and normally they are lacking over secondary eyes associated with agnathic mouths.

The U.B.C. Study has indicated that there is a chronological differentiation between square and triangular secondary teeth. Square teeth are associated with Period I, whereas triangular teeth are indicative of Period II and the cayman-related and feline-related styles of Period III. Secondary teeth on North Coast ceramics are not diagnostic as stylistic indicators and have been excluded from the trait list.

In summary, Chavín traits that occur on both stone carvings and regional ceramics, and are chronologically indicative of specific stone periods, are listed according to their first appearance within the stone sequence. Introduction and duration are discussed in order to establish reasons for the placement of each Chavín trait within a specific stone period. Distinctions between primary and secondary usage have been noted.

The order of regional traits is based on their correspondence to the ceramic sequence established by the chronological ordering of Chavín traits. Choice of traits was based on frequency of appearance within the total sample. No attempt was made to seriate the sample according to regional traits.

I. **CHAVÍN TRAITS**

Chavín traits are listed in order of their appearance within the revised stone chronology outlined in Figure 3.

Traits 1 - 2: appear in Period I and continue throughout the entire stone sequence.
Traits 3 - 5: are indicative of Period II and the reliefs of the Black and White Portal.

Traits 6 - 9: represent Period III, the cayman-related style of the Tello Obelisk.

Traits 10 - 12: are characteristic of Period III and the style of the Gotosh Monument.

Traits 6 - 9 and 10 - 12 are more or less chronologically equivalent (all Period III), but representative of two divergent cults; the cayman cult or the feline cult, and their corresponding artistic styles.

1. The Rounded Corner Mouth
   This is the simplest and earliest form of the Chavín mouthband. It occurs in all periods of Chavín art (Figure 37).

2. Upturned Lipbands With Rounded Corners
   This mouth is characteristic of Period II style, especially the Black and White Portal reliefs and may have had its prototype in the Lanzón mouth of Period I (Rowe 1967, fig.5). A Period II example is shown in Figure 38 (see also Tello 1960, fig. 39).

3. Fangs Overlapping Lipbands
   This trait is diagnostic of Period II reliefs from the Black and White Portal area. It is one of the principal chronological indicators of the transition between Circular Plaza sculptures and the Black and White Portal Style of Period II (see trait analysis of Circular Plaza sculptures). The frontal fang seen on the profile feline-raptorial bird in Figure 39 is also indicative of Period II but does not occur in the
Figure 37. Drawing of the feline and feline serpent cornice from the south-west corner of the new temple.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 17
Figure 38. Drawing of the eagle cornice from the Black and White Portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 16

Upturned lipband with rounded corners.
Fangs extending over the lipband.

Figure 39. Drawing of a profile eagle from the cornice of the Black and White Portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 16
regional sample (see page 91 for a discussion of this motif). During Period III fangs continue to extend well beyond their lipbands.

4. Lipbands Extending Over The Profile Of The Face

The initial appearance of this trait is found on transitional reliefs from the Circular Plaza (Lumbreras 1977, fig. 27) (Figure 12) but it is indicative of Period II Style and the Black and White Portal reliefs, where it appears as a primary trait, and continues to be used as a primary trait during Period III (Rowe 1967, fig. 9) (Figure 40).

5. "L" Shaped Fangs

Fangs which turn outwards to form a right angle first occur as secondary traits in the sculptures of the Black and White Portal (Period II). In all periods they are most often associated with agnathic mouths. Examples are found on the feline-raptorial birds of the Black and White Portal frieze. "L" shaped fangs appear more frequently during Period III; the Raimondi Stele (Figure 10) is an excellent example of the use of this trait (Figure 41).

6. Claws Joined At The Pads Of The Feet

First evidence of this trait is found on a feline-raptorial bird from the Black and White Portal frieze. During Period II it appears as a secondary trait and does not become a primary trait until Period III when it is found in association with the Tello Obelisk (the small feline at the top of the Obelisk) and Ofrendas ceramics. It is more commonly seen on Ofrendas ceramics than on stone reliefs (See Lumbreras 1971: figs. 11-13). (Figure 43)
Lipbands extending over the profile of the face.

Figure 40. Rollout of the north column from the Black and White Portal, hawk figures.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 8
"L" shaped fang.

Figure 41. Rollout of the north column from the Black and White Portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 8
Figure 42. Drawing of a hawk figure from the Black and White Portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 15

"L" shaped fang.
Figure 43. Claws joined at the pads of the feet. See Figure 42 for photograph of the hawk figure from the Black and White Portal (Rowe 1967, fig. 15).
7. Bracketed Lipbands On Primary Mouths

The bracketed lipband appears as a secondary trait during Period I when it functions as a kenned backbone or wingband (see Rowe 1967, fig. 13).

The first use of the bracketed lipband as a primary trait is found on the Fore Temple Lintel of Late Period II, and during Period III it appears as a primary trait on the Tello Obelisk (Figures 44 and 45).

8. Long Snout

One of the diagnostic characteristics of the cayman is its long snout, almost twice as long as the usual feline snout. This cayman trait is combined with a row of fangs that project from the top of the lipband. Both these traits are seen in the Tello Obelisk illustrated in Figure 46. As noted in the typological analysis, a long snouted figure has been identified as a feline serpent in the Cupisnique-Tembladera sample. Generally Chavín feline serpents have shorter snouts, indicating a possible mixture of cayman-serpent imagery may have occurred on the North Coast.

9. Striated Fangs

Striated fangs function as primary traits on the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics (see Lumbreras 1971, figs. 18-21). This trait is associated only with cayman-related imagery and is therefore restricted to Period III of the Chavín chronology. (Figure 47)
Figure 44. Drawing of the reconstructed Fore Temple Lintel showing a bracketed lipband as a primary mouth.

From: Roe 1974, fig. 9
Bracketed lipband on primary mouth.

Figure 45. Drawing of the Tello Obelisk.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6
Figure 46. Detail of a drawing of the head of the cayman from the Tello Obelisk showing its long snout.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6
Figure 47. Drawing of the Tello Obelisk.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 6
10. Fangs Extending Over The Upper Profile Of The Face

First seen on the south column of the Black and White Portal (Period II) as a secondary trait with teeth extending over the upper profile of kenned images (Figure 48).

During Period III it assumes primary importance and an extra fang is added to the top of the toothband (Figure 49).

11. Long Hooked Claws

Claws on the feet of feline and raptorial-bird images become progressively longer as the art style evolves. A comparison of those on the reconstructed Fore Temple Lintel (Tello 1960, figs. 59, 61 and 68) (Figure 50) with the Gotosh Monument (Figure 51) shows a progression in the style of this trait.

It is indicative of Period III Style which tends towards exaggeration of motifs in order to enhance the failing prestige of earlier cult figures.

12. Rectangular Eyes With Concave Tops And Bowl Shaped Bottoms

This type of eye appears as a secondary trait when it is stylistically related to Period I sculptures and as a primary trait on Period II reliefs. Its usage is limited during Period II when its late-blooming popularity as a primary trait is seen on the Raimondi Stele and the Gotosh Monument (Figures 52 and 53).
Figure 48. Rollout of the south column of the Black and White Portal.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 9

Teeth extending over the upper profile of the face (Period II).
Figure 49. Drawing of the Gotosh Monument.

From: Tello 1960, Plate XLIII

Teeth and an extra fang extending over the upper profile of the face (Period III).
Figure 50. Drawing of reconstructed Fore Temple Lintel.

From: Roe 1974, fig. 9
Long Hooked Claws (appearance is compressed due to perspective of the drawing).

Figure 51. Drawing of the Gotosh Monument.

From: Tello 1960, plate XLIII
Rectangular eye with concave top and bowl shaped bottom.

Figure 52. Drawing of the Raimondi Stele.

From: Rowe 1967, fig. 10
Rectangular eye with concave top and bowl shaped bottom.

Figure 53. Drawing of the Gotosh Monument.

From: Tello 1960, plate XLIII
A Summary of Chavín Traits

1. Rounded Corner Mouth
2. Upturned Lipbands With Rounded Corners
3. Fangs Overlapping Lipbands
4. Lipbands Extending Over The Profile Of The Face
5. "L" Shaped Fangs
6. Claws Joined At The Pads Of The Feet
7. Bracketed Lipbands On Primary Mouths
8. Long Snouts
9. Striated Fangs
10. Fangs Extending Over The Upper Profile Of The Face
11. Long Hooked Claws
12. Rectangular Eyes: Concave Top And Bowl Bottom
II. REGIONAL TRAITS

The following list of regional traits is composed of those that occur in significant numbers and are characteristically regional in style. Regional traits that are diagnostic of smaller numbers of ceramics have been omitted in order to control the amount of variables and thus obtain a degree of uniformity within the sample. An iconographic summary of each ceramic will include the mention of traits excluded from the trait analysis but judged to be of significant diagnostic importance to be included in the study.

Regional traits are listed alphabetically from A to J. The order in which they are presented is regulated by the chronological ordering of Chavín traits 1 through 12.

A. Round Eyes

This trait is associated with feline-raptorial bird imagery. The round eyes of Period I Chavín reliefs may have served as prototype images (see Rowe 1967, fig. 17) (Figures 54 and 55).

Figure 54. Round eyes.

From: Roe 1974: 61, figs. d and e
Figure 55. Vessel 9. Profile feline-raptorial bird.

Rollout courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
B. Primary Fangs Encompassed By Lipbands

In the Chavín stone chronology, fangs that are confined to their lipbands are diagnostic of Period I. Transitional reliefs from the Circular Plaza show fangs that extend beyond their lipbands (Lumbreras 1977, figs. 27 and 32) (Figure 12). This trait continues throughout Period II and into Period III when fangs reach considerable lengths.

On the North Coast, primary fangs on feline images are confined within the limits of their lipbands and they are straight-sided in contrast to the rounded stone examples. This trait occurs in conjunction with later Period III traits and is an obvious stylistic digression which may have resulted from a purposeful recollection of Period I reliefs; in other words, an arcaism. More likely it is a result of regional selectivity which interpreted Chavín imagery according to its own local preferences (Figures 56 and 57).

Figure 56. Primary fang encompassed by its lipband.

From: Roe 1974: 65, fig. n
Figure 57. Vessel 15. A profile feline-raptorial bird.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
C. Rectangular Fangs

Chavín fangs curve slightly backwards whereas straight-sided rectangular fangs are a regional interpretation, which is indicative of the same selectivity seen in Trait B (Figures 58 and 59).

![Figure 58. Straight-sided rectangular fangs.](From: Roe 1974: 65, fig. n)

D. Irregular Rectangular Eyes

This eye differs from those seen on Chavín stone reliefs in that its corners are angular instead of rounded and the semi-rectangular shape is formed by lines that are not always parallel, thus indicating that the Chavín design convention of modular width was unimportant on the North Coast (Figures 60 and 61).

![Figure 60. Irregular rectangular eyes.](From: Roe 1974: 65, fig. n)
Figure 59. Vessel 53. A feline in a landscape.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 61.  Vessel 33. Incised feline showing irregular rectangular eye.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
E. Extrusions From Mouths

Tongue-like forms protrude from the mouths of felines or feline serpents on a small number of Chavín stone carvings. A Period I feline serpent cornice has a mouth extrusion that may represent a bifurcated tongue (Rowe 1967, fig. 17).

When mouth extrusions occur on North Coast ceramics, they sometimes resemble the type mentioned above but more often they consist of two or three parallel lines joining feline heads together. These extrusions appear to be non-representational in meaning and their appearance seems to be restricted to fine line incised profile heads in the Cupisnique sample published by Larco (Figures 62 and 64).

![Regional north coast extrusion](image1)

![Extrusion similar to Chavín stone style](image2)

Figure 62. Extrusions from mouths.

From: Roe 1974: 65, figs. j and o
F. Square-Cornered Upturned Lipbands

Precedence for this trait may have come from Chavín upturned lipbands with rounded corners, while square-cornered lipbands reflect a characteristic North Coast penchant towards rectilinearity noted in Regional Traits two and three.

Occasionally lipbands are downturned and Cordy-Collins has suggested that this is a late regional trait when associated with the staff gods depicted on Carhua textiles (Cordy-Collins 1976: 83). The downturned lipband of the Raimondi Stele indicates that it was an important Period III stone trait. Downturned lipbands are generally indicative of human beings; however, this trait is found in all periods of Chavín art and is therefore inappropriate as a chronological indicator (see Rowe 1967, fig. 6, The Tello Obelisk and fig. 20, and Tello 1960, figs. 82 and 85.) (Figures 63 and 64)

Figure 63. Square-cornered upturned lipbands.

From: Roe 1974: 65, fig. n
Figure 64. Vessel 38. Profile feline head.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
G. Toothbands Following The Upper And Lower Profile Of The Face

As noted in Chavín Trait number 8, fangs follow the upward curl of their lipbands when they appear as secondary kenned traits in Period II. During Period III, an extra fang was added to the toothband (see Chavín Trait number 8, the Gotosh Monument), and this becomes a primary trait.

On the North Coast, both teeth and fangs curve upwards and downwards over the profile of the face. This is a diagnostic regional characteristic particularly associated with Larco's Cupisnique sample. (Figures 64 and 65)

Figure 65: Toothbands following the upper and lower profile of the face.

From: Roe 1974: 65, fig. k
H. Winged Eyes

The term, winged eye, was coined by Roe in 1974 (Roe 1974: 18). With the exception of its appearance on human beings and tennoned heads at Chavín, the winged eye occurs infrequently and then only as a secondary trait on late Chavín carvings. Early prototypes are seen in the extended corners of feline eyes found on the Lanzón or the Fore Temple Lintel (Rowe 1967, figs. 5 and 19). The winged eye is commonly found on North Coast ceramics and adobe sculptures and functions as a prominent Chavín-related regional trait (Figures 66 and 67).

Figure 66. Vessel 50. Winged eyes.
Figure 67. Vessel 55. A feline serpent.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
I. Scroll Noses: Rounded Or Square-Cornered

Human figures show consistent traits throughout all periods of Chavín art and are therefore difficult to seriate. Usually mouths are round cornered and downturned, but there is no standard eye form. Representations of human figures in Chavín stone reliefs (excluding tennoned heads) show realistic noses that are short and bulbous in shape (Tello 1960, figs. 80, 81 and 82) and often project beyond the profile of the face (Tello 1960, fig. 85; Rowe 1967, fig. 20). Human traits show consistent characteristics throughout all periods of Chavín art and are difficult to seriate.

Human head imagery on Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics is similar to the Chavín prototype but exhibits a greater degree of stylization. Noses are formed by the upward and inward movement of rectilinear or curved lines. This scroll nose is distinctly regional in style. (Figures 68 and 69)

![Upturned noses: rounded corners.](From: Vessel 64)

![Upturned noses: square corners.](From: Vessel 66)

Figure 68. Scroll Noses: Rounded or square-cornered
Figure 69. Vessel 68. Human heads on a vegetable form ceramic.

Photo courtesy Mary Frame
J. Headdresses On Human Heads

Some human heads have a headdress that peaks over the forehead and curls upwards at the base of the neck. The possible symbolic meaning of this motif has been discussed at an earlier point in this study (see Typology - Human Beings) (Figures 69 and 70).

Figure 70. Headdresses on human heads.

From: Vessel 67
A Summary of Regional Traits

A. Round Eyes
B. Primary Fangs Encompassed By Lipbands
C. Straight-Sided Rectangular Fangs
D. Irregular Rectangular Eyes
E. Extrusions From Mouths
F. Square-Cornered Upturned Lipbands
G. Toothbands Following The Upper And Lower Profiles Of The Face
H. Winged Eyes
I. Upturned Noses On Human Heads: Square Or Rounded Corners
J. Headdresses On Human Figures
III. EXPLANATION OF THE TRAIT CHART

Chavín traits 1 through 12 and regional traits A through J are listed with ceramic forms a through g across the top of the page. Numbers corresponding to the ceramic sample list are indicated on the left hand side of the page and are representative of individual ceramics.
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**Table 2: Trait Chart**
IV. SUMMARY OF TRAIT ANALYSIS

Trait clusters show that Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics in the current sample fall into three main groups which are further divisible into smaller sub-groups. Sub-groups correspond to themes set out in the typological analysis. Similar regional traits occur in all groups suggesting a contemporaneity within the sample with minor chronological variation among sub-groups; however, according to the established aims of this study, a seriation was not attempted.

The following is a thematic summary of the imagery found in the three main groups (allowance should be made for a certain degree of overlap within the three groups):

**Group I.**
1. Splayed feline-raptorial birds
2. Profile feline-raptorial birds
3. Profile felines

**Group II.**
1. Profile agnathic mouth felines
2. Feline serpents (may be alternately interpreted as caymen)
3. Anthropomorphic felines
4. Profile feline heads

**Group III.**
1. Felines in a mythical cactus landscape
2. Feline serpents
3. Semi-realistic felines
4. Anthropomorphic felines
5. Human heads

Note: A small number of ceramics are related through trait analysis to the current sample; however, their subject matter and technical execution indicates that they are unusual. They may be representative of additional sub-groups, but at the present time this cannot be established. Those ceramics will be discussed in the ceramic summary.
ANALYSIS OF CERAMIC FORM

Shape and proportion are the two factors that govern the analysis of ceramic form. Interpretations have been made on the basis of photographs and approximate ratios of width to height were taken according to the diagram below:

Figure 71. Diagram showing analysis of ceramic proportions.
Each vessel was analysed according to the following criteria:

1. **The base of the vessel**
   a) its shape; the configuration of the sides may be rounded, relatively straight-sided, angular-sided, or modeled,
   b) the base may be flat or round, and
   c) its approximate proportions will be examined in relation to the entire ceramic.

2. **The Stirrup of the vessel**
   a) its shape may be circular, triangular or semi-rectangular (square-shouldered), and
   b) its approximate proportions will be examined in relation to the entire ceramic.

3. **The Spout of the vessel**
   a) its shape may be straight-sided or concave, and
   b) its approximate proportions will be examined in relation to the entire ceramic.

4. **The Rim of the vessel**
   a) its shape may be flanged or beveled.

I. **DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL SHAPES**

Seven shapes that are indicative of the sample have been isolated. They are listed from a to g and variations that occur within the seven basic categories have been noted. The entire sample consists of stirrup
spout vessels with the exception of one cup found by Larco in Tomb 21
at Barbacoa A (Larco 1941, fig. 63).

Type a: (Figure 72)

1. **Base**
   a) rounded sides
   b) round base
   c) Height: the base is approximately twice the height of the
      stirrup and four times the height of the spout.

2. **Stirrup**
   a) circular shape
   b) Height: the stirrup is approximately half the height of the
      base and twice the height of the spout.
      Width: the stirrup is approximately two-thirds the width
      of the base.

3. **Spout**
   a) straight-sided
   b) Height: the spout is approximately half the height of the
      stirrup and one-quarter the height of the base.
      Width: the spout is one-third the width of the stirrup.

4. **Rim**
   a) Heavy flange
Figure 72. Vessel Type a.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
Type b: (Figure 72)

1. **Base**
   a) rounded sides
   b) flat base
   c) Height: the base is approximately equal to the stirrup and twice the height of the spout.

2. **Stirrup**
   a) circular shape
   b) Height: the stirrup is approximately the same height as the base and twice the height of the spout.
       Width: the stirrup is approximately equal in width to the spout.

3. **Spout**
   a) straight-sided
   b) Height: the spout is approximately half the height of the stirrup and half the height of the base.

4. **Rim**
   a) Heavy flange and beveled rim.
Figure 73. Vessel Type b.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
Type c: (Figure 74)

1. **Base**
   a) rounded sides
   b) flat base
   c) Height: the base is approximately twice the height of the stirrup and three times the height of the spout.

2. **Stirrup**
   a) circular shape
   b) Height: the stirrup is approximately one-half the height of the base and twice the height of the spout.
      Width: the stirrup is approximately the same width as the base.

3. **Spout**
   a) concave sides
   b) Height: the spout is approximately one-third the height of the base and stirrup.
      Width: the spout is approximately one-third the height of the stirrup.

4. **Rim**
   a) Beveled
Figure 74. Vessel Type c.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
Type d: (Figure 75)

1. **Base**
   a) rounded sides
   b) round base or flat base
   c) Height: the base is approximately twice the height of the stirrup and three times the height of the spout

2. **Stirrup**
   a) circular shape
   b) wide diameter
   c) Height: the stirrup is approximately one-half the height of the base and twice the height of the spout
   Width: the stirrup is approximately three-quarters the width of the base

3. **Spout**
   a) concave sides
   b) thick diameter
   c) Height: the spout is approximately one-half the height of the stirrup
   Width: the width of the spout is approximately one-quarter the width of the stirrup.

4. **Rim**
   a) Beveled
Figure 75. Vessel Type d.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
Type e: (Figure 76)

1. **Base**
   a) rounded sides
   b) flat or rounded base
   c) Height: the base is approximately twice the height of the stirrup and the spout.

2. **Stirrup**
   a) circular shape
   b) wide diameter
   c) Height: the stirrup is approximately one-half the height of the base and the spout.
      
      Width: the stirrup is approximately two-thirds the width of the base.

3. **Spout**
   a) concave sides
   b) thick diameter
   c) Height: the spout is approximately the same height as the stirrup and one-half the height of the base.
      
      Width: the spout is approximately one-quarter the width of the stirrup.

4. **Rim**
   
   Eliminated.
Figure 76. Vessel Type e.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
Type f: (Figure 77)

1. **Base**
   a) rounded or angular sides
   b) flat base
   c) There is a tendency towards elongation of the stirrup and spout in this type of modeled ceramic, creating different proportions in each specimen.

2. **Stirrup**
   a) semi-rectangular shape (square shouldered)

3. **Spout**
   a) concave sides

4. **Flange**
   Eliminated.
Figure 77. Vessel Type f.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
Type g: (Figure 78)

1. **Base**
   a) angular-sided
   b) flat base
   c) Height: the height of the base is approximately one-third greater than the stirrup or the spout

2. **Stirrup**
   a) triangular
   b) medium diameter
   c) Height: the stirrup is approximately two-thirds the height of the base and approximately equal to the height of the spout.

3. **Spout**
   a) straight-sided (with a slight taper)
   b) Medium diameter
   c) Height: the spout is approximately two-thirds the height of the base and equal to the stirrup.

   Width: the width of the spout is approximately one-quarter the width of the stirrup. (Proportions of this vessel type vary depending on the length of the stirrup and spout.)
Figure 78. Vessel Type g.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff
II. **SUMMARY OF VESSEL SHAPES**

Vessel shapes correspond to the three major groups identified in the trait analysis. Types a, b, and c correspond to Group I; Types d and e to Group II and Types f and g to Group III. They are summarized in visual form on the following page (Figure 79).

Group I relief-decorated (strapwork) images are placed parallel and vertical to the axis of the spout.

Group II incised images are placed on the parallel and vertical axis of the spout. They may be located under the spout (the transverse axis).

Group III is comprised of a number of modeled ceramics and the imagery usually encompasses the entire base of the vessel.
Figure 79. A Summary of Vessel Shapes
TECHNICAL ANALYSIS

Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics and associated North Coast specimens were decorated by means of the following techniques:

1. Relief-decoration (appliqué):

   Relief-decoration consists of the building up of the surface through additive pieces of clay. It includes strapwork, a technique in which pieces of clay are worked and laid on the surface of the ceramic in high and low relief depending on the thickness of the individual elements.

2. Incision:

   Incision is the scoring of the surface of the vessel with a sharp or blunt tool. A variety of effects and a high degree of artistic expression can be achieved depending on the design and manipulation of the tool used in the incising process (see Shepard 1956, fig. 15). For purposes of this study, incised ceramics are divided into two general categories: broad line incision and fine line incision.

3. Modeling:

   Modeling creates a representative form by shaping the surface of the vessel by hand.
4. Punctation:

This is accomplished by punching, stamping or rolling pointed objects over the surface of the clay.

5. Burnishing:

Burnishing is polishing the damp clay surface with a smooth instrument. This gives an interesting textural effect when some areas are left rough and other areas are burnished.

SUMMARY OF TECHNICAL ANALYSIS

Examination of the sample indicates that individual sub-groups are restricted to specific techniques (Table 3). When compared to Groups I to III established in the Trait Analysis, it becomes evident that techniques are related to the broader criteria.

Group I ceramics are characterized by broad line incision or relief-decoration (strapwork) in combination with fine line incision. Group II ceramics are almost exclusively decorated in fine line incision with textural effects achieved through crosshatching. Group III ceramics show modeling with details executed in fine line incision.
TABLE 3. A table showing correspondences among groups, sub-groups and techniques.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>SUB-GROUP</th>
<th>TECHNIQUE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>A: Felines</td>
<td>Relief-decorated (strapwork) with fine line and broad line incised details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feline-Raptorial Birds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B: Feline-Raptorial Birds</td>
<td>Broad line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>A: Feline Serpents</td>
<td>Fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B: Anthropomorphic Felines</td>
<td>Fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C: Agnathic-mouth Felines</td>
<td>Fine line incision, appliqué</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D: Feline Heads</td>
<td>Fine line incision, cross-hatching, appliqué</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>A: Human Heads</td>
<td>Fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B: Human Heads and Vegetal Motifs</td>
<td>Modeling and fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C: Semi-Realistic Felines</td>
<td>Modeling and fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D: Felines in a Cactus Landscape</td>
<td>Modeling and fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E: Feline Serpents</td>
<td>Modeling and fine line incision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F: Anthropomorphic Felines</td>
<td>Modeling and fine line incision</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## OBJECTS IN THE SAMPLE WITH GRAVE ASSOCIATION

The following is a list of vessels from documented graves with absolute provenience indicated in photographs from Los Cupisniques (Larco 1941).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Number</th>
<th>Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>A Profile feline executed in strapwork relief. Vessel Shape: small cylinder vase with handle. Tomb 21 Barbacoa A, Larco 1941, fig. 272. Description: Larco 1941: 204 indicates that the vessel was found in Tomb 21. Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>A Feline-Raptorial Bird executed in broad line incision. Tomb 21 Barbacoa A, Larco 1941, fig. 272. Description: Larco 1941: 204. Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vessel Number</td>
<td>Data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>A Feline-Raptorial Bird in broad line incision. Tomb 17 Barbacoa, Larco 1941, figs. 238, 250, 251, 253. Description: Larco 1941: 186. Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>An Anthropomorphic feline that is modeled with fine line incision. Tomb 5 Barbacoa, Larco 1941, fig. 243. Description: Larco 1941: 182. Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 215.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>An Anthropomorphic feline executed in fine line incision on an angular-sided vessel. Tomb 19 Barbacoa, Larco 1941, fig. 262, 266. Description: Larco 1941: 194. Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No vessel number</td>
<td>A Head of an old woman or man? Modeled with incision. Tomb 19 Barbacoa, Larco 1941, fig. 266. Description: Larco 1941: 193. Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 53.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Figure 27
Vessel Number  
No vessel number  

Data  
An angular-sided vessel with fine line incised abstracted snake designs.  
Tomb 1 Palenque, Larco 1941, fig. 316.  
Stirrup spout is broken off.  
Illustration: Larco 1941, fig. 36.
CERAMIC SUMMARY

The following is a summary of each of the three groups of ceramics defined by typology, trait analysis, ceramic shape, technique, and grave association. The discussion is illustrated with representative specimens which are considered to be exemplary of their assigned groups.

GROUP I: (Figures 80 and 81)

Group I subject matter is composed of felines and feline-raptorial birds. Felines and feline-raptorial birds are standard images in Chavín art. Trait analysis shows that these images exhibit Period III Tello Obelisk/Ofrendas ceramic characteristics.

Analysis of vessel shapes shows Group I ceramics correspond to Types a, b, and c.

Two techniques are indicative of the group: strapwork with incised details and broad line incision.

Broad line incised feline-raptorial birds were found in burials in the Chicama Valley.

This group shows the strongest Chavín-related traits and is closely associated with Chavín stone carvings and Ofrendas ceramics in style, design conventions and trait analysis.

GROUP II: (Figures 82 and 83)

This group of ceramics shows feline or anthropomorphic feline imagery associated with Period III and the feline-related cult at Chavín. Numerous examples show traits that are related to the Gotosh Monument which is thought to date to the final phase of Period III of the Chavín stone chronology.
Figure 80. Vessel 4.

Photo: M. Maitland
Figure 81. Vessel 9.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Two types of ceramic shapes, Type d (Figure 82) and Type e (Figure 83), are indicative of Group II ceramics. Type d has a round stirrup and is closely related to Group I shapes with differences occurring in the proportions of base, stirrup and spout. Type e is identified by its triangular stirrup.

The imagery is executed exclusively in fine line incision.

No specific information is available on grave association; however, Type e ceramics are illustrated in burials from the Chicama Valley. This suggests that this ceramic shape is representative of a regional style which developed in that area.

Group II ceramics show a greater number of regional traits indicating a selective approach to Chavín influence occurred on the North Coast.

GROUP III: (Figures 84 and 85)

Group III ceramics show the greatest variety in subject matter. Imagery includes: human heads, vegetal motifs, felines, anthropomorphic felines and feline serpents. A naturalism inherent in Period III at Chavín and evidenced in the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics is mixed with Period III feline-related traits such as the bowl shaped eye of the Gotosh Monument.

Vessel Types f and g correspond to this group of ceramics. Type f is a square-shouldered low profile ceramic. Proportions vary, but generally stirrups and spouts tend to be elongated in comparison to other North Coast ceramic types (Type g).

This group is characterized by modeled ceramics with fine line incision for details.
Figure 82. Vessel 38.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 83. Vessel 41.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Some grave associations are suggested by illustrations of angular-sided vessels with human imagery (Type g), with distinctly regional semi-naturalistic modeled human ceramics in Chicama Valley graves (Figure 27).

This group shows strong regional affiliations. Chavín subject-matter is executed in a semi-naturalistic modeled form that is characteristic of non-Chavín-related regional style ceramics. Identifiable Chavín traits correspond to Period III of the stone chronology.

INDIVIDUAL CERAMICS

Each ceramic is summarized according to its sequential position within the trait chart. All available information on location, provenience, form, decorative technique and grave association will be presented when pertinent to the discussion. An analysis of design and the relation of the ceramic sample to the lithic art of Chavín and related artifacts in other mediums from the North Coast will be undertaken. (Dimensions of individual specimens are included when such information is available; however, this data is not germane to the conclusions of the study.)

As mentioned previously, no attempt to formulate a relative chronology within the sample was made; however, possible chronological indicators are noted and some temporal differences are suggested within certain sub-groups.

VESSEL 1 (Figure 20): Private Collection: La Jolla, California

Height: 13". Width: approximately 9"

Reconstructed from fragments.
Figure 84. Vessel 59.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 85. Vessel 73.

Drawing: Anita Leonoff

(see photograph, figure 111)
VESSEL 2 (Figure 86): Private Collection: Europe
Height: 13". Width: approximately 9"
Reconstructed from fragments.

VESSEL 3 (Figure 87): Private Collection: Europe
Height: 14". Width: approximately 9"
Reconstructed from fragments

Vessels 1 to 3, three iconographically identical splayed feline-raptorial birds said to be from a grave lot and to come from the Tembladera area exhibit the greatest number of Chavín-related traits in the sample. Vessel number one has a flat base, number two has a bowl base and number three has a ring base. They are executed in strapwork relief with broad line incised details.

Splayed feline-raptorial birds are found on cornice reliefs from Period I at Chavín; however, Period II traits such as "L" shaped fangs and Period III traits such as extended lipbands, joined claws, bracketed lipbands, and striated fangs indicate that the specimens were strongly influenced by the style of the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics (Lumbreras 1971, figs. 11, 12, 13, and 18).

Kennings in the form of agnathic mouthed felines are found at the joints of the wings and tail feathers. A combined curvilinear and rectilinear treatment of line is indicative of Ofrendas ceramics. Feline-raptorial birds occur on both the front and back of the vessels and S-curves are interspersed between them.

The images occupy the entire available design space. The occurrence of decorated and undecorated spouts on ceramics with almost identical iconography indicates that this design characteristic is chronologically insignificant.
Figure 86. Vessel 2.

Photo courtesy Alana Cordy-Collins
Figure 87. Vessel 3.

Photo courtesy Alana Cordy-Collins
VESSEL 4 (Figure 80): Rollout: Figure 16:

Collection: Trujillo University Museum, Trujillo

A full figure profile feline executed in broad line incision and low relief shows traits that are fully compatible with Ofrendas ceramics from Period III of the Chavín stone chronology. It bears a strong resemblance to two full figure profile felines (Figure 117) incised on the internal and external walls of an Ofrendas bowl. A number of traits such as eye form, rectangular fangs encompassed by lipbands, the curled crest of the head, and bracketed lipband extending over the profile of the face occur on both ceramics. A bracketed lipband on a primary mouth is characteristic of the Tello Obelisk. The reduced feline on the stirrup resembles the feline on a stirrup fragment said to have come from Chavín (Figure 119).

All available design space has been utilized, the head of the feline is located under the spout and a second feline body recalls the composition of Circular Plaza sculptures. Neither the Trujillo nor the Ofrendas felines are kenned; instead, a semi-naturalism influenced by the Tello Obelisk is apparent.

VESSEL 5 (Figure 88): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

This figure is part of a series of profile feline-raptorial birds (Vessels 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 20) that undergo a gradual reduction in iconography. Vessel 5 has the most complete motif in the sample. It has a number of Chavín-related traits and the head is similar to that of a splayed feline-raptorial bird on a long-necked Ofrendas jar (Figure 118). Both figures show rectangular eyes, angular superorbital
Figure 88. Vessel 5.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
ridges, and round lipbands with square rectangular fangs. This vessel is further related to Ofrendas ceramics by the joined claws on its hind foot. The upward held forepaw has curved fangs similar to those found on Period II and Period III stone reliefs. Kennings usually appear at the joints of Chavín images and the eye form at the base of the tail feathers recalls this design convention. Ofrendas-related imagery indicates Vessel 5 took its principal influence from Period III of the Chavín chronology.

**VESSEL 6** (Figure 89): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

This image is similar to that found on Vessel 5. The superorbital ridge is omitted and the rectangular Chavín eye has been replaced by a round regional eye. The two individual claws on the forepaw of Vessel 5 have been reduced to a single element with feather-like lines indicating claws. The joined claws on the hind foot are an Ofrendas trait. Tail feathers are replaced by a semi-realistic feline tail and a feline eye is kenned on the wing. There is a marked difference between the treatment of imagery on Vessel 5 which shows a number of standard Chavín traits and Vessel 6 which indicates a break with tradition in preference of a regionalized interpretation.

**VESSEL 7**: From: Larco 1948: 17 (extreme right); also Larco 1966, fig. 9.

Vessel 7 depicts a splayed feline-raptorial bird in strapwork relief and shows a close resemblance in subject matter and artistic style to Vessels 1 to 3. This ceramic first appears in Larco's 1948 publication, suggesting the possibility that it may have come from an area outside of the Chicama.
Figure 89. Vessel 6.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
The image is a relatively simplified interpretation with few kennings; the full agnathic head seen at the base of the tail feathers on Vessels 1 to 3 occurs in a reduced form, agnathic heads are omitted from the wings, and the stirrup spout is undecorated. The base of the vessel is greatly reduced in size and the entire body of the image is compressed. The lack of clear photographs makes it impossible to determine the existence of details such as double outlining or striated fangs.

This image is related to a feline-raptorial bird found on the interior surface of a bowl from the Ofrendas galleries (Figure 117). The primary head is similar to the feline found on the stirrup of Vessel 4 as well as sherds from Chavín (Figures 115 and 119).

VESSEL 8 (Figure 90): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

Vessel 8 resembles Vessel 13. The body of the image has been reduced cutting off its lower torso, hind foot, and tail. In contrast, the head, forepaw, and wing occupy a greater proportion of the available design space.

VESSEL 9 (Figure 81) (Rollout: Figure 23):

Private Collection: Buenos Aires

Vessel 9 shows regional traits similar to Vessels 6 and 8. The hind paw is reduced to non-descriptive straight lines and the forepaw to a single element that is reminiscent of a feather motif.
Figure 90. Vessel 8.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer

Vessel 10 is similar to the image on Vessel 9 with the inclusion of a feline tail.

VESSEL 11: From Larco 1941, figs. 32 and 272; also Larco 1945: 12 top right.

Vessel 11 was found in Tomb 21 at Barbacoa (Larco 1941, fig. 272). The photograph is unclear but the iconography appears to be similar to Vessels 8 and 10. The size of the head indicates a degree of reduction comparable to those ceramics.

VESSEL 12: From Larco 1941, fig. 210 and figs. 248, 250 and 251.

Vessel 12 was found by Larco in Tomb 17 at Barbacoa A. The image is reduced and the head, forepaw, and wing are proportionately larger. The mouth shows a departure from conventional form. The poor quality of the photographic reproduction obscures the iconography of the broad line incised stirrups which are noticeably thicker than others in the group.
VESSEL 13: From Larco 1941, fig. 111; also Larco 1945: 12 bottom left.

This vessel, illustrated as part of Larco's Cupisnique sample but lacking grave association, is similar to Vessels 11 and 12 found in graves at Barbacoa A. It shows the greatest amount of reduction in the group; the head occupies the entire front half of the vessel base. A long recurved fang, a trait which is uncommon in the North Coast sample, overlaps its lipband.

VESSEL 14 (Figure 91): Private Collection: Lima

Vessel 14 depicts a feline or cayman-raptorial bird head in strapwork relief on a rocker stamped background. A single long fang issuing from the top of the lipband is a cayman-related characteristic. The round eye and superorbital ridge are similar to relief-decorated Chavín fragments (Figures 119 & 121) and North Coast ceramics in the sample (see Vessel 4, Figure 80).

This bottle is unusual in the following respects: the shape of the spout, the addition of background texturing, and the iconography of its design. It may be indicative of a style more closely related to Chongojape ceramics than those said to come from the North Coast.

VESSEL 15 (Figure 57): Private Collection: Lima

Vessel 15 depicts a splayed feline-raptorial bird in strapwork relief with a mouth, eye and fang similar to other relief-decorated vessels in the current sample. The wings show an incised feline eye which is an indication of a cursory attempt to copy Chavín kennings. The body of the primary figure is reduced to a partial torso. Normally, if stirrups are decorated, reduced versions of principal images are
Figure 91. Vessel 14.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
found. In this example, splayed felines which are almost identical to
the primary figure have been reproduced on the stirrups.

**VESSEL 16:** From Larco 1941, fig. 211. (Figure 92)

Originally from the collection of Victor Larco Herrera, this vessel
was first published by Tello in 1923 (Tello 1923, fig. 67) and is said to
come from the North Coast.

The interpretation of the iconography is problematical. It is
the sole depiction of a front faced agnathic feline as a principal
image. It is included because it shows a resemblance to the agnathic
mouth felines seen on the splayed feline-raptorial bird in Vessels 1 to
3 and may be the abstraction of this image. The agnathic-mouthed feline
with "L" shaped fangs is dominant in the design of the Raimondi Stele
and other Period III reliefs. Imagery inspired by the Raimondi Stele
has been found in other mediums on the North Coast. The shape of the
base and stirrup spout of the vessel are consistent with relief-decorated
vessels from Group I of the sample. The existence of a number of these
vessels tends to support Rowe's suggestion of a long Chavín-related
relief-decorated ceramic tradition on the North Coast (Rowe 1971:
113 and 114).

**VESSEL 17:** From Larco 1941, fig. 63 and 272

Vessel 17 is a strapwork relief broad line incised cup with a
handle. It was found by Larco in Tomb 21 at Barbacoa A with a profile
feline-raptorial bird in broad line incision (Vessel 11). The curved
lines in front of the feline nose are similar to those seen in Vessels
21 and 23 where they are representative of stylized wings. Double
Figure 92. Vessel 16.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
outlining executed in broad line incision is found on the Tello Obelisk, Ofrendas ceramics and Vessels 1 to 3. This is the only cup in the present sample and it is also the sole example of a relief-decorated piece in Larco’s Cupisnique sample.

**VESSEL 18:** (Figure 24) Collection: Museum of the American Indian, New York, Specimen #3896, listed provenience, Lambayeque Valley.

Vessel 18 is said to come from the Lambayeque Valley. Observations of: a) its shape: almost straight-sided base, thin high stirrup, straight-sided spout with heavy flange, b) its iconography: irregular eye, ear, and nose, and c) its technique: strapwork relief with a rocker stamped background, suggest that the vessel comes from an area outside of the Chicama Valley. It has been included in the current sample because its imagery is suggestive of a reduced profile feline-raptorial bird. The triple clawed forepaw held in front of the upturned head is similar to that seen on Vessels 22 and 23, and the abstracted feather motifs are identifiable as reduced wing and tail motifs.

**VESSEL 19** (Figure 93): Collection: Trujillo University Museum, Trujillo

A spout located in the Trujillo University Museum is included because of its iconographic similarity to the relief-decorated profile feline-raptorial birds. The image is a reduced version of Vessels 21 to 23.
Figure 93. Vessel 19.

Photo: M. Maitland
VESSEL 20  (Figure 94): Private Collection: New York

Vessel 20 shows a profile feline-raptorial bird head which appears to be a reduced version of the broad line incised figures (Vessels 6, 8, 9, 10 to 13, and 20). It shows a divergent vessel shape which isolates it from the current sample and indicates that it may be related to a different regional style located outside of the Chicama Valley.

VESSEL 21 (Figure 22): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

Vessel 21 depicts a profile feline-raptorial bird which is executed in strapwork relief with fine line incised details. Its surface is embellished with graphite. The iconography is similar to a reduced version of the image found on Vessel 22. Trait analysis indicates the existence of Period III Chavín influence: multiple images and kennings define the reduced lower torso, the forepaw has joined claws similar to the hind foot on Vessel 22 and horror vacuii associated with Period III reliefs defines a use of space that is characteristic of the entire group.

VESSEL 22: Private Collection: Trujillo  (Figure 95)

Vessel 22 depicts a profile feline-raptorial bird executed in the strapwork relief. This specimen is said to have been found in the upper Moche Valley (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1980). Its red slipped surface is highly unusual and the shape of the vessel is divergent from the rest of the sample; its sides are compressed, the stirrups are thin and elongated, and its spout is thin with a heavy flange. It is included in the sample because it is the most complete rendering of an iconographi-
Figure 94. Vessel 20.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
cally related profile feline-raptorial bird in the relief-decorated sample.

The image is comprised of a complex combination of kennings and dual images that are stylistically indicative of the Chavín Period III feline-related style. Two distinctive features of this image are a forepaw with its three divided claws and a stylized wing band. The claws of the hind foot are joined at the pads of the feet: a Period III trait indicative of the style of the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics.

As noted in the typological analysis, the form of this image is thematically related to a group of broad line incised feline-raptorial birds, two of which were found in Chicama burials (Vessels 11 and 12). A profile feline cup (Vessel 17) found in the same burial as a broad line incised profile feline-raptorial bird (Vessel 11) is iconographically related to Vessel 22 because of its distinctive curved wing band. This suggests that broad line incised and relief-decorated profile feline-raptorial birds are temporally-related. The two divergent techniques may indicate separate ritual functions.

**VESSEL 23 (Figure 96): Private Collection: Buenos Aires**

A profile feline-raptorial bird executed in strapwork relief with broad line incision shows the same degree of reduction as Vessel 21, but there is a significant difference in its iconographic interpretation. Vessel 23 is lacking dual imagery and kennings. A disregard or misunderstanding of standard Chavín design conventions is noted in the area of the superorbital ridge where an undefined shape has been substituted for an agnathic feline mouth and nose curl. The above discrepancies
Figure 95. Vessel 22.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
in the style of the specimen indicate the possibility of a skillful forgery.

The double outlining seen around the mouth is an Ofrendas ceramic/Tello Obelisk trait. It is seen in Vessels 1 to 3 and 17, all of which are influenced by Period III of the Chavín stone chronology.

VESSEL 24: From: Larco 1941, fig. 108. Rollout, Chapter I heading page. Drawing is inverted.

VESSEL 25: (Figure 97): Private Collection: New York.

VESSEL 26: From Larco 1941: 141. Rollout in Larco. No corresponding vessel.

Three broad line incised profile agnathic mouth felines have been factored into the current sample. Vessels 24 and 25 show a number of agnathic mouths inside stylized forms that are suggestive of feathers. The configuration of the design on Vessel 24 is related to the curved wing bands on Vessels 21 and 23. The rollout (Larco 1941, Chapter I, Heading) indicates that this image is combined with a step fret motif.

The enclosing form on Vessel 25 is particularly suggestive of a feather motif and may have been influenced by kenned feathers on Chavín stone reliefs (Rowe 1978, fig. 15). "L" shaped fangs are most commonly associated with Period III of the Chavín stone chronology.
Figure 96. Vessel 23.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 97. Vessel 25.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 27 (Figure 98): Collection Amano Museum, Lima

AND


Vessel 27 shows an unusual combination of traits: the mouth is fangless but upturned; usually anthropomorphic felines display fangs and fangless human mouths are downturned. The two lines at the top of its eye, reminiscent of hawk markings on reliefs from the Black and White Portal, are not found elsewhere in the present sample. A bottle that is iconographically related to Vessel 27 is illustrated in Los Cupisniques (Larco 1941, fig. 115).

Vessel 28 is similar in shape but the image is executed in fine line incision with background texturing similar to that found on profile feline head vessels (Vessel 42). The mouth is downturned and fangless and the eye is an irregular rectangle. The interpretation of these images is problematical; however, trait analysis indicates that Vessel 28 fits comfortably into the current sample, whereas Vessel 27 is divergent from the group.

VESSEL 29: From Larco 1941: 31. (Figure 33)

Feline head is positioned on vertical axis, crescent shape on horizontal axis on the reverse. Observed on vessel with thick round stirrup spout and flaring flange. Similar to vessel in Larco 1941, fig. 106. Observed in Larco Museum, Lima, 1978.
Figure 98. Vessel 27.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 30 (Figure 35): From 32 Masterworks of Andean Art, a catalogue from the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955, fig. 8. Listed as from the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle. Height: 8-3/8".

VESSELS 29 AND 30:

Two fine line incised images of similar vessel shape have been interpreted as feline serpents. (See typological analysis for discussion of the image identification.) They show regional traits and design conventions - irregular rectangular eyes, square upturned lipbands, scroll ears, rectilinear interpretation of line, and utilization of a relatively small percentage of design space - factors which indicate that they are related to a group of profile feline heads illustrated in Larco's Cupisnique sample (Vessels 38 to 45). The distinguishing traits of this image, its long snout and single fang overlapping the lipband, suggest a cayman interpretation. In either case, they are related to Period III of the Chavín stone chronology. Vessel 47, a casually drawn long snouted image with a single fang executed in fine line incision, is also categorized in this sub-group.

VESSEL 31 (Figure 99): Collection: Museo Nacional, Lima

This image is related to long snouted feline serpents and profile feline heads from the Cupisnique sample. It may be variously interpreted as a modified version of a feline serpent or a profile feline head or as the prototype for either of those images.
Figure 99. Vessel 31.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 32 (Figures 100 and 101): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

Vessel 32 shows Chavín-related traits that are associated with Period III and the Gotosh Monument: a lipband curling over the upper profile of the face with additional fangs at the middle and top of the mouth, long hooked claws, multiple imagery associated with agnathic mouths, and double outlining as seen in Ofrendas ceramics and the Tello Obelisk. One claw, kenned as a feather motif, is similar to the reduced forepaws on broad line incised feline-raptorial birds (Vessels 6, 8, and 9). The tri-point snake head has its prototype in the feline serpents on the eagle feathers of the south column of the Black and White Portal (Figure 6a). The reverse "L" shaped fang seen on the agnathic mouth that forms the superorbital ridge of the feline head is a regional variant. Horizontally striated secondary teeth are regional traits influenced by the striated fangs of the Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramics.

The composition of the feline is unusual suggesting that it may have been influenced by circular bowl designs or round bone spatulas (see Lapiner 1976, fig. 34). (Figure 122).

Vessels of this shape with added clay twists are illustrated in Los Cupisniques (Larco 1941: 217; 1945: 12).

VESSEL 33 (Figure 102): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

This image is similar in iconography and shape, with the clay twist under the stirrup, to Vessel 32. The feline composition is less clear and Chavín-related design conventions such as kennings and multiple imagery have been omitted. A North Coast tendency towards rectilinearity is apparent. The principal head has Period III traits: a toothband
Figure 100. Vessel 32.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 101. Vessel 32.

Rollout courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
extending over the profile of its mouth and an "L" shaped fang on its primary mouth. Regional traits such as secondary horizontal striated teeth (influenced by Period III), irregular rectangular eyes, and an upturned rectangular lipband indicate its relation to the North Coast sample.

The treatment of the body of the feline shows less concern for Chavín-related design conventions (kennings, dual imagery) and a freer treatment of composition denotes the corresponding germination of a regional style.

VESSEL 34: From Larco 1941, Chapter Heading VI (Rollout). No corresponding vessel.

The fine line incised profile feline is known from a rollout in Los Cupisniques (Larco 1941, Chapter Heading VI). No corresponding vessel has been located. As noted previously, the semi-circle is a common North Coast design with unknown meaning but it is found on a number of fine line incised profile feline vessels from the Cupisnique sample.

The lipband and the curled mouth extrusion are similar to those seen on agnathic feline mouths in Vessels 24 and 26. Double outlined lipbands are frequently noted in the sample (Vessels 1 to 3, 23, and 33). Double outlining of an entire figure, or parts thereof, is a Period III Tello Obelisk/Ofrendas ceramic trait. The long hooked claws with double lines radiating outwards, the round upturned agnathic lipband with its long backward curving fang, the attitude of the body and its stylized wing suggest that this image is a reduced version of the profile feline seen in Vessel 33. The configuration of its mouth and claws indicates
Figure 102. Vessel 33.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
that it was influenced by Period III of the Chavín stone chronology, particularly the Gotosh Monument.

**VESSEL 35:** From Larco 1941, Chapter Heading V (Rollout).

Design is similar to that on vessel in Larco 1941, fig. 17. Stirrup is restored, spout is missing. Drawing is on the vertical axis. The half circle is on the reverse. Some texturing is noticeable between incised lines. Observed in Larco Museum, Lima, 1978.

This is the first in a series of fine line profile feline heads. It is placed at the top of the list because its fangs curve upward over the profile of its face, a trait directly related to the Gotosh Monument. This image may be the prototype for a sub-group of profile heads (Vessels 38 to 45) with fangs curling over the upper and lower profile of the face.


Vessel 36, a fine line incised image, is identified as an anthropomorphic feline for the following reasons:

1. Serpent head dress: the heads of anthropomorphic felines on Chavín stone reliefs are usually kennd as serpents.
2. Downturned lipband: downturned lipbands are associated with human imagery. (The single fang is a feline trait.)
3. Shape of the head: is relatively square and therefore related to human heads.
4. The scroll nose: an upward curled scroll nose is a human trait.
5. Background lines: analysis of the current sample indicates that horizontal lines with sharp angles are associated with human imagery.
The shape of the base of Vessel 36 is unusual because it is relatively straight-sided instead of globular.

VESSEL 37: From Larco 1941, fig. 106. Image on vessel is identical to drawing in Larco 1941: 249, without a circle around the feline. From the collection of Victor Larco Herrera, observed in the Larco Museum, Lima, 1978.

For discussion of the iconography of this vessel see Vessel 31.

VESSEL 38: Private Collection: Museo Nacional, Lima (Figures 64 and 82)


VESSEL 40: From Larco 1941: 219 (rollout). No corresponding vessel

VESSEL 41: Collection: Museo Nacional, Lima (Figure 83).

VESSEL 42: From Larco 1941, Rollout, Chapter IV, heading page. Drawing is correct, background texturing in some areas. See also, Larco 1945: 12 for an illustration of the entire vessel. Observed in the Larco Museum, Lima, 1978.

VESSEL 43: From Larco 1941: 33 (Rollout). No corresponding vessel.

VESSEL 44: From Larco 1941: 133 (Rollout), Chapter VII, heading page. No corresponding vessel.

VESSELS 38 TO 45:

A series of nine profile feline heads show minor variations in the number of semi-circle background lines, the numbers and combinations of lines outlining the heads, numbers of felines depicted, and the degree of complexity in the treatment of the superorbital ridge. The prototype of this image is found in the Gotosh Monument at Chavín. Kenned superorbital ridges are omitted in the North Coast sample and a greater degree of rectilinearity is apparent in the design concept.

Bottles 38 and 39 correspond to Vessel Type d (including Vessel 37 discussed earlier), and bottles 41, 42, and 45 correspond to Type e. This indicates that there is no chronological difference between the two shapes. Perhaps Type d is the product of a relief-decorated tradition of thick round stirrup spout bottles whereas Type e, with its thin triangular stirrup spout, is a regional North Coast style.

Vessel 42 has a ceramic twist at the top of its base similar to those seen in Vessels 32 and 33. No corresponding vessels for specimens 40, 43 and 44 have been located.


This specimen shows fine line human heads and feline heads with stylized vegetal motifs. The vegetal motifs are reminiscent of those that are seen on ceramics from the Ofrendas galleries at Chavín. (See Lumbreras 1971, figs. 14 and 25).
The feline has a pointed headdress which is usually found on human heads and horizontally striated fangs, a characteristic Cupisnique-Tembladera trait. This ceramic is unusual in that feline and human imagery is combined in one place. (See also Vessel 48)

**VESSEL 47:** From Larco 1941: 139 (Rollout). No corresponding vessel.

This fine line incised feline head belongs to sub-group of images that have long snouts and single fangs issuing from the top of their lipbands. See Vessel 31 for a discussion of this type of imagery.

**VESSEL 48 (Figure 103):** Private Collection: New York

This vessel is the first in a series of modeled vegetable form ceramics which exhibit either feline or human imagery or, as in this example, both. (See Vessels 67, 58 and 70.) The feline has a peaked headdress which is usually found on human images. This suggests that it may be either an anthropomorphic feature or a vegetal motif. It is often found on modeled vegetable form ceramics. The feline shows characteristic regional traits as well as horizontally striated fangs, seen also on Vessels 66 and 69. See Vessel 64 for a discussion of the human imagery.

**VESSEL 49:** From Larco 1941, fig. 216. From the collection of Victor Larco Herrera.

**VESSEL 50:** Collection: British Museum, London. Height: 4-1/4". (Figure 18)
Figure 103. Vessel 48.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 51: From Cordy-Collins 1977, fig. 8.

VESSEL 52: From Lapiner 1976, fig. 40. Collection: Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, Utica, New York. Height 10-1/2", Width 7".

VESSEL 53: Private Collection: Buenos Aires (Figure 59).

VESSELS 49 TO 53: A Group of Five Felines in a Mythical Landscape

Vessels 49 to 53 represent a sub-group of five felines, partially modeled with fine line incised details, situated in stylized cactus landscapes. Vessels 49, 50, and 52 include feline serpents.

It has been suggested that the cactus depicted in this group is the hallucinogenic San Pedro (Trichocereus pachanoi), used today by modern Peruvian shamans (Cordy-Collins 1977: 356-357). (A modeled ceramic cactus is illustrated in Los Cupisniques 1941, fig. 128).

Vessels 49 and 52 show felines with heads turned towards the viewer, but Vessels 50, 51, and 53 have backward turned feline heads so that they are viewed in profile. All have a thin tail, curled at the tip and curved upward or downward. Three feline claws are reminiscent of the tri-part forepaw on Vessels 22 and 23. The stepped spiral background is similar to incised designs on Vessel 24. The spirals on Vessels 52 and 53 are tightly curled recalling rays found on the Raimondi Stele and Period III feline-related stone reliefs from Chavín.

All felines have circular pelt marks and rectangular fangs encompassed by lipbands. The winged eye, the dominant distinguishing trait, is commonly found on modeled or partially modeled ceramics.
Vessel 52, said to come from the Tembladera area, shows traces of post-fire paint and a greater degree of realism in the depiction of the feline.

Vessel 49 is illustrated in *Los Cupisniques* (Larco 1941, fig. 56) and the remainder are located in private collections. Two ceramics of similar subject matter were omitted from this study because they were judged to be of questionable authenticity.

**VESSEL 54** (Figure 32): From 32 Masterworks of Andean Art, a catalogue of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1955, fig. 10. From the collection of Rafael Larco Hoyle. Height: 9-3/4".

This feline serpent is the first in a series of ceramics depicting this motif. Vessel 54 is almost identical to Vessel 57. Both feline serpent bodies are situated in a back-to-back composition; they show traces of graphite pigment and slip paint and their stirrups are of similar length and configuration. The number of representations of this image in the North Coast sample indicates that it was a common theme. All feline serpents have winged eyes, a trait which is commonly found on modeled or partially modeled North Coast ceramics.

This group is related to feline serpents seen on stone reliefs at Chavín. Chronological indicators associated with feline serpent imagery are lacking, but the presence of the winged eye indicates that the group is related to North Coast ceramics that correspond to Period III of the Chavín stone chronology.
VESSEL 55 (Figure 67): Private Collection: New York

This fully modeled serpent is said to have come from the Tembladera area. It shows a large amount of post-fire paint preservation and is similar in this respect to Vessel 52. The extruding pelt marks are an unusual iconographic trait, but the rounded corner lipband with slab-like fangs and low square shouldered stirrup are indicative of modeled North Coast ceramics said to come from the Tembladera area.

VESSEL 56: From Larco 1945: © (top left corner)

This feline serpent is partially modeled with an incised mouth extrusion and pelt marks. A punctated background subtly defines the outline of its body. The curled superorbital ridge is suggestive of an incised image on a hunchback figure said to come from the Tembladera area (Figure 34), as well as slip painted serpents on Mosna ceramics (Lumbreras 1971, fig. 25).

VESSEL 57 (Figure 104): Private Collection: Lima

This feline serpent is almost identical to Vessel 54 and discussion of the image can be found under that specimen number.

VESSEL 58 (Figure 105): From Larco 1941, fig. 6. 7-7/8" high. From Tomb 1 Palenque (Larco 1941, fig. 316).

This unusual double feline serpent lacks definition in the body areas but the mouths and winged eyes are similar to those seen on Vessels 54 and 57. A photograph in Larco (1945: 24) indicates that this vessel may have come from a Cupisnique burial in the area called Santa Ana. (See history of the North Coast, this study.)
Figure 104. Vessel 57.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 105. Vessel 58.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 59: From Lapiner 1976, fig. 30. Collection of the Museum of Primitive Art, New York (Figure 84)

Vessel 59 is a fully modeled feline with nose, eye and fang traits similar to felines depicted in Vessels 49 to 53. Both ceramics are said to come from the Tembladera area and the low square-shouldered stirrup spout seems to be characteristic of modeled ceramics alleged to be from that vicinity. The spout form corresponds to Wacheqsa and Mosna ceramics from the Ofrendas galleries at Chavín (Lumbreras 1971: 1 - 28) and is also found in Formative Moche ceramics (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1980).

VESSEL 60 (Figure 17): Private Collection: New York. Published in Lapiner 1976, fig. 45, 10-3/4" high.

Vessel 60 depicts a fully modeled feline that also bears a resemblance to Vessels 49 to 53 because of its winged eye, the configuration of its claws, and its tail which is thin and curled. This specimen is compositionally related to a full figure feline illustrated in Larco (Larco 1941, fig. 56) that was omitted from the sample because it is lacking in regional Cupisnique-Tembladera traits defined in this study.

VESSEL 61 (Figure 29): Private Collection: Buenos Aires, 29" high.

This anthropomorphic feline is the only full figure example found in the current sample. Its slab-like lipband, rectangular fangs and square-shouldered stirrup are similar to modeled ceramics from the Tembladera area (Vessels 55 and 59). Fangs overlapping their lipbands are indicative of Period II Chavín reliefs. The bowl shaped eye is associated with the Gotosh Monument and Late Period III reliefs. The
body of the figure is treated in a semi-realistic manner with incised details indicating a loin cloth and neck ornament. The ears and nose are highly stylized and the configuration of the stirrup suggests that the ceramic may be transitional to Formative Moche (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer 1980).

Anthropomorphic standing figures are found at Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley and iconographic correspondences between those figures and Vessel 61 are apparent. The great anthropomorphic feline head (Pozorsky 1975, fig. 1) shows a similar slab-like lipband, fangs and square secondary teeth. Standing figures with belt like appendages extending from the lower torso show feline heads with bowl shaped eyes. (The upper torsos of these figures have been destroyed; see Pozorsky 1975, fig. 2.) Analysis of the imagery at Huaca de los Reyes indicates the presence of numerous late Chavín and regional Cupisnique-Tembladera traits such as "L" shaped fangs, toothbands extending over the profile of the face, and rectilinear fangs. (See Pozorsky 1975, fig. 21).

VESSEL 62 (Figure 106): From Larco 1941, figs. 212-214. Height: 9-3/4".

This partially modeled vessel depicts a mythic feline-human transformation theme. It is the only representation of this subject in the North Coast sample and is unusual within the entire spectrum of Chavín-related motifs.

The human head has a downturned lipband and kenned snake headdress. The feline displays a downturned mouth with slab-like fangs similar to those seen in the current sample and the adobe reliefs at Huaca de los Reyes (Pozorsky 1975, fig. 1). The bowl shaped eye is a late trait related to the Gotosh Monument and Period III reliefs at Chavín.
Figure 106. Vessel 62.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 63 (Figure 107): Collection: Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, England

This modeled ceramic was first published by Bushnell (1956). The imagery, which is unusual, appears to be an anthropomorphized feline-raptorial bird/human. Bushnell refers to a hood-like object that covers the tip of the head. This feature has been found to correspond to human head imagery and is often associated with vegetable form ceramics. The modeled eye is suggestive of bowl shaped eye forms. The iconography on the wing is unclear and may be an attempt to imitate a Chavín kenned wingband with feline eyes. The angular-sided base and stirrup spout are consistent with other Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics in the sample.

VESSEL 64 (Figure 108): Collection: Trujillo University Museum: Trujillo

Vessel 64 shows fine line incised human heads with irregular rectangular eyes (the upper line which is concave gives the impression of a bowl shaped eye), downturned lipbands with rounded corners, horizontally striated fangs, an upward curled scroll nose and ear, and square shaped head. The horizontal and angular background lines are associated with human imagery. The pointed headdress is often seen on human heads, especially when combined with vegetal imagery (see Vessel 46).

This image shows standard traits associated with North Coast human imagery. Human traits are consistent throughout the entire sequence of Chavín art and are therefore difficult to relate to particular time periods.
Figure 107. Vessel 63.

Photo courtesy Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge
Figure 108. Vessel 64.

Photo: M. Maitland
VESSEL 65: From Larco 1941, fig. 27. Drawing is correct, crescent shaped design is on reverse. Observed in Larco Museum, Lima 1978. Rollout Chapter V, heading page.

Two incised anthropomorphic heads are seen on Vessel 65. This vessel shows an interesting combination of profile feline head and human head imagery. The background lines are indicative both of human heads (horizontal and angular lines), and profile feline heads (semi-circles). The lipbands are feline with upturned corners and rectangular fangs. The configuration of the head is human and the headdress is commonly associated with human imagery.

VESSEL 66 (Figure 109): Private Collection: Buenos Aires, 8" high.

This image is similar to Vessel 64 except the headdress recalls the configuration of superorbital ridges on profile feline heads (Vessels 38 to 45).

North Coast human head imagery shows readily distinguishable traits (see Vessel 64). They occur on various ceramic shapes in combination with incised feline imagery and modeled forms.

VESSEL 67 (Figure 25): From Collection of the Museum of the American Indian. Specimen #24/3536. Said to be from Tembladera/Cajamarca area, 11" high.

This vessel, Vessels 68 and 70, and a fourth vessel with similar iconography (illustrated in Larco 1941, fig. 57, but excluded from the sample because the poor quality photograph makes analysis of iconographic details impossible) show incised human heads with downturned fangless mouths, irregular rectangular shaped eyes and peaked headdresses.
Figure 109. Vessel 66.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
As mentioned in the typological discussion of this image, the thematic unity of vegetable forms and human heads is associated with the Tello Obelisk and concepts of agricultural fertility prevalent in Period III cayman-related imagery at Chavín.

**VESSEL 68** (Figure 69): Collection: Amano Museum, Lima

This vegetable form ceramic with fine line incised human head imagery is comparable to Vessels 48, 68, and 70. See Vessel 67 for a discussion of the imagery.

**VESSEL 69**: From Larco 1941, figs. 107 and 262.

Vessel 69 shows an unusual stylized figure with horizontally striated fangs, irregular rectangular eyes, an upturned scroll nose, and a feather headdress. This vessel shape is associated with ceramics bearing incised Chavín-related human head imagery. It was found in Tomb 19 at Barbacoa with a modeled semi-realistic human head vessel (Figure 27).

Chavín-related traits are almost non-existent and trait analysis indicates its association with the sample is found in its regional style and correspondence to fine line incised Chavín-related human heads.


This vegetable form and human head vessel is similar in iconography to Vessel 70. See Vessel 67 for discussion of the human head motifs.
VESSEL 71 (Figure 31): Private Collection: New York

Shows a group of human heads on modeled forms possibly identified in the typological analysis as vegetable forms or trophy heads enclosed in a net bag. The human imagery: downturned fangless mouth, scroll nose and ears, and peaked headdress, are consistent with established regional traits.

A net bag or container may indicate the entrapment and transport of Chavín power symbols such as the feline or trophy head imagery for which there is precedent in the stone reliefs at Chavín. The symbolic juxtaposition of human head imagery, vegetal motifs, and agricultural fertility is seen on the Tello Obelisk.

VESSEL 72 (Figure 110): Private Collection: New York

The identification of this image is problematical; however, certain traits appear to suggest an anthropomorphic feline-human theme. The long snout is a feline trait and the downturned fangless mouth is human-related. The angular-shaped base is a distinguishing characteristic of the Cupisnique-Tembladera style; however, aberrancies such as the ceramic twist overlying a principal motif violates standards of Cupisnique-Tembladera imagery and may indicate a skillful forgery.

VESSEL 73 (Figure 111): Private Collection: Buenos Aires

Vessel 73 shows two fully modeled parrots on a round base with fine line incised human heads and a possible net design. The human heads show consistent Cupisnique-Tembladera traits. This specimen shows an interesting combination of the semi-realistic modeled regional Cupisnique-Tembladera style and the intrusive Chavín-related style.
Figure 110. Vessel 72.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 111. Vessel 73.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 74: From Larco 1941, fig. 208 (Rollout) (Figure 112)

Incised human heads with downturned lipbands, irregular rectangular eyes, scroll noses and ears, and pointed human headdresses are enclosed in a guilloche. This angular-sided vessel shape is similar to that of a ceramic found by Larco in Tomb 19 at Barbacoa (Vessel 69) and one located in the Trujillo University Museum.

VESSEL 75: Private Collection: Lima (Figure 113)

Vessel 75 shows a group of fine line incised human heads with irregular rectangular eyes and downturned lipbands. Lines which join the heads together suggest that they are a connecting rope between trophy heads. The images are greatly simplified and lack headdresses, scroll noses or ears. The shape of the vessel is similar to Vessel 74; the stirrup spout is greatly elongated.

VESSEL 76: From Larco 1941, fig. 215

Vessel 76 was found by Larco in Tomb 5 at Barbacoa. The winged eye, usually found on modeled ceramics, is similar to that seen in Vessel 59, a modeled semi-realistic feline. The slab-like nose resembles those seen on partially modeled felines from Vessels 49 to 53. The incised mouth is round cornered with rectangular fangs and triangular secondary teeth. The shape of the head, the headdress and the applied eyebrows are human-related traits. All traits associated with the image are regional, indicating a local interpretation of the feline and a complete break with standard traditional Chavín iconography.
Figure 112. Vessel 74.

From: Larco 1941, fig. 208
Figure 113. Vessel 75.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
VESSEL 77 (Figure 114): Private Collection: New York.

Shows fine line incised human heads which may be trophy heads on engraved vegetable forms inside a bowl. The ceramic twist under the spout suggests a rope handle or the end of a net bag. This ceramic twist is also seen on Vessels 32 and 33, two vessels that show feline instead of human imagery.

Incised human heads on this type of vegetable form usually occur within net bags (Figure 31) and the addition of a bowl base may suggest a skillful forgery by the same hand as that which made Vessel 72. Otherwise it may indicate a new iconographic type of trophy heads in bowls.
Figure 114. Vessel 77.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
CHAPTER FIVE
COMPARATIVE DATA

The following discussion cites relations between iconographically similar artifacts executed in ceramic and other mediums from Chavín and the North Coast with the Cupisnique-Tembladera sample. The purpose is to provide a broader perspective of the cultural context within which Chavín dispersion influenced the Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramic style.

The comparative data has been divided into two parts: those artifacts that were found at Chavín and those that are Chavín-related and said to come from or known to be from the North Coast.

I. CHAVÍN

A discussion of major Chavín stone reliefs is omitted because they have been previously factored into the trait analysis. Among the sherds that Tello found at Chavín and illustrated in his 1960 publication, two feline heads executed in strapwork relief are closely related to the current sample (Figure 115, b and d). Both specimens have round corner mouths and rectangular fangs encompassed by lipbands (Chavín Trait 1, Regional Traits B and C). Figure 115 a is executed in strapwork relief and shows a paw with claws joined to the pad of the foot similar to that seen in Figures 59 and 95. Figure 115 d is iconographically related to feline-raptorial birds executed in strapwork relief on vessels from Group I. It has a round eye (Regional Trait A) and the suggestion of a beak in front of its mouth. This identification is supported by a spout fragment in the Trujillo University Museum showing a similar round appliqué shape that forms part of a stylized beak at the lower edge of its jaw (Figure 93).
Figure 115. Sherds found by Tello at Chavín.

From: Tello 1960, figs. 162 b, 163, and 164, bottom right hand corner
Figure 115 c, left, a spout fragment, shows technical similarities to Group I in its broad line incision, applied relief, and background texturing. Figure 115 c, right, shows S-curves that are related to images on stone reliefs and Ofrendas ceramics and, in turn, to Group I of the ceramic sample (Figure 86). Figure 115 e shows a relief-decorated fragment with broad line incision. This sherd is similar to a second fragment observed in Cuzco that is said to come from Chavín (p. c.: Manuel Chávez Ballón 1978). Both have round eyes (Regional Trait A) and single long fangs issuing from the top of agnathic mouths. They are related to a strapwork vessel with cayman imagery that has been factored into the North Coast sample (Figure 91).

A cylindrical bone tube found by Tello in the bank of the Wacheqsa River (Figure 116) resembles a decorated fragment of a stone lintel found by Tello in the doorway of the town jail and subsequently lost in the 1945 landslide (Tello 1960: 186). It is currently known from a drawing in Chavín: Cultura Matriz de la Civilización Andina (Tello 1960, fig. 32) and a photograph in Manual de Arqueología Peruana (Kauffmann Doig 1978: 234). Tello noted its similarity to the Tello Obelisk (Tello 1960: 186) and it is stylistically related to the recently reconstructed Fore Temple Lintel (late Period II, U.B.C. Chronology). According to the trait analysis proposed by the U.B.C. Study (1976), this stone fragment and the bone tube (Figure 116) would date to Period III in the revised stone chronology. Both show toothbands extending over the profile of the face (Chavín Trait 9), a trait that is diagnostic of Period III Chavín Style and Group II Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics for which they may be the early prototypes. (See Figures 19 and 100.)
Figure 116. Carved bone tube.

From: Tello 1960, fig. 177a
Among the Chavín sherds illustrated by Bennett few have recognizable imagery and identifiable Cupisnique-Tembladera iconography is lacking (Bennett 1944, figs. 29 and 30). (One fragment has a feline eye similar to the bone cylinder found by Tello; Bennett 1944, fig. 18 c.)

Ceramics and sherds found by Lumbreras in the Ofrendas galleries provide valuable comparative material to the North Coast sample. Two incised feline images on the internal and external walls of a shallow bowl closely resemble a feline on a stirrup spout bottle said to come from the Moche Valley and now in the Trujillo University Museum (Figure 16). In addition, two incised feline-raptorial birds of similar style and evidently by the same hand, are illustrated with the bowl in Figure 117. The second motif shows strong resemblances to four splayed feline-raptorial birds, three from a private collection that are said to come from the Tembladera area (Figures 21, 86, 87), and a fourth illustrated in Larco (Larco 1966, fig. 9). They have a number of Tello Obelisk and Ofrendas ceramic traits such as double outlining, S-curves, bracketed lipbands, and striated fangs (Chavín Traits 6 and 8).

A splayed feline-raptorial bird decorating a bottle from the Ofrendas galleries (Figure 118) is also compositionally related to Figure 21. It shows similarities in its mouth and eye forms to a North Coast full figure profile feline with a frontal paw under its chin (Figure 88). A stirrup spout fragment illustrated by Lumbreras in a group of Mosna ceramics in 1971 (Lumbreras 1971, fig. 6) was originally included in the Ofrendas group (Lumbreras 1970: 138). This study supports that original placement on the basis of its close relation to relief-decorated vessels from the North Coast that exhibit Ofrendas traits. A second fragment said to come from Chavín (Figure 119) is a relief-decorated stirrup fragment that is similar
Figure 117. Two incised bowls from the Ofrendas galleries at Chavín.

From: Lumbreras 1971, figs. 11 and 12

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
to a relief-decorated feline in Figure 80 (round corner mouths, extended lipbands, Chavín Traits 1 and 4, round eyes, lipbands enclosing fangs, rectangular fangs, Regional Traits, A, B, C. Both have reduced feline bodies of related shape).

Lumbreras states that "another style, known as "Raku" exhibits "extraordinarily close affinities to Cupisnique" (Lumbreras 1974: 71 and 1977: 18). A stirrup spout bottle (Figure 120) categorized as "Raku" (Lumbreras 1974: 71), a sub-style of Mosna, is identical in shape (Type e) and iconography (profile feline heads) to Group II North Coast ceramics (Lumbreras 1971: fig. 25 b or 1974, fig. 78).

Lumbreras describes the characteristic shapes of Mosna, Wacheqsa, and Rocas ceramics as follows:

The Mosna group is composed of two well-differentiated types: Bichrome and Polished Gray. The bichrome ceramics have a colored polished surface, which is painted in a dark red color, with designs remotely resembling those of Chavín and falling well within the 'chavinoid' concept. The known forms are globular bottles with rounded bases and large necks, and bowls with narrow rims. In the gray ware the predominant form is the bottle with the stirrup spout, which has a trapezoidal form, in contrast to Wacheqsa, where the form is rectangular, and to Rocas, where the form is circular (Lumbreras 1971: 25).
Figure 118. Vessel from the Ofrendas galleries at Chavín.

From: Lumbreras 1970: 150

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 119. Fragment of a stirrup spout showing strapwork relief feline. Said to come from Chavín (p. c.: Manuel Chávez Ballón 1978).

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 120. A stirrup spout vessel categorized by Lumbreras as "Raku" (Lumbreras 1974: 71).

From: Lumbreras 1974, fig. 78
Wacheqsa ceramics exhibit modeled vegetal motifs and angular-sided shapes in red ware with applied graphite paint (Lumbreras 1971, fig. 24 a and d). They are related in shape and iconography to Group III North Coast ceramics. Mosna ceramics with slip-painted feline serpent designs show similarities to feline serpent designs on some Group III Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics (Figures 32 and 33).

Lumbreras sees similarities between Rocas ceramics and a group of Chavín-related stirrup spout vessels said to come from Chongojape (Lumbreras 1974: 72). Examination of the Rocas sample and ceramics with Chongojape provenience in Alan Sawyer's photographic archives supports this assertion. Iconographic, stylistic and technical correspondences between Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics and Rocas-Chongojape ware is rare, although the shape of the stirrup spout is often similar. One sherd illustrated by Lumbreras in the Rocas group (Figure 121) is stylistically related to Figures 80 and 91. It has a round corner lipband that extends over the profile of the face, striated fangs (Chavín Traits 1, 4, and 8) and a round eye (Regional Trait A). The striated fangs are similar to those found on Figures 86 and 87, ceramics related to the style of the Tello Obelisk and Period III. The crest of the head is similar to that found on Figure 80. Figure 91 is a feline-raptorial bird head with a long fang issuing from its top lipband, a trait that is indicative of cayman imagery. This vessel has unusual iconography and its technical execution indicates that it is related to the highland Chongojape style and may be a prototype for Moche III agnathic feline head images (Rowe 1971: 107). These limited observations suggest that a stylistic analysis of Rocas-Chongojape ceramics may uncover temporal
Figure 121. Fragment of a stirrup spout found at Chavín.

From: Lumbreras 1971, fig. 9
relations with Period III of the revised Chavín chronology, thereby suggesting a relative contemporaneity with Cupisnique-Tembladera and Chongojape ceramics.

II. THE NORTH COAST

Larco's sample in Los Cupisniques offers very few Chavin-related artifacts in other mediums. A high percentage is undecorated or, in the case of a group of bone spatulas, the photographs are so poor that accurate interpretation of the imagery is impossible (Larco 1941, fig. 157, 159-162). A drawing in Roe (1974: 52) shows a bone spatula illustrated in Larco (1941 fig. 161) with greater clarity. A feline mouth with fangs extending over the profile of the face (Chavín Trait 9) is visible on feline heads.

A bone spatula (Figure 122) shows iconographic traits: tooth-bands extending over the profile of the face and long hooked claws (Chavín Traits 9 and 10) that are comparable to incised felines on Figures 100 and 102 of the ceramic sample. Excavations conducted by Junius Bird at Huaca Prieta in the Chicama Valley uncovered a bone spatula in the Guanape levels of the site (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer, 1980) (Figure 123). The imagery depicts a full figure human being with a round corner fangless mouth and a bulbous nose (Regional Trait 1) similar to human representations at Chavín (Tello 1960, figs. 81 and 82) and on Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics (Figures 21, 106 and 108).

Two ear plugs made of bone with turquoise inlay and traces of red paint were found in the contents of Tomb 22 at Barbacoa (Figure 124). They show iconography similar to a group of felines in landscapes (Figures...
Figure 122: Rollout drawing of a bone spatula with incised feline-related imagery.

From: Lapiner 1976, fig. 34.
Figure 123. A bone spatula recovered by Junius B. Bird at Huaca Prieta.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 124. Two bone ear plugs.

From: Larco 1941, fig. 169
and feline-raptorial birds, two of which were also found in Barbacoa burials (Vessels 11 and 12, p. 178).

Figure 125 is a rollout of a stone bowl from Tomb 3 at Barbacoa D (Larco 1941: 218, figs. 145 and 283). The rollout indicates the juxtaposition of two images within a guilloche motif that is similar to Figure 112. The head on the extreme right is a feline-raptorial bird with anthropomorphic traits (downturned fangless mouth and bulbous nose). The second is an unusual image with a toothband extending over the upper profile of the face (Chavín Trait 9). A head ornament and the configuration of the face with an upturned nose indicates that it may be anthropomorphized.

A Chavín-related stone cup is illustrated in Larco (Figure 126). It shows human and feline imagery that is related to the Gotosh Monument, a double lipband as in the Tello Obelisk, bowl shaped eyes, toothbands over the profile of the face (Chavín Traits 9 and 11), and irregular rectangular eyes (Regional Trait D). The guilloche or rope motif is a regional trait that is also seen on incised North Coast ceramics depicting human head imagery.

A soapstone cup said to come from Tembladera (Figure 127) shows similarities to the bone spatula (Figure 122) and profile feline heads categorized in Group II of this study (Vessels 38 to 45, pp. 202 and 203). The feline head has a square cornered lipband that encloses rectangular fangs and a fanged profile (Regional Traits B, C, and G). A second image on the reverse is similar to the first but has additional mouth extrusions kenned as feathers. The first feline head has a paw under its chin, a compositional characteristic that is found on the Fore Temple Lintel, on the lintel found in the doorway of the jail at Chavín (Tello 1960,
Figure 125. A rollout of a stone bowl.

From: Larco 1941, fig. 145
Figure 126. A soapstone cup originally illustrated in Larco 1941, fig. 142. From the collection of Victor Larco Herrera.

From: Keleman 1969, plate 258
Figure 127. A soapstone cup said to come from Tembladera.

Private Collection: Vancouver
fig. 32) and on the Gotosh Monument of Period III at Chavín. This suggests that Group II Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramic profile feline heads may be reduced versions of this image. It is also seen on relief-decorated and broad line incised vessels from Group I of the sample.

A clay cylinder seal said to come from Tembladera (Figure 128) shows a square cornered upturned lipband, rectangular fangs encompassed by their lipbands, and a fanged profile (Regional Traits B, C, F, and G).

A group of small carved pearl shell ornaments from Tembladera (Figure 129) show felines in crouching positions with rectangular fangs contained within lipbands and winged eyes (Regional Traits B, C, and H). Two anthropomorphic feline heads with bracketed lipbands (Chavín Trait 7) and winged eyes with bulbous noses (Regional Traits H and I) are found in the same group. A standing human figure with a round eye, downturned fangless lipband, and bulbous nose, is similar to the incised human heads in Group III Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics (Figure 130).

Three stylistically homogeneous ceramics said to come from the Tembladera area show Chavín-related imagery of a style and type that is not present in the selected sample.

A vessel with feline serpent imagery (Figure 131) shows a lipband extending over the profile of an agnathic mouth (Chavín Trait 9), a mouth extrusion (Regional Trait 8), a bowl shaped eye (Chavín Trait 12) and a round corner mouth (Chavín Trait 1) with a rectangular fang encompassed by its lipband (Regional Trait C). An "L" shaped fang backbone forms the body of the serpent which has a winged eye (Regional Trait H). These traits indicate a very late date for the vessel. Its imagery may have influenced a group of Moche III ceramics which Rowe published as possible archaisms (Rowe 1971: 111).
Figure 128. A clay cylinder seal said to come from the Tembladera area.

From: Lapiner 1976, fig. 106
Figure 129. A group of pearl shell ornaments said to be from the Tembladera area.

Private collection: New York

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 130. An anthropomorphic human figure said to be from the Tembladera area.

Private collection: New York

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
A second ceramic in this group shows intertwined feline serpent imagery (Figure 132), a subject similar to that found on the cylinder seal discussed previously (Figure 128). Applied clay forms are superimposed on a long spout and a tall square-shouldered stirrup that is attached to a bowl shaped base. The base and stirrup are incised with what appears to be serpent feline imagery. The iconography shows late traits: downturned lipbands and winged eyes (Regional Traits 3 and 4). An "L" shaped fang toothband similar to that seen in Figure 131 is barely visible on the concave surface of the muffin-shaped base. The third vessel shows a fish with iconographic details that are similar to the first two vessels (Figure 133). All three ceramics have inverted bowl shaped eyes on primary heads.

The group is unusual in many respects: combinations of techniques, applied clay forms with broad line and fine line incisions, vessel shapes, a long tapering spout with no stirrup reminiscent of Wacheqsa shapes (Lumbreras 1971, fig. 24), a long necked stirrup and spout on a V-shaped base, and a highly original use of Chavín traits and subject matter. Chavín-related and regional Cupisnique-Tembladera traits are combined in a manner that is suggestive of a stylistically divergent regional style.

One figure (Pozorsky 1975, fig. 32) from Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley, a feline head with an agnathic mouth and toothband extending over the profile of the face (Chavín Trait 9 related to the Gotosh Monument and Period III of the stone chronology) resembles Figures 126 and 128. A second adobe relief (Pozorsky 1975, fig. 2) is similar to the heads on the soapstone cup (Figure 125). Bowl shaped eyes (Chavín Trait II) associated with the Gotosh Monument and downturned lipbands of Period III
Figure 131. A feline serpent vessel said to have come from the Tembladera area.

Photo courtesy of Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 132. Feline and feline serpent vessel said to come the Tembladera area.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
Figure 133. Vessel showing fish motif said to have come from the Tembladera area.

Photo courtesy Alan R. Sawyer
(the Raimondi Stele) are commonly seen on Huaca de los Reyes adobe reliefs. Group III felines show the closest association with Huaca de los Reyes imagery (Figure 29). This may be the result of different mediums, adobe and clay, and dissimilar subject matter: the anthropomorphic standing figure, a dominant subject in Huaca de los Reyes sculpture, is rare in the Cupisnique-Tembladera sample.

Feline adobe reliefs at Cerro Blanco show "L" shaped fangs (Chavín Trait 5) and extended fangs: traits that are characteristic of Period III at Chavín. Apart from certain traits such as the "L" shaped fangs, bracketed toothbands, agnathic mouths and straight-sided rectangular fangs (Tello 1943, pl. XIII a), which occur in conjunction with Period III traits in the Cupisnique-Tembladera sample, the iconography of Cerro Blanco adobe reliefs is not directly comparable to the ceramics under study in this paper.

**SUMMARY**

Similarities between Group I North Coast relief-decorated vessels and certain Ofrendas ceramics indicates possible North Coast proveniences for those specimens. Trait and stylistic analysis shows that influence was derived from Period III Chavín style. One "Raku" vessel, identical in every respect to Group II ceramics from Larco's Cupisnique sample, probably originated in that area. Trait analysis of Group II & III North Coast ceramics has shown Chavín Period III associations particularly with the style of the Gotosh Monument.
Related but dissimilar regional artifacts indicate that a number of variables must be factored into a study of Chavín-related regional styles:

1. The translation of Chavín imagery into different mediums caused significant modifications in iconography.

2. On the North Coast, Chavín-related traits are found in a variety of mediums, but subject-matter and iconography are directly related to the ceramic sample and in particular Group II specimens.

3. North Coast Regional people selected what they wanted from standard Chavín imagery with limited respect for composition or iconographic purity.
CHAPTER SIX
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study has been to analyse Chavín-related North Coast ceramics and their temporal relation to the lithic art at Chavín. An interpretation of their iconographic and stylistic nature and their correspondences with Chavín ceramics and other North Coast artifacts was undertaken in order to distinguish elements of the Chavín-related regional style.

The author is particularly indebted to John H. Rowe for his formulation of a Chavín stone chronology and his interpretation of the design conventions of Chavín art (1964, 1967). Rowe's seriation provided the foundations for a revised chronology suggested as the result of a detailed study of Chavín iconography accomplished by a group of students at the University of British Columbia under the direction of Alan R. Sawyer (Maitland, Mowatt, Phillips and Watson, 1976). The revised chronology, made possible by archaeological discoveries unknown at the time of Rowe's study, proposes a later date for the Tello Obelisk. This chronology was utilized as the reference point for chronological comparisons between North Coast ceramics and the art of Chavín.

The North Coast sample consists of 77 ceramics showing subject matter influenced by Chavín lithic art. Los Cupisniques published by Rafael Larco Hoyle (1941) was an indispensable source for Chavín-related ceramics reportedly from the Chicama Valley. Approximately fifty percent of the ceramics published in Los Cupisniques were identified as Chavín-related; the remainder appear to be manifestations of a regional style. Hopefully a future study of the regional nature of these ceramics will
provide valuable information on that style and its possible pre-Chavín component.

Because of the poor quality of the photographs in Larco's publication, a study of the ceramics in the Larco Museum in Lima was undertaken by the author in 1978. This provided valuable data on correspondences between iconography and vessel shapes of ceramics in the sample. The sample was then augmented with photographs of ceramics made available by Alan R. Sawyer from his personal archives. Approximately forty-five percent of the ceramics in the selected sample were from that source.

An art historical methodology which included a typological analysis, identification of vessel shapes, trait analysis, and technical analysis provided the basis for study. A discussion of individual ceramics included a summary of design conventions, grave association, and correspondences to Chavín art. Ceramics identified by Larco as "Cupisnique Transitorio" (Larco 1941) were omitted from the sample because they appear to represent a regional non-Chavín-related style which contains symbolic designs based on Cupisnique motifs. Analysis of the subject matter shows that the majority of ceramics fall into thematic assemblages consisting of felines, feline-raptorial birds, human heads, and vegetal forms, snakes, feline serpents, and anthropomorphic felines. Most of these images had secondary status as attendants to the deity at Chavín. Seven basic ceramic shapes were defined and shown to correspond to specific types of imagery. Contemporaneity between some vessel shapes was determined because of the existence of identical imagery. Numerous examples of triangular shape stirrup vessels found in Chicama burials and on ceramics said to come from the Tembladera area appear to indicate the existence of a regional vessel shape.
Imagery was executed according to the following techniques: strapwork or relief decoration, incision (broad line and fine line), and modeling. Punctuation and burnishing were used to create textural effects. Relief-decorated ceramics show close iconographic correspondences to the lithic art of Chavín. Broad line and fine line incised ceramics indicate some regional affiliations, while modeled ceramics interpret Chavín themes in a semi-realistic manner which is a regional characteristic of the North Coast style.

Trait analysis isolated twelve Chavín traits, found on both Chavín stone reliefs and North Coast Chavín-related ceramics, and ten regional traits found in the bulk of the sample. No attempt was made to seriate ceramics according to regional traits; however, analysis of certain thematically related groups would seem to indicate an evolution in time which is suggestive of a relative chronology.

Design conventions support trait analysis. These include multiple imagery, kennings, and horror vacui found on ceramics with numerous Chavín traits, or a stylized rectilinearity, semi-realism, and reduction of imagery on those showing stronger regional ties.

Grave association, although limited, provided further data on relations between techniques and iconography.

The following is a detailed summary of the conclusions arrived at through analysis of the previous data. Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics fall into three distinct yet interrelated groups.
GROUP I

Group I includes: relief-decorated (strapwork) ceramics said to come from the North Coast (a more exact location is impossible to determine) and broad line incised specimens, some of which were found in Larco's Cupisnique sample. The dominant images of Group I are profile feline-raptorial birds, splayed feline-raptorial birds, and profile felines. All are executed either in relief with broad line incision or in broad line incision alone.

This group shows influences corresponding directly to Period III Chavín reliefs such as the Tello Obelisk and the Raimondi Stele. Many Ofrendas ceramics, found at Chavín but generally believed to have been manufactured elsewhere, are stylistically related to the Tello Obelisk. A number of relief-decorated ceramics from Group I show iconographic similarities to Ofrendas ceramics and relief-decorated ceramic fragments found at Chavín. This suggests that such ceramics may have originally come from the North Coast. Images on relief-decorated ceramics are often composed of kennings and multiple images which lead to horror vacuii or a crowded use of the design space. A relief-decorated profile feline or feline-raptorial bird cup, found in a Chicama grave with a second ceramic bearing a reduced broad line profile feline bird, indicates an association between the two images and techniques which is further corroborated by trait analysis.

Eight broad line incised feline-raptorial birds in various stages of reduction demonstrate the existence of this distinctive artistic convention associated with North Coast Chavín-related imagery. The reduction of the feline-raptorial bird is traced from a full figure
with Tello Obelisk/Ofrendas traits, to two profile head images on ceramics from Barbacoa graves in the Chicama Valley. It is demonstrated that reduction of an image should be considered as a significant factor in the interpretation of Chavín-related ceramic imagery. Analysis supports a seriation of specimens from least to most reduced and suggests a relative chronology within certain groups of ceramics. Perhaps future discoveries will increase our understanding of the evolution of North Coast motifs by providing sequences of reduction for images such as the profile feline heads found in Larco's Cupisnique sample (Group II).

Observations of vessel shapes within Group I show a mixture of types a to c, indicating that those specific shapes correspond to the group as a whole.

GROUP II

Group II is composed of fine line incised images, the majority of which are found in Larco's Cupisnique sample and are said to come from the Chicama Valley. Trait analysis has shown that Group II imagery was influenced by Period III reliefs from Chavín, in particular, the Gotosh Monument which is thought to belong to a final phase of the stone chronology.

An increased emphasis on regional interpretation is apparent. Kennings and multiple imagery are omitted in favor of simplified rectilinear renderings of profile feline heads, feline serpents, agnathic felines with abstracted bodies, and anthropomorphic felines. Three ceramics with reduced feather motifs and "L" shaped fangs similar to those seen on feline-raptorial birds are included in this group. Feline
serpents may be alternately interpreted as caymen because of their long
snouts and single fangs overlapping the lipband. If such an identifica-
tion is correct, this would be the only instance of cayman-related
imagery associated with Group II ceramics.

A significantly smaller percentage of the design space is utilized
in Group II ceramics. Background lines usually correspond to the subject-
matter depicted and serve a further purpose as unifying compositional
deVICES. Semi-circles occur with feline or anthropomorphic imagery and
horizontal lines with angular points are often associated with human
imagery.

A vessel found in the Ofrendas galleries at Chavín and classified
as "Raku" style by Lumbreras (1974: 71) is identical in iconography and
shape (Type f) to Group II profile feline heads. Lumbreras has categor-
ized "Raku" as a ceramic style corresponding to the "Mosna" style which
he places late in his 1971 ceramic sequence (Lumbreras 1971, fig. 6).

Ceramics in the Group II sample lack grave association; however,
their inclusion in _Los Cupisniques_ with photographs of vessels of similar
shape but unrecognizable iconography found in Chicama burials indicates
that they come from that area of the coast (Larco 1941, figs. 234, 282,
301). Vessel Type e with its round stirrup shows similar iconography
to Vessel Type f with its triangular stirrup. Numerous Type f vessels
were found in Chicama burials indicating that this vessel shape may be
representative of a distinctive local style.

GROUP III

Group III ceramics show Chavín-related imagery depicted in a
specifically regional manner. Human head imagery and combined human and
vegetal motifs, modeled feline serpents, semi-realistic felines, and anthropomorphic felines dominate the iconography. The few Chavín traits associated with this group are related to the Gotosh Monument and date to the end of Period III in the Chavín chronology. The winged eye seen on most Group III ceramics is a unifying regional trait. The round corner slab-like lipband found on modeled ceramics in this group is a Chavín trait that is seen on stone reliefs dating to all periods of Chavín art including the Tello Obelisk. This lipband is usually associated with semi-realistic imagery inherent in Group III modeled ceramics.

The naturalistic trend in Group III ceramics is found in imagery associated with agricultural fertility derived from the Tello Obelisk. This trend is also seen in Wacheqsa ceramics from the Ofrendas galleries at Chavín and is reinforced by a Cupisnique-Tembladera preference for the depiction of human beings and animals in a semi-realistic manner.

Human imagery shows a limited variation in iconographic interpretation both at Chavín and on the North Coast. Incised Cupisnique-Tembladera human heads show iconography that is basically consistent with that seen on the stone reliefs at Chavín. A few stone fragments from Chavín depict warrior figures carrying dismembered heads, suggesting the possibility of a trophy head cult. Stylized human heads are incised on modeled vegetal forms or net bags which may have functioned as containers for trophy heads. Symbolic associations between vegetal forms and human imagery are found on the Tello Obelisk. Vegetal imagery is also seen on Ofrendas ceramics.

Modeled and partially modeled anthropomorphic feline imagery is also found in Group III. The bowl shaped eye, often associated with
this type of subject matter is related to late Period III Chavín reliefs particularly the Gotosh Monument. This and other Period III traits are found on modeled adobe reliefs at Huaca de los Reyes in the Moche Valley. Although the adobe reliefs are only partially preserved, those areas that remain suggest the depiction of anthropomorphic images (see Pozorsky, 1975). At the Institute of Andean Studies Conference in 1980, William J. Conklin delivered a paper in which he showed that the reliefs at Huaca de los Reyes belonged to a late phase of the Temple complex (Conklin unpublished paper delivered at Berkeley, 1980).

A group of partially modeled felines in a mythical cactus landscape are associated with an iconographic concept similar to one seen in the Circular Plaza at Chavín. Feline serpents are found in full and partially modeled forms and are iconographically related to depictions of feline serpents from Chavín. They are, however, regional in interpretation showing winged eyes, slab-like lipbands, and rectangular fangs. Both of the above sub-groups are iconographically associated with Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics that show traits corresponding to Period III of the stone chronology at Chavín.

Emphasis in Group III is placed on a semi-naturalistic rendering and kennings and multiple imagery or regional conventions such as reduction and rectilinearity are generally absent from this group. Modeled images said to come from Tembladera are lively in character and are often found on vessels with low square-shouldered stirrups (Type f); however, the dominant vessel shape of Group III is an elongated triangular stirrup ceramic (Type g).
This study has shown the hieratic evolution of Chavín-related Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics and at the same time determined their characteristic style in order to distinguish them from other North Coast Chavín-related ceramics. It has been generally assumed in the literature that North Coast Chavín-related styles paralleled all periods of Chavín art. This study has shown that Chavín dispersion dates to Period III at a time when a schism in the religion between the cayman cult, with its emphasis on agricultural fertility and the feline cult in the last era of its dominance, created a duality in the influence exerted to regional areas. Observation of Chavín traits on ceramics in the current sample shows that influence was derived from both cults.

Alan Sawyer has suggested that ceramics with numerous Chavín traits may have been associated with functions more closely related to Chavín religion and were the property of a priest class. He postulates that Paracas-Chavín ceramics which display a combination of regional and Chavín-related symbols may have functioned as less sacred icons in comparison to the relatively dogmatic Carhua textiles. Two factors are involved in this proposal: first, that the textiles were associated with the thoughts of the alien priest class and, secondly, different cultures place unequal emphasis on different mediums during different periods of time (p. c.: Alan R. Sawyer, 1979).

Chavín imagery on Cupisnique-Tembladera ceramics is a composite of all periods of Chavín art, but trait analysis shows Period III
characteristics which indicate that the ceramics must date to that period or later. A large number of interrelated regional traits and an overlap of vessel shapes and techniques as well as iconography suggests a local style which absorbed selected aspects of Chavín dogma and transformed them according to its own interpretation. Stylistic correspondences were found between the ceramic sample and adobe reliefs, bone and stone mediums from the North Coast. These similarities confirm the existence of a regional North Coast style. No attempt was made to formulate an absolute chronology; however, change within the sample is slight, suggesting a time span of no more than three centuries. Ceramics from Group III show the highest percentage of regional characteristics, indicating that they are most closely related to a non-Chavín associated semi-realistic regional style which appears on the Coast. This study has shown that the peoples of the Chicama developed under the influence of Chavín an art style which is reflective of Period III stone reliefs and at the same time exercised a high degree of selectivity which enabled them to create their own distinct regional style.
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