BOLETÍN DE ARQUEOLOGÍA PUCP / N.° 16 / 2012, 53-77 / ISSN 1029-2004

THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WARI AND THE MOCHE STATES OF NORTHERN PERU

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Abstract

This paper explores how archaeology can study the relationships between complex multidimensional societies in critical periods of their development through an analysis of the multiple variables, circumstances and contingencies that define social interactions. By focusing on the archaeological record of San José de Moro, an important funerary and ceremonial center in the Jequetepeque valley, the authors approach the multifaceted natures and purposes behind the relationships between the Moche States of northern coastal Peru and the southern Andean Wari during the end of the Early Intermediate Period and the Middle Horizon.

Keywords: Wari, Moche, multidimensional societies, historical trajectories.

Resumen

RELACIONES MULTIDIMENSIONALES ENTRE LOS ESTADOS WARI Y MOCHE DEL NORTE DEL PERÚ

El presente artículo explora cómo la arqueología puede estudiar las relaciones entre sociedades complejas durante periodos críticos de su desarrollo, a través del análisis de las múltiples variables, circunstancias y contingencias que definen las interacciones sociales. Mediante el estudio de los contextos y objetos provenientes de San José de Moro, un importante centro funerario y ceremonial en el valle del Jequetepeque, los autores abordan las naturalezas y propósitos que se traslapan detrás de las relaciones entre los Estados mochica del norte del Perú y la sociedad wari de la sierra sur, durante el Periodo Intermedio Temprano y el Horizonte Medio.

Palabras clave: Wari, Moche, sociedades multidimensionales, trayectorias históricas.

1. Introducction

Among Andean scholars understanding the complex interactions between societies, be they exchanges, influences of any kind, or even military interventions, has been traditionally hindered by a monolithic view of ancient political organizations that assumes societies were uni-dimensional and acted and interacted with each other as closed homogenous entities (see for example Lumbreras 1981; Moseley 2001). Expressions such as 'the Wari conquered the Moche' presume a single and homogeneous entity on each side of the equation. Recent research, particularly in Moche ceremonial centers on the North Coast of Peru, challenges this paradigm, because evidence suggests that Moche were neither politically nor socially homogeneous nor centralized. Rather, multiple polities of different levels of complexity

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coexisted in the northern valleys, and only a few of them seem to have developed interactions with the Wari (Castillo and Quilter 2010) (Figure 1). The composition and might of these polities changed through time depending on political and economic circumstances as well as historical and social trajectories (Shimada 1990; Castillo 2009b; Chapdelaine 2010). In this perspective, Moche is no longer viewed as a single, unified and centralized society that originated from a single «bang» of civilization, nor can we assume that all the Moche and the entire North Coast was ruled from the central political and religious capital of the Huacas de Moche by an omnipotent religious-military elite (Larco 2001; Moseley 2001). In this new perspective, the Moche were a sociocultural phenomenon composed of a yet undetermined number of independent interactive polities that shared a flexible set of common ritual, social and political practices.

Recent research on the Wari is revealing similarly complex scenarios, where Wari politics regarding their different colonies, enclaves, allies and neighbors present shifting contingent strategies that generated different situated responses (Isbell 2010; Jennings 2010; Owen 2010; Schreiber and Edwards 2010; Tung 2011; McEwan and Williams 2012; Nash 2012; among others). This flexible multifaceted organization had varied tactics and politics exerted through a varied mosaic of control (Schreiber 1992) that dealt with unexpected circumstances leading them to change their objectives, scopes and political program throughout time and space.

This paper focuses on the interactions of the multidimensional Moche and Wari societies through an analysis of the archaeological record recovered at San José de Moro (SJM). SJM was an important Moche elite cemetery and ceremonial center in the Jequetepeque valley, specially during the Late Moche (AD 700 to 800) and Transitional Periods (AD 850 to 950), that presents the largest amount of Wari artifacts in this northern region (Castillo 2001, 2012b; Castillo *et al.* 2008). Funerary evidence from tombs excavated at SJM reveal how the once impermeable Moche society from the Jequetepeque valley decided to include a series of foreign elements, mostly Wari and Cajamarca, into their elite tombs, revealing a social scenario of intense inter polity interactions and unleashing a chain of events of catastrophic consequences. Other contemporary sites surrounding SJM (Portachuelo de Charcape, Cerro Chepen, San Ildefonso, Pacanga Vieja, Huaca Rajada, etc.) are clarifying the role of Wari during the Late Moche and Transitional periods in the North Coast of Peru. Some remarkable contexts, both funerary and ceremonial, have revealed that the impact of Wari and Cajamarca, its close associate, in Jequetepeque was much more intense and multilayered than we expected. This new perspective is forcing us to reconsider the very nature of these societies, and to conceive of them as being composed of multiple dimensions that are expressed in many arrangements and rearrangements of the archaeological materials.

Data presented in this paper aims to demonstrate that, contrary to common believe, agency resides in unexpected places. In the case of the Moche elite from San José de Moro it seems that it was them who attracted the Wari and Cajamarca, and apparently through them gained access to high quality ritual artifacts produced by other contemporaneous societies. These same elites tightly controlled all material expressions of these societies, and thus monopolized the relationships with them to show their strategic liaisons with a prestigious foreign state and religious phenomenon. These interactions, and the artifacts and ideas they promoted, start to appear exactly at the same time as the southern Moche styles show up in Jequetepeque and, soon after, generate the production of synthetic ceramic styles such as Moche Polychrome ceramics. The chain of events unleashed by these apparently innocuous actions ended up showing the weaknesses of the Moche regime, and eventually contributed to their demise. Furthermore, evidence from the Transitional period is showing that the interactions lasted well beyond the demise of the Moche, and show how complex this period was and how intense the relationships with foreign societies became as the Moche elites lost control and disappeared from the social and political scene. The wealth of the ritual and funerary contexts where the material expressions of these interactions show up, particularly elite chamber tombs, and the great degree of specificity and difference among them, can be interpreted as signaling the fact that the impact of Wari, or any other social process during this unique period, was played and replayed in different ways and intensities by the multiple divisions and factions that coexisted within the Late Moche society of Jequetepeque.

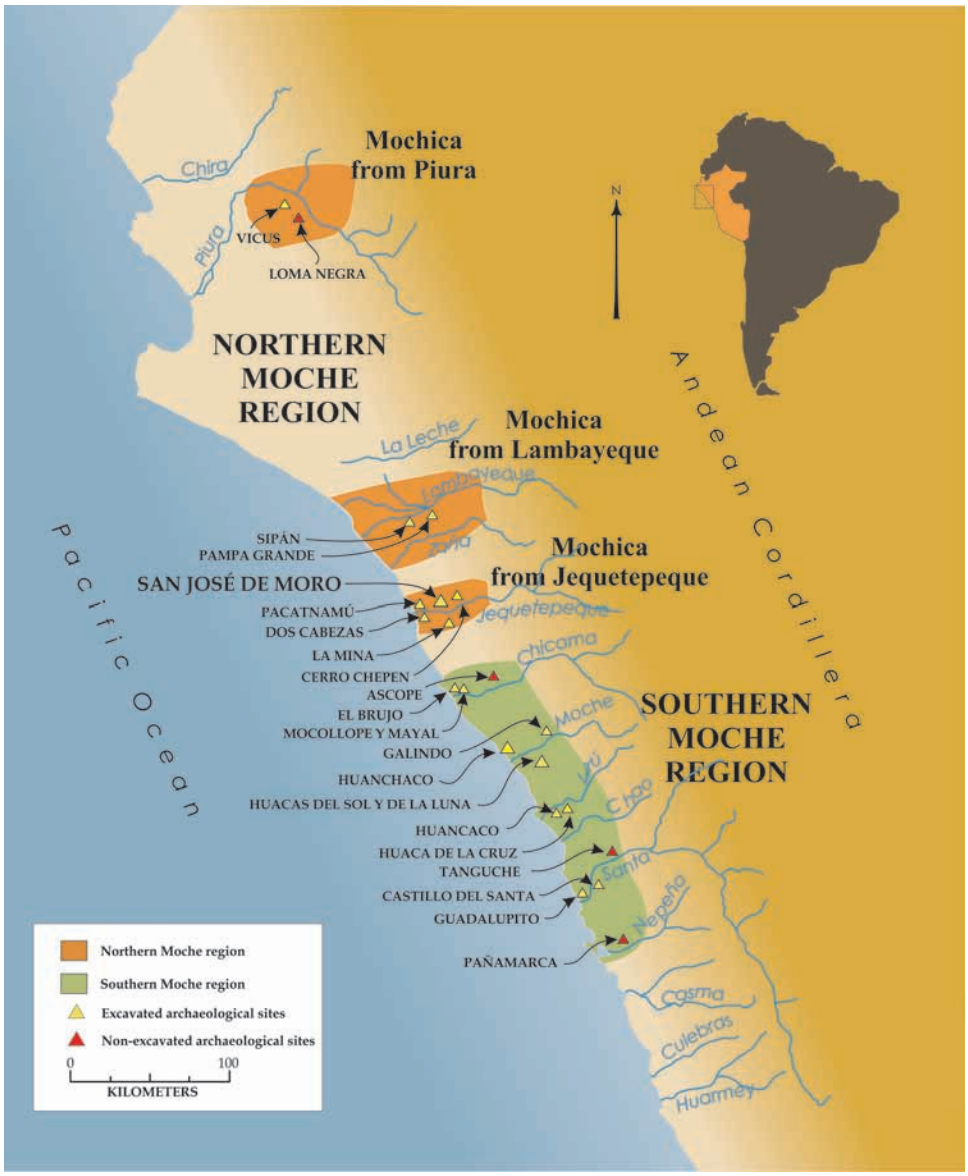

Figure 1. Map of different Moche political organizations on the North Coast (Map: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

2. Social interactions as multidimensional relations

This paper explores several ways by which archaeology can study interactions and relationships between complex multidimensional societies in critical periods of their development. The case at hand will be an attempt to bring up to date the natures and purposes of the relationships between the Moche states of northern coastal Peru and the southern Andean Wari. In the previous sentence the plurals are intentional, and reveal aspects of the ways in which complex societies interact, that is to say, as multidimensional entities. Traditionally we tend to think of societies as one-dimensional entities, with one form or organization, one identity expressed in an idiosyncratic material culture, one way of doing things and carrying on their business, one purpose and a coherent expression in the archaeological record.

Frequently the dimension and identity that is extrapolated to the entire society is the one that identifies its elites, and its evolutionary trajectory is implicitly assumed as the path of change for the entire cultural phenomena. Thus, the relationships and interactions between societies are defined as the confrontation of one will against another, one strategy of domination versus one of resistance, one elite confronted to another. Statements such as 'the Wari conquered the Moche' or 'the Moche resisted the Wari' are frequent, assuming that all and one Wari were involved in the subjugation of all and one Moche.

Nevertheless a simple examination of any complex society reveals that it is not an integrated and homogeneous whole, but that it is composed of social groupings and classes, economic and political interests, religious and ethnic majorities and minorities, individuals, families and localities with occupational specificities, ancestral rights and obligations to the use of land and resources, confronting regional factions, etc. Each part and segment, or groupings and regroupings within, will define different agendas and intentions, at times antagonist, and at times, through ideological and political action and discourse, oriented towards a common goal. The multiple social, political and economic dimensions of both Moche and Wari, to name any complex societies, is added to yet another intricate dimension, the long spans of time through which they interacted, conspiring to generate an outstandingly complicated process. Neither Moches nor Waris were simple or singular in nature, and thus the relationships established and developed between these societies should have been diverse and quite distinct, for instance, in different Moche states, between social groups and economic interests, diverging in their trajectories and in the ways they are manifested in the archaeological record.

Assuming a multidimensional perspective should help understand the multiple roles Wari played in the transformations of Late Moche society, and eventually in its demise. Because of the multidimensional nature of this multiplicity of expressions, the Wari presence in the North Coast had so dissimilar manifestations that they have generated antagonist interpretations between those that affirm its presence and influence, and those that deny any involvement, confining its presence to the upper highlands. Perhaps it is due to this multidimensional aspect of the Wari society that certain attempts to characterize its political organization tend to concentrate in the presence of its particular expressions rather than in its true multifaceted and complex essence.

The 'impact' of the multiple dimensions of a society on another will be determined by internal differences and contradictions in both parties involved in the process that in turn will create a complex and at times contradictory record. Different attitudes and positions, strategies and means will be manifested in markedly different expressions of the same phenomenon. But to read these differences we ought not focus in the large scales and the wide phenomena, in other words, in the generic consequences of social interactions (i.e. the 'destruction of the Moche' or the 'expansion of the Wari'), but in the singularities of specific archaeological contexts, in the ways events and processes affect the different individual agents in society. Assuming a multidimensional nature of societies, and considering that it should be expressed in distinct attitudes and motivations, the interrelations should be materialized in the archaeological record by the coexistence of quite distinct features. The elites that lose control of their society when it is incorporated to another is likely quite different in intent and purpose from the intermediate and subordinate elites that see the same process as an opportunity for their repositioning on the top of society. Thus, as a consequence of military conquest and incorporation, the traditional rulers and highest social levels of society can completely disappear from the record; their dwellings abandoned and their ritual practices ceased, while lower elites, previously subordinated can assume a more active role, expressed in a significant presence of foreign elements in their dwellings and burials, and in the enthronization of previously subordinated practices. Elites and populace at large can relate, and be affected, in differentiated and even opposed measures in relation to societal interactions. While elites will be certainly and inevitably affected, for good or bad, the populace can completely miss, or not be affected by the incorporation process. Or so it will appear in its material record. Thus, foreign goods are more likely to appear in elite burials, while they could be totally absent in the poor ones radically affecting our interpretative frameworks.

ISSN 1029-2004

Figure 2. Group of Wari-associated sub styles recorded in elite burials from San Jose de Moro (Photo: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

3. The Moche and the Wari on the north noast of Peru

Data used to build the arguments that are presented in this work are drawn from the multiple archaeological research programs that have focused on the Moche in the last twenty years, particularly in the Jequetepeque Valley, and specifically from the research conducted by the San José de Moro Archaeological Program in several sites of the valley (Castillo *et al.* 2008; Swenson 2008a; Chapdelaine 2010a). Even though the Moche were contemporaneous with several complex societies in the Andes few, if any, foreign artifacts signaling foreign contacts and relationships have ever been found in association with Moche contexts. Terminal Moche manifestations, chronologically corresponding to the Middle Horizon, whether Late Moche in the Jequetepeque, Moche V in the Lambayeque and Chicama, or Moche IV in the Moche and southern valleys, are coeval with the emergence and expansion of the Wari, and with the development of several Wari related styles (Menzel 1964; Castillo 2009a; Knobloch 2012).

In San José de Moro, unlike any other site on the North Coast, hundreds of Wari ceramic artifacts and obsidian blades, identical to ones found at Wari sites, have been found both in elite funerary contexts and in the fill associated with ceremonial surfaces of Late Moche and Transitional strata (Castillo 2001, 2012b) (Figures 2 and 3). In these contexts we have found large numbers of ceramic artifacts corresponding to the two large stylistic divisions of Wari wares (Menzel 1964): Chakipampa, corresponding to the Middle Horizon Phase 1 which are associated with the Late Moche period; and Viñaque and Atarco, corresponding to the Middle Horizon Phase 2, which were recorded in association with the Transitional period contexts. The earliest examples of Wari artifacts seem to match the very beginning of the Late Moche Period, and thus they are contemporaneous with the emergence of Late Moche Fine-Line art in the Jequetepeque Valley; presumably emerging from a migration of artists from the Chicama Valley, were the Moche V style seems to have been originated (Castillo 2012a). The fact that Chakipampa and Late Moche styles are two parts of the same process is quite puzzling, but perhaps the fact that they appear in the same context as the Polychrome Moche style is even more intriguing.

Figure 3. Group of sub styles associated to Wari recorded in elite burials from San José de Moro (Photo: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

The Moche Polychrome style must have originated from Chakipampa influence since it includes local versions of several abstract figures typical of this Ayacucho-South Coast style. Other foreign style artifacts found in association with Late Moche burials are Nievería and Cajamarca ceramics, the first one coming from the Rímac valley in the central coast, and the latter from the highlands immediately east of the Jequetepeque valley (Figure 4).

During the Transitional Period, following the collapse of the Moche states in Jequetepeque and the disappearance of the idiosyncratic Late Moche Fine Line ceramics; Viñaque, Pachacamac and Atarco wares replace the earlier Chakipampa and Nieveria wares, becoming even more prevalent and numerous than the artifacts from the previous period. Local Polychrome Moche wares fade during the Transitional period, probably replaced by a higher availability of genuine foreign artifacts. Local ceramics experiment an outstanding diversification during the Transitional period. Hybrid styles characterize the bulk of ceramics produced, particularly Post Moche, Proto Lambayeque, Casma Impreso, and Cajamarca Costeño wares, all having a short life span, and eventually leading to the consolidation of dominant styles such as Lambayeque and Chimu. It is worth emphasizing that this complex scenario of multiple local, foreign and hybrid styles in such a short period of time is not characteristic of all Moche sites, but it is restricted only to San José de Moro and the northern Jequetepeque realm. Something certainly singular was happening in this small region during the critical years of the first half of the Middle Horizon.

The wealth of information available for the Moche is inversely proportional to the data obtained for the Wari in the same region, where only occasional finds have been reported (i.e. Donnan 1968, 1972; Uhle 1998 [1930]) and only two specific research programs have been conducted to address these issues, one in the Huamachuco Region (Topic and Topic 1983, 2010) and the other an ongoing research program in Cajamarca (Watanabe in this volume). Although these research points towards a clear Wari presence, particularly in Cajamarca (Watanabe 2002, this volume) only preliminary results of what seems to be a large Wari enclave have been presented. Because of these disproportions on the availability of data, this paper can only explore the position of the Moche as they interacted with the Wari, and not the other way around. We can measure the intensity of interactions between Moche and Wari, for example through the frequency and relative proportion of polychrome bottles in Moche burials; we can study the specific social strata and groups that were affected by the Wari by studying burials and ritual and domestic contexts where we find Wari and Wari-related objects; or we can correlate Wari influences with large-scale events in the developmental history of the Moche through an examination

Figure 4. Group of Cajamarca vessels recovered at San José de Moro (Photo: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

of the stratigraphic and contextual provenience of these materials. We certainly cannot have the same degree of precision in regards to the Wari yet, but further research in the Northern highlands will bring light to the routes of interaction and political configuration between Wari and the northern Andes. At this point we cannot ascertain whether Wari acted in the north coast as a centralized state following a well-defined plan and with a clear agenda, or whether its sporadic presence, its emphasis in ritualistic manifestations, and its confinement to the higher elites, are manifestations of individualistic enterprises, commercial adventures, religious influences, or simply a by-product of social interactions.

4. Moche geopolitical organization and relationships with Wari

Exploring the nature and form of the political organization of Moche states will help us understand why Wari materials were almost exclusively found in San José de Moro during the Late Moche Period. Moche research, although 110 years in age, has experienced its largest and most sustained growth during the last 20 years. The number of excavations and field programs devoted to the study of multiple aspects of this society, the large scale and long duration of some of these programs, the construction of site museums in Sipan, Huaca el Brujo and Huaca de la Luna, numerous publications, conferences and exhibitions, and the public and private resources invested in Moche research, all contributed to a spectacular development of the field. It is quite difficult to summarize the many aspects of Moche society in this essay, and several other researchers have recently produced up to date summaries of the Moche, addressing its stratified and diverse social organization, its specialized economy including the innovations they made in truly complex technologies, the nature and functions of its elites, its outstanding artistic traditions and the enigmatic religion and ideology that supported most of their power strategies (Donnan and McClelland 1999; Castillo and Uceda 2008; Quilter and Castillo 2009; Chapdelaine 2010b).

Of all the insights produced by recent Moche research the most relevant for this paper is the new conceptualization of the political structure of this society (see for example, Quilter and Castillo 2010), both in terms of geopolitical organization, and in terms of the actions taken by the leadership to create

and sustain sources of power, particularly during periods of crisis. A close examination of the ways the Moche were organized geopolitically should help us answer critical questions for this study: Why is Wari evidence so uneven across Moche territory, appearing in great quantities in the northern Jequetepeque Valley, and sporadically, or even totally absent in others? Were the Wari related more intensively with some Moche than others? And, was this uneven distribution a choice of the Wari, or does it reveal insights into the internal organization of Moche territory?

In the mid-nineties archaeologists started questioning the usefulness of the five phase chronology developed by Rafael Larco in the 1930's, which supported the notion that the Moche had been a single, centralized state, evolving in the north coast of Peru through a single developmental sequence (Castillo and Donnan 1992; Shimada 1990). Excavations in Sipan (Alva 2004) and San José de Moro (Castillo *et al.* 2008), in particular, produced great quantities of materials that did not corresponded to the forms described by Larco, and thus questioned the idea of a single unified sequence. As a result, two Moche regions were postulated, one encompassing the northern valleys of Piura, Lambayeque and Jequetepeque, and another, the one Larco had described, for the southern valleys of Moche and Chicama and the valleys south. The immediate implications of this division exceeded the simple question of the coexistence of two ceramic sequences and two chronologies, and implied that two Moche political regions had developed. This was the first time in which a Pre Columbian society in the central Andes had been divided into territories. The Northern and Southern Moche had not been simply two ceramic styles, but two powerful regional states distinguishable in many aspects. All lines of evidence indicated that both in the north and south powerful political entities developed independently, each one materializing its singularity through distinct ceramic styles, and unified by social interactions and by a shared religious liturgy (Donnan 2007).

But the twofold division did not close the issue of the political organization of the Moche. The northern valleys showed even further differences expressed in local ceramic, metallurgical, and architectonic styles. The Piura, Lambayeque and Jequetepeque valleys, each presented roughly contemporaneous royal cemeteries in Loma Negra, Sipan, Dos Cabezas and San José de Moro, and in general each one of these regions presented a distinct ceramic sequence, populated by sub styles and differences in iconographic contents. Again the division was not a mere expression of the differences in ceramic styles, but manifested the idea that independent states had coexisted in the Northern Moche region, each one with specificities in terms of resources and interactions as well as singular developmental trajectories that at times coincided and at times diverged. In all three regions a somewhat similar brand of Early Moche ceramics has been found, but with differences in manufacture and in the overall cultural context. Examples of the distinctive Early Moche ceramics have also been found at El Brujo in the Chicama Valley. During the Middle Moche period sites and burials in the Lambayeque and Jequetepeque Valleys include similar examples of Middle Moche wares, particularly associated with royal and elite cemeteries. At the same time the Piura region seems to have been cut off from the Moche core, drifting into a cultural phenomenon unlike the Moche. In both Early and Middle Moche period domestic and lower class contexts, the predominant ceramics have a strong Gallinazo imprint, so much so that two parallel traditions seem to coexist, Moche for the rich and Gallinazo for the poor. No foreign influences can be identified in these periods, neither among ceramic objects nor in other cultural items. It has been argued that the lack of foreign objects during these periods imply a conscious strategy of the Moche political leadership aimed at preventing foreign influences to compete with Moche ideologically based power.

During the Late Moche Period the sequence changes again. Lambayeque seems to have been dominated from the Moche V site of Pampa Grande, while Jequetepeque saw the development of the Late Moche phenomenon, centered in sites such as San José de Moro, Cerro Chepen and San Ildefonso. Thus the map of the Moche was reshaped again in the late 1990's, now to include a still unified Southern Moche region, and presenting territorial states in each of the northern valleys. For several years this division seemed to work, but by now the emphasis of research had shifted from the investigation of the similarities among the Moche sites and contexts, to the exploration of the differences. By now it has become apparent that the presence, or most commonly absence, of non-Moche ceramics is one of the

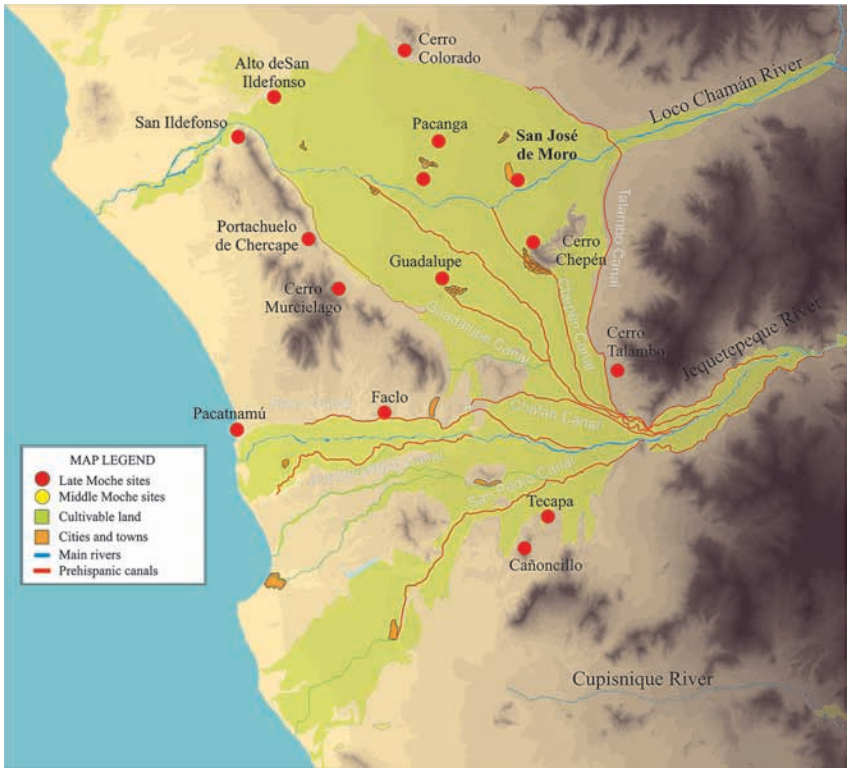

Figure 5. Map of irrigation systems in the Jequetepeque Valley (Map: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

most distinctive differences between Moche regions, and a distinctive and characteristic feature of San José de Moro.

Internally each valley state had developed in rather distinctive fashions: the southern one, based in the Moche and Chicama valleys as an expansive territorial state; whereas the northern valleys of Lambayeque and Jequetepeque seem to have configured conglomerations of segmented, local level polities. A careful examination of the development of the Jequetepeque Valley shows that it was not organized as a single and centrally managed valley state, politically unified under the leadership of a ruling elite from a centrally located capital, but there was rather plenty of room inside the valley for the coexistence of several Moche local polities of different kinds, sizes, and levels of complexity, strategically exploiting resources and organized in diverse ways. Centralization, that is to say the Valley State of Jequetepeque, seems to have existed, at least for the performance of regional scale ritual practices and for the administration of the complex irrigation system, but as short lived and recurrent events. In a recent article Castillo (2010) postulated that the Mochicas from Jequetepeque, during the Middle and Late Moche periods, formed a peculiar kind of organization labeled 'opportunistic states'. Opportunistic states have an intermittent character, formed when local polities coalesce into larger territorial states for a specific function, to revert back into small local polities when opportunities and circumstances run their course. At least four territorial polities might have coexisted in Jequetepeque during the Late Moche Period: two in the northern Chaman sector, one in the central river valley, and one in the southern San Pedro region (Figure 5). Relationships between these opportunistic states, particularly endemic warfare and periods of regional integration around the celebration of ritual activities, characterize the Middle and Late Moche periods. Thus, intra valley relations might have been more important in their development than the relationships they had with other Moche societies, and certainly in relation to

foreign societies such as the Cajamarca and Wari. Of these polities only the one centered in San José de Moro and Cerro Chepen showed evidence of an active and intense interaction with the Wari.

Not all the Moche states, nor even all the Moche local polities of the Jequetepeque valley, show a consistent correlation with Wari and related cultural phenomena. Only one small polity located in the northern valley and probably controlling the strategic pathways that linked the coastal plains with the highland valley of Cajamarca, seems to have been actively involved in the interactions. Thus, differences between Moche polities were not limited to their relative chronologies and ceramic styles, but imply differences in the intensity of the foreign interaction that each developed. The Late Moche from San José de Moro seems to have monopolized the interactions with Wari, as far as currently available data show.

5. The multiple voices of Wari

The characterization of Wari and its impact in Andean social configuration during the Middle Horizon has been widely debated during the last five decades. From these discussions and especially from an ever-growing pool of archaeological data proceeding from research projects throughout the Andes, an outline of the different layers and facets that characterized the Wari political organization is emerging. However, more often than not, much of Wari evidence presents rich yet contrasting interpretations. These conflicting perspectives are usually influenced by the place that is being investigated. While researchers based close to the Ayacucho core and exposed to highly standardized Wari canons and their conquest of the surrounding landscape through irrigation argue for a powerful and tightly organized empire (Isbell 2010; Lumbreras 2012; Schreiber 2012), archaeologists in peripheral areas such as the northern sierra or the coast presented with hybridized, emulated or/and locally assimilated Wari elements argue for a much laxer political organization (Shady 1982; Bawden 1995; Topic and Topic 2001; Marcone 2010; Segura and Shimada 2010). Moreover, recent reinterpretations contemplate a combination of the above mentioned scenarios (Isbell and McEwan 1991; Isbell 2010; Jennings 2010; Segura and Shimada 2010; Schreiber 2012) where Wari evidence appears to respond to a varied set of direct mechanisms such as negotiation, co-option of local elites, repatriation of Wari bureaucrats as well as indirect effects such as fissioning or stepped budding (Owen 2010), emulation, globalization (Jennings 2010) and a series of circumstantial responses set in a highly interactive Andean context. In this sense, this multiplicity of interpretations regarding the nature of Wari is revealing a multidimensional society that behaved in different ways in different regions, presenting a mix of strategic political programs and large-scale construction projects as well as contingent responses to different everyday circumstances in the different areas were their physical presence is attested.

Situating the multi-layered cultural expressions of the Wari within its own temporality is crucial to understand the way events, practices and processes developed within situated categories of time. While Wari´s chronology and its preponderance throughout the Middle Horizon has been studied (Menzel 1964), criticized and reformulated (Isbell 2001; Kaulicke 2001; Knobloch 2001; Segura and Shimada 2010) it is necessary to follow, as much as we can, the different 'moments' that characterized Wari's historical trajectory.

First in order to contextualize the Wari phenomenon within its Andean context it is necessary to understand that during the moment that preceded it, the end of the Early Intermediate Period (AD 400-600), the degree of interactions between different groups had intensified throughout the Andes (Shady 1982; Kaulicke 2001; Bélisle and Covey 2010; Topic and Topic 2010), developing new cultural affinities, exploring regional routes of contact and establishing spheres of interaction. As the Middle Horizon advanced and the Wari state emerged, this interactive scenario became much more dynamic, accentuating previous relationships and establishing new connections that were reflected in the sharing of material (Dollwetzel 2012), languages (Cerrón Palomino 2011) and ceremonial practices (Fernandini and Ruales in press). In this context, the Wari start to lay the foundations for a strategically organized territorial empire through the construction of cities and outposts as well as intensification of agricultural production in the surrounding areas and the creation of a standardized ceramic style. While the outcome of this large-scale construction program was not the organized empire that perhaps was envisioned,

the intense presence of Wari beyond the southern highlands in terms of architecture, ceramics and possibly Wari agents seems to have altered the regional configurations of this time. Whereas Wari presence was intense in some regions and practically non-existent in others, the highly interrelated Andean context along with the broad appeal of Wari´s material culture seem to have triggered an entangled scenario wherein Wari material culture and practices were sought, emulated and copied in different areas.

In this line, distinctions between an early Wari (AD 600-800) and a late Wari (AD 800-1000) (framed within an early and late Middle Horizon [Jennings 2010]) present a highly contrasting scenario. During the early period, Wari seems to have launched a large-scale construction project in sites such as Pikillacta in Cusco (McEwan 2005), possibly Viracochampa in Huamachuco (but see Topic 2001, 2010) or El Palacio in Cajamarca (Watanabe this volume) which convey a highly territorial and homogenous organization. During the same time, their material presence presents a much more entwined scenario. The characteristic Ocros and Chakipampa ceramics from the early Middle Horizon present a relatively high level of flexibility particularly in the coast were they were hybridized and emulated by local societies.

While the micro-processes that characterized these events are entangled within the everyday practices of different contemporaneous settlements, using a multi-scalar approach that mixes the events from different Wari related sites as well as evidence from the capital reveals that at some point there is a breakpoint between early and late Wari. Towards the Late Middle Horizon, Wari seems to have abandoned costly construction projects in the highlands for a nuanced restructuration of their usage of space. This later Wari presents a much more consistent political practice characterized by moderate investment in small enclaves in a series of valleys closer to the Ayacucho core and a much more standardized ceramic production and distribution throughout the Wari realm and beyond. The footprint of this later Wari also presents a varied scenario in different areas with funerary intrusion of previous sacred huacas along the coast, negotiations with local elites and in general an overall shift that seems to be oriented towards mass production of agricultural goods and material standardization, as well as a massive reorganization of space in the capital, Huari. During this time, Huari reaches its peak size presenting a complex configuration of elite, minor elite and citizen´s residences, workshop areas and a well-organized production network that provided them with food supplies from the Ayacucho and neighboring valleys (the neighboring Jargampata, Azángaro [Anders 1986] and the further located Sondondo [Schreiber 2001] and Chicha/Soras [Meddens and Branch 2010] valleys). Similarly, Wari provincial evidence reveals a clear re-articulation of their political program. Wari strategies were characterized by small-scale constructions where small outposts such as Honcopampa in the Callejón de Huaylas and Pataraya in the Nasca drainage were established possibly for economic purposes such as a trading post in the case of Honcopampa (Ponte 2001) or a cotton production enclave in the Pataraya case (Edwards 2010). Moreover, while during the early Middle Horizon Wari ceramics from the Ayacucho core appeared along with regional amalgamations and emulations throughout the Andes, during this later period Wari launches a more controlled and massive production venture, where their most characteristic state style, Viñaque, seems to present a unified ideology. While it has been argued based on the association between the Atarco style in the south coast or Pachacamac style in the central coast that regional capitals were developing in these areas, recent research (Kaulicke 2001; Schreiber 2001; Segura and Shimada 2010) reveals that these highly diagnostic styles were sporadic and had a very limited spread.

6. Wari in San José de Moro

To study the Wari-Moche interaction at San José de Moro we have to understand the multiplicity of expressions they both present outside and within the site. In San José de Moro, Chakipampa, Nieveria and Cajamarca wares are associated with Late Moche Fine-Lines and Polychromes, as well as several Late Moche artict types with an oxidized and reduced nature. During the Transitional Period, Viñaque, Atarco and Pachacamac artifacts are relatively common, as well as Cajamarca and Cajamarca Costeño wares (Figures 6 and 7).

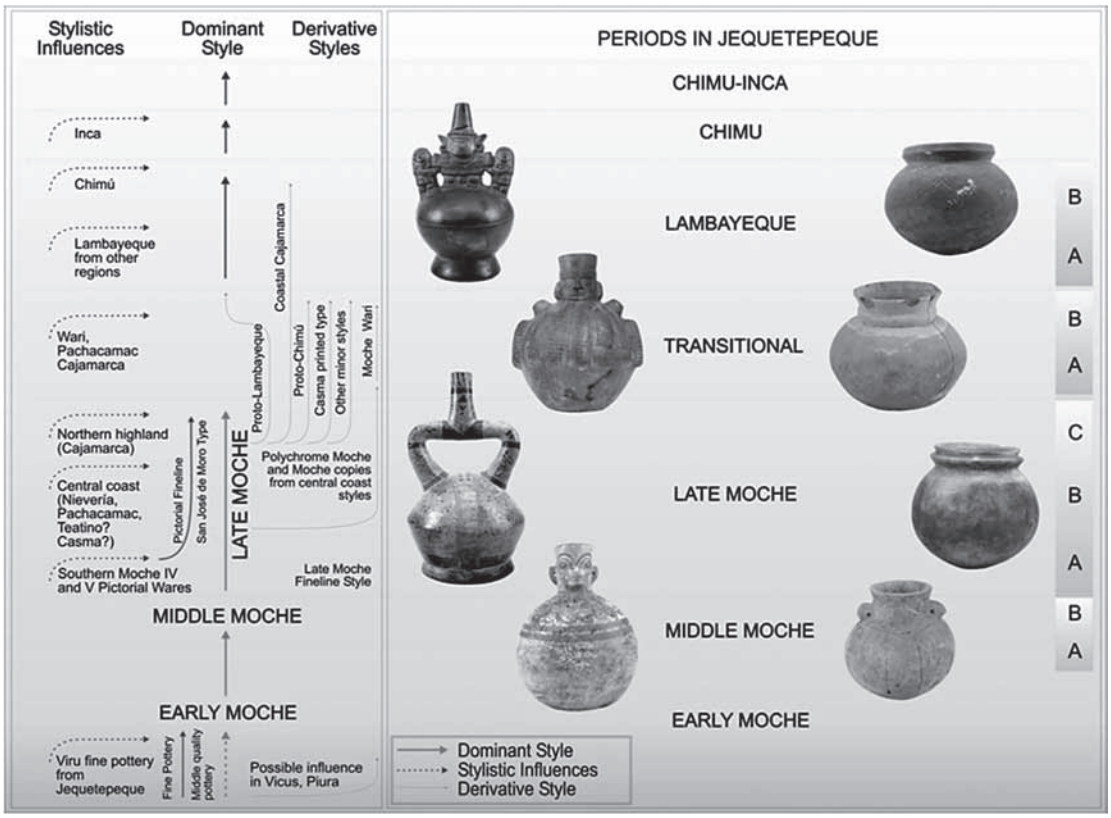

Figure 6. San Jose de Moro chronological sequence (Figure: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

Amount of imported and fine-line ceramic styles registered throughout the time at San José de Moro

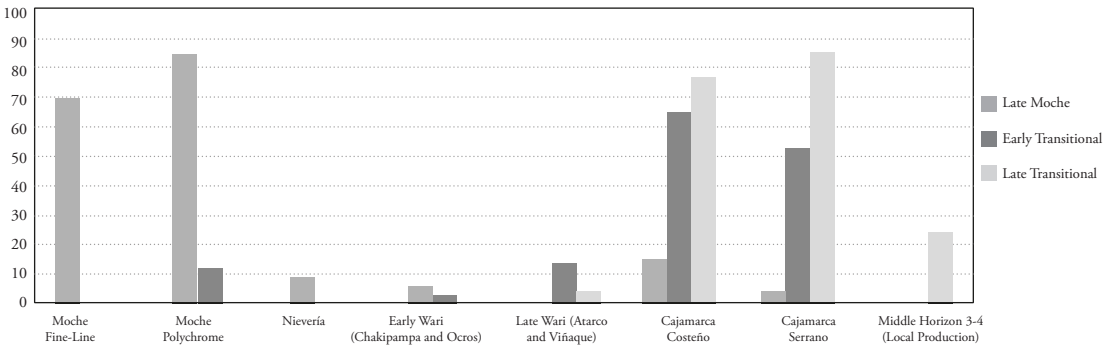

Figure 7. Wari and Wari related materials registered at San Jose de Moro divided by chronological phases (Figure: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

In general, it seems that once the impermeability of the Moche was broken at the start of the Late Mochica Period in the Northern Jequetepeque valley a varied set of Wari and Wari related artifacts found their way into the elaborated elite burials at SJM, particularly into the highest elite tombs, represented by the Priestesses of SJM. This particular association establishes what seems to be a well thought and planned intention on behalf of SJM elite to associate their semi divine rulers with these foreign objects. On the other hand, to speak of intentionality by observing solely the final stage of configuration and negotiation that leads to the construction of the funerary context might be obscuring the processes and contingencies that allowed its construction. Judging by our knowledge from this period it is possible to propose that the San José de Moro elite's introduction of foreign material culture was a situated response not only to the advantageous association of the Jequetepeque elite with a powerful foreign ideology but also a reaction to the wide availability that this alluring material culture had triggered.

In this scenario, San José de Moro's growing relations with Cajamarca and the intense interactions between this society and Wari (Topic and Topic 2001; Watanabe 2002, this volume; Knobolch 2001; Lumbreras 2012) appear to be crucial in the understanding of SJM´s political configuration. The presence of Wari materials in SJM seems to be directly related to the Cajamarca presence in Late Moche contexts. Given the proven evidence of Cajamarca presence in the Jequetepeque valley it seems that the political organization of this valley during the Late Moche Period and especially during the Transitional Period is directly associated with the growing presence of Cajamarca in the area (Rosas 2007). It appears that Cajamarca was playing a pivotal role in terms of the acquisition of Wari material by SJM.

In San José de Moro, Wari and Wari-related artifacts appear in small numbers both in funerary contexts and in relation to ceremonial spaces, corresponding to both the Late Moche (AD 650 to 850), and the Transitional Periods (AD 850-1000), and their five subdivisions (Late Moche A, B and C, and Early and Late Transitional phases (LMA, LMB, LMC, ET and LT respectively) (see Figure 6). The artifacts found in association with contexts of each period differ in the styles that are present and in the relative quantities of goods. For example, Chakipampa and Atarco wares have never been found in context, and only a few sherds were found in fill layers with no meaningful associations. In contrast, many iconographic elements popular in the Chakipampa and Ocros style were extensively used in Late Moche Polychrome artifacts that appear during the LMA phase and become quite popular during the LMB and the LMC phases, disappearing during the ET. Very few Nieveria artifacts have been found and they appear only in LMA and LMB contexts. Cajamarca and Cajamarca Costeño wares appear throughout the Moche and Transitional periods, but in slightly different forms and presenting different decorations. The presence of foreign objects in Moche and Transitional contexts has been particularly instrumental in clarifying their chronological assignation and provide a unique opportunity to cross date these contexts with the chronologies of other regions. Wari and Wari related objects are almost entirely bottles, vases, and bowls, in contrast to Cajamarca artifacts that also include jars and pitchers of somewhat more rudimentary manufacture. A small number of obsidian points or fragments thereof have been found in burials pertaining to the Late Moche and transitional burial.

Foreign objects are quite infrequent outside funerary contexts in SJM, and almost nonexistent in other sites of the Jequetepeque Valley. In twenty-two years of excavations at SJM a very limited number of ceramic fragments of Wari and Wari related wares have been found and have not represented any particular association. There is no clear sign that these objects were used in ritual or that they served any purpose in daily life. Nevertheless, several ceramic objects of this kind were fractured, fissured or broken and then repaired and sewn with intentional perforations; actions usually associated with objects that are used continuously, even after breakage. The largest numbers of foreign and polychrome artifacts found in SJM appear in burials or in contexts directly associated with this kind of contexts. Many times these objects were found in the most prominent loci of the tomb, such as niches, inside wooden and cane coffins, or surrounding the head of the diseased. No logic has been found that can explain the relative number of fine and foreign artifacts in a burial, nor their particular location. In general richer, larger and more complex burials tend to include this kind of objects, but we have found both of them in rather poor burials and not found them in large and complex tombs, even chamber burials.

In this context, it is necessary to keep in mind that while elites are coveting these foreign objects, once this material culture is introduced into a local setting it becomes reformulated and reshaped by its new context and plays a localized role in elite politics. Once Wari objects leave the Ayacucho area or are produced outside, they no longer hold the same meanings and significance held in their Wari context. These objects are reformulated and reshaped acquiring a hybrid meaning that cannot be reducible to the origin of its paste or the ideology that inspired it.

In this manner, Wari or Wari related objects in San José de Moro are amalgamated to carry a foreign and elite quality but are nonetheless reconfigured to be assimilated by SJM customs and practices. Here is where the incongruences start. Neither SJM nor Moche had a practice of dealing with foreign objects and especially they had not seen them included into their most sacred contexts. Funerary rituals held a very important place in the social and political arena, they were public events that became embedded in the collective memories of people in the community and followed a common script where community ties between elite and the populace were strengthened.

In this sense, the alteration of Moche burial practices through the introduction of foreign objects, while establishing the acquisition and negotiating power of SJM elite, seems to have eroded the already fragile elite-populace equilibrium. Between the Late Moche Fine Line, the distinct Wari styles such as Nieveria, Chakipampa, the Moche-Wari hybrids and the Cajamarca specimens both elite and non-elite members of the SJM society were seeing their dead semi-divine rulers buried using a non-Moche methodology, violating a series of Moche practices that had been instilled in the local population ethos for centuries.

The preservation of Moche ritual dogmatic standards, especially funerary performance, played an important aspect in the maintenance of the Moche superstructure. While no Wari related material culture has been found in direct association with feasting areas, it is highly probable that these objects were included in the execution of funerary practices and ceremonies before introducing them into the burials. These events included the consumption of large amounts of chicha and food, the exhumation of elite individuals and the subsequent celebrations around the burial.

In this sense, funerary rituals are situated within the public political domain and the inclusion of foreign elements seems to have contradicted Moche political discourse. It is possible that in a scenario of political, social and climatic unrest such as the one that characterized the Late Moche Period (Shimada et al. 2006), tradition and dogmatic practices could have represented the only strong force that held the SJM Moche together. In this context, it seems that investing in the procurement and emulation of foreign objects and introducing them within their political discourse further undermined an already fragile political situation, discrediting elite rulers and triggering a process of loss of legitimacy that ended up weakening the political organization that sustained them.

On the other hand, this embrace of foreign artifacts during Late Moche opened a route of interaction that did not disappear with the demise of the Moche elite. Quite on the contrary, long distance ties seem to have been further emphasized by the Transitional Period elite. This political and social shift tends to distance the elite from previous Moche elements while at the same time establishing a more fluid access to Wari artifacts. This phenomenon is related with the disappearance of the Moche Polychrome wares and with an increase in the presence of imported artifacts from Ayacucho as well as from the South and Central Coasts.

Similarly, the contextual evidence reveals that as we enter the Late Transitional Period Cajamarca artifacts become more common while the Wari specimens are less ubiquitous and are paralleled by a new hybrid Wari local style characterized by a very poor technological quality both in terms of pigment use and paste (Prieto et al. 2008). In terms of temporal relations it is possible to argue that this decline in Wari presence is related with Wari's loss of territorial and strategic control and its subsequent collapse around AD 900-1000 (Isbell and McEwan 1991; Schreiber 1992).

7. Of pastes and pigments

The understanding of Moche and Wari relationships at San José de Moro can be further explored through the study of the technological processes involved in the production of ceramic hybrids. By establishing

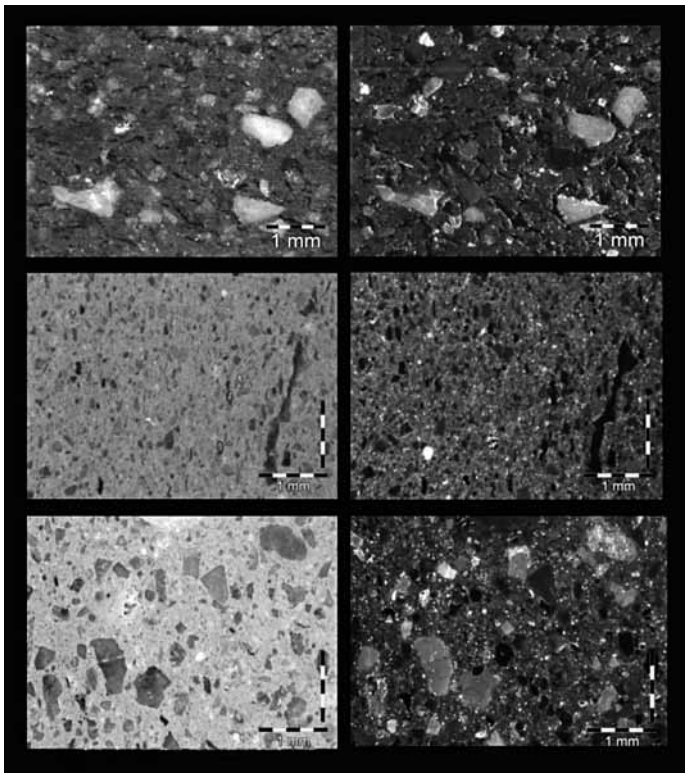

Figure 8. Texture analysis made on Moche (above), Wari (middle), and Moche-Plychrome (below) samples through an optic (left) and catodoluminiscence microscope (right).

the origin of production of synthetic styles and distinguishing whether raw materials and manufacturing techniques were local or replicated from further regions, it is possible to assess the impact of the introduction and emulation of these foreign elements within the political and economic realm of elite craft production. Recent archaeometric analyses performed on ceramics from San José de Moro confirm this highly interactive scenario and reveal the actual procedures, foreign and local, that potters used to produce the different types of ceramic wares registered. Analyses have been carried out on paste and pigment composition of Late Moche Fine Line, Moche Polychrome, Cajarmaca and Wari-Viñaque sherds from different contexts at San José de Moro as well as from a small sample from Huari and Conchopata. These analyses reveal that Moche Polychrome ceramics maintain the same simple Moche paste technology while they change their complex Moche pigment technology and replace them by pigments influenced by Wari practices (Figure 8).

Regarding the similarities in paste between Late Moche Fine Line and Moche Polychrome, analyses showed that both types of ceramics present a heterogeneous ceramic matrix composed by medium-coarse inclusion of mineral nature. Observations made on a Catodoluminiscence (CL) microscope indicated a high presence of quartz, and calcium and sodium feldspars in both types of ceramic pastes. Even though distribution of inclusions is very abundant (20 - 40%), they are very uneven in shape and size revealing a low investment in paste preparation, typical of Moche paste (Rohfritsch 2010; Muro ms.). On the other hand, analysis on Wari sherds from Wari and from San José de Moro show a high investment in the preparation of pastes which resulted in a very homogeneous size and shape of inclusions (all the inclusions display a size less than 2.0 microns and an angular and sub-angular shape). The homogeneity of their visual composition reveals a shared practice and knowledge in terms of clay preparation which probably involved decantation/trituration of clay concretions. Observations made on the CL microscope allowed us to identify the presence of calcium and sodium feldspars, generally recognized by their yellow and pink luminescence. In some samples, minimal pyroxenes and metal

oxides were also identified, yet it seems likely that they could be natural components of clay sources from the Ayacucho region.

Furthermore, a focus on pigment usage shows that in order to obtain the polichromy characteristic of Moche Polychrome and Wari designs, a variety of mineral pigments of diverse chemical nature were used. Analyses carried out through a Scanning Electron Microscope over the Moche Polycrome and Wari decorated surfaces displays great similarities in the usages of red, grey, black, purple, and brown paint. For instance, red paint in both styles is greatly composed of iron (until 40%), silicate (30%), and aluminum (15%), with a lesser percentage of calcium (5%), potasium (5%), and manganese (5%). Clearly, the high presence of Iron defines the color properties of the pigment, as also occurs with the purple paint in both styles which displays a similar chemical composition to red pigments, yet with a higher presence of barium (15%). Regarding the grey paint, a significant presence of silicate (50%) and aluminum (20%) is identified, which again supports the argilleous nature of the pigment; however, in a way similar to the black paint, manganese (10%) and iron (15%), are producing the color properties, The cream paint in Wari and Moche Polycrhome style displays a significant component of silicate (60%) and aluminum (15%), with a lesser percentage of potasium, calcium, and iron. The latter are most likely responsible for defining color properties. Finally, the brown paint is also defined by a majority percentage of iron (30%), calcium (10%), potasium (10%), and magnesium (10%).

Following this methodology, analysis on pigment usage from Late Moche Fine Line ceramics revealed that to obtain red and black colors they used pigments that contained high amounts of iron which means that the procedure to obtain these colors relied on oxidized and reduced firing techniques (Dollwetzel 2012). Obtaining black through reduced iron oxide is a complex enterprise that requires a detailed control of temperatures (Noll 1980 in Dollwetzel 2012).

In this sense, these analyses reveal that artisans producing Moche Polychrome opted to mix ceramic traditions in order to simplify the production of these vessels by using a less energy consuming Moche paste technique along with a simpler Wari pigment procedure. Moreover, a closer look at paste analysis results from Moche Polychrome sherds shows a varied composition of pastes, pointing to two differentiated groups. Although the size of the sample is small and further analysis will clarify this distinction, analysis shows that the two Moche Polychrome sherds that belonged to bottles where the SJM Rombus appeared showed a marked difference with the three sherds belonging to Moche Polychrome vessels that presented Moche shapes and iconography. These results reveal an interesting facet behind the people in charge of producing local Moche Polychrome, pointing to a highly controlled environment where the introduction and local manufacture of this foreign-influenced ceramics appear to be following a politically constructed production agenda.

It is interesting to note that similar analysis carried out on Cajamarca Costeño sherds from San José de Moro present a different scenario, where the color black continues to be obtained through a reduced iron oxide technique (Thiriet 2008). While it is not certain if Cajamarca Costeño ceramics were produced in Cajamarca or in the Jequetepeque valley, it is interesting to note that Wari influences did not affect their pigment techniques.

These new insights regarding Moche Polychrome manufacture show that while these artifacts seem to have been produced by Jequetepeque potters using traditional Late Moche Fine Line clay preparation, the inclusion of colours and a new set of designs open the door to the introduction of a new and simpler pigment usage technique. Likewise, variations within Moche Polychrome paste composition seem to be following a complexly controlled environment where particular designs and shapes associated with the different combinations of Moche and Wari traditions seem to have been done using different kinds or combinations of clays and inclusions. It is possible that these variations in paste composition where associated with differentiated workshops or segmentations within workshops that were following different production programs, one that produced Moche shapes and iconography using Wari associated colours, and another that produced local and foreign shapes that present foreign iconography that had been locally adapted, such as the SJM Rombus.

In order to illustrate the complex blend of styles at SJM it is worth mentioning a jar or cantaro that shows a Moche form with Chakipampa decoration and Cajamarca paste (Figure 9). This piece

Figure 9. Cantaro made of Cajamarca paste (kaolin), showing Chakipampa decoration on a Moche form (Photo: San José de Moro Archaeological Program).

was registered in a Late Moche boot tomb along with a set of Moche pieces including a stirrup bottle with high relief decoration and a face-neck jar with zoomorphic representation that includes a chevron design around the border. This context is quite revealing since it outlines the complexity of relationships and exchange of ideas, concepts and techniques between these three interacting societies.

This mingling of foreign elements leads us to consider the routes of contact or interaction used in order to obtain and transport these artifacts. Since most of the Wari related evidence appears to be contextually related to Cajamarca ware it is logical to suppose that the northern highlands might have been a possible route of access. Similarly, in order to state this assumption one has to consider the multidimensionality of the Cajamarca society as well; especially when considering that Cajamarca appears in the Lambayeque (Montenegro 1997) and Chicama valleys without any Wari associations. Hence it is possible to argue that the Wari entrance to San José de Moro was associated with a particular dimension of the politically loose Cajamarca society.

8. Discussion and Conclusions, The Moche and the Wari

It is quite apparent that the Wari did not establish the same kind, or even any kind, of relationships with all contemporaneous Late Moche polities. The recent realization of the multidimensional character of Moche politics, the fact that the Moche formed multiple polities in every region of the north coast, and that these polities developed quite distinct policies and strategies, explains why one of them, and not the others, had the opportunity to engage, whether directly or indirectly, with the Wari and that it saw these relationships as advantageous for its power strategies. Contacts with the SJM Moche would not immediately imply contacts with other polities. The Moche from San José de Moro were at the right location, most likely controlling the Jequetepeque valley communication routes between the coast and the highlands at the time the Wari were settling or increasing their connections with the highland societies of Cajamarca. It is likely that these Moche succeeded in monopolizing the relationships with the Wari and their associated and derived states, since almost no evidence of them has been found elsewhere. This seems to be a conscious and intentional strategy that impeded other competing Jequetepeque Valley Moche polities from entering into the same kind of relationships that the SJM Moche

had developed. It is unlikely though, that the SJM Moche could have prevented other Moche regional polities, north and south, from entering into interactions and relationships with the Wari. We have to assume that if no Wari presence has been found in these regions it is because the local Moche polities managed to prevent Wari from entering their holding, or were not interested in promoting a foreign influence changing their traditions.

The multidimensional character of Moche politics and geopolitics, the coexistence of multiple polities, and the fact that each had a differentiated developmental process thus explain the mystery of the uneven distribution of Wari materials in the North Coast. Now the other side of the story remains to be explored since Wari interests in engaging with this particular polity and not with others remain unclear.

It is an undisputed fact that Wari presence is roughly contemporaneous with the most idiosyncratic Late Moche styles in SJM: Late Moche Fine Line, and Late Moche Polychrome ceramics that combine Moche and Wari forms, iconographies and techniques. Furthermore, archaeometric analysis shows that Moche Polychrome ceramics represent a local change in ceramic production that combines Moche paste preparation with Wari pigment procedures which allowed Moche potters to obtain a hybrid ceramic ware of variable quality using less time consuming techniques. Likewise, the changes between Middle and Late Moche characterized by the presence of these ceramic styles represent a critical transition that has not been adequately studied, particularly for lack of appropriate data. While Middle Moche is characterized by a particularly poor ceramic assemblage, poor form and decoration techniques and even poor materials, Late Moche includes not only the beautiful Fine Line bottles but other intermediate quality objects decorated with relieve images of animals and human faces. It is almost impossible to demonstrate that Late Moche and Wari style objects appear at the site at exactly the same time, but in the earliest Late Moche burials they have been found together. Exact contemporaneity would indicate that associations with Wari material culture and the cultural baggage associated to them might have had some responsibility in the changes that led to the development of Late Moche. Castillo (2001) has hypothesized elsewhere that a migration of highly skilled Moche V artisans, coming from the Chicama into the Jequetepeque valley triggered the development of Late Moche Fine Line styles. Could Wari have been a factor in the mobilization of these artisans and other members of Moche V society into Jequetepeque and of the ensuing changes in Jequetepeque? On the other hand, if Late Moche formed shortly before Wari appeared in the Jequetepeque valley, one might conclude that the transformations that occured from Middle to Late Moche were responsible for creating the conditions that permitted the inclusion of Wari elements in the region. Similarly, it seems necessary to introduce Cajamarca into this equation since it is very likely that Wari elements appearing in San José de Moro share the same route of entrance with Cajamarca elements into the site.

The fact that Wari evidence in SJM appears in association with foreign artifacts, some closely related to the Wari traditionn is still the most enigmatic aspect of the relationships between the SJM Moche and the Wari; and possibly an aspect that will eventually reveal more about the internal organization of the highland state. We can distinguish two different origins among the multiplicity of styles that appear simultaneously in SJM, revealing two different kinds of interactions led by the Wari. On the one hand we have Cajamarca and Cajamarca Costeño wares, produced in several locations of the nearby Cajamarca territory (Terada y Matsumoto 1995; Watanabe 2002; Murga y Tsai 2007). On the other hand we have the Wari and Wari related styles produced by societies that were situated hundreds of kilometers away from Jequetepeque in the Ayacucho valley and in the central and south coasts. The Cajamarca seem to have been organized into regional polities, possibly not larger than complex chiefdoms that covered the entire territory. Each one of these polities developed a distinctive ceramic style, sharing an intensive use of kaolinitic clays to make pedestal or tripod based plates and bowls. Both the forms and the decorative styles permit us to recognize regional variants and chronological divisions. Now, what is unquestionable is that Cajamarca existed before, during and after the influx of the Wari (Terada and Matsumoto 1995). The Cajamarca seem to be a vehicle of the Wari expansion or action in the region. These styles of artifacts were not brought in by the Wari, but it was during the Middle Horizon that we see Wari and Cajamarca ceramics together, even in the Wari capital in the Ayacucho region (Menzel 1964, Topic 1991). In SJM, Cajamarca plates and bottles appear since the earliest times of the Late

Moche Period, yet the quantity and diversity of artifacts increases during the Transitional period (Berrnuy and Bernal 2005). Wari related material culture has been reported form several sites in Cajamarca although only a few of them, such as artifacts from El Palacio/El Castillo (Watanabe 2002) come from settlements that seem to have been built using Wari construction criteria.

In terms of the Wari related ceramics, it seems important to emphasize to temporal and spatial distinctions. Within Late Moche contexts a limited number of exceptional pieces came to San José de Moro from the central (Nievería) and southern coast (Nasca influenced Wari designs- Chakipampa). While research on Nievería in the Central Coast has proven that this Wari related ceramic style was a local innovation that was generated without any Wari intervention and that gradually encouraged the introduction of Wari style symbols into its repertoire (Guerrero y Palacios 1994; Mogrovejo and Segura 2001; Ccencho 2006; Valdez 2010; Fernandini and Ruales in press), Chakipampa also represents a highly coastal phenomenon that is synthetized through Wari standards. In this sense, the Late Moche period was characterized by the inclusion of synthetic styles such as foreign Nievería and Chakipampa and the local Moche Polychrome whose analyses are revealing the tangled and socially dynamic contexts that characterized the transition between the Early Intermediate Period and the Middle Horizon.

While to our knowledge only one Moche object, a double spout and bridge bottle decorated with a polychrome representation of Priestess riding a boat, was found in the Rimac Valley and reported by Alfred Stumer (Stumer 1958, Menzel 1964) there seems to be a similar pattern occurring in these areas. Close to their collapse elites in both regions seem to be restructuring their power base by creating a syncretic ceramic repertoire and investing in monumental ceremonial spaces. Although this process seems to be widespread in the central and south central coast, San José de Moro represents an isolated and puzzling example in the North Coast. Why this scenario occurred in the Jequetepeque valley and not in neighbouring areas is probably related to the opportunities and contingencies that shape cultural trajectories and mark the multiple dimensions of societies.

On the other hand, during the Transitional Period the archaeological record points to a much different scenario. In these contexts, ceramics proven to have come from the actual Wari heartland (Muro ms) replace the locally manufactured Moche Polychrome and artifacts from the central coast are reduced to one vessel. This phenomenon seems to be associated to the re-articulations happening in different coastal and highland areas particularly related to a change in Wari political strategies. These strategies appear to have included a much more controlled ceramic production which seems to have travelled through a highly interactive elite network along the Andean region showing a cohesive state-ideology, at least in terms of their material culture.

Contrasts between the Late Moche and Transitional Period records are reflective of broader processes occurring outside of San José de Moro. At first glance these processes have Wari as a common denominator, yet a close look at local historical trajectories points to different situated responses to the highly available Wari material culture. In this sense, the multilayered processes behind the introduction of foreign materials in San José de Moro provide us with insights regarding the complex scenario surrounding the material representations of social interactions. An exploration of the multiple dimensions of Moche and Wari society along with the detailed archaeological analysis of material culture from this elite cemetery and ceremonial center in the Jequetepeque valley reveal that the introduction of different styles of ceramics in rich elite tombs represents a multifaceted process that cannot be understood using uni-lineal or monolithic cultural models.

In order to understand this complex scenario attention has been placed on diachronic changes occurring both inside and outside of San José de Moro to identify not only the repercussions of these actions but mostly the shifting reasons, circumstances, strategies and contingencies that coalesced to build this particular historical trajectory. In this sense, the material representation of what appears to be a radical change in Moche political-religious program at Jequetepeque can only be understood through a multidimensional approach that follows the different threads that create historical processes.

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