

FEMALE SUPERNATURALS IN ANCIENT PERU

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Introduction

During the first century after the European conquest of Peru, an intense and concerted effort was made to convert the inhabitants of the conquered land to Christianity and to root out and destroy all traces of native religion. This endeavor was varyingly successful. The formal Inca state religion was indeed obliterated along with the Inca state, but on a local level there remains today a body of traditional religious belief and practice the extent of which is only now beginning to be appreciated. The single aspect of this persistent religious tradition that is both widespread and directly related to the Inca state religion is the worship of Pachamama, Earth Mother.¹ The importance of this female deity in historic times suggests that a general inquiry into the evidence for female deities and other supernaturals in ancient Peru might contribute to our understanding of pre-Spanish religion and mythology.² The present work is a preliminary effort to review the evidence on this subject provided by both prehistoric iconography and Spanish and Inca documents of the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1969 Sergio Chávez and Karen Mohr Chávez published a carved stone stela from Taraco which they interpreted as having a female on one side and a male on the opposite one, and several years later they expanded this study to define a sculptural style of which this stela formed a part.³ It was while editing the latter article that I was struck by the fact that, if the posited dating of the Yaya-Mama stela was correct, the female figure on it would be the earliest known female representation with any indication of supernatural status. And if it were a deity figure (a question with which the authors did not deal), then it was the earliest female deity known in the Andean area, since at that time the most generally recognized female deity representations were those of the Middle Horizon styles which will be dealt with in their turn. This lack of early female representations was surprising, since there are so many parallels between Chavín and Huari religious iconography.⁴ The Yaya-Mama stela thus raised the question of whether there was really a major deity figure that appeared between the Early and Middle Horizons, and if so, whether she originated in the southern sierra. Thus I was alerted to the problem of female representations when I first saw the being shown here in fig. 6.⁵ Although at that time and ever since then this personage has been called the Staff God,⁶ I suddenly realized that it was more appropriately called the Staff Goddess. Before supporting this assertion, however, there are two problems that must be considered in the identification and interpretation of female supernaturals: sex and supernatural status.

Identification of Gender

Even within representational art styles, the gender of the being represented is not necessarily indicated. Attributions of sex to human and anthropomorphic representations are frequently based not on any specific identifying characteristic, but rather on stereotypes or the indiscriminate extension of modern usage into the past. For example, any figure holding a small "child" may be interpreted as being a woman, as may a figure wearing a long skirt in contrast to others with shorter garments. How can we, then, determine gender in ancient art styles?

The one and only absolutely foolproof evidence for sexual attribution is the identification of primary sexual characteristics, i.e., genitals. Although sometimes secondary sexual characteristics, such as breasts on women or facial hair on men, may serve to establish gender, to assume they do may be misleading, since breasts may be indicated on both sexes with little or no distinction, as is the case in many Peruvian styles, and what appears to be facial hair, unless shown in relief, may rather be face paint or tattooing.

If some figures are depicted with genitals while others in the same style are not, it is sometimes possible to establish regularities of dress or adornment, such as hair-do, on the former which may then be used to identify the latter.⁷ One might also find other iconographic features such as certain plants, animals, or abstract symbols consistently associated with one or the other sex.⁸ Within limits it may also be possible to establish regular contrasts between known males and other representations which may be supposed to be female, or vice versa. Such a procedure must be used with great care, however, since the contrasting figure may not be of the opposite sex at all, but rather someone from a different ethnic group, of a different social status or some specialized profession. The fact that supernaturals are most frequently represented fully dressed simply complicates the problem of establishing their sex. It should be noted that male supernaturals are clearly indicated just as rarely as female ones, a fact which has been obscured by the common practice of identifying all sexless supernaturals as male.⁹

Identification of Supernatural Status

When dealing with ancient belief systems, we must be able to establish within a given style which representations are supernatural and which are not. A series of iconographic conventions used to indicate supernatural status has been isolated in ancient Peruvian art; the series may not include all such conventions but certainly does the most common ones.

The combination of human and nonhuman elements (animal heads or tails on humans, or human hands or heads on animal bodies, for example) is the most obvious indication of supernatural status. The attachment of wings to anything but birds and insects is another.

There are, however, more subtle indicators, such as the vertically divided eye in Huari and Pucara. Probably the best known supernatural indicator is the use of exaggerated canine teeth, generally referred to as fangs, or crossed fangs, which appears to be a supernatural marker in such diverse styles as Chavín, Pacopampa Chavín, Vicús, Moche, Pucara and Huari. A still more widespread convention is the attachment to or emanation from a personage of a series of streamers or rays which terminate in some sort of head or symbol. This convention is found in numerous styles from the Early Horizon into the Late Intermediate Period.

Rowe provided us with another clue to supernatural status in what he refers to as "the Staff God pose," namely a full-faced position with the arms to either side and a staff or some ceremonial object in each hand.¹⁰

Although the presence of any or all of the features mentioned may indicate the supernatural status of a given representation, their absence does not necessarily mean that the being represented is not supernatural. For example, in Christian religious art saints are often represented with halos, but when they are shown without a halo they are nonetheless the same saints.

It is, thus, usually possible to establish the supernatural status of a given personage within any given style. The problem of establishing relative rank within the supernatural hierarchy is more complex, however, and each case must be handled individually. Rowe, for example, used architectural associations in discussing the relative status of various Chavín supernatural representations, and Donnan's treatment of the multiple representations of a complex scene in the Moche style could be used for the same purpose.¹¹

Ancient Depictions of Female Supernaturals

Ethnographic and historical data warn us that mythological beings have a way of changing through space and/or time. A major deity may become a minor supernatural, or vice versa, and beings originally natural may become supernaturals and even major deities. Even sex may be changed; the Sun may be male here, but female in the next valley. And one must be constantly alert to the possible impact of foreign religions spread in an organized fashion, such as those of Chavín and Huari. For all these reasons, any serious attempt to interpret ancient iconography must include a firm chronological control and adequate understanding of regional differences.

Since the identification of sex and supernatural status must be studied anew in each art style, I have organized the following material chronologically. Within each period I will discuss the major representational art styles and then, for each style which I believe to contain female supernaturals, I will discuss the evidence and interpretations used to establish sex and supernatural status.

Early Horizon 12

Several art styles in the EH utilize the representation of natural elements in the embellishment of various media. The Chavín style from the site of Chavín in Ancash immediately comes to mind, as well as Tembladera, Pacopampa Chavín, Cupisnique and Paracas which are more or less related to it. Other styles not obviously related to Chavín are the Yaya-Mama style of the Titicaca Basin and the unnamed Cuzco area styles reported by Rowe.¹³ Human representations are rare in all of these except Yaya-Mama, which is a special case consisting only of stone sculpture and largely defined by the presence of anthropomorphic representations. Still less common, at least in the sample presently available, are full-length representations which might permit the determination of sex. In only three of these styles have I found female supernaturals depicted: Chavín and Pacopampa Chavín, which are closely related, and Yaya-Mama.

The entire known sample consists of six representations, not all contemporary. The earliest is Chavín Phase C (the Tello Obelisk) probably dating to EH 3 (fig. 3). Figs. 4-9 are Phase D dating to EH 4-5. The Pacopampa Chavín example (figs. 1-2) is more difficult to place, being stylistically somewhat aberrant, but it appears to relate to either advanced Phase D or conservative Phase EF.¹⁴ I am inclined to date it to about EH 6-7. The Yaya-Mama specimen is almost certainly no earlier than EH 8, and probably about EH 10,¹⁵ thus the latest of the Early Horizon female representation.

With the exception of the figure on the Tello Obelisk, all of the Chavín and Chavín-related figures were identified as females on the basis of the presence of the visual representation of a folklore motif: the vagina dentata.¹⁶

The vagina dentata is a well known and rather common motif with a world wide distribution. In its basic form, the motif refers to some female or group of females, who have teeth in their vaginas capable of biting. In some versions the vagina is a mouth. This motif is used in various ways which need not concern us here. The importance of the vagina dentata to this study is that it provides us with a positive identification of the sex of these representations.

The depiction at once the most complete and most elaborate is the Pacopampa figure (figs. 1-2) which I shall discuss first, although it is chronologically later than most of the others. Since the drawing (fig. 1) is not entirely accurate, it should be compared to the photograph (fig. 2a), which clarifies certain details in spite of the worn condition of the carving.¹⁷ The body of this figure is composed of two profile faces which share a common mouth. This mouth divides at the front, where one would expect it to end, and a single lip band with a single row of teeth continues on each side, crossing the legs of the figure and then turning sharply upward at the outer edge of each leg. The lip band makes another right angle turn, disappearing around the hips, while the teeth terminate in the angle made by this turn. The more or less W-shaped lip band forms the waistband

of the figure, and reappears on the back of the stela (fig. 2b). Such a W-shaped waistband is characteristic of Chavín female figures with a vagina represented. On other anthropomorphic figures the waistband is either straight and horizontal or U-shaped when composed of a downward-facing agnathic mouth with upcurving lip corners.¹⁸ The divided tooth band makes the vagina more explicit. Specifically, the central fangs which follow the interior of the figure's thighs, and the pair of teeth immediately above them, graphically portray the labia majora and minora of female genitalia. The eyes of the opposed faces that form the body appear to represent breasts.

Opposed faces which share a common mouth with a lip band that forms a W-shaped waistband, and breasts represented by eyes, are features shared by all the Chavín representations except the figure from the south column of the Black and White Portal (fig. 9) which has special features, and the Tello Obelisk figure (fig. 3) which is totally different.

The figure which first drew my attention to the existence of female supernaturals in Chavín (figs. 6-8) departs somewhat from accepted Chavín artistic canons in order to represent the vagina dentata. The body is again formed by two opposed faces with a shared mouth and continuous lip band, but all the teeth of the shared mouth are pointed, and they neither meet nor interlock as all teeth except fangs do in Chavín art. The mouth also has two fangs which actually cross one another. Although the phrase "crossed fangs" is frequently used to describe the opposed and elongated canines used in much Peruvian art, this is the only representation in which the fangs are literally crossed. These crossed fangs are shown at the front of the shared mouth. This nonnatural position is often used in Chavín, but never without one or more other fangs being shown further back in the mouth as in the Pacopampa figure. The shape of the eyes representing breasts is one extremely uncommon in Chavín art. In general, this depiction suggests that the opposed faces forming the vagina dentata were purely accidental, rather than originating that feature. That is, the artist was drawing a vagina dentata, and the kennings were secondary and not very well done. These comments apply to all the renderings of this particular personage that have been published.¹⁹

Another representation (fig. 4), also on a textile, is more elaborate than the preceding one, with more kennings, notably on the arms and legs. The structure of the vagina dentata is confused by the horizontal line of resist design. Nonetheless, if one eliminates these white rhomboids (fig. 5) we again see the rather squat body formed by two opposed faces with a shared mouth and a continuous lip band. In this case, however, the tops of the heads are outlined, so that the faces do not compose the entire body. Also there is a single fang at the front of the mouth, which results in one of the faces having an upside down fang or none at all; either way the symbolism of the labia is lost.²⁰ As usual, the eyes of the faces form the breasts.

Having established the existence of these female representations in Chavín Phase D, we are now in a position to consider the Phase C Tello Obelisk (fig. 3). This monument depicts two mythical caimans richly embellished with both kennings and associations that are not kennings.²¹ The two figures are depicted vertically on the stela, with their heads toward the top, and are very similar until one reaches the level of the elbow (posterior part of the forelimb, since these are not anthropomorphized, but naturalistic caimans except for having fish tails). From the elbow downwards there are systematic differences between the two, as there are differences between the elements represented above the heads of the two figures.²² For my purposes only some of these differences are important.

Tello considered both figures to be different aspects of the same deity whom he seems to have considered male.²³ Lathrap suggests that the two may be male and female but does not pursue the question, considering it insignificant for his argument.²⁴ If he is correct, then Caiman A is male and Caiman B female, on the basis of interpreting element A-24 (fig. 3b) as a penis. Element B-24, however, which should be the counterpart of A-24 and hence the genitals of Caiman A, is not clearly representational of anything, being a blocky S-shaped figure with three internal marks. The same symbol occurs on the cheeks of the Phase AB stone mortar in the University Museum,²⁵ the wings of the butterfly on a cornice which Lumbreras considers to be Phase AB,²⁶ and under the feet of the large feline from the sunken circular plaza at Chavín,²⁷ as well as on pottery from the Ofrendas Gallery.²⁸ In a more slender form it occurs as pelage markings on one of the smaller felines of the circular plaza,²⁹ associated with the Ofrendas Monster on pottery,³⁰ and on one of the Carhua (?) textiles.³¹ Unfortunately none of these occurrences relates to gender or aids in interpreting this element, so we are forced to turn elsewhere.

I am willing to argue that in those cases in which a pair of figures occurs with the figures distinguished from one another but similar and intimately associated (e.g., the Tello Obelisk, the Yaya-Mama style stelae, Robles Moqo style urns like fig. 14, and the Pachacamac staff of figs. 15-16), if the sex of one of these figures can be identified, the other is probably of the opposite sex. On the basis of this reasoning, if we accept Tello's and Lathrap's interpretations of element A-24 as a penis, then unless the S-shaped symbol on Caiman B also represents a penis, that figure is probably female.

While Lathrap considered the question of the gender of the personages on the Tello Obelisk to be unimportant to his discussion, it is clearly pertinent to mine. If the Obelisk does represent male and female deity figures, it is the earliest known example of a female deity (or female supernatural of any rank), and may also be an antecedent for the later Yaya-Mama style convention of representing male and female figures on opposite sides of a stela.

Another Chavín style figure to be considered is carved on the south column of the Black and White Portal (fig. 9). This one also has a vagina dentata, but does not otherwise resemble the earlier

examples.³² This figure is clearly a supernatural, since although it has a human body, arms and legs, it also has wings as well as the beak and talons (on both hands and feet) of a bird of prey. Unlike the painted figures, this one is shown with the head in profile and facing upward and perhaps with its back rather than front showing.³³ The personage is holding something that could be interpreted as two short staffs, one in each hand, although the barlike elements with horizontal mouth bands might be interpreted as part of the wings. Another mouth band rises vertically through the body from the juncture of the legs to about the height of the elbows, then makes a diagonal jog, only to rise vertically again to terminate at the neckband directly below the lowest point of the mouth. Although the band of interlocking teeth is uninterrupted, this vertical mouth band is not really continuous, because its lip band changes at the level of the hands, and another lip band continues upward. It is the lower portion of the lip band which continues outward in the same pattern as the previously described W-shaped waistbands, and all that is needed to make this one the same shape is for it to cross the continuous band of interlocking teeth. After this lip band jogs away from the central axis of the body, on the left side it may pass through or behind the hand, and form part of the stafflike object, but something else happens on the right which is not clear. Nonetheless, this lower lip band, which is similar in conception and form to the W-shaped ones, defines the *vagina dentata* by breaking away from the band of interlocking teeth at the point where the *vagina dentata* would normally terminate. There is, again, a single fang at the lower (outside) extreme of the mouthband as on the mouth of figs. 4 and 5. The two opposed faces on the thighs, with teeth rising up the inside of the thighs, may be simply a reiteration of the *vagina dentata* motif, or may be a different way of representing the *labia majora*, somewhat akin to the Pacopampa version.

The depiction of the *vagina dentata* creates some doubt about the orientation of the body of the figure. If, as I suggested, it is shown from the rear, then the *vagina* is severely displaced. If it is not shown from the rear, however, then where are the breasts? It could be argued that the eyes that usually represent breasts have been displaced outwards onto the wings, and that they are actually the eyes of the lowest of the row of three connected faces on each wing. On the other hand, perhaps the Chavín artists did not indicate mammary glands because they were well aware that birds are not mammals and hence do not have such appurtenances.

I have argued elsewhere that within any given art style there are certain elements that are always included to identify certain species or certain personages.³⁴ For all its mythical elaboration, the main figures on the Tello Obelisk have extremely realistic crocodilian feet, and the artists took great care to indicate the four upper fangs overlapping the lower lip of the caiman, rather than allowing their predilection for opposed fangs to represent a dental pattern that might be confused with that of a crocodile. I would argue that the use of the *vagina dentata* falls within this class of elements. That is, certain mythical

females were characterized and identified by the representation of the vagina dentata, and if this usage involved a little anatomical inaccuracy, then anatomy lost. Surely they saw no problem in representing the accompanying figure on the north column in an anatomically impossible position. Another solution, however, might relate to the somewhat X-raylike tendency of Chavín imagery in which, as Rowe has noted,³⁵ the major bony axes of the bodies are indicated by continuous mouth bands, so why not a vagina by a mouth, without regard to which side of the body one is looking at?

The accompanying figure, that on the north column of the Black and White Portal, is not apparently female, and is probably male. In addition to its opposition to the female figure on the south column, there may be an implied representation of genitals on this figure. The central fang of the downward facing agnathic mouth which forms its waistband may represent a penis. As in the case of the female, however, this figure seems to be depicted from the rear, so the penis would be severely displaced, as is the vagina. It would not, however, be at all out of character for the Chavín artist who conceived this figure to use a kenning to pun yet a third level of meaning.³⁶

I have already commented on the supernatural qualities of the figure from the south column, and there is still less doubt regarding the status of the figures on the Tello Obelisk with their elaborate kennings and fishes tails, not to mention their position on a two and a half meter high stela. The painted representations in figs. 4, 6 and 8 are closely related. Fig. 4 is the more elaborate, and has various supernatural qualities. She is in the Staff God pose, has multiple kennings, and her staffs, from which a number of plants are sprouting, seem to grow out of her feet. She is clearly a supernaturally impressive personage by Chavín standards. Figs. 6 and 8 probably represent the same personage as fig. 4, since the rather odd appendages on her staffs may easily be interpreted as plant material, although they might also be feathers. She is not so heavily kenneed as the preceding figure, but is nonetheless very impressive.

I doubt that anyone will question that the caimans on the Tello Obelisk are deities. Rowe has called the two figures on the columns of the Black and White Portal "angels" and suggests that they were attendants to a more important deity, possibly the Staff God, and this argument makes perfectly good sense.³⁷ There are reasons for considering that the painted representations of figs. 4, 6 and 8 represent a deity. Her importance is suggested by her being represented on more than one textile, and it is unlikely she is an attendant figure since she is the only personage depicted on those textiles. Although the Pacopampa figure does not have as many kennings as the Staff Goddess of figs. 4, 6 and 8, her high status is indicated by the fact that she is depicted on all sides of a free standing stone that was obviously not an architectural member, since its top is uneven.³⁸ She was almost certainly a cult object, possibly even the primary cult object at the site of Pacopampa.

Our last group of EHH female supernaturals comes from the

Yaya-Mama style of the Titicaca Basin. The female figure of the Yaya-Mama stela from Taraco was identified as such by Chávez and Chávez on the basis of the representation of breasts, which are not depicted on the figure on the opposite side of the stone.³⁹ The identification of these figures as supernatural may begin with their position on a large stone stela. Iconographically, the association with eared snakes is suggestive, as is the presence of a small, rayed face on each body, perhaps indicating the navel. The two headed snake on the female's headdress does not occur on naturalistic figures in this region, and the peculiar branching elements beneath the figures' feet are also not natural. Certain specific relationships of this stela with Stela 15 from the semi-subterranean temple at Tiahuanaco which, by its placement, probably represents a cult object, also suggest the supernatural status of this woman and her companion. On the basis of its relationship to Stela 15, this representation may be tentatively dated to EH 10, while features of the small rayed faces suggest a placement between EH 8 and EIP 4.⁴⁰ Since this style almost certainly precedes Pucara, we can place it somewhere between EH 8-10.

A common feature of the Yaya-Mama style is pillarlike stones with anthropomorphic representations on two opposite faces. Besides the Yaya-Mama stela itself, three related stelae may have a suggestion of sex when viewed in the light of Chavín representations. Two of these, a stela from Santiago de Huata, Bolivia, and one from Mocachi, Peru, each have nonnatural faces depicted on the lower portion of the body of one of the two figures represented.⁴¹ On one side of a stela from Tambo Kusi, Bolivia, there is a suggestion that there may be something similar.⁴² These strategically placed faces may refer to the vagina dentata motif, as I will explain in discussing some of the later styles.⁴³

Leaving aside the last three examples which, in any case, probably represent the same supernaturals as the Yaya-Mama stela, we find that as many as five female supernaturals can be identified in the Early Horizon. The Chavín art styles provide four of these: the Caiman Deity, the Staff Goddess, a supernatural attendant figure or angel and the deity represented by the Paco-pampa figure.⁴⁴ The Yaya-Mama female cannot be identified with any of the Chavín representations, so she represents our fifth case.

Early Intermediate Period

We have a much larger sample from the representational styles of the EIP than from those of the EH. Apparently all the areas with representational art in the EH, from the northern sierra to the Titicaca Basin, retained it, and we have Vicús, Salinar, Gallinazo, Moche, Recuay, one or more styles from Chota,⁴⁵ Nasca and Pucara. There are, however, only three of these styles that provide unequivocal supernatural females. Although women are clearly and unmistakably represented in Moche and Vicús, for example, there is no certain indication that any of them are supernatural. The possibility that some of these apparently natural women are in

fact supernatural will be discussed later.

The Pucara style has been dated to approximately EIP 1-3, and contains four identifiable female representations. All of these are stone, carved in the round, and all are identified as female on the basis of the presence of breasts. There is a rather large sample of Pucara stone carving, and these four specimens are the only ones with breasts. One of these women is quite large but shows no indication of supernatural status and will not be discussed further.⁴⁷ The second, fig. 10, may be supernatural. Standing figures are not common in Pucara sculpture, and this one is 1.4 m. tall, even without a head and base. The only element that might specifically indicate supernatural status, however, is the skeletal representation of the rib cage. The other Pucara style figures with ribs shown in this fashion are identifiably supernatural on the basis of braids ending in eared snake heads.⁴⁸ In the absence of further evidence (such as a head or a back view of this specimen), therefore, the inclusion of fig. 10 in our sample of female deities would be premature.

The other two female figures are both small and elaborately carved. The first of these lacks a head (as do so many Pucara style sculptures), is seated with her knees bent and spread to the sides while her feet are together.⁴⁹ The palms of her hands rest against her body with the outer edges on her legs. Each breast is represented by a tightly curled, eared snake. On her back two similar snakes curve down from the shoulders perhaps representing hair. A mythical frog/toad covers each upper arm, while other eared snakes whose tails interlock form a waistband or belt in front and in back. She seems to be an important personage judging from the mythological allusions.⁵⁰ The second figurine lacks part of the head, but the face is preserved.⁵¹ This is a standing figure which grasps a staff in each hand. She seems to have had an aureole around her face and has wings which are folded behind her. Her breasts are less accentuated than those of the preceding figure, indicated in this case by slight relief and incised circles. One of her staffs is crowned by a bird head, while the top of the other is missing. This figure is even more clearly supernatural than the preceding one. The two figurines probably represent two different personages, since one is winged while the other is not.

On the south coast, we find that there are two, apparently different, female supernaturals depicted in the Nasca style, although not at the same time. The earliest of these is very early Nasca 2 in style according to Lawrence E. Dawson,⁵² and thus dates to EIP 2. She is depicted as one of a pair of beings on two "Paracas" mantles.⁵³ The argument for this pair representing male and female may be followed most clearly in the representation published by Bird and Bellinger and shown in fig. 11.

The pair is shown in a more or less floating position, bodies parallel to the "ground" and more or less in profile, but with their heads vertical and facing forward. The forehead ornaments of the two figures are joined together and each figure is holding one side of another forehead ornament.⁵⁴ The argument for a sex distinction is

based on clothing, this being the earliest representation in which such an interpretation is possible.⁵⁵ Not only is it the earliest such representation, but also the most detailed rendition of female dress on any supernatural in the entire archaeological record.

The woman is wearing a shorter mantle over a wrap-around garment which extends from shoulder to ankle. The longer garment consisted of a rectangular cloth with a narrow decorated border at top and bottom, and the position of this border suggests that her dress was passed over one shoulder,⁵⁶ although it may have been pinned at each shoulder as in Inca times. The mantle is of a contrasting color, with a decorated border on the side which is visible, and probably consisted of another rectangular cloth with decorated borders at the sides.

The man is wearing a one-piece undecorated garment that reaches to above his knees in front but is considerably longer in back. As a headdress he wears the skin of a feline, the forepaws falling on either side of his face, while the long, striped tail and hind legs trail out over his back. The top of the feline's head shows as a curve above the forehead ornament, its ears depicted as small triangular shapes at each end of this curve while its eyes are located on each side of the center piece of the forehead ornament (although more clearly in the Lapiner illustration than the one shown in fig. 11). In fig. 11 the woman does not appear to be wearing a headdress and her hair is in braids, while in the Lapiner rendition she seems to be wearing a skullcap or some other close fitting, unadorned head covering. She is holding what appears to be a root, the man a feather fan. There are other systematic contrasts between these two figures, but those mentioned are probably sufficient to establish the difference in sex.

I noted earlier that the use of clothing to identify sex may be misleading. In this case, however, the clothing is very clearly represented and the garments appear to be essentially the same as those in use at the time of the European conquest. Indication of supernatural status is to be found in the fact that each figure has a single "snake" headed appendage. On the female it curves up from the end of her mantle, while it is attached to the long rear portion of the male's tunic.

These are the only representations of two associated equivalent supernaturals to be found on all the "Paracas" textiles, and the only representations I have seen of this female. All other Nasca style representations of females I consider supernatural are unclothed.

It is in the later Nasca representations, if anywhere, that we find further reference to the vagina dentata motif. All these representations are in the form of pottery figurines, an art form that occurs most commonly in Nasca Phases 5 to 7. The specific representations that may relate to the vagina dentata are quite rare, and the most explicit are found in Phase 7. These are

figures of a seated female with her legs extended in front of her and slightly separated (figs. 12-13). The genitals are indicated by a shallow incision which terminates on the lower extreme in a small hole. The breasts are slightly modeled and painted. The figure is nude except for wrist bands and painted designs. The design on the front of her body is that of an elaborate mythological face, so situated that the front, or upper, end of the incised line representing the vulva terminates in or on its mouth.

There are certain problems in relating this representation to the *vagina dentata*. In the first place, clearly the hole, and not the slit, is meant to represent the vaginal opening. Second, no teeth are shown in the mouth of the mythical face. The second point is not as telling as it might be, however, since Nasca mythological figures, with the exception of the Master of Fishes and the Humped Animal, which has a semi-agnathic mouth, rarely have teeth depicted.⁵⁷ A more serious objection to my suggested interpretation should be the existence of at least one figurine of this type with the same sort of mythological face not only in front, but on the rear with the mouth coinciding with the anus.⁵⁸ This treatment may, however, be simply a method of emphasizing that bodily orifice, since considerable artistic attention is also centered on the anus of the large Nasca 7 figurine (see fig. 12d), but no face is involved there. We do not, unfortunately, know what the treatment of the rear of fig. 13 is, except that she clearly has an elaborate mythical figure painted there.

The small size of the sample is also a problem in an uncertain case. The specimens shown in figs. 12 and 13 are so similar that they were probably made by the same person. Might we then be dealing with the aberration of an individual artist? This solution is not likely in view of the existence of a Phase 5 example that probably represents the same symbolism, although not as clearly.⁵⁹ This figure has a number of small, unit designs painted on her upper arms, upper legs, sides and back in addition to the mythical face located on the lower part of her abdomen. Her genitals are not represented, however, although the mythical face has a long protruding tongue. This figure has breasts that are painted but not modeled, and instead of having her legs fully extended, they are bent back under her, with the knees out to the sides, much like the squatting Pucara figurine. There are sufficient similarities between the Phase 5 and 7 figurines for me to suggest that they are the same personage. The possibility of her being supernatural lies in the elaborate mythical representations drawn not only on the front, but also across the lower back, of the Phase 7 figure, and the many small figures painted on the Phase 5 examples. A Phase 6 vessel, showing a coitus scene, may represent the same female, since she bears the same small unit designs as those of the Phase 5 representation painted on her arms, legs, and buttocks.⁶⁰

The Recuay style provides us with a single candidate for a female supernatural, and this one is in stone. Women can also be distinguished in Recuay ceramic art, and at least one prominent woman has been described, but none has as yet been identified as supernatural.⁶¹ Indeed, the depiction of supernatural traits on anthropomorphic figures

of any sort is extremely rare in Recuay ceramics.⁶² The stone figure in question was found at Keka-Marca near Huaraz in 1934, by Julio C. Tello, and has not been reported since.⁶³ The rectangular, cut granite slab was apparently carved only on one side, and the figure occupied almost one entire face. It is a standing figure, nude except for a simple headdress, in a pose which is standard for such figures in the Callejón de Huaylas: full face, with the elbows bent and upper arms raised, knees bent and feet turned outward; the body is rounded outward below the elbows, and the figure tends to occupy the entire elongated rectangular slab. The only illustration of this figure is not entirely unambiguous. The carving was clearly somewhat worn, and the photographer (or some other member of the party) rubbed some dark substance into the features he thought important. The lighting is relatively flat, so the difference between actual carving and worn or cracked areas is not entirely clear. Some things, nonetheless, are quite clear. Breasts are represented by two quite large circles at the level of the armpits, a feature unique to this specimen in Callejón stonecarving. The genitals show a vertically oriented slender elongated oval depression which I take to be a vagina. The ambiguity relates to some sort of apparently raised element below the vagina, and some possible incision above it. Without the possibility of examining the original there is no hope of a definitive resolution of the problem of the genitals. If one compares this figure to the many clearly male representations from the Callejón, however, it is surely not male, and the breasts are absolutely unequivocal. Perhaps we have here the representation of a hermaphrodite. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that no other piece of Callejón sculpture depicts breasts, and that there are many that show what are obviously male genitalia, I strongly suspect that this specimen is female.

As far as the supernatural status of this figure is concerned, I offer the fact that she is on a slab that was "about nine feet long, four feet wide, and twelve inches thick."⁶⁴ I find it unlikely that just any nude female would have been carved on such a scale. The only distinguishing mark on this figure is the headdress, and we do not yet know enough about the iconography of Callejón de Huaylas stone carving to be able to interpret this element.

Since even Chavín, probably the most religious of the ancient Peruvian art styles, contains representations of natural humans, we cannot argue that there is any style which depicts only supernaturals, regardless of how they are represented. It is tempting to do so, however, in the case of Moche art. Donnan has argued that most, if not all, of Moche art is nonsecular.⁶⁵ Moche has numerous representations of supernatural beings none of which can be identified as female, while there are a number of definitely female representations none of which has specifically supernatural attributes. Hocquenghem has, however, demonstrated the existence of at least one very important Moche woman,⁶⁶ and by the middle of the Middle Horizon, Moche artists were willing to represent female supernaturals on textiles, even if only for foreign consumption.⁶⁷ I think that an argument can be constructed that at least one of the seemingly natural Moche women was actually supernatural.

The scene of a deity copulating with an apparently naturalistic human female, with a number of other people and mythical creatures surrounding them, is quite well known from the Moche repertoire.⁶⁸ This scene is almost certainly the model for the MH 3 north coast press-molded scenes which will be discussed in due course. In these later scenes, the female is supernatural. Since the scene is obviously based on some incident from mythology, the Moche female may be as supernatural as her later counterpart. This point should, at least, be kept in mind when attempting to interpret Moche iconography, and the same situation of naturalistically represented supernaturals may also apply in the Recuay style.

Before the supernatural status of the apparently natural women can be established, however, a lot of careful work and rigorous analysis will be necessary; and it may turn out that they are not supernatural after all. Even disregarding these highly problematical cases, however, there are four well established female supernaturals during the EIP (two from Pucara, one for Nasca 2, and one represented in Nasca 5 and 7) as well as two more that are slightly more doubtful (one from Pucara, and the Recuay example). These examples fall in the same general regions as those of the Early Horizon: the northern and southern sierra and the south coast.

Middle Horizon

The number of representational art styles is reduced in the Middle Horizon, or at least there are fewer independent styles, since, by MH 2, virtually all representational styles had fallen under the influence of either Huari or Tiahuanaco. At the beginning of the Middle Horizon, however, Moche was still flourishing independently, and Nasca and Nievería, although under Huari influence, still represented independent iconographic traditions. In other areas, generally, the art styles were either geometric or have not been studied sufficiently to relate them to the master sequence. Moche continued to represent females with no clearly supernatural attributes, and I know of no supernatural females in Nasca 9. There are, however, female supernaturals in the Huari style and possible ones in Nievería during the first half of the Middle Horizon, and in the second half there are several styles with such representations. Although Tiahuanaco iconography does include female supernaturals, I am not considering that style in the present work. Not only do almost all the female representations come from Bolivia, but they also present a series of special problems in interpretation that have not yet been fully resolved.

Two Nievería examples may both relate to the vagina dentata motif, perhaps via the Nasca figurines of EIP 7. Both specimens date to Middle Horizon 1 and may represent two aspects of the same personage. One is modeled in the form of an anthropomorphic mythical creature of some sort, seated and holding a trophy head in each hand.⁶⁹ The feet are slightly separated and the knees bent upward. On the lower half of the body there is a face depicted within an isosceles triangle which has its base at waist level and its apex between the feet of the seated figure. This face is not clearly mythological, although the pupils of the eyes are eccentric and the open mouth is lined with teeth. The

mouth, however, is at least halfway up the height of the triangle. If this image refers to the vagina dentata, then it, together with the next piece, are the last such reference in the archaeological sequence. There is no reason to consider the figure female aside from the triangular face in the pubic area, which might, however, simply represent a design on a breechcloth.

The other Nievería piece also represents a seated figure in the same position as the last, but with nothing in its hands, which rest against the belly just above the face below.⁷⁰ There is nothing about this seated figure to suggest that it is either supernatural or female except the probably mythical face executed on the lower body. In this case, the lower face is partly modeled, with eyebrows, eyes, nose and the ridge representing teeth executed in low relief, and the mouth represented by a groove.⁷¹ There is a fairly large circular depression below the nose of this face possibly representing the navel of the seated figure. The large upcurved mouth of this face is agnathic and reaches from leg to leg of the seated figure. The teeth are painted on the ridge noted above, the eyes are painted as circles with dots in the center, and the eyebrows are also painted. The eyes and eyebrows of the seated figure are essentially the same as those of the lower face, as is its nose, but the mouth of the seated figure is a slightly raised oval with painted lips and no indication of teeth. There seems to be a clear relationship between this figure and the preceding one which makes it more likely than it otherwise might be that we have here, again, the vagina dentata represented.

It is not such minor representations as these, however, that have previously been recognized as Middle Horizon female supernaturals, but rather a series of representations in the Huari style and others related to it. The earliest representations now known date to MH 1B and are found on a group of oversized urns in the Robles Moqo style which were found in an offering deposit at Pacheco near Nasca.⁷² There appear to be two different renditions of a female deity on each urn. A full length treatment, shown in fig. 14, is repeated twice on the interior of each urn where it alternates with a male deity, while on the outside of the urn, again alternating with a full length male figure, is an abbreviated version which is accommodated around the handles as a head with an elaborate headdress.⁷³ The interior figure has been identified as female on the basis of her clothing, and the exterior figure equated with her because of the headdresses and their associations. Again, as in the Nasca 2 case, the dress is very similar to that described for females at the time of the European conquest, although it is not depicted in as much detail as the earlier representation. Later representations in related styles which do not depend on clothing for sex attribution, such as the figure on the Pachacamac staff and those in the copulation scenes from the MH 3 press molded pottery, also provide evidence for the existence of at least one important female deity in the Huari pantheon. The supernatural aspects of the personage on the Pacheco urns are "crossed" fangs, rayed face, vertically divided circular eye, Staff God pose, and her presence on this ceremonial pottery alongside the male deity. Here she is closely associated with maize, which is

represented on one of her staffs, her dress, and four times on her headdress (or rays). The abbreviated version of this goddess also has four maize ears on her headdress. She also has a number of other associations.

On her headdress are six profile bird heads and two other top view heads that might represent either fishes or snakes.⁷⁴ In the center top of the headdress is a symbol similar to those on top of the staffs of the Conchopata Deity as well as other MH 1A supernaturals, which may represent a feather plume.⁷⁵ The lower end of both her staffs is a top view fish/snake head, while the top of one staff is a maize ear and the other an enigmatic symbol frequently interpreted as another feather plume, but significantly different from the one on the headdress. This symbol appears to be either a bird or a fish seen from above. The end of the symbol opposite its apparent tail has a mouth but no other features.

This symbol appears in MH 1A as an appendage to one of the Conchopata floating angels;⁷⁶ but on the urn deity it is a major symbol, almost on a par with maize, since it appears both as a staff terminal and on her garment parallel to the three maize ears. The same symbol is also found as the center element of the headdress of the abbreviated deity on the outside of the urns. Birds are also associated with the abbreviated deity who has two profile bird heads, one terminating each of the streamers that issue from each side of her chin. Given the importance of the bird association to this deity, it is likely that the plumelike symbols represent birds, but it is also possible that they are meant to be ambiguous and represent bird/fish. Certainly the association between birds and fish is persistent on the coast and would also be reasonable in the sierra in view of the concentrations of birds along rivers and in lakes.

A later representation (fig. 16a), found at Pachacamac and dating to MH 2, is on the head of a wooden staff where it forms one side of a Janus figure (figs. 16a-c). Fig. 16a represents a full length figure with a headdress that appears to be two plumes or tassels, one falling to each side, as well as earspools, animal-head straps from the shoulders fastening to a more or less rectangular object in the center of the chest, and two longer straps that may represent tupus, since they end in concentric circles. On each side of the rectangular object are two ears of maize, probably representing breasts, and there are four more ears on the lower part of the garment. Arms, which are shared by the two figures, are at their sides. In the right hand of the female figure is a short cord that terminates at each end in a concentric circle, while the other hand holds another cord terminating in two animal heads.⁷⁷ The position of the thumbs on the two hands, however, indicates that the first cord goes with the figure bearing the maize ears, while the animal-headed cord goes with the other figure which has other such heads on its headdress and garment. These are clearly two different personages, and I believe the first is not only female, but the same deity as that represented on the Pacheco urns, while the other figure is the male deity from the same urns. I suggest this because the ears of maize clearly represent breasts, while the association of

the female figure with maize and the male figure with animal heads is the same as that found on the urns. The back to back positioning recalls the Yaya-Mama style and Tello Obelisk oppositions. The argument for supernatural status for these figures is based on their resemblance to the figures on the Pacheco urns and their position on the top of this elaborately carved staff (see fig. 15).

In contrast to the Tiahuanaco style of Bolivia, there is no recognizable representation of a female deity in Huari stonework. The large statues presumably from the site of Huari near Ayacucho have no clearcut mythological features, nor is it possible to distinguish their gender positively.⁷⁸ The small blue stone figurines, including those from Pikillaqta near Cuzco, with a single exception, represent nonmythical personages, and are also indistinguishable as to gender.⁷⁹

We have many more representations from the last half of the Middle Horizon, and all from cultures that had been influenced by Huari religious ideas and Huari-style religious iconography.

The vast majority of female supernatural representations from MH 3 and 4 are found in various poorly defined north coast and north central coast styles in the form of press molded designs, generally on unpainted blackware. I have already mentioned the commonly depicted scene of a pair of deities copulating. The bodies of both figures usually have appended rays and there are often other mythological referents in the scene.⁸⁰ The female deity, identified on the basis of similarity to MH 1 and 2 female deities, is also frequently shown on one side of a vessel which has the male deity on the opposite side,⁸¹ the ceramic equivalent of the Pachacamac staff, the Tello Obelisk and the Yaya-Mama and related stelae.

In addition to the representations on ceramics, there are three textiles from the latter half of the Middle Horizon which I consider to show female supernaturals. The first of these is a tapestry woven textile from Ancón, on which there is a panel of supernatural figures all of which clearly have breasts (fig. 17). These figures are depicted with the torso fullface and the arms out to the sides holding a knife(?) in the left hand and a staff in the right; the head and legs are shown in profile. The figures have crossed fangs, a prominent animallike snout, a waistband terminating in animal heads and two circular elements with a dot in the center which I interpret as breasts.

It is unlikely that this textile is earlier than MH 3 because of the confusion in the iconography. The upper portion of the staff and the front part of the headdress are mixed up to the point that the animal head with which the headdress should terminate in front is left floating.

The depiction of breasts on this textile is especially noteworthy, since Huari art seldom shows any sexual characteristics. In fact, only on the three textiles noted here have I found such

graphic indications. The supernatural aspects of this figure are clear: animallike snout, fangs, staff, and animal head terminals on waistband and headdress. On the basis of the animal characteristics and the garb, I suspect that this figure represents one of the attendant supernaturals, rather than the female deity already discussed.

The second textile is a painted cloth from Chimú Capac.⁸² As on the preceding specimen, the figure on this textile has breasts and a headdress with two appendages ending in animal heads. She is in the Staff God pose and holds in her left hand an object that could be interpreted as maize and in her right an object that looks like a round plate with hooks around the edge. Only the pose and headdress suggest supernatural status, while the breasts indicate female gender. Menzel notes that this specimen probably dates to MH 3.

The final example is on a tapestry bag.⁸³ The figure is very advanced Moche V in style and even more confused than the one from Ancón, but in a different way. Although it also has breasts, this figure is less clearly female because of the general iconographic confusion and the fact that the "breasts" almost certainly derive from tassels depicted on more conservative versions of the same scene.⁸⁴ The figure is clearly supernatural since a number of rays emanate from it, each terminating in a head. It may also be winged, but that is not clear. If female, this personage is the only clearly supernatural female I have yet found in the Moche style. The depiction is, however, strongly influenced by the Huari style, so it does not affect the general problem of the lack of female supernatural representations in the Moche style.

Probably because it looks most familiar to modern eyes and also because there is a considerable body of religious iconography from the tradition, the religion of the Huari Empire has been most subject to interpretation. It is tempting to try to relate Huari representations to the Inca state religion, since Huari religion was also a manifestation of the state and is also the most recent prehistoric religion for which we have extensive and detailed representations of supernaturals.⁸⁵

The principal Huari goddess is clearly associated with cultivated plants and hence most closely approximates Pachamama in the Inca pantheon. Pachamama, however, has no consort. Moreover, none of the historically recorded goddesses who do or might have consorts is specifically associated with cultivated plants. It is almost certainly the apparent pairing of the Huari deities that has resulted in the frequent suggestions of the equation of the Huari representations with the only presumed pair of Inca deities: Sun and Moon.

Some writers have done this without apparently even recognizing there might be an alternative. Menzel, however, has a carefully reasoned argument, which she has only partially published, suggesting that the female deity on the Pacheco urns may be identified with the Moon.⁸⁶ She notes that on the outside of the urns the female is depicted on a dark ground while the male is on a light one—perhaps symbolizing night and day. If one deity is associated with the night and the other the day, the most likely referents are the sun and moon, especially in

view of the historically known importance of the sun.⁸⁷ The fact that Sun and Moon are the only possible pair of deities in Inca religion suggests the equation of the Huari deities with the Inca ones.

There are a few problems with this argument. The figures on the inside of the urns have the same ground color and the outside panels may be simply the result of a conventional color alternation. Rowe has pointed out that the other kind of Robles Mogo style oversized urn in the Pacheco offering deposit, one with a band of plants on the outside and no personages at all, also has a dark ground for the two outside quadrants that coincide with the handles.⁸⁸ One might argue, however, that the plant urns were so painted in imitation of the deity urns to relate the plants to the two deities. Therefore, while it is possible that the Huari goddess is meant to represent the moon, we are not yet in a position to demonstrate this interpretation.

Whatever the identification of this goddess, there is a minimum of three female supernaturals represented in the Middle Horizon: the one from Nievería apparently related to the earlier Nasca tradition; the goddess associated with maize and a male consort; and an attendant supernatural. The Chimu Capac specimen may represent yet a fourth supernatural since she has no male companion, and may not even be associated with maize.

Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon

Of the LIP styles that have been relatively well studied, the only pottery style that is not primarily geometric is Chimu. There are female representations in Chimu iconography, but it is not clear that any of the women are supernaturals. Conversely the gender of the supernaturals represented is not clear except, perhaps, by extension from the north coast Middle Horizon tradition. There are a number of styles with figurines in the LIP, notably wooden ones from the north coast and pottery ones from the south and central coast. Although the sex of many of these figurines is clearly represented, and many are female, there is again no clear indication of supernatural status. Menzel has clearly demonstrated the probably natural character of many of the south coast figurines from the latter part of the LIP.⁸⁹

At the end of the LIP and in the Late Horizon, the Inca style tended to overwhelm most local styles in much the same way that Huari did in the Middle Horizon, with the difference that the Inca decorative style was primarily geometric. Although there are some very fancy Inca vessels bearing human representations, some of which may be identified as female on the basis of clothing, none of these has any identifiable supernatural attributes. Indeed, the Inca seem to have confined their representations of supernaturals to the specific cult objects that stood in shrines, and according to the few descriptions we have, almost all such objects as were anthropomorphic seem to have lacked noticeable supernatural attributes. These cult objects were largely, if not wholly, destroyed by European zealots.

Thus, although we have historical records regarding the Inca pantheon at the time of the European conquest, we have no contemporary depictions of these deities that we might link to the earlier record.

Associations of the Female Representations

Having now established the existence of a number of female supernaturals in the archaeological record, what can be said about these beings? If we are to attempt any interpretation in terms of their historically recorded counterparts of whom we have no surviving representations, we must first ascertain what characteristics these supernatural females have in addition to their sex. Such characteristics may be discovered by a study of the iconographic context in which the female supernaturals occur. I will first consider their association with other supernaturals, and then with other symbols.

Although the male and female caiman deities of the Tello Obelisk are joined on the same piece of stone, they are the only Chavín deities to be so united. The Staff Goddess is always represented alone (i.e., unaccompanied by other personages), as are the Smiling God and the personage of the Raimondi Stone. Although the figures encircling the sunken circular plaza at Chavín occur in groups of two apparently identical representations, each one occupies its own individual slab. Minor supernaturals may occur in rows of nonidentical individuals, as on cornices, and may also accompany a more important figure, as on some of the painted textiles, but the representation of two or more relatively high status supernaturals on the same object is exceedingly rare.⁹⁰

The Yaya-Mama style, especially its eponymous stela, frequently links male and female supernatural representations, as I have argued for the Tello Obelisk, but with such naturalistic humans that it is difficult to demonstrate that they are supernatural, in contrast to all Chavín style representations. It is not only this contrast that impedes the derivation of the Yaya-Mama style from Chavín, however, but also the considerable difference in time and space between the Tello Obelisk and the Yaya-Mama stela.

The Pucara style which seems to have succeeded Yaya-Mama in the same general area is not much easier to relate. Although there is a considerable corpus of Pucara statuary, none of it pairs male and female on a single stela. Since it is on ceramics that the Pucara artists depicted groups of figures, however, perhaps when we have a larger sample of Pucara pottery we shall find such a representation. During the time that Pucara was flourishing in the sierra there was still a tradition of a supernatural pair on the coast, as seen in the Nasca 2 mantles. From EIP 3-8, however, there are no further representations of a pair of major supernaturals of opposite sex, with the possible exception of the Nasca 6 representation mentioned earlier.

In Middle Horizon 1B there is again a major supernatural female linked to a male consort, although there are some isolated supernatural females in the Middle Horizon, also.

Aside from other beings, many supernaturals are associated with plants and/or animals that may suggest the domain over which they were believed to exert power. I have already noted that the Chavín Staff Goddess in figs. 4-5 is associated with plants. What appear to be leaves, flowers and buds (or fruit?) sprout from her staffs as well as from her headdress, while her earrings seem to be composed of a single flower on a long stem.⁹¹

Caiman B of the Tello Obelisk can be directly related to the later Staff Goddess on the basis of one of the plants (fig. 3a, element B-19) which appears on the dorsal portion of the figure, directly below the manioc plant which issues from the penis of Caiman A.⁹² It is evident that the same plant is represented on the textile and the obelisk. The fact that a plant associated with Caiman B is later associated with an unmistakably female deity reinforces the identification of Caiman B as female. Moreover, the fact that the same plant is represented on the Tello Obelisk (on which there are other plant representations, as well) and figs. 4-5, strengthens the interpretation of the leaflike elements on figs. 6-8 as plants.

There is, however, at least one Chavín female supernatural with associations that are not plants. On the south column figure (fig. 9) the only elements not readily interpreted as kennings are two perfectly naturalistic fish which depend from the stafflike elements, and a small mythical bird figure which is not attached to the main figure at all, but is probably associated with it. The symbol that occurs in the center of the chest of the Pacopampa figure appears to represent a conical shell, and may also be a reference to water.

The Yaya-Mama figure may also have been associated with plants, although Chávez and Chávez suggest that the branching motif below her feet is more likely to relate to animals. It is possible, however, that the element is intentionally ambiguous and meant to refer to both plants and animals, an association found, for example, on Pucara ceramic representations.⁹³

Although the earliest of the coastal EIP representations, the woman on the Paracas mantles, is associated with plants (a root), this association is not found with later EIP females. The elaborate Master or Mistress of Fishes representation on the back of the Nasca 7 figurine (fig. 12), clearly refers to the sea, or at least to fishes. On the other hand, the Nasca 5 figurines have no clear connection with the sea or fish. Indeed, their dominant theme might be considered trophy heads.

The Pucara figurines also show no association with plants. One of them is clearly associated with birds, while the other may be associated with water on the basis of the mythical frogs on her upper arms.⁹⁴

In the Middle Horizon we find associations that are both more specific and more varied. The association of one of the

Nievería specimens with trophy heads is interesting because it may be another link to the Nasca tradition, but it is the last Peruvian example of such an association.⁹⁵

The goddess on the interior of the Pacheco urns has more associations than any other female supernatural: maize, birds, and probably fish, while the female deity on the Pachacamac staff is most clearly associated with maize. She may be simply too small for the artist to have included any other associations, but even so, the implication is that maize is the most important referent. The later depictions from the north reinforce this maize, or at least plant, association. The complex iconography on the lower portion of the staff (fig. 15b) is almost certainly related to the figures on the top, but whether it relates to each of them individually and/or to them both together is not at all clear.

Although the late Middle Horizon females are generally associated with plants, not all of the textile representations are. The figure on the Ancón textile is directly associated with a knife and mammal heads, although there is also a band of birds that parallels the panel of female figures. And while the female in the Chimú Capac painting is probably associated with maize, in the background are birds, fish (?), snakes, mammals, and other symbols. Moreover, she is flanked on each side by a vertical row of unidentifiable winged creatures. All of these secondary associations, especially the clutter in the background, are so common on MH and LIP painted textiles of the north coastal region, however, that I hesitate to interpret them as specifically related to the female supernatural rather than the general supernatural state. The third textile is so abstract that it is almost impossible to decipher the associations.

The fact that all the Middle Horizon textile representations of female supernaturals are late and come from the north and north central coast, is probably worthy of further consideration, especially since there seem to be a greater number of Middle Horizon textiles preserved from the south coast. Perhaps there is a relationship between this fact and the historical principal female deity on the north coast.⁹⁶

Historically Documented Female Supernaturals

There is every reason to believe that there were a number of relatively independent religious traditions in Peru at the time of the Inca conquest, and later, just as there seem to have been throughout the archaeological record. Data on all religions at the time of the European conquest, even the Inca state religion, however, are very spotty and often hard to interpret. The most complete information for this period, in addition to the documentation on Inca religion, comes from the north coast,⁹⁷ the Callejón de Huaylas,⁹⁸ the Conchucos area,⁹⁹ and Huarochirí.¹⁰⁰

Only on the north coast do we find that the principal deity, the Moon, was female and not apparently connected with any male deity.

She governed the elements, watched over the food supply, and caused disturbances at sea, lightning and thunder. She gave orders for the executions of thieves and their families which were carried out by the stars, and she received sacrifices of five-year-old children. The Sun was considered male, and the sex of the Sea, another important deity, is not clear.¹⁰¹

According to Rowe, Inca state religion included at least two major female deities who were independent and did not have male consorts: Pachamama (Earth Mother), who was associated with plants; and Mamacocha (Mother Lake, or Sea), associated with water.¹⁰² There was perhaps also a third female deity, Mamaquilla (Mother Moon) who was wife of the Sun.¹⁰³ The only statement I have found on her domain in Inca religion notes that pregnant women prayed to her.¹⁰⁴ There are other female supernaturals in Inca religion and mythology, however, who were not exactly deities in the sense of the preceding three.

There is, for example, Mama Guaco, one of the founding mothers of the Incas. When this delicate lady, accompanied by Manco Capac, found that a group called Guallas resisted having their lands and waters usurped and tried to defend themselves:

Mama Guaco and Manco Capac did many cruel things to them. And they say that Mama Guaco was so fierce, that, killing one of the Guallas, she cut him up and took out his entrails and holding the heart and lungs in her mouth, with a haibinto, which is a stone tied to a cord with which she fought, in her hands went forth against the Guallas with diabolical determination. And as the Guallas saw this horrible and inhuman spectacle, fearing that the same might be done to them, they fled.... And Mama Guaco, seeing the cruel things that they had done, and fearing that they would be disgraced as tyrants because of them, decided not to leave any Guallas, thinking thus to cover themselves. And so they killed as many as they could lay their hands on, tearing unborn children from the bellies of pregnant women so that there remain no memory of those unhappy Guallas.¹⁰⁵

A description by Pedro Pizarro of the oracle of Apurimac suggests another not very gentle supernatural. She was a large, rough tree trunk encircled by a band of cut-out gold the width of a hand, on the front of which were soldered two large breasts like a woman's. The trunk was covered with the blood of offerings and dressed in fine woman's clothes. On both sides of the oracle were lined up smaller tree trunks, filling the room, all of them also bathed in blood and dressed like statues of women.¹⁰⁶

Hernández Príncipe, in his discussion of religion in the Callejón de Huaylas, frequently does not specify the sex of the huacas he mentions, and the only female huaca he refers to specifically is one of two that were said to be a married couple. All

we know of her is that she came out of a lake and, with her husband, created the domesticated camelids from the lake.¹⁰⁷ His data also remind us of another class of female supernatural which may or may not have existed prior to the Inca conquest: girls sacrificed in the Capacocha ceremonies. The children sacrificed in these ceremonies achieved an elevated supernatural rank, the author noting that they were held in higher regard than huacas and ancestors.¹⁰⁸ We do not know how many girls were sacrificed, nor how long the cult to such a supernatural may have lasted, or whether she may have been gradually assimilated to another, already existing, supernatural. Thus, any reflection of this class of supernatural would be most difficult to identify in the iconographical record.

Hernández Príncipe did not represent the first round of iconoclasts in the Callejón de Huaylas, so it is probably reasonable to suspect that most of the major figures in the local, as well as the Imperial, pantheon had already been reduced to dust and ashes, at least in their material form, before he arrived. In the case of Conchucos, however, our data refer to the initial effort to destroy native religious symbols, so they should provide a better visualization of the native religion.

Again no gender is given for many of the supernaturals. There is mention of Pachamama and the Moon (as wife of the Sun) of Inca religion, but in such a way as to indicate that their worship was simply grafted on to the local religious tradition, and it is impossible to determine to what extent their worship may have preceded the Inca conquest of the region.¹⁰⁹ There is also, however, considerable information on what appear to be local deities, one of whom is female. Although she is not quite at the top of the local supernatural hierarchy, we are given a rather detailed description:

...Guagalmojon was...a statue like a woman, her shameful womanly parts exposed, and the devil caused the Indians to understand that there the Indians were engendered and multiplied. This [statue] had very elegant woman's clothing with silver topos, which are what the clothing is fastened with, and a vincha of the same [material], which is what holds back the hair, and some cutting implements that the Indian women are accustomed to bring for her service: they held great festivals for her, but the fathers burned her so that they not engender more sons of perdition.¹¹⁰

The emphasis on her genitals is interesting, since at no time does the author refer to the depiction of male genitals. It seems, therefore, that we may infer a more detailed representation than the barely indicated vulva commonly shown on small Inca figurines so often used as offerings. The only information on the domain of this deity is the suggestion, quoted above, that she was associated with human fertility.

The accounts from Huarochirí provide us with several more supernatural women.¹¹¹ By far the most important of these is

Chaupiñamca, considered to have created human beings. She was related in various ways to several important mythical males, and is most clearly related to human sexuality. The form in which she was found by the Spanish was as a stone figure with five wings (?).¹¹²

Another important female supernatural of whom we have no clear description is Hurpayhuachac, the wife of Pachacamac, who kept all the fishes in her house and who tried to kill Coniraya.¹¹³ Mention is also made of Manañamca, who also had a male consort, and fought fiercely though unsuccessfully against those who drove her companion from his domain.¹¹⁴ In Huarochiri there were also several lesser female supernaturals, one of whom was associated with an irrigation canal.¹¹⁵ Finally there were two huacas, husband and wife, in the town of Casta where they were "worshipped so that water would not lack."¹¹⁶

Conclusions

It appears probable that there were female supernaturals in the Peruvian pantheon at the very least from EH 3 on, but there are gaps in the record even if we settle for a single female deity located anywhere within Peru at a given time. There are, for example, no clear candidates for EH 7, EIP 4, 6 and 8, and most of the LIP. Nonetheless, it is likely that at any given time and place there was not one but several female supernaturals of varying ranks. It is equally likely that we do not have a complete inventory of these females for any time or place including the historically documented religions.

From the earliest representations, female supernaturals are associated with plants, birds, and water (or more specifically water dwellers). The association of these women with trophy heads seems to be confined to the south coast in the EIP with an extension into the central coast in the first epoch of the MH. That is, it appears more or less at the height of the preoccupation with trophy heads on the south coast. Indeed, the female supernaturals identified in the course of this work are surprisingly consistent in their associations, and this consistency reinforces the other lines of identification. The consistency is negative as well as positive. Female supernaturals are never intimately associated with any projectile weapon (spear throwers and darts or bow and arrow) or with flanking attendant animals, and never wear a feline headdress, all elements that are often associated with nonfemale supernaturals.

We can parallel in historically recorded material the female deities associated with plants and with fish and water. The only possible association between a female supernatural and birds, however, is the form of the image of Chaupiñamca, although birds often play important roles in mythology. On the other hand, since we have little information on the relationship of any deity to the world and the things in it, an association with birds may simply not have been reported.

Even the representations with trophy heads can be shown to be more than a temporary manifestation of a particularly sanguinary moment in Peruvian culture history. In spite of the tendency for many interpreters of ancient religions to assume that female deities are related only to plants and fertility, it is clear that in ancient Peru such was not invariably the case. Although the Chavín Staff Goddess owes much of her formidable aspect to the conventions of the art style (something students of that style are too prone to forget), nonetheless, she lacks much of the quiet charm of the Smiling God, and may not have been nearly as nice as we are wont to picture agricultural deities. While the Nievería figures are associated with trophy heads as are the Nasca 5 figurines, the Nasca 7 figurine is associated with the Master or Mistress of Fishes, a sanguinary supernatural often depicted with a knife in one hand and a trophy head in the other.

These prehistoric examples find their parallels in historical supernaturals. Outstanding in her ferocity is Mama Guaco, but Hurpayhuachac and Mamañamca are worthy companions for her; while the Moon of the north coast originated the rather grisly executions of thieves even though she did not actually carry them out. Thus, it is clear that the Nasca and Nievería representations were not an isolated quirk in a cosmovision populated by gentle, loving women.

It is impossible on the basis of the present evidence to trace any of the supernatural females with sufficient accuracy to establish whether we are dealing with the same personages over a span of some 3000 years, or whether there are a series of different religions and religious concepts involved that simply have similar visual aspects. It has long been recognized that there is considerable thematic continuity in Peruvian iconography, but the difference between similarity and identity is great. We cannot, for example, prove that the pair of divinities represented on the Tello Obelisk, the Yaya-Mama stela and the "Paracas" mantles are the same (or different), and even less can we tell whether any (or all) of them are the same as the pair depicted in the Middle Horizon. To take either position is to engage in pure speculation. Equally speculative is any effort to link any of these pairs to any of the pairs of historically recorded deities.

New archaeological findings and a more intensive study of material already available will surely fill in some of the gaps in the record I have attempted to document. As we are able to trace specific personages through time and space, and especially as we shake off stereotyped interpretations of these personages and replace them by identifications based on careful iconographic analysis, we shall recreate the mythical world of the ancient Peruvians and perhaps reconstruct some of that ancient religious tradition destroyed by the European invasion.

Special Acknowledgement

An iconographic study of the type presented here can easily slide into the realm of speculation unless it is firmly tied to a

chronological framework. Without the carefully established local seriated sequences, and the master sequence for the Ica Valley that ties the various regional sequences together, it would be virtually impossible to discuss the relationships of diverse representations. For example, the problems involved in relating the Tello Obelisk to the Yaya-Mama stela would not be at all apparent but, on the other hand, neither would the rather close temporal relationship of these two monuments. The pioneering iconographic studies of Tello, Yacovleff and Carrión Cachot were all flawed to a greater or lesser extent by the lack of chronological control.¹¹⁷ Indeed, it is still not possible to deal adequately with the late press molded styles of the north coast because of the lack of suitable chronologies.

It is too easy for all Peruvianists to forget how much we owe to the fine relative chronology we have, and to the fact that without it we would be in the same boat as most other archaeologists in the New World, wallowing around in time spans of 500 years or longer. This relative chronology exists because of the work of a relatively small number of people, above all the work of Dorothy Menzel, John H. Rowe, and Lawrence E. Dawson, and it is to these three that I express my very special and heartfelt thanks for making this work possible.

Acknowledgements

Any work of the areal and temporal scope of this one must depend in great part on the expertise and labor of others. Alan Sawyer, Junius Bird, David Hatch, Peter Roe, and John Rowe graciously provided me with their photographs and, in the case of Roe drawings, both for study and for publication. Ruth Shady Solís and Hermilio Rosas La Noire not only supplied me with their photographs of the Pacopampa stela, but made a special trip to Pachacamac to photograph the Pachacamac staff for me, as well as providing measurements and other information regarding these specimens. To these colleagues I am profoundly grateful. Anne Paul took the trouble to transport the photographs from Peru to the United States so that they would arrive safely and in time for publication. Karen Bruhns volunteered to draw the Nasca 2 pair for me, and Catherine J. Julien inked my original tracing of fig. 5. John Rowe was a great help in tracking down published illustrations of pertinent specimens, as was Lawrence Dawson, who also was kind enough to provide phase attributions for all the Nasca style materials. Steven A. Wegner has been especially helpful in seeking out female depictions and bringing them to my attention. Alana K. Cordy-Collins provided the motivation for me to get my ideas down on paper, while Karen Bruhns nagged me unmercifully until I finished the work. John Rowe, as usual, helped keep my interpretations within the limits set by the evidence and provided excellent editorial recommendations.

I am immensely grateful to all these people, and in token of my heartfelt thanks, I hereby absolve them entirely of any responsibility for the content of this study unless otherwise noted.

October 20, 1978

NOTES

¹ See, for example, vols. II and III of the journal *Allpanchis Phuturinga*, published in Cuzco by the Instituto de Pastoral Andina in 1970 and 1971 respectively. Vol. II deals with the supernatural world of south Andean Peru, while vol. III refers to south Andean rites related to agriculture and livestock.

² Throughout the body of this work, when the term supernatural is used, it is intended in the sense of not natural, not necessarily better than natural. While a number of the supernaturals depicted appear to be deities or other more or less divine personages, not all of them are necessarily thought to represent such beings.

³ Chávez and Chávez, 1969; 1976.

⁴ See Rowe, 1971, p. 117.

⁵ This figure, here reproduced from a photo provided by Alan R. Sawyer, was used to illustrate a paper presented by Scott Watson (ms.).

⁶ See, for example, Cordy-Collins, 1976.

⁷ Hocquenghem, 1977.

⁸ Proskouriakoff (1961, pp. 83-84), for example, was able to isolate a Maya glyph which apparently indicates feminine gender.

⁹ Kauffmann Doig (1978a, p. 17) has noted the tendency in most ancient Peruvian art styles to depict all individuals asexually. That is, all representations are stylized and frequently do not obviously depict either men or women, any more than the children resemble real children, but rather miniature adults.

¹⁰ Rowe, 1971, p. 117.

¹¹ Rowe, 1962; Donnan, 1975.

¹² Although there is representational art prior to the Early Horizon, I have not encountered any specimen that represents a supernatural female before that time.

¹³ Rowe, 1977a.

¹⁴ Unless I have noted otherwise, all style and phase attributions, as well as relative dates, are based on my independent evaluation of the evidence. The fact that my dating agrees with others is simply a mark of the reliability of the techniques.

¹⁵ For a discussion of the dating of this style, see Chávez and Chávez (1976, pp. 64-66) and Rowe (1974, p. 323).

¹⁶ Thompson, 1966, vol. 3, p. 164; motif number F547.1.1.

¹⁷Since I have not had an opportunity to examine the original specimen, this description is based on photographs kindly provided by Ruth Shady Solís and Hermilio Rosas La Noire.

¹⁸See Rowe, 1962, figs. 10 and 28, for example.

¹⁹One of the two personages represented on painted textiles is depicted on more than one fragment. There are at least three fragments portraying a minimum of five and a maximum of six representations of the personage shown in figs. 6 and 8 (see also Cordy-Collins, 1976, p. 63, fig. 43b). While these scraps represent at least two webs, they could well have been sewn together originally to form the border of a single textile. The personage in fig. 4a is unique, and it is not clear that any selvedge is preserved on the fragment. There may have been another figure above this one in reverse position, so that they would have been head to head, as suggested by Cordy-Collins (p. 77), but John Rowe pointed out to me that the alignment is not exact, so at the moment we are left with a single example of this figure. There is no sign that any other, different, personage is associated with any of these female figures on the textiles. The textiles in question are the result of apparently extensive looting, purportedly at the site of Carhua on the south coast.

²⁰In general terms, such asymmetry is unacceptable in Chavín art, but the same single fang occurs in the two large, opposed faces in the top center of the main figure on a painted textile said to be from Callango (Rowe, 1962, fig. 30). It should also be noted that the eyes of these same opposed faces are almost identical to those that form the breasts of figs. 6-8.

²¹In dealing with Chavín art one must not confuse associations with kennings and vice versa. The distinction is relatively simple to make, since kennings follow a distinct set of rules as noted by Rowe (1962; 1967) and Roe (1974). Associations, while doubtless following their own set of rules, nonetheless appear to be items simply appended or placed in close proximity to the figure with which they are associated, as in the case of the plants sprouting from the staffs of the Staff Goddess or the small figures above the heads of the Tello Obelisk figures.

²²Lathrap (1973; 1977) discusses these differences in some detail. Henceforth, I shall refer only to the 1977 reprint of his article.

²³Tello, 1923, p. 286.

²⁴Lathrap, 1977, p. 339.

²⁵Rowe, 1962, fig. 14E; Lapiner, 1976, fig. 131. Ubbelohde-Doering, 1954, p. 236 bottom, illustrates the other side and face of this mortar.

²⁶Lumbreras, 1977, fig. 53.

²⁷Lumbreras, 1977, fig. 47.

²⁸Lumbreras, 1971, fig. 14E.

²⁹Lumbreras, 1977, fig. 32.

³⁰Lumbreras, 1971, fig. 18.

³¹Cordy-Collins, 1976, fig. 58.

³²The fact that this figure also has a vagina dentata was first drawn to my attention by Elois Ann Berlin. Peter Roe arrived independently, and for other reasons, at the conclusion that this figure is female (personal communication).

³³My interpretation of the position of the figure is based on the angle at which the elbows are bent combined with the position of the hands.

³⁴Lyon, ms.

³⁵Rowe, 1967, p. 80.

³⁶Peter Roe (personal communication) independently identified this figure as male, but I do not know the basis for his identification.

³⁷Rowe, 1962, p. 19.

³⁸John Rowe contributed materially to the clarification of my reasoning regarding the status of this figure as a cult object.

³⁹Chávez and Chávez, 1976, p. 47 and figs. 1, 2.

⁴⁰See note 16.

⁴¹Chávez and Chávez, 1976, figs. 4a, 4d, 5a. In general Bolivian material has not been included in this study, but these specimens are so intimately related to Peruvian ones, and to my argument, that I decided to include them.

⁴²Chávez and Chávez, 1976, fig. 6a.

⁴³Chávez and Chávez, (1976, p. 47) concluded that similar faces on the Yaya-Mama stela represented the navels of the two figures. While such may also be the case with the Mocachi figure, the two Bolivian examples have other elements that appear to represent navels, so the faces must have some other meaning.

⁴⁴There are two additional figures drawn by Cordy-Collins (1976, figs. 47a-47b) which I originally interpreted as representing a female supernatural with a vagina dentata. However, an examination of the photograph upon which Cordy-Collins' fig. 47a was based, as well as a photograph of the textile fragment she shows in fig. 47b, led me to

conclude that the figure is sufficiently ambiguous so that it should not be included in the present inventory.

The possibility cannot be ignored that the figure represented on the Chavín Phase EF Raimondi Stone (Rowe, 1962, fig. 16; 1967, fig. 10) is also female. Although it does not have a *vagina dentata* as do the earlier examples, there is a vertical mouth band down the center of this frontface figure. The mouth band is terminated, however, by a waistband in the form of a horizontal agnathic mouth, much like that on the north column figure of the Black and White Portal with the exception that the waistband on the Raimondi Stone personage does not have a central fang. It is possible that in Phase EF, the conventions of the *vagina dentata* had become somewhat obscured, blending into a representation similar to that of the north column figure. Such variations would accord well with the anomalies noted in Cordy-Collins' figs. 47a-b, which are also probably EF in style, and where the eyes on the figures' chests have been rotated 90° so that the eyebrow is horizontal at the bottom of the eye rather than vertical as in the earlier examples. Since there are a number of unquestionable female representations in the Chavín style, however, I prefer to leave these uncertain examples aside for the moment in order not to weaken my general argument.

⁴⁵Shady Solís and Rosa La Noire, 1976.

⁴⁶Rowe and Brandel, 1971, p. 3.

⁴⁷Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 92 (back view), 95. Posnansky identified this figure as male (caption to fig. 95), apparently confusing its protuberant navel with a penis. So far we know of no representation in the Pucara style which depicts either male or female genitals. This specimen, as well as the two shown with it in fig. 92, were found in Bolivia, but are considered here since the center of Pucara style art is clearly in Peru and it would be simply arbitrary to exclude Bolivian specimens from consideration.

⁴⁸Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, figs. 92-94. It may be significant that the other large female figure was apparently associated with these two supernatural, semiskeletal, asexual figures.

⁴⁹Chávez, 1976, fig. 6a-d.

⁵⁰Although the use of kennings disappears from Peruvian art with the end of the Chavín style, in many areas there persisted a number of visual references which identify supernatural beings and their domains.

⁵¹Rowe, 1977a, figs. 15-19.

⁵²Dawson, personal communication.

⁵³Bird and Bellinger, 1954, pls. LXXII, LXXIII; Lapiner, 1976, fig. 180. The term "Paracas" is used here to refer to a class of textiles

most of which originated from sites on the Paracas peninsula; it is not used as a style name.

⁵⁴While clearly a forehead ornament in the rendition published by Lapiner (1976, fig. 180), in fig. 11 the second element might represent a trophy head.

⁵⁵I had identified this pair as male and female before reading the caption in which Bird and Bellinger also do so (1954, captions to pls. LXXII and LXXIII, see also p. 70). Lawrence Dawson had also noted the existence of this pair as male and female.

⁵⁶This arrangement is especially clear in the Lapiner version.

⁵⁷For Master of Fishes see Yacovleff (1932a, fig. 3), for Humped Animal (in one of its Nasca versions) see Sawyer (1968, fig. 465). Following Yacovleff (1932a), the fishlike supernatural of Nasca and Paracas art has frequently been referred to as the Killer Whale (e.g., Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, 1964, pp. 248-249; Proulx, 1968, *passim*). After seeing a real killer whale, however, I became convinced that these representations could not possibly depict this sea mammal. After considerable discussion and research, John Rowe and I reread Yacovleff's original argument and noted several points of interest. The keystone of our argument is the testimony of various fishermen along the Peruvian coast which was gathered by Yacovleff (pp. 123-124). Yacovleff had apparently never seen a killer whale, and neither had some of his informants. He gathered his data by inquiring about the "boto or bota" (p. 123), assuming that all the information he received referred to the real animal. In fact, he clearly gathered a mixture of direct observation, hearsay and folklore, and it is the last that is most interesting here. "Around Chilca, a fisherman said that they called the animal 'Governor of the fishes': it is the most fearful and dangerous of the inhabitants of the sea" (Yacovleff, 1932a, p. 124; my translation). This statement immediately explained the various anomalies of the "Killer Whale" representations: the anthropomorphic aspects; depiction with knife and trophy head; and the combination of attributes of various denizens of the sea, not just the killer whale. The Nasca were clearly representing the Master (or Mistress) of Fishes—that supernatural being who has in its charge all water creatures and who is in a position to provide rich fishing to those who please it and destroy those who do not. The concept of a Master (or Mistress) of Fishes is widespread in South America (see Zerries, 1969, pp. 263-266) and there is no reason to doubt that it was present prehistorically. Indeed, probably the giant anthropomorphic fish represented in Moche art (which has no whale attributes whatsoever) is the Moche version of the same concept. Be that as it may, Rowe and I are convinced that it is the supernatural Governor of the Fishes that was represented by the Paracas and Nasca artists. In the course of various lectures delivered at the University of California, Berkeley, from March-June, 1977, Donald W. Lathrap also mentioned his belief that the Nasca "Killer Whale" represents the Master of Fishes, having arrived at this conclusion by an entirely different and independent line of reasoning.

⁵⁸Lothrop and Mahler, 1957, pl. IXd and IXd'.

⁵⁹Schlesier, 1959, Abb. 232; Lommel, 1968, p. 102, Abb. 50. There is yet another Phase 5 figure which may cast some doubt on the symbolism of the preceding one, since her genitals are not directly associated with the mythical face, although otherwise she is very similar (Lapiner, 1976, fig. 509; Kauffmann Doig, 1978a, p. 31 top).

⁶⁰Schlesier, 1959, Abb. 235.

⁶¹Reichert, 1978, p. 31; Reichert and O'Neil, ms.

⁶²See however Ubbelohde-Doering, 1954, p. 164; Milla Batres, 1975, p. 141, F/130.

⁶³Roosevelt, 1935, pp. 33, 36. This representation was drawn to my attention by Steven Wegner who also informed me that he had not been able to locate the figure during his survey of the area in 1978. The stylistic identification of the figure as Recuay was also provided by Wegner.

⁶⁴Roosevelt, 1935, p. 36. The same author indicates the stela was called Copcha Wilka (pp. 33, 36). Hernández Príncipe (1923, p. 32), in his account of the religion of the Callejón de Huaylas reports that one of the huacas of the Caquimarca ayllu was named Capcha Villca, but does not give the sex of any of the huacas of the ayllu. Since Roosevelt does not state whether the name was in fact a local name or might be one given by Tello to identify the figure, it is impossible to evaluate the significance of this coincidence in naming.

⁶⁵Donnan, 1976, pp. 130-136.

⁶⁶Hocquenghem, 1977.

⁶⁷See Banco de Crédito, 1977, pp. 74 left, 75; this specimen is from Ancón (see caption p. 74), but is clearly advanced Moche V in style.

⁶⁸E.g., Kauffmann Doig, 1978a, pp. 67, 170-171; Donnan, 1976, fig. 1.

⁶⁹Kauffmann Doig, 1973, fig. 482; Milla Batres, 1975, p. 209, F/213.

⁷⁰Kroeber, 1954, frontispiece and fig. 28.

⁷¹This face is very similar in form and detail to the one on a Chimu stirrup spout bottle illustrated by Rowe (1971, fig. 20).

⁷²Menzel, 1964, p. 26.

⁷³Bennett, 1954, fig. 82. Posnansky (1958, vol. III, pl. LVIII.b.) reproduces a rather poor rendering of the same American Museum of Natural History specimen.

⁷⁴My interpretation of these heads as possibly fishes rests largely on Posnansky's identification of fishes in Tiahuanaco iconography (1945, vol. I, fig. 7, pl. XXVIII.c). If, for example, one were to look down on the top of a fish like the one carved in the plastered wall of Cerro Sechín (Lumbreras, 1974, fig. 72c), the mouth might well appear like those shown on these heads. Since these heads have, however, been identified by others as snakes, presumably because they lack ears, and that is a plausible identification, I prefer to use the term fish/snake when referring to them.

⁷⁵Menzel, 1977, figs. 62, 67, 91.

⁷⁶Menzel, 1977, fig. 63 upper left.

⁷⁷See Kauffmann Doig, 1973, p. 448.

⁷⁸See, for example, Lumbreras, 1974, fig. 177; Tello, 1970, pp. 522, 525.

⁷⁹Valcárcel, 1933, láms. I-V and X, figs. 1-n; Engl and Engl, 1969, fig. 25; Banco de Crédito, 1977, p. 110. The mythical figurine is shown by Valcárcel (lám. X, fig. n) and Banco de Crédito (extreme right).

⁸⁰See, for example, Carrión Cachot de Girard, 1959, figs. 67-68, 71-72, 90-91, 93-95.

⁸²Menzel, 1977, fig. 56.

⁸³Banco de Crédito, 1977, pp. 74 left, 75.

⁸⁴See Donnan, 1976, fig. 6; Banco de Crédito, 1977, p. 77.

⁸⁵See Menzel (1969, pp. 93-94) for comments on parallels between the Inca and Huari pantheons.

⁸⁶Menzel, 1964, p. 26; 1977, pp. 54-55.

⁸⁷Menzel, personal communication; it is the step from night and day to sun and moon that Menzel has omitted in her publications.

⁸⁸John H. Rowe, personal communication; see Ravines (1969, fig. 84) for an illustration of one of the plant urns.

⁸⁹Menzel, 1968.

⁹⁰Rowe, 1962, fig. 27; Banco de Crédito, 1977, p. 25.

⁹¹Bird (1973, p. [31]) and Cordy-Collins (1976, p. 77) have identified the plant represented as cotton (Gossypium barbadense).

⁹²Lathrap (1977, p. 342) had identified this plant as a bottle gourd (Lagenaria siceraria). For the purposes of the present study, the specific identification of the plant in question is unimportant.

⁹³Rowe and Brandel, 1971, fig. 17.

⁹⁴I have avoided the discussion of snakes, which are frequently associated with supernaturals of all sexes, due to the difficulty of interpreting them. Snakes may have one head or one on each end, often have ears and sometimes whiskers, or a combination of some or all of these elements. I suspect that the symbolism of the various kinds of snakelike representations varies in space and time. I am sure that a number of them derive, originally, from Chavín kennings. They clearly merit a separate study.

⁹⁵Although the association of female supernaturals with trophy heads ends in Peru in MH 1, the MH 2 Tiahuanaco-style Bennett Monolith has in the middle of its back what is almost certainly a female representation which is holding two objects, each of which contains two trophy heads, in her hands (Posnansky, 1945, vol. II, fig. 113a).

⁹⁶Calancha, 1638, p. 552.

⁹⁷Rowe, 1948; Calancha, 1638.

⁹⁸Hernández Príncipe, 1923.

⁹⁹Primeros Agustinos, 1918.

¹⁰⁰Dioses y Hombres, 1966. Although there are other sources which present mythology and folklore from around the time of the European conquest, they are unaccompanied by information on actual religious practice and belief. It is extremely difficult to attempt to determine which, if any, of the personages mentioned in myth and legend may or may not be depicted in local art. For this reason, in the following discussion, I prefer to deal with kinds of personages and associations rather than attempt to establish one to one correspondences with specific known deities.

¹⁰¹Calancha, 1638, pp. 552-555.

¹⁰²Rowe, 1946, p. 295.

¹⁰³There is sufficient lack of agreement about the status of the Moon in Inca religion among early writers, so that I prefer to leave the question open. There is a reasonable likelihood that the Moon was added to the Inca pantheon because of her importance in the religions of some of the conquered peoples. The entire question is one that must be dealt with some time, but not in the present paper.

¹⁰⁴Ramos Gavilán, 1976, p. 82.

¹⁰⁵Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1947, pp. 129-130; my translation.

¹⁰⁶Pizarro, 1944, p. 73.

¹⁰⁷Hernández Príncipe, 1923, p. 37.

- 108 Hernández Príncipe, 1923, pp. 62-63.
- 109 Primeros Agustinos, 1918, pp. 40-41.
- 110 Primeros Agustinos, 1918, pp. 33-34; my translation.
- 111 These accounts are at once more complete and, in some ways, more confusing than the preceding ones. There are at least two, and possibly three separate but interlocked sets of tales that involve females, and there are also comments on local variations. I have not attempted here to do more than abstract the main figures and their most salient characteristics.
- 112 Dioses y Hombres, 1966, pp. 72-75, 84-89.
- 113 Dioses y Hombres, 1966, pp. 26-29, 86-87, 204-205.
- 114 Dioses y Hombres, 1966, pp. 58-60.
- 115 Dioses y Hombres, 1966, pp. 48-53. Although this woman did not have any overtly supernatural aspects attached to her, she was finally converted to stone, and was the recipient of considerable ritual.
- 116 Dioses y Hombres, 1966, p. 265.
- 117 For example, Tello, 1923; Yacovleff, 1932a; 1932b; Carrión Cachot de Girard, 1959.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate XXVII

Fig. 1. Drawing based on specimen shown in fig. 2a, after Larco Hoyle, 1945, p. 3 left; see also Kauffmann Doig, 1973, fig. 182; 1978b, p. 268 left. The drawing was cropped slightly on the top and sides in the original and all subsequent publications.

Fig. 2a. Front view of block statue female deity. Found by Rafael Larco Hoyle in the plaza of the town of Pacopampa where it had been placed by some of the local inhabitants (Ruth Shady Solís, personal communication). Height on left, 110 cm., on right, 105 cm.; width, 45 cm.; thickness, 23 cm. Museo Rafael Larco Herrera. Photo by Hermilio Rosas La Noire (see also Larco Hoyle, 1963, fig. 47).

Fig. 2b. Back view of specimen shown in fig. 2a. Width of waistband, 7.5 cm.; length of waistband, 40 cm. Photo by Hermilio Rosas La Noire.

Plate XXVIII

Fig. 3. Roll-out of the reliefs on the Tello Obelisk from Chavín, based on rubbings made by John H. Rowe. Total height of original, 252 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima. Drawings courtesy of John H. Rowe (originally published in Rowe, 1967, figs. 6-7; on a somewhat larger scale in Rowe, 1977b, figs. 6-7; on a still larger scale with key as overlay in Rowe, 1973, figs. 6-7. Compare Tello, 1923, vol. I, lám. I. Photo in Rowe, 1962, fig. 6).

Plate XXIX

Fig. 4a. Painted textile fragment with representation of a Staff Goddess. Carhua? 33 x 35.6 cm. Private collection. Photo by Junius B. Bird.

Fig. 4b. Detail of center of figure in fig. 4a. Photo by Junius B. Bird.

Fig. 5. Drawing by the author based on figs. 4a-b and other detail photographs of the specimen provided by Junius B. Bird (compare Cordy-Collins, 1976, fig. 51).

Plate XXX

Fig. 6. Painted textile fragment with representation of a Staff Goddess. Carhua? 86.5 x 72.5 cm. Private collection. Photograph courtesy of Alan R. Sawyer (see also Sawyer, 1972, fig. 9; color photo in Lapiner, 1976, fig. 116; drawing in Cordy-Collins, 1976, fig. 43a).

Fig. 7. Drawing based on specimen shown in fig. 8. Drawing by Peter G. Roe (same drawing in Roe, 1974, fig. 14; Cordy-Collins, 1976, fig. 185).

Fig. 8. Painted textile fragment with representations of a Staff Goddess, probably part of the same textile as that shown in fig. 6, but a different web. Carhua? See fig. 7. Photo by Peter G. Roe.

Plate XXXI

Fig. 9. Roll-out and reconstruction of female attendant supernatural figure from the south column of the Black and White Portal, Chavín, Ancash. Height of carved area, 90 cm. Drawing based on a rubbing by Fred D. Ayres (Rowe, 1962, fig. 9) and on rubbings and drawings by John H. Rowe. Courtesy of John H. Rowe (also in Rowe, 1967, fig. 9; 1977b, fig. 9; on a larger scale in Rowe, 1973, fig. 9. Photo of column in Lumbreras, 1967, p. 51; detail photo in Rowe, 1974, fig. 299).

Fig. 10. "La mujer decapitada" (Valcárcel, 1935, p. 28, a), headless figure of probable supernatural female. Qaluyu. 140 x 42 cm. Photograph by Abraham Guillén M. (also in Valcárcel, 1935, fig. 13; 1937, fig. 5; drawing in Kauffmann Doig, 1978b, p. 291, fig. 2).

Fig. 11. Pair of male and female supernaturals from border of Nasca 2 textile. Maximum length of the pair, approximately 12.5 cm. Textile Museum 91.216. Drawn by Karen O. Bruhns from color photograph in Bird and Bellinger, 1954, pl. LXXIII (see also same source, pl. LXXII).

Fig. 12. Drawings of pottery figurine and painted details on specimen, probably representing supernatural female. Provenience given as Nazca (Seler, 1923, p. 263; Eisleb, 1977, p. 104) or Pisco (Schmidt, 1929, p. 589). Height given as 25.2 cm. (Eisleb, same page) or 21.5 cm. (Schmidt, same page). Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin VA 50926. After Seler, 1923, Abb. 208 (also in Schlesier, 1959, Abb. 234; see also photos in Schmidt, 1929, p. 299; Eisleb, 1977, Abb. 203).

Plate XXXII

Fig. 13. Pottery figurine probably representing female supernatural and detail of same specimen. Photographed in 1966 in Museo Regional de Ica. Photos by David P. Hatch.

Fig. 14. Interior of a Robles Moqo style urn from the Pacheco (Nasca) offering deposit excavated by Julio C. Tello in 1927. Female deity flanked by two depictions of same male deity (facing female deity is not visible in this view). Height of reconstructed and restored specimen about 75 cm. Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, Lima. Photo by Donald A. Proulx (also in Rowe, 1977a, fig. 10).

Fig. 15. Drawing of entire staff and roll-out of design on shaft of staff shown in fig. 16. Height of complete staff, 270 cm. After Kauffmann Doig, 1978b, p. 449, figs. 1a-b (see also Kauffmann Doig, 1973, p. 448).

Plate XXXIII

Fig. 16. Staff head representing a male and female Janus figure. The staff was made of lúcumá wood and was found at Pachacamac in 1938 by Alberto Giesecke (information from museum label and provided by Ruth Shady Solís, personal communication). Staff diameter 14 cm. Site museum, Pachacamac. Photographs by Hermilio Rosas La Noire.

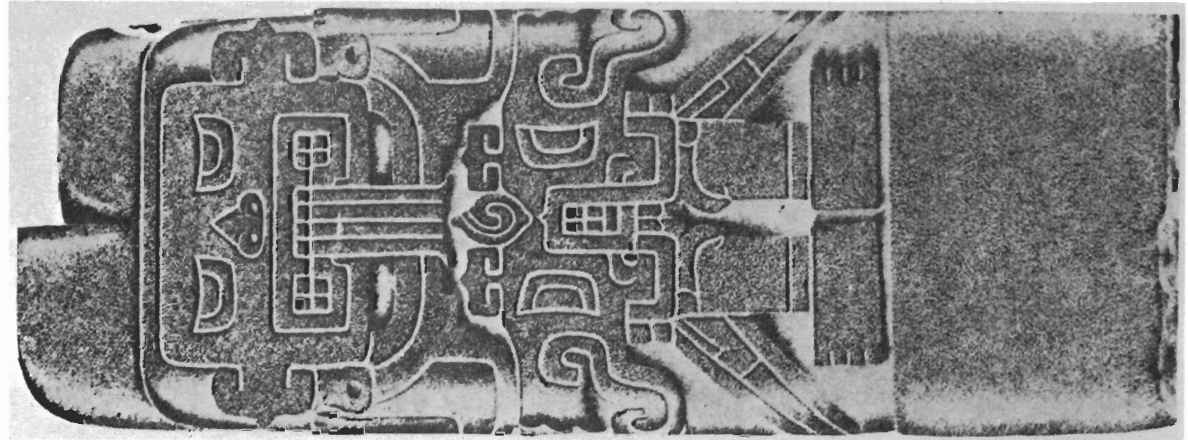
Fig. 16a. Female supernatural (see also Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología, 1963, lám. X).

Fig. 16b. Side view (see also Disselhoff, 1974, p. 366 left).

Fig. 16c. Male supernatural (see also Disselhoff, 1974, p. 366 right; color photo in Pardo V., 1974, p. [6] top).

Plate XXXIV

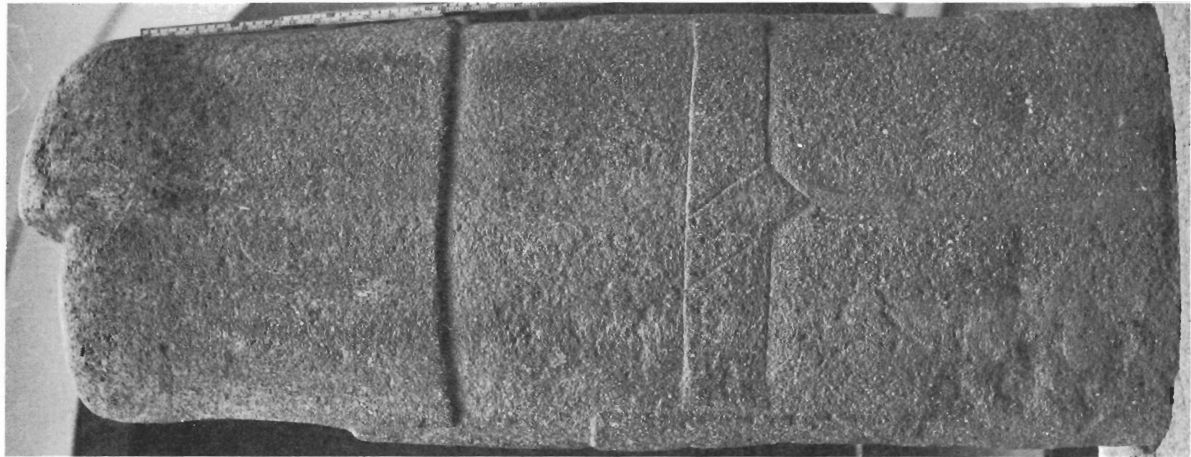
Fig. 17. Portion of a tapestry composed of narrow bands sewed together (Basler and Brummer, 1928, p. XX) with a column of female supernaturals represented on one of the bands. Ancón. From a color photograph in Basler and Brummer (1928, color plate III, facing fig. 110) who give the catalogue number in the Musée de Trocadéro, Paris, as 4.434 (see also rather poor drawing in Wiener, 1880, p. 47).



1



2a



2b

Plate XXVII. Pacopampa Chavin style, Early Horizon 6-7. See Key to Illustrations.

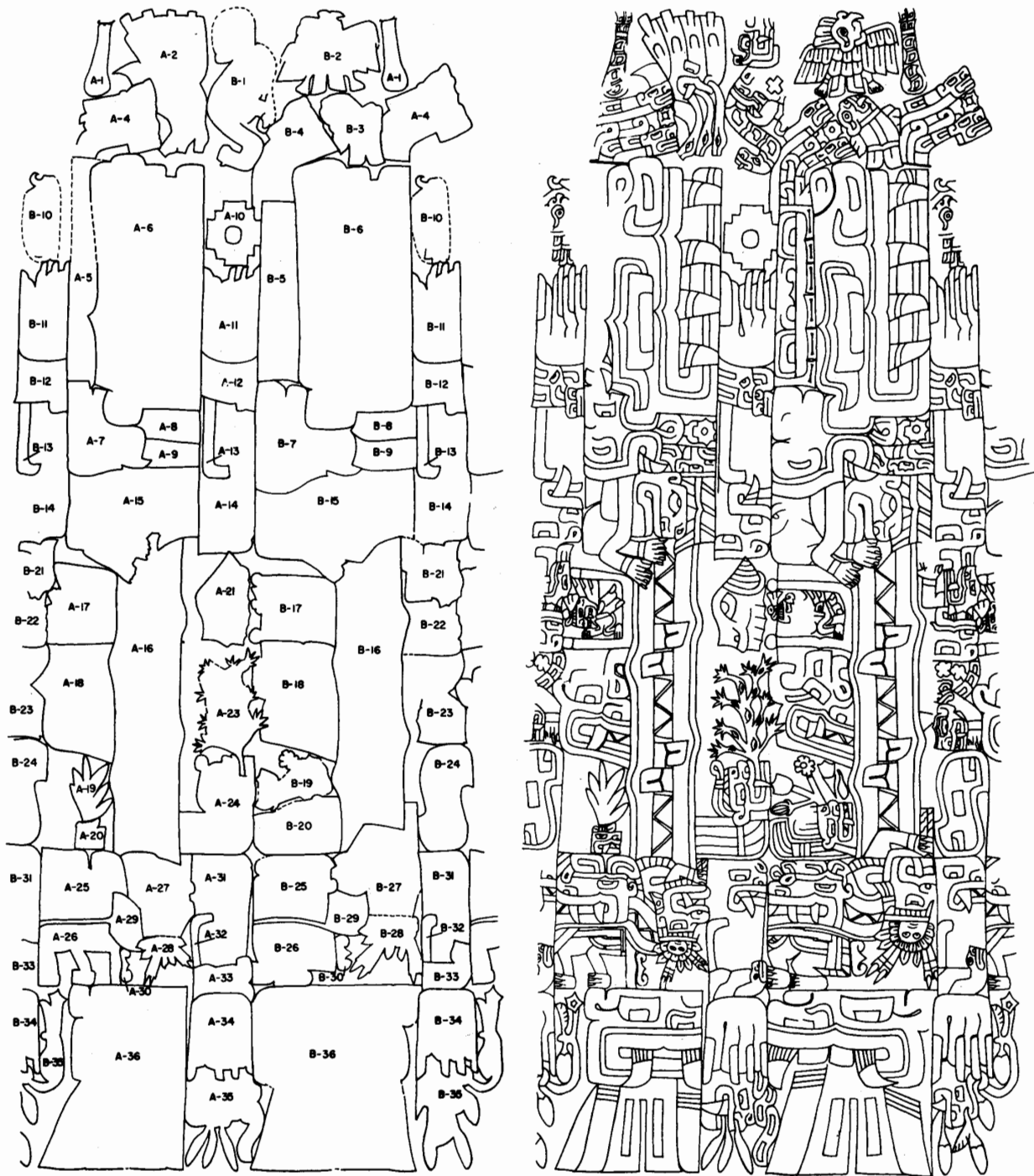
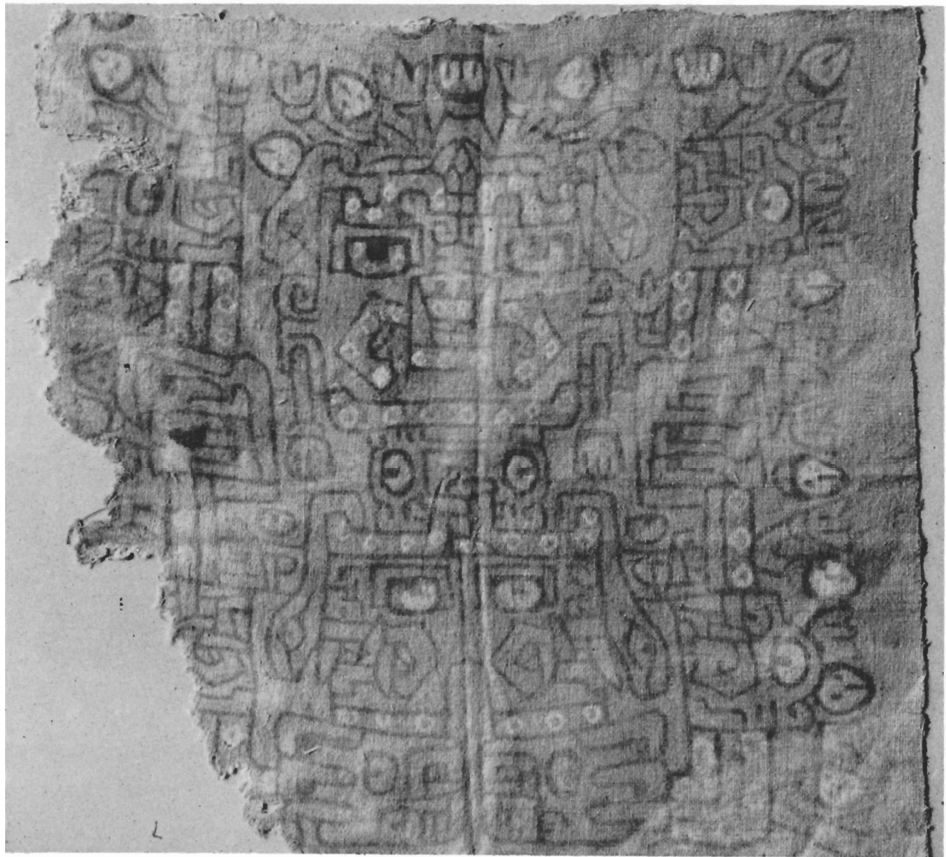


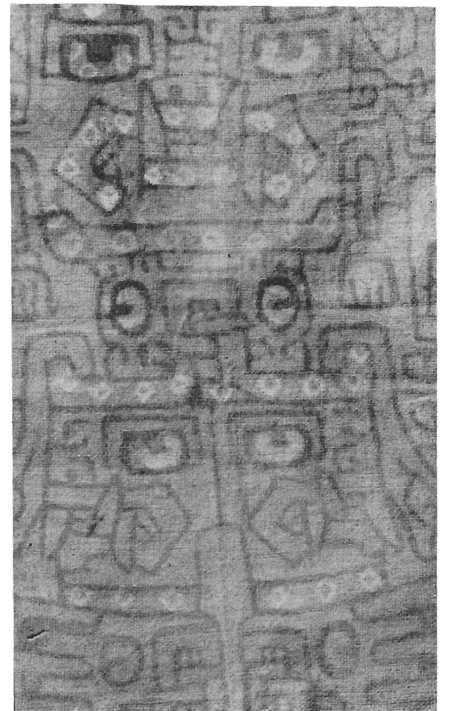
Plate XXVIII. Fig. 3, Chavín Phase C, ca. Early Horizon 3. Fig. 3a is reference key to fig. 3b. See Key to Illustrations.



4a

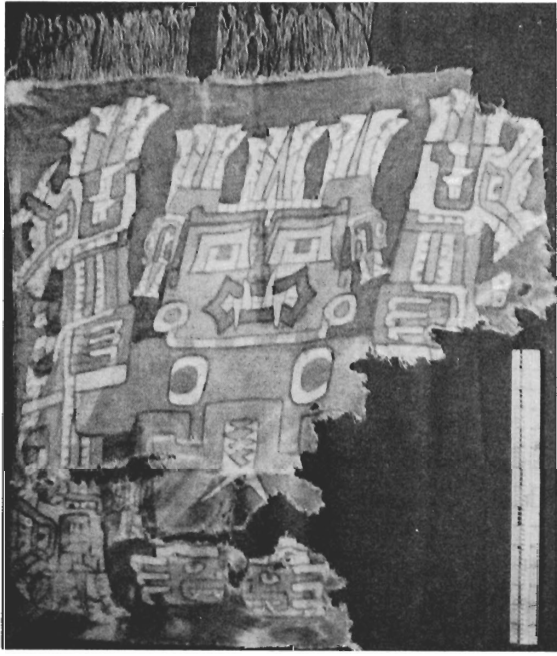


5

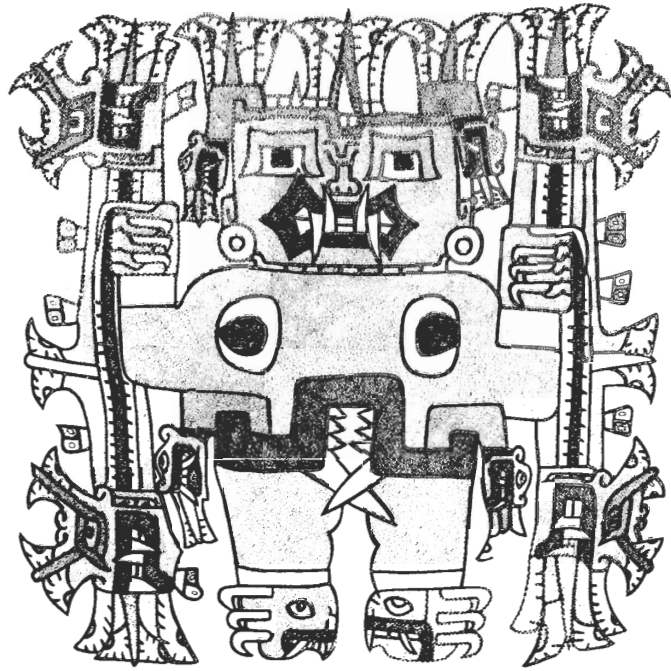


4b

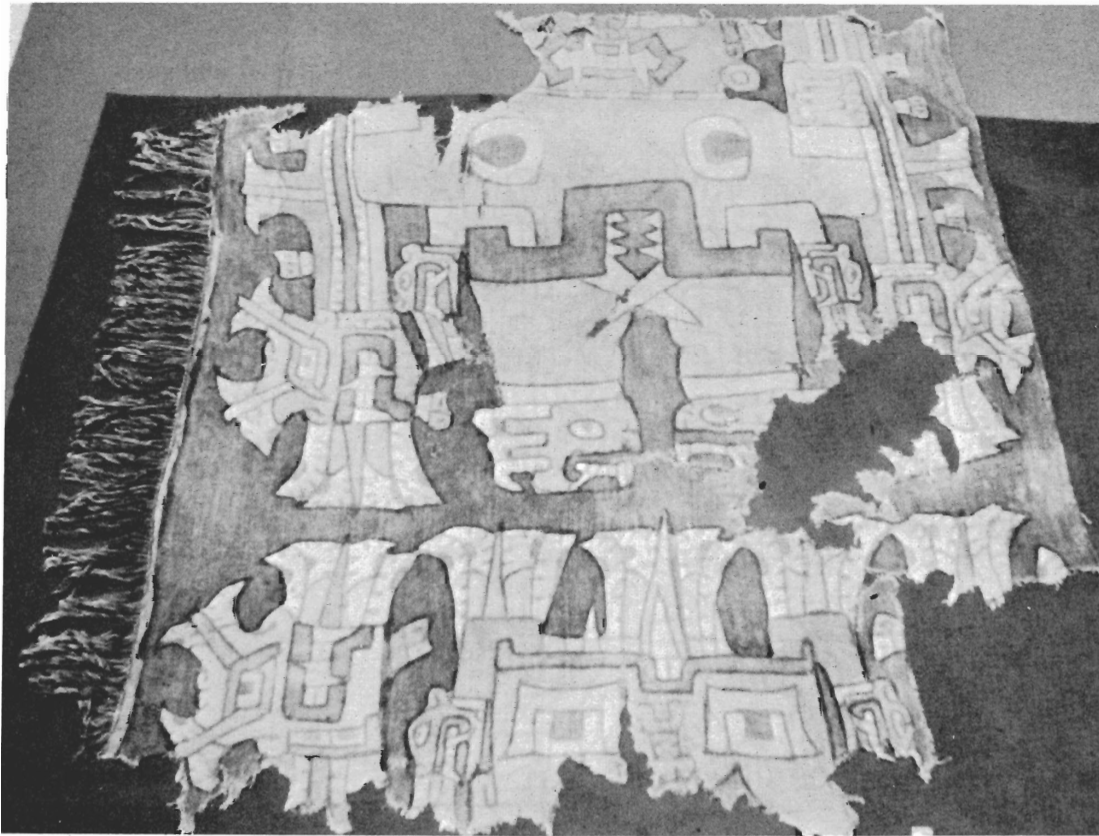
Plate XXIX. Chavín Phase D, Early Horizon 4-5. See Key to Illustrations.



6

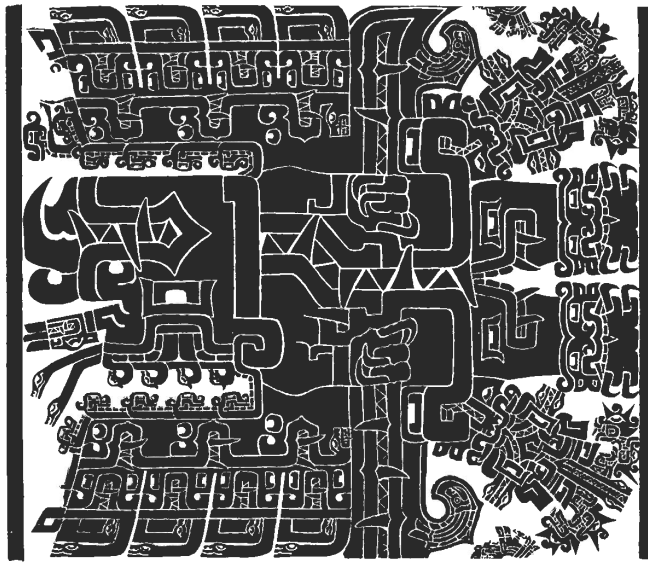


7



8

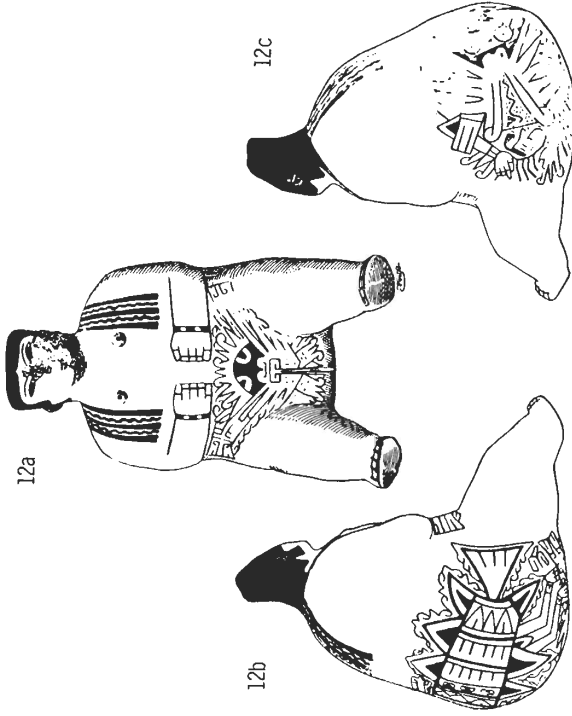
Plate XXX. Chavín Phase D, Early Horizon 4-5. Fig. 6, courtesy of Alan R. Sawyer; figs. 7-8, courtesy of Peter G. Roe. See Key to Illustrations.



9



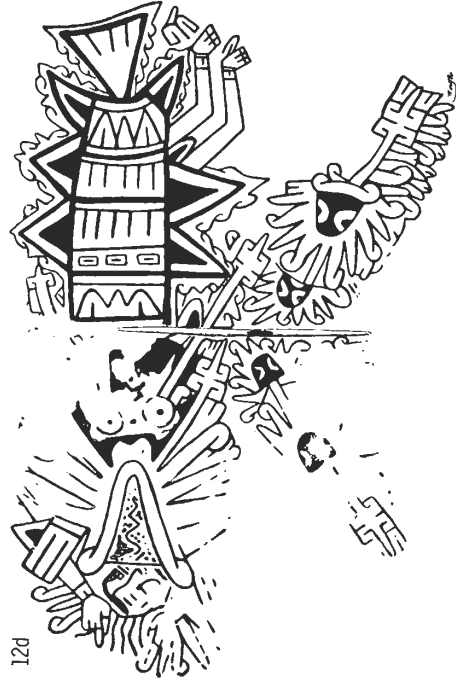
10



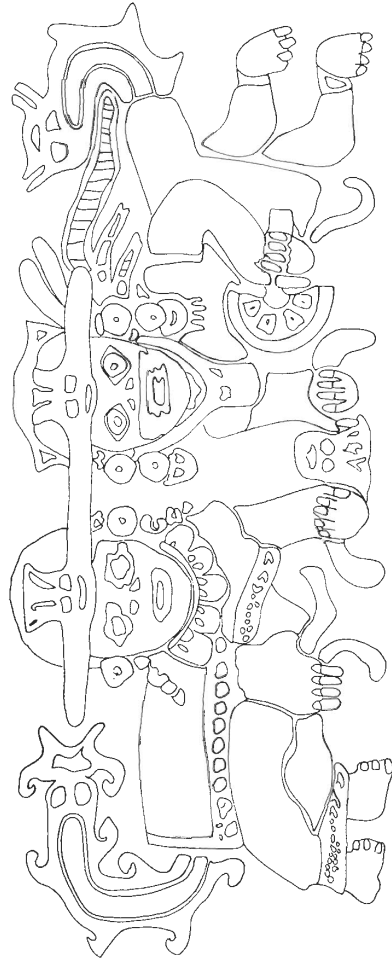
12a

12b

12c



12d



11

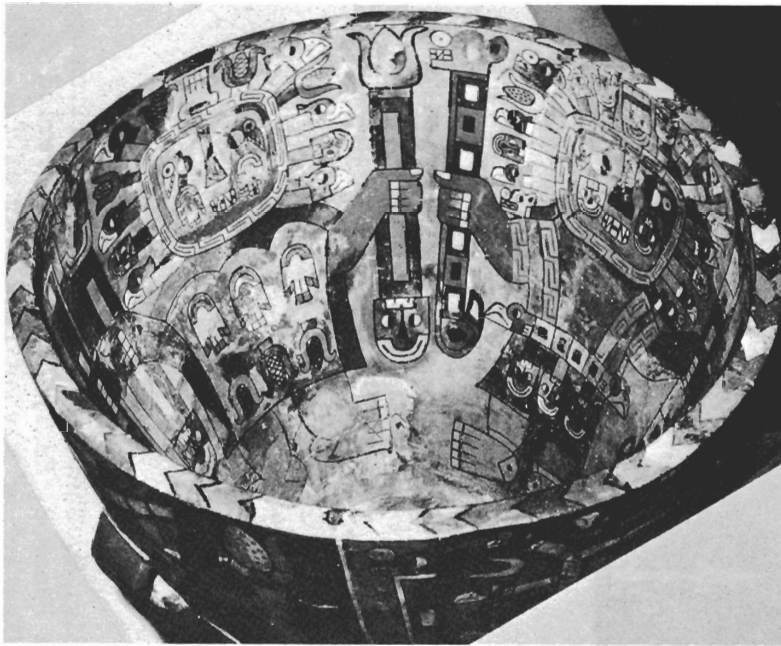
Plate XXXI. Fig. 9, Chavin Phase D, Early Horizon 4-5; fig. 10, Pucara style, Early Intermediate Period 1-3; fig. 11, Nasca Phase 2, Early Intermediate Period 2; fig. 12, Nasca Phase 7, Early Intermediate Period 7 (fig. 12d is "Master" of Fishes from rear of fig. 12a). See Key to Illustrations.



13a



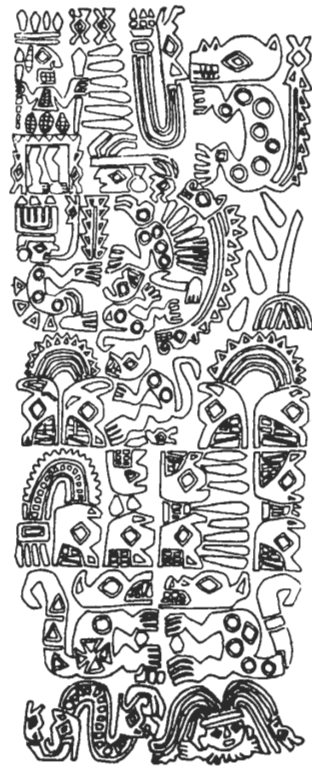
13b



14



15a



15b

Plate XXXII. Fig. 13, Nasca Phase 7, EIP 7; fig. 14, Robles Moqo style, MH 1B; fig. 15, Pachacamac(?) style, MH 2. See Key to Illustrations.



16a



16b



16c

Plate XXXIII. Janus figure from head of staff shown in fig. 15a. Fig. 16a, female; fig. 16c, male; Middle Horizon 2. See Key to Illustrations.

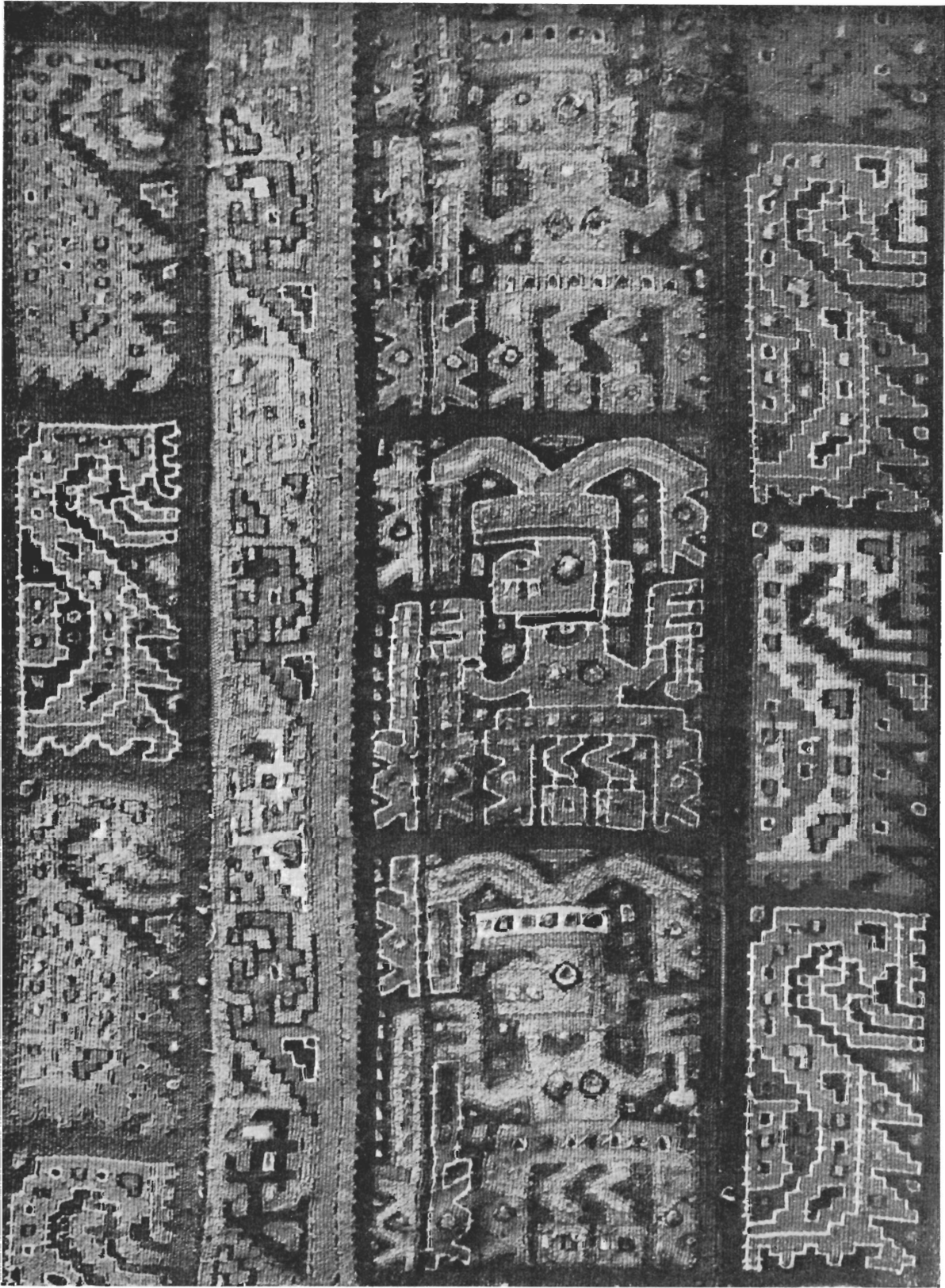


Plate XXXIV. Fig. 17, Ancón, Middle Horizon 3(?). See Key to Illustrations.