

A CLASS OF ANTHROPOMORPHIC SUPERNATURAL FEMALES IN MOCHE ICONOGRAPHY

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Introduction

In this work we propose to establish the existence of at least one class of anthropomorphic supernatural females represented in several contexts in Moche art. We shall not, at this time, attempt to interpret either the identity or the function of these personages within Moche religion and/or mythology.

In the Fall of 1979, the authors discovered that each of them had independently identified a figure in Moche art as a supernatural female, and that each had made some observations regarding that figure that the other had not. Since it would clearly be impossible, henceforth, for either one to discuss this topic without inadvertently using the other's observations, they determined to publish their findings jointly. In the following presentation, unless one of the authors is specifically named, it is to be understood that the conclusions are jointly held whether they were arrived at jointly or independently.

Both Hocquenghem (1974; 1977b; 1977c; ms.c) and Lyon (1979) have referred to the question of female representations in Moche art. Hocquenghem identified a painted representation (Appendix 1, no. 3) as a supernatural female (ms.b), as well as recognizing the relationship between that depiction and the figurine shown here in fig. 3 (ms.c). And while, in 1978, Lyon wrote that there were no positively identifiable Moche female supernaturals (1979, p. 107), she shortly changed her mind.

Since both authors (Hocquenghem, 1974; 1977b; 1977c; Lyon, 1979, pp. 96-97) have already discussed the problems of establishing the supernatural status and sex of individual representations, it is sufficient here to note that the personage we shall define appears with prominent fangs and with serpent appendages attached to both her hair and clothing, although not all representations have both or either of these elements. We established her gender on the basis of her hair, which is dressed in two long, spirally bound locks, a feature restricted to females in those cases where primary sexual characteristics are visible (Hocquenghem, 1977c).

In addition to fangs, serpent appendages and bound locks, there is a series of associated features which serve to distinguish this personage from all others in Moche art. This complex of features is subject to some variation which seems largely determined by the context in which the personage is represented. These variants will be discussed below.

The Sample

Our sample consists of 43 representations: 37 painted on

vessels, 1 in a wall painting, 1 modeled vessel, 3 figurines, and 1 engraved on metal. The representations have been numbered and are listed in Appendix 1. They will henceforth be referred to by number. The earliest depictions that we have been able to identify positively are on Phase IV vessels (nos. 2,11). Although it is not always possible to specify the phase, the vast majority of the representations are on Phase V vessels.

Not all renderings are entirely comparable. The amount of detail shown in a given depiction may be conditioned by a number of variables: size, technique of execution, position of figure. The largest depiction in the sample is about 73 cm. high (no. 1), while the smallest ones seem to be the minor figures grouped in some scenes of the Burial Theme (nos. 37-43), some of which measure only about 1.5 cm. high. The figurines were all molded in such a way that their backs are plain, so that certain features of back treatment are not present; they are also so nearly unpainted that face painting patterns are not indicated. In some contexts the figures are generally shown seated or squatting, so that the feet and legs are invisible. Such variation renders it as impossible as it is generally undesirable to attempt a simple definition on the basis of presence or absence of features.

Definition

We used the figure from the Pañamarca mural (no. 1) as the basis of our definition because of its large size and abundant detail (fig. 1). Moreover, the polychrome painting on this figure facilitates distinguishing the elements of dress and ornament.

Dress

The body of the figure is clothed in what appears to be a one-piece garment (dress) which extends from the neck to about mid-calf. The dress is depicted as a series of overlapping horizontal bands which in this version, seem to be composed of feathers. Her waist is encircled by a broad belt, decorated with a row of discs or dots, which terminates in a serpent-headed tie. On her head is a cloth, decorated with polka-dots or discs, which extends down her back to terminate at about the hemline of her dress in three tassels. The headcloth is secured by a headband from which rise two curved plumelike elements, each terminating in three tassels. When the figure is shown in profile, as in the painted representations, these curved "plumes" are placed at the front and back of the head, but in two of the modeled versions (nos. 6,7; fig. 3) they are shown at the sides of the head, while on no. 8 (fig. 4) they are attached near the center of the headband and curve to the sides.

Some features that are common to many other representations of the personage do not occur on no. 1. One of these is a mantle, which occurs on 30 of the 43 versions studied (see Appendix 2). In some cases the mantle may be simply a displacement of the dotted headcloth, but 21 specimens have both a cloak and a headcloth. On no. 1, the fact that the "feathers" on the upper portion of the body are narrower than those

on the skirt may be intended to indicate that the upper portion is a mantle. On most other figures, however, the mantle does not entirely obscure the upper portion of the dress and is usually rather long as well, so that this interpretation is unlikely.

Ornaments

The figure wears a necklace of circular beads/discs, disc ear-spools with beaded rims, and wristbands or wide bracelets. Her face is painted in a pattern which extends diagonally from the temple to approximately the cheekbone and thence vertically to the chin line. Her feet are bare and there is no painted pattern visible on her feet and ankles.

Her hair is dressed in two long locks which are bound spirally. They terminate in loose ends which issue from the mouths of eared serpents.

Associated features

To facilitate the following discussion, we have assigned letters to those features which are associated with this personage.

- A. Long, one-piece garment, referred to as a dress.
- B. Belt.
- C. Mantle.
- D. Headcloth.
- E. Tassels on lower end of headcloth.
- F. Simple, horizontal headband.
- G. Two (or more) plumelike elements rising from headband.
- H. Disc necklace.
- I. Disc earspools.
- J. Wristbands/bracelets.
- K. Long, spirally bound locks.
- L. Serpent-head terminators to locks.
- M. Face paint on area from ear to cheekbone.
- N. Bare feet, and no painted pattern on ankles or feet.

These features are tabulated in Appendix 2. Only feature A appears on all the depictions. Furthermore, with the exception of K, all the features may appear on figures that can be identified as male on the basis of dress and other characteristics (Hocquenghem, 1974). Nevertheless, figures that appear superficially to resemble the personage herein defined, for example the musicians with long fringed garments, mantles, and disc earspools (Kutscher, 1950, fig. 32), have only three of the features listed above, even when tabulated with more generous criteria than we used in tabulating the features of our nos. 1-43. In contrast, the lowest number of features tabulated for female figures in our sample was six, nos. 17, 37, both figures lacking much detail.

A number of difficulties arise when one attempts to analyze Moche art on this level of detail. We referred to the problems resulting from discrepancy in scale, difference in technique, and position of the figure. Further difficulty results from the tendency of individual artists to reinterpret elements. We have already mentioned that some

mantles may be displaced headcloths. It is also probable that the frequent use of dots to ornament headbands results from displacing dots from the portion of the headcloth covering the crown of the head onto the headband. In some versions the dotted belt has apparently been reinterpreted as a dotted border at the hemline and armholes of the dress; such borders never co-occur with belts. It is also likely that the depictions of layered headcloths represent a reininterpretation and displacement of the vertically divided horizontal bands of the dress, since these two features do not occur on the same representations. Changes of this sort create images that are superficially distinct but can be related by careful attention to detail and association.

Besides tabulating features, we considered the context in which the figures appear. For example, Donnan and McClelland (1979) published a number of vessels depicting a series of scenes related to a burial. Two of the scenes included on these vessels usually contain one or more anthropomorphic supernatural female (the "assembly scene" and the "conch-shell transfer scene"). There are examples of each of these scenes including figures with from ten to twelve of the features listed above, thus unquestionably depicting the personage herein discussed. While in other versions of the same scenes fewer of the features are depicted, the position of the figures within the scene contributes to the security of the identification. The same is true of other contexts.

Context

There are four basic contexts in which this personage or others closely related to her appear.

The Presentation (nos. 1-8)

Four versions of this composition, which Hocquenghem (1978, p. 135) called "representations of sacrifice and offerings," include the supernatural female. She is the figure labeled C by Donnan in his discussion of the Presentation Theme (Donnan, 1975; 1976; 1977; 1978). Within the composition (nos. 1-4) she may occupy one of two positions. In the Moche IV example (no. 2), she presents a footed goblet to the central figure, while in two cases (nos. 3,4) she follows a personage who presents such a goblet to the central figure. The scene containing no. 1 is incomplete, so her position is indeterminate, but Donnan's reconstruction is reasonable.¹ Regardless of her position within the scene, in all cases the female holds a footed goblet in one hand and in the other a disc (no. 2) which seems to be a half gourd or calabash used to cover the goblet (nos. 3,4; fig. 2).

Hocquenghem has commented on the identity of modeled and other individual representations with component figures of complex scenes (1977a), and Donnan noted the specific relationship of one individual representation of the supernatural female to the Presentation Theme (1976, p. 125; 1978, p. 171). Our sample includes four individual representations (nos. 5-8).² In all cases she holds the goblet in one hand (see note 1). In no. 8 her left hand is empty but in 6 and 7 it

holds a circular object with a spiral or concentric circle pattern on it; the amorphous object held by no. 5 probably represents the gourd cover.

There is considerable variation among these eight representations, but most of it results from differences in the detail of the renderings, for example, the necklace on no. 2 is multiple strands rather than one strand of discs. The most striking variation is found in feature G, the headdress plumes. The basic two-plume form occurs on nos. 1 and 6-8, while no. 2 has a variant in which the plumes terminate in serpent heads. No. 5 has a three-element variant with a central fan-like element between the front and back plumes, while the variant on no. 4 has four elements, each serrated at the top and covered with dot/discs (fig. 2). The headdress of no. 3 is problematical. At first glance it seems to have two plumes, but the actual specimen (see Appendix 1 for references to published photographs) shows that the base of the spout intersects the front of the headdress. Thus, no. 3 may have been intended to be wearing a three-element headdress similar to that of no. 5. Each of the headdress variants noted here is related to variations found in other contexts.

The Animated Objects (nos. 9-10)

In the one version of this context which certainly includes the supernatural female she is represented twice (fig. 5). The composition is obviously divided into at least two scenes (Kutscher, 1950, pp. 44-45; Lyon, ms.). In the lower portion a number of animated objects seem to be winning a battle carried out mainly against human opponents, leading prisoners to the female supernatural (no. 9). In the upper portion, however, the animated objects seem to be losing a battle to animal and bird warriors, and one of the animals appears to have captured the supernatural female (no. 10) (Berezkin, 1981, p. 14). The two women differ in detail, but are almost certainly representations of the same personage, as Berezkin noted as long ago as 1972 (his fig. 2). Outside of this context, they most closely resemble our specimen no. 2.

The rather schematic rendering of this representation makes it difficult to determine details of garb. Both dresses are black, the belts are plain, but that of no. 9 terminates in a serpent head, a feature found only in no. 1 outside of this context. The mantles of the two figures differ, the one on no. 9 being dotted while that of no. 10 has a unique pattern of three parallel, vertically-oriented wavy lines, somewhat reminiscent of the mantle of no. 3. The plumes of both headdresses terminate in serpent heads,³ and each figure has a single serpent head terminating her hair (or headcloth?) which falls down her back. Figure 9 has a single disc(?) at her throat; it may represent the necklace or may be an indication of a tie for the mantle as shown in nos. 18, 24-26, 30 and possibly 29.

The Moon/Boat and the Burial contexts

Cordy-Collins in her work on the Moon/Boat representations (1977, p. 427) and Donnan and McClelland in their study of the Burial Theme (1979, p. 8), have all recognized the relationship between one

kind of figure found in the two contexts. None of them has, however, related these personages to other contexts or identified them as female.

There is one specimen (no. 11) which is especially useful in establishing the gender of these figures. It is a modeled figure which forms part of a vessel of Moche Phase IV (or possibly advanced III; only the tip of the spout is visible). The figure is standing in front of what appears to be a crescent, the horns of which extend to either side of her. She wears a single garment which just reaches her feet, with a plain belt at the waist. A headcloth issues from beneath her headdress, covers her elbows, and ends just below her hemline. She has definite fangs, but no visible face paint. Her hair is bound in two locks which are confined by her belt before reaching her feet where they terminate in snake heads. The locks are bound in two opposed spirals so that they superficially resemble braids. She wears broad bracelets/wristbands, a disc necklace, and larger disc earspools. In her left hand she holds some sort of a small bowl and in her right hand a short stick, one end of which is poised over the bowl.

The headdress of this figure is especially important and clearly a three-dimensional version of the most common multi-element headdress worn by the females in these two compositions. On no. 11 the headdress consists of three segments: crown, plumes and brim. The crown is broad, vertical and undecorated. From its top rises a circle of relatively broad outward-curving elements with rounded ends, perhaps representing feathers. The lower edge of the crown is encircled by two narrow, plain, slightly slanting bands and terminating this brim is a broader band divided into a series of opposed triangles, the upper ones the same color as the rest of the headdress and in low relief while the lower ones are painted white. The brim curves out and down to the level of the top of the nose.

There is no question that no. 11 represents a personage who is both female and supernatural. The presence of the crescent suggests her relationship to the females in the painted representations of the Moon/Boat context which we shall now discuss.

The Moon/Boat (nos. 12-30)

On nineteen vessels the female figure is represented in a boat which may be reduced to a simple crescent or even entirely omitted (Cordy-Collins, 1977). Of the nineteen, there are four which are standing (nos. 12-15) and one seated (no. 16) which differ markedly from the remaining fourteen.

Nos. 12 and 13 closely resemble one another, and the headdress of 12 is very similar to that of no. 11. The horizontal "headband" is decorated with opposed triangles and has four horizontal divisions; it extends well beyond the head in back. The headcloth does not touch the head, but falls from the back of the "headband." Rising from the center of the top of the headband is a fanlike element and behind it (the front portion is not visible in the published photograph) are three slender, curved elements which have rounded tips on which two segments are shown.

The headcloth is plain except that it terminates in a tasseled band. The dress is divided into horizontal zigzag bands, and immediately above the lower border is an element characteristic of many of the Moon/Boat female figures (nos. 12-15, 19-24, 26, 28, 30) and mentioned by Donnan and McClelland (1979, p. 8). This element is most often depicted as a slender, horizontal oval divided in the center by two closely spaced, vertical lines, and located in the torso of the female figure. In nos. 12 and 13 it is located near the bottom of the dress and is considerably larger than in other representations. No. 12 also has a disc necklace and earspools, bracelet/wristbands and plain feet and ankles although her cheek and chin are painted. She may be holding a short rod in one hand. The dress of no. 13 (fig. 6) is also divided horizontally by a zigzag. Her headdress is surmounted by a series of vertical elements terminating in eared serpent heads. From beneath the brim in back issue two reticulated elements also terminating in serpent heads. These elements probably represent her bound locks although they appear over, rather than under, her headcloth. No. 13 is the only version of the Moche female supernatural that does not wear visible disc earspools. A pendent serpent head covers the ear area, and the protuberant eye of this head may stand in lieu of the earspool.

No. 14 is unique in having no plumes whatsoever on her head-dress, although it is similar to those of 12 and 13 in extending beyond the head and low on the face. The other garb of this figure also differs somewhat from that of 12 and 13, although her position is like theirs. Her headcloth rather than being plain is patterned in three units, the upper and lower of which are reticulated; it does, however, end in tassels. In contrast to the other two, she wears a dotted mantle over her dress, and the dress is adorned with horizontal bands of discrete elements. She also lacks a necklace.

The headdress of no. 15 is almost identical to those described for nos. 3 and 5. She further differs from nos. 12-14 in having a dress decorated with dotted circles and a headcloth which is so aberrant in form that one might doubt its identity were it not for no. 24 which has a rather similar one. No. 15 is standing on the boat, like 12-14, but holds a fishing line in one hand and a fish in the other. The enigmatic oval element described above is, on this figure, vertical rather than horizontal, extending from her necklace to the lower border of her dress.

No. 16 is most closely linked to the female in the Presentation composition although the depiction is peculiar in many ways. She is seated on a boat, apparently tailor-fashion. Her dress is dotted as is her belt; the belt has two vertical lines which may relate it to the enigmatic oval objects. A black band with a row of larger white circles slants from her throat back over her shoulder and probably represents a mantle, although it may also imply a necklace. Her headdress has two fanlike plumes rising from the front and back of a dotted headband which does not extend beyond her head. The plumes are separated by three slender black elements similar in shape to the curved elements of the head-dress of no. 12. Her hair is represented as a thick reticulated band which terminates in a serpent head. The thickness of the bound lock may be intended to suggest a headcloth as well, since there is no separate

one. In one hand she holds a footed goblet from which she appears about to drink. A bizarre aspect of this figure is the presence of seven elements resembling dotted dragonfly wings which issue from her back. They are not, however, unique since three elements of similar shape may be seen in the drawing of no. 5 (see also Berezkin, 1981, fig. 12).

The remaining fourteen specimens related to the Moon/Boat are very similar to one another whether on a boat, in a crescent, or lacking any specifically represented vehicle, and while they differ in many ways from the five already described, the relationship is clear. A series of elements shared by figures 17-30 distinguishes them from those related to the Presentation and the Animated Objects. The dress is patterned with reticulation rather than horizontal bands, a feature that caused Donnan and McClelland (1979, p. 8) to refer to these figures as "Net Shirts." Furthermore, all but one (no. 17) wear a headcloth rendered as a series of overlapping segments, like fringe bands. Moreover, the headdress of all these figures except no. 17 consists of a headband (usually dotted) from which rises a series of narrow, oblong black elements varying in number from seven to fourteen. These elements sometimes flare markedly toward the top and may be more or less curved, but the top is always flat. All these figures are seated and all are surrounded by numerous lines which radiate from the body and headdress. In most cases these rays terminate in serpent heads. Nos. 17-26 and 28-30 wear mantles which are dotted except for nos. 17, 21, and 29-30. A variant unique to this group is the replacement of the necklace by a mantle tie, as noted earlier. One specimen (no. 29) has a dotted border at the armhole of the dress. Many of these figures (nos. 16-20, 23, 24, 26, 28-30) also share the fact that each has one hand on or near an unidentifiable object, as noted by Cordy-Collins (1977, p. 422).

Of this group of fourteen figures, the most aberrant is clearly no. 17, which is drawn in a style totally different from the others. Aside from the general drawing, however, this figure differs from the others primarily in her headdress which consists of a simple headband from which rise five curved elements similar to those on the headdress of no. 12 except that these terminate in snake's heads which are indicated by the extension of a bifurcate tongue from the end of the element.

The Burial (nos. 31-43)

Of the seven published vessels which bear the composition that Donnan and McClelland have called the Burial Theme, six have a series of representations that must be considered here.

Each of the six contains, in the section Donnan and McClelland call the "assembly scene," a grouping of small figures (four to fifteen visible in the drawings and photographs, nos. 38-43) which appear to be intimately related to the female supernatural we are discussing. In tabulating the features of these groupings, each group was considered as a unit so that if six of eight figures in the same group had necklaces, for example, the entire group is considered to have necklaces, but the group as a whole constitutes only one example. In addition to the groups of small figures, one of the vessels has a larger female figure in this

scene (no. 31).

In the "conch-shell transfer scene" four of the six vessels show one larger standing female figure (nos. 33-36), and one has an additional seated female figure (no. 32). Each of these larger figures has been considered as a separate representation, so that for the six vessels there are thirteen tabulated figures, seven of which (nos. 37-43) represent groups of small figures. The seventh group of small figures (no. 37) also occurs in the "conch-shell transfer scene," in which four small figures are shown seated below the major figures.

The female figures of these two scenes and those of the Moon/Boat resemble each other primarily in the reticulated dress, layered headcloth (except nos. 32,34,39) and the multi-element headdress. The single exception to that headdress is the most elaborate of all the female figures in the Burial context, no. 34. Her headdress consists of the standard two plumes with tassels plus a central fan-shaped element very like nos. 3, 5 and 15. Burial Theme female representations generally also wear a mantle which is shown as a narrow band which curves from the throat across the neck and down the back and is sometimes so narrow as to be almost invisible. On the small group figures and nos. 31 and 35 this mantle is plain white but on nos. 32-34 and 36 it is dotted, a feature shared with many of the Moon/Boat figures. A feature unique to two figures of the "conch-shell transfer scene" (nos. 34,36) is the depiction of the mantle and/or headcloth with a serpent-head terminator.

In contrast to the Moon/Boat figures, only one group of Burial figures (no. 38) wears a belt and it is plain. Seven examples (31,34-36, 41-43), however, have dotted borders at the hemline and armhole of the dress (compare no. 29). The headband of all the larger figures is dotted. The number of plume elements on the headdress varies from four to eleven (generally more on larger figures). The small "assembly scene" figures (nos. 38-43) are arranged in two or three rows of three to five figures each. Nos. 41 and 42 are seated, while the other groups are standing, each figure holding a long pointed staff vertically in front of her. All the larger standing figures in the "conch-shell transfer scene" face a stepped platform upon which is seated an elaborately garbed supernatural being. No. 32 is seated behind this being on the platform. No. 31 is anomalous since she replaces the personage that Donnan and McClelland call "Wrinkle Face" on the right hand side of the "assembly scene." The same vessel has other peculiarities in its design which will be discussed below.

Discussion of the Class

It should be clear by now that there is at least one class of supernatural anthropomorphic females in Moche iconography and that it is of some importance. Is there, however, only one class of females, or are there two which closely resemble one another? The systematic differences generally present between the figures of the Presentation and Animated Objects compositions and the Burial and Moon/Boat contexts

suggest the possibility of two different classes. Nevertheless, such transitional examples as nos. 12-15, as well as the recurrence in each context of the three-element headdress, a particular face-paint pattern, disc earspools, bracelets/wristbands, and undecorated ankles and feet, lead us to consider it most probable that the personage we have defined represents a single class of female supernatural.

This class does, however, contain more than one member. Without attempting to interpret the scenes, we can point to two distinct types of representation. The small figures which occur in groups (nos. 37-43), while of the same class as the larger ones that appear singly, may be meant to represent subordinates of the major figure. They are never shown with the extreme elaboration of the larger figures (e.g., serpent-head appendages and dotted mantles), but the lack of elaboration may result simply from the scale at which they are drawn. There is at least one scene, however, in which two large-scale females are represented (nos. 32,33). No. 33 stands behind the anthropomorphic lizard who is climbing the steps to the platform upon which two figures are seated. The figure at the top of the steps is apparently male and has avian aspects, but behind him is seated no. 32 who is clearly female and very similar in detail to no. 33. The vessel bearing this scene has more females than any other. Not only are there two large figures, but there are fifteen small ones in the "assembly scene," and four tiny seated females below the two figures seated on the platform.

Problematic Representations

The figure seated at the top of the steps in Donnan and McClelland's figs. 10 and 11 represents a further problem. Even if their suggestion that these two scenes are the work of the same artist is incorrect, the styles are intimately related and it is most probable that the same personage is represented on both vessels in spite of very minor differences in the two renderings. This figure includes nine of the fourteen features associated with the supernatural female. It wears a long, one-piece garment decorated with dots (or circles); the armhole (and in one case the hemline) have dotted borders. There is a white mantle, layered headcloth with tassels, large disc earspools, and painted cheeks. The headdress comprises a dotted headband from which rise two solid black plumelike elements more nearly the shape of those on two- and three-element headdresses than the multi-element ones usually shown on Burial Theme vessels. This headdress differs from other painted two-plume headdresses in that its "plumes" occupy the entire crown of the head and are of even thickness throughout rather than being separate, more or less triangular elements rising at each end of the headband. In this case the plumes come together in the center to form a V (compare fig. 4), and on one of the figures three long, serpent-headed appendages arise from this V (compare no. 16). On one of the vessels this figure faces the standing female and there are no other figures in the scene. In the other version the entire scene is not visible, but the anthropomorphized lizard is the figure closest to this being.

We think that this figure is probably female. The basis for

our decision lies not only in the associated features, but also in the scene mentioned above in which a major female figure is seated on the platform. If, in that scene, the winged male figure at the head of the stairs were removed, the result would be a scene similar to that in Donnan and McClelland's fig. 10. The work in this particular variant art style is otherwise aberrant as seen in the replacement of "Wrinkle Face" in the "assembly scene" with, in one case an anthropomorphic fox or feline, and in the other case a large-sized female (no. 31). It is impossible to comprehend the significance of such variations until we have a better grasp of local and temporal variation in Moche V art.

Another representation of a supernatural female is found in a painted scene on a Moche IV stirrup-spout vessel.⁴ In the detail shown in fig. 7, she is shown wearing a long, solid black, one-piece garment with a belt decorated with dotted diamonds and having a tie which terminates in a serpent head. A single bound lock, whose end issues from a serpent's mouth just like those in fig. 1, hangs down her back. She faces an anthropomorphic avian being who holds, among other things, a club with a human head. Other objects in the scene indicate its relationship to the composition of the Animated Objects, and it seems most probable that the figure with the black dress is the same personage as nos. 9 and 10. Because of the paucity of features and uniqueness of the context, we did not include this figure in the preceding argument.

A modeled figure on a blackware vessel said to come from Chimbote appears to represent the female of the Moon/Boat context (Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, fig. 537), although the photograph is inadequate to permit the tabulation of such features as the necklace, headcloth and mantle. The figure is seated/squatting on or in a solid crescent. The figure's mouth either has very prominent fangs or is obscured by an elaborate four-pointed nose ornament. The top of the head is represented as a featureless dome starting just above the eyebrows. Large disc earspools with beaded rims are prominent, and from behind them issue bound locks which extend onto the figure's lap. No detail of the figure's garment is visible but it appears to be one piece and to cover the legs. Wide bracelets/wristbands are represented. The locks are apparently bound in two opposed spirals like those of no. 11. A further similarity with that specimen is the presence of a bowl, or bowl-like object, in this case on the figure's lap. The contents of the bowl are visible but unidentifiable. In its left hand the figure holds what seem to be two short staffs, at least one of which is surmounted by a small head, apparently topped by an elaborate headdress. Though the precise nature of these objects is unclear, they are not items normally held by the females already discussed. Once again, the figure has too few features to include it as part of the argument for the existence of female supernaturals, and its inclusion here rests mainly on the context and certain resemblances to no. 11.

A final figure is included here primarily because Lyon initially considered it to be the same personage as no. 3. We refer to the figure which Donnan lettered E in the lower register of one version of the Presentation.⁵ The figure was excluded from our sample, however, when it not only failed to contain more than four of the female-associated

features, but was also found to occupy a position within the composition that was not shared by any clearcut female representation.

Other Representations

We consider that there are two other sets of representations which are female, anthropomorphic, and supernatural. As Berezkin notes (1981, pp. 14-15) the body being pecked by birds in the upper portion of the Burial Theme compositions is clearly female. While Lyon considers all such figures to be female, Hocquenghem is convinced by only some of them. For the purposes of this study, the exact status of each representation is irrelevant, since there is at least one which is clearly both female, as indicated by her hair-do and primary and secondary sexual characteristics, and supernatural as indicated by her fanged mouth (Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 6 upper extreme left). Berezkin considers this figure to be the same personage as that represented by nos. 9 and 10. A discussion of his interpretation is not only outside the purview of this article, but each of the authors has her own interpretation of the scene. Hocquenghem has elsewhere noted the relationship of this figure to one represented on another vessel (Larco Hoyle, 1939, fig. 215; 1966a, p. 22 lower right), and suggested its relationship to other scenes of torment and punishment (ms.c).

The final examples to be discussed are dissimilar to the preceding ones in that they have so far been identified only in modeled versions.⁶ The supernatural status of these figures is clear from the pronounced fangs, but not so their sex. Donnan is doubtless correct in interpreting both versions as the same individual, but he suggests that the personage shown is male. We agree, rather, with Berezkin's interpretation of the figure as female (1981, p. 15), although his documentation of that interpretation is faulty. Spirally bound locks are not present since the personage is combing its hair, but the hair is divided into two sections, so that such treatment would be a reasonable next step. In common with the female we have been describing, this personage wears a one-piece dress, a mantle, a necklace, bracelets (one of the figures), and disc earspools. While we have already noted that all these elements may occur singly on male figures, the grouping of them here, together with the suggestive division of the hair, lead us to hypothesize that these vessels represent a female personage. Again, whether she belongs to the previously identified class of females, as suggested by Berezkin, or not, is material for future study.

Conclusion and Acknowledgement

Our purpose has been to untangle yet another snarl in the intricate web of Moche iconography by establishing the relationship of a series of representations not previously seen as related, and defining a single class of anthropomorphic supernatural females who are represented in four contexts. This study would not have been possible were it not for the prior publications of others. We especially wish to acknowledge the pioneer work of the late Gerdt Kutscher, the drawings of Donna

McClelland, and the care of Christopher Donnan in publishing as many different views as possible of individual specimens. We hope that our contribution will be of as much use to others working in this field as theirs have been to us.

January 5, 1981

APPENDIX 1

The specimens upon which this study is based are numbered below essentially in order of their mention in the text. We provide reference to all the different versions of these specimens that we have found in a thorough, but not exhaustive, search of the published literature. We have tried to provide enough alternate references so that readers can readily locate at least one of them. We have included only those views that actually include a female representation or a portion thereof. The sources are arranged chronologically and by author.

A single asterisk (*) indicates that the representation is a black and white photograph of the specimen, two asterisks (**) signal a color photograph.

1. Fig. 1. Bonavia, 1959, láms. III, IV (color drawing); 1974, figs. 32*, 33*, 34*, 39; Donnan, 1975 and 1977, fig. 6; 1976, pl. 2b (color drawing), fig. 108; 1978, figs. 39, 243.
2. Donnan, 1975 and 1977, fig. 4; 1976, fig. 106; 1978, fig. 241; Milla Batres, 1975, fig. 169*.
3. Kutscher, 1950, Abb. 62; Lavallée, 1970, pl. 90; Berezkin, 1972, fig. 3 (#4); Donnan, 1975 and 1977, figs. 1, 2*; 1976, figs. 104a, 104c*; 1978, figs. 239b, 239c*.
4. Fig. 2. Tello, 1931, fig. 12; Hocquenghem, 1978, fig. 9.
5. Donnan, 1975 and 1977, fig. 10; 1976, fig. 113; 1978, fig. 254 left, 254 right*. See note 2.
6. Wassermann-San Blas, 1938, fig. 521*; Donnan, 1976, fig. 112*; 1978, fig. 250*.
7. Fig. 3*.
8. Fig. 4*.
9. Fig. 5. Kutscher, 1950, Abb. 43 p. 44; Berezkin, 1972, fig. 2 (#10 left); Donnan, 1978, fig. 270.
10. Fig. 5. Kutscher, 1950, Abb. 43 p. 45; Ubbelohde-Doering, 1967, fig. 156 bottom*; Engl and Engl, 1969, fig. 16*; Berezkin, 1972, fig. 2 (#10 top); Donnan, 1978, fig. 270. See note 3.

11. Tello, 1938, p. 27 center*.
12. Willey, 1971, fig. 3-68*.
13. Fig. 6. Ubbelohde-Doering, 1931, Taf. XII bottom; Leicht, 1944, p. 95 (same as Ubbelohde-Doering but scene is reversed); Berezkin, 1978, fig. 3 (#1) (same orientation as Leicht).
14. Donnan, 1976, fig. 72; 1978, fig. 162 bottom.
15. Disselhoff, 1957, Abb. 1*,1a; 1974, p. 336 top*; Lumbreras, 1974, fig. 182a*.
16. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 10*; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 26*,28.
17. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 11*.
18. Kutscher, 1950, Abb. 69; Klein, 1967, lám. XXX*; Lavallée, 1970, pl. 57; Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 9*; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 23.
19. Ubbelohde-Doering, 1931, Taf. XII top; 1936, pl. 5 center*; Leicht, 1944, pp. 94,211b center*; Benson, 1972, figs. 4-3*,4-4*; Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 12*; Berezkin, 1978, fig. 3 (#3).
20. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 13*.
21. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 15a*.
22. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 1*; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 24*.
23. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 2*.
24. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 3*.
25. Larco Hoyle, 1943, p. 20 top; Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 4. Two representations treated as a single example in our sample.
26. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 5*.
27. Kutscher, 1950, Abb. 72; Lavallée, 1970, pl. 82C; Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 7*.
28. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 16*.
29. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 17*.
30. Cordy-Collins, 1977, fig. 18*; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 25*.
31. Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 11.
32. Donnan, 1976, fig. 2b; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 5*,6 (seated figure).

33. Donnan, 1976, fig. 2b; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 5*,6 (standing figure).
34. Donnan, 1978, p. 89**,fig. 143; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 7,8*.
35. Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 9*,10.
36. Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 42*,43*.
37. Donnan, 1976, fig. 2b; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 6 (small figures at left).
38. Donnan, 1976, pl. 8**; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 2 (small figures at right).
39. Means, 1940, fig. 45*; Donnan, 1976, figs. 2A*,2C; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 6 (small figures at right).
40. Donnan, 1978, fig. 143; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 7.
41. Donnan and McClelland, 1979, fig. 10.
42. McClelland, 1977, fig. 9*; Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 11,12*.
43. Donnan and McClelland, 1979, figs. 40*,43*.

Appendix 2

In the following tabulation, the letters refer to the features listed on p. 29:

- A. Long, one-piece garment.
- B. Belt.
- C. Mantle.
- D. Headcloth.
- E. Tassels on lower end of headcloth.
- F. Simple, horizontal headband.
- G. Two (or more) plumelike elements rising from headband.
- H. Disc necklace.
- I. Disc earspools.
- J. Wristbands/bracelets.
- K. Long, spirally bound locks.
- L. Serpent-head terminators to locks.
- M. Face paint on area from ear to cheekbone.
- N. Bare feet, and no painted pattern on ankles or feet.

In the column under feature B, a V indicates that, rather than a belt, the figure has a dotted border at hemline and/or armhole.

In the column under H, the V indicates that the necklace is of rectangular elements rather than discs.

Features Associated with Moche Supernatural Females

Context	Specimen	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	Total Features
Presentation																
	1	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	13
	2	x					x	x	V	x	x	x	x		x	9
	3	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	11
	4	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	11
	5	x	x		x		x	x		x					x	7
	6	x					x	x	x	x	x	x			x	8
	7	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	9
	8	x					x	x	x	x	x	x			x	8
Animated Objects																
	9	x	x	x			x	x	?	x	x		x		x	10-11
	10	x	x	x			x	x		x			x		x	8
Moon/Boat																
	11	x	x		x			x	x	x	x	x	x		x	10
	12	x			x	x		x	x	x	x			x	x	9
	13	x	x		x	x	x	x			x	x	x		x	10
	14	x		x	x	x	x			x	x			x	x	9
	15	x			x		x	x	x	x					x	7
	16	x	x	x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x		10
	17	x	x				x	x		x				x		6
	18	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				11
	19	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x					9
	20	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					10
	21	x	x	x	x		x	x		x						7
	22	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x					9
	23	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					10
	24	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				10
	25	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				11
	26	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x				x		9
	27	x			x	x	x	x		x				x		7
	28	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			x		10
	29	x	V	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					10
	30	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x					10
Burial																
	31	x	V	x	x	x	x		x				x	x		10
	32	x		x			x	x		x		x	x			7
	33	x		x			x	x		x	x	x	x	x		9
	34	x	V	x			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	12
	35	x	V	x	x	x	x	x		x			x	x		10
	36	x	V	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x		11
	37	x			x		x	x		x			x			6
	38	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x	x		11
	39	x					x	x		x		x	x			7
	40	x		x	x	x	x		x	x				x		9
	41	x	V	x	x	x	x		x					x		9
	42	x	V	x	x	x	x		x				x			9
	43	x	V	x	x		x	x		x	x		x	x		10

NOTES

¹Donnan, 1975 and 1977, fig. 7; 1976, fig. 109; 1978, fig. 244. Only after completing this article did we see the version of the Presentation from Pampa Grande illustrated by Berezkin (1981, fig. 12), a representation most similar to no. 2 in that the female is directly facing the central figure to whom she has already presented the goblet. This representation is not tabulated in our sample.

²As Berezkin also noted (1981, note 16), no. 5 was incorrectly identified by Donnan (1975, p. 159; 1976, pp. 126-127; 1977, p. 419; 1978, p. 172) as equivalent to his figure B, apparently deceived by the winglike elements. The deceptive figure was represented in a drawing from one of a number of copper rattles, and in 1978 Donnan published a photograph (fig. 254 right) of another rattle. The right hand side panel of the rattle in the photograph bears the same figure as that shown third from the left in the rollout drawing, but lacking winglike elements, thus confirming the identification of these figures with one another and with Donnan's figure C, rather than B. Since the photograph does not show all of the relevant details, we have not treated it as a separate representation, but rather lumped the two rattle variants together as a single case (no. 5).

³An examination of the only published photograph that shows no. 10 (Ubbelohde-Doering, 1967, fig. 156 bottom; Engl and Engl, 1969, fig. 16) reveals considerable inaccuracy in the published drawings (Kutscher, 1950, fig. 43, p. 45; Donnan, 1978, fig. 270). The figure is drawn so close to the spout that, as in the case of no. 3, the front element of the headdress is obscured. From the photograph it is not clear that the plume elements of the headdress are serpent heads as indicated in the drawings, while other details such as eye shape, hand position, and form of the mantle and hair are noticeably different from what is reproduced in the drawings. In 1957 (p. 430) Rowe urged caution in the use of the drawings of Wilhelm von den Steinen, noting that they contained "occasional mistakes" and that such details might be important. It seems we have now reached a point in the study of Moche iconography where we need to insist on the publication of detailed photographs to accompany drawings.

⁴Our thanks to Alan R. Sawyer for drawing our attention to this representation. We are also grateful to Sawyer and to Joellyn Duesberry for their permission to publish the drawing here presented as fig. 7, a drawing prepared by Duesberry for a book she and Sawyer were to publish jointly.

⁵Donnan, 1975 and 1977, fig. 1; 1976, fig. 104e; 1978, fig. 239b.

⁶Donnan, 1976, figs. 66,67; 1978, figs. 144,145; Tello, 1938, pl. 24; Goldman and Sawyer, 1958, fig. 5 lower left.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate III

Fig. 1. Specimen 1. Original approximately 73 cm. high. Redrawn by Patricia J. Lyon from Bonavia, 1974, fig. 34 p. 68 (drawn by Félix Caycho) and corrected by reference to photograph (Bonavia, 1974, fig. 34 p. 69).

Fig. 2. Specimen 4. Redrawn by Patricia J. Lyon from Tello, 1931, fig. 12. Some features of the original have been reinterpreted.

Fig. 3. Specimen 7. Unpainted ceramic figurine. Trujillo. 15 cm. high. Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, von der Zypen collection, VA 47929. Photograph by Anne Marie Hocquenghem.

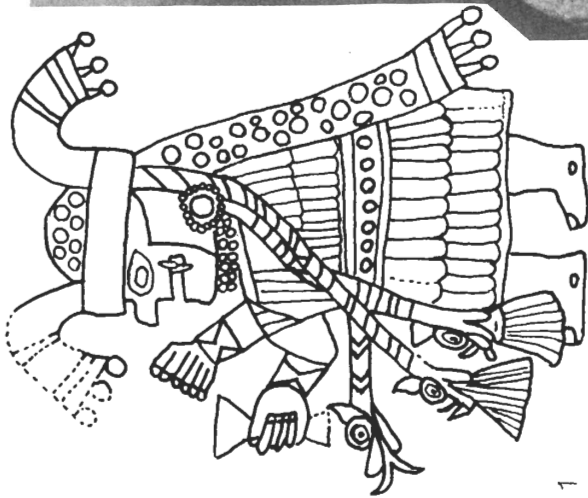
Fig. 4. Specimen 8. Ceramic figurine, unpainted except for eyes which are solid white. Moche, site G, grave 1. 10.1 cm. high. Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, Uhle collection, 4-175. Negative number 15-2273.

Plate IV

Fig. 5. Specimens 9 and 10. Detail from Kutscher, 1950, Abb. 43.

Fig. 6. Specimen 13. Chicama Valley(?). Gaffron collection. After Ubbelohde-Doering, 1931, Taf. XIIB.

Fig. 7. Detail from Moche IV stirrup-spout vessel. Height of vessel 21 1/8 inches. Museo Rafael Larco Herrera, Lima. For complete vessel see Larco Hoyle, 1945, p. 4 bottom; 1966b, fig. 47. Drawing by Joellyn Duesberry.



1



3



4

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4
Plate III. Fig. 1, specimen 1; fig. 2, specimen 4; fig. 3, specimen 3; fig. 4, specimen 8. See Key to Illustrations.



5



6



7

Plate IV. Fig. 5, specimens 9 and 10; fig. 6, specimen 13; fig. 7, detail of scene including female supernatural. See Key to Illustrations.