

A NEW VIEW OF GALINDO: RESULTS OF THE GALINDO ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

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This paper presents a new view of Galindo based on the results of a field project that took place over the course of three field seasons from 2000 to 2002. The principal goal of this project was to investigate the political power of Galindo rulers. This paper provides a brief summary of two aspects of this research: a design analysis of Moche fineline sherds from Galindo and an examination of the Huaca de las Abejas, the principal civic/ceremonial monument at the site. The results of these analyses demonstrate that, despite Galindo's many differences from other Moche sites, Galindo rulers retained at least certain aspects of the traditional elite ideology of their Moche ancestors, and materialized that ideology using traditional media.

Esta investigación presenta una visión nueva sobre Galindo, basada en los resultados de un proyecto de campo desarrollado en el transcurso de tres temporadas de campo, desde el 2000 hasta el 2002. El objetivo principal de este proyecto fue investigar el poder político de los gobernantes de Galindo. Este trabajo provee un resumen breve de dos aspectos de esta investigación, un análisis de diseño de cerámica con pintura línea fina de Galindo y una investigación de la Huaca de las Abejas, el monumento principal cívico/ceremonial del sitio. Los resultados de estos análisis demuestran que, a pesar de las muchas diferencias de Galindo con otros sitios moche, sus gobernantes retuvieron por lo menos ciertos aspectos de la ideología de la elite tradicional de sus antepasados moche, que se materializó en el uso de medios tradicionales.

In the last couple of decades, Moche archaeology has experienced a considerable florescence. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of field projects taking place at Moche sites, the number of publications on the Moche, and the number of students from all over the world researching the Moche for their master's theses and doctoral dissertations. As a result of this research, we now know a great deal more about the Moche than we did in previous generations. As the many recent publications on the Moche (including this volume) attest, one of the more interesting and significant things that has been learned is that Moche regions and sites vary widely in a number of cultural characteristics, including settlement pattern, ceramics, and monumental architecture. As a result, it is now generally agreed that the Moche were never unified under a single political entity (Castillo 2001, 2003; Castillo and Donnan 1994), and might not have even considered themselves to be part of a unified society.

As Garth Bawden (1995, 1996) has observed, the phenomenon that archaeologists call «the Moche» most likely does not represent a homogenous polity or culture, but rather a shared elite ideology that was

adopted by the politically independent rulers of a number of culturally distinct societies. This ideology was materialized and communicated to the populace *via* a number of media that survive in the archaeological record, most notably portable art and monumental architecture. The presence of these objects, in particular Moche fineline ceramics, was in fact first used by Larco (1938, 1939) to define the Moche culture, and continues to be used by archaeologists today to identify Moche sites. It is now known that these media served a very specific purpose – to legitimate the authority of Moche rulers by portraying them as the sole performers of sacrificial rituals. The purpose of these rituals was most likely to insure agricultural and/or social fertility. Moche rulers therefore utilized portable art and monumental architecture to communicate their role as religious specialists who acted in the interests of their subjects.

As a result of our new understanding of the Moche, a number of Moche sites that have been studied in previous generations are being reevaluated. Among these is the site of Galindo, which is located in the Moche Valley and was largely occupied during the Late Moche Period (A.D. 600-800).

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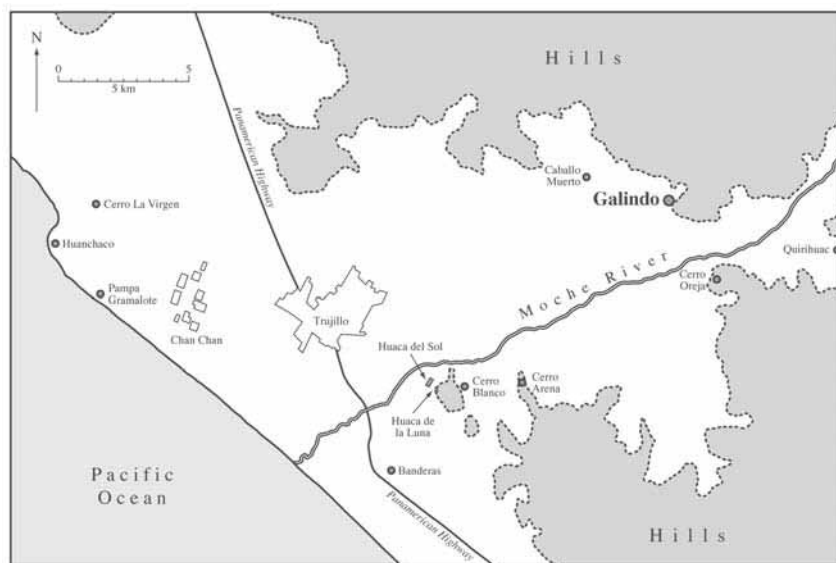


Figure 1. Principal archaeological sites in the Moche Valley, North Coast of Peru.

Galindo and the GAP

The archaeological site of Galindo is located in the Moche Valley on the North Coast of Peru (figure 1). Like other rivers on the North Coast, the Moche River flows westward from the Andes to the Pacific Ocean. In its upper courses, the river is closely flanked by mountains of decreasing altitude, and ultimately hills. Eventually, the river emerges from these hills at the valley neck, approximately 20 kilometers from the Pacific Ocean. Cerro Oreja marks the south bank and Cerro Galindo marks the north bank of the valley neck. The archaeological site of Galindo is located at the base of the latter.

The site of Galindo is characterized by a number of topographical features (figure 2). The dominant features are two large hills: Cerro Galindo and Cerro Muerto. Cerro Muerto lies to the northwest of Cerro Galindo. Upon its slopes is the Quebrada del Norte, and located between Cerro Muerto and Cerro Galindo is the Quebrada Caballo Muerto and its three main tributaries. Lying to the west of Cerro Galindo and to the south of Cerro Muerto is a fan-shaped alluvial plain, which is divided into unequal portions by the outwash channel of the Quebrada

Caballo Muerto. The site of Galindo covers the lower slopes of Cerro Galindo and Cerro Muerto and the fan-shaped alluvial plain in between, an area of approximately six square kilometers.

During the course of three field seasons from 2000 to 2002, archaeological excavations were conducted at the site of Galindo under the direction of the author (Lockard 2001a, 2002, 2003b, 2005). The Galindo Archaeological Project, or GAP, involved the excavation of numerous areas located throughout the site (figure 2). The principal goal of the GAP was to investigate the political power of Galindo rulers. This paper provides a brief summary of the results of two aspects of this research: a design analysis of Moche fineline sherds from Galindo and an examination of the Huaca de las Abejas, the principal civic/ceremonial monument at the site. Moche fineline ceramics and monuments are both symbols of power that were utilized by Moche rulers to communicate ideological messages. Their examination therefore provides valuable information regarding the nature of the political power of Galindo rulers, specifically the elite ideology that legitimated their authority. Although the political power, and specifically the elite ideology, of Galindo

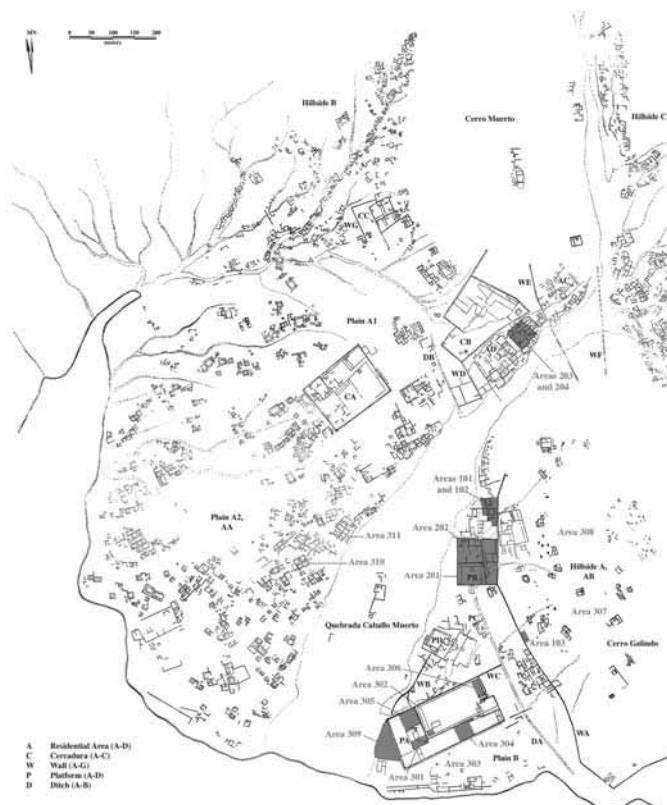


Figure 2. Topographical features and GAP excavation areas at the archaeological site of Galindo.

rulers was similar to that of other Moche rulers, there are also significant differences. An examination of these differences provides information concerning the broader issue of change in political institutions on the North Coast of Peru during the Moche Period. This broader issue cannot be addressed, however, without first determining Galindo’s place within Moche history. In other words, it is necessary to first ascertain exactly when the site of Galindo was occupied compared to other Moche centers.

The Occupational History of Galindo

Temporally diagnostic ceramics on the surface and those recovered from archaeological excavations at Galindo reveal that the site was occupied during both the Moche and Chimu periods (Bawden 1977;

Schleher and Lockard 2003). The vast majority of temporally diagnostic Moche ceramics at Galindo are characteristic of the Late Moche Period (figure 3). Ceramics characteristic of the Middle Moche Period are present, but confined to the lower slopes of Cerro Galindo. Chimu ceramics, which are characteristic of the Late Chimu Period (figure 4; c.f. J. Topic and Moseley 1983: figure 4), are also restricted to the lower slopes of Cerro Galindo.

In the past, Moche archaeologists relied heavily on Larco’s (1948) stirrup spout sequence to differentiate between Early, Middle, and Late Moche occupations.¹ This was due to the fact that Larco’s phases were thought to correspond to relatively short and temporally distinct time periods applicable to the entire North Coast. In the last few decades, however, two things have made the modern

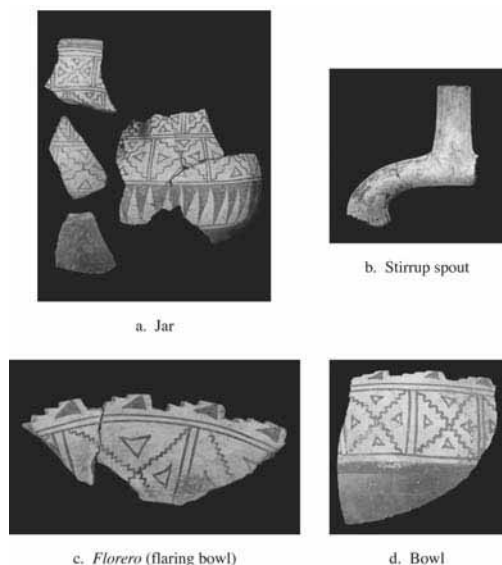


Figure 3. Moche Phase V fineline vessel forms recovered from Galindo during the GAP.

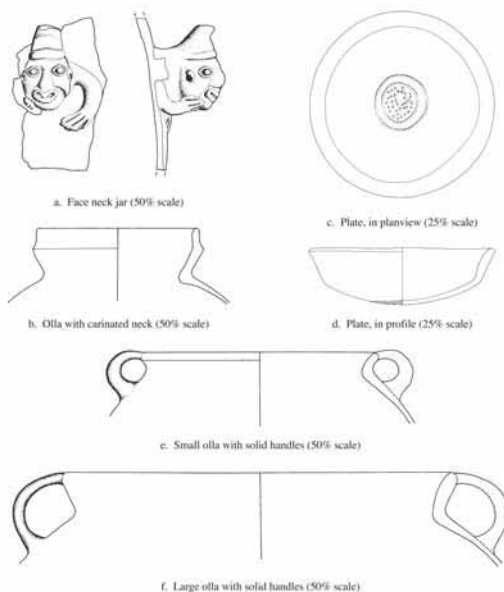


Figure 4. Late Chimú vessel forms recovered from residential structures on the lower slopes of Cerro Galindo (Area 307) during the GAP.

chronometric dating of Moche sites crucial to our understanding of Moche history. First, research has suggested that Moche ceramics north of the Pampa de Paiján (i.e., the Northern Moche Region) are significantly different from those to the south. Larco's (1948) stirrup spout sequence, developed from his analysis of ceramics recovered from burials in the Chicama Valley, is therefore not applicable to the Northern Moche Region (Castillo 2001, 2003; Castillo and Donnan 1994; Donnan and Cock 1986). As a result, chronometric dates are necessary in order to correlate ceramic sequences from the Northern and Southern Moche regions. Secondly, the radiocarbon dating of samples associated with Moche ceramics of known phase has revealed that the dates originally assigned to particular phases are incorrect, and that the absolute dates of particular phases may vary by valley or even site. For example, a series of 24 radiocarbon dates was performed on samples associated with Phase III and IV stirrup spout bottles at the Huacas de Moche. Phase III and IV are traditionally dated to A.D. 300-400 and A.D. 400-600, respectively. The radiocarbon dates from the Huacas de Moche, however, suggest that Phase III dates from A.D. 250-450 and Phase IV dates from A.D. 400-700 at the site (Chapdelaine 2001:73). Phase I is traditionally dated to A.D. 100-200. Radiocarbon dates of samples associated with Phase I stirrup spout bottles from the site of Dos Cabezas in the Jequetepeque Valley, however, yielded calibrated (2σ) dates of A.D. 410-645 and A.D. 390-600 (Donnan 2003:76). It is therefore becoming increasingly clear that more chronometric dates are needed before an overall picture of the history of the Moche can be realized.

A number of different chronometric dating techniques could be utilized to date the site of Galindo. Radiocarbon dating was the technique chosen for the GAP because of the ease of collecting samples, the small size of the samples (which facilitates transportation from the field), and their cost effectiveness. In addition, radiocarbon dating is the technique that has been most frequently utilized to provide absolute dates from other Moche sites. As a result, the GAP dates are easily comparable to the dates reported from these other sites. The radiocarbon

Lab	FS	PD	Description	Radiocarbon	Calibrated	Method A (Intercepts) Calibrated Age Range (2σ)	Method B (Prob. Distribution)	
				Age BP*	Age		Calibrated Age Range (2σ)	Relative Area Under Prob. Distribution
AA56782	383	187	Stratigraphic Cut 101 Area 103 Level 11	1,348 ± 37	AD 664	AD 641-768	AD 621-628 AD 638-725 AD 740-772	0,012 0,849 0,139
AA56783	409	193	Stratigraphic Cut 101 Area 103 Level 17	1,266 ± 34	AD 721, 744, 769	AD 665-871	AD 666-783 AD 789-829 AD 839-864	0,854 0,095 0,051
AA56784	125	443	Huaca de las Abejas A301 (Platform A), SA2, U6 4th level above base	1,298 ± 35	AD 689	AD 659-779	AD 659-779	1,000
AA56785	126	443	Huaca de las Abejas A301 (Platform A), SA2, U6 bottom level of adobes	1,417 ± 40	AD 644	AD 561-675	AD 545-546 AD 559-678	0,004 0,996
AA56786	202	484	Huaca de las Abejas A301 (Platform A), SA3, U1 3rd level above base	1,303 ± 40	AD 688	AD 656-779	AD 651-781 AD 792-807	0,985 0,015
AA56787	277	486	Huaca de las Abejas A301 (Platform A), SA3, U1 bottom level of adobes	1,261 ± 32	AD 723, 741, 771	AD 671-875	AD 673-783 AD 789-830 AD 838-868	0,826 0,111 0,063
AA56788	580	598	Charcoal from Chimu hearth A307, SA3, U1, Feature 3	542 ± 28	AD 1408	AD 1326-1435	AD 1322-1351 AD 1389-1437	0,268 0,732
AA56789	589	742	Maize from Chimu hearth A307, SA4, U3, Feature 6	519 ± 28	AD 1416	AD 1332-1440	AD 1331-1341 AD 1396-1440	0,067 0,933
AA56790	927	570	Maize from Chimu hearth A307, SA2, U1-2, Feature 4	490 ± 28	AD 1430	AD 1405-1445	AD 1403-1447	1,000
AA56791	931	702	Maize from Chimu hearth A307, SA4, U14, Feature 12	496 ± 28	AD 1427	AD 1403-1444	AD 1402-1445	1,000
AA56792	949	616	Huaca de las Lagartijas A201 (Platform B), SA6, U1 3rd level above base	1,325 ± 30	AD 679	AD 656-771	AD 655-725 AD 739-772	0,776 0,224
AA56793	957	774	Huaca de las Lagartijas A201 (Platform B), SA6, U1 floor below platform	1,295 ± 29	AD 690, 755	AD 661-778	AD 665-735 AD 735-775	0,620 0,380

Table 1. Calibrated AMS radiocarbon dates from the site of Galindo.

dates recovered by the GAP were analyzed by the Accelerated Mass Spectrometry (AMS) Laboratory at the University of Arizona. The AMS technique was chosen because it can be performed on small samples and provides more precise results than conventional radiocarbon dating.

Prior to the GAP, four radiocarbon dates were performed on samples from Galindo. Geoffrey Conrad (1974:740) and Garth Bawden (1977:410) each submitted two of these samples. Due to very large standard deviations, however, these dates are unfortunately of little use in comparing the occupational history of Galindo to other contemporary and near-contemporary sites. Furthermore, one of Bawden's dates (K4649-D-1)

is unacceptably old considering its context (a hearth in a Moche Phase V residence). Fortunately, radiocarbon dating technology has advanced considerably in the past few decades, especially with the advent of the AMS technique. As a result, radiocarbon dates are much more precise today than they were when Conrad and Bawden submitted their samples in the 1970s.

During the GAP, 17 samples were chosen for radiocarbon analysis. These samples come from a variety of contexts and are associated with both the Moche and Chimu occupations of the site. So far, 12 of the 17 samples have been analyzed, and the remaining five samples are currently under analysis. Each of the 12 dates that have thus far been obtained

was calibrated using Radiocarbon Calibration Program CALIB Rev. 4.3 (Stuiver and Reimer 1993). A southern hemisphere correction of -24 years was made to each sample before calibration. The calibrated dates are presented in table 1. The following is a description of all 17 radiocarbon samples submitted by the GAP, and a discussion of the results of the 12 samples that have thus far been analyzed.

Two radiocarbon dates were performed on maize cobs from Unit 1 of Stratigraphic Cut 101. Stratigraphic Cut 101 is located in an area of significant stratigraphic deposits behind a large defensive wall (Wall A) located on the lower slopes of Cerro Galindo. Because of the amorphous and highly complex nature of the stratigraphic deposits, excavation proceeded in arbitrary 10 centimeters levels. The first sample (AA56782) is from Level 11, which is associated with Moche Phase V ceramics. The sample was dated to 1348 ± 37 B.P., calibrated (2δ) to A.D. 641-768 (Stuiver *et al.* 1998). This date places Level 11 in the middle of the Late Moche Period (A.D. 600-800). The second sample (AA56783) is from Level 17, which is associated with ceramics that are characteristic of the Middle Moche Period. This sample was dated to 1266 ± 34 B.P., calibrated (2δ) to A.D. 665-871 (Stuiver *et al.* 1998). This date is later than that of the sample from Level 11, which is associated with Moche Phase V ceramics. As mentioned above, however, the levels in Stratigraphic Cut 101 are arbitrary, and do not correspond to natural strata. The late date assigned to the second sample, taken from a level with Middle Moche ceramics, therefore most likely indicates mixed deposits in this level.

Six additional radiocarbon dates were performed on samples from Moche contexts. Four of these samples were taken from Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas and two were taken from Platform B of the Huaca de las Lagartijas.² All six of the samples were wood charcoal, as this was the only organic material recovered from the two platforms. These dates indicate that Platforms A and B were both built during the Late Moche Period. The AMS Laboratory at the University of Arizona is currently analyzing five additional radiocarbon samples (AA61597-61601) recovered during the GAP from hearths in residences

associated with Moche Phase V ceramics. Two of these samples are maize kernels, two are maize cobs, and the last is a reed (genus *Phragmites*) fragment. The radiocarbon dates provided by these samples will help determine the duration of the Phase V residential occupation of Galindo, which may or may not have been confined to the Late Moche Period.³

The remaining four radiocarbon dates were performed on samples from hearths in residences associated with Chimú ceramics. Three of the samples were maize cobs and the other was wood charcoal. The purpose of dating the latter was to compare the results of dating maize cobs and wood charcoal from the same general context (i.e., the Chimú occupation of Galindo). The dates of all four of the samples are remarkably consistent, ranging from 542 to 490 ± 28 B.P., calibrated (2δ) to A.D. 1326-1445 (Stuiver *et al.* 1998). These dates place the Chimú occupation of Galindo during the Late Chimú Period (A.D. 1300-1470). The Chimú occupation of Galindo therefore occurred after a considerable period of abandonment, perhaps as long as 600 years. Surface ceramics indicate that the Chimú occupation of Galindo was small, covering only the southern portion of the lower slopes of Cerro Galindo.

Galindo's Place in Moche History

In order to place the Phase V occupation of Galindo within the broader perspective of Moche history, the radiocarbon dates from Moche contexts at Galindo were compared to those reported from other Moche sites. The dates from Moche contexts at Galindo include those from Stratigraphic Cut 101 and Platforms A and B. Only recently reported radiocarbon dates from other sites were included in the comparison, as older dates have the same problem of large standard deviations as the Galindo dates submitted by Conrad (1974:740) and Bawden (1977:410). In addition, only dates from large sites associated with Moche Phase III, IV, or V ceramics were included. This amounted to two sites: the Huacas de Moche and Cerro Mayal. The dates from the Huacas de Moche are reported by Claude Chapdelaine (1998:113, 2001:73, 2003:273). Chapdelaine submitted 24 samples, all of which were

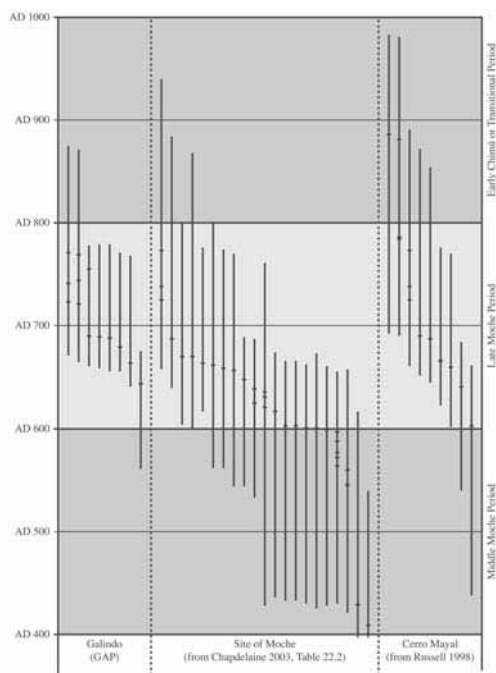


Figure 5. Comparison of calibrated AMS radiocarbon dates from Galindo and recalibrated radiocarbon dates from the Huacas de Moche and Cerro Mayal.

wood or wood charcoal. One of the samples was from Platform I and another was from Platform II of the Huaca de la Luna. The remaining 22 samples were from the urban sector located between the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca del Sol. Three of the dates from the urban sector are rejected as either too early (Beta-108281; see Chapdelaine *et al.* 1998) or too late (Beta-96025 and Beta-84844) to be associated with the Moche occupation of the site. The remaining 21 dates were included in the comparison. The dates from Cerro Mayal are reported by Glenn Russell (1998). All nine of the samples were associated with Moche Phase IV ceramics. In order to make all of the dates comparable, the dates from the Huacas de Moche and Cerro Mayal were recalibrated using the same method utilized for the calibration of GAP dates. In other words, 24 years were deducted from each radiocarbon age B.P. as a Southern Hemisphere correction and then calibrated using Radiocarbon Calibration Program CALIB Rev. 4.3 (Stuiver and

Reimer 1993). The recalibrated dates from the Huacas de Moche and Cerro Mayal are compared to the calibrated GAP dates from Galindo in figure 5. The comparison of dates from Galindo and Cerro Mayal indicates that the Phase V occupation of the former is roughly contemporaneous with the Phase IV occupation of the latter. This challenges the traditional belief that Phase V ceramics postdate Phase IV ceramics in the Moche and Chicama valleys, which is the heartland of the Southern Moche Region. The comparison of dates from Galindo and the Huacas de Moche indicates that there was a considerable overlap between the occupations of the sites during the first half of the Late Moche Period (A.D. 600-700). The radiocarbon dates from these two sites therefore seriously call into question the conventional view that the Phase V occupation of Galindo took place after the abandonment of the Huacas de Moche (Bawden 1996; Shimada 1994).

Radiocarbon dates from Pampa Grande, although they have large standard deviations, at least suggest that this site was also occupied at the same time as the Phase V occupation at Galindo. The dates from Pampa Grande are reported by Shimada (1994, table 2). All five of the samples were associated with Moche Phase V ceramics. One of the samples was a burnt wooden post, two were charred cotton, one was burnt cane, and the last was carbonized maize kernels.

Moche Finesline Ceramics

One of the principal Moche symbols of power, and certainly the most ubiquitous at Moche archaeological sites today, are finewares decorated with red and cream slip paints, often referred to as Moche finesline ceramics.⁴ Stirrup spout bottles are the most common Moche finesline vessel form. Moche finesline ceramics include a number of other vessel forms, however, including *floreros*, bowls, and jars. As part of the GAP, a design analysis was performed on all Moche finesline sherds recovered during the GAP and a sample of Moche finesline sherds recovered by Bawden during the 1970s from Galindo (Lockard 2001b, 2005). The vast majority of these sherds are of the Phase V artistic style (see Donnan and McClelland 1999). A comparison of

the results of this analysis with that which is known concerning the Moche fineline designs from contemporary Moche sites reveals a great deal concerning the nature of the ideology that legitimated the authority of Galindo rulers, as well as Galindo's place within Moche history.

The design analysis of Moche fineline sherds from Galindo has revealed that two basic painting traditions were utilized in the decoration of this ware. One of these is a figurative painting tradition in which themes and figures characteristic of Phases III and IV are depicted. The number of these themes and figures are greatly reduced, and naturalistic depictions of plants and animals dominate. Some themes and figures thought to communicate ideological messages were retained, however, most notably ritual runners and birds drinking from bowls (figure 6). The retention of some traditional Moche ideological themes and figures on Moche fineline ceramics at Galindo suggests that the ideology behind them was also maintained to at least some degree at the site. The dramatic reduction in the number and prevalence of these themes and figures, however, suggests that the ideology behind them either was more frequently communicated *via* alternative media or, more likely, played a smaller role in the legitimacy of Galindo rulers.

Contrary to Phase III/IV ceramics, however, the vast majority of Moche fineline ceramics at Galindo were decorated with a geometric painting tradition in which a small number of recurrent motifs were utilized (figure 7). In the analysis of the sherds decorated with this geometric painting tradition, eight recurrent motifs were identified, many of which have several types. By far the most common motif at Galindo is Motif 1. Motif 1 is a band with a repeating square panel. Each panel is divided into either two triangular halves or four triangular quarters by single or multiple straight and/or wavy lines. Five Motif 1 types have been identified on the basis of how the panels are divided. The following is a description of each of these five types:

- *Type A*: the panel is divided into triangular halves by a single wavy line;
- *Type B*: the panel is divided into four quarters by two perpendicular wavy lines;



Figure 6. Moche fineline sherds from Galindo depicting themes and figures thought to communicate ideological messages.

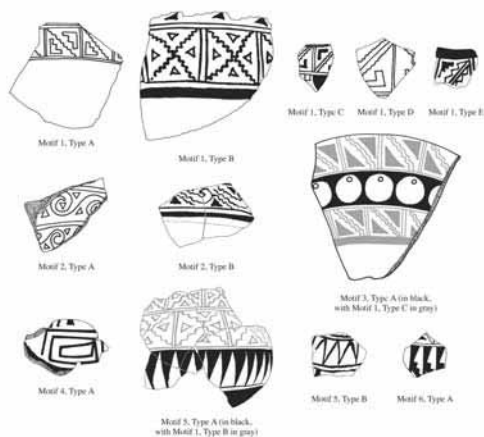


Figure 7. Major motifs in the geometric painting tradition at Galindo.

- *Type C*: the panel is divided into triangular halves by two parallel wavy lines;
- *Type D*: the panel is divided into triangular halves by three parallel wavy lines or a central straight line flanked on either side by parallel wavy lines; and
- *Type E*: the panel is divided into triangular halves by two central, parallel straight lines flanked on either side by parallel wavy lines.

Another characteristic of Motif 1 is the presence of solid or open interstitial elements within the triangular halves or quarters of the panels. Interstitial

elements associated with Motif 1 at Galindo are solid and open triangles, solid and open «L» shapes, solid, open, and mixed step elements, solid and open serrated triangles, and circles.

The second most common motif at Galindo is Motif 2. Motif 2 is a repeating wave that forms a band around the exterior or interior of the vessel. Three Motif 2 types have been identified. A single, continuous line forms the repeating wave motif in Type A, and several, discontinuous lines form the motif in Type B. Types A and B are both associated with interstitial elements that, when present, are located at regular locations and intervals along the repeating waves. Interstitial elements associated with Motif 2 at Galindo are solid and open triangles and solid «V» elements. Type C, which occurs on only a single sherd, is a negative design in which solid, light-colored waves appear on a dark background.

Motif 3 is a repeating circle that forms a band around the vessel. Three types have been identified. In Type A, smaller circles are found along the edge of larger circles. If the smaller circles are interpreted as holes, Type A appears to depict medallions, reminiscent of the gold (Alva and Donnan 1993: figures 33, 41, 62, 97, 169, 206, 219 and 226) and copper (Uceda *et al.* 1994, figure 8.25) medallions used by the Moche to decorate clothing, earrings, headdresses, and other elite accoutrements. Type A is usually a negative design in which light-colored medallions appear with dark «holes» on a dark background. Type B is composed of repeating, plain circles. This type occurs on only two sherds, both of which have light-colored circles on a dark background. In both cases, the sherds are small and probably in fact depict portions of Type A medallions in which the «holes» are absent. Type C has plain circles located within the center of slightly larger circles (i.e., donuts). Type C occurs on only a single sherd, however, and should therefore not be considered a major motif in the fineline painting tradition at Galindo. Motif 4 is a repeating spiral motif composed of straight lines and right angles. Motif 5 has two types. Type A is composed of repeating solid triangles, and Type B is composed of repeating open triangles.

Motif 6 is a repeating step motif that occurs in a band. Motif 6 has three types. Only in Type A,

however, does the motif form a major part of the overall design of the vessel. In Type A, the upper (or outer) step of the motif is everted, and usually larger than the other steps. The step motifs are either solid or open, and their interiors are decorated with open triangles. Type B is a simple, open, repeating step. The motif forms a thin band around the vessel that divides the overall design into separate areas, which often contain figurative designs. Type B therefore functions more like a framing line than a major part of the overall design of the vessel (*cf.* Donnan and McClelland 1999: figure 1.15). Type C is equivalent to Type B in that it is composed of simple repeating steps and functions like a framing line. In Type C, however, the step motif occurs along the rim of *florereros*. Most *florereros* at Galindo have rims that are notched in a step pattern. When the rim is smooth, however, the notched step pattern is often replaced by a painted version of the same pattern along the rim of the vessel (Motif 6, Type C). Type C is therefore a rim decoration associated with a specific vessel form – the *florero*.

The remaining two recurrent motifs identified in the geometric sample occur on very few sherds, and should not therefore be considered major motifs in the fineline painting tradition at Galindo. Motif 7, which occurs on three sherds, is composed of repeating principal and secondary (or interstitial) elements. The principal element consists of a subdivided triangular pattern attached to a series of rectangles (containing dots) that form an «L» shape. This element has the appearance of a spear or scepter. The secondary (or interstitial) element, which appears below each of the principal elements, is a subdivided triangle that has the appearance of a shell. The final recurrent motif identified in the geometric sample is Motif 8, which occurs on two *florero* fragments. These fragments are from the same provenience and may therefore be parts of the same vessel. The sherds contain a series of light-colored scallops on a dark background in a band around the interior of the *florero*. The design gives the vessel the appearance of a flower.

In conclusion, 19 types of eight recurrent motifs were identified in the geometric sample. As argued above, however, some of these motifs appear to be

either specialized or rare. Of the 19, twelve types of six motifs occur on multiple sherds from different contexts, appear in large, broad bands or panels, and co-occur with other recurrent motifs. These are Motif 1, Types A-E; Motif 2, Types A and B; Motif 3, Type A; Motif 4; Motif 5, Types A and B; and Motif 6, Type A (figure 7). These «major motifs» form the parts in a geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo. This geometric painting tradition includes standards of design layout in which major motifs were utilized together in varying combinations, and appear in two to five bands or panels around the exterior (e.g., stirrup spout bottles and jars) or interior (e.g., *floreros*) of fineline vessels. Usually two different motifs are present, which alternate when there are more than two bands or panels on the vessel. Sometimes, however, a single motif will occur in multiple bands or panels (cf. McClelland 1997, figure 3), or more than two motifs will occur on the same vessel. Several of the many possible combinations of motifs were identified on sherds in the Galindo sample.

The Geometric Painting Tradition Outside of Galindo

A review of design analyses and published examples of ceramics from other Moche sites has revealed that the geometric painting tradition was not unique to Galindo during the Late Moche Period. On the contrary, ceramics with designs of this tradition have been recovered from a number of Late Moche sites throughout the North Coast. Their presence is most striking at a small site (ISCH.206:3) associated with several prehistoric roads on the Pampa Colorada, located between the Santa and Chao valleys. All of the Moche fineline sherds with identifiable geometric designs published by Pimentel and Paredes (2003: figures 9.12 and 9.14) from this site are major motifs in the geometric painting tradition at Galindo. These sherds indicate that vessels decorated with the geometric painting tradition were either produced by or more likely traded to people living well to the south of the Moche Valley, an area previously thought to have been abandoned by the Moche in the seventh century A.D.

Although never dominant as at Galindo, Moche fineline ceramics decorated with the geometric painting tradition have also been recovered from several sites in the Northern Moche Region. Donna McClelland (1997) performed a design analysis of all of the Moche fineline sherds recovered during excavations at the site of Pacatnamu in the Jequetepeque Valley between 1983 and 1987 (Donnan and Cock 1997). This sample is composed of 65 sherds, the vast majority of which are of the Moche V style (McClelland 1997:277). McClelland classified the designs on 11 of the 65 sherds as geometric. All of the designs on these sherds are major motifs identified in the Galindo sample. Furthermore, Motif 1 is by far the most dominant in both samples. In addition, the geometric sherds in the Pacatnamu sample share the design layout characteristics of the geometric painting tradition utilized at Galindo. It is unclear at this time whether these ceramics were produced at Pacatnamu or were tradewares from Galindo itself. In either case, the presence at both sites of Moche fineline ceramics decorated with the geometric painting tradition suggests that the two sites had some form of relationship during the Late Moche Period. Because Moche fineline ceramics were symbols of power, this relationship probably included or was at least endorsed by rulers of the two sites.

The geometric painting tradition was also utilized in the decoration of ceramics recovered from the site of Pampa Grande, although their prevalence is still unclear. All of the geometric designs on Moche fineline ceramics from Pampa Grande published by Shimada in his book on the site (1994: figures 7.35a, 8.11 and 8.12c), however, are motifs that occur on sherds from Galindo. One of these motifs (a repeating crescent; see Shimada 1994: figure 7.35a), however, does not occur in the Galindo sample because its provenience could not be determined from Bawden's field notes. Excluding this design, all of the motifs on this admittedly small number of ceramics are major motifs in the Galindo sample.

Interestingly, Moche fineline ceramics decorated with the geometric painting tradition appear to be completely absent from the site of San José de Moro. Out of a sample of over 200 Moche fineline vessels

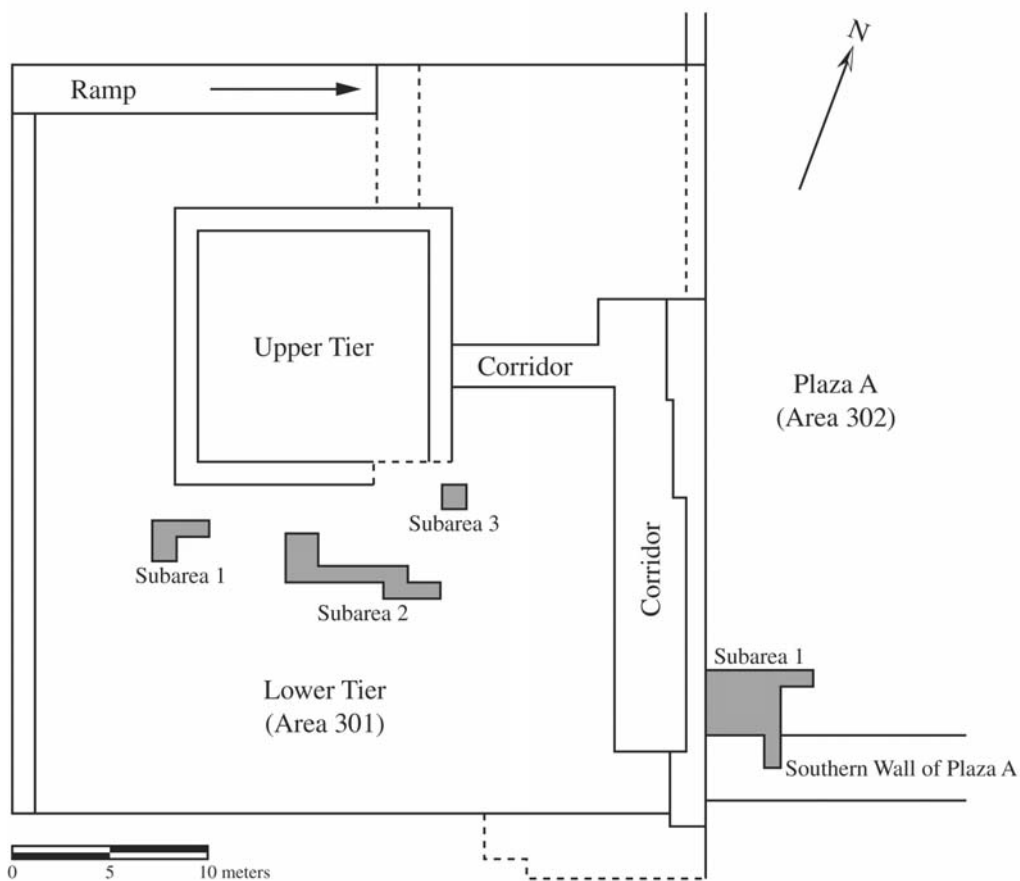


Figure 8. Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas, indicating GAP excavation areas.

recovered from the site, only a single vessel contains solely geometric designs (Luis Jaime Castillo, personal communication 2004). This may indicate that Galindo did not have as close a relationship to San José de Moro as it did with other sites on the North Coast. Alternatively, it may be the result of the fact that virtually all of the Moche fineline vessels recovered from San José de Moro are from mortuary rather than residential contexts. Moche fineline ceramics decorated with the geometric painting tradition are also absent at the Huacas de Moche (Santiago Uceda, personal communication 2004), despite the site's close proximity to Galindo and the fact that both sites appear to have been occupied

during the first half of the Late Moche Period. This suggests that Galindo and the Huacas de Moche did not have a relationship at this time, during which the former became a large, urban site with monumental architecture and the latter was in decline. Because Moche fineline ceramics were symbols of power, it is assumed that their production and distribution was tightly controlled by Moche elites. As a result, the dominance at Galindo of a Moche fineline painting tradition that is absent at the Huacas de Moche suggests that the former was at least partially independent from the latter, which had previously controlled the entire Moche Valley, during the first half of the Late Moche Period.



Figure 9. East profile of Area 301, Subarea 3, Unit 1. The profile indicates that Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas was constructed of solid adobe.

The Huaca de las Abejas

Another prominent Moche symbol of power is monumental architecture. By far the largest monument at Galindo is the Huaca de las Abejas, otherwise designated K4649A or the Huaca Galindo by Conrad (1974) and the Platform A Complex by Bawden (1977). The maximum dimensions of the *huaca* are 130 meters north to south by 264 meters east to west (Conrad 1974:219). The *huaca* is composed of a principal platform (Platform A) and three large, open plazas (Plazas 1-3). Plaza 1 is the largest of the plazas, and is located directly east of the platform. The entrance to the *huaca*, which is composed of two narrow passageways divided by a large buttress, is located at the eastern end of Plaza 1.

Platform A is a two-tiered platform (figure 8). The lower tier measures 54.2 meters north to south

by 50 meters east to west (Conrad 1974:224). The lower tier ranges from 6.75 to 3.15 meters in height; the range being a result of the fact that the platform was not built on level ground. The upper tier of the platform measures 17.7 meters north to south by 13.1 meters east to west (Conrad 1974:224). It is approximately 3.75 meters above the lower tier, resulting in a total height of the platform of between 10.5 and 6.9 meters. In order to reach the upper tier of Platform A from outside the *huaca*, a circuitous path must be followed that traverses at least seven ramps and all three plazas (Conrad 1974:226). Access to the top of Platform A therefore appears to have been highly restricted.

Before any systematic excavations were conducted at Galindo, the Huaca de las Abejas was variously dated as Chimu, Wari-Tiwanaku, and Moche with Wari-Tiwanaku rebuilding (see Conrad 1974:229). Even after excavation revealed that Galindo was largely a Moche site, the *huaca*, because of its small platform and large open plazas, was thought to represent a form of monumental architecture not characteristic of the Moche Period. Instead, it was more often viewed as a smaller version of the *ciudadelas* at Chan Chan, and perhaps even a predecessor to these later monuments (Conrad 1974; Moseley 1992). In many ways, both the residential and monumental architecture of Galindo represents a divergence from earlier Moche centers. In the case of monumental architecture, the appearance of a new form of monument, the *cercadura*, and the presence of several massive defensive walls are the most significant developments. GAP research indicates that the Huaca de las Abejas, on the other hand, does not represent a significant departure from earlier Moche monuments. On the contrary, the Huaca de las Abejas is similar to traditional Moche monuments in the heartland of the Southern Moche Region in terms of construction techniques, decoration, and formal attributes.

Construction Techniques

In 2002, test pits were excavated in three areas of the lower tier of Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas (Lockard 2003a, 2005). These excavations indicate that the platform was constructed of solid

adobe (figure 9). A majority of these adobes have smooth sides, indicating that they were made using molds with smooth slats (probably constructed of wood). Less common are adobes with linear impressions on four of their sides, indicating that they were made using molds with slats constructed of narrow canes (probably *caña brava* or *caña guayaquil*). Both of these construction techniques have been reported for *adobes* from the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna (Hastings and Moseley 1975), the Huaca Cao Viejo (Gálvez *et al.* 2003), and the Huaca Vichanzao (Pérez 1994). The vast majority of the adobes utilized in the construction of Platform A are also of a regular size. The adobes have median dimensions of 28 by 18 by 12 cm. These dimensions are similar to those of adobes used in the Phase IV constructions (Edificios A and B) at the Huaca Cao Viejo (Gálvez *et al.* 2003:84) and the Phase III/IV Huaca Vichanzao (Pérez 1994:242). Gálvez *et al.* (2003:83) demonstrate that the height to width ratio of adobes is temporally diagnostic at the Huaca Cao Viejo. Parallelepiped adobes from earlier construction phases (Edificios C-G) are short, with ratios of around 0.5. Parallelepiped adobes from Edificios A and B, however, which date to Phase IV, have height to width ratios of around 0.7. The adobes from Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas have similar height to width ratios (0.7) as those of Edificios A and B at the Huaca Cao Viejo. The size and height to width ratios of adobes from Platform A therefore indicate that the Huaca de las Abejas was constructed with adobes that are typical of those from Phase IV monuments in the Moche and Chicama valleys. Although later, the Huaca de las Abejas is therefore a classic Moche monument in terms of construction materials.

No subsurface floors or features were encountered in any of the test pits excavated into Platform A, and two of these test pits reached the base of the platform. This indicates that the platform was built during a single episode. Furthermore, one of the test pits indicates that the platform was built in vertical sections (figure 10). The western face of the section to the east of the test pit was straight with no broken adobes, indicating an uncoursed separation between this section of the platform and the section that was excavated. The construction of platforms in vertical



Figure 10. West profile of Area 301, Subarea 1, Units 1 and 2. The profile presents the eastern face of a vertical section of adobes in Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas.

sections is characteristic of many Early and Middle Moche platform mounds, including the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna (Hastings and Moseley 1975; Moseley 1975).

Further evidence concerning how the Huaca de las Abejas was constructed was encountered in the form of adobe maker's marks. The issue of adobe maker's marks has long been of interest to Moche archaeologists. Over a hundred different marks have been identified at well-studied Moche platform mounds such as the Huaca del Sol, the Huaca de la Luna (Hastings and Moseley 1975), and the Huaca Cao Viejo (Franco *et al.* 1994:160). These marks are generally regarded as culturally significant, although their exact meaning is still debated. It is generally believed, however, that each mark represents different labor crews utilized in the construction of the platforms. It is thought that each of these crews

represents different communities under the dominion of the rulers at the political centers where the platforms are located, and that their work on the platforms served to fulfill a kind of labor tax. Adobe maker's marks at sites such as the Huacas de Moche and the Complejo El Brujo do in fact seem to coincide with specific sections of the platform mounds.

In all, 47 adobes with maker's marks were encountered during excavations at the Huaca de las Abejas in 2002. Several different marks can be identified on these adobes, although the process of distinguishing between culturally significant marks is in some cases problematic. Seven different maker's marks have been defined, two of which have several variants. Most of these marks are the same or similar to marks documented at other Moche sites, such as the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna (figure 11; c.f. Hastings and Moseley 1975: figures 3 and 4 and Franco *et al.* 1994: figure 4.9). Type A is a single dot, which seems to have been made by the insertion of a finger on the top of the adobe. Type B has two such dots, and Type C has three dots. Type D has a single square, which appears to have been made by inserting an object other than a finger into the top of the adobe. Type E is a single dot on the side of the adobe, which is a mark that has never been documented at a Moche site. Type F, a single diagonal line, and Type G, an «L» shape, are both found on the top of the adobe. Types A through E were all found in primary contexts, while Types F and G were found only in looted contexts. Although the number of different types can be disputed (i.e., Types D and E may be variants of Type A, or Type A and B could be divided into several different types), at least five and as many as 12 different types of adobe maker's marks were recovered from the Huaca de las Abejas during the GAP. The seven maker's marks defined herein are partially grouped and and/or divided on the basis of the spatial association of adobes with similar marks. In other words, it is assumed that adobes with similar marks found nearby one another are of the same type. The percentage of adobes with maker's marks in the Huaca de las Abejas is small. During the excavation of the three test pits into the platform, approximately 2,245 adobes were removed. Of these, only 38, or 1.7%, had identifiable maker's marks.

Type	Quantity (with context/without context)
A	14 / 0
B	20 / 0
C	2 / 0
D	1 / 2
E	1 / 0
F	0 / 6
G	0 / 1
	<hr/> 38 / 9

Figure 11. Adobe maker's marks encountered in Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas during the GAP.

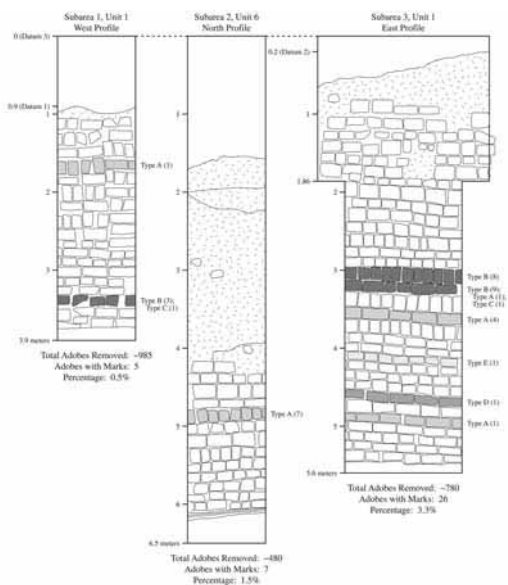


Figure 12. Platform A profiles, indicating the levels in which adobes with maker's marks were encountered.



Figure 13. The remains of a polychrome mural on the eastern face of the west wall of Plaza 1 of the Huaca de las Abejas (Area 302, Subarea 1, Unit 5).

Although this percentage is somewhat less than the percentages from other Moche platforms, such as those at the Huacas de Moche, the percentage of adobes with marks is within the range of variation noted for various sections of these platforms (Hastings and Moseley 1975: tables 1 and 2). Unlike at the Huaca del Sol and the Huaca de la Luna, however, adobe maker's marks appear to be associated with elevation rather than vertical sections (figure 12). In other words, adobes with the same marks were often found near or at the same elevation in different test pits. Nevertheless, these maker's marks can be interpreted as indicating that the Huaca de las Abejas was built by labor crews, each of which utilized different marks.

The small number of different marks at the Huaca de las Abejas compared to those found at other Moche platforms can be explained in several ways. First, of course, is the fact that the excavations conducted at the Huaca de las Abejas are considerably less extensive than those at other Moche sites. Future work on the platform will no doubt yield additional adobes with maker's marks, which may provide additional examples of the types herein defined as well as new marks. Secondly, the Huaca de las Abejas is very small compared to platforms such as the Huaca del Sol and

the Huaca de la Luna. As a result of its small size, it can be assumed that far fewer labor crews were required to construct the platform. Lastly, it is generally thought that Galindo rulers had direct control over a far less extensive area than rulers at the Huacas de Moche. If this is the case, then they also had access to the labor of far fewer communities.

Decoration

After the excavation of several test pits in and around the Huaca de las Abejas in 1971, Geoffrey Conrad (1974:226-227) reported that most if not all of the interior wall faces of the huaca were decorated with polychrome murals. In the summer of 2002, excavations in the southwest corner of Plaza 1 confirmed the presence of polychrome murals and provided additional information concerning their nature (figure 13). Wall murals were found on the interior face of the southern and western walls of Plaza 1, the latter of which is also the eastern face of Platform A. Due to the poor state of preservation of the murals, their iconographic content unfortunately could not be determined. The colors utilized, however, could be. The murals appear to have had a white background, with red paint as the

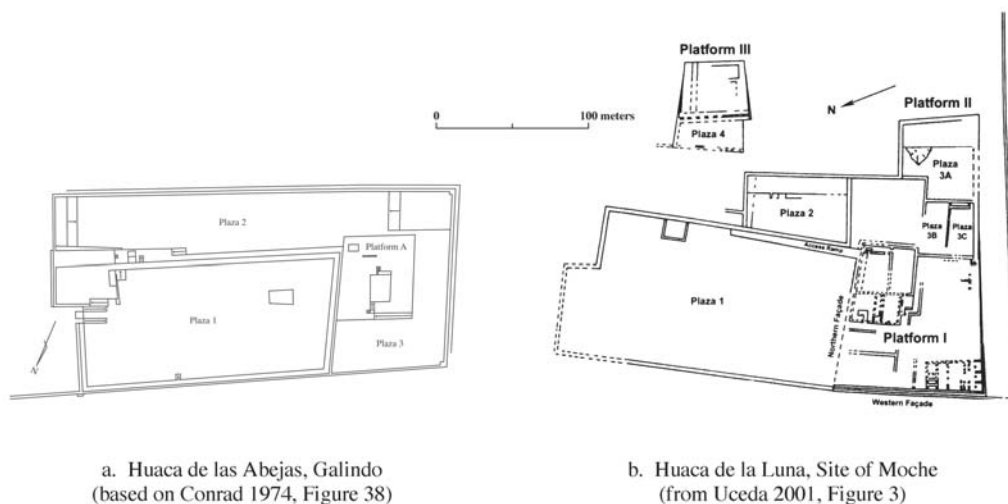


Figure 14. The Huaca de las Abejas and the Huaca de la Luna, roughly to scale.

primary color of the design. Orange and black paint were utilized to a lesser degree. These colors are among the most commonly utilized in polychrome murals at other Moche sites, such as the Huaca de la Luna (Bonavia 1985; Morales 1994:480).

Formal Characteristics

In light of what is known concerning the Huaca de las Abejas and several other Moche monuments in the heartland of the Southern Moche Region, particularly the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca Cao Viejo, the formal attributes of the Huaca de las Abejas are also characteristic of traditional Moche monuments in the heartland of the Southern Moche Region. The Huaca de la Luna is now known to include several large, open plazas (Uceda 2001; Uceda and Tufinio 2003; Uceda *et al.* 1994; Uceda *et al.* 1997, 1998, 2000) similar to those of the Huaca de las Abejas (figure 14). In fact, there are four main plazas that have been identified at the Huaca de la Luna. Plaza 4, however, is part of the Platform III complex, which although nearby is separate from the rest of the *huaca*. Excluding the Platform III complex, the Huaca de la Luna has the same number of plazas (3) as the Huaca de las Abejas at Galindo. Recent research has also demonstrated that the

Huaca Cao Viejo includes a large open plaza similar to the principal plazas at the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca de las Abejas (Gálvez and Briceño 2001).

In terms of the size of the principal platform, the Huaca de las Abejas does differ significantly from other Moche monuments in the heartland of the Southern Moche Region. This difference, however, is explained by the occupational history of the various sites of which the monuments are a part. Recent research at both the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca Cao Viejo has demonstrated that the enormous size of their platforms is the result of several construction episodes that took place over the course of hundreds of years. According to Uceda, after the first stage of construction at the Huaca de la Luna, the platform was only 10.7 meters above the surrounding plain (Uceda 2001: table 1). This is in fact approximately the height of the Huaca de las Abejas at Galindo, which, as mentioned, is between 10.5 and 6.9 meters in height. Platform A can therefore be viewed as merely the first stage in the construction of a traditional Moche monument. The small size of the platform is therefore the result of the fact that Galindo was occupied for only a very short period of time, rather than a deliberate change in design.

The Huaca de las Abejas is similar to major Moche monuments in the heartland of the Southern Moche

Site	Huaca	Length (m)	Width (m)	Area (m ²)
Galindo	Huaca de las Abejas (based on Conrad 1974)			
	Platform A	54,2	50	2.710
	Plaza 1	(193 max.)	(93 max.)	15.552
	Main section	178	84	14.952
	East extension	25	24	600
	Plaza 2	264	40	10.560
	Plaza 3 (including Platform A)	88	77	6.776
	Plaza 3 (not including Platform A)			4.066
	Platform A and Plaza 1			18.262
	Overall Dimensions	264	130	34.320
	Plaza 3 (including Platform A) and Plaza 1			22.328
	Plazas 1, 2 & 3 (including Platform A)			32.888
Moche	Huaca de la Luna			
	Platform I (Uceda et al. 1994)	95	95	9.025
	Platform II (Bourget 1998)			820
	Plaza 1 (including terraces; Uceda and Tufinio 2003)			15.118
	Western portion	175,5	54,4	9.547
	Eastern portion	155	35,94	5.571
	Plaza 1 (not including terraces; Uceda and Tufinio 2003)			11.493
	Southern portion	117	77,5	9.068
	Northern portion	49,5	49	2.426
	Plaza 2 (Uceda and Tufinio 2003)			4.111
	Plaza 2a	63	40	2.520
	Plaza 2b	43	37	1.591
	Plaza 3			2.732
	Plaza 3a (Bourget 1998)			1.930
	Plaza 3b (approximated from Uceda and Tufinio 2003)			631
	Southern portion	29,5	16,4	484
	Northern portion	12,5	11,8	148
	Plaza 3c (Uceda and Tufinio 2003)	14,5	11,8	171
	Overall Dimensions (Uceda et al. 1994)	290	210	60.900
	Platform I and Plaza 1			24.143
	Platforms I & II and Plazas 1, 2 & 3			31.806
El Brujo	Huaca Cao Viejo (Franco et al. 2003)			
	Platform	120	100	12.000
	Plaza	140	75	10.500
	Overall Dimensions	260	100	22.500

Table 2. The surface areas of the various platforms and plazas of the Huaca de las Abejas, the Huaca de la Luna, and the Huaca Cao Viejo.

Region in terms of surface area (table 2). According to Uceda, the Huaca de la Luna covers an area of about 290 meters north to south by 210 meters east to west, for a total of 60,900 meters square (Uceda *et al.* 1994). This is nearly twice as large as the total area of the Huaca de las Abejas, which is 34,320 meters square (Conrad 1974). The Huaca de la Luna complex, however, is not rectangular, so the total area of the complex is significantly less than the total derived from multiplying its length times its width. Furthermore, the dimensions provided by Uceda include the Platform III complex, which, as mentioned, are separate from the rest of the complex.

In order to better compare the total areas of the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca de las Abejas, the

areas of their various platforms and plazas were calculated. Platforms I and II and Plazas 1, 2, and 3 at the Huaca de la Luna have a combined area of approximately 31,806 meters square. This is roughly equivalent to the combined area of Plazas 1, 2, and 3, including Platform A, of the Huaca de las Abejas, which is 32,888 meters square. A comparison of the combined area of the principal platform and plaza of the Huaca de la Luna, the Huaca Cao Viejo, and the Huaca de las Abejas was also performed. Platform I and Plaza 1 of the Huaca de la Luna have a combined area of 24,143 meters square. This is only slightly larger than the combined area of the principal platform and plaza of the Huaca Cao Viejo, which is 22,500 meters square. Platform A and Plaza 1 of the

Huaca de las Abejas have a smaller combined area of 18,262 meters square. Platform A of the Huaca de las Abejas, however, represents only a single stage of construction. The *huaca* was probably originally designed to allow for future additions, particularly to the principal platform. If this is the case, Plaza 3 may delineate the area that the platform was eventually designed to fill. It is in fact only slightly smaller in area than the principal platforms at the Huaca de la Luna and the Huaca Cao Viejo. The combined area of Plaza 3, including Platform A, and Plaza 1 is 22,328 meters square, only slightly less than the combined area of the principal platform and plaza at of the Huaca de la Luna, and nearly identical to that of the Huaca Cao Viejo.

On the basis of construction technique, adobe size and proportions, the presence of adobe maker's marks, the presence of polychrome wall murals and their colors, and surface area, the Huaca de las Abejas is a traditional Moche civic/ceremonial complex. The two characteristics that set the Huaca de las Abejas apart from other Moche platform mounds – the presence of a single phase of construction and the size of its platform – can be explained by the occupational history of Galindo. On the basis of all previous research at Galindo, the site was largely occupied for only a short period of time during the Late Moche Period. Middle Moche and Chimú occupations have been identified at the site, but they are both confined to small areas on Hillside A. Ceramics and radiocarbon dates indicate that the Huaca de las Abejas and the Huaca de las Lagartijas were both constructed during the Late Moche Period. Surface ceramics and those recovered from excavations indicate that all of the architecture on the surrounding plain was probably also constructed and utilized only during this time. The Huaca de las Abejas may therefore represent the first phase of the construction of a new, classically Moche platform mound at Galindo during the time period in which the Huacas de Moche was in decline. The only difference is that at Galindo, subsequent construction episodes never followed because the site was not occupied long enough for this to occur.

Even if the Huaca de las Abejas was planned as a traditional Moche platform mound, this does not negate the possibility that it was a predecessor to

later Chimú *ciudadelas*. One of the biggest differences between the *ciudadelas* at Chan Chan and traditional Moche *huacas* (e.g., the Huaca de la Luna) is that the former were built more or less in a single episode. When a new phase of monumental construction began at Chan Chan, a completely new complex was constructed. This contrasts with the Moche model, in which new phases of monumental construction were added to preexisting complexes. There were no additions to the Huaca de las Abejas, most likely due to the early abandonment of the site. Although Chan Chan was occupied for a significantly longer period of time, the practice that began at Galindo of a single phase of construction for civic/ceremonial complexes remained. It is unclear at this time, however, whether or not these two facts are related or are merely coincidental.

Conclusion

In many ways, the site of Galindo is different from that of other Moche sites. This does not mean, however, that Galindo was isolated from the rest of the Moche world. On the contrary, similarities between the Moche fineline ceramics and civic/ceremonial monuments at Galindo and those of contemporary Moche centers indicate that Galindo had complex relationships with its neighbors. Galindo rulers retained at least certain aspects of the traditional elite ideology of their Moche ancestors, and materialized that ideology using traditional mediums. Future research will no doubt lead to a greater understanding of how the political power of Galindo rulers differed from that of other Moche rulers, and more importantly, what the reasons were for these differences. Regardless of the outcome of this research, however, Galindo should no longer be viewed as isolated, but as an integral part, albeit a unique manifestation, of the phenomenon that we as archaeologists call «the Moche».

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Notes

¹ The Early, Middle, and Late Moche periods are sequential, non-overlapping time periods utilized by archaeologists to discuss change through time, whereas Larco's Phases I-V are overlapping ceramic phases associated with different absolute dates in different areas of the North Coast.

² The Huaca de las Lagartijas is the second largest of four civic/ceremonial monuments located on the alluvial plain to the south of the outwash channel of the Quebrada Caballo Muerto (i.e., Plain B) at Galindo.

³ These dates were obtained by the author after the original submission of this paper, and do indeed indicate that the Phase V residential occupation of Galindo was confined to the Late Moche Period (see Lockard 2005).

⁴ Although some Moche archaeologists only refer to Phase IV-V or Phase V ceramics as «Moche finelines», I follow Donnan and McClelland (1999) in referring to all Moche finewares with dark slip paint on a light slip background (or vice versa) as «Moche finelines.»

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