

AN IDENTIFICATION OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC MYTHOLOGICAL PERSONAGES
IN MOCHE REPRESENTATIONS

Yuri E. Berezkin

Editor's note. Continuing our policy of presenting alternate interpretations of Moche iconography, we present the work of a colleague from the Institute of Ethnography, Leningrad. This contribution was written before the author had seen the revision of Donnan's 1976 work (Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche art of Peru; pre-Columbian symbolic communication*. Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978) or the original articles on Moche iconography published in 1977 by Alana Cordy-Collins and Donna McClelland (in *Pre-Columbian art history; selected readings*. [Edited by] Alana Cordy-Collins and Jean Stern. Peek Publications, Palo Alto, California). The article is published as submitted except that, in a few cases, the editors substituted more accessible editions for those originally cited in the bibliography.

The editors have illustrated this article on the basis of manuscript indications. We wish to express our sincere gratitude to Izumi Shimada for providing us with the drawing reproduced in fig. 12, as well as his permission to publish it. --P.J.L.

* * * * *

Introduction

This article is based on a sample of about 3000 representations from Moche III-V vessels, most of them published. I was able to see almost no original collections. Besides the Moche scenes, additional data have been drawn from "Casma style" press-molded vessels. The Middle Horizon Casma style was defined by Tello (1956, pp. 305-311), and its iconography was later studied by Carrión Cachot (1959). Although the style is heterogeneous, with probable influences from Recuay and Huari (*in sensu lato*) sources, it displays a basic continuity of the Moche iconographic tradition, especially in the substyle of the Santa and Nepeña valleys, marked by modeling and relief rather than painted decoration. Some Casma scenes are simply variations of Moche IV-V ones with minor differences in subject or style. These differences, however, are useful in resolving certain questions regarding Moche iconography.

In spite of the number of studies of Moche iconography that have appeared in the last decade (Benson, 1972; 1975; Donnan, 1976; Hocquenghem, 1977a; 1977b; 1977c; Lavallée, 1970; etc.) there are some basic problems that have yet to be properly investigated. As a first approach to understanding the Moche mythological system and reconstructing the subjects of the myths represented, an accurate identification of individual mythological personages is particularly urgent. A complete delineation of these personages (zoomorphic, phytomorphic and anthropomorphic) should also lead to a better understanding of Moche

social structure, for I feel that this structure is somehow reflected in the hierarchy of supernatural beings and in the distribution of their functions.

Larco Hoyle combined all Moche anthropomorphic gods under the name "Ai Apaec" (1946, p. 171). Following Ubbelohde-Doering (1931), Kutscher (1948, p. 628; 1950b, p. 202) distinguished a Rayed God among them. It was not until 1972, however, that Benson drew attention to scenes attesting to the existence of three anthropomorphic beings all with similar iconographic elements: fanged mouths and snakes near their belts (Benson, 1972, pp. 27-44). Her identification of scenes with representations of a "creator god" (our C personage) is basically correct and simply needs further elaboration. She did not, however, distinguish between two other personages although she noted some scenes in which they both appear.

Identification of Major Anthropomorphic Personages

The functions of Moche gods are diverse and not yet entirely clear, while their visible attributes are unstable. We have therefore identified three of these mythical personages by the letters A, B, and C rather than by descriptive terms. Our method of differentiating the gods was first to note those scenes in which two personages are represented together, and then to identify each of these when he is represented alone.

A and B personages

Table 1 distinguishes between these two personages on the basis of six published representations showing them in combat or in some sort of conflict, some opposition: (a) fig. 1; (b) Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 56C; (c) Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 60B,61A; (d) Larco Hoyle, 1946, fig. 21c; (e) Sawyer, 1954, covers; (f) Strong and Evans, 1952, pl. XXXVIIIe).¹

Table 1

A God	B God
Elaborate headgear (in this set of scenes a headpiece decorated with a feline representation and a fan-like adornment).	A simple fillet around the forehead with two ends protruding upwards (a,c,e); the same headgear as A, but without the feline representation (b); no headgear (d,f).
Costume includes a short skirt (a, b,c,d) or lacks it (e,f).	Costume includes a short skirt (e, f) or lacks it (a,b,c,d).
More elaborate costume than B (a, c,f); same as B (b,d,e).	Simpler costume than A (a,c,f); same as A (b,d,e).
Two snakes near belt (d,e); one snake (a,b,c,f).	No snakes near belt (c); one snake (a,b,c,d). In one case it is impossible to determine from the photograph (c).

Accompanied by a small animal,
probably a dog (a,b,c,e,f).

An aureole of weapon bundles sur-
rounds the figure (e).

Accompanied by Iguana God (a,c).

On the basis of Table 1 and data drawn from individual representations of A and B personages, we can establish the following identifying traits.

1. The personage accompanied by Iguana God is A God (or at least not B God). When Iguana God is represented with anthropomorphic features, he wears a bird-effigy headdress, and when A God and an anthropomorphized Iguana appear together, A God's headdress is always decorated with a feline figure. Furthermore, in those representations showing both Iguana God and B personage, the headdress of B personage lacks the feline figure (fig. 1; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 60B). In contrast, when Iguana and Fox God appear together (Valcárcel, 1937, fig. 4), they do have opposite headgear: bird for Iguana and feline for Fox.

2. The personage accompanied by a dog is A God (or at least not B God). The dog may accompany Rayed God as well.²

3. If an aureole of weapon bundles surrounds an anthropomorphic figure it is B God.

4. The personage wearing headgear consisting of a simple band with two upward-protruding ends is B God.

5. If an object is suspended from the personage's elbow, it is B God.

6. The attire of B God is never very elaborate, although a strict demarcation between permissible and nonpermissible features in costume elaboration is impossible. When A and B are represented together, the attire of B God (either clothes or headgear) is always in some way more simple than A's.

The least certain of the traits listed above is number 4 (a simple headband), since it does not serve as an individual attribute but rather as a sign of social status or the sort of activity in which the wearer is engaged in a given scene. This kind of headgear is most frequently worn by fishermen and sea lion hunters. When A and B personages are shown together in a scene, the contrast in their headdresses seems to be significant, but such distinctions appear to be optional when the personages are represented individually. Therefore, B God can never be positively identified on the basis of his headdress alone.

While some other traits emerge from the six representations upon which Table 1 is based, they do not correlate well with either the six elements mentioned above or with each other. For example, the absence of snakes near the belt is often correlated with traits 3 and 4 on individual representations, but there are some divine figures in sumptuous attire and shown seated on a throne who also lack such snakes (e.g., Donnan, 1976, figs. 104, 106 personage D; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, tomo II, lám. XXIII; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 72). This individual cannot be B God because in two such scenes Iguana God stands near him

(Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 344; Uhle, 1935, fig. 11);³ therefore the absence of snakes near the belt is a poor basis for identification. In those cases where snakes are lacking and the personage is wearing simple attire, however, it is more likely that B God is represented than that A God is intended. These remarks do not refer to scenes including C God who is described below. It is quite possible that all those anthropomorphic figures which lack snakes near the belt, and are neither female nor rayed, are either C or B god, but this suggestion cannot yet be proven.

Trait 5 might be considered random, since it appears to be functional (in contrast to trait 3 which is clearly not functional). Its constant association with individual representations of personage B, however, proves that such is not the case. In a large sample of published scenes the anthropomorphic hero is shown in a posture of adoration, looking upwards; in painted versions his figure is under an arch formed by a double-headed snake;⁴ a bag hangs from his elbow or a shell trumpet with a loop for suspension lies at his feet (Anton, 1972, pl. 116; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1954, pls. 172, 173; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 26, Taf. 69 left; 1954, Abb. 75; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, tomo I, fig. 31, tomo II, lám. XXIX). In these representations trait 5 correlates with 4 and 6 as well as with a lack of snakes near the personage's belt.

We have demonstrated elsewhere (Berezkin, 1978a), in part following Kutscher (1954, p. 20) and Disselhoff (1956), that the object suspended from the elbow is not an optional detail, but rather marks persons of non-Moche ethnic origin (real or mythical); the mythical ancient tribe destroyed by gods seems to have carried such bags. We here summarize our basic conclusions with a few corrections.

The bag hanging by a loop handle from the elbow correlates with other iconographic traits, among them (a) special costumes, headdresses, ear ornaments, and weapons; (b) other bags hanging from the neck or held in the mouth by the handle. All these bags were probably designed to carry coca leaves as Benson has suggested (Benson, ms.).⁵ Common Moche warriors lack all of these traits. The humans pursued by animated objects in the Huaca de la Luna murals have some of these foreign traits: "duck-foot" shaped earrings and special feathered maces (Bonavia, 1974, figs. 40-44; Holstein, 1927, figs. 31, 32; Kroeber, 1930, pl. XV; Seler, 1912, p. 132). The humans (perhaps shamans) who accompany the anthropomorphic mythical personage in the scenes of adoration mentioned above have non-Moche traits in their clothing, headdresses and weapons. The "winged" effigies hanging from the god's neck in these scenes are probably also bags for coca leaves in the shape of puma skins. Bags of this kind are known archaeologically (Mujica Gallo, 1959, pls. XXXII, XXXIII). A modeled representation of a man with a similar pouch on his back was published by Baessler (1902-03, vol. I, fig. 111) and Seler (1893, Taf. 17:17, 18:18).

Overall, I consider B God to have some non-Moche attributes and to be sometimes accompanied by humans with foreign characteristics.

The clearest identifying trait of B God is his nimbus of weapon

bundles, although it occurs in Moche V paintings only. We must add one more Moche mythical personage to our survey, the Hermit Crab God (fig. 2), in order to demonstrate the identity of the anthropomorphic figures surrounded by weapon-bundle aureoles with the god represented in the posture of adoration. The Hermit Crab God has something in common with both of the main iconographic variants of B God, the one surrounded by a weapon-bundle nimbus and the one with a bag suspended from the elbow. The Hermit Crab God is characterized by a human head and hands (a full-bodied anthropomorphic version occurs as well), often long antennae protruding from the forehead, and a large spiral shell on the back (Dieseldorff, 1925, Taf. 51, figs. 230,231; Disselhoff, 1957, Abb. 1a). Fig. 2 shows a Moche IV vessel in the form of a standing figure of the Hermit Crab God with non-Moche attributes similar to those of B personage. A puma-skin bag hangs from his neck and another pouch from his elbow. These attributes are too specific, too rarely associated with other gods, to allow us to suppose that Hermit Crab has nothing to do with the other anthropomorphic personage possessing these traits. The same Hermit Crab God is painted on a Moche V polychrome vase riding a totora raft and fishing (Disselhoff, 1957, Abb. 1; Fung Pineda, 1968, back cover; Lumbreras, 1979, lám. 87). On the opposite side of the vessel another raft sails, very likely ridden by B personage, although only the ends of the clubs forming his aureole of weapon bundles can be discerned in the photographs. In this case Hermit Crab is connected with the anthropomorphic god not by common attributes but through their representation in the same scene. It is probable that Hermit Crab God is connected in both cases with the same anthropomorphic god, God B, rather than with two different ones. Finally, the sailing anthropomorphic deity himself seems to have a coca bag in at least one scene (Larco Hoyle, 1966b, fig. 49), although without inspecting the actual vessel it is impossible to judge whether or not this pouch has a puma head representation.

A further approach involves the identification of the anthropomorphic mythical personages that occur in certain common or important Moche iconographic settings. An iconographic setting is understood to be the invariant portion of all scenes representing the same actions of the same personage or of several main personages. If some of the representations possess elements providing identification of a particular personage, while other representations of the same series (i.e., of the same iconographic setting) lack elements with such identification value, we suggest that all scenes of the same setting represent the same personage even though he or she could be certainly identified in only some of them.

B God is represented in the following settings:

1. Riding a totora raft (other personages who also ride the raft are Rayed God, Osprey, Duck, and Hermit Crab); identified by traits 3,4 and 6 (Anton, 1972, pls. 143,144; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1931, Taf. XII; Donnan, 1976, figs. 6,72; Horkheimer, 1960, Abb. 3; 1961, p. 15; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 17; 1954, Abb. 66B; Larco Hoyle, 1966b, fig. 49; Nachtigall, 1966, Abb. 48; Sawyer, 1966, fig. 75; Schmidt, 1929, p. 196: 2; Tercero, 1939, p. 150). In thirteen representations where these traits could be identified from the photographs, the personage lacks

snakes near his belt in seven cases and has no fangs in five.⁶

2. In a posture of adoration looking upwards (as noted above); identified by traits 4,5,6. In seven representations there are no snakes near the belt in six cases and no fangs in two.

These are the two primary iconographic settings where B God is not accompanied by his rival, A God.

In another series of scenes B God is identified by trait 4 only:

1. With his upraised hands he supports a two-headed snake which is depicted as a short bar, not as an arch (fig. 3; Kutscher, 1950a, Taf. 67 right; Larco Hoyle, 1941, fig. 219; Seler, 1893, Taf. 21:10).

2. He lies among rocks on the seashore playing a small drum (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 357; Schmidt, 1929, p. 168:2; Seler, 1893, Taf. 16:8,21:11).

3. He fishes with a hook and line while lying on the same seashore (fig. 4; Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, figs. 317,319,321; Kutscher, 1950a, Taf. 67 left).

Such negative traits as lack of fangs and lack of snakes near the belt seem to be more characteristic of B God than of A. In all scenes where A God can be positively identified, he has fangs. We shall see that C God also frequently appears with neither fangs or belt snakes.

A God is represented in the following iconographic settings:

1. Embraces a woman; identified by traits 1 and 2 (Anton, 1972, pl. 151; Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 348; Donnan, 1976, fig. 1; Carrión Cachot, 1959, fig. 4; Larco Hoyle, 1966a, pp. 109,113,140).

2. Participates in a funeral ceremony; identified by trait 1 (Donnan, 1976, figs. 2,65).

3. Stands at the foot of a cliff upon or in front of which lie sacrificed humans; identified by traits 1 and 2 (fig. 5; Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 313; Benson, 1972, figs. 2-11,-12;⁷ Collier, 1959, fig. 73; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 79B; Moser, 1974, p. 34 top; Seler, 1893, Taf. 22:8,22:14,34:1,34:3).

4. Flies on the back of a bird; identified by trait 1 (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 342; Larco Hoyle, 1966b, fig. 53; Seler, 1893, Taf. 22:9).⁸

5. Stands in front of a huge frog which has edible plants sprouting from its body; identified by trait 1 (Larco Hoyle, 1966b, fig. 60). This scene requires some comment. The anthropomorphic personage holds in both hands a long U-shaped object with ends that terminate in feline or snake heads. Below him is a procession of monkeys carrying bags. This Moche V relief has a counterpart in the Casma style (Carrión Cachot, 1959, fig. 110). The Casma representation differs in minor stylistic and thematic elements, e.g., Iguana God (identified on the basis of his bird-effigy headdress and thick, conically shaped tail) holds the U-shaped object, other zoomorphic gods (probably Fox, Feline, and some bird gods) stand nearby. Thus, while A God is not represented in this case with Iguana God, the two personages appear to be interchangeable in the similar situation, making the identification of the anthropomorphic personage on the Moche vessel as A God probable.

On some Moche stirrup-spout vessels, the opposite sides bear

separate scenes, either painted or in relief. Such scenes probably represent successive adventures of the same mythical hero. When painted on flaring bowls, such scenes are not simply double, but multiple. In the majority of the scenes, fights between an anthropomorphic deity and demons are shown (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, figs. 332, 345; Imbelloni, 1959, fig. 430; Kutscher, 1954, fig. 54B; Larco Hoyle, 1948, lám. XIII bottom). Iguana God and the dog sometimes accompany the anthropomorphic personage which makes us think that it is A God rather than B who fights with a round-bodied (turtle?) demon, a Strombus demon, and with a long-haired demon (this creature has an anthropomorphic body and an animal head with two long locks, or perhaps antennae, and generally fish fins and tail). Between the scenes of mythical combats are representations of the anthropomorphic hero flanked by vultures (Imbelloni, 1959, fig. 430).⁹ In scenes of combat with a catfish demon, the identification of A God is reinforced by the presence of traits 1 and 2 (Harcourt and Harcourt, 1924, pl. 56 right; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 64; 1954, Abb. 60A).

It is A God who fights with Crab demon for the dog helps him (Schmidt, 1929, p. 163), and just after this battle he surrenders to B God (Sawyer, 1954; cover clearly shows that the same personage who overcame the Crab then kneels in front of the god with an aureole of weapon bundles). The only basis for identifying the crab-fighting hero as B God would be the fact that in some scenes the anthropomorphic personage has a simple headdress, a trait we remarked earlier is insufficient for positive identification (Coe, 1972, p. 94 top; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 57B; Lavallée, 1970, pl. 59B).

There is one scene in which I am uncertain which of the two anthropomorphic gods is represented. This is the scene in which the god catches Bonito demon with a hook and line,¹⁰ in what is more hand to hand combat than fishing; neither seashore nor totora raft is shown (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 333; Burger, 1977, figs. 1, 2; Danzel, 1927, p. 109; Fuhrmann, 1922, Bild 97; Hissink, 1951, p. 126; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 58; 1954, Abb. 61C; Larco Hoyle, 1946, fig. 21a; Nordenskiöld, 1921, fig. 17). There is one version in which the anthropomorphic personage is accompanied by a dog and holds a fishing line with a hook at its end, but the Bonito itself is absent (Uhle, 1912, fig. 4).

It is probable that the intention was to represent A God in all combat scenes between an anthropomorphic personage armed with a transverse knife and a demon (Crayfish, Crab, Bonito, Turtle[?], Strombus, Long-haired demon, Dragon [Recuay-monster], and Dragon-like anthropomorphic demon).

C personage

The identification of C God is best begun on the basis of representations of an anthropomorphic being sitting in a cave; two gigantic snakes twine around the cliff containing the cave (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 315; Larco Hoyle, 1941, fig. 220; Sawyer, 1966, fig. 71). Another anthropomorphic personage stands at the foot of the cliff and supports the head of one of the snakes. In some cases Iguana God supports the other snake head. So these two standing figures appear as a

pair of worshippers flanking the divinity in the cave. Since there is good reason to think that the standing anthropomorphic personage is A God, the god in the cave must be some other one, perhaps B God? Without a representation in which B God and the god in the cave appear together, it is impossible to eliminate this possibility. There are, however, two reasons that this solution is improbable. First, the sumptuous attire of the god in the cave is not typical of B God. Second, the god in the cave is closely connected with A God; as we shall see, some of their functions may be almost identical and their relations are friendly, while A and B are opponents and adversaries.¹¹

Therefore, we shall designate the god in the cave C God. In the set of scenes under consideration, while A God has one snake near his belt, C God has none; perhaps the giant snakes twining round the rock substitute for them. C God's clothing and headdress are always more elaborate than A God's. For example, if there is a great semicircular adornment with a feline effigy crowning C God's head, then A God's headdress is decorated with the feline head alone, whereas if C lacks the semicircular adornment, A has no headdress at all. But in the scenes where A God and Iguana God stand on either side of the rock and no C God is represented, the semicircular adornment may sometimes crown A God's head (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 313).

It is probable that C God is the central figure in a series of scenes in which three to five cone-shaped projections (apparently representing mountains) rise behind one or more figures. He may be seated or standing and his body often merges with the hills (Arte del Perú, 1955, p. 20; Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, pls. 82,84; Coe, 1972, p. 96; Fuhrmann, 1922, Bild. 74,75; Proulx, 1973, pl. 5c; Sawyer, 1966, pl. 72; Schmidt, 1929, p. 164:1; Sestieri, 1963, fig. 1; Seler, 1893, Taf. 21: 14-15,21:18-19). This set of scenes and the representations of C God in the cave are linked by the pair of huge serpents that, rather than projecting from the being's belt, twine around the mountains on both sides of the figure. In both scenes, the divinity sometimes holds what is probably a lime gourd for use with coca chewing (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 315; Schmidt, 1929, p. 164:1).

I think it is probably the same god represented lying among the hills with two serpents projecting from his head and hanging down both sides of it (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 299). Representations of his disembodied head have snake heads resting on his temples (Anton, 1972, pl. 145; Seler, 1893, Taf. 22:11). The bodiless head of the god framed by a two-headed snake in the form of an arch reaching from ear to ear (Seler, 1893, Taf. 21:1,22:5; Tabio, 1969, fig. 107), as well as the full figure of a standing personage with a two-headed snake framing the upper third of it (Anton, 1972, pl. 138), seem to share the same basic idea as the representation of the god sitting on a throne in front of the mountain peaks and under the celestial arch formed by the two-headed snake (Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 77C).

The divinity shown standing in front of the mountains, or perhaps growing out of the peaks, often holds in one hand a maize plant with cobs, and in the other a bunch of manioc tubers (fig. 6; Carrión

Cachot, 1959, fig. 46; Donnan, 1976, fig. 93; Fuhrmann, 1922, Bild 15; Horkheimer, 1960, Taf. 3 left; Lips, 1967, pp. 272-273). This Moche IV or V iconographic setting has a direct continuation in Casma style scenes (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. II, fig. 272; Carrión Cachot, 1959, fig. 55; Heyerdahl, 1975, pls. XIV right, 320). In later representations, however, the personage generally lacks fangs and snakes near his belt, although sometimes both traits are present. The most unquestionable trait of C God is the two snakes whose heads lie on the god's head and bodies twine among the peaks (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, pl. 85). In these scenes, C god's headdress is often the same as that of the god seated on the throne under the celestial arch: a headpiece or a band with two rectangular projections rising from it (compare Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 77C and Fuhrmann, 1922, Bild 15).

In some of the Casma style representations, the god not only holds plants in his hands, but has stems and tubers growing from his body (Carrión Cachot, 1959, figs. 41,42). These figures appear to be the semantic equivalents of the representations of a mythical personage whose body is composed of maize cobs stuck together (Benson, 1972, fig. 2-4; Disselhoff, 1967, p. 50; Donnan, 1973, pl. 4f,g; Fuhrmann, 1922, Bild 25; Safford, 1924, no. 1; Sestieri, 1963, figs. 5-7; Towle, 1961, pls. VIIb,XVa; etc.), or of manioc tubers (Benson, 1972, fig. 5-20; Donnan, 1976, fig. 100; Haberland, 1975, Taf. 2b; Kroeber, 1925, pl. 55b; Sawyer, 1966, fig. 76).¹² Plant spirits of this kind are peculiar and differ from the spirits of potatoes, peanuts, beans, and other edible fruits in that they are not humans or animals but rather possess all the main characteristics of Moche anthropomorphic gods: fanged mouth, snakes near the belt (Towle, 1961, pl. VIIb), snakelike ear ornaments, round protuberant eyes, and the semicircular adornment above the forehead that is especially typical of C God. The anthropomorphic god incarnates the same plants that he holds in his hands, maize and manioc. On a Moche V polychrome stirrup-spout vessel (Fung Pineda, 1968, back cover) the manioc deity with a fanged mouth stands on a rectangular pedestal holding a cup, while on the spout just behind the personage's back there appears to be a maize cob depicted. The overall treatment of this particular representation makes it the iconographic link between the Casma press-molded representations in which the deity holds the plants and has some cobs and tubers protruding from his body and the Moche maize god and Moche manioc god, all of these personages being variants of C God.

Behind the fanged figure which sprouts out of the fusing maize cobs is sometimes another one also with fangs and with two snakes near the belt (Sestieri, 1963, figs. 5-7). This latter figure gives the impression of a worshipper standing behind the principal deity, i.e., two mythical personages are placed in the same relationship as gods C and A in and near the cave.¹³ It is highly probable that the smaller figure is A God.

In the settings with the row of mountains behind him and two snakes twined among the peaks, C God sometimes holds a maize plant in his right hand, while his left hand is inserted into a bag which is slung over his shoulder; he is probably removing seeds for sowing (Carrión Cachot, 1959, fig. 39). This representation leads us to the

famous ceremonial digging stick from the grave of the "warrior priest" at the Huaca de la Cruz. The stick is decorated with the carved figures of two mythical personages, the older holding a digging stick himself, and the younger holding a bag with seeds (Strong and Evans, 1952, pl. XXIII). It seems probable that one of them is C God, for this deity provides agricultural fertility as is explicit in the scenes representing him as the giver of edible plants.

It is more likely that C God is the older, more powerful personage on the digging stick and not the younger, in spite of the fact that in this case it is the youth who holds the seed bag whereas in ceramic representations C God holds a similar bag. When represented in company with other mythical beings (A God and Iguana God) C is worshipped by them and seems to be at the top of the mythical hierarchy. Is the boy with the bag A God? Probably, although it cannot be proved. The old god and the boy form a pair of personages consisting of the principal god and his assistant which is similar to that of the two maize spirits to gods C and A in and near the mountain cave.

I also speculate that C God could be represented as the strange figure with anthropomorphic body and an animal head which has various plants sprouting from him, which accompanies the litter of the Rayed God (Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 80).

C personage, therefore, is the deity abiding in the mountain cave; he is the incarnation and donor of maize and manioc and most probably the disseminator of agricultural skill itself. He is represented either with or without fangs and snakes near his belt, and most frequently shown with mountain peaks behind him among which two serpents twine on both sides of his figure. Sometimes the heads of the snakes are over his head and sometimes he is framed overhead by the celestial double-headed snake in the form of an arch.

God A (sometimes with Iguana God) is C's worshipper and assistant, probably the younger personage near the older one. The different status of the two deities is explicit in the scenes of human sacrifice in the mountain country: C, wearing rich attire, is seated on a throne among the peaks; he is inactive (fig. 7; Disselhoff, 1940, fig. 1; Donnan, 1976, fig. 95; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 78; Lothrop, 1972, p. 168; Muelle and Blas, 1938, lám. 13; Sestieri, 1963, figs. 3,4). Meanwhile, A stands at the foot of one of the cliffs, wears simpler clothes, and together with Iguana God and sometimes accompanied by a dog participates actively in the ritual (fig. 5; Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 313; Benson, 1972, figs. 2-11,-12; Collier, 1959, fig. 73; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 79B,D; Moser, 1974, p. 34 top; Selser, 1893, Taf. 22:8,22:10,22:14, 34:1,34:3).

C God was perhaps the central cosmic figure of the Moche people. This suggestion is supported by the fact that his body is not only surrounded by the double-headed celestial snake, but is also framed with stars and, on Early Casma and/or Late Moche press-molded representations in which he is represented holding plants, there are stars around his figure (Carrión Cachot, 1959, fig. 45; Sawyer, 1954, p. 10 bottom). I

know of one further painted representation of an anthropomorphic god among stars on a Moche V vessel (Larco Hoyle, 1948, lám. XIV bottom). Because this figure has not the peculiar traits of the Rayed (lunar) God, it is most probable he is C God. Snakes project from his head and his belt and his mouth is fanged. He is depicted full face, and a similar (but less sumptuously adorned) profile figure stands to the left of him. The profile figure wears a feline effigy headdress with a fanlike adornment that is characteristic of A God. These two figures have the same general correlations as in other cases where gods A and C are shown in the same scene: their respective sizes, the differences in clothing and decoration. Both personages hold transverse knives in their hands but they may not be engaged in combat, for in Moche scenes depicting fights it is not common for one of the figures to be represented full face. Each of the personages is pointing with his free hand. Interspersed among the stars are depictions of ulluchu or palta fruits, usually shown in ritual scenes (Hissink, 1951, p. 119; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, tomo II, p. 93).

To return briefly to the digging stick from the Huaca de la Cruz grave. I would argue that the buried "warrior-priest" associated with the older (c) god on the carving was probably the local governor-priest, not a great military ruler and not an ordinary priest. If so, then C God can be identified with the anthropomorphic mythical personage heading various ceremonies in which either zoomorphic gods or humans participate (Donnan, 1976, figs. 51 top and bottom, 106; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 72; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, tomo II, lám. XXIII; Uhle, 1935, fig. 11).¹⁴ The governor-priest, impersonating the god, would lead public rituals in real life, and most of the anthropozoomorphic mythical creatures (Fox, Osprey, Deer, Hummingbird, Jaguar and/or Puma and some others) have the social status of noble warriors, i.e., of the real participants in the important public rites.

In this particular iconographic setting the occasional presence of Iguana God near the personage does not identify the personage as A God, because that trait differentiates A and B personages only, not A and C. In fact it is quite probable that in ritual scenes clear differentiation between gods A and C is impossible, and that the object of worship was a double deity (old/young, principal person/assistant). C and A personages have many similar functions and attributes: they are connected with the agricultural origins of Moche civilization (C certainly and A probably); one or the other is always represented in the scenes of human sacrifice and they are probably the beings shown with a decapitated human head in one hand and a transverse knife in the other (fig. 8; Harcourt and Nique, 1934, pl. II:2; Moser, 1974, pp. 32, 36 top; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 53; Selser, 1893, Taf. 21:16). They both have the feline as their alter ego: a counterpart to the C God figure mounted on the throne set in the mountains is similarly dressed but has a feline rather than a human head (fig. 9), while there is a Moche III antecedent of a jaguar flying on the back of a bird (Museum für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, formerly in Weimar) to the Moche IV A God figures in the same situation. Some probable Moche III representations of A God also have clear feline attributes (Kroeber 1925, pl. 57i; Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 74).

There are two final groups of representations of C God. The first is an anthropomorphic figure wearing a headpiece and armed with a club, standing on a small pedestal (fig. 10; Larco Hoyle, 1966b, fig. 36). These figures in high relief stand at the foot of a vertical plane upon which are rays in low relief that surround the personage. In the second group, the figures have the same type of clothing and headdress as in the first (including some minor details), so they probably represent the same personage, but the rays are lacking (fig. 11; Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 295; Cuesta Domingo, 1972, fig. 16; Proulx, 1973, pl. 5d; Seler, 1893, Taf. 21:17). In this type of representation, the personage holds a club and darts (or darts and a shield) and stands in front of a mountain range, usually under an arch formed by a double-headed snake. In both types of representation the figure usually (but not necessarily) has fangs. There is only one figure in these groups that has snakes near his belt and he is also the only one who has a shield but no club (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, fig. 295).

In spite of the fact that the figures of the first group are framed by rays and rays are characteristic of Rayed God, it is more likely that all the representations mentioned above are of C God and not the lunar deity. To support this opinion there is a press-molded design on a vessel that may be placed halfway between the Moche and Casma ceramic styles (Carrión Cachot, 1959, fig. 55). On one side of this vessel is the deity holding a maize plant and manioc and wearing a headdress from which some maize cobs sprout, while the same personage with a slightly different headdress stands on the other.¹⁵ Here rays which end in what are probably maize kernels project from his body to the left, right, and upwards. On later Casma designs, a rayed circle completely frames the figure of the god, the rays being, at the same time, stylized maize cobs which sprout from two staffs or stems that the god holds in his hands (Carrión Cachot, 1959, figs. 56,57). These representations have some iconographic traits in common with the Moche V painting described above in which C and A gods are shown among the stars. In both cases C is represented full face with serpents projecting from his belt and (more distinctively) from his temples, the snake heads on the temples being connected by a wide band.

The representations of C God among the stars and within a circular aureole make his hypothetical association with the sun probable (the Rayed God being the candidate for the moon god).

Most published representations of C God are from the valleys of Santa and Nepeña, especially the vessels in the form of a maize god and the representations of a standing figure holding weapons and sometimes with an aureole.

Rayed God

It is much less difficult to identify this personage accurately than to differentiate gods A, B, and C. Representations of the Rayed God date only to Moche IV and V and may be divided into three main groups on the basis of style, time, and areal distribution.

In most Moche V representations, Rayed God wears a mantle and has a headdress which is shown in profile as a row of from six to twelve flaring bands projecting upwards from a horizontal band. His body is surrounded by an aureole of straight rays terminating in serpent heads. He sometimes lacks this aureole and must be identified on the basis of his mantle and headdress alone. Such identification is possible when the god's figure is represented in the same iconographic setting as surrounded by rays and without rays. Otherwise the identification cannot be made since there are anthropomorphic figures of secondary importance in some Moche V paintings that are dressed in just the same manner as the Rayed God usually is (Donnan, 1976, fig. 2).

While Rayed God may have fangs, his face is sometimes entirely human. He either sails a totora raft (Benson, 1972, figs. 4-3,-4; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1931, Taf. XII; Donnan, 1976, fig. 72; González, 1971, fig. 69; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 69; Willey, 1971, fig. 3-68) or is shown inside the crescent moon (Heyerdahl, 1975, fig. 40; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 72; Larco Hoyle, 1943, p. 290 top; Lavallée, 1970, pl. 84a). In some of the paintings the stars are near the moon. The crescent may be seen as the celestial boat: Rayed God sits between the horns of the moon just as he rides his totora raft with its stern and bow curved sharply upward.

In Middle and Late Moche IV and some Moche V paintings, Rayed God wears a military shirt, skirt and headpiece, and holds a club and shield. On one Moche IV vessel fragment the star over his headpiece reminds one indirectly of his lunar nature (Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 54A). In this type of representation he always has fangs and an aureole. He is the most important person in the "Presentation" rite (fig. 12; Donnan, 1976, figs. 104,105,107,113; Tello, 1931, fig. 12) and the leader of the zoomorphic gods who suppress the revolt of the animated objects (Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 43; Hocquenghem and Lyon, 1981, fig. 5). Hummingbird and Osprey carry his litter and other gods dressed as warriors accompany him (Kutscher, 1954, Abb. 80). This last mentioned example is one of the earliest anthropomorphic representations of him in military attire. I have argued that it dates to the second quarter of period IV (Berezkin, 1978b). This group of Rayed God representations demonstrates his position at the head of the Moche IV-V pantheon.

Rayed God and A God are shown as rivals in another painting from the first half of period IV (Imbelloni, 1959, fig. 430). The adversaries hold knives and bags; A God is painted as light and the Rayed God is painted dark. I would not have hesitated to identify A God's opponent as B God had he not possessed rays projecting from his body.

All representations mentioned to this point are from the Chicama, Moche, and Lambayeque valleys. Those of the third group seem to come only from the Chimbote region although the provenience of some of them is uncertain. All of them date to early Moche IV, or perhaps to III/IV transition, and all have the same subject. The deity is carried in a litter, the porters and members of the cortege are small birds and animals (anthropomorphic hummingbirds, lizards, and mice). The litter poles terminate in feline heads, a stylistic trait also shown in later representations of Rayed God's litters. The appearance of Rayed God is

variable here: his head may be that of an owl, falcon(?), or hummingbird (?), or it may be human; he may have rays or lack them; he may be dressed as a warrior or wear a mantle; etc. (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, figs. 355, 356; Danzel, 1927, p. 9 right; Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 68 = 1954, Abb. 47; 1954, Abb. 79A,C; Larco Hoyle, 1938-39, tomo II, fig. 198, lám. XXIV).

The crescent moon which is sometimes represented on the side of the vessel opposite this setting makes this semiornithomorphic personage the certain prototype of the later Moche moon deity. This series of scenes in which the iconography of the Moon God is so unstable perhaps marks an iconographic quest that ended in Middle Moche IV with the creation of the standard image of this personage corresponding to his new position as head of the pantheon, a position that replaced his probably marginal former status. His early avian associations are of prime importance in the understanding of his place in the Moche mythological system.

The Goddess

The last item in our review of the Moche pantheon is the only major Moche female mythical personage. She has not been mentioned earlier either in my previous article (Berezkin, 1972) or by any other author. She has three important traits of appearance, any two of which combined are sufficient to identify her. The first is her long braided hair which is exclusive to females in Moche representation. Although Donnan (1976, p. 28) contends that Moche men are sometimes also represented with plaits, he does not document his statement. He also mentions the "nude male figure who is lying on the ground being consumed by birds" (Donnan, 1976, p. 82), but this figure, shown in his fig. 2b is clearly female with all the anatomical details delineated (compare Larco Hoyle, 1966a, p. 22 lower right).

A second trait of the Goddess' representation in Moche art is her headdress which appears as a horizontal band from which project two other bands. In profile representations one of these bands curves up and over her forehead while the other curves up and over her neck. In full face representations they curve out to either side of her head. One or, much more rarely, two additional flaring bands may project vertically over her head between the lateral ones. This headdress seems to be the same type as that on Moche V Rayed God figures but with fewer flaring bands. The Hermit Crab God also wears it (Disselhoff, 1957, fig. 1a).

The third and last trait is a fanged mouth. The Goddess shares this trait with other anthropomorphic personages and, as is the case with B, C, and Rayed gods, she may be represented either with or without fangs.

Most frequently the Goddess is shown in the "Presentation" scene holding a cup and a disc (shallow gourd dish or lid?) (fig. 12; Donnan, 1976, figs. 104, 106, 108, 112, 113; Tello, 1931, fig. 12).¹⁶ Together with Owl God she is the probable organizer of "the revolt of the animated objects" which is suppressed by the zoomorphic gods led by Rayed God. Following this defeat she is humiliated and led by Fox before the moon deity (Kutscher, 1950a, Abb. 43). One can speculate that she was killed and exposed naked and dead, for she is surely represented

being devoured by vultures (Donnan, 1976, fig. 2a top left): her naked figure has a fanged mouth and braids, sufficient traits to identify it as the Goddess. In the same painting, further to the right, A God, accompanied by Iguana God, administers justice and inflicts punishment on the vultures, probably as vengeance for their participation in the humiliation of the Goddess. On the opposite side of the vessel, the funeral ceremony is represented, with A God and Iguana God shown twice: at the top of the scene they are lowering the coffin into the grave, and at the bottom they are holding rattle staffs (Donnan, 1976, fig. 2c). Most probably the buried personage is the Goddess, for her face (or face mask) is the same as the one of the female being devoured by vultures.

The third group of Goddess representations consists of modeled vessels, also published by Donnan (1976, figs. 66,67) in the form of an anthropomorphic personage with braided hair, a fanged mouth, and with lice or louselike little humans all over her body.

Conclusions

For the sake of brevity we shall confine ourselves to a few remarks on the interpretive portion of the research.

1. A and B gods do not seem to be twins as suggested by Benson (1972, p. 32). Rather they correspond to personages of different mythological generations like Pachacamac and Vichama (Calancha, 1638, lib. II, cap. XIX, pp. 412-414) or Con and Pachacamac (López de Gómara, cap. CXXII; 1852, p. 233) in coastal myths recorded at the time of the conquest.

2. The Goddess and A God are somehow connected, since he took upon himself the organization of the burial ceremony and vengeance for the humiliation of the Goddess. If B God were the patron of the race exterminated by the animated objects led by the Goddess, it is natural to expect friendly relations between the Goddess and A God, who is B's adversary.

3. A God and Iguana God often appear in a situation where they occupy two symmetrical positions to the right and left of some central object or space. In battle scenes Iguana always takes the side of A God but has a subordinate role (we here exclude Moche III representations of combat between an anthropomorphic personage and some reptile since it is not clear which god is represented or whether the enemy is Iguana; see Ravines, n.d., p. 9). These facts suggest that probably A God and Iguana God (rather than gods A and B) are twins, and that C God may be their father or patron.

4. Some speculations can be advanced regarding the probable friendly nature of the relationship between B God and Rayed God. The lunar deity is the victor over the Goddess and her band of animated objects, and thus is the potential enemy of A God. The totora rafts of B God and Rayed God meet in a common scene (Ubbelohde-Doering, 1931, Taf. XII) with no hint of a confrontation between the two deities. Rayed God fights with A God (Imbelloni, 1959, fig. 430) just as B God usually does, or perhaps it is B God himself who fights but has the attributes (rays)

the lunar deity.

5. Many characteristics of 16th and 17th century coastal mythology can be better understood and explained after elucidating Moche mythology. The most important similarities among all these bodies of mythology, as well as other South and Central American mythology lie not in the sphere of concrete themes and motifs, but rather in the main structural schemes.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank many individuals in Russia for their help in making possible my study of ancient Peruvian cultures. I am especially grateful to Prof. R.V. Kinzhalov whose perpetual support ensured the progress of my work. I am indebted to all my foreign correspondents, especially to Dr. Duccio Bonavia, for the publications and information received, without which no work could have been accomplished at all. My special thanks are due to Dr. L. Dräger and Dr. R. Krusche for their kind permission to let me look through the Peruvian collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig, one of the few that I was able to see with my own eyes. I am profoundly grateful to Prof. J.H. Rowe who organized the publication of the paper and whose insightful remarks concerning its contents has encouraged my further study of the problem. I also thank Dr. James W. VanStone for his friendly help.

April 6, 1978

NOTES

¹Unfortunately we cannot use the mural at Pañamarca which shows two gods in combat for it is impossible to see the details in published photographs (Bonavia, 1974, fig. 31) and the drawing is inaccurate (Schaedel, 1951, cover).

²It is probable though not certain that the animal is a dog (Benson, 1972, p. 34). It is perhaps appropriate to mention here that among the Cayapa Indians of Ecuador a trait peculiar to one of the gods is that he is accompanied by a dog (Barrett, 1925, pt. II, p. 353).

³Despite the considerable distortions in Uhle's drawing, the pairing of feline and bird effigy headdresses on the anthropomorphic personage and on Iguana God are clearly recognizable.

⁴I consider this double-headed snake to be the Moche version of the "world tree"; see Kechua, Mojo and Mosesten analogies in Valcárcel, 1959, p. 141 and Métraux, 1942, pp. 26,75. Recuay beliefs may perhaps be similarly reconstructed (Grieder, 1978, pp. 138-142, 187-189). The concept is probably universal (Ivanov and Toporov, 1974, p. 154).

⁵I sincerely thank Elizabeth P. Benson for her kindness in sending me a copy of her manuscript concerning Moche men with coca bags. It was of great help in correcting some of my misinterpretations.

⁶In marine scenes as well as many others, the representational pattern often repeats twice or more around the body of the vessel or down the textile, so the figure of the same personage (B God in this set of scenes) may be painted or woven more than once on the same piece. In cases of multiple representations of the same personage shown engaged in different actions, we have treated each activity independently.

⁷Benson argues (1972, p. 34) that the step-and-wave is a sea symbol, but it is much more probably a stylized or symbolic version of a mountain, or may even have multiple meanings.

⁸Kroeber (1926, pl. VI:6) published another vessel with a similar representation as Chimu style. I cannot judge from the photograph whether or not he is correct, but in any case the theme is of Moche origin. While the presence of Iguana God in one of these representations (Larco Hoyle, 1966b, fig. 53) proves that the anthropomorphic personage is not B God, it leaves us uncertain as to whether it is A or C. It is not likely C God, however, since this god is always shown as rather inactive, much more frequently sitting or standing than walking or doing something, so an air trip seems an inappropriate situation for him. The same reasoning is used as the basis of our identification of A in preference to C in several other settings.

⁹There are numerous modeled and some press-molded representations of this iconographic setting. Benson (1972, p. 32) identifies the birds as cormorants. While I cannot prove her wrong in all cases, at least sometimes these creatures are surely vultures.

¹⁰In the identification of fish species I follow Donnan (1976).

¹¹In fact B and C gods may have something in common; I argue that both are mythical personages of an older generation (than younger A God).

¹²In one case his body may consist of Capsicum peppers (Harcourt, 1948, fig. 123; see Lavallée, 1970, pl. 87C).

¹³One or two anthropomorphic figures whose faces lack any mythical traits and whose bodies merge into the cobs sometimes occur near the main (C God) maize deity (Baessler, 1902-03, vol. III, figs. 291, 292; Dräger, 1964, cover; Schmidt, 1929, p. 176:4). Iconographically (and I think thematically) they have little in common with the supposed A God figure adjoining the same maize god.

¹⁴During the "Presentation" ceremony studied by Donnan (1976) C God is not always a leader; if Rayed God takes part in the ritual, then C God (Donnan, 1976, fig. 104, personage "D") renders homage to him.

¹⁵He holds a cup in one hand and a piece of cloth in the other. These attributes connect him to the figures taking part in the sacrifice of prisoners and in the Presentation rites (e.g., Donnan, 1976, fig. 15; Larco Hoyle, 1946, fig. 20).

¹⁶In his figs. 104, 106, and 108 Donnan labels this personage "C," but refers to her representation in fig. 113 as depicting "B" by which letter he has earlier identified the Osprey ("part bird and part human") (Donnan, 1976, pp. 117, 127). This personage possesses two of the three characteristics of the Goddess (special headdress and plaits). As for the "three featherlike objects on the back" they cannot be seen as "counterparts of the wings on figure B" (same source p. 127), for only insect wings were treated in a similar way by Moche artists. These objects are most probably not wings at all, but some sort of decoration, the same as on the Goddess' dress in fig. 12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anton, Ferdinand
1972 The art of ancient Peru. G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Arte del Perú
1955 Exposición Arte del Perú Prehispánico, Colonial, Siglo XIX, Contemporáneo, Popular. Museo Nacional de Artes Plásticas, México.
- Baessler, Arthur
1902-03 Ancient Peruvian art; contributions to the archaeology of the empire of the Incas. Translated by A.H. Keane. A. Asher & Co., Berlin; Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. 4 vols.
- Barrett, Samuel Alfred
1925 The Cayapa Indians of Ecuador. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes and Monographs, 40. New York. [Bound in two parts, paged consecutively.]
- Benson, Elizabeth P.
1972 The Mochica; a culture of Peru. Art and Civilization of Indian America. Praeger Publishers, New York, Washington.
1975 Death-associated figures on Mochica pottery. Death and the Afterlife in Pre-Columbian America; a Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, October 27th, 1973, Elizabeth P. Benson, editor, pp. 105-144. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Trustees for Harvard University. Washington.
- ms. The men who have bags in their mouths. Indiana [Festschrift for Gerdt Kutscher]. Berlin. [In press]
- Berezkin, Yuri E.
1972 Mifologiya Mochika (Peru). Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, 1972, 4, pp. 171-192. Moskva. [abstract: La mythologie des Mochicas (le Pérou)]

- 1978a Dve grupp'i inoplemennikov na izobrazheniyakh Mochika (Peru). Sovetskaya Etnografiya, 1978, 1, pp. 126-137. Moskva. [Two groups of foreigners in Moche representations (Peru)]
- 1978b Khronologiya srednego i pozdnego etapov kul'turë Mochika (Peru). Sovetskaya Arkheologiya, 1978, 2, pp. 78-95. Moskva. [abstract: Chronologie des étapes moyenne et tardive de la culture de Mochica (Pérou)]
- Bonavia, Duccio
1974 Ricchata quellccani; pinturas murales prehispanicas. Fondo del Libro del Banco Industrial del Perú, Lima.
- Burger, Richard Lewis
1977 The Moche sources of archaism in Chimú ceramics. *Nawpa Pacha* 14, 1976, pp. 95-104. Berkeley.
- Calancha, Antonio de la
1638 Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Avgvstin en el Perv, con svcesos egenplares en esta monarqvia. [Tomo primero] Pedro Lacavalleria, Barcelona.
- Carrión Cachot, Rebeca
1959 La religión en el antiguo Perú (norte y centro de la costa, período post-clásico). [The author], Lima.
- Coe, Michael Douglas
1972 Mexico to Peru; a new hall opens. *Discovery*, vol. 7, no. 2, Spring, pp. 93-97. New Haven.
- Collier, Donald
1959 Indian art of the Americas. Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago.
- Cuesta Domingo, Mariano
1972 El sistema militarista de los mochicas. *Revista Española de Antropología Americana*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 269-307. Madrid.
- Danzel, Theodor-Wilhelm
1927 Handbuch der präkolumbischen Kulturen in Lateinamerika. Veröffentlichungen des Ibero-amerikanischen Instituts. Bibliothek der Ibero-amerikanischen Auslandskunde, Reihe A, Handbücher. Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg und Berlin.
- Dieseldorff, Erwin Paul
1925 Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker im alten und heutigen Mittelamerika. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 57. Jahrgang, Heft 1/2, pp. 1-45. Berlin.

Disselhoff, Hans-Dietrich

- 1940 Zur Frage eines "Mittelchimu"-Stiles. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 71. Jahrgang, 1939, Heft 1-3, pp. 129-138. Berlin.
- 1956 Hand- und Kopftrophäen in plastischen Darstellungen der Recuay-Keramik. Baessler-Archiv, n.F., Bd. IV (XXIX. Bd.), Heft 1, pp. 25-32. Berlin.
- 1957 Polychrome Keramik in der nordperuanischen Küstenzone. Baessler-Archiv, n.F., Bd. V (XXX. Bd.), Heft 2, pp. 203-207. Berlin.
- 1967 Daily life in ancient Peru. Translated from the German by Alisa Jaffa. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, etc.

Donnan, Christopher Bruce

- 1973 Moche occupation of the Santa Valley, Peru. University of California Publications in Anthropology, vol. 8. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- 1976 Moche art and iconography. UCLA Latin American Studies, vol. 33. Los Angeles.

Dräger, Lothar

- 1964 Das alte Peru. Aus dem Museum für Völkerkunde in Leipzig. Die Schatzkammer, Bd. 13. Prisma-Verlag, Leipzig.

Fuhrmann, Ernst

- 1922 Peru II. Schriften-Reihe, Kulturen der Erde; Material zur Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte aller Völker, Bd. II. Volkswang-Verlag G.m.b.H., Hagen i. W. und Darmstadt.

Fung Pineda, Rosa

- 1968 El Museo Amano. Fanal, vol. XXIII, no. 85, pp. 13-22 and back cover. Lima.

González, Alberto Rex

- 1971 Arte precolombino andino. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires.

Griender, Terence

- 1978 The art and archaeology of Pashash. University of Texas Press, Austin & London.

Haberland, Wolfgang

- 1975 Das gaben Sie uns: Indianer und Eskimos als Erfinder und Entdecker. Wegweiser zur Völkerkunde, Heft 17. Selbstverlag Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.

Harcourt, Raoul d'

- 1948 Arts de l'Amérique. Arts du Monde. Les Editions du Chêne, Paris.

- Harcourt, Raoul and Marguerite d'
 1924 *La céramique ancienne du Pérou; le littoral*. Editions Albert Morancé, Paris.
- Harcourt, Raoul d', and Nique, Jeanne
 1934 *La sarbacane, l'élevage des oiseaux et la tête réduite chez les peuples mochica*. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, n.s., tome XXVI, fasc. 1, pp. 103-108. Paris.
- Heyerdahl, Thor
 1975 *The art of Easter Island*. Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York.
- Hissink, Karin
 1951 *Motive der Mochica-Keramik*. *Paideuma*, Bd. V, Heft 3, Juli, pp. 115-135. Frankfurt am Main.
- Hocquenghem, Anne Marie
 1977a *Une interprétation des "vases portraits" mochicas*. *Ñawpa Pacha* 15, pp. 131-139. Berkeley.
- 1977b *Les représentations de chamans dans l'iconographie mochica*. *Ñawpa Pacha* 15, pp. 123-130. Berkeley.
- 1977c *Un "vase portrait" de femme mochica*. *Ñawpa Pacha* 15, pp. 117-121. Berkeley.
- Hocquenghem, Anne Marie, and Lyon, Patricia Jean
 1981 *A class of anthropomorphic supernatural females in Moche iconography*. *Ñawpa Pacha* 18, 1980, pp. 27-48. Berkeley
- Holstein, Otto
 1927 *Chan-Chan: capital of the Great Chimu*. *Geographical Review*, vol. XVII, no. 1, January, pp. 36-61. New York.
- Horkheimer, Hans
 1960 *Nahrung und Nahrungsgewinnung im vorspanischen Peru*. *Bibliotheca Ibero-Americana, Veröffentlichungen der Ibero-Amerikanischen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Bd. II. Colloquium Verlag, Berlin.
- 1961 *La cultura mochica*. *Las Grandes Civilizaciones del Antiguo Perú*, tomo I. Peruano Suiza S.A., Lima.
- Imbelloni, José
 1959 *L'antico Perù. Le razze e i popoli della terra*, ed. Renato Biasutti, vol. IV, cap. XII, pp. 570-608. Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, Torino.
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vsevolodovich, and Toporov, Vladimir Nikolaevich
 1974 *Issledovaniya v oblasti slavyanskikh drevnostei; leksich[eskie] i frazeol[ogicheskie] vopros'i rekonstruktsii textov*. *Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Institut Slavyanobedeniya i Balkanistiki*, Moskva.

Kroeber, Alfred Louis

- 1925 The Uhle pottery collections from Moche. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 21, no. 5, pp. [i-ii], 191-234. Berkeley, London.
- 1926 Archaeological explorations in Peru, part I; ancient pottery from Trujillo. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology, Memoirs, vol. II, no. 1, pp. 1-43. Chicago.
- 1930 Archaeological explorations in Peru, part II; the northern coast. Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropology, Memoirs, vol. II, no. 2, pp. 45-116. Chicago.

Kutscher, Gerdt

- 1948 Religion und Mythologie der frühen Chimú (Nord-Perú). Actes du XXVIIIe Congrès International des Américanistes, Paris 1947, pp. 621-631. Paris.
- 1950a Chimú; eine altindianische Hochkultur. Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin.
- 1950b Iconographic studies as an aid in the reconstruction of Early Chimú civilization. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, ser. II, vol. 12, no. 6, April, pp. 194-203. New York.
- 1954 Nordperuanische Keramik; figürlich verzierte Gefässe der Früh-Chimú. Cerámica del Perú septentrional; figuras ornamentales en vasijas de los chimúes antiguos. Monumenta Americana I. Verlag Gebr. Mann, Berlin.

Larco Hoyle, Rafael

- 1938-39 Los Mochicas. Tomo I, Casa Editora "La Crónica" y "Variedades", S.A. Ltda; tomo II, Empresa Editorial "Rimac" S.A., Lima.
- 1941 Los Cupisniques. Casa Editora "La Cronica" y "Variedades" S.A. Ltda., Lima.
- 1943 La escritura peruana sobre pallares. Extracto de la Revista Geográfica Americana, año XI, vol. XX, noviembre de 1943, no. 122, y año XI, vol. XX, diciembre de 1943, no. 123. Buenos Aires.
- 1946 A culture sequence for the north coast of Perú. Handbook of South American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 143, vol. 2, pp. 149-175. Washington.
- 1948 Cronología arqueológica del norte del Perú. Biblioteca del Museo de Arqueología "Rafael Larco Herrera", Hacienda Chiclín, Trujillo; Sociedad Geográfica Americana, Buenos Aires.
- 1966a Checan; ensayo sobre las representaciones eróticas del Perú precolombino. Ediciones Nagel, Ginebra, París, Munich.

- 1966b Peru. Translated from the French by James Hogarth.
Archaeologia Mundi. The World Publishing Company, Cleveland
and New York.
- Lavallée, Danièle
1970 Les représentations animales dans la céramique mochica.
Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, IV. Paris.
- Lips, Eva
1967 Das Indianerbuch. VEB F.A. Brockhaus Verlag, Leipzig.
- López de Gómara, Francisco
1852 Hispania victrix; historia general de las Indias. Biblioteca
de Autores Españoles, tomo XXII, pp. 155-455. M. Rivadeneyra -
Editor, Madrid.
- Lothrop, Samuel Kirkland
1972 Treasures of ancient America; pre-Columbian art from Mexico to
Peru. New edition. Skira, Geneva. Distributed by Crown
Publishers, Inc., New York.
- Lumbreras, Luis Guillermo
1979 Los orígenes de la civilización en el Perú. Cuarta edición.
Colección: El Ande y la Vida. Editorial Milla Batres, Lima.
- Métraux, Alfred
1942 The native tribes of eastern Bolivia and western Matto Grosso.
Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 134. Washington.
- Moser, Christopher L.
1974 Ritual decapitation in Moche art. Archaeology, vol. 27, no. 1,
January, pp. 30-37. New York.
- Muelle, Jorge Clemente, y Blas, Camilo
1938 Muestrario de arte peruano precolombino. I.--Cerámica.
Revista del Museo Nacional, tomo VII, no. 2, II semestre, pp.
163-280. Lima.
- Mujica Gallo, Miguel
1959 The gold of Peru. Aurel Bongers, Recklinghausen.
- Nachtigall, Horst
1966 Indianische Fischer, Feldbauer und Viezüchter; Beiträge zur
peruanischen Völkerkunde. Marburger Studien zur Völkerkunde,
Bd. 2. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin.
- Nordenskiöld, Erland
1921 The Copper and Bronze Ages in South America. Comparative
Ethnographical Studies, 4. Elanders Boktryckerie Aktiebolag,
Göteborg.

- Proulx, Donald Allen
1973 Archaeological investigations in the Nepeña Valley, Peru. Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Research Report no. 13. Amherst.
- Ravines, Rogger Hernán
n.d. Escamosos y cocodrilos en el mundo andino. CIBA-GEIGY Peruana, S.A., Lima. [published about 1972]
- Safford, William Edwin
1924 Notre héritage des indiens américains. Annaes do XX Congresso Internacional de Americanistas realizado no Rio de Janeiro, de 20 a 30 de agosto de 1922, vol. I, pp. 173-178. Rio de Janeiro.
- Sawyer, Alan Reed
1954 The Nathan Cummings Collection of ancient Peruvian art (formerly Wassenmann-San Blas Collection). Handbook. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

1966 Ancient Peruvian ceramics; the Nathan Cummings Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Distributed by New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, Connecticut.
- Schaedel, Richard Paul
1951 Mochica murals at Pañamarca. Archaeology, vol. 4, no. 3, September, pp. 145-154 and front cover. Cambridge.
- Schmidt, Max
1929 Kunst und Kultur von Peru. Propyläen Verlag, Berlin.
- Seler, Eduard
1912 Archäologische Reise in Süd- und Mittel-Amerika. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 44. Jahrgang, Heft 1, pp. 201-242. Berlin.

1893 Peruanische Alterthümer; insbesondere altperuanische Gefässe, und Gefässe der Chibcha und der Tolima- und Cauca-Stämme, Goldschmuck etc. Herausgegeben von der Verwaltung des Königlichen Museums für Völkerkunde zu Berlin. Dr. E. Mertens & Cie., Berlin.
- Sestieri, Pellegrino Claudio
1963 Rappresentazioni di Ai-Pec su vasi Mochica del Museo Pigorini. Bolletino d'Arte, anno 48, no. IV, Ottobre-Dicembre, pp. 295-302. Roma.
- Shimada, Izumi
1977 Socioeconomic organization at Moche V Pampa Grande, Peru: prelude to a major transformation to come. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Arizona. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
- Strong, William Duncan, and Evans, Clifford Jr.
1952 Cultural stratigraphy in the Virú Valley, northern Peru; the Formative and Florescent Epochs. Columbia Studies in Archeology and Ethnology, vol. IV. New York.

- Tabío, Ernesto E.
1969 Historia antigua de la costa peruana (época prehispánica).
Ph.D. dissertation, Moscow.
- Tello, Julio César
1931 Un modelo de escenografía plástica en el arte antiguo peruano.
Wira Kocha, vol. I, no. I, enero, pp. 87-112. Lima.
- 1956 Arqueología del valle de Casma. Culturas: Chavín, Santa o
Huaylas Yunga y Sub-Chimú. Publicación Antropológica del
Archivo "Julio C. Tello" de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San
Marcos, vol. I. Lima.
- Tercero, José
1939 Practical Pan Americanism; the First Inter-American Travel
Congress and the Latin American Good Will Tour. Bulletin of the
Pan American Union, vol. LXXIII, no. 3, March, pp. 137-150.
Washington.
- Towle, Margaret Ashley
1961 The ethnobotany of pre-Columbian Peru. Viking Fund
Publications in Anthropology, no. 30. Aldine Publishing Company,
Chicago.
- Ubbelohde-Doering, Heinrich
1931 Altperuanische Gefässmalereien, II. Teil. Marburger Jahrbuch
für Kunstwissenschaft, [Bd. VI], pp. 1-63. Marburg an der Lahn.
[author's name given as Heinrich U. Doering]
- 1954 The art of ancient Peru. Second edition. Frederick A.
Praeger, New York.
- Uhle, Max
1912 Las relaciones prehistóricas entre el Perú y la Argentina.
Actas del XVII^o Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, sesión
de Buenos Aires, 17-23 de mayo de 1910, pp. 509-540. Buenos
Aires.
- 1935 Die alten Kulturen Perús im Hinblick auf die Archäologie und
Geschichte des amerikanischen Kontinents. Wilhelm Süsserott
Verlag, Berlin-Wilmersdorf.
- Valcárcel, Luis Eduardo
1937 Dioses, hombres y bestias. Cuadernos de Arte Antiguo del Perú;
valles de la costa septentrional, no. 5. Imprenta del Museo
Nacional, Lima.
- 1959 Etnohistoria del Perú antiguo. Historia del Perú (Incas).
Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Patronato del Libro
Universitario, Textos Universitarios 1. Lima.
- Willey, Gordon Randolph
1971 An introduction to American archaeology. Volume two, South
America. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

All the figures illustrating this article except fig. 12 are taken from Baessler, 1902-03. Volume and figure number within that work are provided below for each figure.

Plate I

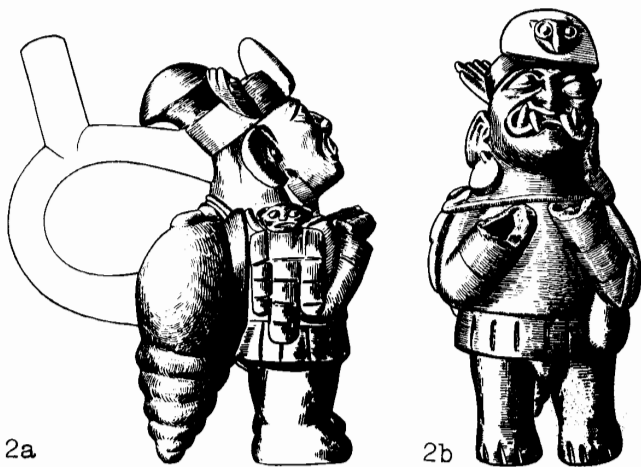
- Fig. 1. Gods A and B in combat. Vol. III, fig. 347.
 Fig. 2. Hermit Crab God. Fig. 2a, vol. II, fig. 226; fig. 2b, vol. II, fig. 226a.
 Fig. 3. B God. Vol. III, fig. 296.
 Fig. 4. B God fishing from shore. Vol. III, fig. 320.
 Fig. 5. A God and Iguana God at foot of cliff with human sacrifice nearby. Fig. 5a, vol. III, fig. 314a; fig. 5b, vol. III, fig. 314.
 Fig. 6. C God holding maize in one hand and manioc in the other; two snakes twine among mountains behind. Vol. III, fig. 288.

Plate II

- Fig. 7. C God seated among mountains. Vol. III, fig. 310.
 Fig. 8. A or C God holding knife in one hand, disembodied head in the other. Vol. III, fig. 284.
 Fig. 9. God with feline head seated among mountains. Vol. III, fig. 311.
 Fig. 10. Rayed God. Vol. III, fig. 297.
 Fig. 11. Rayed God without rays. Vol. III, fig. 293.
 Fig. 12. Version of the "Presentation" scene from a small bowl from the floor of Structure 64, Unit 52, Sector H, Pampa Grande, Peru. The Goddess is on the far right, and faces Rayed God. Drawing by Izumi Shimada. See Shimada, 1977, fig. 72, p. 300.



1



2a

2b



3



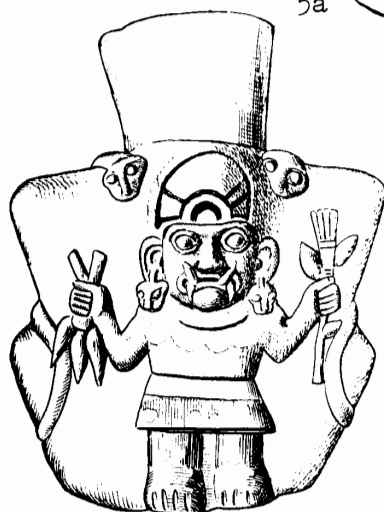
4



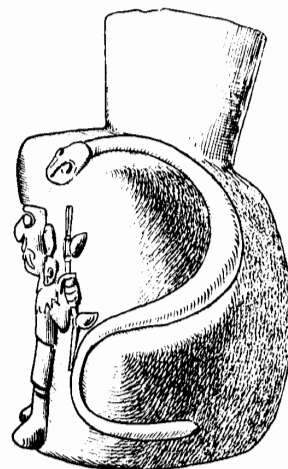
5a



5b

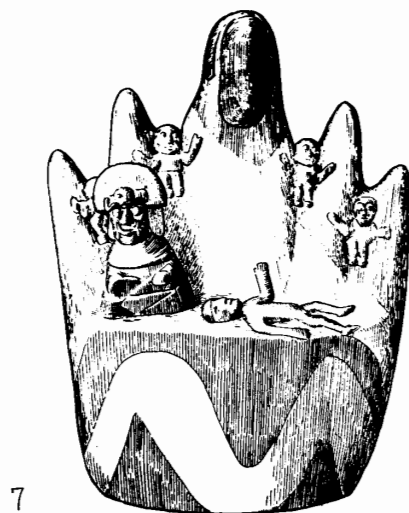


6a

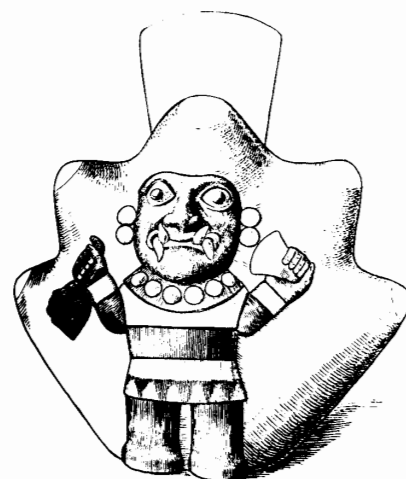


6b

Plate I. Fig. 1, gods A and B; fig. 2, Hermit Crab God; figs. 3,4, B God; fig. 5, A God and Iguana God; fig. 6, C God. See Key to Illustrations.



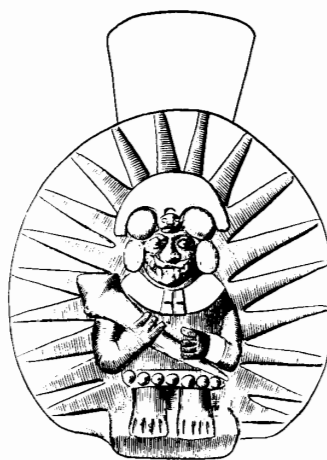
7



8



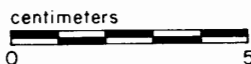
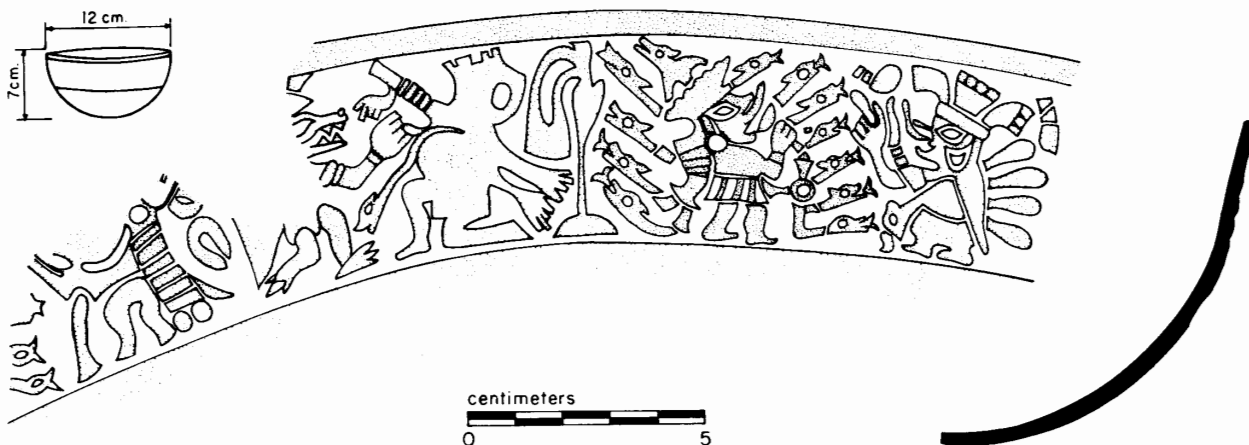
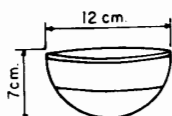
9



10



11



12

Plate II. Fig. 7, C God; fig. 8, A or C god; fig. 9, God with feline head; figs. 10, 11, Rayed God; fig. 12, Goddess and Rayed God in the "Presentation" scene. See Key to Illustrations.