Visual Communication on Cajamarca Ceramics from pre-Hispanic Peru, 1000 - 1460 CE

Jeanette Nicewinter
Virginia Commonwealth University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd

Part of the Arts and Humanities Commons

© The Author

Downloaded from
https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/476

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at VCU Scholars Compass. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of VCU Scholars Compass. For more information, please contact libcompass@vcu.edu.
Visual Communication on Cajamarca Ceramics from pre-Hispanic Peru, 1000 – 1460 CE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

By
Jeanette Louise Nicewinter
Bachelor of Fine Arts, University of Tampa, 2010
Master of Arts, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2013

Director: James D. Farmer
Associate Professor, Department of Art History

Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
May 2013
Acknowledgement

First, I would like to thank my parents for their endless support and humor. Also, I am grateful to Dr. James D. Farmer for his tireless counsel and patience. My committee members, Dr. Michael Schreffler and Dr. Babatunde Lawal, have been a wonderful source of feedback and ideas that have helped me grow academically. Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Jason Toohey and the Yanaorco Archaeological Project for allowing me to use the photographs from our excavations and for creating the spark for this project.
# Table of Contents

List of Tables ............................................................................................................................ iv
List of Figures ............................................................................................................................. v
Abstract ........................................................................................................................................ vi
Chapter 1: Introduction ............................................................................................................... 1
  Cajamarca Region ..................................................................................................................... 2
  Chronology of the Cajamarca Region ...................................................................................... 2
  Cajamarca Culture .................................................................................................................... 4
  Late Intermediate Period Site of Yanaorco ............................................................................. 6
  Previous Scholarship ............................................................................................................... 7
Chapter 2: Formal and Stylistic Analysis ..................................................................................... 13
  Vessel Form ............................................................................................................................. 14
  Stylistic Analysis .................................................................................................................... 16
Chapter 3: Defining and Identifying Feasting Events in the Cajamarca Region ......................... 24
  Fineware Vessels as Prestige Objects ..................................................................................... 26
  Feasting Events at Yanaorco ................................................................................................. 29
Chapter 4: Interpretation of Imagery on Sherds from Yanaorco ............................................. 36
  Representational Imagery ....................................................................................................... 37
  Vessel Form, Perception and Non-Representational Imagery ............................................. 43
Chapter 5: Conclusions ............................................................................................................... 49
  Future Work ........................................................................................................................... 50
Bibliography .............................................................................................................................. 52
Tables ......................................................................................................................................... 58
Figures ....................................................................................................................................... 61
Appendix A: Decorated Sherds from Yanaorco ....................................................................... 71
Vita ............................................................................................................................................. 98
List of Tables

1. Chronologies of the Cajamarca Tradition ................................................................. 58
2. Summary of Vessel Forms in Yanaorco Database ..................................................... 58
3. Summary of Styles in Yanaorco Database ............................................................... 59
4. Summary of Entoptic Imagery in Yanaorco Database ............................................. 60
List of Figures

1. Map of the Peru .................................................................61
2. Cajamarca Semi-Cursive Style Sherd ..................................................62
3. Cajamarca Black and Orange Style, Shicuana Variety Sherd ....................62
4. Cajamarca Black and Orange Style, Chanchiconga Variety Sherd ..................63
5. Cajamarca Fine Red Sherd .........................................................63
6. Cajamarca Fine Black Sherd ..........................................................64
7. Amoshulca Black Geometric Style, San Isidro Variety Sherd ....................64
8. Amoshulca Black Geometric Style, Carambayoc Variety Sherd .................65
9. Cajamarca White Slipped Style Sherd ..............................................65
10. Frontal Bodiless Head, Amoshulca Black Geometric Style, San Isidro Variety Sherd ......66
11. Frontal Bodiless Head, Cajamarca White Slipped Style Sherd ...................66
12. Octopus, Amoshulca Black Geometric Style, Carambayoc Variety Sherd ........67
13. Human Nose, Cajamarca Fine Black Sherd .......................................67
15. Zoomorphic Figure, Cajamarca Coarse Red Handle ..................................68
16. Frontal Bodiless Heads, Cajamarca Classic Cursive Vessel ......................69
17. Miniature Footed Vessel, Front View ...............................................70
18. Miniature Footed Vessel, Side View ..................................................70
Abstract

VISUAL COMMUNICATION ON CAJAMARCA CERAMICS FROM PRE-HISPANIC PERU, 1000 – 1460 CE

By Jeanette Louise Nicewinter, MA

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2013.

Major Director: James D. Farmer, Associate Professor, Department of Art History

This project analyzes a database of 118 ceramic sherds that were excavated from the Late Intermediate Period site of Yanaorco, located in the Cajamarca region of the north highlands in present-day Peru, for vessel form, style, and imagery. Through the placement of these sherds within the context of inter-community feasting events that took place at Yanaorco, fineware ceramic vessels are interpreted as prestige items that were utilized by the elite to further differentiate themselves from other community citizens. By examining key examples of representational and non-representational imagery depicted on the sherds, an understanding of the social agency of the vessel and the esoteric knowledge that the imagery communicated to feasting participants is explored. The use of fineware ceramic vessels during feasting events at the site of Yanaorco served to ideologically reinforce or manipulate social, political, and economic stratification.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Decorated ceramic vessels from the pre-Hispanic Cajamarca culture, located in the north highlands of present-day Peru, display an array of geometric, abstract, and non-representational imagery. A database of 156 images of 118 sherds that were excavated at the Late Intermediate Period (c. 1000 – 1460 CE) site of Yanaorco during the summer 2012 field season through participation in the Yanaorco Archaeological Project Field School was compiled. These sherds were analyzed and categorized by vessel form, style, and imagery. Through comparison with previous Cajamarca ceramic styles from the Cajamarca region, and contemporaneous Cajamarca ceramic styles recovered from other cultural areas, a categorization of the relevant styles and images on the sherds is provided. Additionally, an analysis of the function and context of the sherds, which were once parts of whole vessels that served food and drink to participants during public events, at the middle-range society of Yanaorco connects the imagery on the vessel with the ideological, religious, social, political and economic ideas that were vital to these events. An interpretation of imagery through the lens of feasting events considers who viewed these images during communal events, when feasting events were held and where these events took place within the site. By placing the images on Cajamarca fineware vessels within the context of feasting events at the site of Yanaorco, the vessels are considered prestige items whose imagery was associated with the sustainment or manipulation of social stratification through references to esoteric knowledge.
Cajamarca Region

The Cajamarca region is bound on the south and east edges by rivers, specifically the Crisnejas River and the Maranon River, respectively. To the north, the border of the Cajamarca region is not strictly identified, but may extend to, or beyond, the modern-day Peru-Ecuador border. To the west, Cajamarca archaeological sites extend to the middle of the Andean slope. Sites located on the western Andean slope were prominent during the pre-Inka periods, and demonstrate a close relationship with large polities such as the Chimu. Current evidence from within the Cajamarca city limits suggests that the city is Inka in origin and was possibly inhabited by a small population prior to Inka invasion of the area around 1465 CE. The city of Cajamarca secured its place in the historical record as the site where the Spanish captured the last Inka emperor, Atahualpa, on November 16, 1532.

Chronology of the Cajamarca Region

Two stylistic chronologies have been established for the Cajamarca region. The first chronology dates the beginning of the Cajamarca tradition to approximately 500 BCE, while the second dates the beginning of the Cajamarca tradition to approximately 50 BCE (Table 1).

---

1 Jason Toohey, “Community Organization, Militarism, and Ethnogenesis in the Late Prehistoric Northern Highlands of Peru” (PhD diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2009), 8.
6 The first stylistic chronology for the Cajamarca region can be found in Henry Reichlen, and Paule Reichlen, “Recherches archeologiques dans les Andes de Cajamarca: Premier Rapport de
Notably, the second chronology begins the Cajamarca tradition with the appearance of kaolin in ceramic production, which is currently the method for archaeologically identifying Cajamarca visual culture. During the Early Horizon (c. 750 – 200 BCE), the site of Kuntur Wasi in the Jequetepeque Valley interacted with the coastal ceramic-producing culture of the Cupisnique, and, later, with the prominent highland pilgrimage site of Chavin. The Early Intermediate Period (c. 200 BCE - 600 CE) in the Cajamarca region begins with little to no interregional interactions, but as the period progresses the Cajamarca culture increases trade with neighboring cultures on the coast and in the highlands. These interactions peak during the Middle Horizon (c. 600 – 1000 CE), which parallels the full development of the Cajamarca cursive style of painting on ceramics. Increased trade and relationships with exterior cultures parallels the movement of the Wari into the north highlands during the Middle Horizon. Additionally, during this period the Cajamarca expand the political site of Coyor, which has yet to be excavated. The beginning of the Late Intermediate Period (c. 1000 – 1460 CE) is marked by the collapse of the Wari Empire and the movement of populations from valley floors to strategic, fortified sites in the mountains. A focus on intra-regional trade and interactions is characteristic of the Late Intermediate Period. In approximately 1465 CE, the Inka moved into the north highlands and, after a three-month battle,
took control of the Cajamarca region. Following the Inka annexation of the region, the name “Cajamarca” was assigned to the area.

The pre-Hispanic Cajamarca tradition can be archaeologically identified by two traits, which are outlined by Jason Toohey in his 2009 dissertation. The first is the use of kaolin, a form of volcanic feldspar, in the fineware ceramics of the region beginning in the Initial Cajamarca phase (c. 50 BCE – 100 CE). Another distinguishing characteristic of the Cajamarca tradition is the utilization of “ventanillas” as mortuary architecture. Toohey describes these structures as “a long central hall or shaft with off shooting, lateral, bucket-like cavities that would have acted to house individual burials.” While this form of mortuary architecture is only found within the Cajamarca region, the presence of ventanillas is not an essential characteristic for a Cajamarca site; therefore, no ventanillas structures have been identified or excavated at the site of Yanaorco.

**Cajamarca Culture**

Defining the exact parameters and traits of the pre-Hispanic culture of the Cajamarca region is a fragmented and complicated task. Attempts at reconstructing the environment of the north highlands during the late pre-Inkaic periods have primarily focused on the political and

---

8 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 104.
10 While Toohey draws from previous excavations and scholarship by the Japanese Scientific Expedition to Nuclear America and Daniel G. Julien, he is the first to outline the Cajamarca tradition as composed of these two traits. See Toohey, “Community Organization,” 66.
social structure of the Cajamarca region, to the exclusion of considerations of culture. Because of the lack of known overarching political structures or underlying ideologies that united the people of the region, a discussion of the culture of the Cajamarca relies on evidence recovered from specific sites to interpret the lives of the site’s inhabitants.

Definition of the Cajamarca culture by Shinya Watanabe, a Japanese archaeologist, examines the use of kaolin in fineware ceramics as evidence of shared culture. Similarities in ceramic form and aesthetics are related to a similarity in vessel function, which is used to indicate shared cultural values and concerns. Watanabe argues, “If kaolin ceramics represent a shared ritual relationship between them [neighboring societies], then it can be said that the Cajamarca culture is defined by the same ritual practice.” The present project employs Watanabe’s argument as an underlying assumption that the inhabitants of Yanaorco were part of the Cajamarca culture because the ceramic assemblage from Yanaorco resembles ceramics recovered from other places in the Cajamarca region. In addition, the ritual and ceremonial activities of the site are considered to further the understanding of Cajamarca culture as represented by the recovered material culture from Yanaorco.

Certain cultural facts about the Cajamarca region were included in ethnohistoric and colonial accounts. Specifically, within the Cajamarca region, and many surrounding regions, the language of Culle was spoken. Following the movement of the Inka into the north highlands in 1465, Quechua displaced Culle as the language of the area; however, Culle was revived for a

14 English translation by author. The original Spanish is as follows: “Si la ceramica caolin representa una relacion ritual compartida entre ellas, se podria decir que la cultura Cajamarca se define por la misma costumbre ritual.” From Watanabe, “La ceramic caolin,” 211.
brief period during the Colonial era. According to colonial accounts, the pre-Inkaic religion of the Cajamarca region focused on a deity known as Catequil, who was the personification of lightning. Images of Catequil depict a figure holding a sling in each hand, which were used to produce thunder and lightning. Unfortunately, not all colonial accounts concur that Catequil was the primary deity of the Cajamarca culture; therefore, I hesitate to investigate images from Cajamarca fineware ceramics as representations of Catequil. Other deities possibly included personifications of the sun, moon, stars, Venus, and the Pleiades.

Late Intermediate Period Site of Yanaorco

Located in a strategic position between the Jequetepeque Valley to the west and the Cajamarca Basin to the north, the fortified site of Yanaorco exhibits characteristics common to sites from the Late Intermediate Period (c. 1000 – 1460 CE) in the north highlands (Figure 1). Following the dismantlement of the Wari Empire by 1000 CE, populations moved from exposed valley settlements to strategic fortified sites in the mountains. Population movement in the

---

15 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 68.
16 A brief overview of the pre-Inka deities of the area is given in both Spanish and English in Fernando Silva Santisteban, Cajamarca: Historia y Paisaje (Cajamarca: Gerencia de Relaciones Publicas de Minera Yanacocha, 2003), 66-8.
18 John R. Topic, Theresa Lange Topic and Alfredo Melly Cava are skeptical about the ascription of Catequil, who is a prominent Huamachuco deity, to the Cajamarca region due to conflicting colonial accounts. According to Topic, et al. only two colonial accounts include Cajamarca in the regions whose religious observations were oriented around Catequil; this disparity may reflect the combination of the Cajamarca and Huamachuco regions into one entity by the Inka. See John R. Topic, Theresa Lange Topic, and Alfredo Melly Cava, “Catequil: The Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnography of a Major Provincial Huaca,” in Andean Archaeology I: Variations in Sociopolitical Organization, ed. William H. Isbell and Helaine Silverman (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2002), 304-6.
19 Santisteban, Cajamarca: Historia y Paisaje, 68.
Cajamarca region during the Late Intermediate Period resembles migrations in the central and southern highlands; however, a fundamental difference between these two regions is that the cultures further to the south were incorporated into the Wari Empire. Currently, the exact relationship between the Wari and the Cajamarca is not known, but evidence points to a reciprocal relationship between the two polities, as opposed to the conquest of the Wari over the Cajamarca.\footnote{Evidence concerning the Huamachuco culture, located to the south of the Cajamarca region, and the Wari Empire indicates that the Wari did not conquer the north highlands. For a discussion of the Wari in the north highlands, see Elizabeth Arkush, “Collapse, Conflict, Conquest: The Transformation of Warfare in the Late Prehispanic Andean Highlands,” in The Archaeology of Warfare: Prehistories of Raiding and Conquest, ed. E. N. Arkush and M. W. Allen (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006), 293–4. An overview of the Cajamarca region during the Middle Horizon can be found in Toohey, “Community Organization,” 185-192.} Additionally, the political organization of the Cajamarca region during any of the defined Cajamarca phases is speculative, however, anthropologist Daniel Julien hypothesizes that the region was beginning to unite under a strong political power towards the end of the Late Intermediate Period.\footnote{Julien, “Late Pre-Inkaic,” 250.}

**Previous Scholarship**

Despite the region’s place in history, the scholarship on the pre-Inka Cajamarca culture is sparse and, during the mid-twentieth century, was primarily published in Spanish, French, or German. Additionally, archaeologists and anthropologists have produced the vast majority of the previous literature concerning the pre-Inka Cajamarca culture. A brief overview of the works by the most prominent authors is provided to establish the origins of terms and chronologies. Many noted early Andean archaeologists either mentioned the presence of Cajamarca ceramics in excavated collections or described their travels to the Cajamarca region, including Julio C. Tello,
Max Uhle, Alfred Kroeber and Rafael Larco Hoyle. Kroeber recounts that Uhle was one of the first to describe the Cajamarca painted ceramic style as ‘cursive’ because “the light touches of brush…recovered much of the movements of the pen running rapidly across the paper.” The designation of the Cajamarca painted ceramic style as cursive was utilized by both of the stylistic chronologies that were established for the region, and continues to be a descriptor of painted Cajamarca ceramics.

Henry and Paule Reichlen were the first to conduct a systematic survey of the Cajamarca region in the mid-twentieth century. Between the months of September 1947 and April 1948, the Reichlens conducted a series of systematic surveys and archaeological excavations. The outcome of the seven-month long project was the first stylistic chronology for the Cajamarca region, which was originally published in French in 1949. The time periods were designated as follows: Cajamarca I (c. 500 BCE – 250 CE), Cajamarca II (c. 250 CE – 500 CE), Cajamarca III

---


24 English translation by author. The original Spanish reads as follows: “los ligeros toques de pincel, con los que fueron tazados, recuerdan mucho los movimientos de la pluma corriendo rapidamente sobre el papel.” From Kroeber, “Ceramica Cajamarca,” 91.


26 Reichlen and Reichlen, “Reconocimientos arqueológicos,” 29.
(c. 500 CE – 850 CE), Cajamarca IV (c. 850 CE - 1460 CE), and Cajamarca V and Inca (c. 1460 - 1532) (Table 1).  

Japanese archaeologists Kazuo Terada and Ryozo Matsumoto, participants in the Japanese Scientific Expedition to Nuclear America, established another stylistic chronology in 1985. Terada and Matsumoto’s stylistic chronology is the most utilized and has replaced Reichlen and Reichlen’s chronology for the region. Significantly, Terada and Matsumoto date the beginning of the Cajamarca tradition to the Initial Cajamarca Period when ceramics composed of kaolin paste became prevalent. The chronology for the Cajamarca region by Terada and Matsumoto is as follows: Initial Cajamarca (c. 50 BCE – 100 CE), Early Cajamarca (c. 100 CE – 600 CE), Middle Cajamarca (c. 600 CE – 850 CE), Late Cajamarca (c. 850 CE – 1200 CE), and the Final Cajamarca period (c. 1200 – 1532).  

For the remainder of this project, the above chronology proposed by Terada and Matsumoto is utilized; additionally, sub-phase categorizations are utilized only when the distinction leads to a clarification of concepts.

Archaeological and anthropological investigations in the Cajamarca region have increased since the mid-twentieth century; however, the majority of these excavations have focused on pre-Cajamarca tradition sites from the Formative period (c. 2000 BCE – 50 BCE). For example, Japanese archaeologists have excavated the Formative sites of Kuntur Wasi,

---

27 A comprehensive chronological table was included in the original French publication of Reichlen and Reichlen, “Recherches archéologiques,” 174, however, this table was omitted from the 1985 Spanish translation. Also see Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 7 for a comparative table of the Reichlen and Reichlen and Terada and Matsumoto chronologies.


located in the mid-Jequetpeque Valley, and the site of Huacaloma, located within the modern-day city of Cajamarca.\textsuperscript{30} The site of Coyor, which was possibly a large political and religious center during the Middle Horizon, has been identified as an important Middle Cajamarca site, but has yet to be excavated.\textsuperscript{31}

Two dissertations by archaeologists have focused on the Cajamarca region in the last twenty-five years. The first was by Daniel Julien in 1988. Julien’s dissertation details his conclusions following a site survey that was undertaken between April and October of 1983 that investigated sites dating between approximately 200 BCE and 1532 CE.\textsuperscript{32} Significantly, Julien outlines in his dissertation the vessel forms, pastes, slips, pigments and identifiable iconography that are associated with designated ceramic styles.\textsuperscript{33} Julien also notes further designations and variations within ceramic styles that were not previously published by the Reichlens or Terada and Matsumoto. Therefore, the stylistic categorizations proposed by Julien are the primary source for stylistic identification in the present project.

In 2009, archaeologist Jason Toohey completed his dissertation on the Late Intermediate Period Cajamarca site of Yanaorco. Toohey is the only archaeologist to excavate the site of Yanaorco, and is currently the only archaeologist working in the Cajamarca region. In a 2011 article in the journal \textit{Nawpa Pacha, Journal of Andean Archaeology}, Toohey considers the

\textsuperscript{30} A discussion of the archaeology of Formative Period sites can be found in Toohey, “Community Organization,” 62-3. The original excavation report by the Japanese Scientific Expedition to Nuclear America’s excavations at Huacaloma were published as Terada and Onuki, \textit{Excavations at Huacaloma}, 1982.
\textsuperscript{31} Toohey, “Community Organization,” 84.
\textsuperscript{33} Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 48-118.
formal and stylistic variations of ceramics from the site of Yanaorco. The findings from the Nawpa Pacha article were taken into consideration when observing the forms and styles of the ceramic sherds recovered during the 2012 field season at Yanaorco, which was directed by Toohey.

Notably, there have been no previous art-historical interpretations of material from the Cajamarca region. Therefore, art-historical publications that consider archaeologically recovered material provide methodological framework for the current project. Specifically, the work of Terence Grieder at the site of Pashash in present-day Peru considers the form, ware, style and iconography present on ceramic objects from the site and then relates these conclusions to the possible socio-political and religious ideologies of the area. Additionally, the work of Margaret Jackson considers the imagery present on Moche ceramics as a communication system that directly relates to the function of the vessel within society. While Jackson’s semiotic approach is an art-historical method, her data is archaeological.

Two publications by Rebecca Stone address the possible interpretations of abstract, geometric, and non-representational imagery on pre-Hispanic ceramics from present-day Peru.

---


35 For an example of how art historians have understood ancient symbols through comparisons with contemporary material and ethnographic sources, see Terence Grieder, The Art and Archaeology of Pashash (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 181-189.

Ecuador, Panama, and Costa Rica.\textsuperscript{37} While her work does not directly address ceramics from the Cajamarca region, Stone’s publications are useful for establishing a relationship between a preference for geometric and abstract imagery and the ingestion of hallucinogenic substances.\textsuperscript{38}

An interpretation of Yanaorco fineware ceramics within the context of feasting events commences with an introduction to the site of Yanaorco and an overview of previous scholarship by Toohey that addresses the ceramics recovered from the site. A formal and stylistic analysis of the 156 images of 118 sherds that were documented during the 2012 field season is then provided, including an explanation of the characteristics of each identified style and the proposed corresponding time period. The context of, and theories concerning, feasting events, both at the site of Yanaorco and in the surrounding regions of the north highlands, are considered to produce a hypothesis concerning the function of the vessels, and their imagery, within these ceremonies and spectacles. After affirming that these vessels were considered prestige items during feasting events, the images and their esoteric associations are considered to further the understanding of both the agency of the vessel within the community and the interpretations of the imagery in relation to the Cajamarca’s religious, political, and social discourse. The utilization of prestige goods, such as fineware ceramics, during feasting events at Yanaorco reinforced or manipulated social, political, and economic norms by referencing the elite class’s social, political, and spiritual power through ceramic imagery.

\textsuperscript{37} Stone-Miller begins her discussion of geometric imagery as representative of altered states of perception in Rebecca Stone-Miller, Seeing with New Eyes: highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum collection of art of the Ancient Americas (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, 2002). This discussion continues and is elaborated upon in her latest book: Rebecca Stone, The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in ancient Central and South American art (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011).

\textsuperscript{38} Stone, The Jaguar Within, 34.
Chapter 2: Formal and Stylistic Analysis

During excavations at the Late Intermediate Period site of Yanaorco during the summer 2012 field season, 118 Cajamarca style decorated ceramic sherds were photographed for imagery analysis. Because many sherds exhibited decoration on both sides, the result was a database of 156 photographs. For the formal and stylistic analysis of the sherds, the percentages are based on the total number of sherds, or 118. However, imagery analysis utilizes the number 156, or the total number of documented images on sherds from Yanaorco.

Excavations at the site of Yanaorco took place between July 2 and August 3, 2012. Because of the short duration of the field season, only sherds that were excavated and cleaned during this period were documented. Therefore, the database does not represent a homogeneous set of sherds from a single architectural unit or area of the site. Instead, the majority of the sherds were recovered through surface collection or through excavation of the upper levels of archaeological units. Only diagnostic sherds were recovered during surface collection and are defined as any rim, base or decorated sherd. Decoration techniques present on the photographed sherds include painting, applique, and incising. Other sherds were recovered during clearance of a long corridor that ran between two rooms in the administrative sector of the site.

Additional sherds were recovered from the backdirt associated with huaquero, or looter’s, pits. These large holes are located throughout the site of Yanaorco and were created by

illegal excavations. The *huaqueros* threw dirt and undesirable artifacts to the side of the pit, which is considered the backdirt. Field school participants subsequently screened these mounds. Screening of the *huaquero* pit backdirt resulted in greater variety in the current study because the *huaqueros* unearthed objects from earlier periods that rested a half-meter or more below the surface. Therefore, a higher percentage of sherds were recovered from certain areas because the *huaquero* pits within rooms to be excavated were screened prior to the opening of an excavation block in the architectural unit.

**Vessel Form**

A brief overview of the common vessel forms uncovered from the site of Yanaorco is provided according to Toohey’s classifications.\(^40\) First, the categories of bowl, plate, and vessel are defined. Sherds are categorized as a plate or bowl if decorated on both sides or if the sherd is decorated on the concave side. The designation of vessel is primarily utilized to denote utilitarian forms, such as jars, if the sherd is decorated solely on the convex side, exhibits no use or finishing on the concave side, or has a small rim profile.

In Toohey’s article, a distinction is made between plates and bowls by defining the range of wall angles for each category. A wall angle equal to or less than 30 degrees is considered a plate, while a bowl exhibits higher sides.\(^41\) I attempt to distinguish between the two categories within my own database; however, my identification of vessel forms is based on analysis of the sherd’s photograph. If a distinction between bowl and plate cannot be made, then the sherd has been placed in a general bowl/plate category.

---

\(^40\) Toohey, “Community Organization,” 320-411; Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 177-188.

\(^41\) Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 180.
Of the 118 photographed sherds, 66, or 55.9%, are categorized as being from a bowl or plate, with eight of those sherds positively categorized as originally being part of a bowl (Table 2). The prominence of bowls and plates over other vessel forms in the database from Yanaorco parallels the findings in Toohey’s 2011 article. In the article, Toohey reports that 708 diagnostic bowls and plates were recovered from excavated contexts, which accounted for 56.5% of the 1253 total sherds. The original function of bowls and plates as vessels for serving during community events possibly explains the high percentage of serving vessels at the site, especially in elite contexts. According to Toohey, “bowls were used for serving solid and liquid goods.”

Plates typically held only solid foods due to their lower sides. Both fineware vessel types were used during public feasting events when the religious and social order was reinforced through communal eating, drinking, and dancing.

Also in the assemblage were 31 vessels or jars, which account for 26.3% of the total sherds, and 21 sherds whose original form was indeterminate. Two handles are included in the total count of the vessels, and were possibly from large serving or storage jars. One spindle whorl was fashioned out of a fineware vessel sherd and has not been included in the totals, but was analyzed for stylistic and iconographic elements. The 31 utilitarian vessel fragments could fall into either of the two function types proposed by Toohey: ollas, pots, or jars that exhibit prolonged exposure to heat from use in cooking, and jars that stored solids and liquids. Since many of the jar sherds are from the rim or equator of the vessel, few of the sherds display

---

42 Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 180, Table 5.  
44 Margaret A. Jackson, Moche Art and Visual Culture in Ancient Peru (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 45.  
persistent contact with fire. Additionally, many of the vessel sherds are blackware, which makes it difficult to identify areas that have been darkened through exposure to extreme temperatures.

By identifying bowls and plates as more common within the database of decorated ceramic sherds from Yanaorco, one can hypothesize that, like elsewhere in the Andes, decorations were to be seen by an intended viewer during a specific time. That utilitarian wares exhibit appliqued and incised decorations may indicate that these vessels were marked for specific types of activities, such as brewing, food production, storage of a certain good, or cooking. Alternatively, utilitarian wares may have been marked to denote the owner or the maker of the vessel. Finewares were decorated for communication of more esoteric concepts, typically ideological or religious ideas that were understood by large populations who viewed the vessels during ritual or ceremonial occasions.

Stylistic Analysis

The identification of a sherd’s style is dependent on the characteristics of paste color and material, slip, and decoration. Again, because only a preliminary analysis of the sherds was completed in the field, it was difficult to determine some sherd’s paste color and material from the photographs. Ceramic styles are divided into two broad categories: fineware and utilitarian ware. Julien subdivides the category of fineware into kaolin and non-kaolin wares. Kaolin finewares are defined as “thin-walled ceramics with very light colored paste or slip.” These

---

48 The following quotes are from Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 49. My stylistic analysis utilized Julien’s dissertation as the primary source because of his survey knowledge of pre-Hispanic Cajamarca ceramics and the further categorical distinctions of these ceramics that were proposed in the dissertation.
vessels typically utilize the natural white or cream color of the kaolin as a surface for painting, or use a transparent or thin slip to smooth the surface before painting. Non-kaolin finewares are “thin-walled ceramics of dark-colored pastes with a polished surface.” With non-kaolin finewares, a slip ranging in color from white to cream, or sometimes pinkish or orange, covered the dark surface of the paste to both smooth the surface, create a light-colored canvas, and to mimic kaolin-paste ceramics.49

Fineware ceramics are diagnostic of the time period during which they were produced, and, therefore, are the basis for stylistic chronologies. When discussing finewares, the sherds are further subdivided into relevant chronological phases.

Four fineware types are present at Yanacu during the Late Cajamarca period (c. 850 – 1200 CE): Cajamarca Semi-Cursive, Cajamarca Black and Orange, Cajamarca Fine Black and Cajamarca Fine Red.50 All of these types are present in the current database (Table 3).

Cajamarca Semi-Cursive is a non-kaolin fineware style that is prominent during the Late Cajamarca phase; 17 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style sherds, or 14.4% of the total quantity of sherds, were identified in the present database (Figure 2). The paste for this style is red, orange or brown and possesses a large quantity of temper.51 Temper is the inclusion of typically non-clay substances, even though fired ceramics can be used as temper, in the clay matrix to reduce the amount of shrinkage that the piece undergoes during drying and firing, and to strengthen the object through bondage of the clay with the inclusions.52 Sherds of the Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style are slipped with a thick, opaque, white under-slip, and, sometimes, an overcoat of slip that

---

creates a cream or light orange surface color.\textsuperscript{53} Red and black pigments are used; however, the red can also exhibit shades of brown. Abstract painted motifs are the most common decoration on Cajamarca Semi-Cursive vessels. Also, the Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style is associated with the earlier Cajamarca Classic Cursive style because of the rapid fineline painting technique.\textsuperscript{54}

Julien proposes that there are three varieties of the Cajamarca Black and Orange style during the Late Cajamarca Period.\textsuperscript{55} The first is the Cajamarca Variety, which utilizes a white kaolin paste, but that was not identified as a sub-type of this style at Yanaorco. A buff to light orange unslipped paste characterizes the Shicuana Variety of the Cajamarca Black and Orange style; additionally, this variety is identifiable by the spalling and cracking of the surface, which is caused by firing of the calcite temper.\textsuperscript{56} Red, orange, and black pigments are applied in geometric designs, including straight or zigzag lines with broad bands (Figure 3). A common characteristic of the three varieties of Cajamarca Black and Orange is that the orange is the principal design element and the black lines are thinner and used to emphasize the broad, bold orange sections. Especially with the Shicuana Variety, thin black lines outline the broad expanses of translucent, streaked orange pigment. This variety is the most common of the Cajamarca Black and Orange style, and was identified 17 times in the assemblage, as opposed to the Chanchiconga Variety, which was identifiable on 12 sherds. The Chanchiconga Variety exhibits black and orange pigments on an opaque white slip over an orange or red-orange paste (Figure 4). Decorations of this variety may include dots within circles and scalloped lines, in addition to the broad orange bands and thin black lines. A total of 30 sherds exhibit a variety of

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{53} Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 79-81.
  \item \textsuperscript{54} Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 183.
  \item \textsuperscript{55} A description of the Cajamarca Black and Orange style of Cajamarca ceramics, including descriptions of the three varieties, can be found in Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 81-3.
  \item \textsuperscript{56} Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 183, 186.
\end{itemize}
the Cajamarca Black and Orange style, which, at 25.4%, is the highest frequency of a fineware style in the database.

Cajamarca Fine Black and Cajamarca Fine Red vessels were produced during both the Late Cajamarca and Final Cajamarca phases. Both of these styles were identified only twice in the current database; this is because the styles infrequently display a form of decoration. Both styles are unslipped and do not utilize painted decorations, but, instead, exhibit small applique or incised images. The primary difference between the two styles is the treatment of the vessel during firing. Cajamarca Fine Red vessels are composed of a reddish brown paste that has been burnished and then fired in an oxidizing atmosphere (Figure 5). In contrast, Cajamarca Fine Black vessels were fired in a reduction atmosphere, also known as smudging (Figure 6). These blackware vessels are also composed of a brown to reddish brown paste. During smudging the fire is smothered at the end of the firing process to produce carbon that attaches to the surface of the vessel. The result of smudge, or reduction, firing is a black surface on the vessel; blackware vessels were especially common among the Late Intermediate Period Sican and Chimú cultures on the north coast of present-day Peru.

Cajamarca Fine Black and Fine Red styles persist into the Final Cajamarca phase (c. 1200 – 1532 CE), however, the Cajamarca Semi-Cursive and Cajamarca Black and Orange styles are replaced by the Cajamarca White Slipped style and the Amoshulca complex, which

59 For an overview of the north coast Late Intermediate Period Sican culture and its material culture, see Izumi Shimada, Cultura Sicán: Dios, Riqueza y Poder en la Costa Norte del Perú (Lima: Fundación del Banco Continental para el Fomento de la Educación y la Cultura, Edubanco, 1995).
includes varieties of Amoshulca Symbolic and Amoshulca Black Geometric styles. Since no Amoshulca Symbolic style sherds have been identified at Yanaorco, including in the present database, an outline of the style’s characteristics is omitted.

Amoshulca Black Geometric style ceramics are sub-divided into three varieties: San Isidro, Quililic, and Carambayoc. The San Isidro variety exhibits a buff to pink or brown paste with a translucent and uneven white slip and decorations in black and brown pigments (Figure 7). Geometric images are prevalent on all three Amoshulca Black Geometric varieties, in addition to the disembodied frontal face with concentric circle eyes. A white or cream paste with cream, pink, tan or light orange slip and black, and sometimes orange, pigment characterizes the Quililic variety of the Amoshulca Black Geometric style. Finally, the Carambayoc variety is decorated with black and red pigment, which sometimes appears brownish in hue (Figure 8). The paste is a buff to pink or brown type with a light-colored slip applied over the paste, however, this variety may or may not be slipped.

Of the 16 Amoshulca Black Geometric style sherds identified in the present database, no sherds were categorized as the Quililic variety. Carambayoc variety sherds were the most frequently identified with 9 sherds, and 6 sherds were assigned to the San Isidro variety. Additionally, one sherd exhibits characteristics of the Amoshulca Black Geometric style, but the pigment has flaked away so that the variety cannot be determined.

---

60 Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 195.
61 See Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 88-90 for a discussion of the fundamental characteristics of sherds from the Amoshulca Black Geometric style, including the further distinctions between the three varieties of the style.
The Cajamarca White Slipped style is a non-kaolin fineware that is similar in paste, slip and decoration to the Late Cajamarca phase’s Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style (Figure 9). With 14 categorized sherds, the Cajamarca White Slipped style is not as prominent in the current assemblage as the Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style. A thick, white slip, and possibly a second thinner slip, is applied over a red, orange or brown paste that is decorated with black and red or orange pigments. The second slip can give the surface a cream or light orange coloration, which assists in distinguishing this style. Painted decorations on Cajamarca White Slipped ceramics are more static and rigid than the rapid and flowing brushwork of the Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style.

Utilitarian wares are included in the present database because certain types were decorated with painted or appliqued elements. Unlike finewares, these wares were not produced during a single time period. One reason for the prolonged production of these wares may be that utilitarian wares were produced within the community, while finewares were imported from various places in the region surrounding the community of Yanaorco. If so, then the continued production of utilitarian wares in one area would account for the lack of stylistic change over time.

Three utilitarian ware styles were painted. Utility Types B and C exhibit painted decorations, however, decoration is more prevalent on Utility Type B. One should note the existence of a Utility Type A, however, this type was not decorated. Light colored pastes and slips constitute Utility Type B, in addition to painted bands or lines in black, white, and red. Julien does not identify any decorated sherds of Utility Type C, however, Toohey describes a

---

62 The characteristics of the Cajamarca White Slipped style are defined in Julien, “Ancient Cuismancu,” 84-5.
64 Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 192.
sherds of this variety that exhibits painted “narrow vertical black bands.”\textsuperscript{66} Utility Type B ceramic sherds, with 8 examples, compose 6.8\% of the total sherds.

One sherd in the assemblage is decorated with painted lines of black and white along the rim and lip of the vessel, which characterizes the Cajamarca Black and White utilitarian ware.\textsuperscript{67}

Additionally, two forms of coarse ware are present at Yanaorco: Cajamarca Coarse Red and Cajamarca Coarse Black. A total of 20 sherds of these types were included in the present database of Cajamarca decorated ceramic styles because they were decorated with applique or incising, frequently in a concentric circle or undulating line design. These wares differ from the Cajamarca Fine Red and Cajamarca Fine Black categorizations by their inclusion of a “medium to large quantity of medium-textured temper.”\textsuperscript{68} Just as with the Cajamarca Fine Black vessels, the coarse blackware vessels were produced through smudging.\textsuperscript{69}

In sum, the database of ceramic sherds from Yanaorco exhibits 87 fineware sherds and 31 utilitarian ware sherds. 17 of the fineware sherds were identified as Cajamarca Semi-Cursive, 30 are of the Cajamarca Black and Orange style, 16 sherds display a form of the Amoshulca Black Geometric style and 14 sherds were designated Cajamarca White Slipped. Additionally, two sherds each of Cajamarca Fine Red and Cajamarca Fine Black were identified. Of the 31 utilitarian ware sherds, 11 were identified as Cajamarca Coarse Red and 9 were grouped as Cajamarca Coarse Black. One sherd was catalogued as Cajamarca Black and White; meanwhile, 8 sherds were from Utility Type B vessels. 6 fineware sherds and 2 utilitarian ware sherds were catalogued as indeterminate due to the poor preservation of the sherd.

\textsuperscript{67} Toohey, “Formal and Stylistic Variation,” 192.
\textsuperscript{68} Julien, “Ancient Cuismacu,” 101-2.
\textsuperscript{69} Julien, “Ancient Cuismacu,” 106.
Since only decorated ceramic vessel sherds were documented during the field season, the high total percentage of fineware sherds, 73.7%, versus the total of 26.3% utilitarian ware sherds was expected. However, the division between sherds that are diagnostic of the Late Cajamarca phase and the Final Cajamarca phase is counter-intuitive since many of the sherds were from surface collections. Of the two styles that are characteristic of the Late Cajamarca phase, Cajamarca Semi-Cursive and Cajamarca Black-and-Orange, there are 47 identified sherds, which account for 39.8%. As for the two styles characteristic of the Final Cajamarca phase, Amoshulca Black Geometric and Cajamarca White Slipped, these sherds only compose 25.5% of the total documented sherds. One reason for this gap in percentages may be that the surface collections were undertaken in the older areas of the site, which would increase the variety within the assemblage. The northwest quadrant has been identified has the older region of the site, and is where the majority of the fieldwork was conducted during the summer 2012 field season.

Following the stylistic identification of the 118 sherds from the Yanaorco assemblage, an examination of how these objects functioned within society and culture can be undertaken. To further understand the imagery on the vessels, a discussion of the function of fineware bowls and plates within the context of feasting and ritual or ceremonial occasions sheds light on the way that these images and vessels were originally seen. Additionally, the question of the intended viewer of the vessel is important to answer before elaborating upon the proposed associations between the images and the esoteric knowledge that was present within Cajamarca culture.
Chapter 3: Defining and Identifying Feasting Events in the Cajamarca Region

The present project regards fineware ceramics as prestige objects that functioned within the ritual and ceremonial calendar at the site of Yanaorco. By establishing the ideological importance of fineware ceramics, the imagery present on the sherds from Yanaorco is interpreted as representing esoteric knowledge. Through an employment of works by Mary Helms and Margaret Jackson as models, a discussion of the possible function and context of fineware ceramics within Cajamarca culture is undertaken. In the book *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade and Power*, Helms analyzes how objects are conceptualized as wealth, prestige, and power through fabrication and acquisition. Within Helms’ framework, objects that are produced outside of the central polity by skilled craftsmen are considered wealth, which is defined as “tangible or intangible ‘things’ laden with inherent and inalienable associations and worth.”70 The acquisition of wealth, which in the case of Yanaorco is fineware ceramics, from outside of the community was considered a privilege of the elites who associated themselves with distant places of origin.71 Margaret Jackson examines Moche fineware ceramics more specifically as functioning within a liturgical calendar where the imagery on the vessel communicated esoteric knowledge.72 The interment of vessels with high-status individuals indicates “the incidence of what can be thought of as special fineware or fancy ceramics...is largely limited to certain vessel forms and contexts

71 Helms, *Craft*, 198.
that bear distinct connections to certain kinds of ritual or liturgical practices.” Consequently, Jackson implies that intentionality was present during the production of fineware ceramic vessels so that the vessel could properly function within a specific ritual or ceremonial context.

Considering the previous scholarship on skillfully crafted goods and fineware ceramics by Helms and Jackson enables an interpretation of fineware ceramics from Yanaorco, especially open vessel forms, as prestige objects that functioned within specific contexts.

Despite the recovery of the Yanaorco ceramic sherds from the secondary context of refuse or fill episodes, the imagery on the vessel was tied to the first function of the vessel as referencing social and political power during public events. By placing these abstract images within the context of feasting events, esoteric references related to the ideological, social, political, economic and religious climate of the site, and the region, can be associated with the images. However, due to the dearth of archaeological investigations and ethnohistoric accounts from the Cajamarca region, there is little understanding of the ritual and ceremonial calendar of the Cajamarca. Therefore, examples of the function of fineware ceramics during interment and accession ceremonies held by the Recuay culture are utilized to expand the understanding of public events within the Cajamarca territory. Within this context, fineware vessels are considered prestige objects that strengthened and manipulated social relations, interactions, and communications. A detailed analysis of public events at Yanaorco, including where and when these spectacles were located, leads to the conclusion that fineware ceramic vessels were utilized by the Yanaorco elite to support social stratification.

73 Jackson, Moche Art, 38.
74 Lau, Andean Expressions, 155.
Fineware Vessels as Prestige Objects

Fineware vessels were probably not used during day-to-day activities at Yanaorco, but were, instead, utilized during public ceremonial or ritual occasions. The presence of large amounts of serving vessel forms, such as bowls and plates that were produced through fineware technology, supports the conclusion that these vessels were used for the shared consumption of solid and liquid goods during ceremonial occasions. With regards to kaolin fineware ceramics from the Recuay culture, located in the highland section of the Ancash region to the south of Cajamarca, archaeologist George F. Lau identifies four ways that fineware vessels would have been used: “as funerary goods, as nonfunerary ritual offerings, for libation activities, and in feasting episodes.” While I focus on the vessel’s function during feasting episodes, these four uses are not rigidly separate, since elements of more than one use can be present during any given employment of the vessel. For example, funerary goods may be used during public events before being interred, or nonfunerary offerings may be used for consumption before being ceremonially broken and/or placed within a cache. My focus on feasting events stems from the interaction between the imagery and the ideological, political and social nature of the events, but also from the lack of archaeological evidence from Yanaorco that connects fineware ceramics with funerary or nonfunerary interments. Few burials have been systematically recovered at Yanaorco, and, while ceramics are associated with unearthed human remains, no fine ware ceramics were associated with the burials. Therefore, the elevated status of fineware ceramics during public feasting events will be investigated to understand how fineware vessels circulated

---

77 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 300-1.
within the region, how these vessels functioned within society, and how the imagery on fine ware vessels is connected to esoteric knowledge associated with ceremonies or rituals.

To date, no ceramic production areas have been excavated in the Cajamarca region. Consequently, understood aspects of ceramic production and distribution within the Cajamarca region are based on evidence from other cultures or an intimate knowledge of ceramic processes.

To understand how fine ware vessels were circulated within the Cajamarca region, Toohey conducted an Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) on the pastes of both fine ware and utilitarian wares from Yanaorco. The fine ware vessels sampled were heterogeneous in paste type, while the utilitarian wares were more homogeneous. As a result, Toohey proposed that fine ware vessels were produced at different locations within the Cajamarca region and were imported into the community of Yanaorco; meanwhile, utilitarian wares were produced within the community.

The importation of fine ware vessels associated the objects with inter-community relations and the serving of food or drink during public events or spectacles. Because fine ware ceramics require more labor hours to produce and were not produced within the community, these objects were held in higher esteem than utilitarian vessels. Access to vessels that were imported from other communities within the region was a luxury of the elite, or upper, class. Consequently, the fine ware vessel itself was perceived as possessing a degree of prestige or value within society. Within the social network of the site, these objects were agents of intention and communication that associated the vessel with interactions between Yanaorco elites and other

---

78 For the entire report concerning the INAA investigation, see Toohey, “Community Organization,” Appendix B, 527-538.
79 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 469.
80 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 469-70.
societies within the Cajamarca region. Social anthropologist Alfred Gell’s theory concerning the agency of objects is applicable to further understanding the agency of fineware ceramics within the community of Yanaorco because Gell’s theory marries anthropological methodology with art-historical terminology and art objects. In Gell’s theory, objects are secondary agents that function within specific contexts and relationships as instruments of the primary agent, or person. Fineware ceramics used during public events are an example of secondary agents that express the intention and agency of the primary agent, in this case an elite or upper class resident of Yanaorco, through both the use of the vessel during spectacles, but, also, through the imagery on the vessel and the esoteric knowledge associated with the images.

Evidence from Yanaorco indicates that trade within the Cajamarca region was the primary source of prestige objects and political power during the Late Intermediate Period. Despite the high level of trade and interaction between the Cajamarca and surrounding cultures, such as the Recuay, Moche, and Sican, during the Middle and first half of the Late Cajamarca phases, these interactions either ceased or took place on a smaller scale following the collapse of the Wari Empire. During the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period, around 1000 CE, the

---

82 For a specific analysis of Recuay ceramics and their agency within the context of Recuay culture and society, see Lau, Andean Expressions, 239. A more general discussion of Andean objects as agents, including theoretical and philosophical backgrounds concerning the agency of objects, can be found in Tamara Bray, “An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen: Thinking Through Late Pre-Columbian Ofrendas and Huacas,” Cambridge Archaeological Journal 19/3 (2009): 357-66.
84 Gell, Art and Agency, 17.
focus of politics and economics within the Cajamarca region shifted inwards to re-establish the political hierarchy and social stratification that was dismantled following the withdrawal of the Wari from the north highlands.  

Feasting Events at Yanaorco

Especially during a time of political instability, public events were used to bolster certain individuals who held elite status and to create a sequence of debts and repayments that functioned to establish social stratification and hierarchy. Toohey categorizes the community at Yanaorco as a middle-range society, which he characterizes as exhibiting social and economic ranking and inequality, control of labor for the production of surplus goods, the completion of large labor projects, and interactions of elites with long-distance allies. Specifically, Toohey cites the building of large plazas, platform mounds, and fortification walls as large labor projects that required the maintenance and management of a large group of people. In exchange for labor, these large groups would be compensated through feasting events where the sponsor, who was a member of the elite or upper class, would supply food and drink.

---

Lau analyzes the relationship between Recuay and Cajamarca ceramics that were uncovered from the highland site of Chinchawas in the Ancash region. A similar analysis of the recovery of Cajamarca ceramics at the Transitional period Moche site of San Jose de Moro interprets the Cajamarca ceramics as a reflection of the socio-political organization of the Moche polity at the time in Katiusha Bernuy Quiroga and Vanessa Bernal Rodríguez, “La tradición Cajamarca en San José de Moro: una evidencia de interacción interregional durante el Horizonte Medio,” in Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, et al. (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 2008), 67-80. Finally, Cajamarca ceramics, and coastal Cajamarca ceramics, have been recovered from Sican sites on the north coast and are examined in Izumi Shimada, Cultura Sicán: Dios, Riqueza y Poder en la Costa Norte del Perú (Lima: Fundación del Banco Continental para el Fomento de la Educación y la Cultura, Edubanco, 1995).


Toohey, “Community Organization,” 150.
Eating and drinking are both actions that are associated with the building of community relations, in addition to public and/or private relationships, in the Andes. Accordingly, feasting events were times when people would gather together in a public space to partake in food and drink, but also to dance and sing. One person within the community would sponsor a feast, primarily in return for labor or other obligations, and those within the community would participate in the consumption of goods, and, sometimes, the distribution of wealth in the form of gifts. This dynamic of benevolence and consumption worked to create a relationship of obligation and reciprocity between the sponsor of the feast and those participating in the event. Therefore, it was also through feasting events that the political and social status quo was reinforced or manipulated.

The ideological aspect of feasting events is present in the way that people interacted with each other, with the prestige objects, and with the surrounding space. Theories that address concepts of performance within terms of archaeologically reconstructed cultures are discussed by Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben in the introduction to their book *Archaeology of*

---

92 Jackson, *Moche Art*, 42.
94 Multiple studies have analyzed the utilization of feasting events, and ceramic vessels used during feasting events, as ways to create a system of inequality and reciprocity. An interpretation of Inka ceramic forms as related to their function as agents of the burgeoning empire, which utilized commensal events to forge relationships, can be found in Tamara Bray, “Inka Pottery as Culinary Equipment: Food, Feasting and Gender in Imperial State Design,” *Latin American Antiquity* 14/1 (2003): 3-28. Analysis of the Early Intermediate Period South Coast Nasca culture also interprets fineware ceramics as prestige goods associated with feasting events and spectacles. See Kevin J. Vaughn, “Households, Crafts, and Feasting in the Ancient Andes: The Village Context of Early Nasca Craft Consumption,” *Latin American Antiquity* 15/1 (2005): 61-88.
95 Jackson, *Moche Art*, 46.
Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics. An understanding of the way concepts of performance can be applied to ancient cultures leads Inomata and Coben to propose substitution of the term spectacle for the terms ritual and ceremony in reference to public displays or events. Spectacle, as defined by Inomata and Coben, is a “gathering centered around theatrical performance of a certain scale in clear spatial and temporal frames.” A focus on the spectacle, instead of the religiously-laden terms of ritual and ceremony, enables a wider discussion of the ideological undertones of the performance and how the objects that were utilized during performances reinforced the overarching ideological messages. In this way, the objects used during performances can be viewed as props or supports that visually express and strengthen the ideological, social, and political meanings communicated via other aspects of the performance, such as singing or choreographed movements. For that reason, the term spectacle will be utilized when referring to feasting events to emphasize the performative and ideological aspects of these public gatherings.

Feasting events would have taken place in large, open areas where groups of people could gather, but that are adjacent to areas with restricted or elite access. Toohey has proposed two areas of Yanaorco that are suitable for hosting feasting events. The first area is categorized as an elite area that included “the open D-shaped plaza, the two small, niched rooms and closely associated small patio or terrace, and a secluded set of rooms located on a small terrace just off the south face of the ridge.” The second area “is a small sector of three small rooms and a semi-circular patio on the northern slope of the finger ridge facing the Gavilan Pass further to the

---

96 Inomata and Coben, “Overture,” 11-44.
Either of the plazas or patios would have enabled a large group of people to gather together and partake in spectacles. Additionally, the elite rooms, which were well constructed and have restricted access, functioned to separate the elites from other participants during the spectacle to reinforce social stratification.

Communal consumption of fermented beverages is one of the most important aspects of feasting events. According to ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts, the performances associated with the consumption of alcoholic beverages reinforced or manipulated social statuses and concepts of reciprocity. The manner by which alcohol was initially presented by the feast’s sponsor and then passed around among participants, who drank from a shared container, forged a relationship of reciprocity between the sponsor and the recipient. Additionally, each movement carried meaning from “the order in which the drinks are given, the phrase used in offering the drink, and the quantity of drink.” While no goblets or quero-shaped vessels have been recovered from Yanaorco, the vessels categorized as bowls could have functioned to serve inebriating beverages. No fermented beverage production has been documented at Yanaorco, but the foods available to the pre-Hispanic community included corn, beans, potatoes, and grains that could have been fermented to produce chicha, traditional Andean corn beer.

100 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 294.
102 Jennings and Bowser, “Drink,” 11.
103 Toohey, “Community Organization,” 460. Household brewing activities, as opposed to large-scale production areas, are difficult to archaeologically identify and were possibly the way that the community at Yanaorco produced fermented beverages. An overview of the process of brewing chicha in both types of facilities can be found in Frances M. Hayashida, “Ancient beer and modern brewers: Ethnoarchaeological observations of chicha production in two regions of the North Coast of Peru,” Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 27 (2008): 161-174.
Many occasions within the social, political or religious life at Yanaorco would have necessitated feasting events. Specifically, interment or re-interment events, the ascension or death of a new political leader, or religious occasions were moments when feasting events were required, in addition to the sponsoring of an event in exchange for labor obligations. Tombs and chullpas, above ground burial structures, at Yanaorco could be reopened following interments for offerings to be placed near the deceased. Ancestor veneration is a widespread practice in the Andes and one that Lau connects with feasting events and the utilization of fineware ceramics during these spectacles to reinforce or widen the gaps in social status. During these spectacles, gifts of food or drink were offered to the ancestor in exchange for obtaining “sanction and transmission of political authority, land/property, or critical resources rights” and to “reinforce group solidarity and traditional sociopolitical arrangements.” Additionally, the ascension or death of a leader would necessitate that the ruling elites assert or reassert political and social power through sponsoring a feast and providing the food and drink to continue unequal social status. Finally, religious occasions were celebrated through the communal consumption of food and drink. Specific deities and religious proceedings observed by the community at Yanaorco are still highly speculative, and are most frequently based on the ascription of ethnohistoric studies of later people in the Huamachuco region, in the highlands south of Cajamarca. Although an understanding of the exact occasions when feasting events

105 A comprehensive discussion of the function of ancestor veneration within Andean societies can be found in George F. Lau, “Feasting and Ancestor Veneration at Chinchawas, North Highlands of Ancash, Peru,” Latin American Antiquity 13/3 (2002): 299.
107 Lau, Andean Expressions, 239.
108 For a discussion of the Huamachuco deity Catequil and the ascription of this deity to cultures in the Cajamarca region, see John R. Topic, Theresa Lange Topic, and Alfredo Melly Cava, “Catequil: The Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and Ethnography of a Major Provincial Huaca,” in
and spectacles took place at Yanaorco is currently in its nascent stages, the middle-range society residing at Yanaorco would have participated in interment rites, ascension events, and the observation of religious occasions.

An analysis of how ceramic imagery related to spectacles is undertaken following the positioning of fineware serving vessels from Yanaorco within the context of communal events. Toohey brings attention to the ability of potters in various parts of the Cajamarca region to produce imagery that is consistent in composition, style and image elements.\(^{109}\) During this discussion, Toohey ventures to say that the vessels depict a type of “Cajamarca-ness” that is associated with the shared ethnicity of the viewer and producer.\(^{110}\) Additionally, Julien notes that the range of recovered Cajamarca style ceramics coincides with the borders of the present Cajamarca region, which Julien says “indicates that the distribution of Cajamarca ceramics as the primary style is a reliable, perhaps conscious, marker of Cajamarca ethnicity.”\(^{111}\) However, before considering the Cajamarca style as a marker of ethnicity, the style and imagery that is present throughout the duration of the Cajamarca tradition should be considered to understand what, specifically, were the uniting ideas or concepts of this ethnicity, and how they were depicted. To begin this large undertaking, the sherds from Yanaorco are analyzed within the context of spectacles to create an ideological baseline. At present, the images from the Yanaorco sherds are indicative of this shared ethnicity, ideology or culture and are related to the political, social, economic, and religious climate of the site. Interpretation of these images provides clues

---

\(^{109}\) Toohey, “Community Organization,” 475.

\(^{110}\) Toohey, “Community Organization,” 475.

\(^{111}\) Julien, “Late Pre-Inkaic,” 249.
to understanding how the Cajamarca defined themselves, and how, presently, the uniting features of the artworks can be defined in relation to shared identity and commensal events.
Chapter 4: Interpretation of Imagery on Sherds from Yanaorco

Images on the ceramic sherds from Yanaorco do not depict a wide variety of motifs or themes, but, instead, display images associated with esoteric references to disembodied heads, coastal regions to the west, and the alteration or manipulation of perception. When viewed during feasting events these images acted as social agents that expressed the intention of the ruling elite or feast sponsors to further differentiate themselves from the lower class.

Two painted representational sherds from Yanaorco are analyzed to connect the images with surrounding cultures, ideologies and related painting styles. The first, a frontal bodiless head motif depicted on both an Amoshulca Black Geometric and a Cajamarca White Slipped sherd (Figures 10 and 11), is related to similar depictions of a frontal bodiless head from the art of the Recuay region, in which the image often depicts an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic deity, or the disembodied head of a sacrificial victim or ancestor. Second, an octopus image (Figure 12) associates the elite at Yanaorco with the Pacific Coast to the west, and the exoticism or prestige that an association with this region, and its wildlife, brought to the feast sponsors. Geometric and abstract imagery on the remaining sherds is related to the ingestion of fermented beverages and hallucinogenic substances during feasting events or spectacles. The relationship between the image on the vessel, either representational or abstract, and participation of the vessel during spectacles enabled the elite class to exploit the associations between the imagery and concepts of
defense, exoticism, and the manipulation of perception to reinforce social, political and economic stratification.

**Representational Imagery**

Of the 118 ceramics sherds from Yanaorco, eight sherds depict representational subjects. The remaining 110 images bear geometric, abstract, and non-representational painted or appliqued decorations. Five of the eight representational images are modeled on the exterior of a vessel and are either Cajamarca Fine Black or Cajamarca Fine Red sherds. The one representational sherd from a Cajamarca Fine Black vessel depicts a naturalistic human nose (Figure 13). Unfortunately, the remainder of the vessel does not survive, however, due to the modeling of the upper lip, an entire human face was probably present. Three Cajamarca Fine Red sherds depict modeled animal faces; each face is composed of an elongated snout or beak, and concentric oval eyes (Figure 14). Either a canine, such as a fox, or a bird is depicted on these sherds. Additionally, a Cajamarca Coarse Red handle from a utilitarian ware vessel displays a zoomorphic figure at one end (Figure 15). The figure wraps around the handle with its abdomen face down and limbs outstretched. While the face may be human, the front limbs end in stylized flippers and the posterior of the figure exhibits a tail analogous to a marine mammal, such as a dolphin or whale.

With regards to the three painted representational Yanaorco sherds, two sherds depict a frontal bodiless head, and the other sherd represents an octopus or squid. An Amoshulca Black Geometric, San Isidro Variety sherd depicts the bottom portion of the right eye of a frontal bodiless head, in addition to the figure’s agape mouth with vertical lines that represent teeth (Figure 10). Another image of a frontal bodiless head appears on a Cajamarca White Slipped
sherd where the left half of the figure’s mouth and pronounced teeth are present (Figure 11). Terence Grieder and George Lau have discussed similar frontal bodiless heads in the painted ceramics from the Recuay culture.\textsuperscript{112} Grieder argues that Recuay ceramics recovered from the highland site of Pashash do not depict daily life, but, instead, refer to a spiritual world.\textsuperscript{113} For Grieder, the circular head is associated with divine power, and not with the taking of heads as trophies following sacrifice or warfare.\textsuperscript{114} In his 1988 dissertation, Julien corroborates Grieder’s interpretation by stating that the head with emanations and the circular head motifs portray “an anthropomorphized feline.”\textsuperscript{115} However, the interpretation of the frontal bodiless head as an anthropomorphized feline is perfunctory and without an in-depth iconographic analysis of Cajamarca ceramics.\textsuperscript{116} Furthermore, Julien notes that the circular head motif is prominent on Amoshulca Black Geometric style vessels during the Final Cajamarca phase, which is the style and time period of one of the Yanaorco sherds that depicts the frontal bodiless head.\textsuperscript{117}

Archaeologist George Lau has discussed other interpretations of the frontal bodiless head with regards to the art of the Recuay culture. Lau lists interpretations from other scholars concerning the frontal bodiless head, including interpretations that the head represents a “deified jaguar or feline,” “a radiant deity,” or an “anthropomorphic deity.”\textsuperscript{118} However, a more straightforward interpretation proposed by Lau is that the frontal bodiless head “may sometimes

\begin{footnotes}
\item[112] See Grieder, Pashash, 133-142 and Lau, Andean Expressions, 208-213.
\item[113] Grieder, Pashash, 133.
\item[114] Grieder, Pashash, 142.
\item[116] The only iconographic account of Cajamarca artworks is Alfredo Mires Ortiz, Iconografía de Cajamarca (Cajamarca: Cedepas Cajamarca, Aspaderuc-P.E.C., Asociación Editora Cajamarca, 1992). This volume provides drawings of iconography from different mediums (rock art, ceramics, textiles) from the Cajamarca culture; however, no interpretations or imagery analysis is included.
\item[118] Lau, Andean Expressions, 209.
\end{footnotes}
represent the frontal aspect of bodiless head objects, such as trophy heads or effigies of them.”

For purposes of the sherd from Yanaorco, I expand on Lau’s interpretation of the frontal bodiless head motif by placing it within the context of feasting events, however, Andean images are frequently polyvalent and enable multiple interpretations based upon context, function, and viewer.120

Another example of the frontal bodiless head motif occurs on a Cajamarca Classic Cursive vessel in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, NY (Figure 16). On the interior and the exterior side walls of the vessel are four panels, each with eighteen frontal heads that have triangular projections protruding from the top of the head, four emanations from the sides, and three emanations from the bottom of the head. While these images may be associated with a deity or supernatural figure, whether an anthropomorphized feline or human, I suggest another interpretation of the frontal bodiless head image as referencing decapitated heads. Decapitated head iconography is frequently depicted in the art of Andean cultures. Many depictions of disembodied heads include a portion of the hair, or a rope that is placed through the forehead, that extends above the top of the head for grabbing of the head following decapitation, or for transportation of the object.121 Additionally, the three projections from the base of the head possibly refer to a structure on which the disembodied heads were displayed. The three lines could reference tripod vessels, which are a prominent Cajamarca ceramic vessel form.122

119 Lau, Andean Expressions, 209.
120 See Gell, Art and Agency, 7 for a discussion of the way that an “art object is the function of the social-relational matrix in which it is embedded.”
122 Arnold and Hastorf note that ancestral trophy heads have been found inside of ceramic vessels from the south coast Nasca culture; therefore, since Cajamarca mortuary practices are not
Frequently, disembodied head iconography is interpreted as relating to warfare, sacrifice, and the display of decapitated heads for the purpose of dominance and the acquisition of an enemy’s power.\textsuperscript{123} However, anthropologists Denise Y. Arnold and Christine A. Hastorf produce a more nuanced interpretation of disembodied head iconography that considers the multivalent images as also referencing ancestors, fertility, regeneration, and leadership.\textsuperscript{124} Therefore, the bodiless heads on Cajamarca vessels may not refer exclusively to a desire for defense and power over an enemy following death, but, additionally, Cajamarca bodiless head images indicate an overarching concern with garnering power and prestige through imagery.

The continuation of the frontal bodiless head motif into the Final Cajamarca Period (c. 1200 – 1532 CE), as evinced by its inclusion on both Amoshulca Black Geometric and Cajamarca White Slipped sherds, coincides with a concern for defense and protection following the collapse of the Wari. At the site of Yanaorco, Toohey identified two large fortification walls on the south side of the site, which is also the only side of the site not naturally defensible by steep cliffs.\textsuperscript{125} Armies were probably not employed during this time in the north highlands, since no overarching political structure has been identified; instead, small raiding parties or groups were more of a concern for the inhabitants of Yanaorco.\textsuperscript{126} The association between the frontal bodiless head and decapitated heads, whose esoteric references include ancestors and sacrificial victims, connects the imagery with the community’s concern for safety and the ability of the elite as well documented as those of other Andean cultures, this practice could have taken place in the region. More evidence is necessary to corroborate or dismiss this claim. See Arnold and Hastorf, \textit{Heads of State}, 178.

\textsuperscript{123} Arnold and Hastorf, \textit{Heads of State}, 178.
\textsuperscript{124} See Arnold and Hastorf, \textit{Heads of State}, 211-2 for a discussion of head iconography and the treatment of the dead during the Late Intermediate Period in the north-central Andes. Also, Arnold and Hastorf, \textit{Heads of State}, 198-9 for a related discussion of Wari face-neck vessels that were used during consumption of alcohol during feasting events.
\textsuperscript{125} Toohey, “Community Organization,” 305-6.
\textsuperscript{126} Toohey, “Community Organization,” 306.
class to provide this desirable service through the building of large fortification walls and the organization of community members for defense.

The second painted representational sherd of the Amoshulca Black Geometric, Carambayoc Variety from Yanaorco represents either an octopus or squid (Figure 12).\textsuperscript{127} Painted on this sherd is a central circle with four appendages that whirl in various directions. The image was originally located on the bottom interior of a bowl. Attached to the appendages and the central circle are solid black dots. When compared with an appliqued version of an octopus illustrated in Toohey’s dissertation, one can distinguish that the fundamental components of an octopus are present in both versions.\textsuperscript{128} Both are composed of a central, globular body with linear, undulating appendages or tentacles that exhibit small circles to represent suction cups. The appliqued version utilizes impressed circles to represent the suction cups.

Other images of marine life have been identified on Cajamarca ceramics. For example, two Cajamarca ceramic vessels from the American Museum of Natural History depict crabs, however, these vessels were possibly produced on the north coast in a local Coastal Cajamarca style.\textsuperscript{129} Nonetheless, the further identification of images of marine life on Cajamarca ceramics

\textsuperscript{127} Jason Toohey, personal communication to author, July 26, 2012.
\textsuperscript{128} Toohey, “Community Organization,” Figure 6.21, 359.
\textsuperscript{129} The identification of a Coastal Cajamarca style, produced on the north coast and in the mid-Andean slopes, has been acknowledged in scholarship since the mid-twentieth century. This style can be identified by the use of red paste, cream slip, and mold technology; primarily annular or tripod base plates are produced in the Coastal Cajamarca style. However, when not mold-made, Coastal Cajamarca and Late Intermediate Period highland Cajamarca ceramics can be confused, since both utilize a red paste with white or cream slip. Additionally, archaeologists Katiusha Bernuy Quiroga and Vanessa Bernal Rodriguez complicate the issue by proposing that Coastal Cajamarca style vessels were produced within the highland Cajamarca region. Because no ceramic production areas have been identified within the Cajamarca region, the question of Coastal Cajamarca ceramics remains unresolved. For a definition of Coastal Cajamarca ceramics, see C. J. Montenegro, “El estilo Cajamarca Costeno: una aproximacion,” in IX Congreso Peruano del Hombre y la Historia Andina, ed. S. Arrestegui (Cajamarca: Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca, 1993), 137-150. An analysis of Cajamarca ceramics in relation to Moche
indicates that these animals were significant and may have been ideologically linked to concepts of power and prestige.

Images of marine life, such as the octopus sherd, at the highland community of Yanaorco reference the Pacific Coast to the west and the marine life that resided there. During the Late Intermediate Period, trade and interaction was focused within the Cajamarca region, therefore, the cultures and animals on the Pacific Coast were removed from the daily life of highland inhabitants. Notably, other than the three modeled Cajamarca Fine Red canine or bird sherds, images of animals are absent from the assemblage of ceramic sherds from Yanaorco. As a result, the depiction of an octopus on a prestige item, such as a fineware vessel, is a conscious decision by the owner of the object to associate themselves with exotic animals that thrive in a foreign environment. Additionally, the zoomorphic figure with human head and flippers on the Cajamarca Coarse Red handle may represent a mythology or specific deity that involves marine animals, which further connects marine life with an esteemed cultural or religious sensibility (Figure 16). An association between the upper class at Yanaorco, who hosted feasting events, and marine animals from the Pacific Ocean, garnered prestige and repute for the elites by fostering an ideological relationship between themselves and the exotic animals and cultures to the west.

ceramics, both uncovered from the late Moche site of San Jose de Moro in the Jequetepeque Valley, can be found in Katiusha Bernuy Quiroga and Vanessa Bernal Rodríguez, “La tradición Cajamarca en San José de Moro: una evidencia de interacción interregional durante el Horizonte Medio,” in Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques, ed. Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, et al (Lima: Fondo Editorial, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Peru, 2008), 67-80.
Vessel Form, Perception and Non-Representational Imagery

Through previously established models and methods, the ideological and social implications of representational imagery on the sherds from Yanaorco are interpreted, however, the majority of sherds in the assemblage are non-representational. Geometric and abstract images on Yanaorco sherds are composed of spirals, concentric circles, ovals, dots, rectangles and straight, crosshatched or undulating lines. Generally, geometric imagery is more difficult to interpret iconographically or symbolically, especially when the imagery is from a culture that lacks written language. Through analysis of the ways that composition and space is utilized in relation to the abstract and geometric imagery present on the interior of Cajamarca bowls and plates, an association between the imagery and the alteration or manipulation of the viewer’s perception is established.

A significant difference between painted Cajamarca ceramics and those from neighboring cultures is that the Cajamarca preferred open vessel forms, such as plates and bowls. Some Cajamarca ceramic styles neglect the exterior of the vessel entirely while preferring to place the principal imagery on the interior of the vessel. The decision to place the primary image on the interior of an open vessel forms reflects the way that the artist intended the viewer to conceptually interact with the image. While the entire composition of a bowl or plate can be viewed from directly above the vessel, when viewed from more oblique angles the image changes and distorts due to the curving of the vessel. By intentionally painting on the interior of

131 In a discussion concerning the ceramics from pre-historic funerary site of Sitio Conte in present-day Panama, Mary Helms relates the circularity of plate and bowl forms to cosmological concepts. Additionally, Helms connects the vessel form with the imagery on the interior of the vessel, which further reinforces concepts concerning cosmography and cosmology. Mary W. Helms, Creations of the Rainbow Serpent: Polychrome Ceramic Designs from Ancient Panama (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 97-9.
vessels, the Cajamarca are illustrating a concept of space different from those cultures that preference painting on the exterior of vessels, which is a decision made by the majority of Andean cultures.  

The distortion of the image to accommodate the curvature of the vessel, the image’s composition, and the elements utilized to create the composition combine to manipulate or alter the viewer’s perspective and perception. One vessel that exemplifies the way that the Cajamarca artists are manipulating the viewer’s perception of space is a miniature-footed vessel from the American Museum of Natural History (Figure 17). This small, footed vessel has a globular body with a tall, flared neck and an enclosed rattling base. The majority of the exterior of the vessel is covered in small, unfilled orange circles. When viewed from the front of the vessel, opposite the handle, the ground appears to be a solid plane of orange circles. However, when viewed from the side, the viewer can see a modeled bird figure extends from the shoulder of the vessel (Figure 18). The technique of simultaneously revealing and concealing the bird figure manipulates the viewer’s perception of space depending upon the angle that the viewer interacts with the vessel. An additional bird is present on the handle of the vessel, which is also covered in small, open orange circles, which produces the same spatial perception for the viewer.

Concepts of revealing and concealing are also evident in the decision to decorate the interior of bowls and plates. When utilized during feasting events, painted fineware vessels were filled with solid or liquid goods that were consumed by the participants in a prescribed manner. The appearance of scrape marks on the interior of vessels, and the recovery of kaolin

---

132 A prime example of an Andean culture that prefers to paint on the exterior of ceramic vessels is the fineline painting of the Moche culture on the north coast; see Christopher B. Donnan, Moche Fineline Paintings: Its Evolution and Its Artists (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1999).
133 Jennings and Bowser, “Drink,” 11.
spoons from other sites in the Cajamarca region, demonstrates that fineware vessels were used during feasting events, and were not just placed in a location to be viewed during the spectacle. Consequently, when goods were consumed, the level of goods in relation to the vessel imagery would decrease and reveal more of the image. Assuming that the participants were consuming fermented beverages, in addition to regional foods, the viewer’s perception would also be altered.\textsuperscript{134} Additionally, hallucinogenic substances may or may not have been ingested during feasting events at Yanaorco.\textsuperscript{135} At the moment, no evidence corroborates or dismisses the possibility that certain hallucinogenic substances were ingested at the site; however, more research into this vein of interpretation is necessary.

Non-representational, abstract imagery would have assisted with the manipulation or alteration of the viewer’s perception of space by means of fermented beverages and hallucinogenic substances. Rebecca Stone discusses the relationship between non-representational imagery and altered perceptions on two separate occasions. While Stone directly relates the depiction of geometric imagery in the art of pre-historic Peruvian cultures with the ingestion of hallucinogenic substances during shamanic ritual, the relationship between the two may be more complex and nuanced when considering the case of the Cajamarca culture.\textsuperscript{136} These images may not expressly depict a shaman or elite person’s altered state while ingesting hallucinogenic substances; however, the non-representational and geometric imagery on Cajamarca ceramics elaborates upon the entoptic images, also known as phosphenes, or those images that are produced within the eye without external stimuli, that the feasting participant

\textsuperscript{134} Jackson, Moche Art, 46.  
\textsuperscript{135} See Arnold and Hastorf, Heads of State, 201 for a brief relationship between architecture, commensal events, and the consumption of psychotropic plants at the site of Wari.  
\textsuperscript{136} Rebecca Stone-Miller, Seeing with New Eyes: highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum collection of art of the Ancient Americas (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, 2002), xxv.
would see through the consumption of certain substances. These images can be produced through a variety of ways, but, frequently, the ingestion of a fermented or hallucinogenic substance is the most common way to produce entoptic images in pre-historic Peru. Based on accounts from the mid-twentieth century, when in an altered state, the most frequently seen entoptic images include spirals, frets or latticework, cobwebs, funnels, and circles. These images are also the most frequent elements depicted on painted fineware sherds from Yanaorco (Table 4). The dotted circle and concentric circle were identified a total of 21 times, which accounts for 18.8% of the 112 images of painted fineware sherds present in the database from Yanaorco (Figure 8). Spirals were the primary element present in 13 images, which represents 11.6% (Figure 2). Linear compositions, either alone or in conjunction with other geometric imagery, were distinguished in 41 images (Figure 9). Linear compositions depict latticework and gridded arrangements, in addition to parallel straight and undulating lines. In total, 75 of the 112 images of painted fineware sherds displayed a form of geometric motif that can be considered entoptic imagery. Some sherds are too small or poorly preserved to identify any image or imagery elements.

The viewing of non-representational images during feasting events would ideologically connect the feast sponsor with entoptic images and the ingestion of fermented beverages or hallucinogenic substances to produce these images. The ability to provide enough solid and liquid substances to fulfill the feasting participant’s needs would be a point of pride for the host.

---

137 G. Reichel-Dormatoff, The Shaman and the Jaguar: A Study of Narcotic Drugs Among the Indians of Colombia (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), 173 notes that phosphenes can also be caused by light deprivation, overexposure to unvaried sights, “pressure on the eyeballs, a sudden shock, or the act of looking into the darkness when one wakes up at night.” Also, Stone, The Jaguar Within, 36.
138 Reichel-Dormatoff, The Shaman and the Jaguar, Figure 40, 177; Stone, The Jaguar Within, Figure 2.1, 36.
Arnold and Hastorf assert that, for the Wari, inebriation brought the participant into a transitory or spiritual state, which associated the sponsor with the production of these states and the spiritual powers residing there.\footnote{Arnold and Hastorf, Heads of State, 199.} As Rebecca Stone states in an interpretation of geometric imagery in relation to shamanic practices, “geometry introduces the Other Side, foretelling metamorphoses and revelations to come, and thus evinces great power and prescience.”\footnote{Stone, The Jaguar Within, 35.} Geometric imagery on fineware ceramics during feasting events would both aid in the transition to another side, while simultaneously associating the feast sponsor with spiritual power and bolstering the sponsor’s spiritual authority. Therefore, the geometric imagery would continue to reinforce the elite’s authority over others in the community through affiliations with transitory or hallucinatory states and the ability of the feast sponsor to manipulate or alter the participant’s perception through both imagery and consumption. When extended to the concept of a shared aesthetic within the Cajamarca region, fineware ceramics depict a non-representational, abstract and geometric iconographic regime of entoptic images associated with concepts of shamanism, transformation, and transition.

Imagery on Cajamarca ceramics from Yanaorco functioned as social agents to reinforce social, political, and economic stratification through both representational and non-representational imagery. Three painted sherds depicting representational images, a frontal bodiless head and an octopus, ideologically associate the elite feast sponsors with, respectively, concepts of defense and protection, as well as the distant region of the Pacific Coast to the west. Non-representational images manipulated or altered the viewer’s perception of space through the revealing and concealing of imagery. Geometric elements were associated with entoptic images and the otherworldliness produced through, and connected with, the ingestion of inebriating

\footnote{Arnold and Hastorf, Heads of State, 199.}
\footnote{Stone, The Jaguar Within, 35.}
substances. Incorporation of esoteric references to defense, foreign regions, and entoptic images bolstered the elite’s status in conjunction with the spectacle of feasting events, which operated to actively strengthen the status quo.
Interpreting imagery from the Late Intermediate Period site of Yanaorco is predicated on identifying that public events, and specifically feasting events, took place within certain areas of the site. By locating areas that enabled large groups of people to gather together in open plazas that were adjacent to well-built structures with restricted access, one can determine that the elites at Yanaorco hosted inter-community feasting events. The high percentage of open vessel forms supports the hypothesis that communal eating and drinking were important to the commensal spectacles. Additionally, through the use of models proposed by Mary Helms and Margaret Jackson, fineware ceramics are considered prestige objects that communicated esoteric cultural knowledge. These conclusions enable an analysis of the imagery on open vessel forms as relating to the social and political climate of the community at Yanaorco. Redistribution of wealth and the creation of reciprocal relationships were integral to a feasting event’s success and enable an understanding of the vessel imagery as reinforcing social and political messages.

Three exemplary images were utilized in the present project to identify the ideological messages communicated to feasting event participants. A disembodied frontal head image coincides with communal concerns for defense against small raiding parties during a time without an overarching political structure. The region of the Pacific coast to the west is referenced by the image of a painted octopus to associate the elite feast sponsor with the exoticism of the coastal animals and cultures. Finally, geometric and abstract imagery is
considered an allusion to entoptic imagery and the production of altered states, which was a privilege of the elite class.

**Future Work**

Interpreting imagery from the Late Intermediate Period site of Yanaorco is an entryway into further explorations of Cajamarca ceramic imagery. A larger database of ceramic sherds from Yanaorco, or a database containing sherds recovered from multiple sites dating to the same time period, would provide an opportunity to compare and contrast imagery, symbols, signs, and iconography to understand how these images functioned within different scenarios. Additionally, a diachronic analysis of a single image throughout a prescribed length of time and within a confined region would produce an interpretation concerning the intended esoteric references of the image for a broader audience. Further investigation into the use of hallucinogenic substances and the role of shamanic or priestly practices within Cajamarca culture and society is necessary to continue interpretations concerning geometric and non-representational imagery on Cajamarca ceramics.

Based on the data reviewed in this study, Cajamarca artists display a preference for a non-representational painted ceramic style on open vessel forms that relates to a similar preference in the pre-historic ceramic traditions of cultures from the north and west of the Cajamarca region. Ceramics from the Narino culture, located on the modern-day border between Ecuador and Colombia, and from the funerary site of Sitio Conte, in present-day Panama, depict a corresponding sensibility concerning aesthetic preferences.\(^{141}\) Both cultures utilize open vessel

forms, such as bowls and plates, and a primarily non-representational or highly abstract painting style with the principal imagery located on the interior of the vessel form. An in-depth comparison of these three ceramic traditions sparks discussion concerning different concepts of space, composition and perception in relation to decorated ceramics, as well as an investigation of the possible exchange of goods and ideas between these regions.

Analysis of the 156 ceramic sherds from Yanaorco in terms of form, style, and imagery leads to interpretations of the function of the vessel within society and the ways that the viewer interacted with the painted imagery. The database presented herein from Yanaorco consists of both fine ware and utilitarian ware decorated ceramic sherds from bowls, plates, and jars. Open vessel forms and painted fine ware ceramics form the majority of the database and indicate a concern within the community for the display of wealth through the use and display of prestige objects. By placing fine ware ceramics from Yanaorco within the context of inter-community feasting events at the site, an interpretation concerning the ideological and esoteric references associated with the painted imagery is explicated to establish that imagery was utilized to reinforce or manipulate social, political and economic stratification.
Arkush, Elizabeth. “Collapse, Conflict, Conquest: The Transformation of Warfare in the
Late Prehispanic Andean Highlands.” In The Archaeology of Warfare: Prehistories of
Raidding and Conquest, edited by E. N. Arkush and M. W. Allen, 286-335. Gainesville:

Arnold, Dean E. Ceramic Theory and Cultural Process. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1985.

Arnold, Denise Y. and Christine A. Hastorf. Heads of State: Icons, Power, and Politics in the

Bernuy Quiroga, Katiusha, and Vanessa Bernal Rodríguez. “La tradición Cajamarca en San
José de Moro: una evidencia de interacción interregional durante el Horizonte Medio.” In
Arqueología Mochica: Nuevos Enfoques, edited by Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, Helen
Bernier, Gregory Lockard, and Julio Rucabado Yong, 67-80. Lima: Fondo Editorial,
Pontifica Universidad Católica del Peru, 2008.

Bray, Tamara. “Inka Pottery as Culinary Equipment: Food, Feasting and Gender in Imperial

Bray, Tamara. “The Commensal Politics of Early States and Empires.” In The Archaeology and
Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires, edited by Tamara Bray, 93-

In The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires,

Bray, Tamara. “An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen: Thinking
Through Late Pre-Columbian Ofrendas and Huacas.” Cambridge Archaeological Journal

Covey, R. Alan, “Multiregional Perspectives on the Archaeology of the Andes During the Late

Donnan, Christopher B. Moche Fineline Paintings: Its Evolution and Its Artists. Los Angeles:


### Table 1. Chronologies of the Cajamarca Tradition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Andean Chronology</th>
<th>Reichlen and Reichlen 1949</th>
<th>Terada and Matsumoto 1985</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1500 - 1532</td>
<td>Late Horizon c. 1460 - 1532</td>
<td>Cajamarca V &amp; Inca c. 1460 – 1532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1200</td>
<td>Late Intermediate Period c. 1000 - 1460</td>
<td>Cajamarca IV c. 850 – 1460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900</td>
<td>Middle Horizon c. 600 - 1000</td>
<td>Cajamarca III c. 500 – 850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>Early Intermediate Period c. 200 BCE - 600 CE</td>
<td>Cajamarca II c. 250 CE – 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 CE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 BCE</td>
<td>Early Horizon c. 750 BCE – 200 BCE</td>
<td>Cajamarca I c. 500 BCE – 250 CE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2. Summary of Vessel Forms in Yanaorco Database

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Number of sherds</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowl/Plate (Total)</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jars</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

142 An overview of the chronology of horizons and intermediary periods, in addition to corresponding cultures and their regions, can be found in Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: from Chavin to Inca* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc, 2002), 8.
Table 3. Summary of Styles in Yanaorco Database

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sherd style and Variety</th>
<th>Number of sherds</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Semi-Cursive</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Black &amp; Orange (Total)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shicuana Variety</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Variety</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chanchiconga Variety</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoshulca Black Geometric (Total)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Isidro Variety</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quililic Variety</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carambayoc Variety</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indeterminate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca White Slipped</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Fine Red</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Fine Black</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fineware Style Indeterminate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (Fineware)</strong></td>
<td><strong>87</strong></td>
<td><strong>73.7%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Coarse Red</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Coarse Black</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility Type B</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cajamarca Black &amp; White</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilitarian Style Indeterminate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (Utilitarian)</strong></td>
<td><strong>31</strong></td>
<td><strong>26.3%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example of Entoptic Images[^143]</td>
<td>Example of Image from Yanaorco Sherds</td>
<td>Number of sherds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentric and Dotted Circle</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiral</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linear Composition</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><strong>75</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^143]: All drawings of entoptic imagery are adapted by the author from Rebecca Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in ancient Central and South American art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 36, Figure 2.1.
Figure 1. Map of Peru with the present-day city of Cajamarca indicated.
Figure 2. Cajamarca Semi-Cursive style sherd, c. 1000 – 1200 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 12) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 3. Cajamarca Black and Orange style, Shicuana variety sherd, c. 1000 – 1200 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 98) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 4. Cajamarca Black and Orange style, Chanchiconga variety sherd, c. 1000 – 1200 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 38) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 5. Cajamarca Fine Red sherd, c. 1000 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 71) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 6. Cajamarca Fine Black sherd, c. 1000 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 55) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 7. Amoshulca Black Geometric style, San Isidro variety sherd, c. 1200 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 28) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 8. Amoshulca Black Geometric style, Carambayoc variety sherd, c. 1200 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 42) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 9. Cajamarca White Slipped style sherd, c. 1200 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 56) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 10. Frontal bodiless head image, Amushulca Black Geometric, San Isidro Variety sherd, c. 1200 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 33) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 11. Frontal bodiless head image, Cajamarca White Slipped sherd, c. 1200 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 140) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 12. Octopus image, Amoshulca Black Geometric, Carambayoc Variety sherd, c. 1200 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 138) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 13. Human nose, Cajamarca Fine Black sherd, c. 1000 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 44) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 14. Animal head, Cajamarca Fine Red sherd, c. 1000 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 67) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)

Figure 15. Zoomorphic figure, Cajamarca Coarse Red vessel handle, c. 1000 – 1460 CE. (Appendix A, Sherd 156) Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012. (Photo by author)
Figure 16. Frontal bodiless heads, interior of a Cajamarca Classic Cursive vessel, c. 600 – 850 CE. Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History 41.2/8581. (Photo by author)
Figure 17. Miniature footed vessel, front view, c. 100 – 850 CE.\textsuperscript{144} Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History T365/312. (Photo by author)

Figure 18. Miniature footed vessel, side view, c. 100 – 850 CE. Courtesy of the Division of Anthropology, American Museum of Natural History T365/312. (Photo by author)

\textsuperscript{144} The vessel’s style has yet to be identified, however, the tight composition formed by small iconographic elements places the vessel in the transitional period from the Early Cajamarca to the Middle Cajamarca phase. Compare with Figure 23 in Plate 52: “Clay artifacts of the Middle Cajamarca Period” in Terada and Onuki, \textit{Excavations at Huacaloma}, 1982.
Appendix A: Decorated Sherds from Yanaorco

The 156 photographs below are of sherds recovered from the site of Yanaorco during participation in the Yanaorco Archaeological Project Field School 2012. Images are reproduced with the permission of Dr. Jason Toohey and the Yanaorco Archaeological Project 2012; all photographs are by the author.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety c. 1000 – 1200 CE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety (Reverse of sherd 1) c. 1000 – 1200 CE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Cajamarca Coarse Black c. 1000 – 1460 CE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Cajamarca Coarse Black c. 1000 – 1460 CE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cajamarca White Slipped  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

Cajamarca White Slipped  
(Reverse of sherd 5)  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

Cajamarca Semi-Cursive  
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

Cajamarca Semi-Cursive  
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

Amoshulca Black Geometric  
Carambayoc Variety  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

Amoshulca Black Geometric  
Carambayoc Variety  
(Reverse of sherd 9)  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE
11 Amoshulca Black Geometric
San Isidro Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

12 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

13 Cajamarca Coarse Black
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

14 Cajamarca Coarse Black
(Reverse of sherd 13)
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

15 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE
16 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
(Reverse of sherd 15)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

17 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

18 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
(Reverse of sherd 17)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

19 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

20 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
(Reverse of sherd 19)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE
21. Cajamarca White Slipped
   c. 1200 – 1460 CE

22. Cajamarca White Slipped
   (Reverse of sherd 21)
   c. 1200 – 1460 CE

23. Cajamarca Coarse Black
   c. 1000 – 1460 CE

24. Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
   c. 1000 – 1200 CE

25. Cajamarca White Slipped
   c. 1200 – 1460 CE
26 Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

27 Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

28 Amoshulca Black Geometric
San Isidro Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

29 Amoshulca Black Geometric
San Isidro Variety
(Reverse of sherd 28)
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

30 Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

31 Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
32 Cajamarca Coarse Red  
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

33 Amoshulca Black Geometric  
San Isidro Variety  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

34 Amoshulca Black Geometric  
San Isidro Variety  
(Reverse of sherd 33)  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

35 Cajamarca White Slipped  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

36 Cajamarca White Slipped  
(Reverse of sherd 35)  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

37 Tripod Leg from Bowl  
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
38 Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

39 Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety
(Reverse of sherd 38)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

40 Cajamarca White Slipped
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

41 Cajamarca White Slipped
(Reverse of sherd 40)
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

42 Amoshulca Black Geometric Carambayoc Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

43 Amoshulca Black Geometric Carambayoc Variety
(Reverse of sherd 42)
c. 1200 – 1460 CE
44. Cajamarca Fine Black  
   c. 1000 – 1460 CE

45. Cajamarca Coarse Red  
   c. 1000 – 1460 CE

46. Cajamarca Semi-Cursive  
   c. 1000 – 1200 CE

47. Cajamarca Semi-Cursive  
   (Reverse of sherd 46)  
   c. 1000 – 1200 CE

48. Amoshulca Black Geometric  
   San Isidro Variety  
   c. 1200 – 1460 CE

49. Amoshulca Black Geometric  
   San Isidro Variety  
   c. 1200 – 1460 CE
50
Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
C. 1000 – 1200 CE

51
Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
(Reverse of sherd 50)
C. 1000 – 1200 CE

52
Cajamarca Black and Orange
Shicuana Variety
C. 1000 – 1200 CE

53
Cajamarca Black and Orange
Shicuana Variety
(Reverse of sherd 52)
C. 1000 – 1200 CE

54
Cajamarca Coarse Black
C. 1000 – 1460 CE

55
Cajamarca Fine Black
C. 1000 – 1460 CE
56  Cajamarca White Slipped  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

57  Cajamarca White Slipped  
(Reverse of sherd 56)  
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

58  Cajamarca Coarse Red  
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

59  Cajamarca Coarse Red  
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

60  Cajamarca Black and Orange  
Shicuana Variety  
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

61  Cajamarca Black and Orange  
Shicuana Variety  
(Reverse of sherd 61)  
c. 1000 – 1200 CE
62
Cajamarca Black and Orange
Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

63
Cajamarca Black and Orange
Chanchiconga Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

64
Cajamarca Black and Orange
Chanchiconga Variety
(Reverse of sherd 63)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

65
Cajamarca Black and Orange
Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

66
Indeterminate

67
Cajamarca Fine Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
68. Indeterminate

69. Cajamarca White Slipped
    c. 1200 – 1460 CE

70. Cajamarca White Slipped
    (Reverse of sherd 69)
    c. 1200 – 1460 CE

71. Cajamarca Fine Red
    c. 1000 – 1460 CE

72. Cajamarca Black and Orange
    Shicuana Variety
    c. 1000 – 1200 CE

73. Cajamarca Black and Orange
    Chanchiconga Variety
    c. 1000 – 1200 CE
74  Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety (Reverse of sherd 73) c. 1000 – 1200 CE

75  Cajamarca Semi-Cursive c. 1000 – 1200 CE

76  Cajamarca Semi-Cursive (Reverse of sherd 75) c. 1000 – 1200 CE

77  Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety c. 1000 – 1200 CE

78  Cajamarca White Slipped c. 1200 – 1460 CE

79  Cajamarca White Slipped (Reverse of sherd 78) c. 1200 – 1460 CE
80 Amoshulca Black Geometric
San Isidro Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

81 Amoshulca Black Geometric
San Isidro Variety
(Reverse of sherd 80)
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

82 Cajamarca Black and White Utilitarian Ware
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

83 Cajamarca White Slipped
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

84 Cajamarca White Slipped
(Reverse of sherd 83)
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

85 Cajamarca Coarse Black
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
86  Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

87  Utility Ware B
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

88  Utility Ware B
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

89  Utility Ware B
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

90  Utility Ware B
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

91  Utility Ware B
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
92  Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
    c. 1000 – 1200 CE

93  Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
    c. 1000 – 1200 CE

94  Utility Ware B
    c. 1000 – 1460 CE

95  Indeterminate

96  Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety
    c. 1000 – 1200 CE

97  Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
    c. 1000 – 1200 CE
98
Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

99
Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

100
Cajamarca Black and White Utilitarian Ware
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

101
Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

102
Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

103
Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE
Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

Cajamarca Black and Orange Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

Cajamarca Coarse Black
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

Amoshulca Black Geometric Indeterminate Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

Cajamarca Black and Orange Indeterminate Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE
109 Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

110 Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

111 Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

112 Cajamarca Coarse Red
(Side of sherd 111)
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

113 Cajamarca Coarse Red
(Reverse of sherd 111)
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

114 Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
115 Cajamarca Coarse Black
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

116 Cajamarca White Slipped
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

117 Amoshulca Black Geometric
Carambayoc Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

118 Cajamarca Black and Orange
Chanchiconga Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

119 Utility Ware B
c. 1000 – 1460 CE

120 Cajamarca Black and Orange
Chanchiconga Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE
133  Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety (Reverse of sherd 132) c. 1000 – 1200 CE

134  Cajamarca Semi-Cursive c. 1000 – 1200 CE

135  Indeterminate

136  Amoshulca Black Geometric Carambayoc Variety c. 1200 – 1460 CE

137  Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety c. 1000 – 1200 CE

138  Amoshulca Black Geometric Carambayoc Variety c. 1200 – 1460 CE
139
Amoshulca Black Geometric 
Carambayoc Variety 
(Reverse of sherd 138) 
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

140
Cajamarca White Slipped 
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

141
Cajamarca White Slipped 
(Reverse of sherd 140) 
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

142
Cajamarca White Slipped 
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

143
Cajamarca Black and Orange 
Shicuana Variety 
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

144
Amoshulca Black Geometric 
Carambayoc Variety 
c. 1200 – 1460 CE
Indeterminate

Amoshulca Black Geometric
Carambayoc Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

Cajamarca Black and Orange
Shicuana Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

Cajamarca Black and Orange
Shicuana Variety
(Reverse of sherd 147)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

Amoshulca Black Geometric
Carambayoc Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

Cajamarca Coarse Black
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
151  Cajamarca Black and Orange Chanchiconga Variety
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

152  Indeterminate

153  Amoshulca Black Geometric Carambayoc Variety
c. 1200 – 1460 CE

154  Cajamarca Semi-Cursive
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

155  Cajamarca Semi-Cursive (Reverse of sherd 155)
c. 1000 – 1200 CE

156  Cajamarca Coarse Red
c. 1000 – 1460 CE
Vita

On March 7, 1988, Jeanette Louise Nicewinter was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. After graduating from Interboro High School, Prospect Park, Pennsylvania in 2006, she attended the University of Tampa. She received her Bachelor of Fine Arts in 2010 following completion of study abroad programs to Peru, England, and Italy. Before graduate school, Jeanette held both volunteer and paid positions at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in the Registrar’s Office, American Section, and Visitor Services Department. In August of 2011, Jeanette enrolled at Virginia Commonwealth University to obtain a Master of Arts in Art History; during this time, she interned and worked at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.