

THE UHLE POTTERY COLLECTIONS
FROM SUPE

BY

A. L. KROEBER

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INTRODUCTION

Dr. Max Uhle's collections of antiquities from the vicinity of Supe, Peru, were made for the University of California in 1905. They comprise 943 catalogue entries, museum numbers 4-7054 to 7977 and 4-9136 to 9154. More than a third of these entries represent complete or nearly complete pieces of ceramics. As in the case of all but one of the previous papers published in this volume by Strong, myself, or both of us on the Uhle collections, the present study confines itself to pottery. The textile, metal, and other non-ceramic material brought together by Uhle is at least as interesting and valuable as

the pottery. But the latter lends itself more readily to fixing of types, classification, and determination of relative age, so that its examination naturally comes first. There appear to have been no previous systematic excavations at Supe. At any rate, the pottery of the region seems to be only scatteringly represented in museums, and no study of it to have been published.¹

Dr. Uhle wrote for Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, the patroness of his University of California expeditions, a report on his explorations in the valley of Supe. This report is here printed as an appendix.

The only other document on Supe filed at the University by Dr. Uhle is a field inventory, on which the Museum's catalogue is based, retaining the original numbers of the specimens. This field catalogue differs from most of the others submitted by Dr. Uhle. In these others, specimens are grouped under heads and subheads describing the sites and their subdivisions or graves, sometimes in considerable detail. The Supe catalogue is a running description of each specimen with mention of the locality at which it was obtained. In the locality entries, ditto marks are freely used. For over two hundred specimens, mostly toward the end of the inventory, there are no location entries. Apparently ditto marks from the preceding prevalent location entry are to be understood for these. This prevailing entry is San Nicolas, the sugar hacienda mentioned at the beginning of Dr. Uhle's report on Supe, and referred to also by Middendorf.² Of the 943 specimens from the region, 520 are specified as from San Nicolas. Not quite half the remainder are specified as from other localities, a dozen or more in number. It seems more likely that the unlocated specimens are from San Nicolas³ than that each group of them was intended to be understood as coming from the same site as the specimen immediately preceding whose locality is specified. This inference is strengthened by the fact that the half-dozen groups of "no-location" pottery specimens show uniformity of type, although the immediately preceding locality entries are varied—San Nicolas, Paramonga, Salinas de Huacho, the last two of which lie some distance from Supe. Also, the San Nicolas and the unlocated specimens, although they average somewhat differently in frequency of pottery types, overlap in possessing most of their forms and ornaments in common, as demonstrated below.

¹ Seler, *Peruanische Altertümer*, 1893, pl. 15, figs. 12–16; Putnam, *Davenport Acad. Sci.*, XIII, pl. 16, fig. 9, 1914.

² *Peru*, II, 278, 1894.

³ Excepting 7899–7975, whose character shows them to belong to the primitive culture of Puerto de Supe.

Another circumstance supports the interpretation of the non-located material as from San Nicolas. After one of the series lacking entries, 7799-7850, comes a group designated as "end of the finds at Chimu Capac, San Nicolas," 7851-7867. Subsequent to this there is only one unlocated group, 7899-7956, which follows the Puerto de Supe (shellmound) entries 7869-7898, contains no pottery,⁴ and appears to be all shellmound. Chimu Capac is also referred to in the Uhle report (appendix, p. 258). Its first mention there is as if it had been referred to before; a circumstance which suggests that it is the same as the ruins on and at the foot of the San Nicolas hills previously described in the report. This interpretation is of course not an absolute identification, but there is nothing in the context, nor in the remainder of the Uhle report, that contradicts.

All in all then, the material uninventoried as to provenience seems best construed as from San Nicolas, and will be so treated, although in addition summary data on it will be presented separately from those on the undoubted San Nicolas specimens.

The Supe collection accordingly classifies as follows according to sites:

A. San Nicolas, 7054-7524, 7527-42, 7567-70, 7573, 7577-79, 7606, 7609-32	520
B. Location not specified, but presumably San Nicolas, 7550- 51, 7571, 7580, 7633-51, 7654-55, 7657-7709, 7716-97, 7799-7850, 7977	213
C. Chimu Capac, San Nicolas, 7851-67	17
D. San Nicolas (Inca), 9136-44	9
E. Oliva, Supe, (Chimu), 7581-7605	25
F. Puerto de Supe and Cerro Prieto (primitive culture), 7869-98, 7957, 7976	32
G. Location not specified, apparently Puerto de Supe and Cerro Prieto, 7899-7956, 7958-75 (no pottery except 7958)	76
H. Various localities: Vinto, 7525-26, 7868; Huaral Viejo, 7543-44, 7546-49, 7552-56; La Mina, 7545; Chancay, Puerto, 7557; Huacho, 7558-66, 7576, 9145-54; Bar- ranca, 7572; Puerto Chico, Supe, 7574-75; Piedra Parada, 7607, 7652-53; Bequeta, 7608; Salinas de Huacho, 7656; Paramonga, 7710-15, 7798	51
Total, 7054-7977, 9136-9154	943

⁴ In detail, the entries run: 7869-7898, "cemetery of Puerto de Supe, camp-
place;" 7899-7907 (no data, probably cemetery of Puerto de Supe); 7908-7910,
"from the settlement" (of Puerto de Supe, probably, as compared with the
cemetery there); 7911-7956 (no data, probably settlement of Puerto de Supe
continued); 7957, "settlement of Cerro Prieto" (evidently the second primi-
tive site, mentioned in the appendix as at the foot of the hills and appearing
black from a distance); 7958-7975 (no data, apparently continuation of Cerro
Prieto); 7976, "Puerto de Supe."

This makes 760 pieces, of which 298 are pottery vessels, reckonable as from San Nicolas (lots A, B, C). These are from a period in which Tiahuanaco and Tiahuanaco-related influences were mingling with Chimu influences. As compared with them, there are 34 relatively recent specimens of Late Chimu and Inca styles (D, E), and 108 of early type from primitive sites (F, G). The remainder of the collection must be counted out for purposes of the present paper because it either contains no pottery or only scattering examples from various localities. Detailed consideration will be in the reverse of the presumptive chronological order; namely: Inca (E), Late Chimu (D), San Nicolas (A, B, C), Shellmound (F, G).

Seven graves or mummies were designated by Dr. Uhle in his field catalogue. Of these, numbers 1-5 are from San Nicolas (A), namely 7055-60, 7061-67, 7068-7102, 7103-04, 7455-57; number 6, 7658-67, is presumably San Nicolas (B); and numbers 7, 8, 9, 7891-92, 7893-94, 7896-98, are from the early site at Puerto de Supe. The pottery content of the graves from San Nicolas (excepting nos. 4 and 5, which held only one ceramic vessel) is shown segregated on plate 8*h-o* (grave 6), and plate 9 (graves 1, 2, 3).

INCA WARE

The only Inca material consists of seven pottery specimens entered simply as from "San Nicolas, Supe." Six of these are shown in plate 70*a-f*. The numbers of the lot, 9136-44, are quite separate from the inventory numbers of the remainder of the Supe collection, which ends with 7977, Dr. Uhle's Nazca and Cajamarquilla collections intervening. It is therefore probable that the Inca pieces represent a separate provenience. His other San Nicolas material shows no Inca influence, except for some indications in the Late Chimu group.

Five of the six vessels are black aryballoids. Two of these (pl. 70*a, c*) are close in form to classical Cuzco aryballoids. Plate 70*f* is squat and the handles unorthodox; *d* is even less shapely, and besides is paneled in pressed relief, including stippling. These two pieces are Late Chimu Inca. Plate 70*b* is simple if not elegant. The long neck recalls the long neck of Late Inca II and Inca Ica jars.

The sixth piece, a R-W-B cat-head jar (pl. 70*e*), is post-Tiahuanaco in type rather than specifically Inca. (Compare pl. 76.)

LATE CHIMU WARE

Numbers 7582-7605 are designated as from a "Chimu cemetery at Oliva, Supe." This suggests the "Olivar near Chuquillo in the valley of Pativilca" mentioned in the Uhle report (appendix, p. 258) as containing "Chimu" remains which like those of Pachacamac show evidences of Inca influence. On the other hand, the two sites may be distinct. In any event, the material is late, 7604*b* being blue glass beads.

Eight of the pieces from the lot are shown in plate 70*g-n*. Six of these are black;⁵ and all are good Late Chimu, wholly comparable with the vessels found at Moche site B,⁶ except for averaging to somewhat better quality and showing a greater proportion of human faces modeled or indicated on the neck (pl. 70*h, i, l*). This is not a frequent or specific character of Late Chimu ware in its northern home. It is, however, an abundant trait in central Peru, in both middle and late ware; for instance, at Pachacamac.⁷

True Late Chimu traits however prevail in the Supe material from Oliva. Thus, the fish jar (pl. 70*j*); double jar with seal (*n*); bird-head lip (*g*); flat handle (*g, l*); monkey handle (*k*); zone of pressed decoration (*g, k, l, m*), three of the four patterns being geometric or repetitions of conventionalized figures; raised "gooseflesh" stippling (*k*); and bastard aryballoid (*h*).

If Dr. Uhle's statement (p. 258) is borne out that, in the vicinity of Supe, ware in Late Chimu style is mainly found inland, the apparent irregularity of distribution of this style in central Peru may thereby find explanation. This distribution is as follows:

Pisco: a collection in the Peabody Museum, obviously of quite mixed provenience, contains several pieces in definite Late Chimu style.

Chincha: sporadic pieces, usually not blackware, and under generic rather than specific Late Chimu influence. Late Chincha II and Inca styles.⁸

Canête and Mala: no data.

Pachacamac: a cemetery of ware in mixed Late Chimu and central styles, with traces of Inca influence.⁹ Blackware is heavily represented and the Late Chimu influence is predominant.

Surco: a collection in the American Museum of Natural History includes no pure Late Chimu or Inca pieces and rather few showing Late Chimu influence.

⁵ Plate 70*g, j*, are redware.

⁸ This volume, p. 14, figs. 4*a, d*.

⁶ This volume, pls. 60, 61.

⁹ Uhle, Pachacamac, pl. 13.

⁷ Uhle, Pachacamac, pls. 7, 8, 13.

Ancon: Late Chimu is scarce. The Uhle collection¹⁰ contains neither pure Late Chimu nor Inca pieces; that in the American Museum also lacks both; that of Reiss and Stübel has a fair proportion.¹¹

Chancay: there is no Late Chimu or Inca material in the Uhle collection.

Huacho: an American Museum collection of forty pieces from San Isidro de Sayan comprises three that show the influence of definite Late Chimu. Putnam figures ten pieces attributed to Huacho, two of which may be reckoned as Late Chimu.¹²

Supe: the small collection under consideration.

Casma: Late Chimu is abundant. North of Casma it is the prevailing or only late ware.¹³

It thus appears that the Late Chimu style, whose hearth was situated at or north of Trujillo, perhaps in the Lambayeque region, begins to yield ground about Casma; and south thereof, as at Supe, is definitely in the minority. About Chancay and Ancon it seems never to have obtained a real foothold, a fact connected no doubt with the rise in this little area of the black-and-white Chancay style, and with the rarity of Inca ware. Beyond Lima, Late Chimu begins to reappear, as at Pachacamac, where it is abundant, although not wholly pure. Still farther south, the style as such has been recorded as far as Pisco, although mostly its influences alone are perceptible. Beyond, there are occasional stirrup-mouth jars from Ica and Nazca, but their forms as well as associations indicate them as earlier than Inca time.

MIDDLE PERIOD WARE: SAN NICOLAS

The collection from San Nicolas is the largest and most representative one formed at Supe by Dr. Uhle. Its value is slightly impaired by the uncertainty as to site which has already been discussed. Briefly, two-thirds of the 298 pieces of ceramics are recorded as from San Nicolas, somewhat under a third are inventoried without location, and a small group, listed after nearly all the foregoing, is designated as "end of the finds at Chimu Capac, San Nicolas," leaving the impression that the main San Nicolas site and Chimu Capac are the same and that the unlocated pieces are also to be assumed as taken from it. The procedure that will be least complicating for the reader appears to be first, to treat the three lots as if they were

¹⁰ Strong, this volume, pp. 135-190, 1925.

¹¹ The Necropolis of Ancon, pls. 93, 98.

¹² Proc. Davenport Acad. Sci., XIII, pls. 20, fig. 12; 22, fig. 15, 1914.

¹³ This volume, p. 224.

one and thus fix the types that are involved; and thereafter to resegregate the collection according to both types and locality designations, in order to determine how far internal evidence justifies the tentative merging of the lots of the several proveniences in question.

INFLUENCING STYLES

Several stylistic influences are represented side by side in the San Nicolas pottery.

(1) The Tiahuanaco style. The ware is polished, the colors run as high as six, the designs are characterized by animal and bird heads, also by human heads and figures; the lines are straight, or short severe curves. Goblets and double-spout jars show the purest style. (Compare pls. 73*b, e, f*; 74*j*, 77*h, l, m*.)

(2) The Epigonal style. The surface is softer and polished either badly or not at all, the colors are usually not over three or four, the designs are either stiffly geometric or slovenly curvilinear. Human faces and figures predominate over animal heads. Characteristic of the human heads are feather projections in three directions, or rising and then falling to the sides. Low, plate-like bowls, with and without a foot, occur, besides the goblets and double-spout jars; also skull and cat-head jars. The style is a debasement of the Tiahuanaco style, with some new motives. (Compare plates 72*d*, 73*c, d, g, h, k-o*, 74*c, e, f, g, l*, 76*d-f*, 77*d, e, g, n, o*, 78*k*.)

One variety of the Epigonal is more dissimilar from the Tiahuanaco style than is the foregoing, through being executed in pressed relief instead of painting. An accompaniment of this trait is that designs are elaborated, as compared with Tiahuanaco, instead of being generally simplified as in painted Epigonal ware. This Epigonal pressed ware occurs at site A at Moche,¹⁴ the cemetery on the platform of the Sun pyramid or temple. It appears to be in the main a north Peruvian variety or concomitant of painted Epigonal, and its influence is discernible in the Late Chimú of that area. In central Peru, as at Chancay, Ancon, and Pachacamac, the painted Epigonal is prevalent, and in the south, at Ica and Nazca, is the only variety found. Supe pressed Epigonal ware is almost always red, that of Moche black. Examples are shown in plates 71*c, d*, 75*b, c, f (g, i, k)*, 76*n*, 78*a, b, e, m-o*. The broken vessel in plate 75*d* has a pressed design in Tiahuanaco outlines.

¹⁴ This volume, pl. 66.

The painted and pressed varieties of Epigonal are objectively connected by a number of vessels with both kinds of decoration. Their painting is usually simple. (Compare pls. 71*a*, 73*a*, 73*j*, 75*e*, 78*g*.)

(3) Chimu style of northern Peru, as pointed out by Dr. Uhle. This is not a pure Proto-Chimu style. For instance, stirrup-mouths are entirely lacking. Still less is it definite Late Chimu, as this is represented, for instance, by the Oliva blackware of plate 70*g-n*. As between the Proto and Late Chimu, it is the former that has influenced the San Nicolas pottery. (Compare pls. 71*b*, *e*, *f*, 72*f*, 76*j*, 77*j*, *k*.) Instances of less decisive northern influence can be seen in plates 72*a-c*, *h*, 74*g*, *h*, 76*h*, *k*, *o*, 77*j*, 78*i*. Specific resemblances to Late Chimu scarcely occur. There are a number of pieces that bear Late Chimu traits; but these traits are also found in pre-Late Chimu ware, such as that of Moche site A.¹⁵ This indeterminate relation characterizes the vessels shown in plates 75*a*, *g-k* (especially *h*, *j*), 76*l*, *s*, 78*e*, *l*. On the whole the northern influence that is recognizable at Supe corresponds rather well with the Middle Chimu which I have tentatively postulated¹⁶ for the northern coast as a relatively late variety of Proto-Chimu. This is what would be expectable: for Middle Chimu represents the hypothetical reconstruction of the Chimu style during the period of its eclipse by the Tiahuanaco-Epigonal styles, which are so marked at Supe. At any rate, a number of the San Nicolas vessels show features which I have assumed as characteristic of Middle Chimu if this existed. Such are scalloped sides or knobs on the sides of jars; serpents falling down the front of the body; house representations; relative rarity of the crossed leg attitude; arms stiffly bent at the elbow. (See pls. 71*b*, *e*, 72*c*, *h*, 77*h-j*, 78*i*.)

(4) Early central Peruvian styles, corresponding to Middle Ancon I of Strong¹⁷ and to White-on-Red Chancay, cannot be determined as positive influences but are suggested by the facts that nearly half the collection consists of unpainted redware; that the majority of painted pieces have red as ground color; and perhaps by the frequency of white circles or similarly simple designs on red. This last feature is the most characteristic trait of White-on-Red Chancay. Proto-Chimu on the contrary tends to paint red on white or balances the two colors. Vessels that may carry such early central coast style influences are those in plates 72*a*, *f*, 73*i*, *j*, 77*d*, 78*f*, *g*. This is not

¹⁵ This volume, pls. 63-66.

¹⁷ This volume, pp. 148-152, pls. 46, 47.

¹⁶ This volume, p. 221.

an impressive showing, and it is clear that, if early central influences carried over into the San Nicolas pottery, they were stylistically diffuse and feeble. On the other hand, the early central styles were undeveloped and could scarcely be expected to have maintained much of their character on coming into vigorous contact with Tiahuanaco, Epigonal, and Chimu.

Whether the simple white on red designs in the San Nicolas collection can be regarded as partly due to central influences or as wholly derived from Epigonal, the strong inclination to a red ware and a red ground does seem likely to be due to the survival of old ceramic habits of the central coast.

The resemblance of the San Nicolas ware to relatively early central coast pottery is increased by the circumstance that both contain the same Tiahuanaco and Epigonal element. This common factor causes the San Nicolas collection as a whole to be rather similar to Middle Ancon I and II ware: compare plates 71-78 and 44-47 of this volume.

It is clear that the San Nicolas pottery represents partly a mixture and partly a fusion of several styles, most of them not native to the region. There is scarcely a specific trait that can be isolated as characteristic of the ware. There is in fact perhaps not a single piece that can fairly be described as aesthetically distinctive or original, except for an occasional novel blending of familiar elements.

FORM, ORNAMENT, AND HOMOGENEITY

The principal facts as to the forms and types of ornament occurring in the San Nicolas material can be most comprehensively presented in terms of their frequencies. Table 1 shows the form frequencies along the horizontal lines, the ornament and color of ware in the columns. With the plate references which it embodies, itemized description is unnecessary. For the sake of security, the material designated as from San Nicolas is in each column given first, under the caption A; that presumably from San Nicolas but not so designated (lot B, above), and that designated as from Chimu Capac (lot C, above), in second place, under the caption B.

It is evident from table 1 that in the main the A and the B material are similar and comparable. At the same time, they show somewhat different leanings. Goblets, for instance, are more numerous in the B series; pressed relief ware, without painting, is four times more frequent in the A than in the B series. As the totals

TABLE 1
SAN NICOLAS: FORM AND ORNAMENT

	Black-ware		Painted		Pressed Redware		Painted and Pressed		Plain Redware		Total													
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B												
	<i>Low bowls</i>																							
Bottom flat or flattish; outside pressed, inside painted, or both (pl. 73k, o, 75g-i, k, 76m, 78d-f, n).....	5	2	12	8	5	3	7	28	14	42	52										
Same with foot (pl. 73l-n, 78k).....	....	....	3	1	....	....	4	....	....	....	7	1	8				
Roundish, painted outside.....	1	1	2	2	32										
<i>Goblets</i>																								
Low goblets or high bowls (pl. 73b-d).....	2	2	2	2	4	46										
Goblets, <i>quero</i> type (pl. 73a, g-j, 75f, 76q-r, 77l-o, 78a, m).....	1	....	8	6	....	3	2	3	1	1	12	13	25									
Same with face (pl. 73e-f).....	3	3	3		45									
<i>Pots, often fire blackened; 42 have zone of ornament on upper half; 39 are 2-handled (pl. 76l, 78k).....</i>																								
1	....	....	....	....	42	3	....	....	....	....	43	3	46			
<i>Jars</i>																								
Handled (pl. 72d-e, 75e, 76n, s-t).....	6	5	2	11	2	13	34										
Unhandled (pl. 71a, c-e, 75a-c, 77h, 78b, g, o).....	2	....	3	4	10	3	7	2	....	1	22	10	32									
<i>Human body jars, mostly unhandled (pl. 71b, 72a-c, f-h, 77i, k, 78i).....</i>																								
1	....	8	5	2	4	1	....	11	2	23	11	34	58									
<i>Other effigy jars</i>																								
Skull (pl. 76d-f).....	2	1	3	3	18										
Cat-head (pl. 77a-g, 78c, j).....	1	....	12	1	....	....	....	....	2	2	15	3	18						
Monkey (pl. 77j).....	1	1	1	3										
Animal head (pl. 76o).....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	....	3	....	3	
Coiled dog.....	1	1	1	8										
Bird, spout and bridge (pl. 74a-f).....	....	....	2	4	....	....	....	....	1	1	3	5	8					
Bird, unhandled.....	2	2	2	3										
Owl (pl. 76g-i).....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	1	1	1	2	3				
Root, squash, gourd.....	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	5	4										
Shell (pl. 76k, 78l).....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	2	2	4				
Frog.....	1	1	1	1										
Fish.....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	
Tambourine player (pl. 71k).....	1	1	1	1										
Double jar, man.....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	1	
Baby in cradle (pl. 76w).....	1	1	1	4										
Foot (pl. 76j).....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	....	1	1	
Seated man, wide mouth jar.....	1	1	1	1	2	2	4	8										
Double-spout jars (pl. 74g-l).....	1	....	2	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	3	5	8				
<i>Various</i>																								
Saucers, flat loop handle (pl. 76p).....	3	3	3	2										
Pots, unhandled and unornamented.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	2	....	2	
Jarlets.....	3	3	3	3										
Double cups.....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	1	2	1	3			
Cross-handled bucket; flat canteen; wide-mouth jar.....	3	3	3	9										
Dolls (pl. 76a-c).....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	3	5	3	6	9				
											15	4	61	42	71	18	17	14	36	20	200	98	298	298
											19	103	89	31	56	

in the two series are almost exactly as two to one (200 to 98), shapes and decorations that depart considerably from this ratio in their occurrence can be extracted and brought together, with the result shown in table 2.

TABLE 2

SAN NICOLAS: PARTIAL CLASSIFICATION BY PROVENIENCE

Traits appearing with proportionally greater frequency in B material and showing more immediate Tiahuanacoïd influences:

	A	B
Painted ware	61	42
Painted and pressed	17	14
Total painted	78	56
Goblets	11	14
Double-spout	3	5
Bird, spout and bridge	3	5
Skull		3
Total effigy jars, other than human figures	31	28
Low bowls, pressed, painted or unpainted	11	12

Traits appearing with proportionally equal frequency in B and A material:

Human figure jars	23	11
Dolls	6	3
Unhandled jars	22	10
Plain redware	36	20

Traits appearing with proportionally greater frequency in A material and showing more remote Tiahuanacoïd influences:

Pressed ware, without paint	71	18
Blackware	15	4
Low bowls, painted, not pressed	12	....
Low bowls with foot, painted	7	1
Cat-head jars	12	1
Jars with (usually 1) handle	11	2
Pots with (usually 2) handles	43	3

It is clear that ceramic traits more largely represented in the B series are those that have the closest affiliation with the style of Tiahuanaco: the goblet, for instance, and the double-spout jar and the bird form with bridge handle. The last two seem not to have been found at Tiahuanaco itself, but they occur with Tiahuanaco type ware at Ancon¹⁸ and elsewhere. That painted vessels are also relatively more frequent in the B series is in accord with the polychrome character of the Tiahuanaco style. The freer modeling of the B series appears to be due to a stronger persistence in it of Chimu influences

¹⁸ This volume, pls. 47b, d. 46o.

from the north. As this Chimu influence is early rather than late, its coexistence with Tiahuanaco influence in the series offers no difficulty.

In the A series, there is also Tiahuanaco influence (as there is Chimu), but this influence is in most cases remoter and weaker, of an "Epigonal" sort. Pressed ware much outnumbers painted,¹⁹ and blackware is more abundant. Forms like the cat-head jar or bowl are more characteristic than the goblet or double-spout.

The difference between the two series is well shown, though somewhat extremely, in the few grave lots designated by Dr. Uhle. Plate 77*h-o* illustrates the pottery content (less doublets) of grave 6, the only one specified for series B. Plate 78*a-f, g-l, and m-o* shows the pottery content, respectively, of graves 1, 2, and 3 of series A.

Even though the differences are proportional and not absolute, the fact that one series leans perceptibly more toward a relatively direct and pure Tiahuanaco style than the other, suggests that it may be earlier. It is possible that the B specimens are from an earlier part of the ruins, or even from a different ruin at San Nicolas. But it does not follow from the leanings of the A and B remains that they are necessarily of different period. They may represent different strata of a contemporaneous population. That this is not a far-fetched possibility is shown by the chronological coexistence of distinguishable styles of pottery in pure grave lots at Chincha and Ica, and in either the same grave or the same cemetery at Pachacamac, Ancon, and Moche site A. It is not even necessary to invoke a conquering and a subject race. It may have been the well-to-do who buried with their dead most of the polished, polychrome, or freely modeled vessels, especially if any of these were actually imported and therefore expensive. The poorer classes would chiefly have used simpler vessels, especially the quickly made pressed ware. In line with this interpretation is the fact that practically all the cookpots, many of them blackened by the hearth fire, are in the A series.

Nevertheless, though the differences between the A and B material may represent no actual difference in time of manufacture and interment, they certainly possess a temporal *significance*. The ware that is most characteristic of B is stylistically old, relatively strongly influenced by the Tiahuanaco and earlier Chimu manners. The ware that is in excess in A inclines toward the later north and central Peruvian styles—in its use of pressed relief, for instance.

¹⁹ The one exception is the low bowl. In the B series, this normally carries pressed relief on the outside; in A, it lacks relief, or has a foot, and is more often painted. If similar differences are observable elsewhere, on larger series, they will establish the history of the varieties of this form.

In any event, it is clear that offhand identification of styles with periods in Peru is a dubious procedure, as I have pointed out in the paper on Trujillo pottery in this volume. Peruvian problems of chronology are often difficult because of the frequent blending, mixing, and coexistence in the same locality of originally disparate styles.

PAINTED AND RELIEF DESIGNS

The frequency of use of color and color combinations is shown in table 3. It appears that somewhat less than half the ware is painted. With cookpots and other household vessels omitted, the proportion is rather more than half. Some Peruvian wares as we know them consist almost wholly of mortuary or decorative pottery: Proto-Chimu and Proto-Nazca, for instance. But these seem in general to be the styles that are aesthetically superior. The remains of inferior styles, like those of Ancon and Late Chimu, contain considerable household or used ware.

TABLE 3
SAN NICOLAS: COLOR OCCURRENCE

2-color:	Bowls	Goblets	Jars	Effigy Jars	Double Spout	Total	
R-W	22	5	10	14	....	51	
R-B .....	....	1	....	....	....	1	
B-W .....	....	....	....	2	....	2	54
3-color:							
R-W-B	9	6	14	25	4	58	
R-Y-B .....	....	....	....	1	....	1	59
4-color:							
R-W-B-Y .....	....	1	....	....	....	1	
R-W-B-G .....	....	3	....	1	1	5	
R-W-Y-G .....	....	1	....	....	....	1	7
5-color:							
R-W-B-Y(R ₂)-G .....	....	7	....	2	....	9	
R-W-B-V-G .....	....	1	....	....	....	1	10
6-color:							
R-W-B-Y-G-R ₂.....	....	1	....	....	2	3	3
							Pots, Dolls, Various,
Painted ware	31	26	24	45	7	1	134
Blackware	7	1	2	7	1	1	19
Redware, plain or pressed	14	5	19	40	....	67	145
	52	32	45	92	8	69	298

Pottery with pressed relief is a little less common than painted ware at San Nicolas. About 14 per cent of the aggregate of the two

classes, or 10 per cent of all the vessels found, is both pressed and painted. This consists mostly of bowls pressed outside and painted within; and of vessels like plates 71*a*, 73*j*, 75*e*, 78*g*, in which the painting is subsidiary.

Of the painted ware, 85 per cent is 2 or 3-color. The 15 per cent of polychrome shows a maximum at 5-color. It is not improbable that this maximum is a true one. The 2 and 3-color painting and the polychrome painting, in other words, may represent somewhat separate veins of influence, the latter ranging from 4 to 6 colors and centering at 5, rather than being a marginal extreme of bichrome and trichrome decoration. At any rate the polychrome painting uses the Tiahuanaco color scheme, not only for 5 and 6-color vessels, but in 4-color, where gray generally appears. It is significant that nearly all the polychrome pieces are goblets or flaring double-spouts—the first a well-recognized Tiahuanaco form, the second a type associated with Tiahuanacoid design at Ancon, Pachacamac, Cajamarquilla, and even occasionally at Nazca, though apparently not reported from the highland. San Nicolas 4-color occurs in pieces whose design is Epigonal rather than Tiahuanaco.

The 2 and 3-color ware is of two kinds. The majority of pieces, comprising nearly all the 2-color and many of the 3-color, have a red ground. Over this are painted rather small or narrow designs in white or in white edged with black. This ware I incline to connect genetically with the redware of Middle Ancon I, the White-on-Red of Chancay, possibly with Proto-Chimu, but not with Tiahuanaco. The second or minority variety, on the other hand, seems Tiahuanaco-Epigonal in source, an apparently original polychrome having been reduced to 3-color, sometimes on a red ground and sometimes black and red on dirty white. The illustrations readily reveal the two styles. (Compare for the first, pls. 71*a*, *c*, *f*, 72*a*, *e-h*, 73*i*, *j*, 74*i*, 75*e*, 76*b*, *o*, 77*a*, 78*d*, *f*, *g*, *k*; for the second, pls. 72*d*, 73*c*, *h*, *l*, pl. 74*a*, *c*, *e*, *g*, 76*f*, 77*g*, 77*n*; some of the latter may be interpreted as the product of both manners.)

It is to be noted that San Nicolas, and for that matter the Supe district, have not furnished a single vessel done in the Three-Color Geometric style, although this is strongly represented immediately to the south at Chancay, Ancon, and Pachacamac, and has been found as far north as Trujillo.²⁰

²⁰ Chancay, description in preparation; Ancon, this volume, pl. 43, *i-n*; Pachacamac, Uhle, pls. 7, 8; Trujillo, this volume, pl. 62.

The San Nicolas painted designs are simple. Most of them can be rather adequately described in a phrase, and supplemented by references to the plate illustrations. The following is a list of the designs, together with frequency of their occurrence, respectively on *bowls, goblets, jars, effigy jars, double-spouts*, and *total*. Painting which accentuates the modeling of a figure or is incidental to it, but does not form a design or pattern by itself, has not been included in this list.

Frequencies of Painted Designs

- Small circle, single or in rows (pls. 71*f*, 72*a*, 73*m*, 77*i*): 0-1-2-4-0-7.
 Same, with dot (pls. 72*d*, 77*m*, 78*f*, *g*): 9-5-16-3-1-34.
 Semicircle with dot (pls. 74*f*, 78*c*): 1-0-1-1-0-3.
 Dots in row: 1-0-3-4-0-8.
 Cross (pls. 72*h*, 73*i*, 77*n*): 2-3-2-2-0-9.
 Curve or hook, double or in rows: 0-1-1-2-0-4.
 S-curve (pls. 73*j*, 77*g*, *o*, 78*k*): 1-5-2-3-1-12.
 Angle (pls. 71*a*, 73*h*): 1-1-3-2-0-7.
 Row of angles or steps, zigzag line (pls. 73*i*, 78*k*): 2-5-2-1-0-10.
 Fret (pls. 73*g*, 74*e*, 77*f*, *n*): 0-5-0-7-0-12.
 Scroll, interlocking (pl. 73*m*): 4-1-3-1-0-9.
 Parallel stripes, 2-4, or 5 in 2 colors (pls. 73*p*, 78*c*, *d*): 16-2-4-4-1-27.
 Single or double stripe containing dots or dashes (pls. 73*h*, 74*h*): 0-4-1-3-0-8.
 Small rectangle containing dash (pl. 73*c*, *f*): 0-2-1-1-0-4.
 Triangle stepped on one side, single or double, with or without adjacent upright bar (pls. 71*e*, 73*k*, *o*, 77*h*, *i*): 7-0-1-2-0-10.
 Similar, reduced face: 0-3-1-0-0-4.
 Rectangular face with 'rays' or drooping 'plumes' or both (pls. 73*d*, *g*, 74*g*, *l*): 0-4-2-1-2-9.
 Animal or bird head, with or without plumes (pls. 72*d*, 73*g*, 74*j*, 77*h*, *l*, *m*): 0-4-1-0-2-7.
 Head or figure with arms (pls. 73*b*, *l*): 1-2-0-0-0-3.
 Animal: 1-0-3-0-0-4.
 Parallel wavy lines: 3-0-0-2-0-5.
 Vertical rectangle or bar containing diagonals or angles, or similar checker effect (pls. 73*c*, *h*, 77*o*): 0-3-0-1-0-4.
 Others: 1-2-1-3-0-7.

The totals for the five shapes are as follows:

Designs or design elements	50	53	50	57	7	....	207
Painted vessels	31	26	24	45	7	....	133
Painted and unpainted vessels	52	32	45	92	8	69	298

It is apparent that the number of different designs per vessel is about the same for bowls, goblets, and simple jars, and fewer for effigy and double-spout jars. Also, that certain designs are rather

strongly associated with certain forms, such as the dotted circle with jars, the less emphatic dots or circles and light frets with effigy jars, human and animal heads with goblets, parallel stripes and the stepped triangle with bowls.

Relief ornament, which seems to be produced by pressure of a mould, is surprisingly like painted ornament in range of motives and more or less like it even in frequency of motives. The techniques are so different that they might be expected to differ considerably from one another. That this is not the case, indicates their common origin, in the main. This common source is obviously the Tiahuanaco-related Epigonal style of the coast. As Tiahuanaco is essentially a painted style, the relief must be largely a secondary application in a new medium.

Frequencies of Pressed Designs

- Circles, with or without dot (pl. 75*d*): 6.
 Stippling of dots or dashes, in panels, or free, or as filling of spaces (pl. 75*a, h*): 37 (including 6 blackware).
 Cross: 1.
 Scroll or hook in rows, with or without serration (pl. 76*l*): 8 (1).
 Angles, single, double, alternate, or continuous, with or without serration (pl. 76*g*): 17.
 Fret (pl. 75*j*): 3 (1).
 Scroll, S or continuous interlocking, with or without serration (pl. 78*h*): 12.
 Small filling triangles (pls. 75*j, 78h*): 12 (1).
 Step triangle or step (pl. 78*a, n*): 7 (1).
 Face, usually square, or with drooping 'plumes,' or both (pl. 73*j*): 7 (1).
 Figure with drooping 'plumes' or serpents (pls. 71*a, d, 75c, 78b, m*): 9 (2).
 Other human figures (pl. 71*c, e*): 8 (1).
 Bird: profile, spread, or demon (pl. 71*d, 75d, f, 78e*): 13 (1).
 Cat (pls. 71*d, 78g, o*): 5.
 Double-ended serpent, usually serrated (pls. 71*c, 75e*): 6.
 Lizard (pl. 75*a, c*): 4.
 Fish (pl. 71*c*): 7 (2).
 Quadruped (cat, monkey[?]): 13 (2).
 Flower (?), sun (?), face (?): 5.
 Vertical bar containing angles: 3.
 Miscellaneous or indistinct: 22 (3).
 Total occurrences: on 120 red vessels, 183; plus 22 on blackware, 205.

BLACKWARE

In the foregoing list, the figures in parentheses, which are included in those that immediately precede them, are for blackware. They suggest that there is no difference of consequence between the relief patterning of San Nicolas blackware and the more usual red pottery. Possibly dot stippling is proportionally somewhat more frequent in black, in anticipation of Late Chimu style; but the figures—6 black against 31 red—are hardly convincing.

Blackware constitutes 6 per cent of the total, and occurs more or less in all shapes. It seems to have formed mainly a variant of the more common redware; much as, inversely, Moche Late Chimu contains a fair proportion of unsmoked red pieces—mostly of inferior quality—among its prevalent black pieces.

As blackware is scarcely distinguishable from red in photographs, it may be well to observe that the only San Nicolas black pieces shown in plates 71–78 are: human figure jar (pl. 72*b*); incised double spout (pl. 74*k*); two bowls with relief outside (pl. 75*h, j*); shell jar (pl. 76*k*); grooved jar (pl. 76*s*); and the three vessels that make up the pottery of grave 3 (pl. 78*m–o*).

The percentage frequency of blackware in various Peruvian wares is as follows:

Piura (PM, ²¹ 38 ex 104)	37
Lambayeque, Late Chimu (PM, 22 ex 32)	68
Saña, Late Chimu (PM, 36 ex 57)	63
Chepen, Late Chimu (AM, 188 ex c. 240)	78
Pacasmayo, Late Chimu (PM, 11 ex 11)	100
Trujillo, mostly Late Chimu (AM, 156 ex c. 222)	77
Moche, Late Chimu (UC, site B, 59 ex 72)	82
Moche, Tiahuanaco, etc. (UC, site A)	50 ²²
Moche, Proto-Chimu (UC, sites E, F, 16 ex 539)	3
Viru-Chicama, mixed styles (PM, 19 ex 97)	20
Chimbote, mixed, mostly Proto-Chimu (AM, 34 ex 200)	17
Chimbote, mixed, mostly Proto-Chimu (PM, 4 ex 65)	6
Casma, mixed, much Late Chimu (AM, c. 23 ex c. 46)	50
Supe, Inca (UC, 5 ex 7)	71
Supe, Late Chimu (UC, 7 ex 9)	78
Supe, San Nicolas (UC, 19 ex 298)	6
Sayan near Huacho (AM, 5 ex 42)	12
Chancaay, Black-and-white (UC, 1 ex 122)	1
Chancaay, Epigonal and Three-color (UC, 2 ex 181)	1

²¹ AM, American Museum of Natural History; PM, Peabody Museum of Harvard University; UC, University of California.

²² Estimate: most of the collection consists of selected fragments.

Chancaý, White-on-red (UC, 3 ex 175)	2
Chancaý, Interlocking (UC, 0 ex 52)	0
Ancon, Late II (UC, 2 ex 43)	5
Ancon, Late I (UC, 0 (1?) ex 16)	0
Ancon, Middle II (UC, 0 (1?) ex 84)	0
Ancon, Middle I (UC, 5 (7?) ex 120)	4 (6?)
Ancon, mixed styles (AM, 4 ex 131)	3
Ancon, mixed styles (R, ²³ 22 ex 115)	19
Pachacamac, Inca (Uhle, pl. 18, 2 (4?) ex 12)	17 (33?)
Pachacamac, Inca period local style (Uhle, pl. 13, 8 (11?) ex 16)	50 (69?)
Pachacamac, Three-color (Uhle, pls. 7, 8, 1 (2?) ex 15)	7 (13?)
Pachacamac, Tiahuanaco and Epigonal (Uhle, pls. 3, 4, 0 ex 15)	0
Nievería, Proto-Lima (d'Harcourt, 0 ²⁴ ex 24)	0 ²⁴
Nievería, Proto-Lima (d'Harcourt, ²⁵ 0 (?) ex 41)	0
Nievería, Proto-Lima (UC, 5 ex 137)	4
Surco (AM, 16 ex 59)	27
Chincha, Inca (UC, 13 ex 37)	35
Chincha, Late II (UC, 4 ex 14)	29
Chincha, Late I (UC, 39 ex 113)	35
Pisco, mixed styles (PM, 14 ex 54)	30
Ica, Inca (UC, 21 ex 75)	28
Ica, Late II (UC, 5 ex 28)	18
Ica, Late I (UC, 25 ex 73)	14
Ica, Middle II (UC, 9 ex 150)	6
Ica, Middle I (UC, 0 ex 19)	0
Ica, Epigonal (UC, 0 ex 26)	0
Ica, Proto-Nazca (UC, 0 ex 150)	0
Nazca, Proto-Nazca (PM, 0 ex 114)	0
Nazca, Proto-Nazca (AM, 0 ex 379)	0
Nazca, Proto-Nazca (d'Harcourt, 0 ex 62)	0
Nazca, Proto-Nazca (UC, 1 over-painted ex 560)	(0.2)
Nazca, post-Proto-Nazca (UC, 3 ex 92)	3
Recuay (Seler, pls. 42-47, 1 (4?) ex 50)	2 (8?)
Arequipa (UC, 0 ex 9)	0
Cuzco (UC, 0 ex 22)	0
Cuzco (AM, 1 ex 70)	1
Titicaca island, Inca (AM, 5 ex 70)	7
Titicaca island "Chullpa," goblets only (AM, 18 ex 36)	50
Titicaca island, "Chullpa," other shapes (AM, 0 ex 44)	0
Tiahuanaco (AM, 1 ex 25)	5
Tiahuanaco, mixed styles (PM, 1 ex 22)	5
Tiahuanaco and Copacabana (St, ²⁶ 2 ex 45)	4
Copacabana, non-Inca (AM, 2 ex 40)	5
Sillustani, "Chullpa" (AM, 0 ex 15)	0

²³ Reiss and Stübel, Necropolis of Ancon, pls. 92-100. There is more Inca influenced ware than in other collections.

²⁴ One piece may be blackware: in that case the percentage would be 4.

²⁵ JSAP, xiv, 107-118, 1922.

²⁶ Stübel, Reiss, und Koppel, Kultur und Industrie, I, pls. 11, 12. The two vessels counted as blackware appear grayish in the illustration. They may not be true blackware.

It can be concluded that Proto-Nazca and the Ancon-Supe shell-mound or fishing culture were without true blackware, and that this first appears in the Proto-Chimu style in the nearer vicinity of Trujillo and in the Tiahuanaco style in its original Titicacan homeland. In both cases it forms an infrequent variant of the normal colored style, constituting probably under 5 per cent of the total ware. From then on, however, blackware is a regular and on the whole increasing ingredient of Peruvian pottery styles, being represented in the Tiahuanaco-influenced wares of Supe, Huacho, Chancay, Ancon, Nievería, Pachacamac, Recuay, and Titicaca. In the far south it became established later, Ica Epigonal and Middle Ica I remaining devoid of it, and Nazca showing practically none except quite late forms. The greatest frequency at a relatively early period is in the north, in Tiahuanaco-influenced ware at Moche. In this general area also, perhaps at first north of Trujillo but soon spreading over the whole northern coast, there then developed the Late Chimu style, three-fourths to four-fifths of whose vessels are black. This style gradually spread southward, making a relatively light impression on the central coast immediately north of Lima, but evincing greater strength again to the south, where its growing influence in immediate pre-Spanish times can be traced in detail at Chinchá and Ica. Characteristic of this Late Chimu blackware influence everywhere is its absorption of certain forms usually recognized as Inca, although the Cuzco Inca pottery is almost without blackware. At points where the Inca impress was direct and definite, as at Pachacamac, the proportion of blackware is lower in Inca-derived than in Chimu-derived ware. On the whole, however, Inca and Late Chimu became associated over most of Peru, so that black aryballoids, stirrup-mouths, double vessels, squash jars, footed-goblets, etc., began to be made together in many localities, whereas both pure Cuzco Inca ware and non-Incoid Late Chimu ware are unusual. In short, neither the native Cuzco nor the native Lambayeque ware spread at all widely; but a blend of the two, with a heavy proportion of blackware, flooded Peru shortly before Pizarro. That Late Chimu forms and blackware were more numerous in the north and Cuzcoid forms and patterns more abundant in the south, is only a proportional difference. How far this late and all-Peruvian composite style—a Hellenistic rather than Hellenic movement, so to speak—was carried, respectively, by Inca conquest, by Chimu conquest, or by culture influences independent of conquest, is another problem.

PUERTO DE SUPE: PRIMITIVE WARE

At two spots near the harbor of Supe Dr. Uhle discovered remains of settlements of a poor and apparently early people that lived partly by fishing and partly by agriculture. In the appendix is given his outline of their culture,²⁷ which corresponded closely with that of the most primitive inhabitants of Ancon, whose pottery Dr. Uhle has described²⁸ and which Strong has designated "Early Ancon."²⁹ The early Supe culture lacked buildings of durable materials—at least no remains of such have been found; possessed agriculture, cotton, and cloth, but used little of the latter and much basketry; was rich in fish nets; buried its dead rolled in mats and laid in the sand; and may have practiced cannibalism or dismemberment.

The specimens designated as from these harbor settlements are 7869-98, and contain three small grave lots, numbers 7, 8, 9, respectively 7891-92, 7893-94, 7896-98. From 7899 to 7996 the catalogue gives no localities, with one exception, but the nature of the specimens associates them with the foregoing.

The pottery, fortunately, is all designated for provenience. It consists of eight whole or nearly complete vessels, three fragments, and some sherds. The best of it is shown in plate 79.

7869 (pl. 79*a*), low bowl, reddish paste, black slip; diameter 24 cm., height 6.5 cm.

7870 (pl. 79*c*), similar, smoother; d. 21 cm., h. 6.5.

7871, fragment of similar piece.

7872, similar fragment, reddish.

7873 (pl. 79*k, l, m*), incised fragments of bowl.

7874, bowl, similar to 7869-71, red; d. 20, h. 6.

7875 (pl. 79*b*), bowl, concave sides, red paste, blackish slip; d. 20, h. 8.

7876 (pl. 79*g*), bowl, red; 4 pairs of incised diagonal lines; the area between each pair is somewhat smoother and redder than the remainder of the vessel—possibly double slipped; d. 18, h. 7.5.

7877 (pl. 79*f*), small bowl, concave sides, blackish; d. 12.5, h. 5.

7878 (pl. 79*e*), small bowl or plate, blackish; d. 8.2, h. 2.

7879, incised sherd.

7881 (pl. 79*d*), blackish jar, d. 11; neck tapering slightly, broken.

7882, fragment of a blackish bowl, concave sided, apparently deeper than any of foregoing.

7883 (pl. 79*j*), sherd.

²⁷ See also Intern. Congr. Americanists, xvi (Vienna, 1908), 352, 1910.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, xviii (London, 1912), 22-45, 1913.

²⁹ This volume, pp. 152-156, pl. 48.

- 7884 (pl. 79i), 5 sherds, 3 of them incised. The one illustrated is brown or blackish and nearly flat, as if it came from a large vessel with incurving mouth. Another fragment is similar in shape.
- 7885, fragment of a side wall, 11 cm. from rim to beginning of curve toward bottom, 20 mm. thick; black all through; no slip.
- 7886, 2 reddish sherds, incised.
- 7887, red sherd, incised.
- 7888 (pl. 79h), red sherd, line incised, the contained area filled with a darker red than the background.

Except for 7888, there is no painted piece or fragment in the collection. Ornament is by line incisions or dot impressions or both. The fragment shown in plate 79j has been lightly and carelessly punched with the end of a stick held at an acute angle. It is grayish in color. The ware in general runs from "red" to "black," but varies around brownish. The interior is usually reddish (but compare 7885). Mostly there seems to have been a slip. All pieces at any rate have been smoothed, though several (*cf.* pl. 79b) have become roughened through the surface scaling off, especially on the outside. The ware is thick: from 4 to 9 mm. (7885, 20 mm.), averaging 6-7 mm. Low bowls are the characteristically prevalent type, and take several somewhat variant shapes.

The complete distinctness of this ware from any other at Supe is obvious, as is its ruder, archaic character and its general similarity to the Early Ancon ware. It is, however, not identical with the latter. When comparable material has been found at other Peruvian sites, it may be possible to determine some interesting relations between local forms of this archaic, non-painting style.

As to antiquity: this is indicated, yet not necessarily very great. The culture may have been only moderately ancient but poor. That its discovered carriers were such, is evident. Absence of metals, mentioned by Dr. Uhle, is therefore not conclusive. That cloth, cotton, corn, beans occur indicates that the horizon to which the culture belongs was a relatively advanced one, though still retarded as compared with the cultures which have furnished the mass of collected Peruvian remains.

I am unable to see the stylistic relation which Dr. Uhle affirms to exist between the primitive pottery of Ancon and Supe and the Proto-Nazca ware.³⁰ His early Chancay and early Nievería (Cajamarquilla) wares³¹ are obviously related to Proto-Nazca. But these are

³⁰ For instance, *Intern. Congr. Americanists*, xvi (Vienna, 1908), 356, 1910.

³¹ *Ibid.*, figs. 4, 7-11, 14, 16-19.

polychrome styles, rather intricate and definitely conventionalized in pattern, and almost as different from primitive Supe and Ancon as the latter are from Proto-Nazca. If the incised ware of Ancon and Supe bears any similarity to Proto-Nazca, it is in little more than the use of curvilinear designs.

CONCLUSIONS

The potteries of the valley of Supe fall into three groups: a primitive unpainted ware; a middle period ware, painted, pressed, and modeled; Late Chimu and Inca blackware.

The primitive incised ware is that of rather poor fishermen and is not necessarily extremely ancient. It is related to the early incised ware of Ancon, though not identical, and both may well prove contemporaneous with Proto-Nazca; but their stylistic relationship with Proto-Nazca seems remote.

The middle period ware is influenced by and largely composite of: 1, 2, Tiahuanaco and Epigonal; 3, Chimu, of Proto rather than Late variety; 4, perhaps relatively early central coast styles of painted red ware.

The painted and pressed forms of Middle Supe ware are shown by analysis of ornament motives to be closely related. The pressed type appears to be a northern Epigonal development out of Tiahuanaco-related painted ware.

Late Chimu ware, abundant south to Casma, becomes relatively scarce at Supe, Huacho, Chancay, Ancon, Lima, is more abundant again at Pachacamac, persists in perceptible degree as far as Pisco, and shows sporadic representation at Ica and Nazca.

Blackware is first traceable in Proto-Chimu, became abundant in the middle and predominant in the late period of the Chimu area, and increased in frequency in the area between Pachacamac and Ica down to the end of native times. It flourished much less in the area of black-and-white Chancay ware; and while found in the southern highlands, it is not typical of Tiahuanaco nor of Cuzco Inca.

APPENDIX

REPORT ON EXPLORATIONS AT SUPE

BY MAX UHLE

The port of Supe is situated between the two fertile valleys of Pativilca and Supe, which are separated by a desert. The sugar hacienda, San Nicolas, occupies a part of the valley of Supe. Its buildings stand about two miles from the sea at the foot of some isolated hills, the view from which commands the valley. These hills were anciently fortified, and a town with zones of walls extended at their western, seaward foot. Several of the walls rise in three or four terraces ("steps"), especially on two hills about five hundred feet high. These were crowned with cell-like constructions and other buildings of stone. The surrounding walls are also of stone. The system of walls is rather complicated. The fortifications on the hills extend 500 by 400 m.; the town at their foot, 620 by 135 m. The several walls around the town are straight, thick, and form several more or less rectangular squares. On the fortifications, terraces with breast-walls are still visible. But the walls enclosing the town, which consisted of clay and stone, have decayed to long flat ridges.

A square enclosure [evidently Chimu Capac] at the western foot of the hills is the most important construction at San Nicolas, both as to extent and as to the buildings on it. It consists of several large square platforms of different levels, arranged around higher ones, which in turn enclose three sides of a square, deep court. The construction material in part is stone with a heavy admixture of clay, in part fragments of adobe. At a few spots large round adobe balls are imbedded in the walls. While the use of stone mixed with clay gives no indication of period, the fragments of adobe point to the existence of earlier buildings in the vicinity. The balls of adobe may have been taken over intact from such buildings, where they possibly constituted the whole construction. Standing structures of adobe balls were not discovered, though it seems that they must once have existed. The type of the balls is not identical with those of the oldest buildings of Chancay and Ica, but is similar. A more or less contemporaneous period may accordingly have been represented at Supe, even though no direct evidences of it have been found.

The visible remains of the town date back to the time of the introduction into the valley of the civilization of Tiahuanaco. They are

thus older than the other ruins and cemeteries of Supe and neighboring valleys that have interested archaeologists or that have been dug into. So far as I know, these other ruins and cemeteries of Supe, Pativilca, and Huacho valleys contain pottery either (1) of a rather mediocre sort with linear relief or engraved ornament only slightly connected with the later Epigonal style; or (2) of prevalent blackware from the period of the domination of the Chimus; or (3) of the time of the Incas.

Vessels of the first of these three kinds are most numerous. In part, especially in the valley of Huacho to the south of Supe, pieces characteristic of the late style of Chancay [black and white, Late Ancon II] can also be found. The age of these ruins and cemeteries [other than at San Nicolas] corresponds in the main to those at the Calera de Jecuan [Site C] at Chancay. But it is evident that the northern valleys [Supe, etc.] were more populous and flourishing at that time than the valley of Chancay.

The Chimu period has left most of its remains inland in Supe and adjoining valleys. Some of the Chimu remains are free from foreign admixture, as at Piedra Parada and Tutumo up the valley of Supe. Others resemble the Chimu remains at Pachacamac in showing evidences of Inca influence; for instance, at Olivar near Chuquillo in the valley of Pativilca. Here the construction of the nearby Inca fortress of Paramonga seems to have been of influence. My collection comprised some Chimu and Inca pieces from this vicinity.

Besides Pachacamac, no other locality on the coast of middle Peru shows so many remains reaching back to or nearly to the period of Tiahuanaco, as do the ruins of Chimu Capac near San Nicolás. The town was undoubtedly founded at about the same time as the temple of Pachacamac; and there is only this difference, that the history of Pachacamac continued through the centuries and through distinct types of civilization down to the time of the Incas, while the old splendor of Chimu Capac must have disappeared by the beginning of that period the remains of which characterize nearly all other ancient sites in the region [type (1) above]. "Chimu Capac" is a denomination given the ruins in the Inca period, and means "august Chimu." This posthumous origin of the name proves its lack of significance. Life had long gone out from these ruins when the Chimu organized their empire in the north, and longer still when they finally entered these valleys as conquerors. The original name of the site must therefore not only have been a different one, but will

remain unknown, unless possibly it was that of the modern village of Supe, which lies only about one and a half miles distant.

The various platforms of the principal building in the enclosure next to the hills [Chimu Capac] are densely occupied by burials. These are lacking only where the bedrock is too near the surface of the constructions. The burials follow two types: square chambers of stone masonry containing one or two mummies; or mummies imbedded in the soil with all their utensils but without constructions. There is also a transitional type; namely, mummies placed in the ground near stone walls which serve to protect the burial from one side. The time of the [objects with the] burials is that of the oldest artifacts discoverable among the ruins. Since the fragments scattered through the soil of the terraces prove to be no older, the time of construction of the buildings must have approximately coincided with the period of the burials. Only one fabric was found loose in the ground. The design of this corresponded exactly with those in use in the oldest period of Chancay. But as we have no definite knowledge as to the length of the time through which designs of an older period may survive in a subsequent one, not much is to be derived from this isolated fact. But even if this single fabric were a remnant of an earlier civilization, it would indicate only the age of the structures from which the material of later buildings was taken, and not the proper age of the subsequent structures.

The objects found are of special importance both because of their age and because of their excellent state of preservation, due partly to the extreme dryness of the soil and partly, as it seems, to its richness in clay. The collection includes well-preserved fabrics of greater antiquity than is common. One kind deserves special attention. These are large cotton cloths of no great fineness, painted with mythological and talismanic designs. These ruins are the only site from which, it seems, they can be obtained. In the wider sense, their technology appears nearest to that of the so-called grave-tablets of Ancon. In most respects they are different, as to size, richness, and development of design. In any case they represent a higher type of work. But the purpose which they served may have been similar to that of the grave-tablets. The explanation of the latter, as a kind of recommendation or introduction of the buried person to the spirits of the other world, is undoubtedly right. The large cloths found in the Chimu Capac burials evidently served the same purpose. But while the Ancon grave-tablets are so insignificant that they may be thought of as manufactured by the relatives of the deceased, the painted cloths

of Chimu Capac exhibit a variety and wealth of mythological ideas that are best explained as painting by professional or initiated hands. One may imagine that when a person died, his relatives charged the priests to paint on cloth figures of deities or other symbolical designs which would open the road for a good voyage of the deceased to the other world. The priest may then have gone to some adulatory, perhaps in the hollows or summits of the hills, and there, inspired by the spirits, have manufactured his paintings. For his work he would be paid by the relatives, who laid these cloths on the floor of the grave under the mummy, or on its head outside the mummy bale, or inside its exterior packing. Occasionally mummy bales were found enveloped in one or more such cloths. With some mummies were found a large number of these cloths; in others they were missing. One mummy was placed on a large cloth, while two others were laid over it and sixteen smaller ones, all with different designs, were folded and stacked on the head of the bale. Though only a small proportion of these cloths have remained intact, the series of them presents a variety of religious ideas.

The remains found in the graves of the town of Chimu Capac are memorable for another circumstance. The oldest remains of the valley of Trujillo presented a uniform civilization. Those in the oldest graves of Pachacamac were also uniform. But the oldest Pachacamac remains showed the Tiahuanaco type of civilization,³² those of Trujillo the Proto-Chimu type,³³ The ruins of Chimu Capac, about halfway between Pachacamac and Trujillo, are now memorable because in them there meet both these early civilizations, that of the North and that of the South. . . .³⁴

In this scheme the oldest shellmounds of Ancon and other settlements of similar age have found no place. Their position in chronology was decided by further excavations which closed my work near Supe. When I left California on this expedition, a part of my program was to follow the coast in search of the earliest settlements in the Peruvian tropics. On the coast again, the environs of sheltered places like 'caletas' or harbors seemed to be the localities which deserved special observation in this connection. Even a very primitive tribe could easily have made its living in such spots by

³² Subsequently, Dr. Uhle discovered traces of Proto-Nazca influenced ware at Pachacamac. See Intern. Congr. Americanists, xvi, 357, fig. 5, 1910.

³³ "The fine pottery long erroneously determined as Chimu" in the original.

³⁴ A passage follows which concludes with a chronological table of stylistic periods in different parts of Peru. Dr. Uhle has since amplified and revised his comparative conception of the development of cultures in Peru, and the passage is therefore omitted.

taking rafts to sea for fishing and gathering shellfish on rocks. There are a number of such caletas on the shore of the Huacho and Supe valleys, and near these it seemed possible to discover remains of high age, though no treasure-hunters would know their insignificant traces or be interested, since they would yield no salable treasure.

There are in fact two such settlements in the immediate neighborhood of the port of Supe. One lies about three minutes walk to the southwest, below the lighthouse. The other is about a mile and a half to the south, on the southern slope of a range of hills separating the plain of Barranca from that of the hacienda, San Nicolas. The former site occupies a small depression bordered by sandy hills except toward the sea. This side is open for about 50 m. and forms a gently sloping sand beach. This was the landing place. Vestiges of occupation extend along the bottom of the depression for about 250 m. and over part of the slopes of the adjacent hills. One observes heaps formed of ashes, broken shells, hearth-stones, a few fragments of mortars, and crude stone pieces which may have served as implements. Here and there are lines of set stones, perhaps foundations for walls of perishable material. Fragments of plain pottery are scattered over the ashes and mixed with them. Ancient fireplaces are recognizable in places. There is one circle of small stones. All perishable material has vanished.

The second settlement, south of the range, occupies a larger area. It opens to the plain in front of it, which is now occupied by a swamp and may once have been the place where the river of Supe fell into the sea. From a distance, the settlement appears black, like an old foundry site. But no further indications appear, and in walking over the ground one sees nothing more than ashes and blackened stones. Only when one begins to dig, do worked fragments of stone and small sherds of very simple pottery begin to appear. The enigma hidden in these scanty remains could be solved only by the discovery of graves. As these could not be found within the settlement, it was necessary to search the neighborhood. This was done for several days, with the result that several small burial grounds were discovered about 80 and 120 m. above the [first] settlement, in a corner of the depression in which it lies. Similarly, I searched the neighborhood of the southern settlement and found graves in the bottom of a small depression between hills east of that site. But they were less numerous here and yielded scant information, though their identity, in chronological character and the whole aspect of their culture, with those of the first settlement was apparent.

The burials lay in pure sand at depths varying between .5 and 1.5 m. Some may have been disturbed by later interments. Many were apparently undisturbed, and were mostly 1.5 to 2 m. apart. There were no signs of grave construction with stone or adobe. The human remains had been laid between mats of totora, made in a hitherto unknown technique, and formed bundle-like parcels. Objects accompanying the bodies were very scarce. They consisted of an occasional comb, one or more bone implements, bone beads from necklaces, perhaps a pottery plate or bowl. Nets and mats were found oftener, also some baskets. There were, further, some small and very crude cotton textiles, bundles of hemp, and various vegetable foods—maize, yucca, pallar, and undetermined seeds. In one grave, which seemed to be the richest because it contained four bone implements besides other small articles, there was a head dress or manta of large blue and red Ara feathers. Objects of metal were lacking, as were stone implements unless several quite crude stones be considered as such. Undisturbed graves were generally covered with a layer of *Tillandsia* plants from the neighboring hills. They had been preserved by a layer of recent sand 10 to 20 cm. thick. This covered them so effectually that no outward signs of a cemetery could be seen on the surface.

The first thing to be said about the objects in the graves, is that their appearance, together with the nature of the graves themselves, was quite strange, compared with other burials found in Peruvian soil. The pottery plates and bowls were of primitive shape, and of plain though solid technique. They were mostly unornamented. If there was ornamentation, it consisted only of engraved or punctured lines. The basketry was firm but ornamented in ways not found in graves of later and more civilized periods in Peru. Also, it was proportionally more frequent than in later graves. Network was largely represented. Some complicated types of netting could not have been met with in later graves. The textiles seemed to be tentatives of weaving without developed apparatus, rather than products of the loom. The instruments of bone excelled by their variety, reminding of tribes of low civilization. Bone beads in large series, forming necklaces, were reminiscent of those used by the Fuegians, but of nothing in Peru.

There were still other indications of the barbaric character of the people that made these burials. The skeletons were mostly incomplete, even in the graves which apparently were undisturbed both as to the body wrapping and the covering of *pisajaya* (*Tillandsia*). The

remaining bones were in place, the bodies having been buried as if kneeling but lying on one side. The inference is that most of the bodies were incomplete at the time of burial. The explanation that some individuals met their death on the sea or by mishaps, and that their limbs were recovered only in part, is eliminated by the frequency of the incompleteness of skeletons. It is therefore necessary to conclude that the bodies were intentionally dismembered for religious reasons; and as the missing parts of the skeletons varied in the graves, the practice of anthropophagy seemed to give the best explanation. In a measure this explanation is confirmed by the fact that I found at least one and perhaps two implements of human bone (one a tibia) while digging in the refuse of the settlement itself. The general barbaric character of the artifacts and grave would agree with the assumption of anthropophagy.

The inhabitants must have been a tall race with strong bones. The forehead was generally low, the occiput much flattened; occasionally the teeth were blackened.

The presence of maize, yucca, pallar beans, etc., and the use of cotton for textiles, form no contradiction to the conclusion that these peoples were still barbarians. They had dogs, one of which, tied up, was found in one of the graves. A bone of *Auchenia* sp. [the llama genus] proved relations with the interior of the country.

The shape and technique of the earthenware are nearly the same as in that of the oldest shellmounds at Ancon. Even the ornaments are partly the same. Similarly unique basket work, etc., so different from all objects of later origin, had also been observed at Ancon. There is accordingly little doubt that the tribes of both places were more or less of the same character and time, at the dawn of Peruvian civilization, by which they were annihilated.

I have mentioned in my report on Ancon, that several of the ornaments on fragments from the oldest shellmounds there reproduced ornaments of the oldest civilization of Ica and Nazca [Proto-Nazca]. Similarly, a fragment of pottery was found in the shell-heaps of the ancient settlement near Supe, which resembles the oldest civilized pottery³⁵ of the valley of Chancay. One of the Supe bone implements is also engraved. The design is so perfect that I must assume it to have been made by a member of a superior people like that living near Chancay at the beginning of Peruvian civilization proper.

³⁵ Perhaps 7888, pl. 79h.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES AND SPECIMEN NUMBERS OF
OBJECTS ILLUSTRATED³⁶

Plate 70. Inca (*a-f*) and Late Chimu (*g-n*) ware. *a*, 9140, h. 185 mm. (*b-f* in same reduction); *b*, 9138; *c*, 9139; *d*, 9142; *e*, 9136; *f*, 9141; *g*, 7590, h. 224 (*h-n* in same reduction); *h*, 7581; *i*, 7589; *j*, 7589; *k*, 7585; *l*, 7584; *m*, 7583; *n*, 7587.

Plate 71. Middle period jars with pressed relief. *a*, 7315, h. 280; *b*, 7677, h. 250; *c*, 7801, h. 253; *d*, 7800, h. 243; *e*, 7751, h. 252; *f*, 7734, h. 176.

Plate 72. Middle period jars in human form, painted, or both. *a*, 7631, h. 199; *b*, 7241, h. 200; *c*, 7515, h. 182; *d*, 7177, h. 191; *e*, 7349, h. 190; *f*, 7613, h. 370; *g*, 7322, h. 306; *h*, 7799, h. 353.

Plate 73. Middle period low and high goblets and bowls. *a*, 7354, h. 34 (*b-d* in same reduction); *b*, 7176; *c*, 7378c, 7378b; *d*, 7378a; *e*, 7636, h. 123 (*f*, *g* in same reduction); *f*, 7744; *g*, 7353; *h*, 7295, h. 189 (*i, j* in same reduction); *i*, 7270; *j*, 7717; *k*, 7356, d. 110 (*l-o* in same reduction); *l*, 7211; *m*, 7366; *n*, 7867; *o*, 7374.

Plate 74. Middle period bird jars (*a-f*) and double-spout jars (*g-l*). *a*, 7720, h. 174 (*b-f* in same reduction); *b*, 7755; *c*, 7802; *d*, 7355; *e*, 7803; *f*, 7866; *g*, 7258, h. 187 (*h-l* in same reduction); *h*, 7345; *i*, 7741; *j*, 7742; *k*, 7615; *l*, 7632.

Plate 75. Middle period red jars with relief (*a-f*) and red and black bowls with relief outside (*g-k*). *a*, 7324, h. 196 (*b, c* in same reduction); *b*, 7342; *c*, 7736; *d*, 7359, h. 142 (*e, f* in same reduction); *e*, 7634; *f*, 7760; *g*, 7518, d. 195 (*h, i* in same reduction); *h*, 7728; *i*, 7730; *j*, 7163, h. 102 and 163 (*k* in same reduction); *k*, 7377.

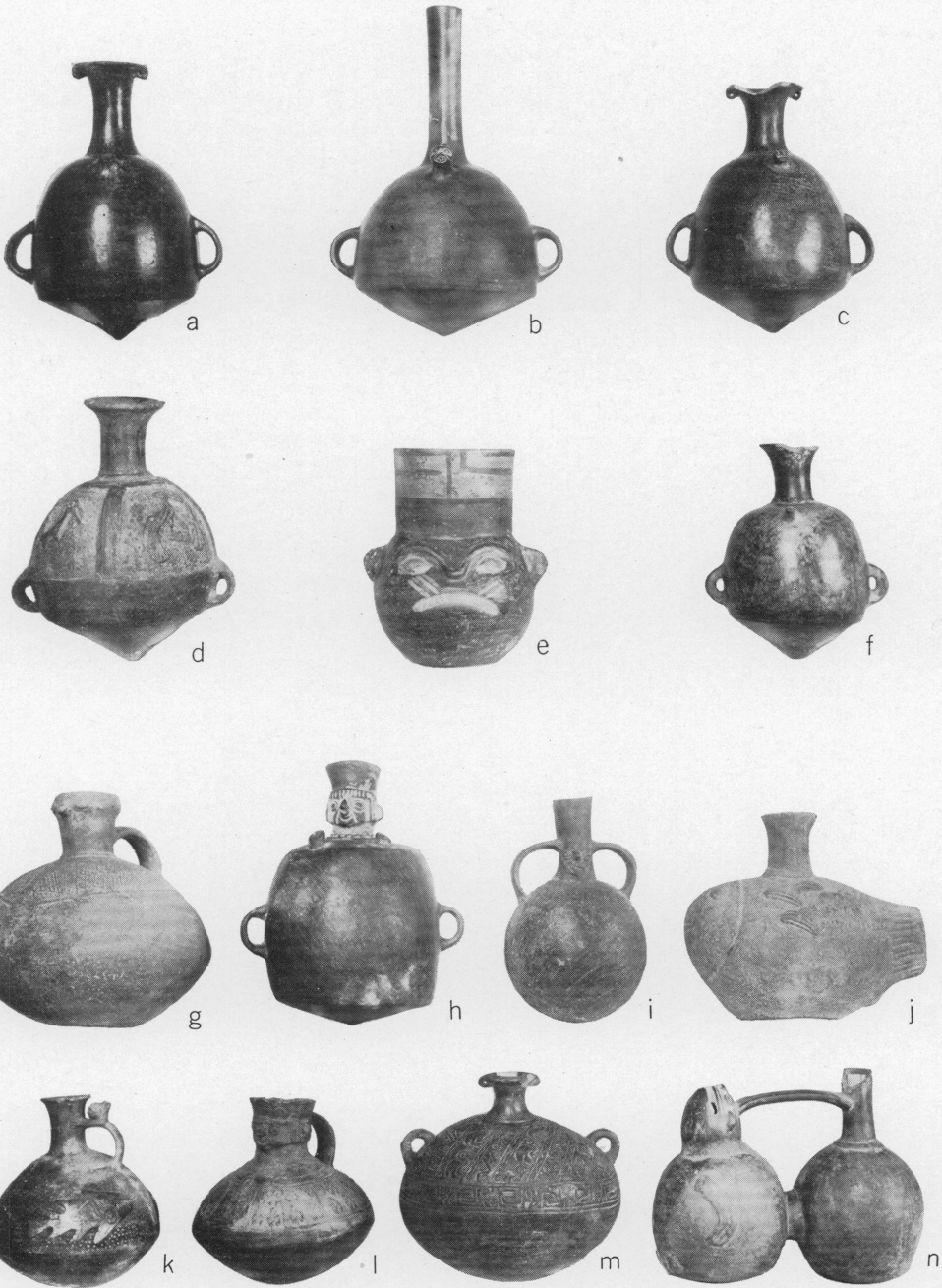
Plate 76. Middle period "dolls" (*a-c*), skull jars (*d-f*), owl jars (*g-i*), foot jar (*j*), shell jar (*k*), cook pot (*l*), bowl with basketry impression (*m*), one-handed jar (*n*), and various small vessels (*o-u*). *a*, 7670, h. 150; *b*, 7647, h. 179; *c*, 7360, h. 117; *d*, 7739, h. 153; *e*, 7731, h. 165; *f*, 7740, h. 155; *g*, 7683, h. 147; *h*, 7681, h. 233; *i*, 7343, h. 154; *j*, 7753, h. 130; *k*, 7733, h. 145; *l*, 7200a, h. 182; *m*, 7637, d. 199; *n*, 7157, h. 203; *o*, 7061, h. 132; *p*, 7618, h. 43; *q*, 7721, h. 97; *r*, 7215, h. 120; *s*, 7403, h. 164; *t*, 7399, h. 155; *u*, 7750, h. 139.

Plate 77. Middle period cat-head jars (*a-g*) and pottery content of grave 6 (*h-o*). *a*, 7719, h. 202 (*b, c* in same reduction); *b*, 7332; *c*, 7679; *d*, 7736, h. 106 (*e-g* in same reduction); *e*, 7334; *f*, 7627; *g*, 7628; *h*, 7667, h. 93 (*i-o* in same reduction); *i*, 7659; *j*, 7661; *k*, 7660; *l*, 7664; *m*, 7662; *n*, 7665; *o*, 7663.

Plate 78. Pottery content of Middle Period grave 1 (*a-f*), grave 2 (*g-l*), grave 3 (*m-o*). *a*, 7059b, h. 132 (*b, c* in same reduction); *b*, 7055; *c*, 7058; *d*, 7056, d. 66 (*e, f* in same reduction); *e*, 7059a; *f*, 7059a; *g*, 7062, h. 224 (*h, i* in same reduction); *h*, 7064; *i*, 7063; *j*, 7067, h. 150 (*k, l* in same reduction); *k*, 7067a; *l*, 7065; *m*, 7069, h. 164 (*n, o* in same reduction); *n*, 7070; *o*, 7068.

Plate 79. Primitive ware from Puerto de Supe: bowls and jar (*a-g*) and sherds (*h-m*). *a*, 7869, d. 242 (*b-g* in same reduction); *b*, 7875; *c*, 7870; *d*, 7881; *e*, 7878; *f*, 7877; *g*, 7876; *h*, 7888, d. 75 (*i-m* in same reduction); *i*, 7884; *j*, 7883; *k*, 7873; *l*, 7873; *m*, 7873.

³⁶ Height or diameter of objects are indicated by "h." and "d.," followed by the dimension in mm.



SUPE INCA (a-f) AND LATE CHIMU (g-n)



SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: JARS WITH PRESSED RELIEF



a



b



c



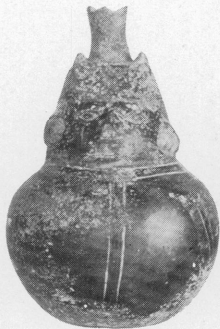
d



e



f

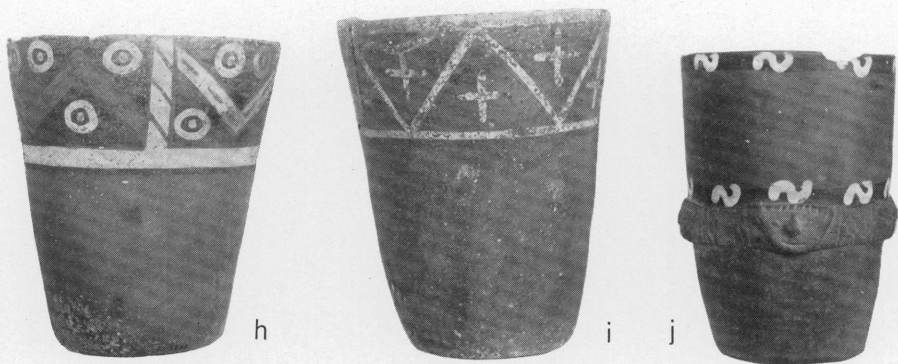
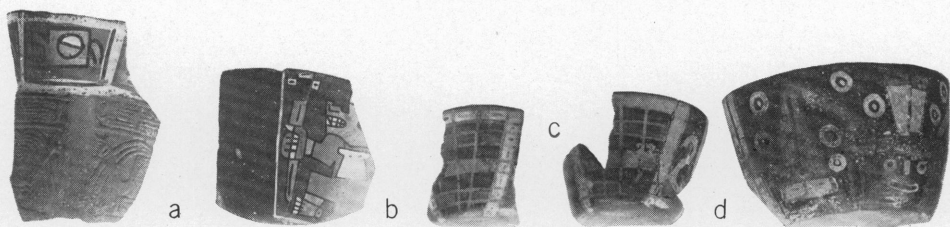


g



h

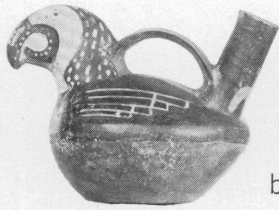
SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: JARS IN HUMAN FORM OR PAINTED



SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: GOBLETS AND BOWLS



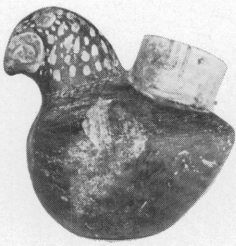
a



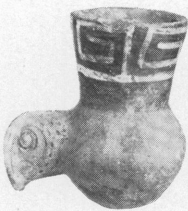
b



c



d



e



f



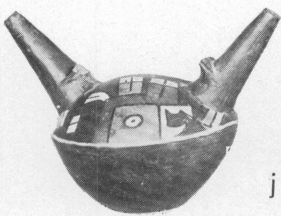
g



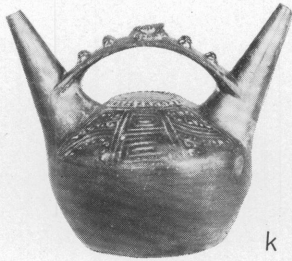
h



i



j

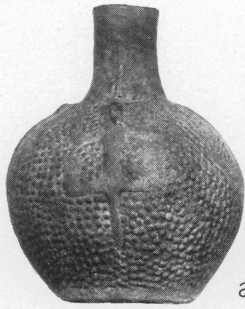


k

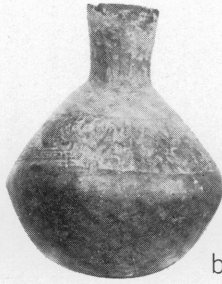


l

SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: BIRD AND DOUBLE-SPOUT JARS



a



b



c



d



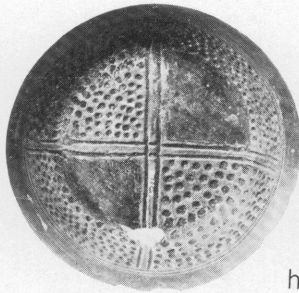
e



f



g



h



i



j

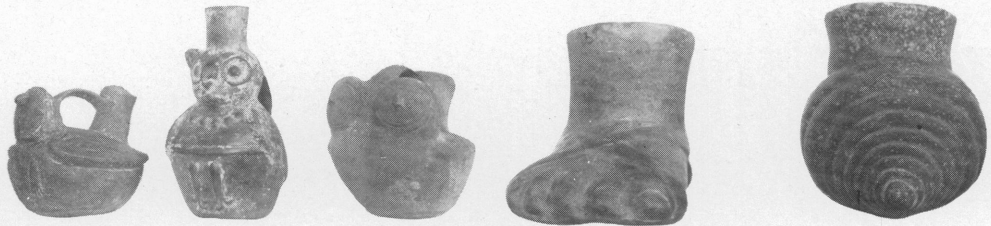


k

SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: JARS AND BOWLS WITH RELIEF



a b c d e f



g h i i k

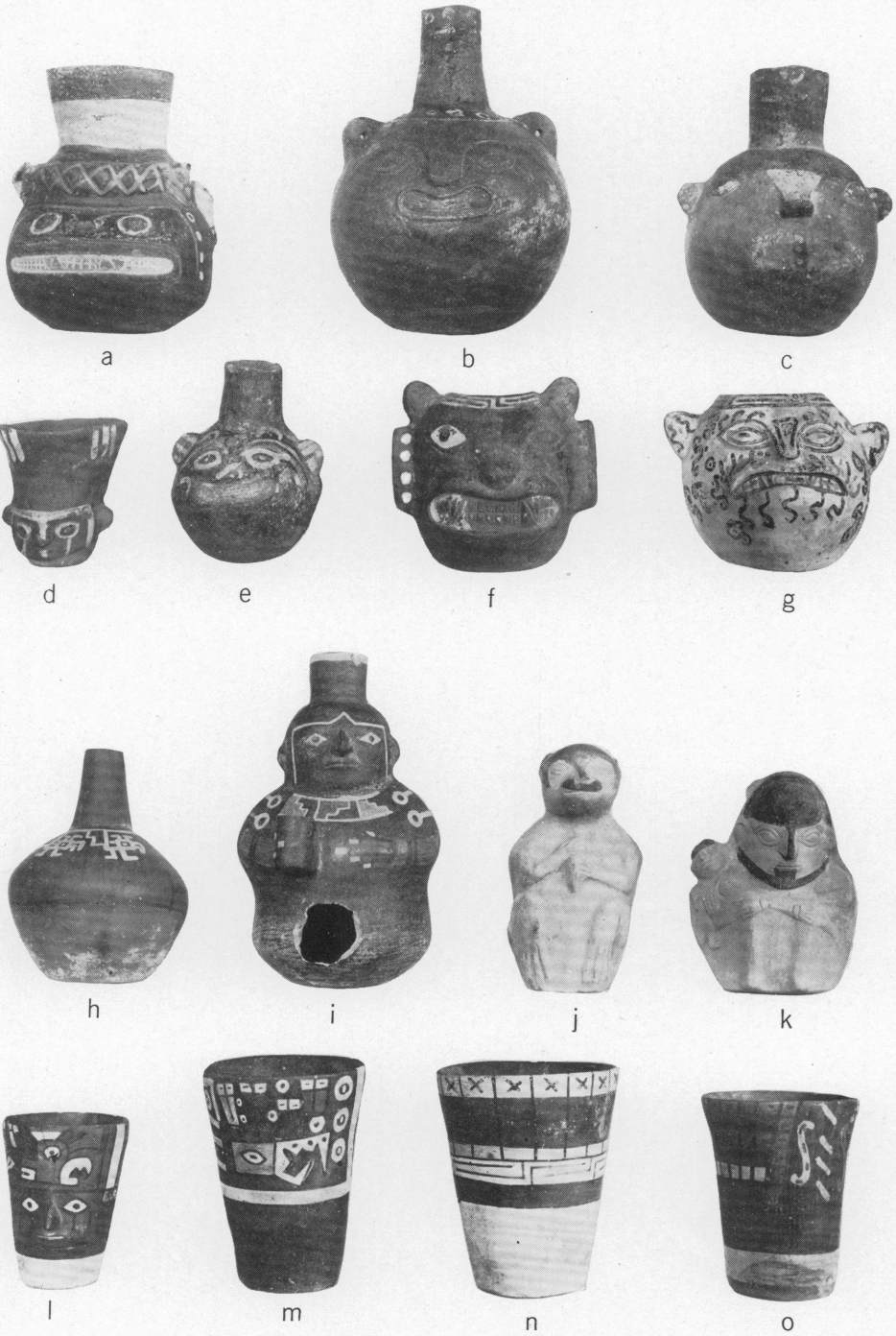


l m n



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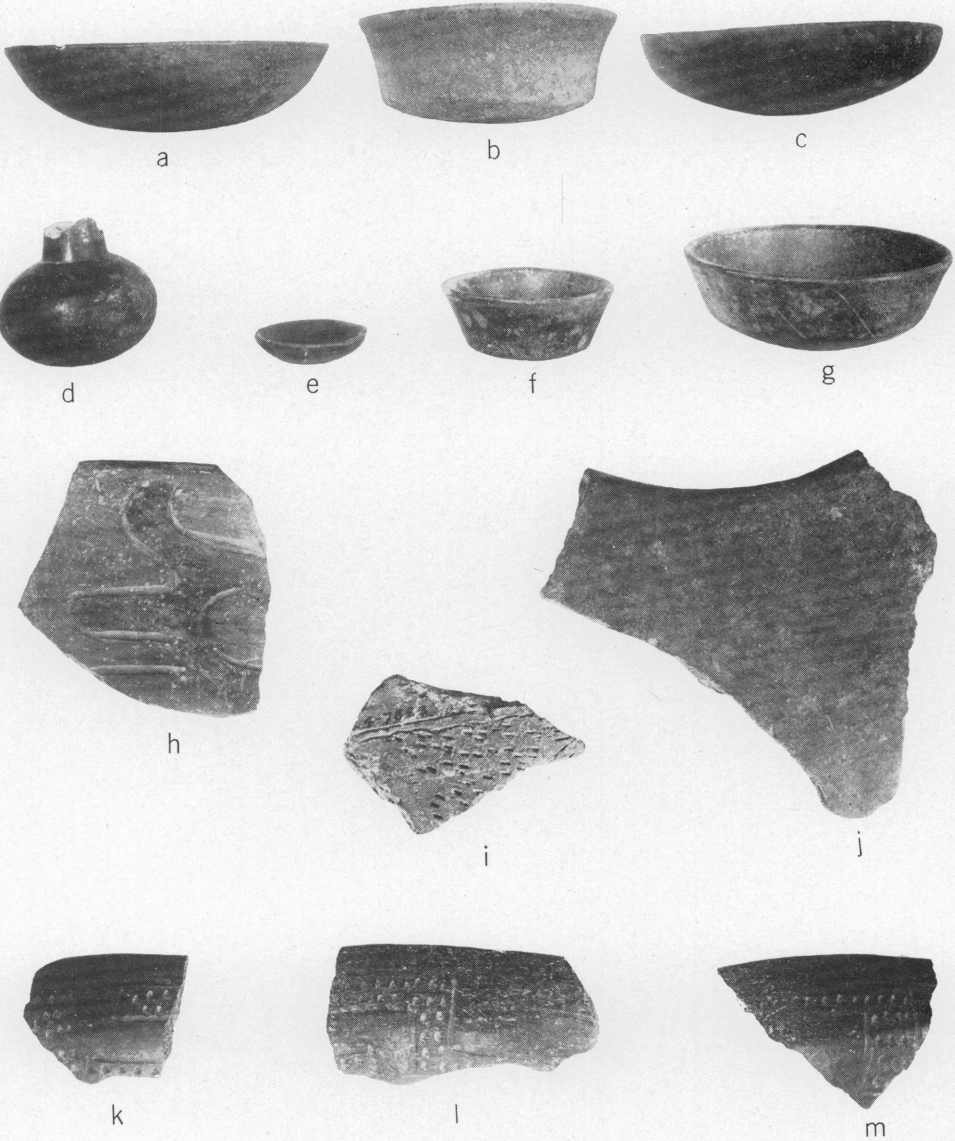
SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: VARIOUS WARE



SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: CAT-HEAD JARS (a-g) AND GRAVE 6 (h-o)



SUPE MIDDLE PERIOD: GRAVES 1 (a-f), 2 (g-l), 3 (m-o)



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