
Dépôt Institutionnel de l'Université libre de Bruxelles /
Université libre de Bruxelles Institutional Repository
Thèse de doctorat/ PhD Thesis

Citation APA:

Cromphout, A. (2014). *Gender archaeology in Ancient Peru: a case study among the Recuay* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Université libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres – Histoire, Arts et Archéologie, Bruxelles.

Disponible à / Available at permalink : <https://dipot.ulb.ac.be/dspace/bitstream/2013/209355/44/8a64dd1a-8e31-4129-8397-6788f8005868.txt>

(English version below)

Cette thèse de doctorat a été numérisée par l'Université libre de Bruxelles. L'auteur qui s'opposerait à sa mise en ligne dans DI-fusion est invité à prendre contact avec l'Université (di-fusion@ulb.be).

Dans le cas où une version électronique native de la thèse existe, l'Université ne peut garantir que la présente version numérisée soit identique à la version électronique native, ni qu'elle soit la version officielle définitive de la thèse.

DI-fusion, le Dépôt Institutionnel de l'Université libre de Bruxelles, recueille la production scientifique de l'Université, mise à disposition en libre accès autant que possible. Les œuvres accessibles dans DI-fusion sont protégées par la législation belge relative aux droits d'auteur et aux droits voisins. Toute personne peut, sans avoir à demander l'autorisation de l'auteur ou de l'ayant-droit, à des fins d'usage privé ou à des fins d'illustration de l'enseignement ou de recherche scientifique, dans la mesure justifiée par le but non lucratif poursuivi, lire, télécharger ou reproduire sur papier ou sur tout autre support, les articles ou des fragments d'autres œuvres, disponibles dans DI-fusion, pour autant que :

- Le nom des auteurs, le titre et la référence bibliographique complète soient cités;
- L'identifiant unique attribué aux métadonnées dans DI-fusion (permalink) soit indiqué;
- Le contenu ne soit pas modifié.

L'œuvre ne peut être stockée dans une autre base de données dans le but d'y donner accès ; l'identifiant unique (permalink) indiqué ci-dessus doit toujours être utilisé pour donner accès à l'œuvre. Toute autre utilisation non mentionnée ci-dessus nécessite l'autorisation de l'auteur de l'œuvre ou de l'ayant droit.

----- English Version -----

This Ph.D. thesis has been digitized by Université libre de Bruxelles. The author who would disagree on its online availability in DI-fusion is invited to contact the University (di-fusion@ulb.be).

If a native electronic version of the thesis exists, the University can guarantee neither that the present digitized version is identical to the native electronic version, nor that it is the definitive official version of the thesis.

DI-fusion is the Institutional Repository of Université libre de Bruxelles; it collects the research output of the University, available on open access as much as possible. The works included in DI-fusion are protected by the Belgian legislation relating to authors' rights and neighbouring rights. Any user may, without prior permission from the authors or copyright owners, for private usage or for educational or scientific research purposes, to the extent justified by the non-profit activity, read, download or reproduce on paper or on any other media, the articles or fragments of other works, available in DI-fusion, provided:

- The authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited in any copy;
- The unique identifier (permalink) for the original metadata page in DI-fusion is indicated;
- The content is not changed in any way.

It is not permitted to store the work in another database in order to provide access to it; the unique identifier (permalink) indicated above must always be used to provide access to the work. Any other use not mentioned above requires the authors' or copyright owners' permission.



UNIVERSITÉ LIBRE DE BRUXELLES
FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES

ULB

GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY IN ANCIENT PERU: A CASE STUDY AMONG THE RECUAY

PART 3

Alexandra CROMPHOUT

Thèse présentée en vue de l'obtention du
grade académique de
Docteur en Histoire, art et archéologie



sous la direction de
Monsieur le Professeur Peter EECKHOUT et
Madame la Professeure Marysa DEMOOR

Universite Libre de Bruxelles



003555057

Année académique 2013-2014



UNIVERSITÉ LIBRE DE BRUXELLES
FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES

ULB

GENDER ARCHAEOLOGY IN ANCIENT PERU: A CASE STUDY AMONG THE RECUAY

PART 3

Alexandra CROMPHOUT

Thèse présentée en vue de l'obtention du
grade académique de
Docteur en Histoire, art et archéologie



sous la direction de
Monsieur le Professeur Peter EECKHOUT et
Madame la Professeure Marysa DEMOOR

Année académique 2013-2014

© This copy of the thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with the author and that use of any information derived there from must be in accordance with current Belgian Copyright Law. In addition, any quotation or extract must include full attribution.

VI.7. Characteristics of the attributes

As previously mentioned, Gero and Reichert concluded from their research that only men are associated with headdresses. After my analysis, I came to that same conclusion.

VI.7.1. Headgear

The headdresses found on male Recuay personages may have different bases. Most consist of a turban, although helmets, fezzes, three-cornered hats, bicephalic appendages, wraps, crowns, high hats with tails and stepped triangles have been discovered as well.

Additional elements are often attached to the turbans. Hands or paws, crescents, caps, feline heads, birds, human faces, arms, flaps, pins, mouths and serpent- or feline-like creatures are the most common additions.

VI.7.1.1. Headgear bases

The various types of headgear bases are divided into nine categories: turbans, helmets, the three-cornered hat, fezzes, wraps, crowns, the headdress with two triangular step designs, the high hat with tail and a headdress with bicephalic appendages.

a.) Turban

Turbans are the most common bases. They occur on the headdress types 1 (Fig. VI.192), 2, 3, 5 (Fig. VI.193), 6, 7 (Fig. VI.194), 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 (Fig. VI.195), 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 64, 65, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99 and 100.

The turbans probably consisted of a textile wrapped several times around the head. On ceramics, these turbans look like cushions placed on top of the heads of the personages. Many examples have additional elements attached to the sides, the front, or the top.



Fig. VI.192. Headdress 1

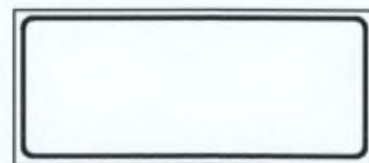


Fig. VI.193. Headdress 5



Fig. VI.194. Headdress 7

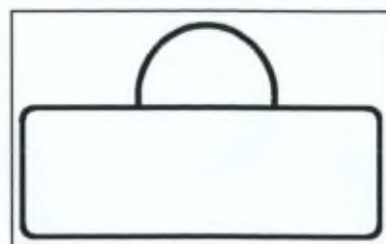


Fig. VI.195. Headdress 13

On the men with a llama, turbans occur nine times out of a total of twenty-eight headdresses. Ten out of twelve men with cups wear a turban as base. All thirteen of the headdresses belonging to men with birds also have a turban as base. Forty-four of the forty-six headdresses of men associated with felines are turbans. Twenty-one of the twenty-seven headdresses belonging to men with weapons are turbans. Eight men out of a total of fifteen men depicted with musical instruments in their hands are wearing a turban. Seven out of eight men being attacked by felines or birds have a turban as base. Two of the four men with animals in their hands wear a turban. All three men shown with a bag dangling from their shoulders are wearing a turban. One hundred and thirty-five of the one hundred and fifty-one men without any attributes have a headdress with a turban as its base. Seven out of the fourteen headdresses belonging to painted male figures consist of a turban. All eighteen examples in the scene-group male faces wear a turban. The only person appearing on a spoon which could definitely be identified as a man wears a turban. The four male three-dimensional heads decorating a vase are all wearing a turban. Sixteen of the twenty main male personages in copulation scenes wear a turban, as well as eight of the ten men shown in an architectural setting. In ceremonial scenes taking place inside a building, nineteen of the twenty-one headdresses belonging to the main male personages and nine of the fourteen headdresses belonging to the secondary male personages include a turban. Thirty-four of the forty-three secondary male characters placed on different parts of a building wear a turban. Sixty of the sixty-five main male personages and forty-six of the fifty secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters wear a turban. All seventeen of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with two or three main characters of the same size have a turban as base.

	Number of turbans	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	9	28	32%
Men + cup	10	12	83%
Men + birds	13	13	100%
Men + felines	44	46	95%
Men + weapons	21	26	81%
Men + musical instrument	8	15 (1 unident.)	57%
Men attacked	7	8	87.5%
Men + animal in hands	2	4	50%
Men + bag	3	3	100%
Men without attributes	135	151	89%
Painted men	7	14	50%
Male faces	18	18	100%
Spoons	1	1	100%
3D head on vase	4	4	100%
Copulation	16	20	80%
One man in architectural setting	8	10	80%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	19	21 (1 unident.)	95%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	9	14	64%
Secondary males on different parts of building	34	43 (2 unident.)	83%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	60	65 (2 unident.)	92%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	46	50	92%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of the same size: main male	17	17	100%

Table VI.73. Amount of turbans according to each scene-group

Turbans are almost always the most common bases for male personages. Some exceptions may be recognised.

In only thirty-two percent of the instances where men are accompanied by a llama do turbans form the headgear's base. As mentioned before, the llama-men are generally wearing more exceptional headdresses and clothes. Therefore, it is possible that Joan Gero's interpretation that these men had an exceptional place in Recuay society is true.

Only fifty-seven percent of the men with musical instruments wear a turban. Helmets and fez-like headdresses each occur on three occasions. These types of headdresses will be discussed further in this chapter.

Only half of the men with animals in their hands wear a turban. The two men wearing fezzes, however, are the same men mentioned in the discussion of the llama-men. They are carrying small llamas in their hands, but are also associated with a larger llama. As we will see further on, llama-men are often associated with fezzes.

Painted human males often wear other types of headgear as well. The fact that they are painted instead of sculpted could be the reason for the rather low amount of turbans. A regional difference, however, should be accounted for as well. Many of the vessels with painted humans come from the northern Ancash region, more specifically from the site of Pashash, near Cabana.

Only sixty-four percent of the secondary male personages from ceremonial scenes inside a house are wearing a turban. This rather low amount is caused by the four secondary male characters wearing head wraps, which belong to the same vessel (C-18-7). These figures are different from typical secondary ones as they appear larger in size. Their clothes and earspools are also quite exceptional for secondary personages. Consequently, they should be considered separately from the normal secondary personages. I conclude that turbans are also typical for the secondary male personages appearing in ceremonial scenes inside houses.

Apart from the llama-men, the men with musical instruments and the painted male humans, turbans are the most recurring headgear bases for Recuay male personages. Turbans occur frequently on secondary characters and men without attributes.

b.) Helmet

Helmets are the bases for the headgear types 4 (Fig. VI.196), 23, 45, 62, 69, 84 and 92.



Fig. VI.196. Headdress 4

Helmets do not appear on men with cups, men with birds, men with animals in their hands, men with bags dangling from their shoulders, male faces, men depicted on spoons, three-dimensional heads on vases, men in architectural settings, male main personages in ceremonial scenes inside a house, main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters and on main male personages in ceremonial scenes with two or three main characters of the same size.

Among some groups, helmets do occur, but always in very small, almost negligible, amounts. These groups include scenes depicting men with felines, men without attributes, main male personages in copulation scenes, the secondary male personages in ceremonial

scenes inside houses and the secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters and many secondary ones.

The llama-men group, on the other hand, has a rather large amount of men wearing helmets. Again, this confirms the rather special position of these Recuay men. Two of the three llama-men associated with a helmet have weapons in their hands, while the third one carries a staff.

Three men with weapons are also associated with a helmet.

Helmets are often associated with warriors in the drawings of Guamán Poma de Ayala (Fig. VI.197). It is possible that Recuay warriors, apart from the more generally worn turbans, often wore helmets.



Fig. VI.197. Warrior wearing a helmet (Guamán Poma 2011: 91)

A rather high percentage of men with musical instruments in their hands wear helmets. One of the three men with a musical instrument also holds a club. Therefore, this man could be interpreted as being a warrior as well.

One of the eight men being attacked by animals wears a helmet. This person is represented in a vulnerable and defeated manner. His eyes are closed and two birds are feeding on him. His heart is visible, which suggests that the eating process has been going on for a while.

Three painted male humans also wear helmets. These personages are associated with a staff, a common attribute among the llama-men group. As previously stated, the llama-men can also be associated with helmets.

Finally, the secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings are also rather frequently associated with helmets. Four are standing on the roof of a building while two are holding watch from the corners of another building. One of the latter figures also holds a shield and a club. The possibility that such secondary personages positioned on different parts of buildings represent guardians has already been mentioned. The strategic position of the secondary figures on architectural constructions and their common association with weapons, together with the rather high percentage of helmets, likely refer to the warrior or guardian function for this type of secondary personages.

Helmets are thus mostly associated with warrior types.

	Number of helmets	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	3	28	10.7%
Men + cup	0	12	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	1	46	2%
Men + weapons	3	26	11.5%
Men + musical instrument	3	15 (1 unident.)	21%
Men attacked	1	8	12.5%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	8	151	5%
Painted men	3	14	21%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	1	20	5%
One man in architectural setting	0	10	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	1	14	7%
Secondary males on different parts of building	6	43 (2 unident.)	14.6%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	0	65 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	3	50	6%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.74. Amount of helmets according to each scene-group

c.) Three-cornered hat

The three-cornered hat appears on the headdresses 9 (Fig. VI.198), 61 and 101 (Fig. VI.199).

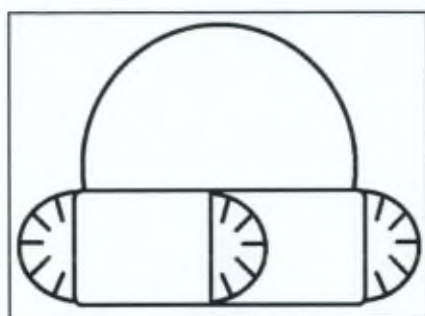


Fig. VI.198. Headdress 9



Fig. VI.199. Headdress 101

The three-cornered hat consists of a turban with three vertical projections at regular intervals (mostly two on the side and one in the middle of the front part of the turban). Sometimes a large crescent is placed on top, although two big circles, also called the owl crescent, also occur.

The three-cornered hat appears five times on men with a llama. Clearly, men accompanied by llamas are the male personages which are mostly associated with this type of hat. Therefore, Gero's aforementioned statement can be confirmed, although other male characters are also associated with this type of headdress.

One man with felines, one main male personage in a copulation scene, one secondary male personage positioned on different parts of a building and one main male figure in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters are associated with the three-cornered hat.

Clearly, most of these instances are of either solo men or of main characters in ceremonial scenes. The three-cornered hat only appears once on a secondary character, more specifically, on a personage holding a shield who is on the lookout from the corner of a building. In this scene, there are no main characters. Consequently, the three-cornered hat occurs mostly on men with a special function and/or ceremonial status.

	Number of three-cornered hats	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	5	28	18%
Men + cup	0	12	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	1	46	2%
Men + weapons	0	26	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	15 (1 unident.)	0%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	0	151	0%
Painted men	0	14	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	1	20	5%
One man in architectural setting	0	10	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	14	0%
Secondary males on different parts of building	1	43 (2 unident.)	2.4%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	1	65 (2 unident.)	1.5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	50	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.75. Amount of three-cornered hats according to each scene-group

d.) Fez

Fezzes are present on the headdresses 19, 25 (Fig. VI.200), 42, 48, 49, 63 (Fig. VI.201) and 87.



Fig. VI.200. Headdress 25

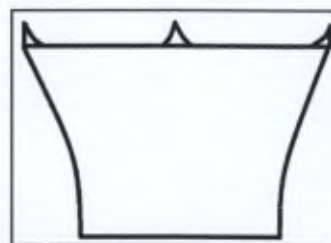


Fig. VI.201. Headdress 63

Fezzes are hats with sides expanding outwards. They might have a large crescent on top. Fezzes are mostly associated with men accompanied by a llama. Thirty-six percent of these men are wearing one. Some examples, however, are found among other scene-groups.

One man with a cup wears a fez (Fig. VI.202, C-2-15). This fez is decorated with circular plaques attached to a diadem. This example is quite exceptional for Recuay ceramics. It is larger than most of the other Recuay effigies and the person is represented as sitting cross-legged. Design 16 is painted or tattooed on the figure's face and he is wearing what looks like a rectangular plate on his back and a collar around his neck. All these are exceptional elements in Recuay iconography.



Fig. VI.202. Man with a cup wearing a fez (C-2-15)

The two men holding a llama by a cord and carrying a smaller llama in their hands are both wearing a fez.

One man holding a shield and a club, one man holding panpipes and a shield, two men holding a flute, six men without attributes, one main male personage in a copulation scene, a man in an architectural setting, a main male in an architectural setting participating in a ceremonial scene and a male secondary figure in a ceremonial scene all wear what look like fezzes. These headdresses, however, differ from the fezzes found among the llama-men. Many of these hats are shorter in height (Fig. VI.203) and often occur at the vessel's aperture (Fig. VI.204 and Fig. VI.205), which makes them look like fezzes. There is only one man without attributes that wears the typical fez known from the llama-men group (Fig. VI.206, C-11-106). As only the head of this personage survives, it is probable

that this personage was actually a llama-man whose body and accompanying llama have since broken off.



Fig. VI.203. Main male in a copulation scene wearing a low fez (C-16-20)



Fig. VI.204. Aperture of a vase resembling a fez (C-11-17)



Fig. VI.205. Secondary male with the aperture of the vase on his head (C-20-63)



Fig. VI.206. Head with fez (C-11-106)

Therefore, it can be concluded that fezzes are almost solely associated with llama-men, some of whom hold a smaller llama in their hands. There is only one exceptional example of a man holding a cup who is associated with a fez similar to the ones belonging to the llama-men. Consequently, this supports Gero's statement that mostly men associated with llamas wear a fez.

	Number of fezzes	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	10	28	36%
Men + cup	1	12	8.3%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	46	0%
Men + weapons	2	26	7.7%
Men + musical instrument	3	15 (1 unident.)	21%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	2	4	50%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	6	151	4%
Painted men	0	14	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	1	20	5%
One man in architectural setting	1	10	10%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	1	21 (1 unident.)	5%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	14	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	43 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	1	65 (2 unident.)	1.5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	1	50	2%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.76. Amount of fezzes according to each scene-group

e.) Wrap

Only headdress 28 consists of a wrap (Fig. VI.207)



Fig. VI.207. A wrap (C-1-10)

There are seven male personages wearing a wrap: one llama-man, one main male in a copulation scene, one main male personage in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters and four secondary male personages carrying a roof in a ceremonial scene. These last four characters are different from the normal secondary personages. They

appear larger and wear more elaborate clothing (they are the only secondary personages with a hem).

Wraps thus occur mostly on rather exceptional male personages. As mentioned before, the llama-men are often associated with peculiar headgear. The fact that men in copulation scenes wear elaborate clothes and headgear shows that a great importance was attributed to their ceremonial status. The main personages in ceremonial scenes are always larger and more central, which could also refer to their representing rather significant roles in Recuay society. Even the four secondary personages associated with the wrap are exceptional examples among the Recuay ceramics.

	Number of wraps	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	1	28	3.5%
Men + cup	0	12	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	46	0%
Men + weapons	0	26	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	15 (1 unident.)	0%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	0	151	0%
Painted men	0	14	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	1	20	5%
One man in architectural setting	0	10	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: male main	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	4	14	28.5%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	43 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	1	65 (2 unident.)	1.5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	50	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.77. Amount of wraps according to each scene-group

f.) Crown

A crown is present on headdress 36 (Fig. VI.208).



Fig. VI.208. Headdress 36

There is only one man associated with what looks like a crown (C-2-20). This personage holds a cup in his hands and is sitting on a stairway. This is the only time a person is represented on a staircase. All of the other architectural features consist of buildings or roofs. As was mentioned by Lau (2013: 137), the possibility exists for this man to be the representation of a Wari-person wearing the typical four-cornered hat.

	Number of crowns	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	0	28	0%
Men + cup	1	12	8.3%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	46	0%
Men + weapons	0	26	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	15 (1 unident.)	0%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	0	151	0%
Painted men	0	14	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	20	0%
One man in architectural setting	1	10	10%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	14	0%
Secondary males on different parts of building	0	43 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	0	65 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	50	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of the same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.78. Amount of crowns according to each scene-group

g.) Two triangular-step designs

A headdress with two triangular-step designs is found on headgear-type 66 (Fig. VI.209). There are two male personages associated with a headdress consisting of two triangular-step designs. One occurs in the scene-group of painted humans (C-12-4) and one in the scene-group of men without attributes (C-11-143). Both vessels come from the Pashash site, near Cabana. As this type of headgear is so exceptional in Recuay iconography, this could mean that the use of this type was restricted to certain northern regions.



Fig. VI.209. Headdress 66

	Number of two triangular-step designs	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	0	28	0%
Men + cup	0	12	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	46	0%
Men + weapons	0	26	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	15 (1 unident.)	0%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	1	151	0.6%
Painted men	1	14	7%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	20	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	10	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	14	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	43 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	0	65 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	50	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.79. Amount of two triangular-step designs according to each scene-group

h.) High hat with tail

Headdress 71 consists of a high hat with a tail (Fig. VI.210). There is only one man wearing this type of hat (Fig. VI.211, C-11-139). This man belongs to the group of persons without attributes and comes from the site of Pashash.



Fig. VI.210. Headdress 71



Fig. VI.211. (C-11-139)

From the hat's spots and tail, it can be inferred that this headdress was made from feline-skin. It has been mentioned that in the Inca and colonial periods, feline skin was used as part of the headdresses worn by the *parianes* (guardians of the field), the *huacas* and mummies, as well as by some priests and shamans. The use of feline skin on this hat is obvious in its pattern. The paws and feline heads often found attached to turbans (see below) equally refer to the use of feline skin for headdresses among the Recuay. As only one man is found wearing this high hat with a tail, it is impossible to make conclusions about how widely its use stretched. Perhaps this hat was used by specific priests or shamans or perhaps this type of hat was restricted to the northern regions, as this figurine comes from the site of Pashash.

	Number of high hats with tail	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	0	28	0%
Men + cup	0	12	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	46	0%
Men + weapons	0	26	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	15 (1 unident.)	0%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	1	151	0.6%
Painted men	0	14	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	20	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	10	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	14	0%
Secondary males on different parts of building	0	43 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: Main male	0	65 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	50	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.80. Amount of high hats with tail according to each scene-group

i.) Bicephalic appendages

The headdresses 67 (Fig. VI.212) and 90 (Fig. VI.213) consist of two appendages coming out of the front of the figure's head or turban.



Fig. VI.212. Headdress 67

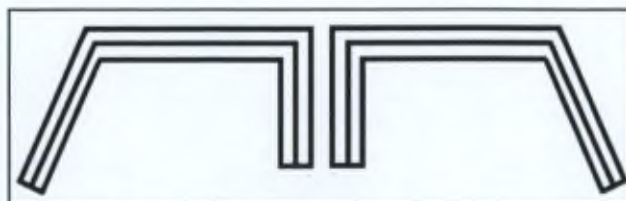


Fig. VI.213. Headdress 90

Three men from the painted humans group are wearing this type of headgear. Two of these men belong to a vessel from the museum of Huaraz (C-12-1), while the third one is painted

on a vessel from the museum of Cabana (C-12-7). The latter object consists of a splayed being with a diamond shaped body. This figure is often found among the Recuay stone sculptures. Apparently, this headdress is not associated with sculpted human beings on ceramics, but only with painted ones. My ceramic sample includes two additional instances of the splayed being which occur on the vessels' supports. One is painted on the back of a man (C-4-2) and one is painted on what looks like a stone slab hung on the wall of a building (C-18-15). It seems that the splayed being is used as a decorative motif, mostly on stone slabs. Accordingly, I am of the opinion that this creature probably does not represent a human being, but rather some sort of divinity.

	Number of bicephalic appendages	Total number of headdresses	%
Men + llama	0	28	0%
Men + cup	0	12	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	46	0%
Men + weapons	0	26	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	15 (1 unident.)	0%
Men attacked	0	8	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	4	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	0	151	0%
Painted men	3	14	21%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	20	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	10	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	21 (1 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	14	0%
Secondary males on different parts of building	0	43 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	0	65 (2 unident.)	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	50	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.81. Amount of bicephalic headdresses according to each scene-group

j.) Headgear bases: conclusion

Turbans are most frequently used as the bases for headdresses in Recuay iconography. Turbans occur in every scene-group and almost all the secondary personages and men without attributes are associated with them.

Other bases occur only occasionally. Helmets are mostly associated with men holding weapons and secondary personages placed in strategic positions on buildings, as if they are on the lookout while inside these buildings some ritual is taking place.

Fezzes and the three-cornered hat are mostly associated with men accompanied by llamas.

Wraps are associated with men in specific situations (accompanied by a llama, in a copulation scene, in a ceremonial scene, as roof-bearers).

Crowns, the triangular-step designs, the high hat with a tail and the bicephalic appendages appear only occasionally. These types are never found on secondary personages. It is possible that both the high hat with a tail and the headdress with two triangular-step designs belong to the northern areas of the Ancash region.

	Total	Turban	Helmet	3-cornered hat	Fez	Wrap	Crown	2 triangular-step designs	High hat+ tail	Bicephalic app.
Men+llama	28	9	3	5	10	1	0	0	0	0
Men+cup	12	10	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Men+birds	13	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men+felines	46	44	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men+weapons	26	21	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Men+music. (1 unid.)	15	8	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Men attacked	8	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men+animal in hands	4	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Men+bag	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men without attributes	151	135	8	0	6	0	0	1	1	0
Painted men	14	7	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Male faces	18	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spoons	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3D head	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Copulation: main male	20	16	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
One man in architectural setting	10	8	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	21 (1 unid.)	19	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	14	9	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0
Secondary male on different parts of building	43 (2 unid.)	34	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	65 (2 unid.)	60	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	50	46	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	17	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table VI.82. Amount and type of headdress-bases according to each scene-group

VI.7.1.2. Elements attached to the headgear's base

Thirteen different elements can be found attached to turbans. The owl crescent occurs solely on the three-cornered hat.

a.) Hands/paws

Hands or paws occur on the following headdresses: type 3, 7, 17, 27, 31 (Fig. VI.214), 32 (Fig. VI.215), 38, 41, 43, 44, 51, 56, 58, 59, 64, 68, 73, 76, 77, 78, 81, 86, 88, 93, 94, 98, 99 and 100.

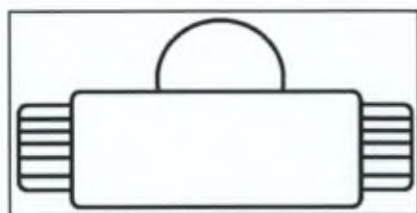


Fig. VI.214. Headdress 31

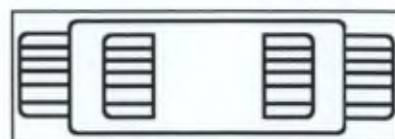


Fig. VI.215. Headdress 32

Hands or paws are one of the most common elements found on turbans. Some remarkable differences in quantities, however, have been detected.

Secondary personages do not frequently have hands or paws on their headdresses. Secondary personages in ceremonial scenes, which are taking place inside a house, are never seen with hands or paws. Only three secondary personages on different parts of buildings and only one secondary personage in a ceremonial scene with one or two main personages are associated with hands or paws. This implies that personages of lesser importance in Recuay society wore headdresses with elements other than hands or paws.

The men attacked by animals, the men holding a bag and the painted men are never associated with hands or paws. All these men do, however, often wear turbans with crescents on top. As will be discussed further on, these headdresses are associated with men of lower ceremonial importance. The lack of hands or paws, but the presence of crescents thus refers to the rather low ceremonial status of the figures depicted in these scene-groups.

The llama-men, men with cups, men with felines, three-dimensional heads, men in copulation scenes, men in architectural settings and main male personages in ceremonial scenes all have hands or paws on their turbans in twenty to forty percent of the cases.

The groups where more than forty percent of the turbans have hands or paws are the men with birds, men with weapons, men with musical instruments, men with animals in their hands, men without attributes, male faces and spoons. This could indicate that these men had a rather important place in Recuay ceremonies. Before making any final

conclusions on religious status or function, all other clothing styles and possible attributes associated with these men should be investigated.

	Number of hands/paws	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	3	9	33%
Men + cup	3	10	30%
Men + birds	8	13	61%
Men + felines	16	44	36%
Men + weapons	11	21	52%
Men + musical instrument	4	8	50%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	1	2	50%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	68	135	50%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	9	18	50%
Spoons	1	1	100%
3D head on vase	1	4	25%
Copulation	6	16	37.5%
One man in architectural setting	2	8	25%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	7	19	37%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	3	34	9%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	20	60	33%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	1	46	2%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	6	17	35%

Table VI.83. Amount of hands/paws according to each scene-group

b.) Crescents (open crescent, sickle, three-pointed crescent)

Crescents occur on the turbans of the headdresses 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 21, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 37, 40, 43, 44, 47, 56, 58, 65, 72, 73, 74, 75 (Fig. VI.216), 77, 78 (Fig. VI.217), 80, 81, 85, 86, 89, 91, 95, 96 and 99.

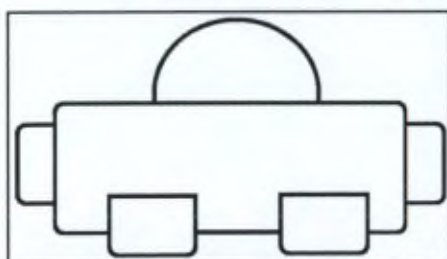


Fig. VI.216. Headdress 75



Fig. VI.217. Headdress 78

Crescents are the most common elements attached to turbans. Most of the secondary male personages have a crescent on their headdress. Only the secondary male personages that are positioned on different parts of buildings wear a turban with a crescent less frequently, because they are more often associated with helmets, since they probably function as guardians.

The only scene-groups that have turbans which are not associated with a crescent are the male personage represented on a spoon and men with an animal in their hands.

Fifty percent or more of the men are wearing a crescent on top of their headdress in the following scene-groups: the llama-men, a man with a cup, a man with birds, a man with felines, a man with weapons, a man with a bag, painted humans, a main male personage in a copulation scene, a main male personage in a ceremonial scene inside a house and a main male personage in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters. This data suggests that these personages are ceremonially less significant, although, as crescents are often accompanied by other elements attached to the turban, conclusions regarding the possible religious status or function of these characters should not be made yet.

The other groups, men with musical instruments, men being attacked by animals, men without attributes, male faces, three-dimensional heads, men in architectural settings and men in ceremonial scenes with two or three main personages of the same size all have headdresses with crescents in twenty to forty percent of the cases.

	Number of crescents	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	9	9	100%
Men + cup	6	10	60%
Men + birds	10	13	77%
Men + felines	29	44	66%
Men + weapons	11	21	52%
Men + musical instrument	2	8	25%
Men attacked	2	7	28.5%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	2	3	66.6%
Men without attributes	47	135	35%
Painted men	7	7	100%
Male faces	6	18	33%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	1	4	25%
Copulation	10	16	62.5%
One man in architectural setting	2	8	25%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	10	19	53%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	6	9	66%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	12	34	35%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	39	60	65%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	31	46	67%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	6	17	35%

Table VI.84. Amount of crescents according to each scene-group

c.) Caps

Caps appear on the headgear types 1, 8, 10, 26, 34, 39, 54 (Fig. VI.218), 55, 57, 74 (Fig. VI.219), 75, 96, 98, 99 and 100.

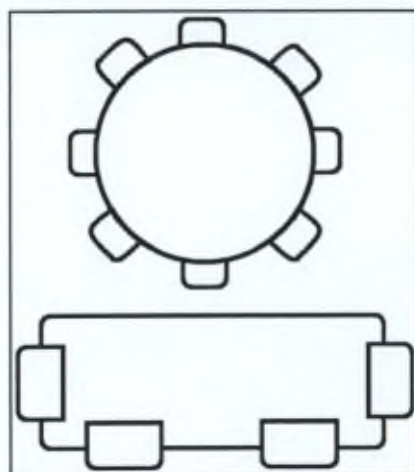


Fig. VI.218. Headdress 54

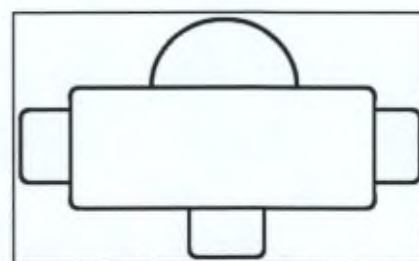


Fig. VI.219. Headdress 74

Caps are the second most common elements attached to turbans on secondary personages, except in the group of secondary personages positioned on different parts of buildings, which, as previously mentioned, should not be considered as typical secondary characters.

Other men frequently associated with caps (more than twenty percent of the total amount of turbans) are the llama-men, men with cups, men with musical instruments, main male personages in copulation scenes and main male personages in ceremonial scenes.

Men without caps occur in the following groups: men with an animal in their hands, men with bags, painted men, spoons, three-dimensional heads and men in architectural settings. Whether this means that these men are of a higher ceremonial status should be investigated after analysing all the other elements found attached to their headdresses' bases.

The men with felines, the men with birds, the men with weapons, the men being attacked by animals, the men without attributes and the male faces are associated with caps in less than twenty percent of the cases. Further investigation of the other attached elements will give a clearer view of these personages' possible higher religious status.

	Number of caps	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	4	9	44%
Men + cup	3	10	30%
Men + birds	1	13	7%
Men + felines	2	44	4.5%
Men + weapons	2	21	9.5%
Men + musical instrument	2	8	25%
Men attacked	1	7	14%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	13	135	9.6%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	1	18	5.5%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	4	16	25%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	6	19	31.5%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	5	9	55.5%
Secondary males on different parts of building	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	17	60	28%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	5	46	11%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	4	17	23.5%

Table VI.85. Amount of caps according to each scene-group

d.) Human faces

Human faces are present on the headdresses 8, 41, 47, 56, 60 (Fig. VI.220), 77 and 94 (Fig. VI.221). Single human faces may occur on the turban's top or on the turban's front, while multiple faces are sometimes on the front of a turban.

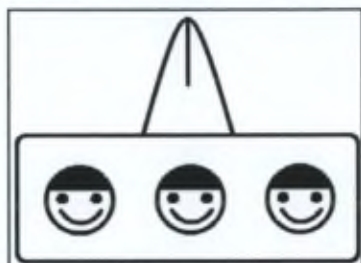


Fig. VI.220. Headdress 60



Fig. VI.221. Headdress 94

There are only four scene-groups in which human faces occur on the front of the headdress. One man with weapons, five men without attributes, three main male personages in a ceremonial scene and one main male personage in a ceremonial scene with two or three main characters of the same size have one or multiple human faces on their turban.

Apparently, human faces never occur on the turbans of secondary personages. This could mean that they are characteristic of ceremonially higher-ranked or more important male personages.

Many of the personages having a human face on their turban carry objects in their hands. Four are carrying weapons, one of whom also carries a cup and one also wears a rectangular back plate. Another man holds a cup and one holds a trophy head and a knife. There are only four men without objects in their hands. Being associated with certain attributes clearly reflects a specific function in Recuay ceremonies, which reinforces my statement that human faces on turbans were probably prerogatives for rather important men.

	Number of human faces	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	0	10	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	44	0%
Men + weapons	1	21	4.7%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	5	135	3.7%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: male main	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	3	60	5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	1	17	6%

Table VI.86. Amount of human faces according to each scene-group

e.) Arms

Arms are found on the headdresses 12, 21, 24, 33, 37 (Fig. VI.222), 39, 46, 72 and 97 (Fig. VI.223).

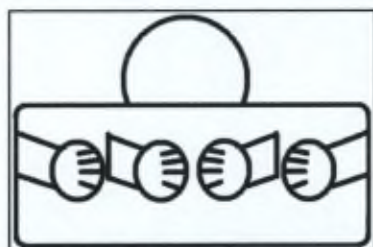


Fig. VI.222. Headdress 37

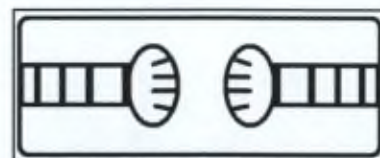


Fig. VI.223. Headdress 97

None of the secondary personages have arms attached to their headdresses. Additionally, the figures from the following groups are never associated with arms on their headgear: men with a llama, men with cups, men with an animal in their hands, men with a bag, painted male humans, male faces, spoons, three-dimensional heads, main males in

copulation scenes, men in architectural settings and main male personages in ceremonial scenes taking place inside a house.

The men having arms on their headdresses are mostly carrying attributes (cups, weapons, musical instruments) or are associated with birds and felines (e.g., in one scene the figure is being attacked by four felines). Only three men without attributes have arms on their turban.

Arms should thus be considered elements attached to the turbans of men with a specific function in Recuay society (such as warriors, musicians, main characters at the centre of a ceremonial scene).

	Number of arms	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	0	10	0%
Men + birds	1	13	7.7%
Men + felines	11	44	25%
Men + weapons	5	21	24%
Men + musical instrument	1	8	12.5%
Men attacked	1	7	14%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	3	135	2%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	3	60	5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	1	17	6%

Table VI.87. Amount of arms according to each scene-group

f.) Feline head

The headdresses 12, 21, 24, 26, 34, 51 (Fig. VI.224), 58, 68, 72, 73, 76, 79 (Fig. VI.225) and 96 all have one or more feline heads attached to their turbans.



Fig. VI.224. Headdress 51

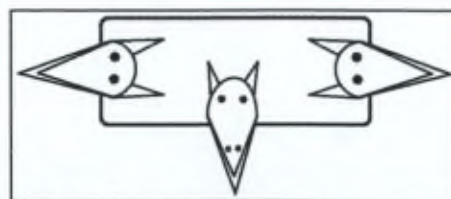


Fig. VI.225. Headdress 79

Secondary personages are never associated with a feline head on their headdress, neither are men with birds, men with musical instruments, men being attacked by animals, men with animals in their hands, men with a bag, painted male humans, three-dimensional heads, men in architectural settings nor main male personages in ceremonial scenes taking place inside a house.

It can be assumed that most men who have a rather specific ceremonial status are wearing a feline head on their turbans, such as the llama-man, the men with felines, the men with weapons, the men with cups, the men in copulation scenes and main male personages in ceremonial scenes.

Only two men without attributes, the only man represented on a spoon and one male face, have a feline head on their headgear.

	Number of feline heads	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	3	9	33%
Men + cup	1	10	10%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	6	44	13%
Men + weapons	2	21	9.5%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	2	135	1.5%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	1	18	5.5%
Spoons	1	1	100%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	4	16	25%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	4	60	6%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	2	17	12%

Table VI.88. Amount of feline heads according to each scene-group

g.) Flaps

Flaps are found on the headdresses 14 (Fig. VI.226), 82 (Fig. VI.227) and 95.

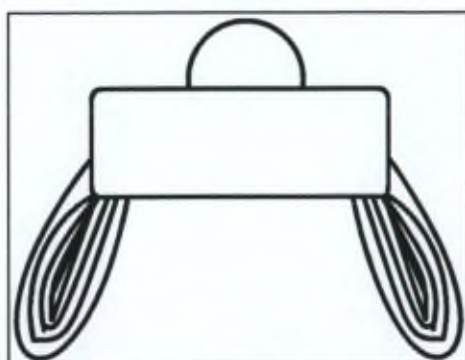


Fig. VI.226. Headdress 14

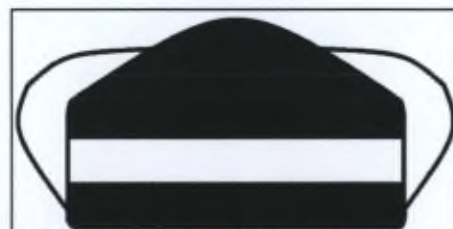


Fig. VI.227. Headdress 82

There are very few men with flaps attached to their turbans: one man with weapons, one man without attributes, one man from the scene group of secondary figures placed on different parts of a building, who is holding a cup, and one main personage from a ceremonial scene. As these elements occur on so few occasions and most of the men

associated with them have no particular attributes, it is impossible to clearly interpret the use of flaps.

	Number of flaps	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	0	10	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	44	0%
Men + weapons	1	21	5%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	1	135	0.7%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	1	34	3%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	1	60	1.6%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.89. Amount of flaps according to each scene-group

h.) Pins on top

Pins can be found on the following headdresses: types 15, 39, 50 (Fig. VI.228), 55, 57, 60, 64, 76 (Fig. VI.229), 85 and 100.

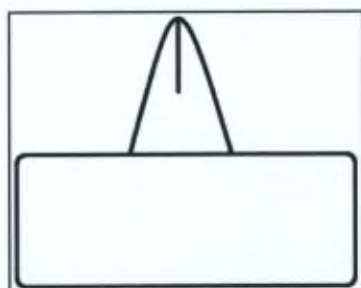


Fig. VI.228. Headdress 50

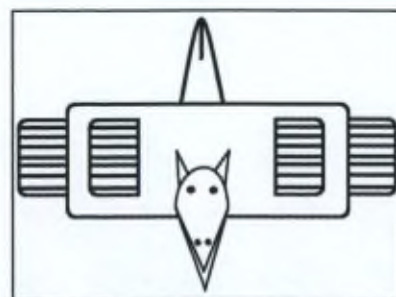


Fig. VI.229. Headdress 76

None of the secondary personages have a pin on top of their turban. Apparently, mostly men with attributes are associated with a pin. A pin occurs once on a llama-man, once on a man with a cup, once on a man with weapons, once on a man being attacked by animals,

once on a man with a trophy head and a knife in his hands, once on a man in a copulation scene and six times on a main male personage in a ceremonial scene. There are only four personages without attributes wearing a pin on top of their turban.

	Number of pins	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	1	9	11%
Men + cup	1	10	10%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	44	0%
Men + weapons	1	21	4.7%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	1	7	14%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	5	135	3.7%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	1	16	6%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	1	19	5%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	5	60	8.3%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.90. Amount of pins according to each scene-group

i.) Turban consists of an animal face

Only headdress 15 (Fig. VI.230) consists of an animal face.

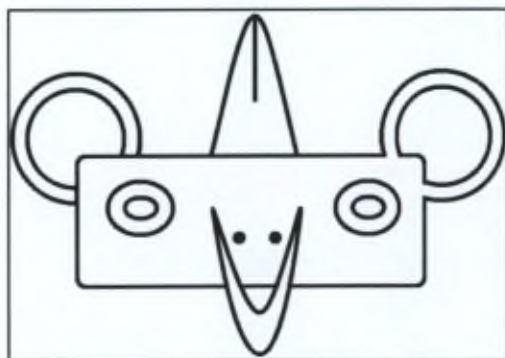


Fig. VI.230. Headdress 15

There is only one man wearing headdress 15. This man is the central and largest personage in a ceremonial scene with one main personage and several secondary characters. This

unique headdress should therefore be considered as designating the character's special function and/or religious status.

	Number of turbans consisting of an animal face	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	0	10	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	44	0%
Men + weapons	0	21	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	0	135	0%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	1	60	1.6%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.91. Amount of turbans consisting of an animal face according to each scene-group

j.) Mouth or oval on the front (sometimes with eyes)

The headdresses 22 (Fig. VI.231), 38 (Fig. VI.232), 78, 88 and 93 have a mouth or oval on the front. Sometimes eyes may be added as well.

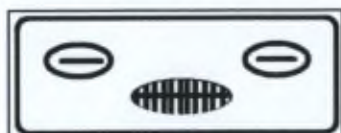


Fig. VI.231. Headgear 22



Fig. VI.232. Headgear 38

Mouths or ovals on the front of headdresses, sometimes accompanied by eyes, occur occasionally. None of the secondary personages are associated with these elements. Mostly

main male personages at the centre of ceremonial scenes wear turbans decorated with these elements. The remaining personages with mouths or ovals on the front of their headdress include two men with a cup, one man with weapons and four men without attributes. Mouths or ovals seem to be prerogatives of rather important personages.

	Number of mouths or ovals on the front	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	2	10	20%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	44	0%
Men + weapons	1	21	4.7%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	4	135	3%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	3	60	5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.92. Amount of mouths/oval according to each scene-group

k.) Birds

Birds are found on the headdresses 29, 35, 40 (Fig. VI.233), 44 (Fig. VI.234), 70 and 80.

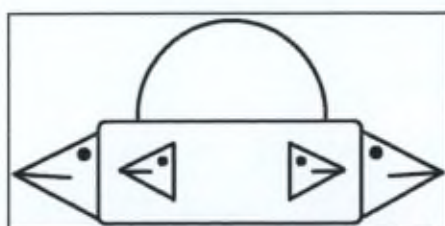


Fig. VI.233. Headdress 40

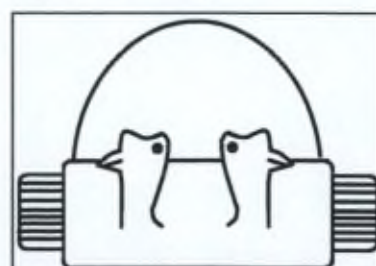


Fig. VI.234. Headdress 44

Again, these elements are never associated with secondary personages. They occur on main male personages of ceremonial scenes, on men with felines, on one man with a musical instrument and on four men without attributes. The evidence suggests that birds occur on rather specific individuals with a special function and/or ceremonial status.

	Number of birds	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	0	10	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	7	44	16%
Men + weapons	0	21	0%
Men + musical instrument	1	8	12.5%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	4	135	3%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	2	19	10.5%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1--/2 mains: main male	3	60	5%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	1	17	6%

Table VI.93. Amount of birds according to each scene-group

1.) Serpent-feline creatures

Serpent-feline creatures are present on the headgear types 47 (Fig. VI.235), 53 (Fig. VI.236) and 89 (Fig. VI.237).



Fig. VI.235. Headdress 47

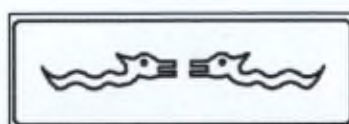


Fig. VI.236. Headdress 53

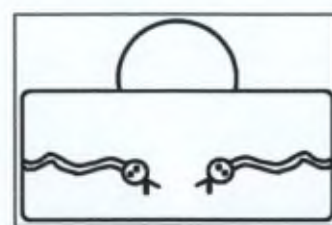


Fig. VI.237. Headdress 89

Serpents and serpent-feline creatures occur only on five headdresses in the whole sample of Recuay ceramics. They appear once on a man with a cup, once on a main male personage in a ceremonial scene and three times on men accompanied by felines. Since they never occur on secondary personages and always on men in specific situations, these serpent-feline creatures should be considered indicators of a specific ceremonial rank and/or function.

	Number of serpent-feline creatures	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	0	9	0%
Men + cup	1	10	10%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	3	44	6.8%
Men + weapons	0	21	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	0	135	0%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	0	18	0%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	1	60	1.6%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.94. Amount of serpent-feline creatures according to each scene-group

m.) Owl crescent

Only one headdress, type 61, has two circles on top, which is also called an owl crescent (Fig. VI.238).

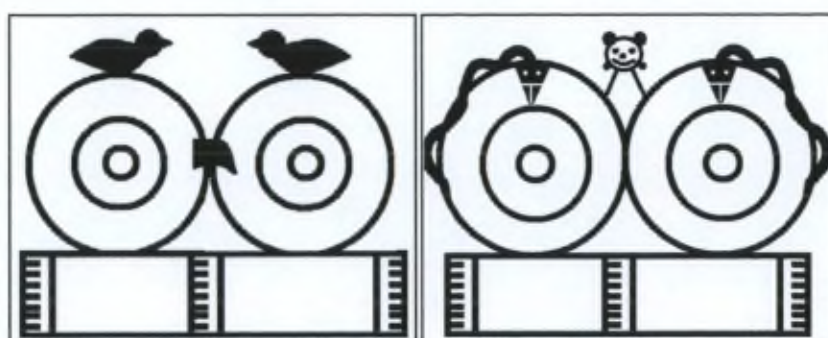


Fig. VI.238. Headdress 61

Headdress 61 appears in only two examples belonging solely to the llama-men group. My research thus confirms Joan Gero's statement that the owl crescent is typical for the llama-men.

	Number of owl crescents	Total number of three-cornered hats	%
Men + llama	2	5	40%
Men + cup	0	0	0%
Men + birds	0	0	0%
Men + felines	0	1	0%
Men + weapons	0	0	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	0	0%
Men attacked	0	0	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	0	0%
Men + bag	0	0	0%
Men without attributes	0	0	0%
Painted men	0	0	0%
Male faces	0	0	0%
Spoons	0	0	0%
3D head on vase	0	0	0%
Copulation	0	1	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	0	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	0	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	0	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	1	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	0	1	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	0	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	0	0%

Table VI.95. Amount of owl crescent according to each scene-group

n.) Designs on the front (circles, step design, squares)

Additional designs are found on the headdresses 17 (Fig. VI.239), 52 (Fig. VI.240), 83 (Fig. VI.241) and 86 (Fig. VI.242). These designs consist of circles, a step design or squares. Each of these headdresses occurs only once in the entire sample of Recuay ceramics. Headdress 17 appears on a male face, the headdresses 52 and 83 occur on men without attributes and headdress 86 occurs on a male personage whose left part has broken off. The special clothing style of the latter object makes me speculate about whether this personage used to be accompanied by a llama.

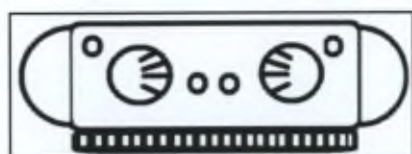


Fig. VI.239. Headgear 17

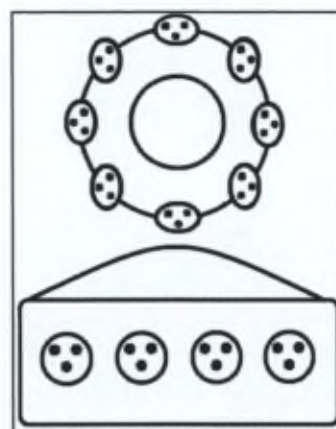


Fig. VI.240. Headgear 52

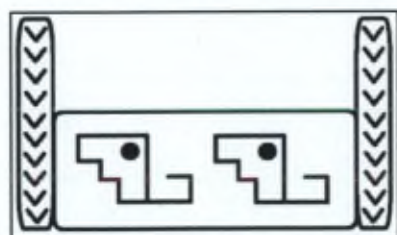


Fig. VI.241. Headgear 83

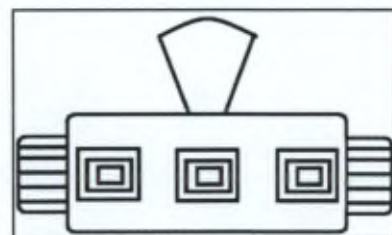


Fig. VI.242. Headgear 86

	Number of designs on the front	Total number of turbans	%
Men + llama	1	9	11%
Men + cup	0	10	0%
Men + birds	0	13	0%
Men + felines	0	44	0%
Men + weapons	0	21	0%
Men + musical instrument	0	8	0%
Men attacked	0	7	0%
Men + animal in hands	0	2	0%
Men + bag	0	3	0%
Men without attributes	3	135	2%
Painted men	0	7	0%
Male faces	1	18	5.5%
Spoons	0	1	0%
3D head on vase	0	4	0%
Copulation	0	16	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	8	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	0	19	0%
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	0	9	0%
Secondary males on different parts of buildings	0	34	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	0	60	0%
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	0	46	0%
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	0	17	0%

Table VI.96. Amount of designs on the front of a turban according to each scene-group

o.) Elements attached to the headdresses' bases: conclusion

	Total of turbans	Hands/paws	Crescent	Caps	Human faces	Arms	Feline head	Flaps	Pins	Animal face	Mouth or oval	Birds	Serpent-feline creatures	Owl crescent	Designs on front (circles, steps, squares)
Men+llama	9	3	9	4			3		1					2	1
Men+cup	10	3	6	3			1		1		2		1		
Men+birds	13	8	10	1		1									
Men+felines	44	16	29	2		11	6					7	3		
Men+weapons	21	11	11	2	1	5	2	1	1		1				
Men+music	8	4	2	2		1						1			
Men attacked	7		2	1		1			1						
Men+ animal in hands	2	1													
Men+bag	3		2												
Men without attributes	135	68	47	13	5	3	2	1	5		4	4			3
Painted men	7		7												
Male faces	18	9	6	1			1								1
Spoons	1	1					1								
3D head	4	1	1												
Copulation: main male	16	6	10	4			4		1						
One man in architectural setting	8	2	2												
Ceremonial scene inside house: main male	19	7	10	6					1			2			
Ceremonial scene inside house: secondary male	9		6	5											
Secondary male on different parts of building	34	3	12					1							
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: main male	59	20	39	16	3	3	4	1	5	1	3	3	1		
Ceremonial with 1/2 mains: secondary male	46	1	31	5											
Ceremonial with 2/3 mains of same size: main male	17	6	6	4	1	1	2					1			

Table VI.97. Amount and types of attachments according to each scene-group

HEADGEAR	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Man+llama				1					3							1			7						2	2		1	
Man+cup	1															1													
Man+birds							1					2					1										3		
Man+felines					2		3		1		1															2	2		1
Man+weapons				1	1		1					1				1							2						
Man+music	1			1	1		2																1					1	
One attacked					4																		1						
Man+animal							1												2	1									
Man+bag					1								2																
Man without attributes	3	2		3	30		28						9			1		1					3		2		1		2
Painted man																													
Male face	1				3		4						1			4	1												
Spoons																													
3D heads on vase					2		1						1																
Main male in copulation					1		1		1		1		4			1							1					1	
One man in architectural setting					5		1						1																
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house	2				3		1						5														1		
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house	3										2		2										1					4	
Secondary male on different parts of building		4	2	6	14		1		1				12																
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	5				4	1	1			1	2		8	1	1	1					2	1					2	1	
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	3				11		1				12		17										3						
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 same sized mains	1				2		2	1					5											1					

HEADGEAR	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
Man+llama		1														1											
Man+cup	1	1			1		1											1		1							
Man+birds		3	1	1																					1		
Man+felines	3	6	2	5		5		5			1										2		2				
Man+weapons		3	1	4									2				1										
Man+music.		1											2				1										
One attacked	1							1																		1	
Man+animal																											
Man+bag																											
Man without attributes		21	4	2		1			3			3	3		1					1	2	1	1		4		
Painted man																											
Male face		1																				1					
Spoons																						1					
3D heads on vase																											
Main male in copulation		1																		1		2					
One man in architectural setting		1					1						1														
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house		1				1							1		1												
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																											
Secondary male on different parts of building																											
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains		4				1			1	1			1	1	1			1			1						2
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains													1														
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 same sized mains		1				1																					

HEADGEAR	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83
Man+llama		1			2													2									
Man+cup																		1				1					
Man+birds																											
Man+felines													1				1										
Man+weapons								1				2						1									
Man+music.							1						1														
One attacked																											
Man+animal																											
Man+bag																											
Man without attributes				1		1		2		1				1	1		1	4	1		1	1				1	1
Painted man									4	1	1																
Male face			2																								
Spoons																											
3D heads on vases																											
Main male in copulation																		2		1							
Man in architectural setting																											
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house																		1									
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																		2									
Secondary male on different parts of building																									1		
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1		1					1									1	6				1	1	1	1		
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																		2									
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 same sized mains												1															

HEADGEAR	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101
Man+llama	1	1	1	1														
Man+cup					1	1												
Man+birds																		
Man+felines						1												
Man+weapons									1	1	1				1			
Man+music.															1			
One attacked																		
Man+animal																		
Man+bag																		
Man without attributes			1											1		1		
Painted man							2	3	3									
Male face																		
Spoons																		
3D heads on vases																		
Main male in copulation													1		1			
Man in architectural setting																		
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house															1	1	1	
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																		
Secondary male on different parts of building																		
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																2	1	1
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																		
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 same sized mains															2			

Table VI.98. Amount of headdress-types according to each scene-group

VI.7.2. Earspools

The earspools 3, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 16, 20, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 68, 69, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 84 and 85 all occur only once in the whole sample of earplugs.

As all these earplugs occur only once, not many interpretations can be extracted from them.

The earplugs 2, 10, 17, 26, 43, 46, 47, 58, 64, 66, 67, 70, 72, 78 and 81 occur twice, while earplugs 19, 30, 32, 59, 60 and 73 appear three times in the whole sample. Again, the low amount of these earplugs makes it difficult to give valuable interpretations. Of these earspools, earplug 10 occurs in fifty percent of the men with bags, earspool 66 in thirty-three percent of the men with an animal in their hands and earspool 32 in twenty-five percent of the three-dimensional heads on vases.

The earplugs 21 and 34 occur four times, earplug 50 occurs five times, earplug 38 appears six times, earspool 18 appears seven times and the earplugs 15 and 19 show up eight times. As none of the scene-groups possess particular high quantities of the latter seven earplugs, no important conclusions can be made surrounding their use or attribution to a specific person.

Earplugs that are found on many occasions are earplug 25, occurring ten times, the earplugs 4 and 63, appearing eleven times each, earplug 48, occurring sixteen times, earplug 28, appearing seventeen times, earplug 41, twenty-two times, earplug 22, thirty times, earplug 1, thirty-one times, earplug 13, sixty-one times, earspool 7, sixty-seven times and earspool 12, seventy-four times.

Of these, the earplugs 1, 4, 7, 12, 13, 22, 28 and 41 occur frequently on secondary personages and will be investigated further on in this chapter.

Earplug 25 occurs, as mentioned before, ten times. Two of the thirteen men with birds are associated with this type (fifteen percent), which is a rather high percentage compared to the other scene-groups that are associated with this earplug. Perhaps earplug 25 was mostly worn by men whose ceremonial function involved birds.

Earplug 48 occurs sixteen times, of which seven times among men with felines (16% of all the men with felines, or 7 in 45) and two times among main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of similar size (15% of all these main personages, or 2 in 13).

Earplug 63 occurs eleven times, of which seven times among the llama-men (27%, or 7 in 26). As mentioned before, the notched earspool occurs mostly among these men. When the information gathered on the headgear types, the earspools, the clothing style and the attributes are combined; a clear distinction between the llama-men and the other male personages can be noticed. It is clear that the llama-men are often associated with peculiar attributes and clothes, which probably denotes their rather high ceremonial status.

Secondary personages are associated on one occasion with the earplugs 4, 16, 22, 23 and 28. Earplugs 1 and 8 occur twice on secondary male characters, while the earplugs 7 and 38 appear five times. Earplug 41 appears seven times on secondary personages, earplug 13, nineteen times and earplug 12, thirty-five times. Most of these earplugs occur on main or individual personages as well. The only earspools occurring once in the whole sample and appearing on a secondary character are earplugs 16 and 23. Both consist of four dots on a light coloured background and both are associated with secondary personages positioned on different parts of a building. As previously stated, these characters are quite different from the other secondary characters, as it seems that they had some sort of guardian function rather than a ceremonial one.

Earplug 4 occurs once on a secondary personage out of a total of eleven times. Earplug 28 also occurs once on a secondary personage, while its total is seventeen times. Finally, earplug 22 occurs once on a secondary personage out of a total of thirty times.

Apparently, these earplugs can occur on secondary personages, but not as often as on main or individual characters. Earplug 22 occurs on twenty-three percent of the men with birds (3 in 13), on four point seven percent of the men with felines (2 in 42), on twenty percent of the men with weapons (or 5 in 25) and on thirty-three percent of the men attacked by animals (2 in 6). Earplug 28 appears mostly on men with felines (sixteen percent or 7 in 42).

The earplugs 1 and 8 both occur twice on secondary personages. Earplug 1 appears thirty-one times and earplug 8, eight times in the whole sample of earspools. Both earplugs are solely associated with secondary personages placed on different parts of a building, which have a rather exceptional position among the secondary personages. Earplug 1 mostly occurs on men with a cup (in thirty percent, or 3 in 10, of the men with cups), men without attributes (eleven percent, or 14 in 129), main males in copulation scenes (thirteen percent, or 2 in 15) and men in architectural settings (thirty-three percent, or 3 in 9). Earplug 8 occurs only on seven other occasions, once on a llama-man (four percent, or 1 in 26), twice on a men without attributes (one point five percent, or 2 in 129), once on a man in a copulation scene (six point six percent, or 1 in 15) and twice on a main male personage in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters (three point three percent, or 2 in 59).

Earplugs that occur frequently on secondary personages are the following: type 7 occurs five times out of a total of sixty-seven, earplug 12 occurs thirty-five times out of a total of seventy-four, earspool 13 appears nineteen times out of sixty-one plugs, earspool

38 occurs five times out of a total of six and finally, earplug 41 appears seven times out of a total of twenty-two earplugs. Accordingly, seven percent of earplug 7, forty-seven percent of earplug 12, thirty-one percent of earplug 13, eighty-three percent of earplug 38 and thirty-two percent of earplug 41 are associated with secondary personages.

The earplugs 7, 12 and 13 occur the most frequently in the whole sample of male personages. Apart from its occurrence on secondary personages, earplug 7 also frequently appears on main or individual personages. The llama-men are associated in fifteen percent of the cases with earplug 7 (or 4 in 26), men with cups in twenty percent of the cases (or 2 in 10), men with birds in fifteen percent (or 2 in 13), men with felines in fourteen percent of the cases (or 6 in 24), men with musical instruments in twenty-eight point five percent of the cases (or 4 in 14), men with an animal in their hands in thirty-three percent of the cases (or 1 in 3), men without attributes in fourteen point seven percent of the cases (or 19 in 129), male faces in thirty percent of the cases (or 3 in 10), male personages in copulation scenes in thirteen percent of the cases (or 2 in 15), main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters in eighteen point six percent of the cases (or 11 in 59) and main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of a similar size in fifteen percent of the cases (or 2 in 13). Although earplug 7 occurs on secondary personages, it is mostly associated with main or individual men.

Earplug 12 appears in forty-seven percent of the cases involving secondary personages, which is also the highest amount that was encountered. Other personages, however, are also associated with earplug 12. Men with weapons are associated with earplug 12 in twelve percent of the cases (or 3 in 25), men with musical instruments in fourteen percent of the cases (or 2 in 14), men with bags in fifty percent of the cases (or 1 in 2), men without attributes in twelve percent of the cases (or 16 in 129), three-dimensional heads on vases in twenty-five percent of the cases (or 1 in 4), main male personages in ceremonial scenes in thirteen point five percent of the cases (or 8 in 59) and main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of a similar size in fifteen percent of the cases (or 2 in 13).

Earplug 13 occurs on secondary personages in thirty-one of the cases. Other personages, however, are also associated with this type. Men with weapons wear earplug 13 in twelve percent of the cases (or 3 in 25), men with musical instruments in fourteen percent of the cases (or 2 in 14), men attacked by animals in fifty percent (or 3 in 6), men without attributes in nine percent of the cases (or 12 in 129), men in architectural settings in twenty-two percent of the cases (or 2 in 9), main male personages in a ceremonial scene

inside a house in forty-four percent of the cases (or 7 in 6) and main male personages in a ceremonial scene in nineteen percent of the cases (or 11 in 59).

Earspool 38 only occurs once more on a man with felines (two point three percent, or 1 in 42).

Earplug 41 occurs seven times (out of one hundred and twenty-nine) on men without attributes (or 5.4%), once (out of four) on a three-dimensional head on a vase (25%), once (out of nine times) on a man in an architectural setting (11%), once (out of sixteen times) on a main male in a ceremonial scene inside a house (6%), twice (out of fifty-nine times) on a main male in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters (3.4%) and three times (out of thirteen times) on a main male in a ceremonial scene with main characters of the same size (23%).

In conclusion, earplugs 12, 13 and 41 are mostly associated with secondary personages. The percentage of their occurrences on other male characters is low. Men wearing these earplugs could have been of a rather low religious status or had a less important function within ceremonies.

EARSPOOLS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Man+llama	1						4	1				1						1		1	1	3							
Man+cup	3						2					1	1									1						1	
Man+birds	1						2								1			1				3			2			1	
Man+felines	1			2			6					1		1	2		1		1			2						7	1
Man+weapons	1						1				1	3	3		1							5			1				
Man+music							4					2	2									1			1				
One attacked													3									2							
Man+animal							1																						
Man+bag										1		1																	
Man without attributes	14			5			19	2	1			16	12		1			3				6		1	4	1	1	6	
Painted man																													
Male face							3											1							1	1			
Spoons																													
3D heads on vase												1																	
Main male in copulation	2	1					2	1				1	1		1						1	1			1				
One man in architectural setting	3						1					1	2																
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house				1			4					1	7						1		1								
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house							4					7	2																
Secondary male on different parts of building	2			1				2					11			1								1					
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	3	1	1	2	1	1	11	2		1		8	11		2		1	1	1		1	5							
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains							1					28	6									1						1	
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of a same size							2					2																1	

EARSPOOLS	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
Man+llama	1																		2	1							
Man+cup																											
Man+birds		1			1																						
Man+felines					1			1	1					1				1	7		1		1				
Man+weapons			1																2		1	1		1			
Man+music.																			1							1	
One attacked	1																										
Man+animal																											
Man+bag																											
Man without attributes			1									7	1	1	1	1	2	1	1		1				1		1
Painted man																											
Mal face					1	1													1								
Spoons																											
3D heads on vases			1									1															
Main male in copulation					1		1																				
Man in architectural setting												1															
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house												1															
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																											
Secondary male on different parts of building								5																			
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains				1						1	1	2									1						
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains												7															
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of a same size	1											3							2		1						

EARSPOOLS	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
Man+llama							7	1	1																					
Man+cup							1																							
Man+birds																														
Man+felines																					1	1	1							
Man+weapons							1										1	1												
Man+music.			1							1																				
One attacked								1??																						
Man+animal							1			1																				
Man+bag																														
Man without attributes	1	2	1	3	1	1					2													1	2	1	1	1	1	
Painted man														2	1	2	3													
Male face												1																		
Spoons																														
3D heads on vases											1																			
Main male in copulation																				1										
Man in architectural setting			1																											
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house																														
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																														
Secondary male on different parts of building																														
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																						1								
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																														
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of a same size							1																							

Table VI.99. Amount of earplug types according to each scene-group

VI.7.3. Tattoos or painted designs on faces

Tattoos or painted designs on faces occur on both men and women. Seventy-one different designs were recognised, of which 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26,

28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70 and 71 only appear on male personages. The designs 1, 5, 9, 18, 22, 24, 27, 32, 46, 47 and 69 occur only on women, while the designs 6, 8, 36, 44 and 63 occur on personages of both sexes.

VI.7.3.1. Tattoos or painted designs on the faces of only women

The groups one woman with weapons, the one woman with a drum, the one woman with an animal in her hands, the one probable woman on a spoon, the secondary female characters in copulation scenes, the main female characters in ceremonial scenes inside houses and the secondary female personages on different parts of buildings are never associated with designs on their faces. In fact, there are not many women with designs on their faces, particularly in comparison with men.

The two children (C-19-1 and C-7-7) that could definitely be identified as being of the female sex have designs on their faces, as well as eighty-six percent of the women with children, fifty-two percent of the main female personages in copulation scenes, forty-three percent of the women with cups, twenty-five percent of the main female personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, twenty percent of the main female personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size, fourteen percent of the females without attributes, ten percent of the secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes inside houses and six percent of the secondary female characters in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters.

Apparently, mostly main characters and individual women are associated with painted designs on their faces. Very few painted designs are visible on secondary characters. Interesting is the fact that two children have them, which, as previously mentioned, shows that (some) designs could be applied very early on in life.

Of the designs only appearing on women, 22, 27, 32, 46, 47 and 69 occur only once.

The designs 9 and 18 occur twice, while design 5 occurs four times and design 24 seven times.

Of these, the designs 5, 9 and 18 only occur on secondary personages.

Design 24 also appears on one secondary personage, but more frequently on individual women or main personages. For instance, design 24 appears on one woman with a cup (eleven percent), on the two female children, on two of the eleven main female

characters in copulation scenes having face-designs (eighteen percent) and on one of the two main female characters in ceremonial scenes with personages of the same size.

Design 1, however, appears the most frequently, on thirteen occasions. My evidence confirms Gero's and Reichert's statements that only women are associated with dots between mouth and chin. This design not only appears only on women, but it is also the most common face design. Surprisingly, this design never appears on secondary personages. As for the women with cups having designs on their faces and the women with children in their hands, thirty-three percent are of type 1. One of the two women without attributes having face-designs (or fifty percent), one of the two main female personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters and one of the three main females in ceremonial scenes with characters of the same size (or thirty-three percent) have design 1 on their faces. Regarding the main female personages in copulation scenes with designs on their faces, forty-five percent are of type 1 (or 5 in 11). It seems that only rather important women (main personages in ceremonial scenes, women with cups and women with children in their hands) are associated with this type of design.

As mentioned in chapter VI.6 in which the characteristics of the scene-groups were analysed, many of the female face designs consist of dots.

As we will see, dots occur on men as well, although only in exceptional cases. Dots between mouth and chin, however, are solely associated with women.

The designs in which the space between mouth and chin are delineated by two vertical lines (designs 1, 18, 24, 32 and 46) are also solely associated with female Recuay personages.

To conclude, the designs appearing on secondary female personages include motifs 5, 9, 18, 24 and 69. The designs 5, 9, 18 and 69 never occur on main or individual women. As mentioned, design 24 appears mostly on main or individual personages. It appears as if facial designs are mostly associated with more important women rather than the smaller, secondary personages.

TATTOOS/PAINTED DESIGNS ON FACE	Total	1	5	9	18	22	24	27	32	46	47	69
Woman+cup	9	3					1	1			1	
Woman+weapons	0											
Woman+music	0											
Woman+child	6	2							1	1		
Children	2						2					
Woman+animal in hands	0											
Woman without attributes	2	1				1						
Spoons	0											
Main female in copulation	11	5					2					
Secondary females in copulation	0											
Main female in ceremonial scene inside a house	0											
Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside a house	5		2	1			1					
Secondary female on different parts of building	0											
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	2	1					1					
Secondary females in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	11		2	1	2		1					1
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 same sized mains	3	1										

Table VI.100. Amount of tattoos or painted designs on women according to each scene-group

VI.7.3.2. Tattoos or painted designs on the faces of only men

There are many different designs appearing on the faces of male personages, but few designs repeat themselves. It is thus difficult to reach encompassing interpretations about specific attributions of designs to particular scene-groups. The following designs are solely associated with men: 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70 and 71.

The men with bags and the possibly male character on a spoon are never associated with designs on their faces. All the other male personages are frequently associated with painted or tattooed designs. The situation is different from what we saw among the female characters. Apparently, men, even the secondary personages, are more often associated with facial designs. This could mean that men were generally thought of as being more important participants in rituals or even members in society. Of course, the possibility exists that facial designs had different meanings when applied to men or women. In some cases, the designs might have referred to one's sex, while others might have indicated one's function and/or rank. Unfortunately, no definite conclusions can be made on this specific point.

The designs with a low frequency among men have been mentioned before. In fact, the designs occurring frequently on male personages are the ones also appearing on women (such as designs 6, 8, 36 and 63). Therefore, it is difficult to interpret the significance of these facial designs on men.

The designs 2, 3, 10, 14, 16, 19, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70 and 71 all occur once. Designs occurring twice are the motifs 4, 7, 17, 21, 43 and 67. The designs 11, 13, 15, 20 and 48 appear three times. The designs 12 and 35 occur four times each.

The designs 6, 7, 8, 12 and 63 are the only ones occurring on secondary male characters. Design 8, however, occurs on many main and individual men as well. Besides appearing on secondary personages, design 63 also occurs on two solo men without attributes. The designs 6, 8 and 63 will be analysed in more detail here below, as they occur on both men and women.

In general, it can be stated that men often have linear designs on their faces.

FACE DESIGNS	Total	2	3	4	7	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	19	20	21	26	28	29	30	31	33	34	35	37	38	39
Man+llama	12					1							1											1			
Man+cup	4										1													1			
Man+birds	2																										
Man+felines	10								1							1											
Man+weapons	3										1								1								
Man+music	2																										
One attacked	3									1					1												
Man+animal	1																										
Man+bag	0																										
Man without attributes	29			1									1		1			1		1	1		1	2		1	1
Painted man	1																										
Male face	7														1		1										
Spoons	0																										
3D heads on vase	3															1						1			1		
Main male in copulation	2																										
One man in architectural setting	1			1																							
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house	4						2																				
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house	4				1			2																			
Secondary males on different parts of a building	11																										
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	18	1	1				1		2		2			1													
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	28				1			2																			
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	3																										

FACE DESIGNS	40	41	42	43	45	48	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	64	65	66	67	68	70	71
Man+llama				1	1																					
Man+cup																										
Man+birds																										
Man+felines						1					1	1	1													
Man+weapons										1																
Man+music.						1																				
One attacked				1																						
Man+animal																										
Man+bag																										
Man without attributes		1	1											1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Painted man																										
Male face	1						1	1	1																	
Spoons																										
3D heads on vases																										
Main male in copulation																										
Main in architectural setting																										
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house																							1			
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																										
Secondary males on different parts of building																										
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains						1																	1	1	1	1
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																										
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size																										

Table VI.101. Amount of tattoos or painted designs on men according to each scene-group

VI.7.3.3. Tattoos or painted designs on the faces of both men and women

Designs occurring on both men and women are designs 6, 8, 36, 44 and 63.

Design 6 occurs mostly on secondary personages. Apart from secondary personages, it also occurs once more on a woman with a cup and twice on a main female personage in a copulation scene. Amongst the male characters, only secondary personages (seven in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters) are associated with it. Men are associated with this design in fifty-eight percent of the cases, while women have this design in forty-two percent of the cases. Apparently, only secondary male characters, most of the secondary female characters and only a few main or individual women are associated with this design. It looks as if this design is mostly associated with auxiliary personages of lower importance within Recuay ceremonies.

Design 8 occurs mostly on male characters. The high amount of llama-men (6 out of 12 of the llama-men with designs on their faces have design 8) and secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings (whose special clothing style and attributes have already been mentioned frequently) indicate a rather peculiar ceremonial status or function for men having this type of design on their faces. Some women also have this type of design, although it never occurs on secondary female characters. Women with a child are associated twice with design 8, a woman with a cup once, a main female character in a copulation scene once and a main female personage in a ceremonial scene with characters of the same size twice. From the absence of design 8 on secondary female characters and its occurrence on individual or main women it could be inferred, as was the case among the male personages, that this design is mostly associated with humans holding a special place in ceremonies.

Design 36 is mostly associated with male personages and never occurs on secondary characters. There is only one woman, a main personage in a copulation scene, associated with this type of design. It seems as if this design is mostly attributed to men and often to men with some important function in ceremonies (carrying a cup, accompanied by felines, holding a musical instrument).

Design 44 appears only twice on male personages (one associated with a llama and the other accompanied by birds) and once on a female personage (associated with a cup). It

never appears on secondary personages. Because of this design's rather low appearance, no definite conclusions can be made regarding its occurrence. I propose, however, that this design was probably a privilege of humans participating in special occasions or humans of a rather high religious status.

Design 63 occurs twice on a man without attributes, twelve times on secondary men and three times on secondary women in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters. Clearly, this design is mostly associated with secondary characters (men and women, even if women have it less frequently) and men without attributes. It can therefore be concluded that this design type was probably associated with humans in auxiliary positions during rituals and therefore probably of a lower importance or religious status.

Male scene-groups	6	8	36	44	63	Female scene-groups	6	8	36	44	63
Men+llama	6			1							
Men+cup	1	1				Women+cup	1	1		1	
Men+birds	1			1		Women+child	2				
Men+felines	2	2				Children					
Men+weapons						Woman+weapons					
Men+music			1			Woman+music					
Men attacked											
Men+animal	1					Woman+animal					
Men+bag											
Men without attributes	2	2		2		Women without attributes					
Painted men			1								
Male face			1								
Spoons						Spoons					
3D head on vase											
Main male in copulation	2					Main female in copulation	2	1	1		
One man in architectural setting						Secondary female in copulation					
Main male in ceremonial scene inside house	1					Main female in ceremonial scene inside house					
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside house	1					Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside house	1				
Secondary males on different parts of building		1				Secondary females on different parts of building					
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains		5				Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains					
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	7	6			12	Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1				3
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size		3				Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size		2			

Table VI.102. Amount of tattoos or painted designs on men and women according to each scene-group

VI.7.3.4. Tattoos or painted designs on the faces of personages with unidentifiable sex

There are only two designs associated with personages of unidentifiable sex: design 17, which occurs only twice on male personages, and design 49, which is neither associated with male nor female characters.

TATTOOS/PAINTED DESIGNS ON FACE	Total	17	49
Children in hands of women	0		
Painted humans	0		
Faces	1	1	
Spoons	1		1
Secondary in ceremonial scene inside a house	0		
Secondary on different parts of building	0		
Secondary in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0		

Table VI.103. Amount of tattoos or painted designs on persons with unidentifiable sex according to each scene-group

VI.7.3.5. Conclusions

Apparently, men are more often associated with facial designs than women. If women have them, they occur mostly on main or individual personages and almost never on secondary characters. Secondary male personages, however, are frequently associated with facial designs. This could mean that face designs are mostly associated with personages having central positions and important functions during ceremonies.

As there are more than seventy designs in my sample of Recuay ceramics and most of these appear in only one or two instances, not a lot can be said concerning their association with a specific sex or scene-group. Generally, it can be stated that men are more often associated with linear designs, while women mostly have dots or two vertical lines delineating the space between mouth and chin painted on their faces. Exceptions do occur, however. The only design which definitely only appears on women is design 1, consisting of dots between the mouth and chin.

A rather peculiar design is motif 24, appearing on the only two children (C-7-7 and C-19-1) who could be identified as being females. Apparently, face designs could be applied very early on in life. The fact that both children are female could mean that this practice was only done on women, while men had to wait until a certain age in order to get face-designs. If these designs were painted, the possibility exists - of course - that these designs changed over time according to, for example, the function, age or political accomplishments of a person. If tattooed, their application on children means that the designs probably had some relation to sex, ascribed status and/or inherited functions.

Interesting is the fact that design 24 not only appears on these two children, but also on two main women in copulation scenes, which are – according to me – personages with rather important functions within ceremonies. Could it be possible that the female children had some functional and/or status-oriented relationship with main women in copulation scenes? Did children held in the outstretched arms of women become women functioning as main personages in copulation scenes or did the face-designs simply refer to the female sex of the persons wearing it or was the design in relation to a certain social class, which apparently could include both female children and adults?

VI.7.4. Manta

Only women on Recuay ceramics wear mantas.

Some women wear elevated mantas. The only woman with weapons wears an elevated manta of which the motif is unidentifiable; the only woman associated with a musical instrument is also wearing an elevated manta, of which the motif is design 2. Two women with a child wear elevated mantas with unidentifiable motifs. Six main female personages in a copulation scene are wearing elevated mantas. Motif 6 occurs twice, while the motifs 2, 9, 19 and 21 all occur once. The woman in a copulation scene wearing an elevated manta with motif 19 appears under a roof-like structure and is accompanied by four secondary female personages who carry the roof. It looks as if only women with specific attributes (the only time they are represented with weapons or a musical instrument), women holding children and women in copulation scenes are associated with elevated mantas. Secondary personages are never seen with an elevated manta. It seems to me that elevated mantas are prerogatives of women with a special function and probably also an indicator of status in Recuay ceremonies.

The motifs that are found on these elevated mantas are the following: 2 and 6 occur twice, whereas motifs 9, 19 and 21 all appear once. The motifs 2 and 6 also appear on normal sized mantas, while the motifs 9, 19 and 21 are solely associated with elevated ones.

The normal sized mantas are associated with several different motifs. The designs 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 and 20 all appear once. Of these, the mantas 12, 13, 14 and 17 are associated with secondary personages.

The mantas 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17 only occur on auxiliary women. The fact that they are only present on very few occasions makes it rather difficult to denote a special function or ceremonial status to them.

Manta 15 occurs four times on secondary characters and once on a woman without attributes. This probably means that type 15 is of a lesser importance.

As previously mentioned, none of the secondary personages wear elevated mantas. This suggests that elevated mantas are associated with women of a special function and/or a higher religious status. Normal-sized mantas, however, do occur on secondary personages. More specifically, the mantas 1,2,3,4,5,6,11,12,13,14,15,16 and 17.

Manta 1 occurs twice on secondary personages and once on a woman without attributes. It looks as if this type is associated with less important women.

Manta 2 occurs on some secondary personages, but also on main women in ceremonial scenes and as a motif on an elevated manta. This type is therefore identified as one associated with women of an important function or ceremonial status.

Manta 3 occurs on one woman with a cup, on a woman without attributes, on two women in copulation scenes and on many secondary personages. This motif is never associated with elevated mantas. It seems as if this type occurs mostly on smaller and auxiliary women and women without attributes. The fact that this manta also occurs on a woman with a cup might suggest that women associated with cups are of lesser importance. A comparison with other attributes and clothing styles will give more information on this subject.

Manta 4 occurs on three women with cups, on two women without attributes, on three main women in copulation scenes and on many secondary personages. This could mean, as was the case for manta 3, that this type is associated with women of lesser importance. Again, women with cups appear to be wearing less important mantas.

Manta 5 occurs once on a woman with a cup, once on a woman in a copulation scene and on secondary personages. As women in copulation scenes are often associated with elevated mantas, their importance in society was supposedly high. Their association with the mantas 3, 4 and 5, however, suggests the opposite, as these types are usually associated with secondary personages. For now, it can be concluded that the mantas 3, 4 and 5 can occur on auxiliary women as well as on more important ones.

Manta 6 is the most recurring type of the whole sample. It occurs eleven times on women with cups, two times on women with children, once on a child, once on a woman with an animal in her hands, seven times on women without attributes, six times on women in copulation scenes, a few times on main women in ceremonial scenes and on many secondary personages. Manta 6 is also associated with two elevated mantas. Apparently, this type can appear on both important and less-important women.

Manta 15 occurs five times, manta 11 four times and the mantas 1, 7 and 16 appear three times. Of these, the motifs 1, 11, 15 and 16 occur on secondary personages. Motif 7 appears on forty percent of the women with children in their hands wearing normal mantas (or 2 of the 5 women wearing a manta).

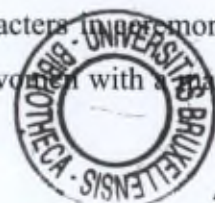
The most common manta types are the following: manta 2 occurs fifteen times, manta 5, forty-two times, manta 3, forty-four times, manta 4, fifty-five times and manta 6, one hundred and twenty-nine times on women wearing normal mantas. All these mantas occur frequently on secondary personages.

Of the secondary female personages in copulation scenes, twenty percent (or 4 of the 20 secondary women with mantas) have design 3 on their mantas, while sixteen percent (or 30 of 182) of the secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters wear design 3.

Motif 4 appears on many different scene groups. Of the women with cups, fourteen percent (or 3 in 21) wear motif 4, of the women without attributes fourteen percent (or 2 in 14), of the main female personages in copulation scenes twenty-three percent (or 3 in 13), of the secondary female personages in copulation scenes thirty percent (or 6 in 20), of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes taking place inside a house twenty-three percent (or 12 in 51) and sixteen percent (or 29 in 182) of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters.

Motif 5 appears mostly on secondary females in copulation scenes (thirty percent, or 6 in 20) and on fifteen percent (or 28 in 182) of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters.

Motif 6 is the most common design found on mantas. Of the women with cups fifty-two percent (or 11 in 21) are wearing motif 6, of the women with children in their hands forty percent (or 2 in 5), the only child with a manta and the only woman with an animal in her hands wear this motif, of the women without attributes fifty percent (or 7 in 14) are associated with it, of the main female characters in copulation scenes forty-six percent (or 6 in 13), of the secondary female characters in ceremonial scenes inside a house thirty-nine percent (or 20 in 51), of the secondary females on different parts of a building fifty-eight percent (or 10 in 17), of the main female personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two mains fifty percent (or 3 in 6), of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes thirty-one percent (or 57 in 182) and finally, of the main female characters in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size sixty-six percent of the women with a manta (or 10 in 15) are wearing motif 6.



MANTA	Elevated manta	Normal manta	Unid. motifs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Woman+cup		21	3			1	3	1	11				1								1			
Woman+weapons	1 (unident.)		1																					
Woman+music.	1 (motif 2)																							
Woman+child	2 (unident.)	5	2						2	2													1	
Child in hands of woman		1							1															
Woman+animal		1							1															
Woman without attributes		14		1		1	2		7	1	1							1						
Spoons		Perhaps 1	1																					
Main female in copulation	6 (motifs 2,9, 19 and 21 once, motif 6 twice)	13			1	2	3	1	6															
Secondary female in copulation		20	1		2	4	6	6	1															
Main female in ceremonial scene inside a house	1 (motif 19)																							
Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside a house		51	6		2	4	12	5	20				2											
Secondary female on different parts of building		17	5	2					10															
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1 (motif 19)	6	1		1	1		1	3															
Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains		182	18		7	30	29	28	57					2	1	1	1	4	3	1				
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size		15	2		2	1			10															

Table VI.104. Amount of manta types according to each scene-group

VI.7.5. *Tupus*

Only women are associated with *tupu*-pins. As they occur in almost all the scene-groups (exceptions are: the woman with drum, children, spoons and secondary females on different parts of buildings), the wearing of *tupus* seems to be associated with one's sex rather than status or function.

Six different types were identified. Painted pins may have heads resembling an anchor, a circle or heads in the form of serpent heads. Three-dimensional *tupus* are divided into funnel A, funnel B and a funnel with a serpent head.

The funnel serpent only occurs on one occasion, on a woman without attributes.

Funnel A and the painted serpent-like pins occur only three times and none of these are on secondary personages, which could mean that they are associated with higher ranked women instead.

Serpent *tupus* occur once on a woman with a cup (five percent or 1 in 19) and twice on a woman with a child (thirty-three percent, or 2 in 6).

Funnel A occurs once on a woman with a cup (five percent, or 1 in 19), once on a woman with a child (sixteen percent, or 1 in 6) and once on a woman without attributes (eight percent or 1 in 12).

The painted anchors and circles and the modelled funnel B pins occur the most frequently. Funnel B occurs fourteen times, the painted circles twenty-one times and the painted anchors occur thirty-three times. Only the painted anchors and the painted circles appear on secondary personages.

The funnel B occurs in thirty-one point five percent of the women with cups (or 6 in 19), in thirty-three percent of the women with children (or 2 in 6), in thirty-three percent of the women without attributes (or 4 in 12) and in forty percent of the main female characters in ceremonial scenes with main personages of the same size (or 2 in 5). It seems as if this *tupu* type occurs mostly on women with special functions in rituals.

Painted anchor pins occur most frequently on secondary personages. They also occur frequently on women with cups (forty-seven percent, or 9 in 19), on the only woman associated with weapons, on women without attributes (forty-one percent, or 5 in 12), on

main females in copulation scenes (forty percent, or 2 in 5) and on main female personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size (sixty percent, or 3 in 5). It seems as if women with cups and women without attributes are the ones that are mostly associated with this pin. This could mean that these women have a lower importance during rituals.

Circular *tupus* also occur on secondary personages, but not that frequently. They also appear on women with cups (fifteen percent, or 3 in 19), on a woman with a child (sixteen percent, or 1 in 6), on the only woman with an animal in her hands, on women without attributes (sixteen percent, or 2 in 12) and on main females in copulation scenes (sixty percent, or 3 in 5). This *tupu* is difficult to interpret. It occurs on secondary personages but also on women in highly ritualised situations, such as copulation scenes, in which women normally wear more elaborate clothes and attributes. For now, no further conclusions can be made concerning this type.

TUPUS	Total	Anchor	Serpent	Circle	Funnel A	Funnel B	Funnel serpent
Woman+cup	19 (one wears two types)	9	1	3	1	6	
Woman+weapons	1	1					
Woman+music	0						
Woman+child	6		2	1	1	2	
Child in hands of woman	0						
Woman+animal	1			1			
Woman without attributes	12 (one wears two types)	5		2	1	4	1
Spoons	0						
Main female in copulation	5	2		3			
Secondary female in copulation	4			4			
Main female in ceremonial scene inside a house	1			1			
Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside a house	2	2					
Secondary female on different parts of building	0						
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	2			2			
Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	15	11		4			
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of the same size	5	3				2	

Table VI.105. Amount of *tupus* according to each scene-group

VI.7.6. Necklace or collar

As has been stated by Joan Gero, men are more often associated with necklaces than women. In fact, there are only two secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes inside houses, one woman with a cup and two main female personages in ceremonial scenes with main personages of the same size who wear a necklace. Three of these necklaces consist of dots surrounding the neck of the personage, while the two secondary personages wear a band with vertical stripes dangling from it around their necks. Apparently, necklaces should be considered to be male prerogatives.

There are many main and individual male personages wearing a necklace. In fact, almost half of these men are associated with one. Only twelve percent of the secondary male characters wear a necklace, however. This discrepancy could either be the result of the lower amount of detail on secondary characters or of the lesser importance that is given to auxiliary personages. If the latter is the case, necklaces should be considered as identifiers of rank, as was the case in the Inca Empire.

Men with a bag, painted men and the man on a spoon are never associated with necklaces.

Men with birds, however, wear in eighty-five percent (or 11 in 13) of the cases a necklace, men with felines in sixty-eight percent (or 32 in 47), men with a llama in fifty-seven percent (or 16 in 28), men with weapons in fifty-two percent (or 14 in 27), men without attributes in fifty-one percent (or 78 in 154), main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters in forty-seven percent (or 32 in 68), men in an architectural setting in forty-five percent (or 5 in 11), men with cups in forty-two percent (or 5 in 12), main males in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size in forty-one percent (or 7 in 17), three-dimensional heads in forty percent (or 2 in 5), men with musical instruments in forty percent (or 6 in 15), secondary males in ceremonial scenes inside houses in thirty-six percent (or 5 in 14), main males in ceremonial scenes inside houses in thirty-three percent (or 8 in 24), main males in copulation scenes in twenty-eight point five percent (or 6 in 21), men with an animal in their hands in twenty-five percent (or 1 in 4), men being attacked by animals in twenty-two percent (or 2 in 9), secondary male characters on different parts of buildings in eighteen point six percent (or 8 in 43), male faces in sixteen percent (or 3 in 19) and secondary males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters in ten percent of the cases (or 5 in 50).

Different types of necklaces have been recognised. Most consist of dots. Light-coloured bands, bands with vertical stripes dangling from them and collars, however, occur quite frequently as well.

Almost all the secondary male personages wear dots. Only five secondary male characters have a different type, more specifically, the light-coloured band.

All the llama-men wearing necklaces have dots surrounding their necks, eight percent of the men with cups are wearing dots, eighty-two percent of the men with birds, sixty-two point five percent of the men with felines, seventy-eight percent of the men with weapons, all the men with musical instruments, all the men being attacked by animals, the one man with an animal in his hands, sixty-one point five percent of the men without attributes, sixty-six percent of the male faces, one of the two three-dimensional heads on vases, sixty-six percent of the main male personages in copulation scenes, forty percent of the men in an architectural setting, fifty percent of the main male personages in a ceremonial scene inside a house, eighty-one percent of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters and eighty-six percent of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size.

Horizontal lines, vertical incisions, holes, the infinity design with dots, a bib and curls all occur on one male personage each. The horizontal lines, the vertical incisions and the holes all occur once on men associated with weapons. The infinity design and the bib each appear on men without attributes and curls or waves around the neck occur on the central male character in a ceremonial scene with one or two main personages inside a house.

Intertwined undulating lines occur twice, once on a man without attributes and once on a male personage in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters.

The triangular design appears once on a man without attributes, once on the face of a person of unidentifiable sex and once on a main male personage in a ceremonial scene with main characters of the same size.

Wavy lines occur once on a man with birds, once on a man without attributes, once on a male face and once on a main male personage in a ceremonial scene inside a house.

Collars occur once on a man with a cup, five times on men without attributes, once on a man in an architectural setting and once on a main male personage in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters, which is taking place inside a house.

Men are more often associated with necklaces than women. Secondary personages only rarely wear them. Necklaces are therefore considered to be male attributes. Furthermore, the use of necklaces was probably restricted to important human beings. Dots surrounding the neck are the most common type. But some other types occur as well. As almost all of the scene-groups have at least one of these other types, apart from the dots, it seems that there is no specific attribution of special types to specific groups.

	Total necklaces	Dots	Collar	Light band	Band + stripes	Horizontal lines	Wavy lines	Triangular motifs	Vertical incisions	Holes	Intertwined undulating lines	Infinity + dots	Curls	Bib
Llama-men	16	16												
Men+cup	5	4	1											
Women+cup	1	1												
Men+birds	11	9			1	1								
Men+felines	32	20		6	6									
Men+weapons	14	11				1			1	1				
Woman+ weapons	0													
Men+music	6	6												
Woman+music	0													
Women+child	0													
Female child in arms of woman	0													
Unident. children in arms of women	0													
Men attacked	2	2												
Men+animal in hands	1	1												
Woman+animal in hands	0													
Men+bag	0													
Men without attributes	78	48	5	14	6		1	1			1	1		1
Women without attributes	0													
Painted men	0													
Unident. painted human	0													
Male faces	3	2				1								
Unident. faces	1						1							
Male spoon	0													
Female spoon	0													
Unident. Spoons	0													
3D male heads on vases	2	1		1										
Main males in copulation	6	4		2										
Main females in copulation	0													
Secondary females in copulation	0													
One man in architectural setting	5	2	1	1	1									
Main males in ceremonial scene in house	8	4	1	1		1							1	
Main females in ceremonial scene in house	0													
Secondary males in ceremonial scene in house	5	5												
Secondary females in ceremonial scene in house	2				2									
Unident. secondary in ceremonial scene in house	0													
Secondary males on different parts of building	8	3		5										
Secondary females on different parts of building	0													
Unident. secondary on different parts of building	0													
Main males in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	32	26	1	3							1		1	
Main females in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0													
Secondary males in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	5	5												
Secondary females in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	2				2									
Unident. secondary in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0													
Main males in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	7	6					1							
Main females in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	2	2												

Table VI.106. Amount of necklace types according to each scene-group

VI.7.7. Bracelets

Thirty (out of a total of four hundred and ninety-four) main or individual male personages wear bracelets (or +/- six percent). None of the secondary male characters, however, wear them. Sixteen (out of a total of ninety-two) main or individual female characters (or +/- seventeen percent) and twenty-seven (out of a total of two hundred and seventy-seven) secondary female personages (or +/- ten percent) wear bracelets. Apparently, women are more often associated with bracelets than men.

Of the men with cups, twenty-five percent has a bracelet, of the men with musical instruments twenty percent, of the main male personages in copulation scenes nineteen percent, of the men with weapons fifteen percent, of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters seven point three percent, of the men without attributes six point five percent and of the llama-men three point six percent.

The only woman associated with a musical instrument, wears bracelets, as do forty-three percent of the women with children, twenty-four percent of the main female personages in copulation scenes, twenty-one percent of the women without attributes, thirteen percent of the secondary female characters in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, thirteen percent of the main female personages in ceremonial scenes with personages of the same size, nine point five percent of the women with cups and eight point seven percent of the secondary female personages in copulation scenes.

In conclusion, bracelets are mostly found on women. When occurring among men, they are solely associated with main or individual male characters. Often these men have some special attributes in their hands (such as a cup, a musical instrument, or weapons) or appear in a copulation scene.

It seems that most of the women associated with bracelets also have some importance in Recuay iconography. The only woman with a drum, many women with children and main female personages in copulation scenes all wear them rather frequently.

Therefore bracelets are interpreted as being rather gender-specific attributes and associated with personages who hold a specific religious status in society.

Scene-groups	Bracelets
Llama-man	1
Man+ cup	3
Woman+cup	2
Man+ birds	0
Man+ felines	0
Man+weapons	4
Woman+ weapons	0
Man+musical instruments	3
Woman+Music	1
Woman+child	3
Female child in arms of woman	0
Unident. children in arms of women	0
Man attacked	0
Man+ animal in hands	0
Woman+ animal in hands	0
Man+bag	0
Man without attributes	10
Woman without attributes	3
Painted man	0
Unident. painted human	0
Male face	0
Unident. Face	0
Male spoon	0
Female spoon	0
Unident. Spoon	0
3D male heads on vases	0
Main male in copulation	4
Main female in copulation	5
Secondary female in copulation	2
One man in architectural setting	0
Main male in ceremonial scene in house	0
Main female in ceremonial scene in house	0
Secondary male in ceremonial scene in house	0
Secondary female in ceremonial scene in house	0
Unident. secondary in ceremonial scene in house	0
Secondary male on different parts of building	0
Secondary female on different parts of building	0
Unident. secondary on different parts of building	0
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	5
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0
Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	25
Unident. secondary in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	0
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	2

Table VI.107. Amount of bracelets according to each scene-group

VI.7.8. Clothes: Figurative motifs

VI.7.8.1. Figurative motifs on clothes of male personages

The difference in the amount of figurative motifs on male and female personages is clearly visible. Men are associated with the whole range of figurative motifs (the tooth face, the great crescent being, the two-headed being, felines, birds, appendages of the GCB, snake appendages and appendages of felines) and each of these motifs occurs more often on men than on women.

Secondary personages are never associated with figurative motifs and neither are men with bags, painted men, the male personage on a spoon nor main male personages in ceremonial scenes inside a house. The fact that secondary personages are never associated with figurative motifs and most of the main and individual personages are, makes me suspect that these motifs are associated with men of a high ceremonial status and/or an important function.

Snake appendages are the most recurring motif. They occur on thirty-three percent of the men with musical instruments, on twenty-eight percent of the llama-men, on twenty-six percent of the men with weapons, on twenty-five percent of the men with an animal in their hands (this person is also a llama-man), on seventeen percent of the men without attributes, on fourteen percent of the men in copulation scenes, on eleven percent of the men attacked by animals (the man wearing an underskirt and elaborate headgear), on seven point seven percent of the men with birds, on six point three percent of the men with felines, on six percent of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size and on three percent of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters. Apparently, snake appendages mostly appear on men with some sort of attributes.

The great crescent being is the second most common figurative motif among men. It occurs mostly on men with cups (thirty-three percent), men with birds (thirty-one percent), men with felines (twenty-five point five percent) and men with musical instruments (twenty percent). It also occurs on men without attributes (eleven percent), on men in architectural settings (nine percent), on men with weapons (three point seven percent) and on men with a llama (three point six percent). It is remarkable that llama-men are not often

associated with this type of motif, while generally; this group is associated with special attributes. Gero's statement concerning the complete absence of the GCB on llama-men is not true, though. When Gero mentions the absence of the GCB on secondary personages, she is correct, as is her remark on the recurrent occurrence of this motif on men with felines. However, when she says men with weapons are often associated with the GCB, she is wrong. In my whole sample only one man with weapons has this motif on his clothes.

The tooth face is another common motif on male personages. The group men with birds is mostly associated with this motif (thirty-eight point five percent). Men with felines (twenty-five point five percent), main males in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size (seventeen point six percent), men with cups (eight point three percent), men without attributes (seven point one percent), men with musical instruments (six point six percent) and main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (three percent) also have this motif on their clothes. Peculiar is the absence of this motif on the llama-men and on men with weapons.

The two-headed being appears on some occasions, mostly on main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size (twenty-three point five percent). This motif is also recognised on a man in an architectural setting (nine percent), a man with a cup (eight point three percent), men with felines (eight point five percent), a main male in a copulation scene (four point seven percent) and men without attributes (two point six percent). The two headed-being occurs never on the llama-men, men with birds, men with weapons and men with musical instruments.

Appendages of the GCB appear in some groups, but always in small amounts. One man in an architectural setting (nine percent), some men with felines (eight point five percent), one man with a musical instrument (six point six percent), one main male personage in a ceremonial scene with main characters of the same size (six percent), one main male in a copulation scene (four point seven percent) and one llama-man (three point six percent) wear them on their clothes.

Birds occur once on the clothes of a man with birds (seven point seven percent), once on a man with a cup (eight point three percent), four times on men without attributes (two point six percent) and once on a man with felines (two percent). Birds are never associated with

the llama-men, the men with weapons, the men with musical instruments or with main male personages in ceremonial scenes.

Appendages of felines appear only on men with weapons (eleven percent) and felines in their full body form are solely associated with one main male in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters (one point five percent).

CLOTHES-FIGURATIVE MOTIFS	Tooth face	GCB	2-headed being	Appendages of the GCB	Feline	Snake appendages	Appendages of felines	Birds
Man+llama		1		1		8		
Man+cup	1	4	1					1
Man+birds	5	4				1		1
Man+felines	12	12	4	4		3		1
Man+weapons		1				7	3	
Man+musical instruments	1	3		1		5		
One attacked						1		
Man+animal						1		
Man+bag								
Man without attributes	11	17	4			26		4
Painted man								
Spoons								
Main male in copulation			1	1		3		
One man in architectural setting		1	1	1				
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house								
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house								
Secondary male on different parts of building								
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 main characters	2				1	2		
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 main characters								
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 main characters of same size	3		4	1		1		

Table VI.108. Amount of figurative motifs on clothes of men according to each scene-group

VI.7.8.2. Figurative motifs on clothes of female personages

Very few women have figurative motifs on their clothes. It seems as if these motifs are male prerogatives and even then, they only occur on specific main or individual personages.

The tooth face, birds, felines and appendages of felines are completely absent from the clothes of women.

Again, none of the figurative motifs occur on secondary female personages. Apparently, the only female scene-groups associated with figurative motifs are women with cups (8 in 21), women with children in their hands (2 in 7), women without attributes (1 in 14) and main female personages in copulation scenes (1 in 21). It is possible that these women had some special social function or religious status, to such an extent that they are associated with motifs normally found on men and always found on main or individual personages. If this hypothesis is true, this would mean that mostly women with cups enjoyed this elevated ceremonial status and that carrying a cup had some special meaning.

The great crescent being is the most common motif. It occurs on fourteen point three percent of the women with children, fourteen point three percent of the women with cups, and four point seven percent of the main female characters in copulation scenes. Gero was thus correct to state that only women with cups, women in copulation scenes and women with children are associated with this motif.

Snake appendages are the second most common motif. They appear mostly on women with cups (fourteen point three percent), but also once on a woman with a child (fourteen point three percent).

The two-headed being occurs twice in the whole sample of Recuay women, once on a woman with a cup (four point seven percent) and once on a woman without attributes (seven point one percent).

Appendages of the GCB only appear once, on a woman with a cup (four point seven percent).

CLOTHES: FIGURATIVE MOTIFS	Tooth face	GCB	2-headed being	Appendages of the GCB	Feline	Appendages of snakes	Appendages of felines	Birds
Woman+cup		3	1	1		3		
Woman+weapons								
Woman+musical instrument								
Woman+child		1				1		
Children in hands of women								
Woman+animal in hands								
Woman without attributes			1					
Spoons								
Main female in copulation		1						
Secondary female in copulation								
Main female in ceremonial scene inside a house								
Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside a house								
Secondary female on different parts of building								
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains								
Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains								
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size								

Table VI.109. Amount of figurative motifs on clothes of women according to each scene-group

VI.7.9. Clothes: Geometric motifs

VI.7.9.1. Geometric motifs on clothes of men

There are many more geometric motifs associated with men's clothes than with women's clothes. The motifs 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 36, 41, 46, 47, 48, 52, 53, 54, 57, 60, 63, 64, 65, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 111, 112, and 114 only occur on male characters.

The man on a spoon does not have geometric motifs on his clothes. All the men with weapons have geometric motifs on their clothes. Men with cups have geometric motifs in sixty-six percent of the cases, men in architectural settings in fifty-four point five percent, men with musical instruments in fifty-three percent, men without attributes in forty-six point seven percent, main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters in thirty-nine point seven percent, main males in copulation scenes in thirty-eight percent, painted men in thirty-seven point five percent, men with a bag in thirty-three percent, secondary males in ceremonial scenes inside houses in twenty-eight point five percent, men with felines in twenty-seven point six percent, secondary males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters in twenty-six percent, men with an animal in their hands in twenty-five percent, llama-men in twenty-five percent, main males in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size in twenty-three point five percent, men with birds in fifteen point four percent, men attacked by animals in eleven percent, main males in ceremonial scenes inside houses in eight point three percent and secondary males on different parts of buildings in four point six percent.

Secondary personages are not that often associated with geometric motifs. Mostly main and individual men have them. Important is the high amount of geometric motifs among the men with weapons.

The motifs 11, 31, 33, 36, 48, 52, 54, 60, 64, 65, 68, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 111, 112 and 114 only appear once. This amount is so low that no interpretation can be given surrounding these motifs and their meanings.

The following motifs occur twice on the clothes of men: 41, 46, 47, 53, 63, 81 and 90.

The motifs 2, 21, 24 and 57 appear three times, the motifs 5, 17 and 74 four times, the motifs 7 and 16 five times, the motifs 23 and 25 seven times and the motif 4 eight times.

Motif 8 occurs ten times, while motif 26 appears eighteen times.

Very few secondary personages are associated with geometric motifs, compared to the main and individual male characters. The motifs 5 and 57 appear three times on secondary personages, motif 46 two times and motif 23 one time. It appears that the motifs 5, 46 and 57 occur mostly on secondary personages and on men without attributes. Thus, these geometric motifs could be associated with less important men. All these motifs are rather simple in outline (zigzag lines, a cross and arrow-like designs). Motif 23, however, occurs on several main and individual male personages as well. Motif 5 appears on one other man, one without attributes. The motifs 46 and 57 only occur on secondary personages.

CLOTHES: GEOMETRIC MOTIFS	2	4	5	7	8	11	16	17	21	23	24	25	26	31	33	36	41	46	47	48	52	53	54	57	60	63	64	65	68	71	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	81	82	84			
Man+llama				1			1					2																							1								
Man+cup		1			1																					1																	
Man+birds																																											
Man+felines							1			1		2	1															1										1	1				
Man+weapons					1				1		1	2			1												1			1	1	1							1	1	1		
Man+musical instrument					1					1		1																															
One attacked																																											
Man+animal													1																														
Man+bag																																											
Man without attributes	3	4	1	1	5	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	9	1			2		1	1	1	1	1		1		1					3	1	1	1								
Painted man							1	3		1							1																										
Spoons																																											
Main male in copulation		1							1			1																															
Man in architectural setting					2														1														1										
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house				1									1																														
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																									2																		
Secondary male on different parts of building										1																																	
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains		1		2						1			3																														
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains			3															2						1																			
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2-3 main characters of same size		1											1									1																					

CLOTHES: GEOMETRIC MOTIFS	85	86	87	88	89	90	93	94	96	97	100	102	103	104	105	111	112	114
Man+llama																		
Man+cup																		1
Man+birds										1								
Man+felines																		
Man+weapons	1	1		1														
Man+musical instr.							1											
Man attacked									1	1								
Man+animal																		
Man+bag																		
Man without attributes			1		1	2												
Painted man												1	1	1	1			1
Spoons																		
Main male in copulation																		
Man in architectural setting																		
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house																		
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house																		
Secondary male on different parts of building																		
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																1		
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains																		
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2-3 main characters of same size																		

Table VI.110. Amount of geometric motifs on clothes of men according to each scene-group

VI.7.9.2. Geometric motifs on clothes of women

The motifs 6, 27, 72, 92 and 110, as well as the black and white pattern and the red and white pattern, only occur on women. Motif 6 should be considered a smaller version of the black and white pattern. Consequently, Joan Gero was right when she stated that the checkerboard pattern only occurs on women.

The one woman with a musical instrument, the one possible woman on a spoon, the female main personages in ceremonial scenes inside a house and the female mains in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters are never associated with geometric motifs. The one woman with weapons, all seven women with children, the one female child, the one

woman with an animal in her hands, fifty-seven percent of the women with cups, fifty-seven percent of the women without attributes, forty-six point six percent of the main women in ceremonial scenes with mains of the same size, thirty-eight percent of the main women in copulation scenes, twenty-six point eight percent of the secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, twenty-six percent of the secondary females in copulation scenes, eleven point seven percent of the secondary female personages placed on different parts of a building and nine point eight percent of the secondary female characters in ceremonial scenes inside a house are associated with geometric motifs on their clothes.

Apparently, secondary personages are associated less often with geometric motifs than main or individual women. Further, solo women occur more often with geometric motifs than main women in ceremonial scenes. Mostly women with specific attributes (the only woman with weapons, women with children, the only woman with a serpent-head in her hands and women with cups) have these motifs on their clothes.

Motif 6 (the checkerboard motif) and the black and white pattern occur the most frequently.

Motif 6 occurs three times on women with cups (fourteen percent), twice on women with a child in their hands (twenty-eight point five percent), on the only identified female child, on two women without attributes (fourteen percent), on six main females in copulations scenes (twenty-eight point five percent), on four secondary females in copulation scenes (seventeen point four percent), on three secondary females in ceremonial scenes inside houses (six percent), on one secondary female on different parts of a building (six percent), on twenty-two secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (twelve percent) and on three main females in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size (twenty percent). Motif 6, thus, occurs in almost all the female scene-groups and on main, individual and secondary personages.

The black and white pattern occurs four times on women with cups (nineteen percent), on the only woman with weapons, on one woman with a child (fourteen percent), on the only woman with an animal in her hands, on two women without attributes (fourteen percent), on two secondary personages in copulation scenes (eight percent), on seventeen secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (nine percent) and on two main female personages in ceremonial scenes with

main characters of similar size (thirteen percent). Again, this pattern occurs on many individual and main personages, as well as on secondary women.

The red and white pattern occurs twice: once on a woman without attributes (seven percent) and once on a secondary female character in a ceremonial scene inside a house (two percent). It appears as if this motif occurs mostly on less-important women, if secondary personages and personages without attributes can be considered as having a lower religious status.

The motifs 27, 72, 92 and 110 all occur only once. Therefore, no conclusions can be made concerning their possible meaning. The motifs 27 and 110 are associated with secondary women.

CLOTHES-GEOMETRIC MOTIFS	6	27	72	92	110	B+W	R+W
Woman+cup	3					4	
Woman+weapons						1	
Woman+musical instruments							
Woman+child	2			1		1	
Children in hands of women	1						
Woman+animal in hands						1	
Woman without attributes	2		1			2	1
Spoons							
Main female in copulation	6						
Secondary female in copulation	4					2	
Main female in ceremonial scene inside a house							
Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside a house	3						1
Secondary female on different parts of building	1						
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains							
Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	22	1			1	17	
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	3					2	

Table VI.111. Amount of geometric motifs on clothes of women according to each scene-group

VI.7.9.3. Geometric motif on clothes worn by men, women and personages of unidentifiable sex

The motifs occurring on both sexes are 9, 12, 19, 20, 22, 29, 109 and the black and red pattern. Motif 12 also appears on secondary personages of unidentifiable sex.

Motif 9 occurs mostly on male personages (eight men are wearing this motif, compared to four women) and occurs on secondary characters as well as on main or solo personages.

Motif 12 also occurs mostly on men (twenty-eight men, compared to seven women and five personages of unidentifiable sex). Again, secondary as well as main and individual personages are associated with this motif, but the high amount of male individuals and main male personages is worth mentioning. It appears as if this motif occurs mostly on main or solo male individuals and secondary female personages.

Motif 19 appears on two main male personages and on one secondary female character.

Motif 20 appears only on main or individual personages, never on secondary characters. Five men and two women are associated with this motif.

Motif 22 also appears solely on main and individual personages. Men wear this motif on three occasions and women on one occasion.

Motif 29 occurs mostly on male characters. Twenty-nine men (of which only one is secondary) and four women (none of which are secondary) are associated with motif 29. Apparently, mostly main or individual personages wear this motif.

Motif 109 only occurs on individual personages, never on secondary characters. One man and one woman wear this type.

As was the case for the black-and-white and the black-and-red pattern, the black-and-red pattern occurs mostly on women (five women compared to one man). The fact that the only man wearing this pattern is being attacked by a feline could refer to his vulnerable status. Perhaps this explains his wearing a motif normally associated with women. Both

individual women and secondary female personages are associated with the black-and-red pattern.

MALE SCENE-GROUPS	9	12	19	20	22	29	109	B + R	FEMALE SCENE-GROUPS & UNIDENT. SEX	9	12	19	20	22	29	109	B + R
Men+llama		2															
Men+cup		1		1		2			Women+cup	1	1		1			1	1
Men+birds				1					Women+child	1			1	1			
Men+felines		2				2	1		Female children								
Men+weapons				2		6			Woman+weapons								
Men+musical instrument	1				1	2			Woman+musical instrument								
Men attacked								1									
Men+animal									Woman+animal								
Men+bag		1															
Men without attributes	2	2		1	2	7			Women without attributes						1		1
Painted men																	
Male spoons									Female spoons								
Main male in copulation	2					3			Main female in copulation						2		
One man in architect. Setting		2							Secondary female in copulation								
Main male in ceremonial scene inside house									Main female in ceremonial scene inside house								
									Unident. secondary in ceremonial scene inside house	2							
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside house		2							Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside house								1
Secondary males on different parts of building		1							Secondary females on different parts of building	1							
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1	10	2			6			Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains								
									Unident. secondary in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	3							
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	2	4				1			Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	2	4	1					2
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size		1							Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size		1				1		

Table VI.112. Amount of geometric motifs on clothes worn by men, women and personages of unidentifiable sex

VI.7.10. Clothes: Body stripes

Painted or tattooed motifs on limbs occur on both men and women. These consist mostly of geometric motifs, although snake-like figures may appear as well.

As mentioned, Gero's observation that clothes and body stripes on the couples in copulation scenes are often similar can be confirmed. Both characters wear body stripes with the same motifs and the spaces between the stripes and width of the stripes are often similar.

Fifty-one men and thirty-two women have designs on their limbs. Men have in eight point four percent (51 in 601) of the time body stripes and women in eight point six percent (32 in 369) of the time. The differences in quantity are low and thus should be neglected.

Very few secondary (male and female) personages have stripes painted or tattooed on their limbs. Only one secondary male character, one belonging to the group of secondary personages on different parts of a building, has them. As previously mentioned, the secondary personages belonging to this group have many out-of-the-ordinary attributes and/or clothing styles. Among women, only six secondary personages have body stripes. Apparently, body stripes are associated with main or solo individuals.

The following groups have rather low amounts of body stripes: men with felines (two percent), men with a llama (three point six percent), men in architectural settings (nine percent), men without attributes (nine point seven percent), main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (eleven point seven percent), men with cups (sixteen point six percent), main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of a similar size (seventeen point six percent), men with weapons (eighteen point five percent) and women with cups (nineteen percent).

Groups where twenty percent or more have body stripes are: main female personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of a similar size (twenty percent), women without attributes (twenty-one point four percent), men with an animal in their hands (twenty-five percent), main females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (twenty-five percent), men with musical instruments (twenty-six point six percent), men with bags (thirty-three percent), main male personages in copulation scenes (thirty-eight percent), women with a child (forty-three percent), main females in copulation scenes (forty-seven point six percent) and main females in ceremonial scenes inside houses (fifty percent).

MALE SCENE-GROUPS	Body stripes	%	FEMALE SCENE-GROUPS	Body stripes	%
Men+llama	1	3.6%			
Men+cup	2	16.6%	Women+cup	4 (1 app. snakes)	19%
Men+birds	0	0%	Women+child	3 (1 app. snakes)	43%
Men+felines	1	2%	Children	0	0%
Men+weapons	5 (1 app. snakes)	18.5%	Woman+weapons	0	0%
Men+musical instrument	4	26.6%	Woman+musical instrument	0	0%
Men attacked	0	0%			
Men+animal	1	25%	Woman+animal	0	0%
Men+bag	1	33%			
Men without attributes	15 (1 app. snakes)	9.7%	Women without attributes	3	21.4%
Painted men	0	0%			
Spoons	0	0%	Spoons	0	0%
Main male in copulation	8	38%	Main female in copulation	10	47.6%
One man in architect. setting	1	9%	Secondary female in copulation	0	0%
Main male in ceremonial scene inside house	0	0%	Main female in ceremonial scene inside house	1	50%
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside house	0	0%	Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside house	1	2%
Secondary male on different parts of building	1	2.3%	Secondary female on different parts of building	0	0%
Male main in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	8	11.7%	Female main in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	2	25%
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0	0%	Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	5	2.6%
Male main in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	3	17.6%	Female main in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	3	20%

Table VI.113. Amount of body stripes according to each scene-group

VI.7.11. Clothes: Hems

Only men are associated with hems. Eighteen types have been recognised among the Recuay men. Men with bags, the man on a spoon, men in architectural settings and

secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters are never associated with hems.

Of all the secondary personages in this sample, only six are associated with a hem. Four of these belong to the same vessel. All four are of a rather large size and carry a roof, while the other two secondary characters occur on different parts of a building and appear on a vessel in which no main personages are sculpted. These six secondary personages are thus rather peculiar compared to the other secondary characters. It appears as if the presence of a hem is restricted to main personages in ceremonial scenes and individual characters with or without attributes. This could mean that hems denote some sort of high religious status or important function in society.

Consequently, the men with bags dangling from their shoulders, the one man on a spoon and the men in architectural settings can be considered as being of a rather low ceremonial status.

Some men wear layered garments. Three out of twenty-eight men with a llama (or ten percent), one out of twelve men with a cup (eight point three percent), fourteen out of one hundred and fifty-four men without attributes (nine percent) and one out of sixty-eight male main personages in a ceremonial scene with one or two mains (one point four percent) wear this type of clothes. Many of these are associated with a double hem. Among the llama-men, the double hem occurs three times (3 in 28, or ten percent), among the men without attributes eleven times (11 in 154, or seven point one percent) and among the main male personages in ceremonial scenes one time (1 in 68, or one point four percent). The high percentage of llama-men wearing layered garments encourages me to interpret these clothes as being prerogatives of ceremonially important men. Perhaps double hems are associated with men of an even higher religious status or more importance than the men with only one hem.

High percentages of hems are found among the men with felines (eighty-three percent), the men with birds (eighty-four percent), the llama-men (seventy-one percent), the men with weapons (fifty-five percent), the men without attributes (thirty-five percent), main male personages in ceremonial scenes with two or three main characters of the same size (twenty-nine percent) and men with cups (twenty-five percent). The men with animals have a hem in twenty-five percent of the cases, but in reality the man with this hem is also accompanied by a llama.

Contrary to what would be expected for the men with musical instruments, percentages of men with hems are rather low (twenty percent). Of the painted male personages, eighteen point seven percent have a hem.

Only one of the nine men being attacked by an animal has a hem (or eleven percent). This man also has other attributes normally associated with personages of more importance, and should be interpreted as an exceptional example among the men being attacked by animals.

Very few main male personages in ceremonial scenes are associated with hems. Of the sixty-eight main male characters in ceremonial scenes, only six are associated with a hem (eight point eight percent), of the twenty-four main male personages inside a house, only two wear a hem (eight point three percent) and of the twenty-one main male personages in copulation scenes, only one has a hem (four point seven percent)

Apparently, mostly solo men are associated with hems.

Scene-groups	%	Scene-groups	%
Men+llama	71%	Painted men	18.75%
Men+cups	25%	Spoons	0%
Men+birds	84%	Main male in copulation	4.7%
Men+felines	83%	One man in architectural setting	0%
Men+weapons	55%	Main male in ceremonial scene inside house	8.3%
Men+musical instruments	20%	Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside house	28.6%
Men attacked by animals	11%	Secondary male on different parts of building	4.6%
Men+animal in hands	25%	Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	8.8%
Men+bag	0%	Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0%
Men without attributes	35%	Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	29%

Table VI.114. Amount of hems according to each scene-group

Eighteen different motifs are identified. Of these, the types 13, 14 and 15 occur only once and the types 4, 7, 8 and 18 only appear twice.

As all these hems occur only once or twice, not a lot of conclusions can be drawn from them. What can be noticed, however, is that all these types are geometric motifs (hems 5 and 10 are the ones without motifs and occur frequently) and that these motifs differ from the triangular designs (hems 2, 6 and 16) and the black-and-white pattern (hem 1), which are the motifs that occur the most frequently.

The hems 12 and 17 occur six times, hems 11 and 16 five times, the hems 3 and 2/6¹¹⁰ four times and hem 9 three times.

On four occasions, it is not clear if hem 2 or 6 is represented.

Hem 16 is a version of 6, but has, in addition to the white and black triangles, red coloured parts.

All the other hems have motifs different from the triangles, the black-and-white pattern and the hems without motifs.

The hems 1 and 10 each appear ten times.

Motif 1 appears on twelve point eight percent of the hems of men with felines, on forty percent of the hems of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with two or three main characters of the same size and on five point four percent of the hems of men without attributes.

Hem 10 occurs on fifteen percent of the llama-men with hems, on thirty-three percent of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, on the only man with an animal in his hands with a hem, on the only two main men in ceremonial scenes inside houses and the only two secondary males on different parts of a building having a hem.

Hem 5 occurs twenty-one times and hem 2 twenty times.

Hem 5 occurs on twenty percent of the llama-men with hems, on twelve point eight percent of the men with felines and on sixteen point three percent of the men without attributes with hems, on six point six percent of the men with weapons, on sixteen percent of the main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters and on twenty percent of the main males in ceremonial scenes with main characters of similar size.

¹¹⁰ It was not always easy to discern hem 2 from hem 6. Therefore, I decided to call these dubious examples hem 2/6.

Hem 2 is associated with twenty-five percent of the llama-men, with ten percent of the men with felines wearing hems, with thirteen percent of the men with weapons, with sixteen point six percent of the main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters and with fourteen point five percent of the men without attributes.

Hem 6 is the most common type and appears seventy-six times. Hem 6 appears in many scene-groups. The llama-men with hems have in twenty percent of the cases hem 6, the men with cups in sixty-six point six percent of the cases, the men with birds in sixty-three point six percent, the men with felines in forty-three point five percent, the men with weapons in sixty percent, the men with musical instruments in sixty-six point six percent, the one person attacked by a feline wearing a hem has type 6, the men without attributes are wearing in forty-nine percent of the cases hem 6, all the secondary males in ceremonial scenes inside a house wearing a hem are associated with hem 6, sixteen point six percent of the main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters have hem 6, sixteen point six percent of the main males in ceremonial scenes with main characters of similar size, and finally, the only man in a copulation scene with a hem has type 6.

HEM	Double hem	One hem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	2/6
Man+llama	3	17		5			4	4			2	3	1	1			1				
Man+cup		3						2						1							
Man+birds		11						7			1							2			
Man+felines		39	5	4	3		5	17					1					1		1	2
Man+weapons		15		2			1	9					1	1							
Man+musical instrument		3						2					1								
One attacked		1						1													
Man+animal		1										1									
Man+bag																					
Man without attributes	11	45	3	8	1	1	9	27	2	2				2	1	1		2	4	1	2
Painted man		3											1						2		
Spoons																					
Main male in copulation		1						1													
One man in architectural setting																					
Main male in ceremonial scene inside a house		2										2									
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside a house		4						4													
Secondary male on different parts of building		2										2									
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 main characters	1 upper hem	5		1		1	1	1				2									
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 main characters																					
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2-3 main characters of same size		5	2				1	1						1							

Table VI.115. Amount and type of hems according to each scene-group

VI.7.12. Clothes: Belts

Only women are associated with belts. The possible woman represented on a spoon and the two main female personages in a ceremonial scene inside a house are the only scene-groups without women wearing belts.

Of the women with cups, ninety-five percent are associated with belts, of the women without attributes, ninety-three percent, of the main female personages in copulation scenes, twenty-eight point five percent, of the main female characters in ceremonial scenes with one or two main personages, twelve point five percent and of the main female personages in ceremonial scenes with mains of the same size, sixty-six percent. The only woman with weapons, the only woman with an animal in her hands and the only woman with a drum all wear a belt as well. All the women with children in their hands, as well as the child who definitely could be defined as a woman, wear belts.

Finally, ninety-one percent of the secondary female personages in copulation scenes, fifty-five percent of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes inside houses, thirty-five percent of the secondary females on different parts of a building and seventy point four percent of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters also wear them. Therefore, it can be concluded that both main and individual personages, as well as secondary personages wear belts in more or less the same quantities.

Thirty-five different types are identified. Belts 1, 15, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34 all occur once in the whole sample of Recuay ceramics, whereas the belts 10, 12, 20, 27, 29 and 35 occur twice. These very low amounts make it difficult to form interpretations about their use or attribution to a specific group.

Of these belts the types 15 and 17 occur on secondary personages, which will be discussed below.

Belt 18 occurs on the only woman associated with weapons. The fact that this belt only occurs once in the whole sample and on a very special woman could mean that this type was restricted to women with a special ceremonial status and/or function.

Belt 12 occurs once on a secondary personage and once on a woman without attributes. Perhaps this type is associated with women of less important ceremonial functions.

Belt 20, on the other hand, occurs on ten percent of the belt-wearing women with cups. It is possible that belt 20 is solely associated with this type of woman.

Belts 22, 27 and 35 occur only on main female personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size. These three belts occur on twenty percent of these women wearing belts.

The belts 6, 7 and 28 occur three times in this whole sample. Belt 11 appears six times, belts 3 and 26, seven times, belt 8, eight times and belt 16, nine times.

Belt 3 occurs on sixteen percent of the women with cups wearing belts, on the only woman with a musical instrument, on thirty-three percent of the main females in copulation scenes and on one secondary personage. It seems as if this type is associated with rather important women.

Belt 6 occurs twice on women with children in their hands (twenty-five percent) and once on a woman without attributes (seven point seven percent)

Belt 7 occurs on twenty-eight point five percent of the women with children, but also on the only woman with an animal in her hands. It seems as if this type indicates a special religious status.

Belt 28 occurs twice on women with cups. Therefore, belt 28 appears on ten percent of the belt-wearing women with cups. It also occurs once on a woman without attributes (or seven point seven percent)

The belts 8, 11, 16 and 26 only appear on secondary personages. More information on these types will be given below.

The following belts occur frequently in this sample: belt 24 appears ten times, belt 9, thirteen times, belt 13, fifteen times, belts 4, twenty times, belt 5, twenty-one times, belt 14, twenty-five times, belt 21, thirty times and belt 2, thirty-eight times.

Belt 24 occurs mostly on secondary personages, but also on twenty percent of the main female characters in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size. As has been mentioned when investigating the ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size, the women in these scenes are always placed in auxiliary positions to the men in these scenes. This could mean that belt 24 is associated with women in auxiliary positions and therefore of a less-important function.

Equally, belt 9 occurs mostly on secondary personages. Only one other woman, one without attributes, is known wearing this type. Probably belt 9 is worn by women of a lesser ceremonial status or women without specific attributes.

Belt 13 also commonly occurs on secondary personages, though two women with cups (ten percent of these women wear this belt-type), one main woman in a copulation scene (or sixteen point six percent) and one woman without attributes (or seven point seven percent), are also associated with it.

Belt 14 occurs mostly on secondary personages, though one woman with a child, one woman without attributes and one main female personage in a copulation scene are also wearing belt 14.

Belt 4 appears mostly on secondary personages. This type, however, also occurs on the only child who definitely can be identified as being of the female sex and was held by a woman. Belt 4 also appears once on a woman without attributes.

Belt 5 occurs, apart from on secondary personages, twice on a woman with a cup (or on eleven percent of the women with cups).

Belt 21 is one of the most common belts for secondary personages. This belt only appears once more in this sample, on a main female personage in a ceremonial scene with mains of the same size. As previously mentioned, these main women probably had a similar function or religious status as the auxiliary personages in ceremonial scenes.

Belt 2 is the most common type. Apart from the secondary personages, it occurs twice on women with cups (ten percent), once on a woman with a child (fourteen percent), once on a woman without attributes (seven point seven percent) and once on the only main female in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters who is wearing a belt.

The following belts occur on secondary personages: belt 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 24 and 26.

Surprisingly, many of these belts have dots on them. The belts 1 and 33 are the only belts with dots that are not associated with secondary personages. Both belts, however, occur on women without attributes.

Most of the belts without motifs (belts 2 and 14) are also commonly associated with secondary personages. Simple motifs (belts 4, 11, 12, 13, 17 and 26), consisting mostly of vertical and horizontal stripes or zigzag lines, are also associated with secondary personages. It looks as though more intricate motifs (such as on belts 6, 7, 19, 20, 23 and 31) are prerogatives of main or individual women, mostly associated with attributes. It appears as though mostly women with children, the only woman with weapons and the only woman with an animal in her hands are the groups associated with the most intrinsic or figurative motifs.

BELT	Total	Unid.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
Woman+cup	20	2		2	3		2					1			2						1	2			1				2	1	1						
Woman+weapons	1																			1																	
Woman+musical instrument	1				1																																
Woman+child	7			1				2	2						1															1							
Child in hands of woman	1					1																															
Woman+animal in hands	1								1																												
Woman without attributes	13			1	1		1		1			1	1		1	1	1									1			1						1	1	
Spoons	0																																				
Main female in copulation	6				2										1	1																	1	1			
Secondary female in copulation	21			4		4				1	4						2						6														
Main female in ceremonial scene inside a house	0																																				
Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside a house	28			8		3	4				4				1	2		2								4											
Secondary female on different parts of building	6			4												2																					
Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1			1																																	
Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	131			17	1	11	15			7	4		6	1	10	18	1	5	1				23			4		7									
Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	10	1																					1	2		2			2								2

Table VI.116. Amount of belts according to each scene-group

VI.7.13. Clothes: Naked

Men and women are sometimes represented as naked. Only one secondary personage, a woman, has no clothes. Noteworthy is the fact that mostly men being attacked by an animal and main personages in copulation scenes (men and women) are represented in this manner. The representations of naked men being attacked by animals as a way to show defeat and vulnerability have already been mentioned. Naked couples in copulation scenes seem natural, as clothes are impractical in such situations. Most of the couples in these scenes, however, are shown wearing elaborately decorated clothes and headgear. Five of the seven children held by women are also depicted nude.

It seems as if only personages of very specific groups (children in the hands of women, couples in copulation scenes and men attacked by animals) are represented as naked. Nudity should, therefore, not be considered a sign of ceremonial status or rank, but rather a state required for a certain function or moment in life.

Male scene-groups	Naked	%	Female scene-groups	Naked	%
Men+llama	0	0%			
Men+cup	0	0%	Women+cup	0	0%
Men+birds	0	0%	Women+child	0	0%
Men+felines	0	0%	Female child	0	0%
			Children with unident. sex	5	83%
Men+weapons	0	0%	Woman+weapons	0	0%
Men+musical instr.	0	0%	Woman+musical inst.	0	0%
Men attacked	4	44%			
Men+animal	0	0%	Woman+animal	0	0%
Men+bag	0	0%			
Men without attributes	0	0%	Women without attributes	1	7%
Painted men	0	0%			
Spoons	0	0%	Spoons	0	0%
Main male in copulation	3	14%	Main female in copulation	3	14%
One man in architectural setting	0	0%	Secondary female in copulation	0	0%
Main male in ceremonial scene inside house	0	0%	Main female in ceremonial scene inside house	1	50%
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside house	0	0%	Secondary female in ceremonial scene inside house	1	2%
Secondary male on different parts of building	0	0%	Secondary female on different parts of building	0	0%
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1	1.4%	Main female main in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1	12.5%
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0	0%	Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0	0%
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	0	0%	Main female in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	0	0%

Table VI.117. Amount of naked men and women according to each scene group

VI.7.14. Clothes: Layered garments and underskirts

Layered garments and underskirts are solely associated with male personages in Recuay iconography.

As previously mentioned, some men wear layered garments. Ten point seven percent of the llama-men, eight point three percent of the men with cups, nine percent of the men without attributes and one point four percent of the main male personages in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters wear this type of clothes.

Apparently, mostly llama-men are associated with layered garments. As mentioned in chapter V. Textiles in the Ancash region, layered garments are assumed to be prerogatives of ceremonially important men.

Undershirts are, again, mostly associated with llama-men (sixty-four percent). Other male personages wearing undershirts are: one man with weapons (three point seven percent), one man being attacked by a feline (eleven percent), one man with an animal in his hands (twenty-five percent), but the latter is also associated with a llama, two main male personages in ceremonial scenes with two or three main characters of the same size (eleven point seven percent) and seven secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (fourteen percent). These last seven secondary personages, all belong to the same vessel (C-20-22). This vessel is quite extraordinary in this sample of ceramics, as it is the only time a main person and secondary personages wear a rectangular plate with trophy heads on their backs. These secondary personages should be considered to have a special function, especially when compared to other secondary characters.

Consequently, undershirts can be interpreted as clothes associated with ceremonially important men (llama-men, a man with weapons, the only man attacked by a feline who wears attributes unique to this group, main male personages and special secondary characters).

Male scene-groups	Layered garment	%	Underskirt	%
Men+llama	3	10.7%	18	64%
Men+cup	1	8.3%	0	0%
Men+birds	0	0%	0	0%
Men+felines	0	0%	0	0%
Men+ weapons	0	0%	1	3.7%
Men+musical instr.	0	0%	0	0%
Men attacked	0	0%	1	11%
Men+animal	0	0%	1	25%
Men+bag	0	0%	0	0%
Men without attributes	14	9%	0	0%
Painted men	0	0%	0	0%
Spoons	0	0%	0	0%
Main male in copulation	0	0%	0	0%
One man in architectural setting	0	0%	0	0%
Main male in ceremonial scene inside house	0	0%	0	0%
Secondary male in ceremonial scene inside house	0	0%	0	0%
Secondary males on different parts of building	0	0%	0	0%
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1	1.4%	0	0%
Secondary male ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	0	0%	7	14%
Main male in ceremonial scene with 2/3 mains of same size	0	0%	2	11.7%

Table VI.118. Amount of underskirts and layered garments according to each scene-group

VI.7.15. Vessels' supports: Figurative motifs

Figurative motifs occur frequently on the supports of Recuay vases. There is a remarkable difference in quantity between the vases representing one person with sometimes additional attributes and vases with more elaborate scenes (architectural, copulation and/or ceremonial). The latter are more often associated with figurative motifs. Vessels with one human personage are less frequently associated with figurative support-motifs. Of these, mostly the male personages have figurative support-motifs (one hundred and ten motifs of the one hundred and seventeen can be attributed to male persons), while women (only three of the one hundred and seventeen motifs) and personages of unidentifiable sex (four of one hundred and seventeen motifs) are only occasionally associated with support-motifs.

The reason for this discrepancy is possibly twofold. First of all, elaborate scenes are often placed on the flat upper part of a vase (often a *paccha*). There is thus room on the

bottom part of the vessel to paint figurative motifs. This is not the case with individual personages on a vase, as these humans often are the vase (effigy-vessels) and therefore take up the whole space, leaving no room for other painted designs.

Second, it is possible that figurative motifs (often consisting of composite beings, probably representing some supernatural force) are more often associated with ceremonial scenes, as they bring some additional religious or supernatural meaning to the scenes. If this is the case, the ceremonial scenes probably held a more sacred content than the one-person vases.

Apparently, individual men are more often associated with figurative motifs as well. Again, this could mean that more religious importance was given to circumstances in which males were central.

Women with cups, the only woman with weapons, women with children, men with animals in their hands, the woman with an animal in her hands, men with bags, painted men, the one man on a spoon and the probable woman on a spoon are never associated with figurative support motifs.

The only woman with a musical instrument has a figurative motif on the vessel's support, seventy-two percent of the men in architectural settings, forty percent of the three-dimensional heads on vases, forty percent of the faces of unidentifiable sex, forty percent of the men with felines, thirty-six percent of the men without attributes, thirty-three percent of the men being attacked by animals, thirty-one percent of the men with birds, twenty-six percent of the men with weapons, twenty-five percent of the persons of unidentifiable sex on spoons, twenty-five percent of the men with cups, twenty-one percent of the male faces, twenty percent of the men with musical instruments, sixteen point six percent of the painted persons of unidentifiable sex, fourteen percent of the women without attributes and three point six percent of the llama-men.

Regarding these percentages, some corrections should be made. First of all, the high amount of motifs on men in architectural settings is probably due to the fact that most of these vessels are *pacchas*, which have more space on the bottom of the vessel on which motifs can be painted. Second, the three-dimensional heads appear on large vases whose surface is completely open to paint motifs on, while the head itself is only a small protrusion. The men attacked by animals are always placed on top of *pacchas* or on double-chambered vessels, which both have more space available for motifs. Finally, the very low amount of motifs among llama-men is probably due to the fact that the accompanying llama takes up all the space available for possible motifs.

Therefore, the high amount of motifs among the men with felines and the appearance of a figurative motif on the only woman with a drum, are the most noticeable quantities. This could speak in favour of a special meaning for the scene-groups associated with figurative motifs.

The great crescent being is the most recurring figurative motif on the supports of Recuay vessels. It never occurs on llama-men, on men with birds, on the one woman with a musical instrument, on painted personages, on spoons, on men in architectural settings and on ceremonial scenes with mains of the same size.

As suspected, copulation, architectural and ceremonial scenes are the groups mostly associated with the GCB. The only three-dimensional head on a vase associated with a figurative motif, has the GCB on its support. Four of the six motifs on faces (male faces and faces of unidentifiable sex) are great crescent beings (or sixty-six point six percent). The GCB occurs on one of the three women associated with support-motifs (or thirty-three percent) and sixteen out of a total of fifty-six motifs on men without attributes consist of the GCB (or twenty-eight point six percent). Two of the three motifs on men with musical instruments (or sixty-six point six percent), five of nineteen motifs on men with felines (or twenty-six percent), two out of three motifs on men with cups (or sixty-six point six percent), one in three figurative motifs on men attacked by animals (or thirty-three percent) and three out of seven motifs on men with weapons (or forty-three percent), are great crescent beings.

The second most common motif consists of snake appendages. Men with cups, the one woman with a musical instrument, men attacked by animals, women without attributes, painted personages and three-dimensional heads on vases are never associated with snake appendages on their supports.

Again, ceremonial scenes are often associated with this figurative motif. The only llama-man associated with a figurative motif has snake appendages on his support. Three of the four (or seventy-five percent) men with birds having support-motifs are also associated with snake appendages. Seven out of nineteen (or thirty-seven percent) of the motifs on men with felines, twenty-four out of fifty-six motifs (or forty-three percent) on men without attributes, the only spoon having motifs on its support and two out of eight motifs (or twenty-five percent) on men in architectural settings are associated with snake appendages.

The two-headed being is the third most common figurative motif. It never appears on the llama-men, on men with cups, on men with birds, on men with weapons, on people with musical instruments, on painted figures, on spoons, on the three-dimensional heads on vases, on men in architectural settings and on ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size.

It is worth noting that one of the three women having figurative support-motifs and one of the three men attacked by animals are associated with a two-headed being and that, again, ceremonial scenes are the scene-groups mostly associated with this motif.

The tooth face follows in number of appearances. This motif only occurs in the following groups: eight times on men without attributes, with architectural and ceremonial scenes.

Birds occur with various scene-groups. Important is that the only woman with a musical instrument has a bird as support-motif. Other groups associated with this motif are men with felines, men with weapons, men attacked by animals, men without attributes, men in architectural settings and architectural/ceremonial scenes.

Snakes are mostly associated with ceremonial scenes. However, they also occur once on a man with a cup, once on a man with felines and once on a painted human.

Felines are found on some occasions: once on a man with felines, twice on a man in an architectural setting and seven times on ceremonial scenes.

Appendages of the great crescent being are associated once with men with felines, once with men with birds, twice with a man in an architectural setting and five times with ceremonial scenes.

Unidentifiable beings are other motifs found on vessels' supports. What looks like a monkey is associated once with a three-dimensional head on a vase and once with a ceremonial scene. A feline- or dog-like creature was also found on a ceremonial scene, as was an owl and a llama.

The splayed being occurs once on the vessel's support of a man with felines and once on the walls of a building.

Feline appendages occur once on a copulation scene, whereas a human head is found once on the support of an architectural scene.

	GCB	2-headed being	App. snakes	App. GCB	Tooth face	Splayed being	Snakes	Birds	Felines	App. felines	Unident. being	Head
Men+llama			1									
Men+cup	2						1					
Women+cup												
Men+birds			3	1								
Men+felines	5	2	7	1		1	1	1	1			
Men+weapons	3		2					2				
Woman+weapons												
Men+musical instrument	2		1									
Woman+musical instrument								1				
Woman+child												
Men attacked by animals	1	1						1				
Men+animal												
Woman+animal												
Men+bag												
Men without attributes	16	4	24		8			4				
Women without attributes	1	1										
Painted men												
Painted humans of unident. sex							1					
Male faces	2	1	1									
Faces of unident. sex	2											
Man on spoon												
Unident. sex on spoons			1									
Perhaps woman on spoon												
3D male head on vases	1										Monkey: 1	
Copulation scenes	4	1	2				1			1		
One man in architectural setting			2	2				1	2		Feline/dog: 1	
Architectural scenes with ceremonial scenes inside the walls	10	5	7		5	1	3	3	2		Monkey: 1	1
Architectural scenes with personages on different parts	9	6	3		5			1				1
Ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	30	12	19	3	7	1	4	9	5		Dog/feline: 2 Monkey: 1 Owl: 1 Llama: 1	
Ceremonial scenes with mains of same size			1	2	1							

Table VI.119. Amount and type of figurative motifs on vessels' supports according to each scene-group

VI.7.16. Vessels' supports: Geometric motifs

As was the case for the figurative motifs, copulation, architectural and ceremonial scenes are more often associated with geometric motifs on their vessels' supports than individual personages are. Among the individual personages, geometric motifs also appear more frequently on the vessels' supports of men than the ones of women or the ones of personages of unidentifiable sex.

The men with a llama, the one woman with weapons, the one woman with a drum, the men with an animal in their hands, the one woman with an animal in her hands, the men with bags and the painted men never have geometric motifs on their supports.

According to some researchers, geometric motifs also yield a symbolic or even sacred meaning (Orsini 2001: 65-79). Wavy or zigzag-lines would have referred to the serpent, which is the symbol of life and water, and would have also tied these motifs to the productive capacities of women, whereas the cross would have referred to the feline (Orsini 2001: 71-72).

Men with birds (eleven motifs on thirteen vessels), men with felines (thirty-eight motifs on forty-seven vessels), men attacked by animals (eight motifs on nine vessels), men without attributes (one hundred and thirty-seven motifs on one hundred and fifty-four vessels), male faces (twenty-five motifs on nineteen vessels), three-dimensional male heads (ten motifs on five vessels), men in architectural settings (nineteen motifs on eleven vessels) and the one man on a spoon, are the individual men that are mostly associated with geometric motifs. In the case of the men in architectural settings, the higher amount of support motifs is probably due to the space available for motifs, created by the roof and the bottom part of the *pacchas*.

Of all the individual women, only the women with cups (four motifs on twenty-one vessels), the women with a child in their hands (four motifs on seven vessels), the women without attributes (eight motifs on fourteen vessels) and the possible woman on a spoon (two motifs on one spoon) are associated with geometric motifs. The motifs occurring on women are the motifs 2, 9, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 29, 33 and 40. All these motifs also appear on individual men and ceremonial scenes.

The motifs 1, 14, 17, 18, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 51, 56, 61, 66, 68, 69, 70, 74, 80, 81, 95, 98, 101, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 113, 114, 115, 116 and 117 all occur once. None of these occur on individual women. The low frequency of appearance makes it impossible to offer wide-reaching interpretations of them.

The motifs 15, 16, 35, 48, 54, 58, 62, 75 and 99 all occur twice on supports. Again, none of these motifs are associated with female scene-groups.

Motifs 32, 33, 41, 47, 55, 59 and 67 appear three times in this sample. Of these, motif 33 is the only one which occurs on women.

Motifs 57 and 72 appear four times on supports, the motifs 3, 6 and 52 five times, motif 7 six times, motif 53 seven times and the motifs 31 and 40, nine times each. Only motif 40 occurs on the supports of individual female personages. Noteworthy is the fact that motif 52 occurs four of the five times on the supports of men with felines.

Motif 25 occurs eleven times as a geometric support motif. This motif never appears on scene-groups with individual women. It occurs mostly on the supports of men without attributes and with ceremonial scenes.

The motifs 12 and 23 are shown thirteen times. Again, these motifs are never associated with individual women. The group often having these motifs on its support is the men without attributes.

Motif 4 occurs fifteen times. Men without attributes and ceremonial scenes are the groups mostly associated with this motif. None of the women have this motif on their support.

Motif 26 appears seventeen times. This motif mostly occurs on men without attributes and ceremonial scenes. It is also associated once with a woman.

The motifs 21 and 24 each occur eighteen times. Both appear on the supports of individual women. Motif 21 occurs mostly on men without attributes and ceremonial scenes, while motif 24 appears mostly on men without attributes and men with felines.

Motif 2 occurs on twenty-two vessels. One woman has this motif on its support. It occurs frequently on the supports of men with felines and men without attributes.

Motif 8 appears twenty-five times on Recuay ceramics. It does not appear on the supports of female scene-groups. It occurs mostly with men without attributes, men in architectural settings and ceremonial scenes.

Motif 29 occurs thirty-seven times. It is one of the motifs that occur rather frequently on the supports of female individuals. It is also associated with men with weapons, men without attributes, male faces and ceremonial scenes.

Motif 9 appears forty-eight times. It occurs mostly on men without attributes and ceremonial scenes. It is also associated with female individuals.

Motif 20 occurs sixty-one times. This motif appears often on the supports of men with birds, men with felines, men with weapons, men attacked by animals, men without attributes, male faces, men in architectural settings and ceremonial scenes. One individual woman also has this motif on her vessel's support.

Motif 22 is the most recurring motif on supports. It appears on the vessels' supports of women, but mostly on the supports of men and ceremonial scenes. It is never associated with the supports of women with cups.

	Men+llama	Men+cup	Women+cup	Men+birds	Men+felines	Men+weapons	Woman+weapons	Men+musical instrument	Woman+musical instrument	Women+child	Men attacked by animals	Men+animals in hands	Woman+animal in hands	Men+bag	Men without attributes	Women without attributes	Painted men	Painted humans of unident. sex	Male faces	Faces of unident. sex	Man on spoon	Unident. sex on spoons	Perhaps woman on spoon	3D male heads on vases	Copulation scenes	One man in architectural setting	Architect. with cerem. scene inside house	Architect. with personages on different parts	Ceremonial with 1/2 mains	Ceremonial with mains of same size	
1																														1	
2		2	1	1	3	1				1					9				1								1	1	1		
3					2										2										1						
4															3				1					2	1	3		5			
6															1											2		2			
7															1												2	1	2		
8						1				1					9											3	2	2	6	1	
9		1	1		1	1									19	1		1								4	3	3	13		
12				1											5						1					2	2	1	1		
13																					1								1		
14															1																
15															1									1							
16																								1				1			
17																													1		
18																													1		
20				3	4	4				1	3				4				3	1					6		8	7	15	2	
21					2					1					6	1			1								1	3	3		
22		1		1	7	2		2		2					23	1			1						2	3	9	8	10	1	
23					1										5						1				1	1		2		2	
24			2		4			1			1				4	1											1	1	2	1	
25						1									3												1	2	4		
26											1				4	1								2			2	2	5		
27																														1	
28																													1		
29		1			1	4									11	2			4	1	1		1			1	2	1	6	1	
30																													1		
31				1	1										1				1								1	2	2		
32															1				1										1		
33																			1			1					1				
34																			1												
35					1														1												
36																			1												
37																			1												
38																			1												
39																			1												
40		1		1	1	1									1	1			1							1		1			
41					2										1																
42																								1							
43																								1							
44																								1							
45																								1							
47						1									1											1					
48															1				1												
50																												1			

	Men+llama	Men+cup	Women+cup	Men+birds	Men+felines	Men+weapons	Woman+weapons	Men+musical instrument	Woman+musical instrument	Women+child	Men attacked by animals	Men+animals in hands	Woman+animal in hands	Men+bag	Men without attributes	Women without attributes	Painted men	Painted humans of undient. sex	Male faces	Faces of undient. sex	Man on spoon	Undient. sex on spoons	Perhaps woman on spoon	3D male heads on vases	Copulation scenes	One man in architectural setting	Architect. with cerem. scene inside house	Architect. with personages on different parts	Ceremonial with 1/2 mains	Ceremonial with mains of same size
51															1															
52				4											1															
53				1											1											1	2		2	
54																											1	1		
55																											1	1	1	
56			1																											
57				2											2															
58																											1	1		
59						1	1												1											
61				1																										
62															2															
66															1															
67															1												1	1		
68															1															
69															1															
70															1															
72																											1	2	1	
74															1															
75						1									1															
80											1																			
81																			1											
95																			1											
98								1																						
99															1								1							
101															1															
106															1															
107															1															
108															1															
109															1															
110																												1		
113																		1												
114			1																											
115																							1							
116			1																											
117																					1									

Table VI.120. Amount and type of geometric motifs on vessels' supports according to each scene-group

VI.7.17. Vessels' supports: Hems

Some of the vessels have hems. Interestingly enough, most of the vessels associated with hems have architectural features.

Two vessels with a man without attributes represented under a roof, two vessels with an architectural construction in which a ceremonial scene consisting of one or two main characters takes place and on which several secondary personages are positioned on different parts, six vessels with secondary personages positioned on different parts of a building and eight vessels with an architectural construction and ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters inside of it, all have a hem.

There is only one vessel with a hem which is not associated with an architectural construction (C-20-22). This vessel has been mentioned already on several occasions. Its personages with rectangular back plates are rather exceptional in the sample of Recuay ceramics and its vessel's support, containing a hem without architectural features, is apparently also unique.

Only five different hem motifs are recognised on vessels' supports. There is obviously a greater variability in hems on clothes than in hems on supports. The hem motifs found on the supports are also the most frequently occurring hems found on clothing styles.

Hem 10 and 12 occur only once. Both appear on vessels with architectural features and a ceremonial scene inside it consisting of one or two main characters.

Hem 2 appears two times. Both hems are associated with a vessel with personages positioned on different parts of a building.

Hem 1 occurs four times. Once it is associated with a man without attributes placed under a roof, once with a vase representing a building with a ceremonial scene inside consisting of one main character and twice it is associated with a vessel with different secondary personages positioned on different parts of a building. One of the latter is one of two hems belonging to the same vessel. The other hem has motif 6 painted on it.

Other vessels having motif 6, the most common motif for hems, are one man without attributes under a roof, five vessels with an architectural construction which contains a ceremonial scene inside its walls with one or two main characters, two vessels with a building with a ceremonial scene occurring inside the walls and outside the walls secondary personages dispersed over different levels, the only vessel without architectural

features and three vessels with secondary personages positioned on different parts of a building (of which one has two hems, as was mentioned before).

Support: Hem	Men without attributes	One man in architectural setting	Architectural scenes with a ceremonial scene inside the walls	Architectural scenes with personages on different parts of a building	One or two main personages and several secondary characters
One hem	2	2	10	7	11
Two hems				1	
1	1	1	1	2	1
2				2	
6	1	1	7	5	8
10			1		1
12			1		1

Table VI.121. Amount and type of hems on vessels' supports according to each scene-group

VI.7.18. Objects in hands

It was decided to classify the objects held by human personages into larger, more general categories.

VI.7.18.1. Weapons

Different types of weapons or weapon-related objects are recognised. There are clubs, shields, rectangular back plates, trophy heads and knives in Recuay ceramics.

a.) Shields

Shields may occur as the only attributes held by Recuay personages or they may appear in combination with a club, a staff, panpipes or a cup. Shields are associated with the following scene-groups: ten times with the llama-men (six times alone, three times in combination with a club and once in combination with a staff), once with a man also holding a cup, twice with men also holding panpipes, twice with main male personages in ceremonial scenes taking place inside a house (once alone and once in combination with a club), twice with secondary male personages in a ceremonial scene inside a house (both associated with a club), eleven times with secondary male personages positioned on

different parts of buildings (seven times alone and four times associated with a club), two times with main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (both associated with a club), twenty-one times in the group men with weapons (of which twenty are combined with a club and one occurs alone), and finally, with the only woman with weapons, who, apart from a shield, also holds a club.

As previously mentioned, shields occur mostly on male personages. There exists only one woman with a shield in her hands. Apart from the scene-group men with weapons, which naturally contains most of the persons with shields (eighty-nine percent), the following groups have figures carrying a shield: the llama-men (thirty-six percent), male secondary personages on different parts of buildings (twenty-five point six percent), men with musical instruments, and more specifically men holding panpipes (thirteen percent), main male personages in ceremonial scenes inside houses (eight point three percent), men with cups (eight point three percent), main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (five point eight percent), secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes inside houses (four point six percent) and secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (four percent).

Apparently, mostly men accompanied by llamas, secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings and men with panpipes are associated with a shield, the attribute par excellence for warriors¹¹¹.

It seems that mostly llama-men, some musicians and secondary personages placed at entrances and on rooftops, as if they were on the look-out, are depicted as warriors.

Llama-men should thus be interpreted as some sort of warriors. Their other attributes, however, indicate a position higher-up on the social ladder than the common warrior.

The specific role that the secondary male figures placed on different parts of buildings take, probably as guardians, which causes them to stand out among the male Recuay secondary characters, has already been mentioned.

A new element is that the men with panpipes also hold shields. One other man with a musical instrument, a flute, is associated with a club. As previously stated, twenty-one percent of the men with musical instruments wear helmets, which is a rather high amount.

¹¹¹ I am inclined to consider shields to be attributes typically associated with warriors, as clubs are sometimes difficult to discern from staffs or other unidentifiable objects.

It seems as though some musicians also had a warrior function. In this regard, the Inca practice of having musicians accompany the troops must be mentioned. Apparently, a similar practice was in play among the Recuay. In this case, these musicians were probably also warriors or perhaps were dressed as warriors for protection on the battlefield.

A low occurrence of weapons has also been recorded in ceremonial scenes. Apparently, on occasion, warriors also took part in ceremonies.

All the shields on Recuay ceramics are rectangular in shape, contrary to some of the shields on stone sculptures, which may be round. A total of fifty-two shields have been recognised. Seventeen of these shields have a rim on three sides (the bottom side is left open), ten shields have rims on four sides, seventeen shields do not have a rim at all, and, due to the angle or quality of the photograph, it is not clear if eight shields have a rim and what kind of rim it is.

Three kinds of rims exist: rims without motifs, ones with parallel lines running alongside them (Fig. VI.243, Fig. VI.244, Fig. VI.248 and Fig. VI.253) and rims with a triangular motif (Fig. VI.245). Of the twenty-seven shields with rims, fourteen have parallel lines, three have triangular motifs and ten are without motifs.



Fig. VI.243. Rectangle on the inside and parallel lines along the rim



Fig. VI.244. Linear design on the inside and parallel lines along the rim



Fig. VI.245. Triangular rim-motif and rectangle on the inside

Many shields also have interior designs. Only six shields do not have any interior design while, for seven shields, it is either unclear if they have designs or what type of design it is due to the bad angle or low quality of the photograph.

Twenty-two shields have a rectangle - often painted red- (Fig. VI.243 and Fig. VI.245) or linear design on their interiors (Fig. VI.244). The next most common occurring motif consists of diagonal lines crossing each other. Of these, various types have been noticed: multiple crossing lines (Fig. VI.246), two crossing lines (Fig. VI.247) and sometimes with dots between the lines (Fig. VI.246).

Polka dots occur twice in the sample of fifty-two shields (Fig. VI.248).



Fig. VI.246. Multiple crossing lines with dots



Fig. VI.247. Two crossing lines



Fig. VI.248. Polka dots and parallel lines along the rim

Other designs which occur only once are: a central face similar to the shields found on stone sculptures (Fig. VI.249), horizontal lines with between them snake appendages and triangular borders (Fig. VI.250), feline appendages (Fig. VI.251), horizontal lines with vertical stripes between them (Fig. VI.252), snake appendages (Fig. VI.253) and a net-motif (Fig. VI.254).



Fig. VI.249. Face



Fig. VI.250. Horizontal lines with snake appendages triangular borders



Fig. VI.251. Feline appendages



Fig. VI.252. Horizontal lines with vertical stripes between them



Fig. VI.253. Snake appendages and parallel lines along the rim



Fig. VI.254. Net-motif

b.) Clubs

Clubs may occur alone or in combination with a shield, a trophy head, panpipes, a flute, a cup and some unidentifiable objects.

Clubs appear seven times with llama-men (once alone, three times with a shield, once with panpipes and twice with an unidentifiable object), once with a man holding a flute in his hands, once with a man being attacked by a feline (the club occurs alone), once in a ceremonial scene inside a house with a main male personage who is also holding a shield, four times with secondary male personages (of which two are also holding a shield and two a trophy head) in ceremonial scenes inside a house, four times with secondary male personages positioned on different parts of a building (who also hold shields), on six main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (of which two also hold shields, two have unidentifiable objects and two hold a cup), on two secondary male personages (here all clubs occur alone) in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, on one main male character in a ceremonial scene with main characters of the same size (in combination with a cup), on a female main character in a ceremonial scene with main characters of the same size (along with a cup), on the only woman belonging to the scene-group of women with weapons (along with a shield) and finally, on twenty-two men belonging to the scene-group of men with weapons (of which two occur alone and twenty together with shields).

Apparently, there are two women holding clubs. One of these, the one belonging to the scene-group of persons with weapons (C-5-23), is definitely associated with one. The situation with the other woman (Fig. VI.255, C-21-9), belonging to the scene-group of ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size, is less clear, however. It has already been mentioned that main women in this scene-group are always positioned on both sides of a central man. Although these women are represented of the same size as the men, their placement insinuates an auxiliary position in the ceremony. This data, and the fact that this woman holds a cup, makes me interpret this woman as a participant in the ceremony, which was probably a libation ritual. Even if the object in her hand is in fact a club, I do not think this refers to a warrior-status.



Fig. VI.255. Main female with a club and a cup in her hands (C-21-9)

The scene-group of men with weapons is, as was expected, mostly associated with clubs (in eighty-five percent of the cases). Other scene groups that are associated with clubs are: secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes inside houses (twenty-eight point six percent), the llama-men (twenty-five percent), secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main figures (twelve percent), men attacked by animals (eleven percent), secondary male personages on different parts of buildings (nine percent), main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main personages (ten percent), men with musical instruments (six point six percent), main males in ceremonial scenes with main figures of the same size (six percent) and main males in ceremonial scenes inside houses (four percent).

Again, the llama-men and secondary male personages on different parts of buildings are associated with weapons, in this case, a club. The man being attacked by a feline has attributes and a clothing-style similar to the ones found on the llama-men (C-8-6). The special position of this specific man among the men being attacked by animals is reaffirmed by his association with a club. His headgear, clothes and the additional fact that he carries a club, all show many affinities with the llama-man. Is it too bold a statement to suggest that this specific man could have been a man holding the same function and ceremonial status as the llama-man (perhaps he even was a llama-man)? Again, the club he holds shows close affinities with both the llama-men and warriors. Although, at a certain moment of his life, he was portrayed as a man being attacked by a feline, he still retains the attributes denoting his elevated position in society. The fact that his clothes and headdress have not been taken from him, as is the case for almost all the other men being attacked by

animals, explicitly stresses his rank and his special position among the men being attacked by animals. This figure is discussed further below.

Men with musical instruments are associated only once with a club, but, as was mentioned, two other men with instruments hold shields. The man holding a club also holds a flute, while the two men holding shields also have panpipes. Among the llama-men, one person holds both panpipes and a club. Accordingly, shields only appear in conjunction with panpipes, while clubs can occur with panpipes as well as flutes. It is significant to note that shields with panpipes occur twice, while a flute with a club and a flute with panpipes each occur only once. When a club is held in combination with panpipes, the person holding both objects is always a llama-man. Apparently, when a club appears together with panpipes, this is only when the man is also accompanied by a llama. A club in combination with a flute and a shield in combination with panpipes, occur on men with fewer emblems denoting a high rank or function. Remarkable is also that when weapons occur next to musical instruments, this always occurs on individual men, never on main or secondary personages. The discussion on this aspect will be continued when analysing the musical instruments.

c.) Rectangular back plates with trophy heads

There exist only six personages with a rectangular plate on their backs among Recuay ceramics. This number is quite surprising, as these are regular elements found on Huaraz stone sculptures. What is clear is that these plates are, again, solely associated with men. Also, five of these personages belong to the same vase (C-20-22). The central and largest male personage has one, as do the four smaller male auxiliary figures. All these plates have a similar outline: they consist of a rectangular slab attached to a cord around the neck and decorated with trophy heads. They appear to be almost identical to the slabs found on Huaraz stone sculptures (but not the plates found on Aija sculptures which, with their central face and diagonal lines radiating outwards, resemble shields).

One, rather special, man with a cup is also associated with a rectangular plate on his back (C-2-15). This person clearly resembles the Huaraz stone sculptures. He wears a collar and is represented in a seated position. His back plate, however, lacks trophy heads. Plates with and without trophy heads are found on the Moche vessel representing a battle scene between Moche-warriors and a foreign, probably Recuay, group. I am of the opinion that the rectangular plates without trophy heads had the same trophy-exposing function, but were worn by warriors who still had to kill and decapitate their first victim.



Fig. VI.256. Two secondary male personages in a ceremonial scene inside a house with a club and a trophy head in their hands (C-20-59)



Fig. VI.257. Man with a trophy head and a knife (C-11-165)

One of these men with a trophy head also holds a knife (Fig. VI.257, C-11-165). This is the only time a knife occurs.

e.) Conclusion weapons

Apparently, weapons can occur on individual personages, the llama-man and during ceremonial scenes. Weapons were thus used during various occasions in life, much to the contrary of musical instruments, which will be investigated below. This evidence denotes the importance of the warrior-status of the llama-man and some men with musical instruments, as well as the presence of warriors during rituals.

d.) Trophy heads and a knife

As previously mentioned, trophy heads occur on the backs of the rectangular plates, although they have also been recognised in the hands of men. One man without attributes holds a knife and a trophy head (Fig. VI.257, C-11-165) and two secondary male personages in a ceremonial scene taking place inside a house each hold a club and a trophy head (Fig. VI.256, C-20-59). Again, it is surprising that so few trophy heads are represented on the ceramics, given their high rate of occurrence among the stone sculptures. Could this mean that the ceramic personages should be considered as entities different from the personages represented on the stone sculptures? Did ceramics serve different functions than monoliths? Did the personages on ceramics represent different functions than the sculptural ones? The discrepancies and possible meanings will be explained further below.

The taking of heads is better known for the Nasca culture. Here, trophy heads are found in iconographical representations, as well as during excavations. Some exceptions aside, all Nasca heads belong to young adult males. Such a restricted age and sex distribution suggests that these heads were taken from enemy combatants rather than from revered elders. Therefore, their presence in iconography does not refer to ancestry, but rather to warriorhood, the power of the vanquisher and the fertilising powers trophy heads contained, as it is the head which contains most of the human's power. I follow Proulx's interpretation of trophy heads in which he states: "The prime purpose for taking heads was magical in nature - to ensure continued abundance of the food crops. The trophy heads were symbolic of, or a metaphor for, regeneration and rebirth" (Proulx 2001: 135).

	Club	Shield	Club+shield	Shield+staff	Rect. plate on back+staff	Rect. plate	Trophy+knife	Club+ trophy	Panpipes +club	Flute+ club	Panpipes+shield	Club+unident.	Cup+ shield	Club +cup
Men+llama	1	6	3	1					1			2		
Men+cup						1							1	
Women+cup														
Men+birds														
Men+felines														
Men+weapons	2	1	20							1	2		1	
Woman+weapons			1											
Men+musical instr.										1	2			
Woman+musical instr.														
Women+child														
Men attacked by animals	1													
Men+animal in hands														
Woman+animal in hands														
Men+bag														
Men without attributes							1							
Women without attributes														
Painted men														
Man on spoon														
Unident. sex on spoon														
Perhaps woman on spoon														
Main male in copulation														
Main female in copulation														
Secondary female in copulation														
One man in architectural setting														
Main male inside house		1	1											
Main female inside house														
Secondary male inside house			2					2						
Secondary female inside house														
Unident. secondary inside house														
Secondary male on different parts of building		7	4											
Secondary female on different parts of building														
Unident. secondary on different parts of building														
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		1	3		1							2		2
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains														
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	2		2		4		2							
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains														
Unident. Secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains														
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size														1
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size														1

Table VI.122. Amount and type of weapons according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.2. Musical instruments

a.) Panpipes

Panpipes may occur on their own or in combination with a club, a shield or an animal. Panpipes are associated with four llama-men (once in combination with a club and three times alone), with two men also holding a shield, with one man also carrying an animal in his hands and with two men solely associated with panpipes. There are thus nine men carrying panpipes.

Therefore, the scene-group of men with musical instruments contains the most personages with panpipes (five out of fifteen, or thirty-three percent), the scene-group of men with an animal in their hands has one person who holds panpipes (one out of four, or twenty-five percent), four out of twenty-eight llama-men (or fourteen percent) also hold panpipes and finally, two out of twenty-seven men with weapons (or seven point four percent) carry panpipes as well.

As expected, the men with musical instruments hold most of the panpipes. Apparently, llama-men, the men with an animal in their hands and men with shields might also be associated with panpipes. It seems that llama-men not only had some kind of warrior-status, but also that some of them might have been musicians or that llama-men could have functioned as musicians during specific moments in life or during particular rituals. Surprisingly, llama-men are never associated with flutes. The only time panpipes are held by a person also holding a club, is among the llama-men.

Panpipes also occur together with shields and animals in the hands of personages, although flutes never do.

It looks as if panpipes are associated with more specific personages (such as llama-men, men with shields and men with animals in their hands). They never occur on main or secondary personages in ceremonial scenes.

b.) Flute

Flutes occur alone or in combination with a club. Flutes appear twice on their own among men with felines, once in the hands of a man also holding a club, once in the hands of a main personage in a ceremonial scene taking place inside a house, three times in the hands of main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main figures and nine times on their own in the hands of an individual person. A total of sixteen male personages are recognised holding flutes. In comparison with the nine panpipes, this amount is rather high.

The scene-group containing most of the flutes is thus, as expected, the men with musical instruments (ten out of fifteen or sixty-six percent). Note that flutes occur twice as often as panpipes in this group. Other groups having personages holding flutes are: main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters (four out of sixty-eight, or five point eight percent), main males in ceremonial scenes inside houses (one of twenty-four, or four point two percent), men with felines (two of forty-seven, or four point two percent) and men with weapons, more specifically, clubs (one of twenty-seven, or three point seven percent).

Flutes are thus the only musical instruments carried by the men accompanied by felines. Flutes are also present among the main male personages in architectural and ceremonial scenes. They never occur on llama-men or on personages holding shields. They do, however, occur in combination with a club.

It seems as if flutes have a more general use since they occur more often than panpipes and in less specific situations (e.g., with llama-men). Contrary to the panpipes, they are used by the main men in ceremonial scenes. As was the case for the panpipes, they are never held by secondary personages.

c.) Drum

There exists only one woman in the whole sample of Recuay ceramics who holds a musical instrument, more specifically, a drum.

d.) Conclusions musical instruments

Musical instruments are mostly associated with men. Only one woman holds a musical instrument, a hand drum. Remarkable is that men are never associated with a drum. They are solely represented with wind instruments (flutes and panpipes).

It looks as if wind instruments are solely associated with men of a certain religious status. Among the wind instruments, panpipes have a more restricted use and are associated with men of an even higher ceremonial status.

	Panpipes	Flute	Drum	Panpipes +club	Flute +club	Panpipes +shield	Panpipes +animal
Men+llama	3			1			
Men+cup							
Women+cup							
Men+birds							
Men+felines		2					
Men+weapons					1	2	
Woman+weapons							
Men+musical instr.	2	9			1	2	1
Woman+musical instr.			1				
Women+child							
Men attacked by animals							
Men+animal in hands							1
Woman+animal in hands							
Men+bag							
Men without attributes							
Women without attributes							
Painted men							
Man on spoon							
Unident. sex on spoon							
Perhaps woman on spoon							
Main male in copulation							
Main female in copulation							
Secondary female in copulation							
One man in architectural setting							
Main male inside house		1					
Main female inside house							
Secondary male inside house							
Secondary female inside house							
Unident. secondary inside house							
Secondary male on different parts of building							
Secondary female on different parts of building							
Unident. secondary on different parts of building							
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		4					
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains							
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains							
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains							
Unident. secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains							
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size							
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size							

Table VI.123. Amount and type of musical instrument according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.3. Cups

a.) Cups carried in hands

Cups can occur alone or in conjunction with a shield, a club or a child. Cups occur once with a man also carrying a shield, once with a woman also holding a child, once on their own while being held by a man represented on a spoon, once on their own with a person of unidentifiable sex on a spoon, once on their own in the hands of a man sitting on a stairway, ten times on their own in the hands of individual men, twenty times on their own in the hands of individual women, five times on their own in the hands of secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes consisting of a copulation ritual, thirty times on their own in the hands of secondary female characters in ceremonial scenes taking place inside a house, twice on their own in the hands of secondary female personages in ceremonial scenes consisting of a copulation scene inside a house, seven times on their own in the hands of secondary female personages positioned on different parts of buildings, seventy-eight times on their own in the hands of secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, twice on their own in the hands of secondary personages of unidentifiable sex in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, twice on their own in the hands of secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings, eleven times on their own in the hands of main male characters in ceremonial scenes taking place inside houses, seventeen times on their own and twice in combination with a club in the hands of main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, once on their own and once in combination with a club in the hands of main male characters in ceremonial scenes with main characters of similar size, once on their own in the hands of a main female character in a ceremonial scene with one or two main personages and finally, four times on their own and once in combination with a club in the hands of main females in ceremonial scenes with characters of similar size.

There are thus forty-one individual and main male personages holding a cup (of which thirty-seven occur on their own, one in combination with a shield and three in combination with a club), twenty-seven individual and main female personages holding one (twenty-five occur alone, one in combination with a child and one in combination with a club), thirteen secondary male characters (all of which occur alone) and one hundred and twenty-two secondary females carrying a cup (which all occur on their own).

	Male solos and mains holding cups	Secondary males holding cups	Total male personages holding cups	Female solos and mains holding cups	Secondary females holding cups	Total female personages holding cups	Unident. Solos with cups	Unident. Secondaries with cups	Total personages with cups
All cups	41	13	54	27	122	149	1	2	206
Cups alone	37	13	50	25	122	147	1	2	200
Cups+shield	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cups+clubs	3	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	4
Cups+child	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1

Table VI.124. Amount of cups according to sex and position in the scene of the personage holding them

As expected, the highest percentages are found among the scene-groups of men with cups (all twelve of them) and women with cups (all twenty-one have them). The only recognisable man on a spoon also holds a cup. Of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes inside houses, sixty-three percent hold a cup, of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main figures sixty percent, of the secondary females positioned on different parts of buildings, forty-one percent, of the main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two mains, thirty-six point seven percent, of the main females in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size, thirty-three percent, of the secondary females in copulation scenes, thirty percent, of the main males in ceremonial scenes inside houses, twenty-nine percent, of the personages of unidentifiable sex on spoons, twenty-five percent, of the secondary males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main figures, twenty-two percent, of the women with children, fourteen percent, of the main females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, twelve point five percent, of the main males in ceremonial scenes with main characters of similar size, twelve percent, of the secondary personages with unidentifiable sex in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, nine point five percent, of the men in architectural settings, nine percent, of the secondary males positioned on different parts of buildings, four point six percent and of the men with weapon, three point seven percent.

Male scene-groups	Amount of cups per scene-group	%	Female scene-groups	Amount of cups per scene-group	%
Men+cup	12/12	100%	Women+cup	21/21	100%
Man on spoon	1/1	100%			
			Woman+child	1/7	14%
Man+weapons	1/27	3.7%			
Man in architectural setting	1/11	9%			
			Secondary female in copulation	7/23	30%
Main male inside house	7/24	29%			
			Secondary female inside house	32/51	63%
Secondary male on different parts of building	2/43	4.6%	Secondary female on different parts of building	7/17	41%
Main male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	25/68	36.7%	Main female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	1/8	12.5%
Secondary male in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	11/50	22%	Secondary female in ceremonial scene with 1/2 mains	112/186	60%
Main male in ceremonial scene with mains of same size	2/17	12%	Main female in ceremonial scene with mains of same size	5/15	33%

Table VI.125. Amount of cups according to each scene-group

First, let us look at the scene-groups in which both male as female personages are associated with cups. Among the individual figures with cups, twelve are men and twenty-one are women. Of the secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings, four point six percent hold a cup, whereas among the secondary female personages, forty-one percent hold one. Of the secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main figures, twenty-two percent hold a cup, while sixty percent of the secondary female personages do. Of the main male personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size, twelve percent carry a cup, whereas thirty-three percent of the main females hold one. It is clear that out of all these groups, the female personages are more often represented holding cups than men. The only discrepancy can be found among the main personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters. Here, thirty-six point seven percent of the main males are associated with cups, while only twelve point five percent of the female mains have. A possible explanation could be that the main males in these scenes have cups in their hands, because the smaller

secondary women have just given their cup to the central, larger man in order for him to drink from it or to pour its contents onto the ground as part of a libation ritual. In general, there are very few main female personages in these scenes and, when they do appear, they are mostly represented in act of copulation (during which holding a cup would seem very impractical).

Apparently, secondary female characters are the personages most commonly associated with cups (sixty-three percent of the secondary females in houses, sixty percent of the secondary females in ceremonial scenes with one or two main personages, forty-one percent of the secondary females on different parts of buildings and thirty percent of the secondary females in copulation scenes). As previously stated, there are many more secondary female personages than main or individual female personages associated with cups. It has also been suggested that the individual women with cups are probably larger representations of the secondary female characters in ceremonial scenes. Among the main female characters in ceremonial scenes with mains of the same size, a large amount, thirty-three percent, are holding a cup. It has already been mentioned that these women always occur at the side of a central male and that they therefore should be interpreted in a similar fashion as the secondary female characters surrounding the main male personages.

On the other hand, very few of the secondary male personages hold a cup. Of the secondary males on different parts of buildings, only four point six percent carry a cup, while twenty-two percent of the secondary males in ceremonial scenes are holding one. As stated on various occasions throughout this chapter, the secondary males on different parts of buildings are more likely to hold weapons than cups. Their rather peculiar clothing-style sets them apart from all the other secondary male characters. The secondary males in ceremonial scenes are, in comparison with secondary female characters, infrequently associated with cups. In fact, when compared to the main male personages (thirty-six point seven percent of the main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters hold a cup and twenty-nine percent of the main males inside houses), the latter are more often holding a cup than are secondary male figures. It has been previously mentioned that the representations of individual men with cups have more elements in common with the main males with cups than with the secondary males with cups. It would appear that the individual men with cups are representations of the main men with cups, while the secondary males with cups, when considering their clothing-style, are of a completely different and lower religious status.

Two out of a total of six spoons (or thirty-three point three percent) show personages (one man and one person of unidentifiable sex) with a cup. This amount is rather high. Furthermore, cups are the only objects appearing in the hands of persons on spoons. Perhaps the reason for this can be explained by relating a common practice among the Recuay, which consists of representing the function of a vessel, in this case, a spoon, on the vessel's support itself. Spoons were probably used to serve food or liquid by transporting them from a larger vessel into smaller, individual cups. The persons depicted on these spoons are probably holding the latter.

Cups mostly occur on their own in the hands of personages. Only once is a cup found in the hands of a woman also carrying a child, once in the hands of a man holding a shield, three times in the hands of a man also holding a club and once in the hands of a woman also holding a club (although, it is not clear whether, in this last instance, the stick-like object held by this woman is in fact a club). In the cases of a cup in combination with a shield and a child, these instances are so infrequent that a clear interpretation of these occurrences is difficult to formulate. In the case of the three main men in ceremonial scenes holding a club and a cup, it is possible that these men represent warriors (as is the case in many other ceremonial scenes in which the central, larger male has attributes typical of warriors) who are taking part in ceremonial scenes which consist of drinking-and/or libation-rituals. As is the case for the main male personages in other ceremonial scenes, these men with clubs hold the cup a woman just presented to them.

b.) Vessels on the backs of personages

There are three personages - two women (Fig. VI.259, C-11-74 and Fig. VI.260, C-11-127) and one person of unidentifiable sex (Fig. VI.258, C-11-54) - carrying a vessel on their backs. Two of these carry the vessel's support, while one is carrying a separate vase. All three vessels are similar in form. They have a globular body and an opening which is quite reduced in size with a flaring rim.



Fig. VI.258. C-11-54



Fig. VI.259. C-11-74



Fig. VI.260. C-11-127

These vessels resemble the *aryballos*, known from the Inca Empire (but without the long neck, handles, pointed base and nubbin) used to store and transport *chicha* (maize beer) or other liquids (Bray 2003: 11; De Kesel 1983: 71; and Morris & Thompson 1985: 100), as well as the *tumin* (Fig. VI.262) which is also used for transport and storage, but also for the fermentation of *chicha* (Arnold 1993: 120, 122; and Sillar 2000: 145). The *aryballo* and the *tumin* were carried on the back (Rowe 1946: 237) by means of a cord, which was passed through one of the handles, over the nubbin, and through the other handle. It seems as if a similar situation is being represented on the three Recuay vessels under investigation here. Interesting is that two of the three figures are women (the sex of the third one is unidentifiable), as is the case for many of the Inca personages carrying vessels on their backs on ceramics, as well as for other cultural periods (Fig. VI.261 and Fig. VI.263). It seems as though mostly women were associated with transport vessels.



Fig. VI.261. Woman carrying an *aryballo*, while nursing a child (Chimú-Inca, A.D. 1200-1450) (Art Institute Chicago 2013)

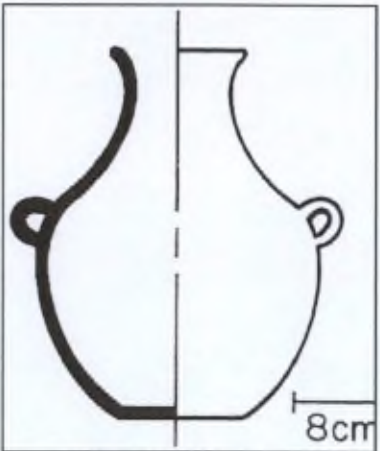


Fig. VI.262. *Tumin* (Arnold 1993: 82, Fig. 5.8)

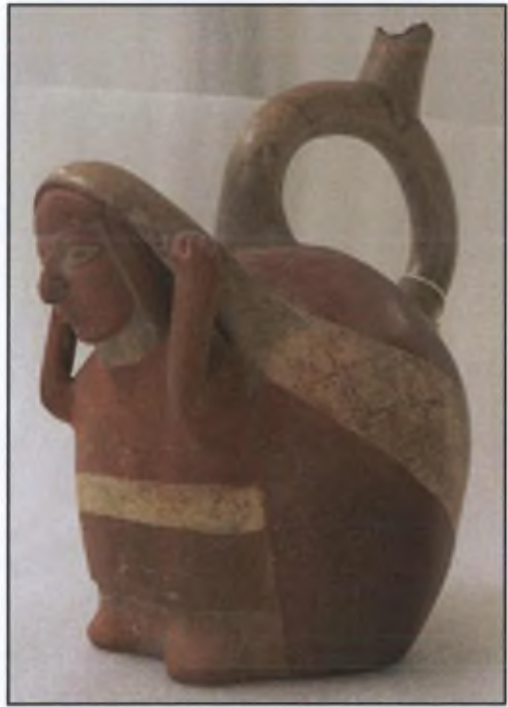


Fig. VI.263. Moche woman carrying a vessel on her back (Smithsonian, A088275-0)

	Cup	Cup+ shield	Club +cup	Vase itself carried by cord around head	Hands on cord around head, carrying bag with a vessel	Child +cup
Men+llama						
Men+cup	11	1				
Women+cup	20					1
Men+birds						
Men+felines						
Men+weapons		1				
Woman+weapons						
Men+musical instr.						
Woman+musical instr.						
Women+child						1
Men attacked by animals						
Men+animal in hands						
Woman+animal in hands						
Men+bag						
Men without attributes						
Women without attributes					2	
Unident. sex without attributes				1		
Painted men						
Man on spoon	1					
Unident. sex on spoon	1					
Perhaps woman on spoon						
Main male in copulation						
Main female in copulation						
Secondary female in copulation	7					
One man in architectural setting	1					
Main male inside house	7					
Main female inside house						
Secondary male inside house						
Secondary female inside house	32					
Unident. secondary inside house						
Secondary male on different parts of building	2					
Secondary female on different parts of building	7					
Unident. secondary on different parts of building						
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	23		2			
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	1					
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	11					
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	112					
Unident. Secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	2					
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size	1		1			
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size	4		1			

Table VI.126. Amount of cups according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.4. Staffs

Staffs in the hands of figures occur either on their own or in combination with a shield, a small llama and an unidentifiable object.

Staffs appear seven times among llama-men (once in association with a shield, four times on their own, once in combination with a small llama and once with an unidentifiable object), seven times on their own among painted male personages, twice on their own among secondary males positioned on different parts of buildings, once on its own on a main male in a ceremonial scene (who also wears a rectangular plate with trophy heads on his back) and twice on their own among secondary males in a ceremonial scene. There are thus nineteen personages holding a staff.

Seven out of sixteen (or forty-three point seven percent) painted men, seven out of twenty-eight llama-men (or twenty-five percent), two out of forty-three secondary men (or four point six percent) on different parts of buildings, two out of fifty secondary male personages in a ceremonial scene (or four percent) and one out of sixty-eight (or one point four percent) main men in a ceremonial scene with one or two main figures are associated with staffs.

It is clear that women are never associated with staffs, which makes me interpret staffs as being the exclusive privilege of men. Among the male personages, it is clear that only certain scene-groups represent men with staffs. Llama-men and painted men are the two groups containing most of the personages associated with staffs. As mentioned on many occasions, llama-men seem to have had a particular position in Recuay society based on their clothing style. Gero (2001) is of the opinion that only llama-men are associated with a staff, which she calls a *wara*. My analysis of the data contradicts this statement. From the high amounts of staffs among these men, however, it seems obvious that a particular association between llama-men and staffs must have existed in Recuay society.

The high number of staffs among painted men, however, is puzzling, especially because these men have nothing in common with the llama-men. It is even uncertain whether the staffs represented on the llama-men are of the same type as the ones found on the painted personages, since a comparison between the painted examples and sculpted ones is unfortunately practically impossible. Apart from one vessel housed at the Museo Cassinelli (C-12-14) and for which the provenience is uncertain, all the painted men on

vessels belong to the site of Pashash. It might be possible that staffs are associated mostly with the northern regions of Ancash.

The main male personage in a ceremonial scene holding a staff is unique in this sample (C-20-22). He is the only main man represented with a rectangular plate with trophy heads on his back, an element found more often among stone sculptures. As previously mentioned, some elements (face-designs and earplugs) belonging to this man are similar to the ones found on the llama-men. This could mean that men with a particular position in society could be represented by holding staffs.

On the other hand, there are four secondary personages holding staff-like objects (secondary personages are often interpreted as being less important based on their clothing-style and other attributes). Two of these are sculpted on the outer sides of buildings (Fig. VI.264, C-19-3 and Fig. VI.265, C-19-4), as if they were guardians, and two occur in a ceremonial scene surrounding a central male (Fig. VI.266, C-20-11). As previously stated, the secondary male personages, positioned on different parts of buildings, are probably guardians who also hold some sort of warrior-position in society. The two secondary male personages appearing in the ceremonial scene are standing next to a main male character holding a club, two secondary females holding a cup and one secondary male also holding a club. The large amount of weapons in this scene encourages me to determine this scene as related to warriors.



Fig. VI.264. C-19-3



Fig. VI.265. C-19-4



Fig. VI.266. C-20-11

It seems as if practically all men with staffs have some kind of warrior/guardian-function. The llama-men are often associated with weapons, the two secondary males on the outside of buildings seem to have had a guardian function, the two secondary males in the ceremonial scene are associated with personages with clubs, the main male personage in a ceremonial scene has trophy heads attached to a plate on his back and one of the painted men is clearly represented as being in a combat scene (C-12-4). Although these men all had a warrior function, their different attributes and clothing styles seem to indicate a different ceremonial, and perhaps even political, status. Apparently, there existed some type of hierarchy among the Recuay warriors.

	Shield+staff	Staff	Staff+small llama	Staff+unident
Men+llama	1	4	1	1
Men+cup				
Women+cup				
Men+birds				
Men+felines				
Men+weapons				
Woman+weapons				
Men+musical instrument				
Woman+musical instrument				
Women+child				
Men attacked by animals				
Men+animal in hands			1	
Woman+animal in hands				
Men+bag				
Men without attributes				
Women without attributes				
Painted men		7		
Man on spoon				
Unident. sex on spoon				
Perhaps woman on spoon				
Main male in copulation				
Main female in copulation				
Secondary female in copulation				
One man in architectural setting				
Main male inside house				
Main female inside house				
Secondary male inside house				
Secondary female inside house				
Unident. secondary inside house				
Secondary male on different parts of building		2		
Secondary female on different parts of building				
Unident. secondary on different parts of building				
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		1		
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains				
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		2		
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains				
Unident. secondary in cerem. scene with 1-2 mains				
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size				
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size				

Table VI.127. Amount of staffs according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.5. Animals

The Recuay personages are sometimes represented while holding animals in their hands. Small llamas occur twice, while a lizard, a serpent head and an unidentifiable animal each occur once. Small llamas are solely associated with the men accompanied by a larger llama. In addition to the small llama, one of these men also holds a staff. The serpent head appears alone and is being held by a woman, the lizard is held by a man and the unidentifiable animal is held, together with panpipes, by a man. The only woman associated with an animal in her hands, holds a serpent head. All the other animals are held by men.

Very few conclusions can be formed regarding these personages holding animals, as only the small llamas occur more than once. Concerning these small llamas, solely associated with llama-men, an interpretation centred on fertility is proposed in which the calves in the hands of the men leading adult llamas by a cord refer to reproduction of the herds.

	Staff+ small llama	Panpipes + animal	Lizard	Serpent head	Small llama
Men+llama	1				1
Men+cup					
Women+cup					
Men+birds					
Men+felines					
Men+weapons					
Woman+weapons					
Men+musical instrument		1			
Woman+musical instrument					
Women+child					
Men attacked by animals					
Men+animal in hands	1	1	1		1
Woman+animal in hands				1	
Men+bag					
Men without attributes					
Women without attributes					
Painted men					
Man on spoon					
Unident.sex on spoon					
Perhaps woman on spoon					
Main male in copulation					
Main female in copulation					
Secondary female in copulation					
One man in architectural setting					
Main male inside house					
Main female inside house					
Secondary male inside house					
Secondary female inside house					
Unident. secondary inside house					
Secondary male on different parts of building					
Secondary female on different parts of building					
Unident. secondary on different parts of building					
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains					
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains					
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains					
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains					
Unident. secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains					
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size					
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size					

Table VI.128. Amount of animals in hands of personages according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.6. Children

There are only eight personages in the sample of Recuay ceramics holding a child in their hands. Seven of these are individual women, of which one also carries a cup. The other person is a secondary male personage standing on the stairs of a building (Fig. VI.167, C-19-1). It is quite exceptional to encounter a man with a child, not only in the Recuay culture, but in many other pre-Columbian cultures as well. The fact, however, that only one

man is found holding a child makes the formulation of encompassing interpretations nearly impossible.

The sex of only two of these children can be determined. The child in the hands of the secondary man and one of the children in the hands of a woman (C-7-7) are both female. They each have design 24 painted or tattooed on their faces and the child in the hands of the woman clearly has the checkerboard-motif on her dress and wears a belt. It is quite peculiar that both children are female. The amount of children, whose sex has been identified, however, is too low in order to make definite conclusions on this issue.



Fig. VI.267. Secondary male with a child in his hands (C-19-1)

For now, it can be concluded that mostly individual women are associated with children and that these women are often wearing elaborately decorated dresses, belts, mantas and *tupus*. On one extraordinary occasion, a man holds a child. This man, however, has a rather simple clothing style. Two of the eight children held by Recuay personages are of the female sex.

	Child	Child+cup
Men+llama		
Men+cup		
Women+cup		1
Men+birds		
Men+felines		
Men+weapons		
Woman+weapons		
Men+musical instrument		
Woman+musical instrument		
Women+child	6	1
Men attacked by animals		
Men+animal in hands		
Woman+animal in hands		
Men+bag		
Men without attributes		
Women without attributes		
Painted men		
Man on spoon		
Unident. sex on spoon		
Perhaps woman on spoon		
Main male in copulation		
Main female in copulation		
Secondary female in copulation		
One man in architectural setting		
Main male inside house		
Main female inside house		
Secondary male inside house		
Secondary female inside house		
Unident. secondary inside house		
Secondary male on different parts of building	1	
Secondary female on different parts of building		
Unident. secondary on different parts of building		
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		
Unident. secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains		
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size		
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size		

Table VI.129. Amount of children in the hands of personages according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.7. Bags

I am of the opinion that the position of bags (worn on the back, held in the hands or dangling from a shoulder) are of importance for the interpretation of the various social roles.

There are three men shown with a bag dangling from their shoulder. One of these also carries a bag on his back (C-10-1) and a club-like object in his hands.

A second man with a bag on his back is the main personage in a ceremonial scene (C-20-19).

Only one person, one of the main women in a ceremonial scene with main characters of similar size, holds a bag in her hands (C-21-9).

Finally, there are three figures (two women and one person of unidentifiable sex) who carry bags on their backs which contain a vessel (in two instances, it is the vessel's support and once a separate sculpted vase). The latter were already described in the section above about the personages with cups. The two women have bags decorated with snake appendages. Surprisingly, the central man of the ceremonial scene carrying a bag on his back (C-20-19) also has this same decoration. His bag surrounds a round, bulbous object. It is unclear if this object is a vase. Within pre-Columbian iconography, it is quite exceptional to find a man carrying a vase on his back, particularly if this vase is used for transporting *chicha*. As there is only one man represented in this manner, of which it is not even clear whether he is carrying a transport-vessel, no further interpretations can be made on this subject.

The bag on the back of the other men (the one with a bag dangling from his shoulder, C-10-1) is of a different type. The bag lacks decoration, which makes it more difficult to interpret its function.

There are three men with bags dangling from their shoulders. It is striking that most figures with bags dangling from their shoulders are men. From the Inca Empire, we know that coca was a male prerogative. It is possible that the three men with bags dangling from their shoulders (of which one also has a bag on his back) are transporting coca-leaves in these bags. The hands of most of these men are in a rather peculiar position. They are raised and touching the headdress, as if to underline the hallucinogenic properties of coca (Fig. VI.268 and Fig. VI.270). One of these men also holds a club-like object in his hands (Fig. VI.268, C-10-1). Many Moche vases show coca-chewers with a similar club-like object in their hands (Fig. VI.269). This object represents in fact a gourd in which lime was stored. The lime was added in order to activate the coca. Lastly, the man with a bag hanging from his shoulder from the Linden Museum (Fig. VI.270, C-10-3) clearly has a bulge in one of his cheeks. This bulge is often found on representations of coca-chewers. Apparently, men with bags dangling from their shoulders are coca-chewers.



Fig. VI.268. Man with bag dangling from his shoulder, holding a club-like object and touching his head with his hands (C-10-1)



Fig. VI.269. Moche coca-chewer (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology s.d.)



Fig. VI.270. Man with bag dangling from his shoulder, touching his head with his hands and with a bulge in his cheek (C-10-3)

Finally, there is one woman holding a bag in her hands. She is part of a ceremonial scene with three main personages of a similar size (C-21-9). The other woman represented in this scene is peculiar as well, as she carries a cup and a club-like object. Clubs are rarely associated with women in Recuay iconography. The hands of the main male personage are free of any objects. It is unclear if the two women are presenting these typical male attributes (a coca-bag and a club) to the male main personage or if these objects belong to the women themselves.

It can be concluded that bags with vessels in them are mostly carried on the backs of women. These vessels were probably used to transport *chicha* or some other liquid. The bags without vessels in them that are carried on the back and the bags dangling from the shoulders of personages are associated with men. The ones dangling from the shoulders were probably used to store coca-leaves.

	Bag on back	Bag in hands	Bag dangling from shoulder	Bag carrying a vessel on the back
Men+llama				
Men+cup				
Women+cup				
Men+birds				
Men+felines				
Men+weapons				
Woman+weapons				
Men+musical instrument				
Woman+musical instrument				
Women+child				
Men attacked by animals				
Men+animal in hands				
Woman+animal in hands				
Men+bag	1		3	
Men without attributes				
Women without attributes				2
Unident. sex without attributes				1
Painted men				
Man on spoon				
Unident. sex on spoon				
Perhaps woman on spoon				
Main male in copulation				
Main female in copulation				
Secondary female in copulation				
One man in architectural setting				
Main male inside house				
Main female inside house				
Secondary male inside house				
Secondary female inside house				
Unident. secondary inside house				
Secondary male on different parts of building				
Secondary female on different parts of building				
Unident. secondary on different parts of building				
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains	1			
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains				
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains				
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains				
Unident. secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 mains				
Main male in cerem. scene with mains of same size				
Main female in cerem. scene with mains of same size		1		

Table VI.130. Amount of bags according to each scene-group

VI.7.18.8. Turbans and shells

a.) Turbans

There are only two personages holding a turban: a secondary female character (Fig. VI.272, C-20-10) and a secondary male personage (Fig. VI.271, C-20-51), both occurring in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters. Apparently, both men and women can hold a turban. Both headdresses are of type 13 (turban with a small crescent), a headdress mostly associated with secondary men or men with rather plain clothes. Only secondary personages are represented holding a turban. As personages holding a turban only occur within ceremonial scenes (perhaps they are presenting it to the central male personage), it seems as if this act was part of some ritual. The fact that the turban held by both secondary personages is normally associated with secondary men (and thus men of lesser importance in ceremonies) is a bit strange, since this contradicts the possibility that it represents a coronation ceremony. Moreover, the central male figures in both ceremonial scenes are already wearing headdresses (one turban with a human face, hands and a small crescent and a turban with hands and a lunar-shaped crescent). The other secondary personages in both ceremonial scenes have cups in their hands. Apparently, holding turbans was an act accompanying a libation and/or drinking ritual. What the meaning is for the whole of the ceremony, however, is not clear.



Fig. VI.271. Secondary male with turban (C-20-51)



Fig. VI.272. Secondary female with turban (C-20-10)

b.) Shells

Thirteen secondary female personages (of which four occur in a copulation scene) are holding a shell in their hands. Only women and more specifically, secondary personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters have shells in their hands. As previously mentioned, these women could be interpreted as having a rather low social position. They are always smaller in size, they appear surrounding a central male or copulating couple and their clothes and attributes are generally associated with women of a lower ceremonial status. Most of the women with shells wear mantas 3 or 6, belts 8 or 21, one wears anchor-*tupus* and their clothes frequently have the checkerboard motif, the black and white pattern, or motif 9. All these elements are mostly associated with secondary personages.

Consequently, it can be concluded that shells occur in ceremonial scenes, which sometimes concentrate on a copulating couple. Shells do not naturally occur in the Ancash region and must have been imported from the coast. Therefore, they probably augmented the importance or sanctity of the ritual in which they were used. The women holding them in these ceremonies, however, did not receive an augmentation in importance.

	Turban	Shell
Men+llama		
Men+cup		
Women+cup		
Men+birds		
Men+felines		
Men+weapons		
Woman+weapons		
Men+musical instrument		
Woman+musical instrument		
Women+child		
Men attacked by animals		
Men+animal in hands		
Woman+animal in hands		
Men+bag		
Men without attributes		
Women without attributes		
Painted men		
Man on spoon		
Unident. sex on spoon		
Perhaps woman on spoon		
Main male in copulation		
Main female in copulation		
Secondary female in copulation		4
One man in architectural setting		
Main male inside house		
Main female inside house		
Secondary male inside house		
Secondary female inside house		
Unident. Secondary inside house		
Secondary male on different parts of building		
Secondary female on different parts of building		
Unident. secondary on different parts of building		
Main male in cerem. scene with 1/2 main characters		
Main female in cerem. scene with 1/2 main characters		
Secondary male in cerem. scene with 1/2 main characters	1	
Secondary female in cerem. scene with 1/2 main characters	1	13
Unident. secondary in cerem. scene with 1/2 main characters		
Main male in cerem. scene with main characters of same size		
Main female in cerem. scene with main characters of same size		

Table VI.131. Amount of turbans and shells according to each scene-group

VI.8. Status and function of men and women in Recuay society based on the iconographical analysis of the ceramics

VI.8.1. Introduction

The archaeological record indicates that the Recuay culture was a stratified society. Some people lived in well-built residences (with drainages, stone slabs incorporated in the walls and finely crafted masonry), often located in the centre of the city, which contained high status items, such as stone spindle whorls, fancy ceramics and jewellery made of gold, copper, shells or obsidian. Other members lived in dwellings located on the city's outskirts (and thus less secure from attacks). These constructions project a more crude quality of workmanship and contained items made of clay and non-precious stones (see Chinchawas, Queyash Alto and Yayno).

Such noticeable hierarchical differences existed not only in life, but also continued on into death for the Recuay. Clear examples of this social stratification have been found at the site of Pashash in the differences between the interments of the main burial chamber and the outer one.

The iconography, as visible on the Recuay ceramics, seems to confirm this situation. Some human personages are associated with attributes and clothing styles containing more qualitative value than others. This does not mean, however, that wearing more elaborately decorated clothes always translates into more important functions or a higher social position¹¹². In my study of possible social stratification among the Recuay, I concentrated in first instance on the differences in size among the personages represented on ceramics. Based on the differences in clothing style and attributes between main, solo and secondary personages, I could conclude that there often was a relation between the elaborateness of cloths and the importance of the characters within the ceremonies.

As will be explained further on in this chapter, Recuay ceramics depict ceremonial life. Therefore, when considering status of the personages on these ceramics, I am mainly contemplating their importance in the religious sphere. Some elements, however, seem to point to political - or even propagandist - use of these ceramics by Recuay leaders (the glorification of the warrior capacities of certain male personages and the importance of

¹¹² Good examples are the paws/hands (which are not very large nor visually obvious additions to turbans) which occur mostly as attachments to the headdresses of main and solo personages. These persons are considered to have more important positions in ceremonies than the secondary men.

ancestors¹¹³ and funerary rituals in which men clearly are central). Even if the possibility exists that ceremonial leaders and earthly leaders were completely separate people (as is the case in most present-day western societies), I am of the opinion that among the Recuay both spheres of power were congruent and without clear defined boundaries. I am thus under the impression that the functional and hierarchical differences in ceremonial representations reflect to some extent the social differentiation in Recuay society.

VI.8.2. Secondary personages in ceremonial scenes on ceramics

Among the Recuay vessels representing human personages, there exist two types: vessels containing one larger person (or effigy vessels) and vessels representing scenes (mostly *pacchas*) with different personages. The latter often show personages of different sizes, among which the larger figures are placed in the middle with the smaller ones surrounding them, as if to emphasise their lesser importance by putting them in auxiliary positions. These smaller secondary personages wear similar clothes and headdresses and, in comparison with solo personages on effigy vessels and the main personages in scenes, the decorations on their clothes are often less elaborately decorated.

Secondary personages wear simple turbans with crescents or sometimes caps on their heads. They never have elements such as feline heads, arms, pins, serpent-feline creatures, human faces, mouths or birds attached to their turbans.

Helmets occur only on very specific secondary male personages: those who are positioned on roofs, on stairs, on ledges of buildings or looking out of windows. These rather peculiar secondary male personages will be discussed later in this chapter.

The three-cornered hat, fezzes and wraps are unusual among secondary male personages. The secondary personages wearing these types of headdresses are always exceptional in comparison to the other secondary characters (e.g., they are larger in size, they are carrying a roof or they appear in ceremonial scenes in which main personages are absent).

Crowns, the triangular-step designs, the high hat with tail and bicephalic appendages are completely absent among secondary male characters.

¹¹³ Descent was one of the ways to augment one's social and/or political status.

The earplugs worn mostly by secondary personages often lack a design (earplugs 12, 13 and 41). Contrary to most of the earplug-types, they do not have dots or crosses painted on their interiors. The secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings often wear earplugs with four dots (earplugs 16 and 23), instead of the more usual ones with a central dot and multiple dots surrounding it.

Face-designs are rather uncommon among secondary female personages. Of a total of two hundred and seventy-seven secondary female characters, only thirteen have them (or five percent). The designs occurring on secondary women are the following: motif 5 (four times), motif 6 (two times), motif 9 (two times), motif 18 (two times) and motif 63 (three times).

Secondary male personages, however, are associated in forty percent of the cases with tattooed or painted designs on their faces (forty-three out of a total of one hundred and seven male personages). The designs 6 (seven times), 7 (two times), 8 (eighteen times), 12 (four times) and 63 (twelve times) are associated with secondary male characters.

Elevated mantas are completely absent from secondary female characters. Elevated mantas are clearly associated with individual or main women acting in rather important scenes (e.g., copulation scenes) or holding objects with significant religious and probably social meaning (e.g., the only woman holding weapons, the only woman holding a drum and two women holding a child).

The manta-motifs occurring on secondary personages are the motifs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17. Of these mantas, the motifs 1, 3, 4, 5 and 15 occur mostly on secondary personages, while the motifs 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17 occur only on secondary characters, but in very low amounts. These motifs can thus be considered to be associated with women of a probably lower ceremonial status.

Manta 2 occurs on some secondary personages, but also as a motif on an elevated manta, while motif 6, the most common motif, occurs on solo, main and secondary women in more or less the same quantity. The motifs 2 and 6 should thus be considered as mantas which would have been used by women represented in both prominent and auxiliary positions in ceremonies.

Few secondary female characters are associated with *tupu*-pins. It seems that *tupus* are the privilege of rather important women. The only *tupu*-types found among secondary

personages are painted anchors (eleven times) and circular *tupus* (four times). All the other pins (funnel serpents, funnels A, funnels B and painted serpents) are never associated with secondary personages and even the anchors and circular *tupus* are mostly found on main or solo women.

Necklaces appear more frequently on men than on women. Two out of a total of five women with necklaces are secondary personages, while only twelve percent of the secondary males (compared to almost fifty percent of the main male figures and solos) wear a necklace.

It seems as if necklaces are mostly male attributes. Their low occurrence among secondary personages seems to indicate that they functioned as identifiers of status.

Bracelets are mostly associated with women. Seventeen percent of the main and solo women wear them, while ten percent of the secondary female characters are associated with bracelets. Among the main and solo men only six percent wear bracelets, while secondary male characters are never associated with them.

It seems that bracelets are mostly female attributes and that they are associated with personages holding specific attributes or main characters acting in copulation scenes.

Figurative motifs on clothes occur more frequently on men than on women. They are never associated with secondary personages, neither male nor female. A reason could have been that the space on the clothes of secondary personages was too small in order for an artisan to be able to paint the intricate figurative motifs on them. The fact that they appear more on men than on women is, however, of great importance when investigating hierarchy and/or functional differences between both sexes. More information on this subject is given below.

A similar situation is recognisable among the geometric motifs. They occur more frequently on men than on women and secondary personages are less often associated with them. A difference is that less space is required for geometric motifs to be painted than for figurative motifs.

The geometric motifs occurring on secondary males include the following: motif 5 (three times), motif 9 (two times), motif 12 (seven times), motif 23 (one time), motif 29 (one time), motif 46 (two times) and motif 57 (three times). The motifs 5, 46 and 57 occur

on secondary personages or on men without attributes. Therefore, they are probably associated with men of lesser importance within the ceremonial life of the Recuay. The motifs 9, 12, 23 and 29 appear on main and solo men as well as on secondary personages. Consequently, no specific meaning can be accorded to them.

Among secondary female personages, the following motifs have been recognised: motif 6 or the checkerboard motif (thirty times), motif 9 (two times), motif 12 (five times), motif 19 (one time), motif 27 (one time), motif 110 (one time), the black and white pattern (nineteen times), the red and white pattern (one time) and the black and red pattern (three times).

The motifs 6, 9, 12, 19 and the black and white pattern appear, apart from on secondary personages, also on main and solo characters. Consequently, no status- or function-determining meaning can be given to these motifs.

The motifs 27 and 110 occur only on secondary female personages, but as they appear only once, no definite interpretations can be given surrounding these motifs.

The red and white pattern and the black and red pattern occur on secondary female characters or on female individuals without attributes. The black and red pattern also occurs on a men attacked by a feline (C-8-2). This specific scene-group is generally known for its naked personages with simple headgear, which indicates a lower and/or vulnerable status. Both patterns should thus be regarded as motifs occurring on figures of lesser importance.

Body stripes are far less common among secondary personages than among the solo or main characters. Only one secondary male figure (one positioned on the outside of a building) and six secondary female personages have painted or tattooed stripes on their limbs. It seems that body stripes are characteristic of persons of a higher ceremonial status or of personages taking more prominent places in rituals, particularly when we consider the ease with which these motifs can be painted, even on small spaces, as is the case among secondary personages.

Hems occur rarely on secondary personages. There are only six secondary characters in the whole sample who wear one. Four of these belong to the same vessel (C-18-7), in which they carry a roof and are represented as larger than the other personages (main and secondary ones) participating in the ceremonial scene beneath the roof. The other two secondary characters with hems are men positioned on the outer parts of buildings. As

mentioned before, the latter are rather peculiar among the secondary personages and often have unusual attributes and clothing styles.

It seems that hems only appear on main and solo men and, on rare occasions, among secondary personages with singular functions (such as, carrying a roof and on the lookout from buildings).

Belts occur in more or less the same quantity on main and solo women as on secondary female personages. Apparently, belts are the privilege of females without a functional or hierarchical differentiation. The motifs on these belts, however, may differ according to function and/or status of the female personages.

The belts 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 24 and 26 occur on secondary characters. Some of these belts consist of dots (belts 3, 5, 8, 9, 15, 16, 21 and 24), others of vertical lines (belt 11), horizontal lines (belts 13 and 26) or zigzag lines (belts 4, 12 and 17) and, finally, some lacking a motif (belts 2 and 14). It would appear that secondary personages are associated either with belts devoid of a motif or with belts having a rather simple geometric motif.

The belts 8, 11, 15, 16, 17 and 26 are solely associated with secondary characters. Consequently, these types should be identified as belts associated with women taking up less important positions within ceremonies.

The belts 4, 5, 9, 12, 21 and 24 occur mostly on secondary women. On certain occasions, however, they may occur on women who, according to me, also had a rather low religious status, such as solo women without attributes (because they have many elements in common with secondary female personages), solo women with cups (because they are similar to the secondary women with cups) and main women in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size (because they are always placed in auxiliary positions and have attributes similar to the secondary women). Therefore, I consider these belts to be associated with women of low ceremonial importance.

The meaning of three of the belts (belts 2, 13 and 14) is unidentifiable, as they occur on both secondary personages and on main women in copulation scenes and/or women with a child in their hands. The latter two scenes have been identified as highly ritualised ceremonies in which the participating women are associated with extremely decorative clothes.

once more on a solo man with a cup in his hands (C-2-15). This personage is represented larger in size than is normally the case, wears a fez and a large collar and is also represented in a seated-position, much like the stone monoliths from Huaraz. Therefore, rectangular back plates are assumed to be associated with rather specific men, acting in a very specific ritual.

Aside from the ones appearing on the back plates, trophy heads occur twice among secondary male personages in a ceremonial scene inside a house (C-20-59) and once in the hands of a solo man also holding a knife (C-11-165). Trophy heads are an exceptional occurrence on Recuay ceramics, certainly in comparison with their frequent appearance on stone sculptures. As was the case for the rectangular back plates, it is assumed that they occur only on special personages, some of which are secondary characters.

Staffs are never associated with women. They mostly occur in the hands of llama-men (seven times) and painted men (seven times), but do occur occasionally on secondary male characters. Two secondary male personages on different parts of buildings (C-19-3 and C-19-4) and two secondary male characters in a ceremonial scene hold a staff (C-20-11). As mentioned before, secondary male personages on different parts of buildings had, according to me, a guardian-function, which explains the staffs in their hands. The two secondary males in the ceremonial scene occur next to a main male and a secondary male holding clubs. These secondary personages with staffs probably also had some sort of guardian- or warrior-function.

Musical instruments are never associated with secondary personages, neither male nor female, as is the case for bags and animals.

There is one example of a secondary male personage on the stairway of a building holding a child in his arms (C-19-1). In the whole sample of Recuay ceramics, only seven solo women are associated with a child. This example of a secondary male character holding a child is thus quite exceptional. Interesting is that, again, this secondary personage is one of the characters that was catalogued under the scene-group of secondary personages on different parts of buildings, a group often containing secondary male personages who deviate from the classical appearance of secondary persons.

One of the belts, number 3, is probably a high status item, as it occurs only once on a secondary woman, but several times on the main women in copulation scenes and on the only woman who has a musical instrument in her hands.

Layered garments are never associated with secondary personages. They mostly occur among the llama-men and will thus be identified as garments belonging to male personages with a special function and a high religious importance.

Underskirts are mainly found among llama-men and, as is the case for layered garments, will be considered as garments belonging to ceremonially important men. There are only seven secondary characters wearing an underskirt, all of whom belong to the same vessel (C-20-22) and of which four have a rectangular plate on their backs. This is one of the only Recuay vessels portraying this type of plate, whereas among stone sculptures it occurs frequently. The back plates are therefore considered to be associated with men having very specific functions in Recuay ceremonial life. Probably, underskirts may be considered garments distinguishing status, which explains their almost complete absence among secondary personages.

Shields appear mostly in the hands of solo men (with the highest occurrence among llama-men and men with panpipes). Secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings are frequently associated with shields as well (eleven times). Secondary male characters in ceremonial scenes inside houses and secondary male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main figures each appear only twice in association with a shield. Apparently, rather specific men carry shields, of which secondary male personages on the lookout take up an important part.

Clubs occur more frequently than shields among Recuay men. They appear mostly in the hands of solo men (many being llama-men) and secondary men in ceremonial scenes (ten times).

Rectangular back plates with trophy heads attached to them occur once on a main male character and four times on secondary male personages, all belonging to the same vase (C-20-22). These secondary characters are quite exceptional in the whole sample of secondary men, as they are the only ones wearing an underskirt. A probable rectangular plate occurs

Up until this point, only the objects found in the hands of secondary men have been described. Among the secondary female characters carrying objects, only three attributes can be recognised: turbans, shells and cups.

Turbans are solely carried by secondary personages. One male (C-20-51) and one female personage (C-20-10) can be recognised on two different vessels. Both hold the same type of turban (headdress 13), which is a rather simple headdress (a turban with a small crescent), mostly worn by secondary men. The two secondary personages holding these turbans wear attributes similar to the other secondary characters. Apparently, carrying a turban was not a task performed by people of primary importance within ceremonies.

Thirteen secondary female characters hold shells in their hands. Shells are solely associated with secondary female personages. Again, these women are similar to the other secondary females holding objects. It seems that carrying shells was a task that could be performed by the same type of women holding a cup or a turban.

The objects most commonly found in the hands of secondary female personages are cups. Forty-four percent (or one hundred and twenty-two out of a total of two hundred and seventy-seven) of the secondary females have a cup in their hands, while only twelve percent (or thirteen out of a total of one hundred and seven) of the secondary males hold one. Compared to the solo and main personages (forty-one men out of a total of four hundred and ninety-four, or eight percent, and twenty-seven women out of a total of ninety-two, or thirty percent), secondary females are more often associated with cups.

To conclude, it can be stated that secondary personages have less decorated headgear-types and clothing styles. The headdresses among secondary men are rather simple and consist mostly of turbans with crescents or caps, the earplugs often lack designs, the women never wear elevated mantas, very few women have *tupu*-pins, very few secondary personages wear necklaces, bracelets, body stripes, underskirts or hems, none of the secondary personages have figurative motifs on their clothes, geometric motifs are rather exceptional, layered garments are completely absent and women wear belts, often lacking motifs or having simple ones (dots, zigzags, horizontal or vertical stripes).

Some secondary male personages, however, seem to have had attributes and clothing styles deviating from the norm.

The secondary personages on different parts of buildings, for example, are the only secondary male personages associated with helmets. Normally, secondary male personages wear turbans with crescents or caps. Among the secondary personages on different parts of buildings, these elements have been less frequently attested. Body stripes occur only once among secondary male characters and, again, these are found on a man on the outer part of a building. Only six secondary characters wear a hem. Two of these belong to the scene-group of secondary males on different parts of buildings. The objects carried by these men are also exceptional among Recuay ceramics. They are the secondary personages with the highest percentage of weapons (shields, clubs and staffs) and, contrary to the norm, are very infrequently associated with cups. The only man holding a child also belongs to this group. I am of the opinion that the reason for these discrepancies may be found in the different functions these secondary male characters exercised in society. The functions of these Recuay figures are discussed further below.

Other, rather special, secondary male personages are the four carrying a roof over a ceremonial scene (C-18-7). These are larger than the personages partaking in the ceremony beneath the roof and wear rather singular clothes. All four of them wear a wrap as headdress and have hems. Apparently, their function as roof-bearers made them stand out from the other secondary characters.

And finally, seven secondary male personages occur on one of the two vessels in which personages are represented wearing a rectangular plate with trophy heads on their backs (C-20-22). These personages are the only secondary characters wearing an underskirt. The fact that back plates with trophy heads are often found on Huaraz monoliths, suggests that this specific vessel projects some sort of ancestral veneration. Further discussion of the functions of Recuay personages follows below.

VI.8.3. Hierarchy between both sexes

According to me, some elements discovered during my research indicate different ceremonial and probably also social positions for men and women in Recuay society.

First of all, the amount of solo and main men differs greatly from the female presence on effigy vessels or at the centre of ceremonial scenes. This discrepancy in quantity is also found among the secondary personages.

In my sample, I counted three hundred and sixty-four male solo personages and one hundred and thirty main male characters. Women occur five and a half times less often as main (forty-six times) or solo personages (forty-six times).

As for the secondary personages, whose smaller size and less elaborate clothing style have been mentioned before, the situation is completely different. There are two and a half times more secondary female personages than secondary male characters, or more specifically two hundred and seventy-seven women and one hundred and seven men.

Recuay iconography is very standardised and its range of scene-groups is rather limited. Ceramics were used during funerary rituals¹¹⁴ and as a way to promote new leaders and confirm their power (see also Lau 2002: 297-298). The fact that there are more secondary female personages, who are considered to be of less importance in ceremonial life, and many more main and solo male personages, suggests that the focus in iconography was on this society's male (ceremonial and perhaps also political) leaders. The female presence in iconography is concentrated in ceremonial scenes, where they mostly act as secondary personages carrying cups.

There are five and a half times more solo and main men than women. But, of the ninety-two main and solo women, many resemble the secondary female characters. It seems that even when women are represented as main characters or as individual personages on effigy vessels, they are of lesser ceremonial importance than the main and solo men.

There are twenty-one solo women with a cup in their hands. Only twelve solo men are represented in this way. This resembles the situation among the secondary characters carrying cups. Here, secondary males are also less often associated with cups than women (one hundred and twenty-two secondary females and thirteen secondary males). More so, the types of garments and their motifs of the solo women with cups resemble those of the secondary females with cups. This is not the case for the solo men and secondary men with cups. The men in both male scene-groups differ greatly in clothing and headgear-style. There seems to be more resemblance between the solo and the main males with cups.

Similarities between solo women and secondary women with cups include the following. Women from both scene-groups wear mantas. Manta 6 is the most common

¹¹⁴ Probably, funerary rituals were carried out more lavishly when an important political leader was buried. Most likely it was during these specific rituals that the highly decorated ceramics were used and afterwards placed in the tombs. Probably, leaders took these events to implement or invigorate their power by displaying their wealth. One way of doing so was by providing large quantities of food and drink during funerary ceremonies and by depicting these rituals on ceramics (for more information on commensal politics see Dietler & Hayden 2001).

type for both groups, followed by manta 4, 5 and 3, respectively. Both groups wear long dresses with belts. The belts 2, 5 and 13 are the most recurrent types. The biggest difference exists in the occurrence of figurative motifs on the clothes of solo women and the absence of these on secondary women. The reason for this variance could be the fact that there is not enough space on the secondary women for the artisan to paint intricate motifs on them. The geometric motifs for both groups, however, are similar. The checkerboard motif, the black and white pattern, the black and red pattern and motif 12 occur on both scene-groups. Body stripes are uncommon among both groups. Both female types have face designs, but the design-motifs are different. *Tupus* are present among both groups, with anchors being the most common type. Circular *tupus* appear on both female types as well. Finally, necklaces and bracelets are rather uncommon for both scene-groups.

It seems that solo women with cups resemble the secondary women with cups. Perhaps the solo women with cups could be considered to be larger representations of the small personages in ceremonial scenes (see also Lau 2000: 184). The solo men with cups differ from the secondary men and seem to have more elaborately decorated clothes and headgear. This could imply that, even though they were represented as individual effigies, solo women had a lower ceremonial importance than the solo men with cups.

Among the scene-group of women without attributes, elements from which rather low religious statuses for these specific women (certainly when compared to solo men without attributes who wear sumptuously decorated headdresses and clothes) can be inferred, are also recognised. Most of these women wear *tupus* and belts often associated with secondary personages. None of these figures wear elevated mantas, only two women have face-designs and just one woman has a figurative motif, the two-headed being, painted on her dress.

The fifteen main female personages in ceremonial scenes with main characters of a similar size have, according to me, an equally low ceremonial importance. First of all, they always appear in auxiliary positions with regard to the main male characters in these scenes. Secondly, their mantas, clothes, belts, face-designs and *tupus* resemble those found on secondary female personages.

Of the ninety-two solo and main women, fifty (twenty-one solo women with cups, fourteen women without attributes and fifteen main females in ceremonial scenes with mains of

similar size) seem to have had a rather low religious importance, which, compared to the male personages, is a rather high amount.

Another way to try to detect ceremonial status differences between male and female personages is to compare the attributes and clothing styles they have in common with each other. Face-designs, necklaces, bracelets, figurative and geometric motifs on clothes and body stripes occur on both sexes. Both men and women can also hold turbans and cups in their hands.

Face-designs can be found on both men and women. They appear mostly on personages with attributes in their hands or on persons placed at the centre of ceremonial scenes. Among women, face-designs occur mostly on solo or main figures and almost never on secondary female characters (only four percent). Men, on the other hand, are more frequently associated with face-designs. For instance, even forty percent of the secondary males are associated with painted or tattooed designs on their faces. It seems that face-designs are mostly associated with solo and main figures. Men, including secondary male characters, have them more often than women. If the amount of face-designs is related to social position, this could mean that men enjoyed higher positions on the social ladder. The biggest differences in amounts of face-designs occur between the male and female secondary personages, which could signify that the secondary male personages were more important than the secondary females. But, face-designs may, of course, also be function-related. In this case, it appears that the functions taken by men (main, solos and secondary ones) were more often associated with face-designs than those taken by women.

Necklaces occur mostly on men, although five women (of which two are secondary characters) wear them as well. Apparently, necklaces are mostly associated with men. Among the male personages with necklaces, fifty percent are mains or solos, while only twelve percent are secondary characters. This implies that necklaces were mostly worn by men with rather important functions in ceremonies.

Bracelets occur on both men as women. Women, however, wear them more often. Seventeen percent of the main and solo women, ten percent of the secondary women, six percent of the main and solo men and none of the secondary men are associated with bracelets. Bracelets clearly occur mostly on main and solo persons. But, as was the case for necklaces, the difference in the amount between men and women could be the result of this

attribute being the privilege of a certain sex (in this case, women), instead of an indication of function or status.

Figurative motifs are present on the clothes of both men as women, although men are associated more often with them. Men are shown to wear the whole range of motifs (birds, the GCB, the two-headed being, felines, snakes, the tooth face), while women never have birds, felines or tooth faces on their clothes. Neither male nor female secondary personages are associated with figurative motifs. Of course, the reason for this could be the size of these personages and the difficulty of painting such elaborate designs on smaller surfaces.

Geometric motifs, on the other hand, are much easier to paint, even on such small surfaces. They do occur on secondary characters, but in lesser amounts than on solo or main individuals. They occur on men and women, but men are associated more often with them and have a wider range of motifs. Regarding women, the fact that among women these motifs occur more often on solo personages with attributes than on main women in ceremonial scenes (both groups having the same size and thus the same space on which the motifs can be painted), could indicate that geometric motifs are identifiers of ceremonial status or specific functions. The fact that they occur more often on men than on women could also indicate that men are generally regarded as having more importance in ceremonies than women.

Body stripes occur in similar quantities on men (on eight point four percent) and on women (on eight point six percent). They mostly appear on the limbs of solo and main individuals. Only one secondary male character and six secondary females have them. As body stripes are rather easy to paint, even on secondary characters, it can be assumed that they are mostly associated with important ceremonial figures. However, since the amount of occurrence is more or less similar for men as for women, drawing a conclusion about the status differences between men and women based on the presence or absence of body stripes is difficult.

One secondary male and one secondary female have a turban in their hands. Both personages are wearing simple garments and headgear. It seems that figures (male and female) holding turbans have a similar (low) position in ceremonies.

Both men and women are associated with cups. Eight percent of the solo and main men, thirty percent of the solo and main women, twelve percent of the secondary males and forty-four percent of the secondary females have them. Women are mostly associated with cups and, among the female personages, secondary characters are the ones that carry

cups more frequently. It has already been mentioned that the main and solo women with cups resemble the secondary female characters and that their less elaborate clothing style makes me suspect that women with cups are generally of a lesser religious importance. Carrying a cup probably had a specific significance within ceremonies, but the persons carrying them are generally associated with simple garments and attributes, they are often represented smaller in size and are mostly placed in auxiliary positions. The fact that mostly women carry cups in their hands, could mean that they were considered to be of less importance than men.

I am of the opinion that men more often took central roles and important functions in ceremonies. I base myself on the quantitative differences between male and female presence in iconography. Solo and main men occur five and a half times more often than solo and main women. Secondary female personages, on the other hand, appear two and a half times more often than secondary male personages. Consequently, men are central in iconography while women, often carrying cups, are placed in auxiliary positions. Even among the main and solo women, many of the females resemble the secondary women, which are supposedly of lesser religious importance. The high frequencies of face-designs and geometric motifs (whose rather simple outlines make it possible for them to be painted even on small spaces, as is the case among the secondary personages) on men, also insinuates functional and perhaps even hierarchical differences between men and women.

VI.8.4. Functions of men and women

VI.8.4.1. Llama-men

Out of a total of five hundred and six ceramics, twenty-eight represent persons accompanied by a llama. All of which are men.

It seems to me that men leading a llama by a cord had an important place in ceremonial life and probably even in society as a whole. In the whole sample of Recuay ceramics, they are the personages wearing the most elaborate headdresses and garments. Fezzes (ten times), the three-cornered hat (five times), the owl-crescent (two times), underskirts (eighteen times), layered garments (three times), hems (twenty times) and notched earspools (seven times) occur most frequently among this specific scene-group.

The attributes associated with these men could give an indication of their function. As the name of the scene-group suggests, all these men are represented next to a llama. Two of these figures also hold a smaller llama in their hands.

I follow the opinion of George Lau (Lau 2002: 297-298; Lau 2006a: 123, 125; Lau 2008: 1038; Lau 2010c: 263-264, 275), in which he states that these vessels do not represent mere pastoral scenes. They must have had a specific relation to religious and ceremonial life.

The economy of the Recuay was concentrated on the breeding of llamas. Llamas supplied food, wool for textiles, hide, bones for certain tools and dung for fuel. Their capacity to carry rather large and heavy volumes over long distances as well as their ability to manoeuvre the narrow mountain passes quite easily, made them the perfect beasts of burden. As previously mentioned, corrals were found throughout the Ancash heartland, as well as on the valley slopes of the Pacific. Long-distance exchange activities were in place between the Recuay and coastal people (Amat O. 2003: 98-99; Lau 2006a: 131; Laurencich-Minelli and Wegner eds. 2001: 26, 28). Llamas were thus crucial to Recuay economy. Consequently, rearing must have been a constant occupation, carried out with care. An example of this constant care is visible in the interment of *conopas* or *illas* near corrals in order to increase the fertility of the herds. *Conopas* or *illas* are small llama-effigies (as found in Queyash Alto and Yayno) which were filled (when an opening was present on the top) or rubbed with coca leaves, llama fat or liquids such as *chicha* (Wegner 2011: 13).

The importance of llamas for Recuay economy and the prominence of rituals to increase fertility of the herds seem to suggest that the representations of llama-men could be explained within a fertility ceremony. The elaborately decorated garments and headdresses these men are wearing seem to underscore the importance of these ceremonies and the people acting in them. We are probably dealing here with a key figure in society (a chief, an important priest or a person who exercised both offices), who, at certain periods of the year, conducted a ritual, perhaps a sacrifice of a llama, in order to encourage fertility and health amongst the herds by imploring the corresponding divinities or ancestors. The occasional presence of a calf in these scenes strengthens this interpretation.

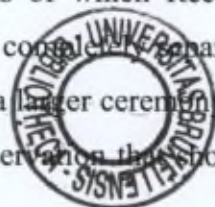
An additional function of these rituals could have been the promotion of new leaders. In these fertility rituals, leaders exercised their authority over one of the most important economic activities in Recuay society, the camelid herds.

As warriorhood was another way of showing off power and prestige, the political factor of these ceremonies is reinforced by the strong presence of weapons in the iconography (shields appear ten times, clubs seven times and staffs seven times). The llama-men probably combined the functions of a chief with priestly functions. Whether these men were active in combat or whether their function as warriors was merely ceremonial, is not clear. It is obvious, however, that the llama-men were not common warriors. Their headgear and clothing style are far more luxurious than those of the traditional representations of Recuay warriors or guardians and indicate a position higher up on the ceremonial and social ladder. These warriors and guardians are discussed further below.

Joan Gero (1992: 21) interprets the staffs in the hands of llama-men as being symbols of authority. Nevertheless, in my investigations, staffs are always associated with warrior-related persons and/or scenes. Staffs also occur on smaller secondary characters wearing simple headgear and clothes, which contradicts the interpretation of staffs as being merely political symbols.

The occurrence of panpipes (four times) among llama-men is also significant. As we will see further on, musical instruments are often associated with men holding weapons. Musicians and warriors seem to have had a special relationship. From the Inca Empire, we know that musicians often accompanied the troops into battle, in order to generate fear among the enemy and courage among the own forces (Bolaños 1985: 53-54; Bolaños 2007: 132, 185). Musical instruments are never associated with secondary personages and could thus be interpreted as attributes belonging to persons with a very specific function and probably a high social position. The association of llama-men with panpipes again confirms their special status and function.

Cups are the most common attributes held by Recuay persons on ceramics. Interestingly, llama-men are one of the only scene-groups that are never associated with them. Cups seem to have had special functions in ceremonies and their presence suggests libation and/or drinking rituals. Apparently, llama-men only presented llamas during ceremonies. They were not the main actors in the drinking and/or libation acts of which Recuay ceremonies often consisted. Perhaps the presentation of llamas was a completely separate ritual or maybe leading a llama to sacrifice was a different episode of a larger ceremony of which libation and drinking acts were part of. Another important observation that should



be made here is that the possibility exists for the llama-men being the same men as the main characters in ceremonial scenes, but clothed differently. This possibility, however, does not refute the interpretation of llama-men being more important in ceremonial rituals than the other men. Even if the llama-men were in real life the same persons as the ones acting in libation rituals, they clearly differentiated themselves during certain rituals by wearing completely different attributes and clothes.

VI.8.4.2. Warriors and guardians

Apart from the scene-group of figures with weapons, consisting of twenty-seven male effigy vessels and one female effigy vessel, other scene-groups contain representations of figures with weapons as well. There are fourteen llama-men, one man attacked by a feline, one man with a trophy head and a knife, one man holding a cup, two main men in ceremonial scenes taking place inside buildings, seven main males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters, one main man in a ceremonial scene with main characters of a similar size, one main female personage in a ceremonial scene with main characters of a similar size, four secondary male characters in ceremonial scenes inside buildings, eleven secondary males on different parts of buildings and six secondary males in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters which are associated with weapons.

If we consider staffs as weaponry, the amount increases with the addition of seven painted men, five more llama-men, two more secondary male personages positioned on different parts of buildings and two more secondary males in a ceremonial scene with one or two main characters.

Apart from carrying weapons (shields and clubs) or battle-related objects (trophy heads, rectangular back plates, staffs and knives), these personages are associated with certain headdresses and garments.

In comparison with the other scene-groups, helmets occur quite often in association with men with weapons and/or staffs. Helmets occur three times on men with a musical instrument in their hands (of which one also carries a club), once on a man attacked by birds (as we will see, this scene-group probably has some relation to battle-scenes), three times on painted men holding staffs, six times on secondary males on different parts of a building (of which one also holds a club and a shield), three times on an effigy of a man with weapons and three times on llama-men (of which one holds a staff and two hold weapons). In all the other scene-groups, helmets occur in very small, negligible amounts.

As previously mentioned, the three-cornered hat occurs mostly among llama-men. Of the five llama-men wearing this headdress, three are associated with weapons and one with a staff. The only secondary personage wearing this hat belongs to the scene-group secondary personages positioned on different parts of buildings (a group often representing secondary males having guardian or warrior functions) and has a shield in his hand. There are only three other men associated with the three-cornered hat, without weapons (a main in a copulation scene, a man with felines and a main in a ceremonial scene with one or two mains).

Underskirts are recurrent garment-types among men with weapons and/or staffs. Of the eighteen llama-men wearing this garment, eight are associated with weapons and three with staffs, the one man attacked by a feline wearing an underskirt also holds a club (C-8-6), the only secondary male characters (seven) wearing it, are all represented on the vase from the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin (C-20-22) showing personages associated with rectangular back plates and one male effigy associated with an underskirt also holds weapons (C-5-24). There are only two men with an underskirt who are not associated with a battle-related theme. Both are main male personages in ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters.

Hems are often present among men with weapons, but, as they also occur on other personages, I do not consider them to be the exclusive privilege of warriors. Rather, in my opinion, hems are identifiers of status. Warriors wearing hems should thus be considered as having a rather high position in society.

Snake appendages are the most common figurative motifs on the clothes of Recuay men. There seems to be a preference, however, to paint these motifs on the clothes of men with weapons and men with musical instruments. Scene-groups with snake appendages appearing on the clothes of more than twenty-five percent of their men are: men with musical instruments, the llama-men and men with weapons. Four of the eight llama-men with snake appendages carry weapons and two hold a staff. The men with musical instruments having snake appendages painted on their clothes are not associated with weapons, however. This is surprising since men with musical instruments often carry weapons as well. Consequently, no definite conclusions can be made surrounding the association of snake appendages with certain functions.

As previously mentioned on several occasions, men with weapons are often associated with musical instruments. One llama-man holds panpipes and a club, two male effigy

vessels are associated with a shield and panpipes and one male effigy vessel is represented with a club and a flute. There is clearly a relationship between warriors and musicians. The possibility exists that musicians accompanied the troops into battle, wearing similar clothes and headgear (helmets are common headdresses among musicians and snake appendages are often painted on their clothes as well). Perhaps the helmets and weapons worn by musicians had just a protective function or maybe musicians also took part in fighting battles. As previously mentioned, musicians are often represented together with warriors in Moche iconography and ethnohistorical documents mention musical instruments being played on the battle field in the Inca Empire (Bolaños 1985: 53-54; Bolaños 2007: 77, 185, 132).

There seem to have existed different types of warriors, who probably took different positions on the social ladder. First of all, there are the llama-men, of which nineteen out of a total of twenty-eight are associated with weapons and/or staffs. Next, there are the main and solo men with weapons,¹¹⁵ who wear similar headdresses and garments. Musicians are found within the llama-men group and the main and solo men with weapons.¹¹⁶ Then, there is a third group of twenty-five secondary male personages represented with weapons and/or staffs. Next, there is one man being attacked by a feline (C-8-6), who contrary to the other men being attacked by animals, wears clothes and attributes resembling the ones of the llama-men and thus forms a separate group. And finally, there are seven painted men holding staffs who form a fifth group.

I am thus of the opinion that a hierarchy could be detected among the personages with weapons. The highest position, according to me, was taken by the llama-men. Their association with llamas showed their authority over one of the most important economic resources. Consequently, the depiction of these scenes also contained a political message through which leaders established and accumulated power. Their recurrent association with weapons also reveals their importance as warriors. It is not clear whether the llama-men were actual warriors or if their function was merely ceremonial. In any case, their exceptional and more luxurious headdresses and garment-types set them apart from the common warriors.

¹¹⁵ Twenty-seven men from the scene-group persons with weapons, one man with a cup, one man with a trophy head and a knife in his hands and ten main male personages belong to this group of warriors.

¹¹⁶ One llama-man holds panpipes and a club, while two solo men hold a shield and panpipes and one solo man holds a club and a flute.

Among the men attacked by animals, there is one man who resembles the llama-man (C-8-6). He wears an underskirt, a hem, has snake appendages painted on his shirt and carries a club. Normally, men attacked by animals are already shown in a defeated state (often naked or with their insides taken out, while the animals are feeding on them). This man is depicted in a fighting stance and he still wears his rather elaborately decorated clothes and insignia. As warriorhood was a way through which one could express leadership qualities, the fact that this figure is the only man shown fighting back against an animal instead of being defeated and is wearing clothes similar to the llama-man, could mean that leadership was attained after a victorious battle. Perhaps the losing warriors were eaten by the animals, while the winning warrior moved up the social ladder to become a llama-man.

It has been mentioned that the solo men from the scene-group of personages with weapons resemble the main men with weapons in ceremonial scenes rather than the secondary men. Why, then, do I think that these solo and main men have an intermediate social position between llama-men and secondary men with weapons? First, their larger scale and central position clearly differs in comparison with the secondary men. Second, their headdresses and garment-types are more elaborately decorated. Solo and main men with weapons have headdresses associated with, among others, the tooth face, feline heads, human faces and serpents. The secondary men with weapons, however, mostly wear turbans with crescents and, on some occasions, caps or paws.

Necklaces occur more frequently among solo and main men (twenty times compared to two times among secondary personages) as do hems (fifteen times among the solo and main men and only two times among the secondary characters).

As is the case among all secondary characters in Recuay iconography, none of the secondary men with weapons have figurative motifs on their clothes. Nevertheless, the solo and main men can be associated with the great crescent being (but not as often as Joan Gero proclaims), appendages of felines and the two-headed being. Snake appendages are the most common figurative motifs on clothes of solo and main men with weapons.

Body stripes occur only once on secondary males with weapons. Among the main and solo men with weapons, eight appear with painted or tattooed stripes on their limbs.

Geometric motifs occur on both main and solo men as well as on secondary men, though in different quantities. Among the thirty-nine main and solo males with weapons, thirty-five geometric motifs are recognised. Among the twenty-five secondary characters with weapons, only seven geometric motifs are present.

None of the secondary males with weapons are associated with musical instruments. In fact, none of the secondary personages have musical instruments in their hands. It seems that only solo or main men hold them. This leads me to conclude that men of a rather important ceremonial and probably also social position were musicians. More on the status of musicians is discussed below.

All these elements hint at a more important warrior status for the solo and main men with weapons than for the secondary men. As previously mentioned, llama-men with weapons wear even more specific and elaborately decorated clothes than the solo and main men, which indicates the intermediate social position of the solo and main men between the llama-men and the secondary men with weapons.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, secondary personages are considered to be of lesser importance. They wear headdresses and garments with less decoration, they are smaller in size and are placed in auxiliary positions. Twenty-five secondary male characters carry weapons and/or staffs. Four of these belong to the group showing ceremonial scenes inside a house, thirteen to the scene-group of secondary personages on different parts of a building and eight to the group showing ceremonial scenes with one or two main characters.

Apparently, secondary males with weapons occur mostly in the scene-group of secondary personages on different parts of a building. As previously mentioned, the secondary characters in this scene-group seem to have had a different function from the more common secondary personages surrounding a central male character, while holding a cup. Their infrequent association with cups, their rather special garments and headdresses (they are the only secondary personages wearing helmets, the only secondary person with body stripes belongs to this scene-group, they are the secondary characters of which the highest percentage is associated with weapons and two of the six secondary personages with hems belong to this group) and their position on the outer parts of buildings in which a ceremony is often taking place, indicates a protective function for these personages. However, even if I recognise that these secondary persons on different parts of buildings are different from the more common secondary male characters, I still perceive their status to be lower than that of the main and solo men. They are still represented as smaller than the latter and their garments, although they differ in some ways from those of the common secondary males, still contain less decoration. In my opinion, the unusual garment-styles and headdresses among the secondary personages on different parts of buildings can be

explained by their different function, when comparing them to the other secondary males holding cups and surrounding a central main male character. The males with cups are clearly participants in a libation and/or drinking ritual, while the secondary personages on the outer parts of buildings were probably guardians.

Apart from the secondary personages on different parts of buildings, twelve other secondary males hold weapons. Three of these belong to the same vessel (C-20-11), which depicts one main male with a club in his hands, two secondary females with cups, one secondary male with a club, two secondary males with staffs and one broken secondary personage. Apart from the two secondary females, all the personages in this scene carry weapons.

Two other secondary males belong to a scene consisting of four secondary males (of which two carry a club) surrounding a main male, under a roof (C-18-4). None of the personages carry a cup.

Two of the secondary males carrying weapons are represented inside a house on both sides of a main male personage who also carries weapons (C-18-20). Again, none of the personages carry cups.

Four of the secondary males belong to the vessel representing male personages with rectangular trophy-plates on their backs (C-20-22). Again, this vessel's scene emphasises warriorhood, rather than a libation or a drinking ritual.

Finally, one secondary male holding a club and a cup belongs to a scene containing one main male, four secondary females, of which two hold a cup, and three secondary males (C-20-12). This scene is rather peculiar among Recuay ceremonial scenes as, contrary to the typical scenes, all the personages are placed in a circle (instead of a central main being surrounded by smaller secondary characters), and some are holding each other's arms.

None of the scenes with secondary male personages associated with weapons belong to the more common ceremonial scenes in which smaller secondary characters with cups in their hands surround a larger central main character. It seems as if secondary male characters with weapons did not partake in ceremonial rituals. They probably were guardians, on the lookout for enemies and protecting the personages inside the buildings they were standing on.

Among the personages carrying weapons, there are seven painted men carrying staffs. It is difficult to define the hierarchical position of these figures, as their clothes and headdresses

are painted, which makes a comparison with the sculpted types problematic. The fact that five of the seven painted men with staffs belong to the site of Pashash is another aspect which makes status identification more difficult, as the clothing style could have a geographical rather than a hierarchical explanation. What can be concluded from the fact that these painted men have staffs is that they represent warriors. Two of the seven men wear a helmet, a headdress typically associated with warriors and another man is represented in a combat scene (C-12-4), in which one man holds the hair of the second man. The latter holds a staff.

So far, we have concentrated on the male personages holding weapons and/or staffs, but there are also two women holding weapons.

One of these is a solo woman who is definitely associated with a shield and a club (C-5-23). She wears an elevated manta, characteristic of women with a special function and probably a higher ceremonial status, and a belt (motif 18), which is unique in the whole sample of women. This vessel has a male double (C-5-24), who also wears rather special attributes and clothes. His headdress is unique among Recuay men, he wears notched earspools, an underskirt and has vertical incisions around his neck. This is also the first time that a complementary male-female pair could be recognised in Recuay ceramics.

The second time a woman is documented with a possible weapon in her hands is in the scene-group of ceremonial scenes with main figures of the same size (C-21-9). This woman clearly holds a cup in one hand, while the object that she carries in the other is very likely a club. This woman has nothing in common with the solo woman with a shield and a club, mentioned above. The quality of the picture, however, does not allow for a clear distinction of the club-like object in her hands. The fact that this woman holds a cup and is represented in a scene typically associated with libation and/or drinking rituals, convinces me that we are not dealing with a female warrior.

All these elements indicate that female warriors were exceptional in Recuay society. The fact that the only definite female warrior is complemented by a male version seems to suggest that warriorhood necessarily needed a male component.

VI.8.4.3. Musicians

In the sample of five hundred and six Recuay ceramics, there are fifteen solo men (of which two are associated with felines, three with weapons and one with an unidentifiable

animal in his hands), one solo woman, four llama-men (of which one also holds a club) and four main men in a ceremonial scene holding musical instruments.

Secondary personages are never associated with musical instruments, which could mean that only those having a high religious status are depicted with musical instruments.

Of the twenty-three men with musical instruments, fourteen wear turbans, three helmets, four fezzes and one a three-cornered hat. The amount of fezzes and helmets is rather high. As previously mentioned, helmets are considered to be associated with men having some sort of warrior function. The fezzes represented among the men with weapons are of a different type than the ones present among llama-men. They are smaller or consist of the bottle's aperture, which makes them look like fezzes. The elements attached to the turbans of men with musical instruments are diverse. Most of these elements, however, are typically associated with secondary men. Crescents occur six times, as do caps and paws, a feline head appears three times and bird heads, arms and a pin all occur once.

Only six men have painted or tattooed designs on their faces. This amount is rather low in comparison to other scene-groups.

Apart from the llama-men with musical instruments (of which three have a hem and three wear an underskirt), their clothes are rather simple and lack decoration. Figurative motifs occur infrequently. Six men have snake appendages on their clothes, three have the great crescent being, one has appendages of the great crescent being and one has a tooth face. Aside from the three llama-men with hems, there are only three other men wearing this element. Body stripes occur only five times. Geometric motifs are a bit more common. The motifs 26 and 29 both occur twice, while the motifs 8, 9, 12, 22, 23, 25 and 29 appear once.

Nine men wear a necklace and six wear bracelets.

The rather high amount of helmets among musicians is, according to me, to be explained by the fact that musicians often had a function as warriors. Apart from the four llama-men with panpipes in their hands who, as previously mentioned, are men of a high social importance, clothes and headdresses seem to imply an average status for musicians. It is worth mentioning, however, that secondary personages are never associated with musical instruments.

Only one woman is depicted in association with a musical instrument, more specifically a hand drum. She appears on an effigy double-vessel with a bird sculpted on the other side. She wears an elevated manta, which indicates a rather high ceremonial status.

As is also the case in other pre-Columbian cultures, among the Recuay, mostly men are associated with musical instruments. In my Recuay sample, men are solely represented with wind instruments in their hands, while one woman with a hand drum was recognised. Among the Moche, Nasca and other cultures, wind instruments and drums are mostly shown in the hands of men (Bolaños 1985, 2007). Ethnohistorical records, however, mention the *acllas* and Coyas playing hand drums (Arriaga 1621: ch. 5) and the drawings of Guamán Poma de Ayala (2011: 182, 184, 184) often depict women playing drums. It seems as though men are generally associated with the whole range of musical instruments, while women had in certain time periods a specific relationship with hand drums.

VI.8.4.4. Coca-chewers

In my opinion, there are three men who are definitely involved with the act of coca-chewing. All three of them belong to the scene-group of men with bags dangling from their shoulders. Small bags (*chuspas*) with coca-leaves are still worn around the shoulder by indigenous people in the Andes today. All three men are represented in the same position, with their hands touching their heads. Perhaps this position underscores the hallucinogenic properties of chewing coca, after which one feels lightheaded. One of these men holds what I assume to be a lime-gourd (C-10-1). Another man has a bulge in his cheek (C-10-3), an element often found on representations of coca-chewers. All three persons associated with coca are men. The Recuay stone tenon-heads (from the Pomabamba and Pallasca regions) showing bulges in their cheeks are also men. It is possible that, as was the case in the Inca Empire (Cobo 1964[1653]: 138-139; Garcilaso 1609: Book 4, ch. ii), coca-chewing was a privilege of the male members of Recuay society.

After investigating the clothing style of these three men, it appears that a rather modest position in ceremonial life was reserved for them. All three men wear turbans, while two have a small crescent attached to them. These headdresses are common among the rather humble secondary personages. The earplugs (10 and 12) occurring among these men are also rather simple and without elaborate designs. None of the men wear a necklace or a bracelet and none have painted or tattooed designs on their faces. Only one man has stripes

on his limbs and one has geometric motif 12 painted on his clothes. Even though these men are solo effigies, none have figurative motifs painted on their clothes.

VI.8.4.5. Shell-bearers

Thirteen secondary female personages have a shell in their hands. Four of these occur in copulation scenes, while the others are secondary characters in ceremonial scenes often containing personages holding cups, which indicates the presence of shell-bearers in libation and/or drinking rituals.

All shell-bearers are women and secondary characters. As previously mentioned, secondary personages seem to have been of lesser importance in iconographical representations. The clothes and attributes associated with the shell-bearing secondary women are all typical of secondary female personages and consequently confirm the likelihood of their lower ceremonial status. The manta motif 3 occurs five times, while the manta motif 6 appears four times. There are no figurative motifs on the clothes of these women, while six wear the checkerboard motif, two motif 9 and two the black and white pattern. The latter are all geometric motifs which occur regularly on secondary characters. Eleven women wear a belt. Seven are of type 21 and four of type 8. Both are belts typical of secondary characters. One woman wears *anchor-tupus*, which is one of the only two *tupu*-types appearing among secondary characters. Tattooed or painted face-designs, as well as necklaces, are completely absent.

Thirteen secondary female characters, divided over six vessels, are found holding shells. Shells thus had some importance during drinking and/or libation rituals, as well as during copulation scenes, although their rather modest rate of appearance (six out of a total of five hundred and six vessels) contradicts that they were frequently part of daily ceremonial activities. The presence of shells, imported from the coast, probably heightened the social significance of the religious activities during which they were used. However, based on the garments and attributes of the personages carrying shells, it can be concluded that shell-bearers did not have an important religious position. When investigating their clothes, they seem a lot like the garments found on other secondary female characters (e.g., those carrying cups, the one woman holding a turban). Apparently, all these secondary female characters had more or less the same, rather low, position in ceremonies, independent of the objects they were holding.

I am of the opinion that the shells carried by these women are *spondylus*. In, for example, Queyash Alto this type of shell was found in the so-called residential part of the site and the shells held by the secondary female personages closely resemble these bivalve shells. *Spondylus* shells were also found in other pre-Columbian cultures, mostly in tombs or other highly ritualised contexts. At Chavín de Huantar, for example, *spondylus* was found in the Gallery of the Offerings in the Old Temple. At Kuntur Wasi (750-500 B.C.), beads and *spondylus* fragments were encountered in a burial site. At Sipan (A.D. 1-300), shells were found in tombs of men, while in the cemetery of Pacatnamu (Moche III), beads made of *spondylus* were placed in tombs of women and children. In San Jose de Moro (A.D. 550-700), the famous priestesses held *spondylus* shells in their hands. The Sacrifice Ceremony painted on certain Moche pots, again depicts women who carry *spondylus*-shells in their hands (Carter 2011: 71-73).

Ethnohistorical texts and contemporary Andean agricultural practices indicate a relationship between *spondylus* and agricultural fertility and water in the Inca Empire. *Spondylus* shells were used in water rituals and were referred to as “daughters of the sea”. In the Chimú reign, a similar relation may be recognised, as *spondylus* offerings were found in a well in the Ciudadela Tschudi at Chan Chan and near a cultivated field of the Chimú period in the La Poza area of Huanchaco (Cordy-Collins 2001: 39-40; Pillsbury 1996: 318, 323).

What is clear from all of this is that in many of the pre-Columbian cultures there existed a clear affinity between *spondylus* shells on the one hand and agricultural fertility, water and high status on the other. The presence of shells in copulation and libation scenes could indicate a similar relationship with fertility and water during the Recuay period.

VI.8.4.6. Cup-bearers

As previously mentioned, both men and women, can carry cups in their hands: there are twenty-one solo women, twelve solo men, one hundred and twenty-two secondary females, thirteen secondary males, one man on a spoon, twenty-eight main men and six main women. Personages with cups occur in the centre of ceremonial scenes (as main personages), in auxiliary positions surrounding the central person (as secondary characters) and as solo individuals on effigy vessels. Consequently, cups are part of many different iconographic situations. The presence of cups probably refers to ceremonies in which drinking and libation was a key act.

In my opinion, the solo effigy vessels of men and women with cups in their hands are larger representations of the smaller main and secondary personages acting in ceremonial scenes (see also Lau 2000: 184). Based on the similar clothes and headdress-styles, there seem to exist similarities between the solo women with cups, the main females with cups and the secondary female characters, on the one hand, and between the solo men and the main men with cups, on the other. Secondary male characters with cups seem to have had similar ceremonial functions and positions as the secondary females.

Let us first look more closely at the women with cups, their occurrence in certain scenes and their possible importance for the ceremony.

Women with cups occur as solo representations on effigy vessels. Normally one would assume that they are of a higher religious importance since they occur on their own and on a larger scale. Nevertheless, their garments and attributes resemble the ones belonging to the secondary female characters. In both scene-groups, the mantas 4 and 6 are the most common types. The mantas 3 and 5 occur in both scene-groups as well. These are mantas commonly associated with secondary characters and consist of rather simple motifs. The same is true for the belts. The rather plain belts 2, 5 and 13 occur in both scene-groups at more or less the same, rather high, rate. Body stripes are uncommon, as are necklaces, bracelets and painted or tattooed designs on the faces. Anchor-*tupus* and circular ones occur on both scene-groups, though among the solo women, other pins are present as well (funnels A and B and serpents). The appearance of geometric motifs is similar as well. The checkerboard-motif and the black and white pattern are the most recurrent motifs in both scene-groups. The black and red pattern and motif 12 appear in both female groups as well. The biggest difference, however, occurs among the figurative motifs. The solo women have three times the great crescent being, three times snake appendages, once appendages of the great crescent being and once the two-headed being painted on their clothes, while figurative motifs are completely absent among the secondary female characters with cups. An explanation for this absence of figurative motifs could be the fact that the space on the clothes of the smaller personages is not large enough for such elaborate designs.

Among the main females with cups, five belong to the scene-group ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size and only one consists of a main woman in a ceremonial scene with secondary characters. It has been mentioned that main females in ceremonial scenes with main characters of the same size generally look a lot like secondary

females and that even if they are of the same size as the main males in these scenes, they are always placed in auxiliary positions. Thus, I propose to regard them as having similar functions and ceremonial importance as the secondary female personages. When comparing their attributes and clothes to those of secondary females with cups, it can be noticed that manta 6 is, once again, the most common manta-type. Manta 2, a type appearing once among the secondary females with cups, occurs as well. Belt 24, a belt also appearing four times among secondary females with cups, occurs twice among main females. The other belts (27 and 35) occurring on main females with cups, however, are not found on secondary females and consist of rather intricate motifs. Similar to the secondary females and the solo women with cups are the low frequencies of body stripes, face-designs, necklaces and bracelets. Figurative motifs are completely absent. Nevertheless, the checkerboard motif is, again, the most common geometric motif on clothes. The funnel B-pins are, as was the case among solo women with cups, present among the main females with cups.

The sixth main female with a cup in her hands is a woman sculpted on a vessel next to a main man of similar size and two smaller secondary female personages (C-20-64). Consequently, this woman cannot be considered to be the sole main subject of the scene. She is represented next to a man of the same size. Her attributes and garments are also quite similar to the ones found among secondary women (manta 6, lacking face-designs, a bracelet and a necklace).

To conclude, one can state that women holdings cups, whatever their size or position in a ceremonial scene, were all of a rather low ceremonial status. Nevertheless, their presence within ceremonies must have been crucial. Their common occurrence as cup-bearers was indispensable for the rituals depicted in the iconography.

Twelve solo men with cups, thirteen secondary males with cups, twenty-eight main men and one man on a spoon with a cup in his hands have been recognised. Consequently, there are many more main male personages than main women with cups, but fewer solo and secondary men with cups than solo and secondary women with cups. It has already been pointed out that the solo men with cups have more elements in common with the main men with cups in ceremonial scenes than with the secondary men with cups. The headdresses of the solo and main men with cups are often embellished with rather exceptional elements, such as mouths, feline heads and pins, while the headdresses of the secondary male characters consist mainly of turbans with small crescents. The latter is a headgear-type

commonly found among the secondary personages and should therefore be considered as the headdress of rather low-status men. All the earplugs occurring among the secondary men (earplugs 7, 12, 13 and 22) are also found on main and solo men with cups. Nevertheless, one of the most special earplugs, the notched earspool, appears on one main and on one solo man and not on secondary men. Face-designs occur on both main and solo men. Only one secondary male personage holding a cup has them. Hems occur in more or less the same quantity in all three scene-groups. Body stripes occur on both main and solo men with cups and never on secondary males. Necklaces occur rather frequently on solo men (five out of twelve times, or forty-one point six percent) and on main men (twelve out of twenty-eight, or forty-two point eight percent), whereas only two secondary men wear one (two out of thirteen, or fifteen point three percent). Bracelets occur on some occasions on main and solo men, while they are completely absent from secondary men with cups. Figurative motifs are absent on the secondary males with cups. Among the solo men four are associated with the great crescent being, one with birds, one with the two-headed being and one with a tooth face, while among the main men, one is associated with snake appendages and one with the two-headed being. Geometric motifs are much more common among the main and solo men than among the secondary males with cups. Only three motifs occur among secondary men (motifs 5, 12 and 29), which all appear on main and solo men as well.

It appears that main and solo men with cups have more or less the same attributes and wear similar garment-types, while the secondary men with cups wear less elaborate headdresses and clothing styles.

Based on the similarities between the solo and main men with cups, I am of the opinion that solo men with cups are individual representations of the main men with cups in ceremonial scenes. Meanwhile, secondary men with cups in ceremonial scenes seem to be of a different and lower ceremonial importance. The secondary men probably had similar functions (see also Lau 2006a: 126) and consequently also similar (low) religious positions as the secondary female characters with cups.

VI.8.4.7. Turban-carriers

There are two secondary personages, one man and one woman, carrying a turban with a small crescent on top. As previously mentioned, this turban is a headdress often found among smaller secondary men, and may thus be considered a headdress used by men of a rather low functional and ceremonial position. Both secondary characters with a turban in

their hands occur in ceremonial scenes in which the other personages carry cups. Therefore, it can be concluded that the presentation of turbans took place during drinking and/or libation ceremonies. Nevertheless, as there are only two scenes showing figures carrying turbans in the whole sample it is clear that this act of presenting a turban was a quite uncommon part of ceremonial life among the Recuay. Again, I want to emphasise that I am not convinced that these acts had something to do with a coronation ritual, since the turbans held by these personages are normally associated with figures of lower religious importance and the main characters in both scenes are already wearing a headdress. Both characters holding a turban wear clothes and attributes commonly found among secondary personages. The man wears a turban with a small crescent, has earplugs without a design and he lacks face-designs, a hem, a necklace and bracelets. The secondary female personage wears manta 2, the black and white pattern on her clothes, belt 2 and she does not wear *tupus*, nor does she have a necklace, bracelet or face-designs. Based on this information, I consider figures carrying turbans to have a rather low ceremonial status, probably corresponding to that of the other secondary personages holding objects (shells and cups).

VI.8.4.8. Carriers of transport vessels

There are three figures (one person of unidentifiable sex and two women) that definitely carry a vessel on their backs. Two carry the vessel's support itself, while one carries a separately sculpted vessel. All three vessels are globular in form and have a flaring rim. Two of the vases are transported in a cloth on which snake appendages are painted. One man with a bag holding a bulbous object could be carrying a vessel as well (C-20-19). This bag also has snake appendages on it.

The similarities between these vessels and the *aryballos* or *tumins* used for the fermentation and transportation of *chicha*, have already been mentioned. Other pre-Columbian cultures (e.g., the Moche, Chimu and Inca) often depict similar vessels being transported on the backs of mostly women. There seems to have been a relationship between the brewing and transportation of maize beer and women. Nevertheless, among the Recuay, there does exist one male effigy vessel carrying a possible transport vase.

The four personages probably associated with transport vessels on their backs all wear clothes and headgear generally associated with ceremonially important figures. One of the women wears a rather exceptional belt decorated with snakes, both women wear *tupus* (one consists of funnels A and the other of circular pins), one of the women and the

man wear bracelets, the man and the person of unidentifiable sex both wear necklaces, the man wears a turban with a pin on top (headdress 50), as well as a hem. He also has the geometric motif 7 on his clothes and a rather exceptional face-design (design 19). The person of unidentifiable sex has body stripes and on its clothes are painted the tooth face and geometric motif 11.

The fact that none of the secondary characters on Recuay ceramics are associated with transport vessels on their backs is another element which supports the hypothesis that the people carrying these vessels have rather important religious positions.

VI.8.4.9. Child-carriers

In my sample of Recuay ceramics there are seven solo women and one secondary man with a child in their hands.

The solo women are wearing rather elaborately decorated clothes. Two wear elevated mantas, one wears manta 20, a very exceptional manta-type. Six have painted or tattooed designs on their faces. Six also wear *tupus*, among which the funnels B and serpents occur twice, and the funnels A and circles once. Three have bracelets and all of the women wear belts. Two belts are decorated with snake appendages (belt 6) and two have a step-design (belt 7). Both belts are rather exceptional among Recuay ceramics and they are associated with women holding a special function. One of these women has the great crescent being painted on her clothes, while another has snake appendages on hers. As mentioned before, it is rather exceptional to see figurative motifs among women. Three women have stripes painted or tattooed on their limbs. A rather large amount of geometric motifs are also present on the clothes. The checkerboard-motif occurs twice, while the motifs 9, 20, 22, 92 and the black and white pattern all appear once. All these elements are in favour of attributing a rather special religious status to women holding children.

In Moche iconography, children are mostly carried by women or feminised personages (e.g., female bats, female skeletons). Often these representations take place within a sphere of death and sacrifice (Bourget 2001: 103). No definite conclusions can be made surrounding the sacrifice of children within Recuay society. Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that a similar concept of fertility can be accorded to the presence of children in certain rituals, even if these rituals are not sacrificial. Children, certainly when associated with women or copulation scenes, clearly refer to birth, the continuity of the lineage and fertility as a whole (see also Gero 1992: 20; Gero 1999: 34).

The situation is different for the secondary man with a child in his hands. This is the only time a man is found with a child in his hands. The vessel on which this man is depicted comes from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels (C-19-1), but looks very much like a vessel from the Ethnologisches Museum in Berlin (C-19-3). The only difference between these two vessels is the fact that on the vessel from Berlin, the man holds a staff, while on the vessel from Brussels, the secondary man holds a child. The possibility exists that the one from Brussels is a forgery, although the child in the arms of the man has the same face-designs as the child in the arms of a female effigy vessel (C-7-7). If this vessel is false, the ceramist who made it knew quite a lot of Recuay iconography and copied in fine detail the face-design occurring on children. The fact remains, however, that men typically are not associated with children. The secondary man is associated with rather simple clothes and headgear, contrary to the solo women with children. He wears a simple turban, while bracelets, face-designs and motifs on his clothes are absent. This man is thus considered to have a lower ceremonial position than and a different function from the solo women holding children.

The children represented in the arms of women and the one secondary man lack headdresses, earplugs, *tupus*, belts, necklaces and bracelets. This could mean that these elements were either assigned later on in life or that these children did not wear attributes associated with high ceremonial status.

Two children, however, have design 24 painted or tattooed on their faces. This design is typical for women. The sex of the other five children, however, is unclear.

There is one more vessel from the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Köln (C-16-18) that probably also is depicting children. This vessel shows a copulation scene with three smaller persons lying on the side. Normally, secondary personages are represented in a standing position, usually holding some sort of object in their hands to represent their active participation in the ceremony. The fact that these characters are represented as lying on their backs, with their hands free of objects and associated with a copulation scene, makes me incline to interpret that these three personages are children.

Copulation scenes probably refer to fertility, in which offspring naturally are of importance. In this regard, the presence of calves in the hands of men leading a llama by a cord should be mentioned. These scenes are probably depicting fertility rituals, in which calves symbolise the continuity within the herds. In a similar fashion, the smaller persons

lying next to the copulating couple could also be regarded as symbolising the continuity of the cultural lineage.

Two of the three smaller personages are clearly of the female sex, because a vagina is visible. The third secondary character could also be identified a female based on its clothes and attributes. Two wear manta 5, while the other's manta is of an unidentifiable type. Manta 5 is a simple type, found among rather simply clothed women. All three personages wear belts whose styles are regularly associated with secondary women: two are belt-type 16, while the other is type 8. None of the three have *tupus*, necklaces, bracelets or face-designs. Again, it seems that children wore attributes and garments associated with secondary personages who, according to me, had rather low status positions in ceremonies.

VI.8.4.10. Animal-carriers

There are five persons carrying an animal. Four are solo men, of which two are llama-men holding a calf and one is a solo woman.

As mentioned before, the llama-men with calves are, according to me, of a high ceremonial position. The calves held by these men probably refer to a fertility ritual in order to implore health and fertility of the llama herds.

Apart from the llama-men, one man holds a lizard, while another holds an unidentifiable animal and panpipes. Both men have rather simple clothes, generally associated with men of a lower ceremonial status. One wears a turban with a side pin and the other a turban with paws. One does not wear earplugs, while the other wears plugs with very small dots. One has body stripes and none have necklaces, bracelets or face-designs.

One woman is associated with a serpent head in her hands. She wears manta 6, circular *tupus*, the black and white pattern on her dress and belt 7, which is a rather elaborate belt-type which also occurs on two solo women with children in their hands. This last element suggests a rather high ceremonial status for this woman.

As there are very few personages represented with animals in their hands, it would be unwise to make far-reaching conclusions regarding this type of figures. The possibility exists that specific figures presented certain animals in rituals (perhaps for sacrifice), although the ceremonial scenes in iconography never show these kinds of acts. The only occurrences where animals are held in a figure's hands appear on effigy vessels.

VI.8.4.11. Couples in copulation scenes

On a total of five hundred and six vessels, twenty-one represent copulation scenes. These always depict a central couple consisting of a man and a woman, which is sometimes surrounded by smaller, always female, personages. The latter generally carry cups in their hands, although shells can be held as well. In some instances the scene takes place within an architectural setting.

The male-female pair often has a similar clothing style, which confirms their significance as a couple. Three of the couples are naked and when having stripes painted on their limbs, these are of the same style and width (see also Gero 2004).

Both the main male personage and the main female personage wear rather intricate headgear and garments, which, according to me, refers to their high importance in ceremonies.

Six of the twenty-one women wear elevated mantas. Combined with the occurrence of the mantas 9, 19 and 21, which solely appear on main women, it may be concluded that the mantas worn by main women in copulation scenes reveals their rather high religious status. The same situation is true for the belt-types. Belt 3 (occurring on the only woman with a musical instrument and on only one secondary person) appears twice, belts 13 and 14 (occur on both secondary as main characters) each occur once and the belts 31 and 32 (occur solely on main women) each occur on one occasion as well. Quite a lot of these women (eleven) have painted or tattooed designs on their faces. As previously mentioned, many of these women (ten) have stripes painted on their limbs, often in concordance with the body stripes on the men. Three women have circular *tupu*-pins and two wear anchor-pins. None of these women wear necklaces, but as mentioned before, these attributes are generally associated with men and therefore do not give any indication of the status of women. Five women, however, wear bracelets. Motifs on clothes are rather uncommon. This could be due to the position of these women (generally under the man), which often makes it difficult to detect the motifs on their garments. One great crescent being, six women with the checkerboard motif and two women with motif 29 were identified.

Among the main men, similar high religious status items are recognisable. Headdresses contain rather special elements. One fez, one wrap and one three-cornered hat, aside from sixteen turbans are recognised. Elements attached to the turbans are crescents (ten times), paws (six times), caps (four times), feline heads (four times) and a pin (one time). Almost all the earplugs worn by these men have rather intricate designs. Only two men have face-designs. Six men wear necklaces, four have bracelets and eight

have body stripes. One man wears a hem and a rather big amount have motifs painted on their clothes. Snake appendages occur three times, the two-headed being and appendages of the great crescent being once, geometric motif 29 three times, motif 9 two times and the motifs 4, 21 and 25 all appear once.

Neither the main men nor the main women partaking in the copulation act have objects in their hands. Apparently, their sole function is the one of sexual intercourse.

Since these personages are richly dressed, it could be presumed that these actors had rather important ceremonial statuses. More so, the fact that there are onlookers (the secondary female personages with cups or shells in their hands and the possible children) and that many of these sexual acts take place within an architectural setting, suggests that this copulation scene was a ceremonial act rather than a daily activity (see also Gero 2004). It is assumed that these ceremonies had a symbolic meaning referring to fertility. The copulation scenes, the presence of only female secondary personages (women being the life-givers par excellence), the secondary character holding cups (libation rituals are meant to nourish the earth in order for it to give crops and abundance in return) and shells (shells often being associated with agricultural fertility and water) all are clear references to fertility. As was the case among the scenes showing a man holding a llama by a cord, I am of the opinion that imploring fertility from the divinities and ancestors was the main goal of these copulation ceremonies, and, in my opinion, of all the rituals visible in Recuay iconography.

VI.8.4.12. Men with felines

A rather large amount of effigy vessels shows men accompanied by two felines. From a total of five hundred and six vessels, forty-seven belong to this scene-group. Two of these were discussed in the section on musicians, as they hold flutes. None of the other men, however, carry objects in their hands, which makes the allocation of a function difficult, if not impossible considering the premature state of our knowledge of Recuay culture and its customs. Nevertheless, it is at least possible to investigate their probable ceremonial status in iconographical representations, which, according to me, is a rather important one.

Men with felines wear headdresses with rather special elements attached to them. Apart from the rather common paws (sixteen times), crescents (twenty-nine times) and caps (two times), the turbans are also associated with arms (eleven times), feline heads (six times), birds (seven times) and feline-serpent creatures (three times). Of all the turbans associated with feline heads, twenty-one percent occur among the men with felines. Of all

the headdresses with birds, forty-three percent belong to men with felines and fifty percent of the feline-serpent creatures on turbans are associated with this scene-group as well. It is thus very clear that the headdresses on men with felines are of an extremely decorated kind, which could infer a higher social position for these men. The earplugs associated with these men are also rather elaborately decorated and many have designs painted on them. Ten men have painted or tattooed designs on their faces and thirty-two are wearing necklaces. A very large amount of men, thirty-nine out of forty-seven, wear hems. Only one character has stripes painted or tattooed on his limbs and none of the men wear bracelets. An unusual high amount of motifs are present on the clothes of these men. The great crescent being and the tooth face occur twelve times, appendages of the great crescent being and the two-headed being four times, snake appendages three times and birds once. The geometric motifs 12, 25 and 29 occur twice, while the motifs 16, 23, 36, 65, 79, 81 and 109 appear once.

VI.8.4.13. Men with birds

There are thirteen effigy vessels representing a man accompanied by two birds. As was the case for the figures with felines, these human personages are also always men. None of these men have objects in their hands, so allocating a function to them is difficult. Additionally, their attributes and clothing styles do not reveal much information as to the religious status of the men with birds.

All these men wear turbans, with crescents appearing ten times, paws eight times and arms and caps one time. These elements are the ones most commonly found among Recuay men and they mostly adorn secondary characters. All of the men with birds wear earplugs. Most of these earplugs, however, do not appear on secondary personages (earplugs 15, 18, 25, 31 and 34) or only occasionally (earplugs 1, 22, 28 all occur only once on a secondary man). Earplug 7 is the only one which occurs with any frequency among secondary men. Only two men have face-designs and none of them wear bracelets, nor do they have stripes painted or tattooed on their limbs. Some elements hinting at a rather high ceremonial status include the fact that eleven men wear a necklace and eleven also have hems. A rather high amount of figurative motifs occur among the clothes of men with birds: five have a tooth face, four have the great crescent being, one has a bird and one has snake appendages. As for geometric patterns, motifs 20 and 97 each occur only once.

I thus propose an intermediate religious position for these men. They are not equal with the men with felines or the llama-men, but are more important than secondary men. Their exact function or symbolic meaning, however, is still unidentifiable.

VI.8.4.14. Men attacked by animals

There are a total of nine vessels that represent a person being attacked by animals. On seven of these, the attacking animals are felines, while, in two instances, the animals are condors. The person being attacked is always of the male sex.

One of these men (C-8-6) has been briefly discussed in the section about warriors, for he holds a club in his hands. This man shows similarities with the llama-men. For instance, he wears an undershirt with a hem and snake appendages adorn his shirt. He is the only man in this scene-group who is shown with all his insignia and clothes, and he is holding a weapon, as well. All the other men from this group are depicted as naked, while being fed on or firmly grabbed by an animal. My hypothesis for the meaning of this battle scene with an animal is that it references some sort of rite of passage, after which the victor would graduate to a new position in life, the one of the llama-men, while the loser's fate would be to be eaten by the animals.

In general, the clothes and headgear of the men attacked by animals are rather simple without much elaboration. Most of their headdresses consist of turbans, although one man wears a helmet (C-8-3). As previously mentioned, I perceive helmets as markers of warriorhood. The possibility that men attacked by animals are warriors firmly supports my hypothesis regarding the rite of passage through which warriors could augment their position in society and become llama-men, the highest rank of warriors. The elements attached to the turbans are of the simpler sort; crescents appear twice, while caps, a pin and arms occur once. Six of the nine men wear earplugs, which is a rather low amount. Three have face-designs and only two wear necklaces. None of the men attacked by animals wear bracelets. Four of the men are naked, which is a very high amount. The only other instance where nude people are represented in Recuay iconography is in copulation scenes, in which nudity is expected and regarded as a more normal state. Nude warriors could refer to a state of vulnerability and defeat. This is exactly the state in which the men attacked by animals are shown: they have been defeated and now must suffer being eaten by animals. Apart from the man resembling the llama-men and the four naked men, the clothes of two other men are unidentifiable, while only the head of a third man is shown. There is one final man wearing a shirt with the black and red pattern. It has been noted that this pattern

is normally associated with women. Perhaps its occurrence on a man under attack also refers to a vulnerable state.

It seems that most of the men being attacked by animals are shown without many insignia or apparel, often naked and in a state of surrender. The only man still combating is the one resembling a llama-man. Therefore, I argue that men being attacked by animals represent warriors in a state of defeat. Only one man was able to conquer the attacking animal, which reveals his great power. Perhaps this victory made him become a llama-man or, if he already was a llama-man, he could vanquish a wild animal, contrary to the more common warriors.

VI.8.4.15. Personages without attributes

It is rather difficult to attribute a function and ceremonial status to personages without attributes, as they do not have objects in their hands, nor are they represented within a scene. The enormous amount of men (one hundred and fifty-four) in this scene-group, presents another difficulty. Surely, within this large group of men, subdivisions according to function and/or religious status were present. Unfortunately, the current state of research does not allow us to make such a division. Among the men without attributes, elements referring to both a high ceremonial status and an intermediate or lower one are present. Turbans, helmets, fezzes or other more unusual headdresses occur. The elements attached to the turban range from the more common crescents, caps and paws to human heads, birds, arms, feline heads, pins, mouths and decorative geometric designs. Most of the men wear earplugs, representing the whole range, from simpler ones without designs to intricate ones. Twenty-eight men have designs painted or tattooed on their faces, seventy-eight wear necklaces, ten have bracelets and fifteen have stripes on their limbs. Fourteen men have layered garments, eleven wear double hems and forty-five men have single hems. Quite a lot of figurative motifs are present on the clothes as well. Snake appendages occur twenty-six times, the great crescent being seventeen times, the tooth face eleven times and both birds and the two-headed being appear four times. A varied number of geometric motifs are present as well.

The women without attributes are a bit easier to investigate, as there are only fourteen of them and all wear rather standard and similar clothes. Their similarities with secondary women and therefore there probably low religious status have already been mentioned. None of these women wear elevated mantas, only two women have face-designs, only

three wear bracelets, only one woman has a figurative motif on her clothes (the two-headed being) and only three women have stripes painted or tattooed on their limbs. The mantas, belts, *tupus* and the geometric motifs on the clothes are all similar to the ones found on secondary personages.

VI.8.4.16. Spoons

There are six spoons depicting a human personage on their handle. Only one of these figures can definitely be identified as a man by his headdress. One other person could be a woman, for the person wears what looks like a manta. The man wears a turban with a feline head and paws attached to it. None of the other personages wear headgear, earplugs, *tupus*, belts, hems, necklaces or bracelets. This makes a function and status description practically impossible. One of the personages on a spoon has a design painted or tattooed on its face and two persons have a cup in their hands. The fact that spoons are used to pour liquid from one receptacle into another, could infer that the two cups held by the figures on the spoons refer to this act of pouring. The exact function of the personages on the spoons and their possible ceremonial status, however, remain completely unclear.

VI.8.4.17. Three-dimensional heads on vases, sculpted faces and painted faces

On several occasions, heads are sculpted or painted on Recuay vases. There are five male three-dimensional heads, nineteen male faces and four male painted faces in the whole sample of Recuay ceramics. Female heads or faces are never recognised. Of the twenty-eight faces, only sixteen are definitely associated with earplugs. It seems as if earplugs are rather uncommon. Twenty-five male faces wear headdresses. All consist of turbans. Most of the elements attached to these turbans are generally associated with secondary persons, such as crescents (ten times), paws (nine times), caps (one time) and pins (one time). Only twelve male faces have painted or tattooed designs, while only five are associated with a necklace. It would seem that the heads and faces of men reveal a rather low ceremonial status. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify their function as neither clothes nor objects in their hands are visible.

VI.8.5. Conclusions

As is the case among the Moche, it seems to me that the iconographical world represented on Recuay ceramics is the ceremonial and the religious one. The iconography seems to be

centred on fertility rituals in which the people implored the divinities and ancestors for the continuity of their lineage as well as the fecundity of the herds. Such rituals are recognised on vessels showing copulation acts, the presentation of children, the presentation and possible sacrifice of llamas, the presence of shells, drinking and/or libation rituals (identifiable by the many figures holding cups and the people carrying transport vessels for maize beer) and coca-chewing. Often these ceremonies are accompanied by music. No real life situations consisting of, for example, pastoral themes or household tasks are represented.

The actors in these scenes seem to have had various functions and ceremonial statuses. In most of the ceremonies, men are central and are often represented as warriors. Not only were these rituals enacted in order to ensure prosperity and fecundity, but they also served political ends (see also Lau 2002: 297-298; Lau 2006a: 123, 125). Recuay iconography seems to operate simultaneously on a symbolic and a political level. The central male personages exercised their power and authority by presiding over the rituals (perhaps even by organising them and being the main providers of food and drink) as well as by exhibiting their strength as respectable warriors. This is why, according to me, so many warrior-related objects appear on the Recuay vessels, while in fact none of the vessels show actual battle scenes.

Recuay iconography is comprised of a relatively limited number of scenes. The ceremonial scenes depict the entirety of the ritual, whereas the effigy vessels show individual actors of these scenes (see also Lau 2000: 184). Based on the similar clothing styles and attributes held by these solo personages and the actors in the ceremonial scenes, I view the effigy vessels as parts of one large narrative, which is represented in the ceremonial scenes. At the centre of the rituals, we encounter male musicians, male warriors, men with cups and a copulating male-female pair. Surrounding these figures, mostly female cup- and/or shell-bearers are found, although, in some examples, male cup-bearers are present as well. Sometimes in these ceremonial scenes, the activities are watched over by smaller male guardians.

The question remains: what do these rituals represent and in which context did they take place? Not only did these rituals have political ends and were they used to implore fertility from the divinities¹¹⁷, but an additional highly probable aim of the rituals and message behind their representations is the celebration of or connection to ancestry (see

¹¹⁷ These "divinities" can be understood as a quite large concept, encompassing gods and also natural entities, such as the earth, the sun and the mountains.

also Lau 2006a: 130). The vessels' decorativeness and their lack of wear from domestic use contradict any notion that they were intended for daily use. Further, most, if not all, of these ceramics were found in funerary contexts, so, even if these vessels were used before their placement in the tombs, they must have been related to a symbolic system associated with the culture's religious beliefs relating to death and the afterlife. It has been mentioned that *chicha* and llamas were often the principal offerings made to the ancestors and that music usually enlivened the ancestral ceremonies. It is possible that the ceremonies shown on the Recuay ceramics represent the rituals that were enacted in reverence of their ancestors. Similar ceremonies are visible in the archaeological record. In sector II of Queyash Alto, production and storage spaces for maize beer have been discovered. The process of meat preparation and drinking activities (accompanied by music) are displayed in sector III (Fitzhugh 1989; Gero 1991; Gero 1992). In Chinchawas, ceremonial activities consisting of drinking rituals and the display of sumptuary goods are visible in the enclosures near the residences (from the Late Recuay period) and near the *chullpas* (from the Middle Horizon onwards) (Lau 2010: 119-120, 135, 355, 359). Based on this evidence, it can be concluded that the libation and/or drinking ceremonies as well as the llama-presentations represented on the Recuay ceramics were actual rituals performed in the central plazas, enclosures, or near the *chullpas*, perhaps during funerary ceremonies (this would certainly be the case for ones taking place near tombs). The likelihood also exists that the ceramics themselves were used during these ceremonies, after which they were interred along with the dead. Analysis of the vessels' contents would surely provide a more decisive answer surrounding this possibility.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of extensive archaeological excavations, much essential information pertaining to the Recuay culture and their customs is lacking. The current state of research seems to indicate that the personages represented in the ceramic iconography were actual people and not divinities or ancestors. The textiles, the metal headdress with feathers found in Jancu, the *tupu*-pins found in, amongst others, Pashash, Chinchawas and Queyash Alto, the stone and shell pendants from Chinchawas as well as the earrings found in Chinchawas and Pashash all resemble the clothes and attributes adorning the figures represented in the iconography. However, until further archaeological research is carried out in the Ancash region, in which gender is an active part of the research question, one will continue to wonder about the exact meaning behind the iconographical depictions of these ceremonies and their participants.

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER VII: CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this thesis is 1) to create an iconographic compendium of Recuay stone sculptures, textiles and ceramics and 2) to amplify our knowledge of Recuay society by looking at its human actors.

The iconographic compendium can be found in the appendices and consists of three hundred and eighty-eight stone sculptures, thirteen textiles and five hundred and six ceramics. The stone sculptures are divided into groups according to their geographical origin, their sculptural types (monoliths, relief slabs and tenons) and the presence or absence of genitals. The ceramics are catalogued according to scene-groups (twenty-one in total). Inventory numbers were given in such a way so that other researchers can easily add new artefacts. I therefore invite other researchers to refer to this dissertation as a working tool to further their own investigations and to continue the iconographical analysis that has been started here.

The research results collected here also contribute to the academic field on Recuay society by concentrating on and enriching the knowledge of the functions of men, women and children in iconographical representations and their position in ceremonial, social and perhaps even political life. While iconography formed my primary and most important source of information, the archaeological record and ethnohistorical documents offered valuable additional data.

The conclusions of this research reveal that ancestry was at the centre of religious life. However, since I am of the opinion that religious life was intertwined with many aspects of the social and political sphere, particularly when it comes to ancestry, I often extended my interpretations of the status and function of men and women to encompass not only religious ceremonies, but also the society as a whole.

The social significance of ancestral veneration is clearly visible in the huge amount of stone sculptures produced by the Recuay. Many of these sculptures were found near funerary architecture, which suggest their relation to death. More important evidence supporting this link is the resemblance of these monoliths to the mummy bundles which are described in ethnohistorical documents and found at, for example, Chachapoyas (see also Kauffmann 1970/71). Furthermore, if we consider the profound belief in petrified ancestors in the Andes, it is not too far a stretch to regard these monoliths as being or representing ancestors (see also DeLeonardis and Lau 2004). In contrast with past

researchers, with Tello (1929) being the first scholar to investigate the monoliths, I argue that most of the Recuay sculptures represent men. This would mean that even if stone uprights (*huancas*) were perceived in Inca and colonial times as depicting both men and women, among the Recuay, men were most likely at the centre of the veneration of lithomorphosised ancestors.

The archaeological record confirms the existence of ancestral celebrations in the Recuay culture. At Queyash Alto (Huarás and Early Recuay period), ceremonies - during which *chicha* and llama-meat were consumed - took place in the main plaza. Based on the discovery of flutes, it is highly probable that music enlivened these celebrations (see also Fitzhugh 1989; Gero 1990 and 1992). At Chinchawas, rituals were enacted first during the Late Recuay period in enclosures in the central part of the site, and later these ceremonies moved to locations near *chullpa*-tombs in the Middle Horizon. In this evidence, we recognise a probable shift from public, small-scale ceremonies to even more restricted rituals, which concentrated to a greater extent on the particular descent group one belonged to. It appears thus that ancestry gained in importance over time. At Chinchawas, as was the case in Queyash Alto, these rituals seem to have centred on drinking and libation rituals, for many bowls and camelid bones were found (see also Lau 2002 and 2010b).

Ethnohistorical documents (e.g., Cieza 1968; Cobo 1964; Doyle 1988; Duviols 1986; Estete 1968; Martínez Cereceda 1995) provide information about the belief in petrified ancestors and the ceremonies organised in their honour in order to implore fertility for the herds, the fields and the people. From these documents, we can deduce that music often accompanied the festivities and that *chicha* and llamas were the principal offerings. Further, these offerings are exactly the same ones that were found in the archaeological record and, can thus give an indication of the meaning of the iconographical representations on ceramics as well.

According to me, the ceramics represent the religious world of the Recuay, in which ceremonies - centred on appealing to the divinities and/or ancestors for fertility - were key. As most of these vessels were found in funerary contexts, an association with ancestry and fertility seems to clearly suggest itself.

Evidently, drinking and libation rituals are one of the most important ceremonies represented on Recuay vessels. First, the vessels' form (being *pacchas*) indicate their use for libations (see Carrión Cachot 1955). Second, most of the figures on the ceramics carry cups in their hands. Further, some personages even carry on their backs big vessels, which

I perceive to be storage and/or transport vessels for *chicha*, used during the libation ceremonies (see also Lau 2006a: 126). From ethnohistorical documents we do know that libation rituals were intended to nourish the earth (e.g., Mariscotti de Gorlitz 1978) in order to increase the fertility of the fields.

Other scenes clearly indicate that the community's fertility was one of the main concerns among the Recuay. Twenty-one copulation scenes were recognised in this sample. These scenes often take place within an architectural setting with onlookers being regularly represented as well. Furthermore, the male-female couple at the centre of such scenes wears elaborately decorated clothes. This seems to imply that these copulation scenes do not represent daily activities, but instead depict highly ritualised ceremonies during which the vital religious status of the central couple was emphasised (see also Gero 1999: 38; Gero 2004). This central couple is sometimes surrounded by smaller secondary personages. Interestingly, these witnesses are always of the female sex. In other scene groups, secondary personages can be male, which makes the explicit link with the female sex in the copulation scenes even more meaningful. Could this overtly female presence refer to their capacity as life-givers? Often, these secondary women carry cups or shells in their hands. The relation between libations and fertility has already been explained. Shells, however, are also recognised for their significance within fertility rituals, mostly in their association with water and agricultural fruitfulness (see Pillsbury 1996). In one copulation scene, the continuity of the lineage is to an even greater extent implied by the presence of three (female) children.

Children are not often represented on Recuay ceramics. Apart from the three children lying next to a copulating couple, just seven are found held by women on effigy vessels, and only one is held by a secondary male personage standing on the stairway of an architectural construction. The presentation of children by mostly women appears to indicate, once again, that ensuring the continuity of the descent group was a prime concern for the Recuay.

Llamas were one of the main sources of wealth among the Recuay (e.g., Amat O. 2003; Lau 2006a; Laurencich-Minelli and Wegner eds. 2001). That many Recuay rituals revolved around the llamas' well-being, is visible from the multiple small llama-effigies (*conopas*) that were found during excavations (Wegner 2011). Therefore, the association of llamas with men wearing clothes and attributes almost exclusively found on this particular scene-group (on twenty-eight vessels) appears to indicate a ceremonial, perhaps even sacrificial, significance rather than a pastoral one (see also Lau 2002: 297-298; Lau

2006a: 125). I am of the opinion that this scene-group, which I refer to as the llama-men, shows a ceremony aimed at augmenting the herds and ensuring fertility among the animals. An element in favour of this interpretation is the smaller llama (perhaps a calf) on display in the hands of two of the men accompanied by a llama. As was the case for the copulation scenes, in which children sometimes are represented, these calves could also have been a reference to the highly desired offspring.

Ethnohistorical documents and archaeological excavations (e.g., Queyash Alto) indicate the use of musical instruments during the ceremonial celebrations. The presence of panpipes, flutes and one hand drum in my sample of vessels seems to confirm this information.

Based on the similarities between the clothes and attributes of the ceramic personages and the archaeological discovery of textiles, *tupu*-pins, pendants of precious stones and shells and the metal feather-like headdress from Jancu, I conclude that the actors in the ceremonial scenes are iconographical representations of real people and not ancestors or divinities, as has been proposed in the past.

Warriorhood appears to have been an important aspect of Recuay life and one of the chief ways to gain social respect and power. The fortifications found at, for example, Yayno (see Lau 2010a) confirm this hypothesis, as do the many stone sculptures associated with weaponry. The warrior-related imagery on monoliths also indicates that one of the ways to attain ancestral status was by having exercised exceptional skills or shown courage on the battle field.

At the centre of many ceremonies depicted on the ceramics stand men, sometimes portrayed as warriors. It seems that ceramics did not merely represent ceremonies, but were also a means through which leaders could exhibit and thus increase their power (see also Lau 2002: 297-298; Lau 2006a: 125). By showing off their central positions in rituals and by perhaps referring to themselves as the organisers of these festivities and the main providers of food and drink, these chiefs made Recuay ceramics into ever-lasting memories of male power.

This discussion of significant social and ceremonial roles inevitably raises the issues of status and how the iconography enhances our understanding of the social stratification in Recuay culture.

cups. Only twelve percent of the secondary men are associated with cups, while forty-four percent of the secondary women are.

Apart from cup-bearing, other functions are recognisable in the iconographical representations of ceramics.

As stated previously, warriorhood was an important aspect of Recuay society and warriors are often represented on ceramics. In general, warriors can be recognised based on their association with weapons (including clubs, shields, staffs, rectangular back plates, trophy heads and knives), with helmets and perhaps also with snake appendages on their clothes. In my research, a hierarchical difference has been noticed between the different types of warriors.

First, there are the llama-men, who, as has been mentioned previously, wear apparel (the notched earplugs, the three-cornered hats, the fezzes, the owl-crescents, the underskirts, the layered garments and the many hems) which clearly set them apart. They are also often represented holding weapons and musical instruments (musicians and warriors are regarded as being in close relation to one another). It therefore seems likely that, besides their ceremonial function, the llama-men also had a warrior function. Based on their exceptional clothing style, llama-men appear to have been warriors of the highest level.

On a second plane, we recognise the solo and main men with weapons who, as stated previously, resemble each other.

On the bottom of the hierarchical ladder, the secondary male personages with weapons have been placed. In comparison to female secondary characters, secondary men are more often associated with weapons and less with cups. They also wear clothes which are normally found on warriors. Furthermore, the secondary men are often depicted on roofs, stairways or looking out of windows of architectural constructions in which libation or drinking rituals are taking place, as if they are positioned on the places offering the best visibility possible in order to protect the people inside the buildings. I therefore conclude that these secondary male personages are in fact guardians.

There are three other warrior-groups whose hierarchical position is still unclear. First, there are two women with weapons represented in this sample. For one of these, it is not clear if she actually is associated with a weapon (a club). Moreover, she is represented in a ceremonial scene which is comprised of elements indicating a libation or drinking ritual and in which no other warrior-related elements can be found. The second woman,

The archaeological record indicates a highly stratified society. Within one site, different sizes and various levels of workmanship can be recognised among the residences (e.g., Chinchawas). Often, these differences coincide with the variety of high- and low-status items found in these buildings. Offerings in tombs (e.g., Pashash) indicate a continuity of status differentials even after death. From excavations we know that both men and women could be associated with high status items. High status objects associated with men include copper earrings, pendants made from shell or precious stones and a golden diadem in the form of feathers, while copper *tupus* and stone spindle whorls can be considered high status female apparel.

The iconographical representations on ceramics affirm the existence of a stratified society. A first indication is the variation in size of the figures on the vessels. The personages are divided into three groups: solo (people on effigy-vessels), main (central larger figures in ceremonial scenes) and secondary (smaller figures surrounding the main ones) characters. The secondary characters generally wear completely different clothes and attributes, usually with simpler motifs or less elaboration, than the solo or main persons. The lower qualitative value of the clothes and the auxiliary positions imply a lower ceremonial status or less important functions for these secondary characters. It is therefore noteworthy that there are five and a half times less women represented as main or solo characters and two and a half times more women represented as secondary personages than men. Moreover, women are mostly represented holding cups and surrounding the central larger man, who - in addition to cups - may also hold other objects. The resemblances in clothing style and association with certain attributes between the solo women with cups and the secondary women with cups, on the one hand, and the similarities between the solo men with cups and the main men with cups, on the other hand, have been amply demonstrated in this thesis. It appears that the effigy vessels depicting the men with cups are in fact larger representations of the central male figures in ceremonial scenes, while the effigy vessels showing the women with cups are larger images of the secondary female personages with cups. Therefore, while there are already so many more solo and main male personages than female ones, this evidence suggests that even the larger solo women with cups are of a lesser ceremonial importance. The secondary male personages with cups, however, seem to have attributes and clothing styles resembling those of the female secondary figures, which suggests that both men and women holding cups probably shared the same function and low status in ceremonies. It should be noted, however, that the appearance of secondary men with cups is much less common than secondary women with

however, is clearly holding a shield and a club in her hands. This woman wears clothes associated with women of high ceremonial importance, which indicates her peculiar position in society. Then again, this vessel looks a lot like a male effigy vessel, also associated with weapons, from the same museum. This unique occurrence of a woman with weapons and her close relation to a man seems to point to the exceptional nature of the situation and the necessity of a male component where warriors are concerned. The second warrior-group of an unclear hierarchical status is the group of painted men with staffs. Some of these are associated with helmets and two are clearly represented as fighting. Their function as warriors is therefore evident. Their status, however, is unidentifiable as a comparison between painted attributes and sculpted ones is not recommended and the attribution of five of seven of them to the site of Pashash might indicate an explanation based on provenience rather than status. Finally, a third group consists of men attacked by animals. Most of these are represented naked, a condition uncommon in Recuay iconography. It is believed that nudity, as was the case among the Moche (see Donnan 1976), was a sign of defeat and vulnerability. All of these men are thus shown in a state of surrender (naked, without weapons, firmly grabbed or being eaten by animals), except for one man. The latter's appearance is very similar to the llama-men. He wears an underskirt, an elaborate headdress, he has snake appendages on his tunic and he holds a club in his hands. He is the only man who is still represented with his warrior insignia and in the act of fighting instead of defeat. As a hypothesis, I propose that this scene of a man being attacked by animals refers to some kind of rite of passage. When completed successfully, the victor would become the highest level of warrior, a llama-man, while those defeated during the rite of passage would get eaten by animals.

It has been mentioned previously that music often accompanied the Recuay rituals and that llama-men were often associated with musical instruments. Wind instruments (panpipes and flutes) are clearly only coupled with male figures, while one woman holds a hand drum. Based on the clothes and attributes of these musicians, it appears that many also had a warrior function. It seems that musicians had an intermediate ceremonial status, lower than the llama-men's status, but higher than that of secondary personages.

Chewing coca is another ritual occupation visible on three examples from my sample of Recuay ceramics. Some stone sculptures also refer to this action. It seems that only men are portrayed chewing coca and their rather modest clothes indicates a less significant ceremonial status.

As previously mentioned, shells are sometimes present in libation and copulation scenes. They are only held by secondary personages and these are always of the female sex. *Spondylus* were highly valued goods, as they had to be imported from the coast. In many other Andean cultures (see Cordy-Collins 2001; Pillsbury 1996) they were used during fertility rituals (which explains their appearance in libation and copulation rituals on Recuay vessels) and associated with people of high status. Among the Recuay, however, the shells were held by women of rather modest ceremonial functions and status. The clothes and attributes belonging to these women resemble those of other secondary characters. The presence of shells seems to have heightened the importance of the ritual, but not the one of the carrier.

Another function reserved for secondary personages is the carrying of a turban. There is one secondary man and one secondary woman holding a turban in my sample of Recuay ceramics. The turban in question, bearing a small crescent, is a headdress mostly associated with secondary and thus less important men. As a result, I do not think this ceremony refers to a coronation ritual, despite the presence of the headdress. Moreover, the other personages in these two scenes all hold cups, which seems to suggest that these turbans were used during drinking or libation rituals. The two secondary figures carrying the turbans wear apparel resembling the clothing style of other secondary characters and therefore have, according to me, a rather unexceptional religious status.

Individual figures carrying transport vessels (probably for *chicha*) have been discussed. Most of these are women, although one main man could have been associated with such a vessel as well. Their clothes and their occurrence on effigy vessels or as a main personage in a ceremonial scene seem to indicate their important status.

There are seven effigy vessels representing women holding a child in their hands. These women often wear clothes and attributes associated with the female personages taking central places in ceremonies. They thus seem to have had an exceptional ceremonial status within rituals which, as was mentioned previously, probably had significance associated with the constant concern for the continuity of the lineage. There also exists one secondary man holding a child. The ceramic in question is of a dubious provenance. The child in the hands of this man, however, has the same face-design of a child appearing in the hands of a solo woman. Regardless of the vessel's authenticity, the obvious fact remains that the man holding this child is of a rather low ceremonial status for the clothes he is wearing resemble those of secondary characters.

A total of eleven children (seven in the hands of solo women, one held by a secondary man and three lying next to a copulating couple) are recognised. To five of these the female sex could be attributed. Almost half of the children could thus definitely be identified as women, which is a rather high amount. The reason for depicting mainly (or perhaps only) female children on Recuay ceramics is still unclear. A possible interpretation could be that the female sex of these children emphasised even more the importance of fertility, as women are the life givers *par excellence*. All the children wear attributes and clothes resembling those of secondary characters which therefore implies a modest religious status.

The importance of fertility in copulation scenes has already been mentioned, as has the vital religious position of the male-female couple and the lower ceremonial status of the exclusively female secondary personages associated with cups or shells.

Another function in the ceremonial representations is the carrying of animals. Two llama-men hold a small llama, one solo man has a lizard, another solo man carries an unidentifiable animal and panpipes and one solo woman holds a serpent head. I have already revealed my explanation regarding the llama-men holding the calves and discussed their probably high status within ceremonies and function as warriors. The two other solo men, however, wear clothes associated with a lower ceremonial status. As there are too few examples of men holding animals, one should not make far-reaching conclusions. The woman holding the serpent-head, however, wears clothes commonly found on religiously important women.

It was impossible to identify an exact function of the following scene-groups for they generally are not associated with specific objects or represented in signifying situations: men with felines, men with birds, men and women without attributes, persons on spoons and finally, three-dimensional, painted and sculpted male heads. Certain elements, however, give an idea of their ceremonial statuses. The clothes and attributes of men with felines (many turbans have a feline head, birds or feline-serpent creatures attached to them, the earplugs have elaborate designs, many wear hems and there is an unusually high amount of motifs painted on their clothes) seem to indicate a very high ceremonial status. Men with birds, however, wear very contradictory elements. On the one hand, their headdresses are often associated with secondary characters and only two men have face-designs, which would imply a lower ceremonial importance. On the other hand, their earplugs are different from the ones found on secondary characters and a high amount of these men wear necklaces, hems and have figurative motifs on their clothes, which

might suggest a higher religious status. Until more research is done, I propose a moderate ceremonial status for the men with birds. There are too many vessels (one hundred and fifty-four) representing men without attributes and a functional description is, due to the lack of objects in their hands, almost impossible. There were probably differences in status and function within this particular group, but until we gain more information about Recuay society, it would be unwise to proceed further in the analysis of this specific scene-group. Women without attributes (fourteen in this sample) appear to have had a lower religious status, as their clothes are often found on secondary personages. Two of the persons on spoons hold a cup in their hands. I propose that these spoons represent the actions for which they were used: the pouring of liquids from a container into a cup. The sex of most of the personages on these spoons is unidentifiable and many have so few attributes that an inquiry into their status or function is not advisable. Finally, there are many instances of sculpted or painted male (never female) heads on vases. As only the heads of these men are represented, a functional analysis is impossible. Their headgear, earspools and face-designs, however, seem to point to low ceremonial positions.

The aim of this thesis was to create a useful tool for iconographical studies on the Recuay culture. By developing a systematic inventory system linked to sheets with pictures of the sculptures, textiles and ceramics gathered during this research and with connections to the corresponding tables reproducing the attributes and clothing styles of the Recuay human figures on these artefacts, I believe this goal was achieved.

From this iconographical research it could be concluded that the Recuay culture was a stratified society in which the male warrior retained an essential place. Religious life was dominated by the veneration of the petrified ancestors who, based on the investigation of the stone sculptures, were mostly of the male sex. This consequently puts men at the centre of religious celebrations, a situation which is confirmed by the representations of ceremonies on ceramics. According to my research results, men - positioned on central places and represented larger in size - were the main focus of the rituals performed in order to appease the ancestors and to make supplications for fertility. Among these men, however, hierarchical differences could be detected. It appears that different types of warriors existed, each with their specific function. There even is evidence pointing to the existence of rites of passage through which one could attain a higher ceremonial and perhaps also political status. This evidence suggests that Recuay male status could be inherited, as well as achieved during life. Women, on the other hand, seem to have had

lower ceremonial statuses, based on the iconographical evidence. They mostly appear as secondary personages, are represented as smaller in size and are positioned in the area around the central male figure. In some rare instances, however, they do take prominent places. For instance, when they are part of a copulating couple and when they are presenting a child, these women clearly differ in size and clothing style from that of the more regularly found secondary female figures holding cups or shells. However, what all these women have in common is their presence in copulation scenes or their association with attributes which refer to fertility and women's procreative abilities. The presence of (mostly female) children seems to have functioned as a reference to fertility and the continuity of the lineage as well. While men extracted religious and probably also political power (being warriors and descendents of important ancestors) from their prominent places as, amongst others, warriors, musicians, and key figures in libation scenes, the presence of women in ceremonial scenes - both the larger ones wearing more elaborately decorated clothing and the secondary ones - seems to have amplified the significance of fertility in the religious culture of Recuay life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abercrombie, T. A.
1986 *The Politics of Sacrifice: An Aymara Cosmology in Action*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Acosta, J. de
1954 [1509] *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid.
- Alba Herrera, C.A.
1946 La provincia de Huaylas en la Historia. In *Monografía de la Provincia de Huaylas*, edited by F. García Cuéllar, pp.21-44. Antena 7, Caraz.
- Alcalde, M.A.
2003 Reconocimiento arqueológico en la cuenca alta del río Santa. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.371-404. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- Alvarez-Brun, F.
1970 *Ancash: Una historia regional Peruana*. Villanueva, Lima.
- Amat Olazábal, H.
2003 Huarás y Recuay en la secuencia cultural del Callejón de Conchucos: Valle del Mosna. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.97-120. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- Angeles Caballero, C.A.
1955 *Folklore de Huaylas*. Archivos Peruanos de Folklore, Lima.
- Antúnez de Mayolo, S.
1935 Las ruinas de Tinyash (Alta Marañón). *Revista de la Escuela Nacional de Artes y Oficios* 5.

1941 Las ruinas de Tinyash: exploración arqueológica, febrero 1934. *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima* 58:193-220.
- Apolin, G.D.
2009 *Yayno, ciudad pre-Inka perdida en los Andes*. Gráfica Industrial Alarcón, Lima.
- Arellano Hoffmann, C.
1998 Hanan/Hurin. Reflexiones acerca de un viejo concepto dual inka y su aplicación en el Chinchaysuyu. In *50 Años de Estudios Americanistas en la Universidad de Bonn*, edited by S. Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, C. Arellano Hoffmann, E. König, and H. Prümers, pp.473-493. Bonner Amerikanistische Studien 30, Verlag Anton Saurwein, Markt Schwaben, Bonn.
- Arnold, D.E.
1993 *Ecology and Ceramic Production in an Andean Community*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arriaga, P.J. de

1920 [1621] *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú*. Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, Vol. 2, No. 1. Sanmartí, Lima.

1968 [1621] *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*. Translated by C. Keating. University of Kentucky Press, Lexington.

Astuhuamán, C., and A. Espinoza

2006 Una aproximación a la arqueología de Sihuas, Período Intermedio Temprano y Horizonte Tardío. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.63-83. Civiche Raccolta d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Avendaño, F. De

2003 [1617] Relación de las idolatrías de los indios de Fernando de Avendaño. In *Procesos y visitas de idolatrías: Cajatambo, siglo XVII*, edited by P. Duviols, pp.713-719. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima.

Bankes, G.

1985 The Manufacture and Circulation of Paddle and Anvil Pottery on the North Coast of Peru. *World Archaeology* 17(2):269-277.

Bankmann, U.

1979 Moche und Recuay. *Baessler-Archiv* n.s. 27:253-271.

1988 Recuay-Studien, 1: Früheste Abbildung einer Keramik des Recuay-Stils. *Baessler-Archiv* n.s. 36:99-108.

Bazán del Campo, F.

2007 La veneración a los huancas en el Callejón de Huaylas. *Hirka* 4:2-6.

Bazán del Campo, F., and S. Wegner

2006 La veneración a la huanca en el Horizonte Temprano. *Integración: Cultura Ancashina* 3:21-22.

Bennett, W. C.

1939 *Archaeology of the North Coast of Peru: An Account of Exploration and Excavation in Viru and Lambayeque Valleys*. Anthropological papers 37(1). American Museum of Natural History, New York.

1944 *The North Highlands of Peru: Excavations in the Callejón de Huaylas and at Chavín de Huantar*. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 39, Pt. 1. The American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Benson, E.P.

1984 The men who have bags in their mouths. *Indiana* 9:367-381.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bird, J.B.

- 1979 *Fibers and Spinning Procedures in the Andean Area*. In *Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by A. Pollard Rowe, E. P. Benson, and A-L. Schaffer, pp.13-17. Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Bolaños, C.

- 1985 *Música y danzas en el antiguo Peru*. In *La Música en el Perú*, edited by Patronato Popular y Porvenir Pro Música Clásica, pp.11-64. Patronato Popular y Porvenir Pro Música Clásica, Lima.

- 2007 *Origen de la música en los Andes. Instrumentos musicales, objetos sonoros y músicos de la región andina precolonial*. Congreso de la República, Lima.

Bonavia, D.

- 1996 *Los camélidos sudamericanos: una introducción a su estudio*. Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines Vol. 93. Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima.

Bourdieu, P.

- 1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Bourget

- 2001 *Children and Ancestors: Ritual Practices at the Moche Site of Huaca de la Luna, North Coast of Peru*. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by E.P. Benson, and A.G. Cook, pp.93-118. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Boytner, R.

- 2004 *Clothing the Social World*. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman, pp. 130-146. Blackwell, Oxford.

Bray, T.L.

- 2003 *Inka Pottery as Culinary Equipment: Food, Feasting, and Gender in Imperial State Design*. *Latin American Antiquity* 14(1):3-28.

Bronfenbrenner, U.

- 1994 *Ecological model of human development*. In *International Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. 3, 2nd. ed. Elsevier, Oxford.

Brumfiel, E.

- 1992 *Breaking and Entering the Ecosystem: Gender, Class, and Faction Steal the Show*. *American Anthropologist* 94:551-567.

Bueno Mendoza, A.

- 1989 *Arqueología de Ancash: nuevas perspectivas*. In *Ancash: Historia y cultura*, edited by A. Bueno Mendoza, pp.31-43. Concytec, Lima.

- 2001 *Excavaciones arqueológicas en Tumshukaiko: informe preliminar*. In *XII Congreso Peruano del Hombre y La Cultura Andina*, edited by I. Pérez, W. Aguilar, and M. Purizaga, pp.30-53. Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, Ayacucho.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2003 Arqueología al norte del Callejón de Huaylas. La Galgada, Tumshukaiko y Pashash. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.51-82. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- Burger, R.L.
1985 Archaeological Investigations at Huaricoto, Ancash, Peru: 1978-1979. *National Geographic Society Research Reports* 19:119-127.
- Burger, R.L., G.F. Lau, V.M. Ponte, and M.D. Glascock
2006 The history of prehispanic obsidian procurement in highland Ancash. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.103-120. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- Buse, H.
1965 *Introducción al Perú*. Imprenta del Colegio Militar "Leoncio Prado", Lima.
- Butler, J.
1993 *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "sex"*. Routledge, New York.
- Campana, C.
1995 *Una Deidad Antropomorfa en el Formativo Andino*. 2nd edition, A&B S.A. Editores, Lima.
- 2000 Estudio de un edificio Recuay: formas y símbolos. *Arkinka* 57:88-96.
- Carrión Cachot, R.
1955 El culto al agua en el antiguo Perú: la paccha, elemento cultural pan-andino. *Revista del Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología* 2(2):50-140.
- 1959 *La religión en el antiguo Perú (norte y centro de la costa, período post-clásico)*. Tipografía Peruana, Lima.
- Carter, B.P.
2011 Spondylus in South American Prehistory. In *Spondylus in Prehistory, new data and approaches*, edited by F. Ifantidis, and M. Nikolaidou, pp.63-89. BAR International Series 2216, Publishers of British Archaeological Reports, Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Castro de la Mata, P., and M.I. Velarde
2008 La tumba de una mujer de elite Recuay. In *Señores de los Reinos de la Luna*, edited by K. Makowski, pp.262-265. Banco de Crédito del Perú, Lima.
- Cieza de León, P.
1862 [1550] *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Historiadores Primitivos de Indias, Vol. 2, Madrid.
- 1880 [1553] *Segunda parte de la crónica del Perú: que trata del señorío de los Incas Yupanquis y de sus grandes hechos y gobernación*, edited by M. Jiménez de la Espada. Imprenta Manuel Ginés Hernández, Madrid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1946 [1553] *Primera parte de la crónica del Perú*, introduction and annotations by J. Le Riverend Brusone, pp.127-497. Editorial Nueva Espana, Mexico.
 - 1968 [1553] El señorío de los Incas Yupanquis y de sus grandes hechos y gobernación. In *Biblioteca Peruana*, ser. 1, vol. 3, pp. 9-196. Editores Técnicos Asociados, Lima.
- Clothier, W.J.
- 1943 Recuay pottery in the lower Santa Valley. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 12(2): 239-242.
- Cobo, B.
- 1964 [1653] *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid.
 - 1979 [1653] *History of the Inca Empire*, translated and edited by R. Hamilton. University of Texas Press, Austin.
 - 1990 [1653] *Inca Religion and Customs*, translated and edited by R. Hamilton. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Conkey, M.
- 2001 Epilogue: Thinking about Gender with Theory and Method. In *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, edited by C.F. Klein, and J.Q. Quilter, pp.341-361. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.
- Conkey, M., and J. Gero
- 1991 Tensions, Pluralities, and Engendering Archaeology: An Introduction to Women and Prehistory. In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, edited by M. Conkey, and J. Gero, pp.3-30. Blackwell, Malden.
- Conkey, M., and J. Spector
- 1984 Archaeology and the Study of Gender. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 7:1-38.
- Cook, A.G.
- 1992 The Stone Ancestors: Idioms of Imperial Attire and Rank Among Huari Figurines. *Latin American Antiquity* 3:341-364.
- Cook, N.D.
- 1977 La visita de los Conchucos por Cristóbal Ponce de León, 1543. *Historia y Cultura* 10:23-45.
- Cordy-Collins, A.
- 2001 Blood and the Moon Priestesses: Spondylus Shells in Moche Ceremony. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by E.P. Benson, and A.G. Cook, pp.35-54. University of Texas Press, Austin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Costin, C. L.

- 1996 Exploring the Relationship between Gender and Craft in Complex Societies: Methodological and Theoretical Issues of Gender Attribution. In *Gender and Archaeology*, edited by R. P. Wright, pp.111-140. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- 1998 Housewives, Chosen Women, Skilled Men: Cloth Production and Social Identity in the Late Prehispanic Andes. In *Craft and Social Identity*, edited by C. L. Costin, and R. P. Wright, pp.123-141. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 8, American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.

Cromphout, A.

- 2009 *La chicha de maíz au Pérou précolombien: une étude archéologique*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Philosophy and Literature, Free University of Brussels, Brussels.

De Kesel, W.

- 1983 *De Inka's. Schoonheid en mysterie van de Kero-bekers*. Rectavit publikaties, St-Baafs-Vijve.

DeLeonardis, L., and G.F. Lau

- 2004 Life, Death, and Ancestors. In *Andean Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman, pp.77-115. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

Desrosiers, S.

- 1992 Las técnicas del tejido tienen un sentido? Una propuesta de lectura de los tejidos andinos y repuesta. *Revista Andina* 19(1):7-46.

Diessl, W.G.

- 2004 *Huantár, San Marcos, Chavín: Sitios Arqueológicos en la Sierra de Ancash*. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.

Dietler, M., and B. Hayden, eds.

- 2001 *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics and Power*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.

Diez de San Miguel, G.

- 1964 [1567] *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito...en el año 1567*. Casa de la Cultura, Lima.

Disselhoff, H.D.

- 1956 Hand-und Kopftrophäen in plastischen Darstellung der Recuay-keramik. *Baessler Archiv*, n.s. 4:25-32.

Donnan, C.B.

- 1976 *Moche Art and Iconography*. UCLA Latin American Center Publications, Los Angeles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Doughty, P.

- 1971 The Social Uses of Alcoholic Beverages in a Peruvian Community. *Human Organization* 30(2):187-197.

Doyle, M. E.

- 1988 *The Ancestor Cult and Burial Ritual in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Central Peru*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, University of Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Dransart, P.

- 1992 Pachamama: The Inka Earth Mother of the Long Sweeping Garment. In *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, edited by R. Barnes, and J. B. Eicher, pp.1-11. Berg, Providence.
- 2000 Vestirse en los períodos Tardíos del Centro-Sur Andino. In *Actas de la I Jornada Internacional sobre Textiles Precolombinos*, edited by V. Solanilla Demestre, pp.126-153. Departamento de Arte de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, Barcelona.

Duviols, P.

- 1967 Un inédit de Cristóbal de Albornoz: La instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Pirú y sus camayos y haciendas. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 56(1):7-39.
- 1986 *Cultura Andina y represión: procesos y visitas de idolatrias y hecherias Cajatambo, siglo XVII*. Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas", Cuzco.

Ebert, V., and T. C. Patterson

- 2007 Gender in South American Archaeology. In *Worlds of Gender: The Archaeology of Women's Lives around the Globe*, edited by Sarah Milledge Nelson, pp. 259-280. AltaMira Press, Lanham.

Eisleb D.

- 1987 *Altperuanische kulturen IV, Recuay*. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin.

Espinoza Soriano, W.

- 1974 El curacazgo de Conchucos y la visita de 1543. *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines* 3:9-31.
- 1978 *Huaraz: poder, sociedad y economía en los siglos XV y XVI - reflexiones en torno a las visitas de 1558, 1594 y 1712*. Seminario de Historia Rural Andina, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

Estete, M. de

- 1968 [1535] Noticia del Peru. In *Biblioteca Peruana*, ser.1, vol.1, pp.345-404. Editores Técnicos Asociados, Lima.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Falcón, V., and P. Díaz

- 2008 [1998] Representaciones líticas de Tinyash, Perú (revised version of the article published in *Andesita* 2:57-64). Electronic Document, <http://bit.ly/1a7BKzI>, consulted on the 19th of September 2013.

Fitzhugh, J.B.

- 1989 *Sector II of Queyash: an analysis of an activity area in the Northern Highlands of Perú*. Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Gambini, W.

- 1983/84 *Santa y Nepeña: dos valles, dos culturas*. Imprenta M. Castillo, Lima.

Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca

- 1609 *Comentarios Reales*. Pedro Crasbeeck, Lisboa.

- 1960 [1609] Comentarios reales de los incas. In *Obras completas*, edited by C. Sáenz de Santa María. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Madrid.

- 1976 [1609] Comentarios reales de los incas. In *Biblioteca Ayacucho* 6. Biblioteca Ayacucho, Caracas

Gero, J.

- 1990 Pottery, Power, and ...Parties! At Queyash, Peru. *Archaeology Magazine* March/April 43(2):52-56.

- 1991 Genderlithics: Women's Roles in Stone Tool Production. In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*, edited by J. Gero, and M. Conkey, pp.163-193. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.

- 1992 Feasts and Females: Gender Ideology and Political Meals in the Andes. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 25(1):15-30.

- 1999 La Iconografía Recuay y el Estudio del Género. *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 25/26:23-44.

- 2001 Field Knots and Ceramic Beaus: Interpreting Gender in the Peruvian Early Intermediate Period. In *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, edited by C. Klein, pp.15-55. Dumbarton Oaks Pre-Columbian Library, Washington, D.C.

- 2004 Sex Pots of Ancient Peru: Post-Gender Reflections. In *Combining the Past and the Present: Archaeological Perspectives on Society: proceedings from the conference 'Pre-history in a global perspective' held in Bergen, August 31st-September 2nd 2001, in honour of Professor Randi Haaland's 60th anniversary*, edited by T. Oestigaard, N. Anfinset, and T. Saetersdal, pp.3-22. B.A.R. International Series 1210, Archaeopress, Oxford.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2006 Cooperative? Or Coordinated? Investigations in the Sierra de Ancash. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.193-196. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- Grieder, T.
1978 *The Art and Archaeology of Pashash*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Guamán Poma de Ayala, P.
2011 [1615] *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno*, edited by M. Millares. Ebisa Ediciones, Lima.
- Hays-Gilpin, K.A.
2008 Gender. In *Handbook of Archaeological Theories*, edited by A. Bentley, H.D.G. Maschner, and Ch. Chippindale, pp.335-349. AltaMira Press, Lanham.
- Hernández Príncipe, R.
1923 [1622] Mitología andina. Idolatrias en Recuay. *Inca* 1(1):25-68.
- Herrera, A.
1998 Acerca de un tercer fragmento de la Estela de Yauya. *Baessler Archiv* n.s. 46:231-253.

2003 Arte lítico de la region de los Conchucos, Ancash, Perú. *Arqueológicas* 26:107-130.

2005 *Territory and Identity in the Pre-Columbian Andes of Northern Peru*. Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge University, Cambridge.
- Herrera, A., and K. Lane
2006 La complejidad social en la arqueología de la Sierra de Ancash. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.vii-xix. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- Hohmann, C.
2003 El rostro circular frontal de boca dentada en la iconografía Recuay. *Arqueológicas* 26:131-152.

2010 *Das spiel mit den Welten. Die Ikonographie von Recuay*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Freien Universität Berlin, Berlin.
- Holmberg, A.
1971 The Rhythms of Drinking in a Peruvian Coastal Mestizo Community. *Human Organization* 30(2):199-303.
- Horkheimer, H.
1944 *Vistas arqueológicas del noroeste del Perú*. Instituto Arqueológico, Universidad de La Libertad, Trujillo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ibarra, A. B.
 2003 Arqueología del Valle del Puchca: economía, cosmovisión y secuencia estilística. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.251-330. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- 2006 Ancestros y muerte durante la época prehispánica en la Sierra de Ancash: buscando nuestros antepasados. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.85-100. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- Isbell, B.J.
 1978 *To Defend Ourselves*. Waveland Press, Inc, Illinois.
- Isbell, W.
 1989 Honcopampa: was it a Huari administrative centre? In *Nature of Wari: A Reappraisal of the Middle Horizon Period in Peru*, edited by R. M. Czwarno, F.M. Meddens, and A. Morgan, pp.98-114. International Series 525. BAR, Oxford.
- 1991 Honcopampa: monumental ruins in Peru's North Highlands. *Expedition* 33:27-36.
- 1997 *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Isbell, W., and H. Silverman eds.
 2002 *Andean Archaeology I, Variations in Sociopolitical Organization*. Kluwer Academic and Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Janusek, J.W.
 2008 *Ancient Tiwanaku*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Jennings, J., K.L. Antrobus, S.J. Atencio, E. Glavich, R. Johnson, G. Loffler, and C. Luu
 2005 Drinking Beer in a Blissful Mood. *Current Anthropology* 46:275-303.
- Johnson, I.
 2008 Portachuelo de Charcape: Daily life and political power in the hinterland during the Late Moche period. In *Arqueología Mochica Nuevos Enfoques*, edited by L.J. Castillo Butters, H. Bernier, G.Lockard, and J. Rucabado, pp.261-275. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
- Johnson, M.
 1999 *Archaeological Theory. An Introduction*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Johnsson, M.
 1986 *Food and Culture among Bolivian Aymara*. Uppsala Series in Cultural Anthropology 7. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Uppsala.
- Joyce, R.A.
 2000 *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kauffmann-Doig, F.

1966 *Mochica, Nazca, Recuay en la arqueología peruana*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

1970/71 *Arqueología peruana: visión integral*. Editorial Promoción Inca, Lima.

1978 *Manual de arqueología peruana*. Peisa, Lima.

1979 *Sexual Behaviour in Ancient Peru*. Kompaktos, Lima.

1993 *Peru, Atto Primo*. Erizzo Editrice, Roma.

2001 *Sexo y magia sexual en el antiguo Perú*. Quebecor World, S.A., Lima.

2002 *Historia y arte del Perú antiguo* (Vol. 3). PEISA, Lima.

Kaulicke, P.

2001 Vivir con los ancestros en el antiguo Peru. In *La memoria de los ancestros*, edited by L. Millones, and W. Kapsoli, pp.25-61. Universidad Ricardo Palma Editorial Universitaria, Lima.

Klein, C.

2001 Conclusions: Envisioning Pre-Columbian Gender Studies. In *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 12 and 13 October 1996*, edited by C.F. Klein, and J.Q. Quilter, pp.363-385. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Kroeber, A.L.

1944 *Peruvian Archaeology in 1942*. Publications in Anthropology 4. Viking Fund, New York.

1949 Esthetics and Recreational Activities: Art. In *Handbook of South American Indians, Volume 5: The Comparative Ethnology of South American Indians*, edited by Steward, pp.411-492. Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C.

1950 A local style of lifelike sculpted stone heads in ancient Peru. In *Beiträge zur Gesellungs- und Volkerwissenschaft, Professor Dr. Richard Thurnwald zu seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*, pp.195-198. Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin.

Kutscher, G.

1950 *Chimu: Eine altinidiansche Hochkultur*. Gebr. Mann, Berlin.

Larco Hoyle, R.

1960 La cultura Santa. In *Antiguo Perú: espacio y tiempo*, pp.235-239. Librería Editorial Juan Mejía Baca, Lima.

1966 *Checán. Ensayo sobre las representaciones eróticas del Perú precolombino*. Editions Nagel, Geneva.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Lau, G. F.
- 2000 Espacio ceremonial Recuay. In *Los Dioses del Antiguo Peru*, edited by K. Makowski, pp.178-197. Banco de Crédito, Lima.
- 2001 *The Ancient Community of Chinchawas: Economy and Ceremony in the North Highlands of Peru*. Ph.D.dissertation, Yale University, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- 2002 Feasting and Ancestor Veneration at Chinchawas, North Highlands of Ancash, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 13:279-304.
- 2003 Evidencia radiocarbónica para el estudio de las transformaciones culturales recuay. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp. 135-159. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- 2004 Object of Contention: An Examination of Recuay-Moche Combat Imagery. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 14(2):163-184.
- 2006a Status and Social Differentiation in Recuay Culture: A Review. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, K. Lane, and C. Orsini, pp.121-138. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
- 2006b Northern Exposures: Recuay-Cajamarca Boundaries and Interaction. In *Andean Archaeology III: North and South*, edited by W. H. Isbell, and H. Silverman, pp.143-170. Springer Science, New York.
- 2007 Animal Resources and Recuay Cultural Transformations at Chinchawas, North Highlands, Peru. *Andean Past* 8:449-476.
- 2008 Ancestor Images in the Andes. In *Handbook of South American Archaeology*, edited by H. Silverman, and W.H. Isbell, pp.1027-1045. Springer Science, New York.
- 2009 Correspondencias entre las lenguas y los antiguos desarrollos culturales de la sierra norcentral del Perú. Paper presented at VII Simposio Internacional de Arqueología «Lenguas y sociedades en el antiguo Peru : hacia un enfoque interdisciplinario», Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
- 2010a Fortifications as warfare culture: the hilltop centre of Yayno (Ancash, Peru), A.D. 400-800. *Archaeological Journal* 20:419-448.
- 2010b *Ancient Community and Economy at Chinchawas (Ancash, Peru)*. Peabody Museum and Yale University Publications in Anthropology 90, New Haven.
- 2010c The work of surfaces: object worlds and techniques of enhancement in the ancient Andes. *Journal of Material Culture* 15(3):259-286.
- 2010d House forms and Recuay culture: residential compounds at Yayno (Ancash, Peru), a fortified hilltop town, AD 400-800. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 29:327-351.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2011 *Andean Expressions, Art and Archaeology of the Recuay Culture*. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City.
 - 2013 *Ancient Alterity in the Andes*. Routledge, London.
- Laurencich-Minelli, L., and S. Wegner eds.
2001 *El Museo de Chacas*. Editrice Compositori, Bologna.
- Levillier, R.
1926 [1542-1563] *Nueva crónica de la conquista del Tucumán, Tomo I*. Sucesores de Rivadeneyra. Colección de Publicaciones Históricas de la Biblioteca del Congreso Argentina, Madrid.
- Lumbreras, L.G.
1974 Informe de labores del proyecto Chavín. In *Homenaje a Jorge C. Muelle*, pp.35-55. Arqueológicas 15, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima.
- 1977 Excavaciones en el templo antiguo de Chavín (sector R), informe de la sexta campaña. *Ñawpa Pacha* 15:1-38.
- 1978 *Arte Precolombino: escultura y diseño (segunda parte)*. Banco de Crédito, Lima.
- Lyon, P.
1979 Female Supernaturals in Ancient Perú. *Ñawpa Pacha* 16:95-140.
- Macedo, J.M.
1945 [1881] *Catalogue d'objets archéologiques du Pérou de l'ancien empire des Incas*. Imprimerie Hispano-Américaine, Paris.
- Makowski, K.
2005 La religión de las altas culturas de la costa del Perú prehispánico. In *Religiones Andinas, vol 4 of enciclopedia iberoamericana de religiones*, edited by Marzal, pp. 39-88. Editorial trota, Madrid.
- Makowski, K., and J. Rucabado
2000 Hombres y deidades en la iconografía Recuay. In *Los dioses del antiguo Perú*, edited by K. Makowski, pp.199-235. Banco de Crédito, Lima.
- Manrique, P.E.
1999 Textilería Recuay. In *Tejidos milenarios del Perú*, edited by J. A. de Lavallo, and R. de Lavallo de Cárdenas, pp.251-258. AFP Integra, Lima.
- Mantha, A.
2006 Late Prehispanic Social Complexity in the Raoayán Valley, Upper Marañon Drainage, Central Andes of Peru. In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.35-62. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Mariscotti de Gorlitz, A.
1978 *Pachamama Santa Tierra. Contribución al estudio de la religión autóctona en los Andes centro-meridionales*. Indiana Suplemento 8. Gebrüder Mann Verlag, Berlin.
- Márquez Zorilla, S.
1965 *Huari y Conchucos*. Imprenta « El Cóndor », Lima.
- Martínez Cereceda, J.L.
1995 *Autoridades en los Andes, los atributos del señor*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.
- McEwan, G.
1991 Investigations at the Pikillacta Site: A Provincial Huari Center in the Valley of Cuzco. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W. H. Isbell, and G. McEwan, pp.93-119. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
- Mege, P.
1987 Los símbolos constrictores: una etnoestética de las fajas femeninas mapuches. *Boletín del Museo Chileno del Arte Precolombino* 2:89-128.
- Mejía, M. Z.
2006 Leyenda sobre la destrucción del pueblo de Marcuncunca. In *Huandoy y Huascarán: narraciones orales clásicas de Ancash*, vol.1., edited by A.J. Paredes Galván, pp.9-14. Círculo Literario Bohemia Santiaguina, Huaraz.
- Mejía Xesspe, T.
1941 Walun y Chinchawas: dos nuevos sitios arqueológicos en la Cordillera Negra. *Chaski* 1:19-24.
- Menzel, D.
1964 Style and Time in the Middle Horizon. *Nawpa Pacha* 2:1-105.
1977 *The Archaeology of Ancient Peru and the Work of Max Uhle*. R. H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.
- Middendorf, E.W.
1895 [1893-1895] *Peru: Beobachtungen und Studien über das Land und Seine Bewohner während eines 25 jährigen Aufenthaltes*. R. Oppenheim, Berlin.
- Millones, L.
1979 Religion and Power in the Andes: Idolatrous Curacas of the Central Sierra. *Ethnohistory* 26:243-263.
- Mitchell, W.P.
1991 *Peasants on the Edge: Crop, Cult, and Crisis in the Andes*. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Morris, C., and D. Thompson
1985 *Huánaco Pampa: An Inca City and its Hinterland*. Thames and Hudson, London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Moseley, M.E., D.J. Nash, P. R. Williams, S.D. deFrance, A. Miranda, and M. Ruales
 2005 Burning down the brewery: Establishing and Evacuating an Ancient Imperial Colony at Cerro Baúl, Peru. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 102(48):17264-17271.
- Murdock, G.P., and C. Provost
 1973 Factors in the Division of Labor by Sex: A Cross-Cultural Analysis. *Ethnology* 12(2):203-225.
- Murga Cruz, A.
 1983 *Estudios arqueológicos en el Cerro Agopampa*. M.A. thesis, Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Trujillo.
- Murra, J. V.
 1962 Cloth and its Functions in the Inca State. *American Anthropologist* 64:710-728.
- 1972 El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades andinas. In *Visita de la Provincia de León de Huanuco en 1562*, edited by J.V. Murra, pp.427-476. Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán, Huanuco, Perú.
- Murúa, M. de
 1987 [1613] *Historia general del Perú*. Historia 16, Madrid.
- Núñez T.
 1993 *La Nueva corónica y Buen gobierno de Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala. La question des traditions andines ou européennes dans l'image du manuscrit illustré du XVIIème siècle au Pérou*. M.A. thesis, Faculty of philosophy and Literature, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Brussels.
- Oakland Rodman, A.
 1992 Textiles and Ethnicity: Tiwanaku in San Pedro de Atacama, North Chile. *Latin American Antiquity* 3(4):316-340.
- Oakland Rodman, A., and A. Fernández
 2000 Tejidos de Huari y Tiwanaku: comparaciones y contextos. *Boletín de Arqueología PUCP* 4 :119-130.
- Orlove, B., and E. Schmidt
 1995 Swallowing Their Pride: Indigenous and Industrial Beer in Peru and Bolivia. *Theory and Society* 24(2):271-298.
- Orsini, C.
 2001 Symbolic Space in the Recuay Ceramics in the Collection of the Municipality of Chacas. In *El Museo de Chacas*, edited by L. Laurencich Minelly, and S. Wegner, pp.65-79. Editrice Compositori, Bologna.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 2003 Transformaciones culturales durante el Intermedio Temprano en el valle de Chacas: hacia el desarrollo de asentamientos complejos en un área de la sierra nor-central del Perú. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.161-174. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
 - 2006 Metáforas de complejidad social? Huari, Ilacuaz, organización del territorio y especialización económica en Chacas (valle de Chacapata, Perú). In *La complejidad social en la Sierra de Ancash*, edited by A. Herrera, C. Orsini, and K. Lane, pp.151-164. Civiche Raccolte d'Arte Applicata del Castello Sforzesco, Milan.
 - 2007 *Pastori e guerrieri: I Recuay, un popolo preispanico delle Ande del Perú*. Jaca Books, Milan.
 - 2011 Fortalezas de barro? La representación del espacio en la cerámica arquitectónica recuay. In *Las imágenes precolombinas. Reflejo de saberes*, edited by M. del C. Valverde Valdés, and V. Solanilla Demestre, pp.75-94. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México.
- Paredes, J., B. Quintana, and M. Linares
- 2001 Tumbas de la época Wari en el Callejón de Huaylas. In *Huari y Tiwanaku: modelos vs. evidencias, primera parte*, edited by P. Kaulicke, and W. H. Isbell, pp.253-288. Boletín de Arqueología PUCP 4, Lima.
- Paredes Olvera, J.
- 2007 Redescubriendo Willkawayin e Ichic Willkawayin. *Boletín Informativo Mensual* 3:2-3.
- Pease, F.
- 1973 *El dios creador andino*. Mosca Azul Editores, Lima.
- Pérez Calderón, I.
- 1988 Monumentos arqueológicos de Santiago de Chuco, La Libertad. *Boletín de Lima* 60:33-44.
 - 1994 Monumentos arqueológicos de Santiago de Chuco, La Libertad. *Boletín de Lima* 91-96:225-274.
- Pillsbury, J.
- 1996 The Thorny Oyster and the Origins of Empire: Implications of Recently Uncovered *Spondylus* Imagery from Chan Chan, Peru. *Latin American Antiquity* 7(4):313-340.
- Ponte, R.
- 2001 Transformación social y política en el Callejón de Huaylas, siglos III-X d.C. In *Huari y Tiwanaku: modelos vs. evidencias, primera parte*, edited by P. Kaulicke, and W. H. Isbell, pp.219-252. Boletín de Arqueología PUCP 4, Lima.
 - 2006 Prácticas funerarias Recuay: diferenciación de rango y ceremonias después de la muerte. *ARKEOS, Revista electronica de Arqueología, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú* 1(2):47-55.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Porter, N.K.
1992 A Recuay style painted textile. *Textile Museum Journal* 31:71-81.
- Proulx, D.A.
1985 *An Analysis of the Early Cultural Sequence of the Nepeña Valley, Peru*. Research Report 25. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.
2001 Ritual Uses of Trophy Heads in Ancient Nasca Society. In *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, edited by E.P. Benson, and A.G. Cook, pp.119-136. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- Purin, S. e.d.
1990 *Perú. 3000 ans d'histoire*. Imschoot, Belgique.
- Raimondi, A.
1873 El departamento de Ancachs y sus riquezas minerales, Imprenta El Nacional, Lima.
1874-1880 *El Perú*. Imprenta del Estado, Lima.
- Ramos Gómez, L. J., and M. C. Blasco Bosqued.
1980 *Los tejidos prehispánicos del área central andina en el Museo de América*. Ministerio de Cultura, Madrid.
- Ravines, R.
1984 Tinyash: un pueblo prehispánico de la puna. *Boletín de Lima* 31:31-37.
2000 La Cultura Recuay. In *Las culturas prehispánicas*, edited by B. Roca Rey Miró Quesada, pp.81-88. Empresa Editora El Comercio y Universidad Ricardo Palma, Lima.
- Reichert, R.X.
1977 *The Recuay Ceramic Style: A Re-evaluation*. Ph.D.dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Renfrew, C., and P. Bahn eds.
1991 Gender Relations in Early Intermediate Period Peru. In *Archaeology: Theories Methods and Practice*, edited by C. Renfrew, and P. Bahn, pp.220-221. Thames & Hudson, London.
- Roosevelt, C.V.S.
1935 Ancient civilizations of the Santa Valley and Chavín. *Geographical Review* 25:21-42.
- Rostworowski, M.
1993 Mitos de curanderos y sacerdotistas Andinas. In *Ensayos de Historia Andina II*, edited by M. Rostworowski, pp.35-56. Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rowe, J.H.

1946 Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest. In *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by J. Steward, pp.183-330. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 143. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

1979a Standardization of Inca Tapestry Tunics. In *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textile Conference*, edited by A. P. Rowe, E. P. Benson, and A. Schaffer, pp. 239-264. The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

1979b An Account of the Shrines of Ancient Cuzco. *Ñawpa Pacha* 17:1-80.

Rowe, A. P.

1980 Textiles from the Burial Platform of Las Avispas at Chan Chan. *Ñawpa Pacha* 18: 81-164.

Rowe, A. P., and J. Cohen

2002 *Hidden Threads of Peru: Q'ero Textiles*. The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

Salomon, F.

1987 North Andean Status Trader Complex under Inka Rule. *Ethnohistory* 34:63-77.

San Pedro, J. de

1992 *La Persecución del Demonio: Crónica de los Primeros Augustinos en el Norte del Perú (1560)*. Centro Andino y Mesoamericano de Estudios Interdisciplinarios, Malaga and México.

Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, Joan de

1968 [1613] *Relación de antigüedades deste reyno del Pirú*. Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, tomo 209. Ediciones Atlas, Madrid.

Schaedel, R.P.

1948a The Callejón de Huaylas of Peru and its monuments. *Archaeology* 1:198-202.

1948b Stone Sculpture in the Callejón de Huaylas. In *A reappraisal of Peruvian Archaeology*, edited by W. Bennett, "Memoirs of the society for American archaeology XIII, 4, fasc no. 2, Menasha, Wisconsin.

1952 *An Analysis of Central Andean Stone Sculpture*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, University of Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

1992 *Litoesculturas en el Callejón de Huaylas*. Ediciones "Fragor", Huaras.

1993 Congruence of horizon with polity: Huari and the Middle Horizon. In *Latin American Horizons*, edited by D.S. Rice, pp.225-261. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Schreiber, K.J.

- 1991 Jincamocco: A Huari Administrative Center in the South Central Highlands of Peru. In *Huari Administrative Structure: Prehistoric Monumental Architecture and State Government*, edited by W.H. Isbell, and G.F. McEwan, pp.199-213. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Schuler-Schömig, I.V.

- 1979 Die 'Fremdkrieger' in Darstellungen der Moche-Keramik. Eine ikonographische Studie. *Baessler Archiv* n.s. 27:135-213.
- 1981 Die sogenannten Fremdkrieger und ihre weiteren ikonographischen Bezüge in der Moche-Keramik. *Baessler Archiv* n.s. 29:207-239.

Seamon, D.

- 2013 Merleau-Ponty, Perception, and Environmental Embodiment: Implications for Architectural and Environmental Studies. In *Carnal Echoes: Merleau-Ponty and the Flesh of Architecture*, edited by R. McCann, and P.M. Locke, 2013, forthcoming.

Shimada, I.

- 2001 Late Moche Urban Craft Production: A First Approximation. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by J. Pillsbury, pp.177-206. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Sillar, B.

- 2000 Shaping Culture. Making Pots and Constructing Households. An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Pottery Production, Trade and Use in the Andes. *British Archaeological Reports International Series* 883. Hadrian Books, Oxford.

Silverblatt, H.

- 1987 *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.

Skar, S.

- 1981 Andean Women and the Concept of Space/Time. In *Women and Space*, edited by S. Ardener, pp.35-49. Croom Helm, London.

Smith, J.W.

- 1977 Recuay gaming boards: a preliminary study. *Indiana* 4:111-137.
- 1978 *The Recuay Culture: A Reconstruction Based on Artistic Motifs*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, University of Microfilms, Ann Arbor.

Soriano Infante, A.

- 1940 Algo sobre la arqueología de Ancash. *Actas y Trabajos Científicos del XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Lima, 1939)* 1:473-483.
- 1947 Breve monografía de Ancash. *Fanal* (May):5-12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1950 *Memoria del director del Museo Arquelógico de Ancash, Dr. Augusto Soriano Infante, 1945-1950*. Imp. El Lucero, Huaraz.
- Soto Verde, L.
 2003 Wauillac y el Intermedio Temprano en el Callejón de Huaylas. In *Arqueología de la sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.175-192. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- Spector, J.
 1982 Male/female task differentiation among the Hidatza: toward the development of an archaeological approach to the study of gender. In *The hidden half: studies of native plains women*, edited by P. Alberts, and B. Medicine. University Press of America, Washington, D.C.
- Super, J., and T. Wright
 1985 *Food, Politics and Society in Latin America*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln.
- Tello, J.C
 1923 Wira Kocha. *Inca* 1(1):93-320.
- 1929 *Antiguo Perú: primera época*. Comisión Organizadora del Segundo Congreso de Turismo, Lima.
- 1930 Andean Civilization: Some problems of Peruvian archaeology. *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Americanists (New York, 1928)*:259-290.
- 1942 Origen y desarrollo de las civilizaciones prehistóricas andinas. *Actas y trabajos científicos del XXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas (Lima, 1939)* 1:589-720.
- Tello, J.C., and T. Mejía Xesspe
 1979 *Paracas. Segunda parte: Cavernas y necropolis*. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and Andean Institute of New York, Lima.
- Thompson, D.E., and R. Ravines
 1973 Tinyash: A prehispanic village in the Andean puna. *Archaeology* 26(2):94-100.
- Topic, J.R., T. Lange Topic, and A. Melly Cava
 2002 Catequil. In *Andean Archaeology I: Variations in socio-political organization*, edited by W.H. Isbell, and H. Silverman, pp.303-336. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Tschauner, H.
 2003 Honco Pampa: arquitectura de elite del Horizonte Medio del Callejón de Huaylas. In *Arqueología de la Sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp. 193-220. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- Valdez, L.M.
 2006 Maize Beer Production in Middle Horizon Peru. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 62(1):53-80.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Valera, B.

- 1950 [1590] Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los naturales del Pirú. In *Tres relaciones de antigüedades peruanas*, edited by M. Jiménez de la Espada, pp.135-203. Editorial Guaraní, Asunción.

Varon Gabai, R.

- 1980 *Curacas y Encomenderos: Acomodamiento Nativo en Huaraz, Siglos XVI y XVII*. P. L. Villanueva Editor, Lima.

Velarde Dellepiane, M.I., and P. Castro de la Mata

- 2010 Análisis e interpretación de los ornamentos de metal de un personaje de élite Recuay: Pashash. *Arqueológicas* 28:33-86.

Verano, J.W.

- 2001 War and Death in the Moche world: Osteological Evidence and Visual Discourse. In *Moche Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru*, edited by J. Pillsbury, pp.111-125. Yale University Press, New Haven.

Villacorta, O.

- 2006 Antonio Raimondi y el departamento de Ancash: historia y construcción de un vínculo científico, personal y simbólico. In *El departamento de Ancash y sus riquezas minerales (1873, por Antonio Raimondi)*, edited by L.F. Villacorta, pp.21-96. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima.

Webb, J., T. Schirato, and G. Danaker

- 2002 *Understanding Bourdieu*. Sage Publications Ltd, London.

Weber, M.

- 1947 *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. The Free Press, New York.

Wegner, S. A.

- 1988 *Cultura Recuay*. Exhibit pamphlet. Banco Continental and Museo Arqueológico de Ancash (September-October), Lima.
- 2000 *Arqueología y arte antiguo de Chacas*. Instituto Cultural Ancashwain, Huaraz.
- 2001 Síntesis de la historia cultural antigua de Chacas. In *El Museo de Chacas*, edited by L. Laurencich-Minelli, and S. Wegner, pp.11-36. Editrice Compositori, Bologna.
- 2003 Identificando el area de dominio recuay: un extendido inventario cerámico para la identificación de asentamientos recuay. In *Arqueología de la Sierra de Ancash: propuestas y perspectivas*, edited by B. Ibarra, pp.121-134. Instituto Cultural Runa, Lima.
- 2011 *Iconografías prehispánicas de Ancash*. Concorcio Recursos-Technoserve, Huaraz.

Wiener, C.

- 1993 [1880] *Pérou et Bolivie: Récit de voyage suivi d'études archéologiques et ethnographiques et de notes sur l'écriture et les langues des populations indiennes*. Librairie Hachette, Paris.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Zaki, A.

- 1987 Zoomorphe Steinskulpturen aus Santa Cruz (Peru): Ein Beitrag zum Raubtiermotiv in der vorkolumbischen Kunst. *Schweizerische Amerikanisten-Gesellschaft Bulletin* 51:7-18.

Zárate, Agustín de

- 1995 [1555] *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú*, edited by F. Pease, and T. Hampe. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima.

Electronic documents

Amis-arts

- 2013 s.n. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/10pNbzy>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Antiquity

- 2013 Book review. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14b0BCI>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Art Institute Chicago

- 2013 Ritual Vessel Representing a Woman Carrying a Vessel (Aryballos) and Nursing a Child. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/137Ka9d>>, consulted on the 23rd of September, 2013.

Auctionata

- 2013 Anthropomorphic Terracotta Vase. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14aNdOU>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Beloit College

- 2013 Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/1gzDMug>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Biblioteca Luis Angel Arango del Banco de la República

- 2000 Huaquería, procedencia, y fantasía: los soles de oro del Ecuador 4. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/YptQKW>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

Brooklyn Museum Collections

- 2013 Man and Llama Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/ZgpODV>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Charpiat, P. on Wikimedia Commons

- 2009a Recuay Musée du Quai Branly 1. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16Me97q>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

- 2009b Recuay Musée du Quai Branly 2. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14fu4vn>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coin Circuit

- 2013 Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14fpGfZ>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

College of the Sequoias

- 2013 From Paracas to Nazca. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16MoKPC>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

David Bernstein Pre-Columbian Art

- 2013 Recuay Ceramic House Scene. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/Yv8HiD>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Denver Art Museum

- 2013 Pre-Columbian Art. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/YwDwU8>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Donambro

- 2010 El dibujo "Cosmogónico" de Pachacuti Yamqui. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/dn2XcL>>, consulted on the 19th of November, 2013.

Emagister

- 2010 Debate La cerámica en la América Prehispánica. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/YdKgvV>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Flickrriver

- 2007-2013 Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14b1mLX>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Gabriel Bernat

- 2002 Cultura Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/YIYTAM>>, consulted on the 13th of September, 2013.

Helvetiker on Wikimedia Commons

- 2008 Gefäss mit Musikszene Peru Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/15AUhk7>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Hi-tec

- 2011 Ancash y sus complejos arqueológicos. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16Mcn64>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Jakenoble13

- 2011 Cultural Event Assignment. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/WHwApK>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Liceo Classico Giovanni Berchet

- 2013 La civiltà Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16M9jHj>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Live Auctioneers

- 2002-2013 325: A Recuay Pottery Erotic Couple. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/ZCE9Oo>>, consulted on the 23rd of September, 2013.

Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino

- 2013a Botella escultórica: llamero. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/Y2vC8s>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

- 2013b Botella antropomorfa. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/YdzPIF>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

National Museum of the American Indian

- 2013 Recuay effigy vessel depicting an Andean leader and a llama, <<http://bit.ly/14fyAdk>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Orlando Museum of Art

- 2013 Male Effigy Jar. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/YuR9TG>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

OR Original Reproductions Pre-Hispanic Tapestries

- 2012 Recuay North Coast, Peru. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/Y1N5A2>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

Peregrina

- 2013 Alteridad antigua en los Andes – Una Entrevista con el Dr. George F. Lau. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16EF0CV>>, consulted on the 23rd of September, 2013.

Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology

- s.d. Effigy jar, coca-chewer. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/13ZBqls>>, consulted on the 23rd of September, 2013.

Royal Ontario Museum

- 2006 Moche vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14YCvWT>>, consulted on the 23rd of September, 2013.

The Barakat Collection

- 2000-2013 s.n. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/103DbcV>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

The Cleveland Museum of Art

- 2012a Double Cloth, 400 B.C. – 700 A.D. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/146rCa9>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

- 2012b Triple Cloth, 400 B.C. – 700 A.D. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/10eQhpU>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

- 2012c Mother-and-child? Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/ZCuPd9>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation

2013 National Stolen Art File. Electronic document, <<http://1.usa.gov/16MoUXb>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

2000-2013a Textile Fragment. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/WExUL7>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

2000-2013b Band Fragment. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/WExUL7>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

2000-2013c Belt. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/WExUL7>>, consulted on the 19th of March, 2013.

2000-2013d Panpiper Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/193F6Y9>>, consulted on the 23rd of September, 2013.

2000-2013e Peru: Kingdoms of the Sun and Moon. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/1lpDio5>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

The Walters Art Museum

2013a House or Temple Scene Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/11mF31y>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

2013b Temple or House Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16Mo3pA>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

2013c Effigy Bottle. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/14EnTjZ>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

2013d Blackware vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/18nTVA7>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

2013e Fertility Scene Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/16NMdQx>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

2013f House or Temple Scene Vessel. Electronic document, <http://bit.ly/11mF31y>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

2013g Spouted Effigy Vessel. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/10pbM7F>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Todd, G.L.

2011 Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta: Ancient American Gallery. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/19erXGV>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

University of East Anglia

2013 The Recuay. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/ZCaBjI>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Vassil on Wikimedia Commons

2007 Auch 1. Electronic document, <<http://bit.ly/WPzhqm>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.

Wikimedia Commons

2012 Recuay-Effigy Bottle. Electronic documents, <<http://bit.ly/XvDWtL>>, consulted on the 24rd of September, 2013.



