Shamanism in Moche Art and Iconography: The Shaman and His Deity

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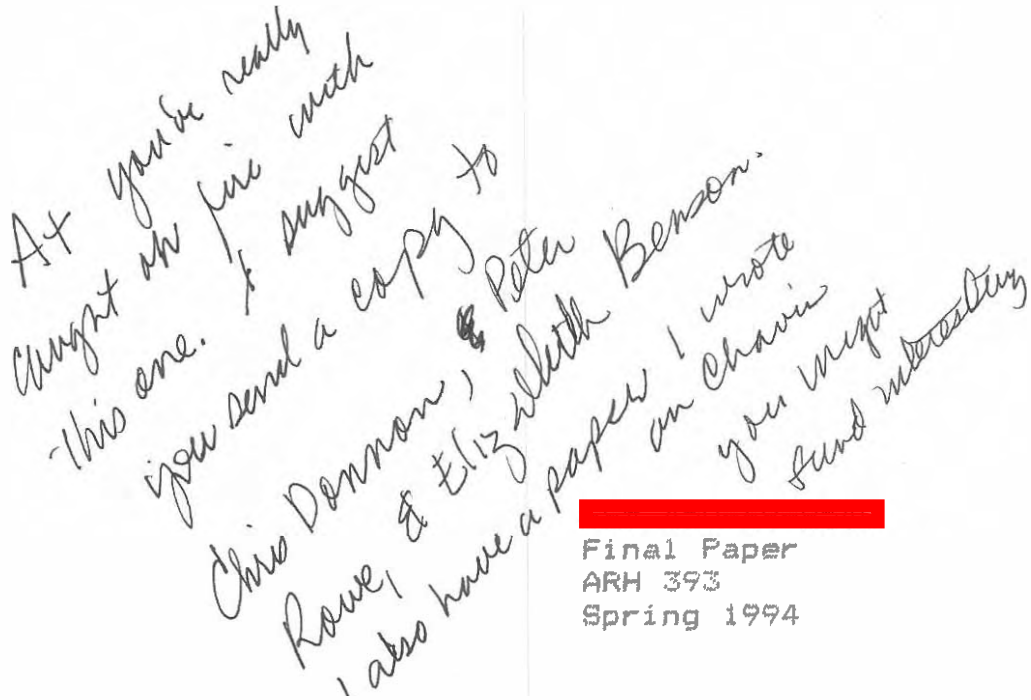

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Introduction

The Moche are the major focus of this paper. Drugs, sex, puppies, and headhunting will be shown to be related to ancient Moche shamanism. Shamanism was institutionalized in Moche culture and there were standard methods of depicting the shaman. These methods of depicting shamans in Moche art were not unique to them. Chavin, Paracas, Nazca and Tiahuanaco-Huari art all display essentially the same iconography when depicting shamans. Through the examination of this art it becomes clear that there was only one deity, with many aspects and attendants, who is the master of the spirit world as such was the patron deity of shamans. The concept of this deity reigned western South America for at least 2000 years and still survives in part into today(Figure 1).

Various ethnographic accounts of shamanism from modern and contact period sources will be used as supporting evidence throughout the paper. Eastern Peruvian cultures discussed will be the Culina, the Matisigenka, and the Shipibo-Conibo. From Ecuador and Southern Colombia the cultures of the Jivaro, Desana, and Siona will be discussed. From western Peru, enhtnographies from the 1940's and 50's in the areas once occupied by the Moche and

the Nazca will be used(Figure 2). Some scholars would find fault in the use of modern Amazonian ethnography as a tool to interpret pre-Inca art. It is the contention of this paper, however, that the profusion of jaguar and snake iconography in pre-Inca art of the Andes and the coastal regions of Peru is strong evidence that the cultures who produced it were heavily influenced by Amazonian ideology.

Modern Peruvian Shamanism

There are many indigenous culture groups living in Peru and the surrounding areas today. Each of them have distinct traditions and mythologies, the majority of which are undoubtedly of New World origin. One custom that binds these cultures together is shamanism. Again, each group have their own shamanic traditions. The following, however, are elements of shamanism all indigenous cultures in modern western South America share:

(1) All sickness is supernatural attack from the other world. Evil spirits, acting on their own or at the request of a shaman, are the perpetrators. The healing shaman divines the identity of the attacker and repels the malevolent power.

(2) All shamans have the power to heal and harm. They are both feared and respected in their communities. The power is the same in both; the ability to contact the otherworld, the place of spirits.

(3) Healing is a group endeavor. Healing rituals are rarely

performed with only the healer and patient. Shamans have attendants, who are also his apprentices, to assist them. Often the shaman will also request the participation of relatives and community members.

Hallucinogenic drugs are ingested to allow the shaman to make contact with the other world.

Spirit companions, guides and guardians are consulted and at times convinced to do a shamans bidding.

The otherworld where shamans contact spirits and the afterlife, where people go to after death, are the same place.

The Shaman and his Deity in Moche Art

Father Antonio de la Calancha, an Augustine monk in Northern Peru published in 1638 that curers, *Oquetlupuc*, were public officials of high privilege and were provided for by the state. There are a few images in Moche art that have been recognized as healers for many years. Individuals shown "laying on hand" (Figures 3 and 5) and individuals holding a characteristic vessel and accompanying dipping stick(Figure 4) have both been identified as healers. The vessel is a lime gourd used to crush coca leaves and lime to chew. The lime helped to leach minute quantities of cocaine out of the leaves (von Hagen 1964;104). It is the hypothesis of this paper that the headdresses worn by the individuals in Figures 3 and 4 are only worn by people with shamanic power. Further, the individuals depicted with jaguar heads projecting from their foreheads are impersonating the deity

that Elizabeth Benson called the Fanged Deity(Benson 1972;27). The snakes coming off the belt of the healer in Figure 5 are also reserved solely for the depictions of shamans.

The four individuals in Figure 6 wear both kinds of headdresses shown in the previous figures. Three of the men sit with lime gourds while the fourth stands head and hands held up towards a doubled headed arch which represents the sky. Floating around all four men are large dots which may be explained as entoptic forms seen in the first stages of hallucinations(Oster 1970;87). Supporting evidence for that explanation can be found in the lower left corner of Figure 6. The two plants there may be identified as San Pedro cactus and the Misha Negra plant, both are hallucinogenic plants employed by the modern Moche shaman in healing rituals. The standing man's mouth is open it is proposed that he is singing. Singing is a standard method of calling out the spirits employed by modern shamans in western South America. In Culina and Matisigenka healing rituals, the shaman requires a chorus of women who call the spirits out of the forest with their singing(Pollock 1992;33 and Baer 1992;90). Modern Nazca and Moche territory shamans do the singing themselves while attendants perform the actions(Hadingham 1987;247 and Gillin 1947;121). In Siona society each spirit has a specific song, the more songs one knows, the more power he has(Matteson Langdon 1992;53).

There are many other depictions of men wearing a jaguar

headdress such as the one displayed in Figure 3(Figures 7-9). There is, however, another context in which the same headdress is worn by a deity(Figures 10-13). This deity has characteristics which separate him from the depictions of shamans. Round eyes, elongated fangs, wrinkle lines on his face, snake earrings and the jaguar headdress are his principal elements. The "Fanged Deity" is Elizabeth Benson's term for this Deity(Benson 1972;27). In the same way as the deity is the master of the spirits, the Shaman emulates him in costume to identify himself as a human master of spirits.

The Desana say that a deity named *Viho Mahse* was placed in the Milky Way by the Sun as an intermediary between the worlds. His name comes from the word *Viho* which means hallucinogenic snuff. He is lord of the spirit world whom the Desana *payes* visit during trance(Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968;43). It is also said that the Sun created the jaguar as his representative on Earth(Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968;28). Hundreds of miles to the south in Bolivia, *Aymara* is the name of a great feline deity that is both a protector and a destroyer(Hadingham 1987;247). Modern Quechua sick are said to suffer from attacks by *Ccoa*, flying feline minions of the Mountain/weather Deity(Hadingham 1987;248). All of these beliefs may well be related to concepts about shamanism and the otherworld that developed long before Inca society began.

Music is another component of ritual well known to be

connected to shamanism and the calling out of spirits. Many of the individuals playing flutes or horns displayed in Moche art can be seen wearing the jaguar headdress(Figures 14-16). Musicians are most often shown in ceremonial or processional scenes. Figure 17 shows a Yanamamo shaman playing a set of pipes over three piles of *Banisteropsis* vines, a hallucinogen boiled into a drink used during healing rituals all over the Amazon.

The Runners

The Runners are a frequent theme in Moche vessel paintings. The standard runner scene shows a singe file row of men running across a landscape of cactus and plants(Figures 18-20). An alternate scene is one in which the men are replaced by anthropomorphs(Figures 21-24). In both versions of the scene most of the runners wear the jaguar headdress of the shaman. Some early scholars connected them to the Inca and Chimu messengers who ran along the roads(Hoyle 1965;67). Others believed them to be warriors(Ubbelohde-Doering 1952;183). Elizabeth Benson suggested the bags the runners carry may hold Lima beans used for divination purposes(Benson 1972;50). The bag of herbs found on the *Mesa de Brujo* of the modern Moche shamans is another possible candidate(Gillin 1947;23). The landscape itself indicates the runner are indeed shamans, as Benson implied. The plant species depicted may once again be identified

as the hallucinogens, San Pedro cactus and the Misha Negra plant. Examined through the lens of shamanism, the anthropomorphs who replace the men in the runner scenes may be explained as shamans in the process of transformation.

The runners are consistently shown running over hilly landscape or uphill(Figure 26). The ethnographic record is lacking in accounts describing ceremonies of this nature though the follow two examples may be related. First, in the Nazca Valley community of Puquio, the *Pongo*(the most powerful shaman in the village) and fellow brujos used to climb a sacred mountain near Puquio each August to make offerings for water(Hadingham 1987;247). Second,in 1985, Johan Reinhard witnessed a ceremony in a Bolivian village in which a line(like the Nazca lines) was followed single file to higher ground where the people prayed for water from the Mountains(Hadingham 1987;256). It is possible that the Moche shamans depicted on vessels as the runners may also be going to make offerings for water.

Tiahuanaco-Huari

Tiahuanaco-Huari culture dominated Peru from the sixth to tenth centuries. Moche art was heavily influenced by Tiahuanaco-Huari style in its final phases and becomes the Lambayeque culture. The Gateway of the Sun(Figure 27), Tiahuanaco cultures most famous monument, appears to display shaman iconography such as the types previously discussed in Moche art. The central

figure of the top frieze wears a jaguar head at his forehead(Figure 28). There are also depictions of the Fanged Deity in mainstream Tiahuanaco-Huari style pottery(Figure 29). The classic Moche round eyes, elongated fangs and jaguar headdress motifs are all preserved in the face of cultural change.

Paracas Necropolis/ Nazca

Paracas has ten archaeologically identified phases from 1400-400BC and apparently develops into Nazca culture which continues from then up until the Tiahuanaco-Huari era. Paracas is a peninsula north of the Nazca Valley(Figure 30). Over 400 mummified males were recovered from the part of the peninsula designated the Necropolis. The mummies were placed inside a series of bundles which each contained sometimes hundreds of textiles and other artifacts(Figure 31). The motif embroidered into Paracas textiles most often is floating anthropomorphs (Figures 32 and 33). In other examples, the same floating individuals are shown as humans. They may identified as the same individuals based on their costumes and accoutrements. The standard individual portrayed in Paracas textiles has a fan, a severed head, snakes coming off its waist, a headdress with a face at the forehead and occasionally a staff or stick. These items have been found within the mummy bundles and their inclusion make a strong case for identifying the mummified

individuals as the individuals on the textiles. Early scholars have referred to them as deities, demons and spirits. Evan Hadingham has suggested that they are in fact shamans in transformation(Hadingham 1987;178). The paper agrees with Hadingham's interpretation and purposes further supporting evidence by linking the costume of the Paracas shaman with that of the previously identified Moche shaman. Figure 35 shows flying Moche shamans with animal headdress, one jaguar, one bird, snakes extending off the waist and out of the mouth, just as in the standard Paracas textile image. The headdress of the Paracas shamans is an abstracted jaguar head with elongated whiskers which are sometimes snakes. Images painted on pottery from the Nazca, the inheritors of Paracas culture, strongly support this observation(Figures 37-39). An image from a Nazca mural shows shamans transforming in the same costume as portrayed in the Paracas textiles of centuries earlier(Figure 36). Though rare, images of both Paracas and Nazca shaman can be found in which the abstracted jaguar headdress is replaced with a more recognizable depiction(Figure 40 and 41). The abstracted jaguar headdress was an important enough image to be displayed in one of the famous Nazca Lines(Figure 42).

The Paracas/Nazca style of depicting shamans differs from the Moche depictions in one important way; the inclusion of severed heads. They are displayed in the shamans hand or hanging off his waist in many examples. Severed heads were apparently

part of the Paracas shaman's equipment or costume. A brief discussion of the Jivaro culture of the Eastern foothills of the Ecuadorian Andes may shed light on the practice of headhunting.

Up until this century, the Jivaro culture practiced blood feuds which resulted in the decapitation and shrinking of the enemy heads. They are now broken of that habit by the Ecuadorian government. The Jivaro revolted in 1599, twenty thousand strong, killing everyone in the closest Spanish village and pouring molten gold down the throat of the unfortunate Alcalde. As a result, they were left alone until anthropologist Michael J. Harner took an interest in them in the 1950's(Hadingham 1987;163-164).

Harner spent fourteen months among the Jivaro and acquired some intriguing information about their culture. All men take Datura(a powerful hallucinogen) at a young age, around six, and acquire an ancestor spirit called an *Arutam*. It comes to the novice as a menacing jaguar, an anaconda or a severed human head. It lodges itself in the chest. The experience empowers and enrages the man. Within a few days of the acquisition of an *Arutam* the novice must participate in a killing raid on enemies. Participation entitles him to another *Arutam* and "locks in" the first soul. Killing is a dangerous business because if not done correctly the man's soul becomes a *Nuisak* or avenging soul. It comes out in the form of venomous snakes if not controlled. After death the head must be chopped off and shrunk in hot sand.

This process locks the power of that enemy's soul into the head. The power of the head may then be harnessed by a shaman. The more heads one owned, the more power they had(Hadingham 1987;165-166).

Four hundred years earlier then Harner's study of the Jivaro, Miguel De Estete ,who accompanied Pizzaro on his third venture to South America, wrote an account of head shrinking natives off the coast of Ecuador. He explained the process of head shrinking and noted that they were kept in the community's temple(Hadingham 1987;167).

Archaeology at Paracas and the Nazca Valley confirms the existence of severed heads. Shrunken heads with holes to fit cord through are common. Eleven were found in one grave at the cemetery site of Chavina in the Nazca Valley. Interestingly, at least one of these heads belonged to a woman and another to a child under the age of ten(Hadingham 1987;169). Considering the accounts of Harner and Estete it seems very likely that the Nazca who buried their dead at Chavina, and Paracas culture before them, removed human heads to control evil spirits, like the Jivaro *Muisaks*, before they could become a danger. The inclusion of severed heads in the hands of shamans on Paracas textiles suggests further that the head's power was being harnessed to influence the otherworld.

Chavin

At 10,200ft, the site of Chavin de Huantar is named for the nearby village of Chavin and was occupied from 1200-300BC. In 1967 John Rowe wrote a paper entitled "Form and Meaning In Chavin Art" in which he attempted to identify the iconographic program of the sculpture at the temple structures of Chavin de Huantar. The *Lanzon* is the central image in the Old Temple at Chavin de Huantar, Rowe calls it the Great Image(Figure 43). The image has elongated fangs and snakes extending off its head and waist. Rowe then suggests that the New Temple is dedicated to another image with elongated fangs and snakes extending off its head and waist he names the Staff God(Figure 44). He also identifies a third deity in the Old Temple's courtyard he names the Smiling God(Figure 45). The three images are separated from one another on the basis of posture and facial expression. Rowe took the fanged mouth as a general indictor of deity status. It is the position of this paper that posture and facial expression are not reliable indicators of identity and that the three images are in fact the same deity. Further, this "fanged deity" is the same as the fanged deity Moche shamans imitate in costume centuries later. Other scholars have noted the connection between the fanged images in Chavin and Moche art(Kubler 1984;394).

The courtyard of the old temple at Chavin de Huantar is flanked by bird anthropomorphs. Rowe calls these figures guardians and this paper agrees with his assessment(Rowe 1967;. The Moche Fanged Deity is frequently depicted with bird

anthropomorph attendants. The Chavin fanged deity appears to have the same attendants.

In a paper given at the 1968 Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavin, Donald Lanthrap put forth the hypothesis that Chavin culture originated in the jungles and sighted examples of *Tutishcainyo* pottery from Eastern Peruvian Amazon from 1800-300BC similar to early Chavin pottery. He also brought to light the important point that the snakes and jaguars so frequently portrayed in Chavin art are jungle creatures, not found in the Andes. Eleven years later, in 1979, Chiaki Kano, with the support of Dumbarton Oaks, published the theory that the feline deity at Chavin originated by a fusion of a fully feline deity and the costume of the shaman in Pre-Chavin cultures. Kano also believes there is only one deity worshipped in both temples at Chavin(Kano 1979;36).

The fanged deity at Chavin is also portrayed on the vessel form that would become the standard in Moche culture(Figure 46). A Chimu vessel from no less than 1500 years later can be identified as an archaism of Chavin style depictions of the fanged deity(Figure 47). Upon closer analysis can be said to be an archaism of Paracas art as well. The nose of the image is in the shape of the typical Paracas shaman headdress and sits where whiskers normally would. Equally telling is the severed head displayed near the base of the image. The importance of this Chimu archaistic example is unparalleled. That one image

encapsulates evidence for continuity in the conventions of shamanism for all of Pre-Inca Peru.

The Presentation Ceremony

In his 1976 book Moche Art and Iconography, Chrisopher Donnan identified a theme in Moche art he named the Presentation Ceremony. Using a particularly elaborate depiction of the ceremony, Donnan separates major actors and elements in the scene alphabetically in descending order by importance to the ceremony(Figure 48). Donnan suggests the ceremony involves the sacrifice of prisoners and identifies the contents of the cups being presented to Figure A as human blood. In a series of exciting excavations at the sites of Sipan and Huaca del Brujo in the late 1980's, tombs of Moche individuals wearing costumes similar to those worn by Donnan's Figures A, B and C have been discovered. ~~It is~~ hoped that Figure D's discovery will be forthcoming. Figure D is separated from the activities of Figures A, B and C. Figure D holds no cup, appears to be singing, and, most importantly, wears the jaguar headdress. He is also the largest of the individuals represented in the scene. The importance of singing to the calling out of spirits in modern shamanism around the Andes has already been discussed in a previous section of this paper. Figure D has a smaller figure floating just behind him which Donnan explains as personified a spear and shield. Upon closer analysis, however, it is actually

a fully human figure about to drink from a cup. It is the hypothesis of this paper that Figure D is a shaman and the floating figure behind Figure D is an ancestor spirit being called out by his singing. The fact that the spirit drinks from the same type of cup as is being presented to Donnan's Figure A suggests that the ceremony is in his honor, despite his minimal size in the scene. Further examples of the depiction of floating spirits in Moche art will be discussed in the following section.

Floating Spirits

The Culina believe spirits may be human or animal and call them *Tokorime*. They live in the underworld where shamans go to receive advice. The *Tokorime* are offered *Koidza*, fermented manioc, to quell their dangerous and violent tendencies. Wives do the same for their hunter husbands(Pollock 1992;29-34).

The Conibo visualize the otherworld as a dangerous place of spirits with spears and arrows. Jaguar spirits protect the Conibo shaman. Other spirits, who advise Conibo shamans, are called *Incas* and are said to be people inhabiting cloud cities(Illius 1992;73).

In Moche, "evil" brujos have spirit slaves called *Shapingos* who do their bidding(Gillin 1947;128). In Nazca Puquio, the spirits are called *Wamanis* and are fearless lords of the mountains, both generous and destructive(Hadingham 1987;248).

Each of the above examples speak of spirits who take animal

or human form. The singing of a shaman calls the spirits and the ingestion of hallucinogens allows him to communicate with them.

As mentioned in the previous section, the floating figure behind Donnan's Figure D may well be an ancestor spirit called to the ceremony by the shaman. In another image showing Donnan's Presentation ceremony a floating spirit may once again be identified(Figure 49). Just behind and above the individual Donnan identifies as Figure C is a small jaguar with a cup in one hand and a prisoner in the other. Interestingly, the roles of Donnan's four main figures in this depiction of the ceremony seem to have switched. Figure A now presents the cup, Figure D receives it, and Figure C calls out the ancestor spirit, who appears as a jaguar drinking from a cup. In Figure 50, a procession of men who wear the jaguar headdress present a cup to a central individual standing on a platform. Small armed figures float over each man's head.

Floating spirits also appear in battle scenes associated with shamans. Figure 51 shows an elaborate scene in which all individuals are armed or captured save one. Just to the right of the pyramid structure stands an unarmed man with animal heads protruding from his headband. Above him floats the most fantastic creature in the scene. A giant *Tumi* knife, the sort frequently depicted in the hand of the Decapitator, with a head protruding from its forehead and wrinkle marks on its face. It is almost certainly an ancestor spirit the shaman has called to

assist his side in the battle. Figure 52 is another battle scene in which the only figure in the scene with a jaguar headdress conjures a spirit to aid his side. The shaman blows into a conch shell over a Misha Negra plant as a spirit throwing a spear materializes above him. In Figure 53 a spirit floats over the head of the opponent of a man who wears the jaguar headdress. This shaman has his weapons held away from the opponent and looks up towards his protector spirit. These are but a few examples of a common theme in Moche art in which Moche shaman are depicted in the process of calling out the spirits.

The Decapitator

The Decapitator is the name given to an individual who is frequently depicted in Moche art. In his most standard pose he stands arms outstretched, a severed head in one hand a *tumi* knife in the other(Figure 54). Elizabeth Benson notes difficulty in telling gods apart and considers the Decapitator simply the Fanged Deity in another circumstance(Benson 1972;30). Donnan separates the Decapitator from Benson's Fanged Deity calling it a supernatural being related to sacrifice(Alva and Donnan 1993;139). The Decapitator is frequently shown capturing an opponent. In some scenes the opponent is a terrestrial creature(Figures 55-57), in others the opponent is an ocean dweller(Figures 58-62). All opponents of the Decapitator are supernatural as evidenced by human limbs on sea creatures and

other indicators. Benson notes that the Fanged Deity as decapitator takes many forms. The crab is one of the most frequent forms taken by the Decapitator and Benson made an interesting observation regarding it. She noticed that sometimes the Fanged Deity is the crab(Figure 58) and other times he captures the crab(Figure 60). From that observation she postulated that the crab is a kind of alter ego of the Fanged Deity with whom he struggles(Benson 1972;30). Frequent depictions of decapitators capturing decapitators seem to support her hypothesis(Figures 57 and 59). The Nazca "Storm God" is, as explained by modern Nazca Valley shamans, is the ruler of the spirit world. He has a friendly aspect and another more warlike aspect when he is armored and brandishes weapons(Hadingham 1987;249). The Desana deity, *Viho Mahse*, is said to be a being of equal good and evil(Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968;45). These are just two examples of many western South American cultures who believe in a creator/destroyer deity. Therefore, one possible explanation of scenes involving the Decapitator in action is that they are the aspects of the Fanged Deity, one benevolent, the other violent, struggling against one another for dominance.

A second possible interpretation of the Decapitator scenes is that they are shamans battling in the other world. The landscapes when present and creatures portrayed all appear supernatural. More importantly, all but a few depictions of the Decapitator wear the jaguar headdress and snakes associated with

the Moche shaman(Figures 54-62). Modern inhabitants of the town of Moche believe that when a curing shaman journeys to the otherworld he will be in conflict with the bad shaman or spirit responsible for the illness. Camino Calderon in 1952 and Gillin in 1947 both witness Moche shaman assistants pick up a ceremonial knife off the *Mesa de Brujo* and flash it at invisible spirits trying to disrupt the ritual(Gillin 1947;127-129). Modern Nazca shamans have swords as part of their *Mesas* for the same purpose(Hadingham 1987;174). The *Wamanis*, or spirits, they summon are both feared and revered. They are generous and destructive(Hadingham 1987;248). The Jivaro culture example and the 1527 island account already discussed both seem to connect shamanic practices with severed heads. Possibly the most convincing bit of evidence that the Decapitator scenes may be depicting shamans comes from the Nazca/Paracas art. If, as proposed earlier and supported by the work of Hadingham, the standard individual depicted on Paracas Necropolis textiles can be identified as a shaman, then severed heads is a major component of Paracas shamanism. Similar to the Jivaro shamans, the acquisition of severed heads may have been essential to gaining power in the spirit world. It seems especially plausible in Paracas and later Nazca culture which themselves span over 2000 years. The Moche Decapitator scenes are purposed to illustrate the same beliefs. Looking once again to Donnan's central example image(Figure 48), the lower register includes

scenes of prisoners in the process of losing their heads as well as severed human heads hanging from a kitty.

As a final point of ethnographic evidence from the Moche area itself, in the June 1990 National Geographic a Moche shaman is shown blowing water and perfume on a skull from a pre-hispanic ruin. The article explains that he does so to release the spirits from the skull to protect those involved in the ceremony(Long 1990;46). This incredible example demonstrates even today in the Moche area shamans use human heads as portals through which spirits may enter our world, over 1000 years after Moche artists painted the Decapitator on their ceremonial vessels.

The Puppy

A recurrent character in Moche art related to shamanism is a puppy. He is usually associated with men who wear the jaguar headdress or the Fanged Deity whom they impersonate(Figures 63-65). Figure 66 is apparently an effigy vessel made to honor the puppy. The puppy is also included in both examples of Donnan's Presentation Ceremony included in this paper(Figures 48 and 49). Benson discussed the puppy but decided it was a puma or jaguar cub (~~Benson~~ 1972;34). Donnan notes the puppy's presence in both the Presentation theme and the Burial theme but refers to them as dogs. In most depictions it is clearly a puppy and in one image it is even shown chasing its tail(Figure 49).

The archaeological record also bears witness to the importance of puppies. In 1967, at a cemetery site named Chavina(in the Nazca Valley), eleven shrunken skulls were found in a burial with a mummified long yellow haired puppy(Hadingham 1987;169). During the 1987 excavations at the site of Sipan, the most celebrated Moche funerary site today, two of the tombs found included dogs in the burial party(Alva and Donnan 1993).

The Inca had a superstition that if one tied up their dogs outside their crying would guilt the gods into sending rain(Hadingham 1987;258). The most widely held belief, however, was that dogs were the guides to the otherworld. Whatever their function might have been in Moche culture it seems certain it related to their concept of shamanism.

Sexual Pottery

Kubler remarks that only 2% of all Moché pottery is sexually explicit(Kubler 1984;385). Donnan's opinion is that all erotic Moche art is ceremonial(Donnan 1990;23). This paper agrees with Donnan's assessment and suggests further that the purpose of the ceremony is healing. E. Benson notes that the Fanged Deity is shown having sex with a woman in an enclosure on a number of vessels(Figure 67). She separates these images from the rest of the sexual pottery pointing out low relief, unlike the normal 3-D erotica vessels. She also noted a connection between sex and

skeletal death figures(Benson 1972;144-148). Donnan shows three different versions of the same scene describing it as a ceremony involving sexual intercourse and human cannibalism(figure 68). These three scenes have most all of the components this paper has shown were connected to the Moche concept of shamanism. Attendants stand outside the enclosure with spirits floating overhead. The puppy scratches at the outside wall. In two of the three scenes severed heads float nearby. In a nearby enclosure, women appear to be singing, like the Culina and Matisigenka women of the Peruvian Amazon who call out the spirits of the forest with their singing to assist the shaman during healing rituals. Most importantly, the individual shown having sex with the woman wears the jaguar headdress and snakes hang from his waist. In the first picture the individual looks human but in the following two it may well be the Fanged Deity himself at the center of the scene(or the shaman fully transformed into the Fanged Deity). In a particularly amusing piece of Moche art, the puppy who accompanies the Fanged Deity has sex with a willing woman(Figure 69). This image support the contention that puppies and intercourse are both related to shamanism - simultaneously at that!

The belief that semen holds shamanic power has Amazonian support. *Dori*, the word for power in Culina society may be lost by the novice during coitus, thus celibacy is maintained(Pollock 1992;28). The Desana speak of the supreme deity's power to

create the world his "yellow intention" or "yellow purpose", a reference to semen. They also speak of the shaman's journey as penetration into the otherworld and in other passive sexual contact terms(Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971;47). The Conibo novice sucks phlegm out of his master throat after the master has drank tobacco juice. This happens nightly for a week and the novice soaks up *Nihue*, or power, from the master which he may now build upon(Illius 1992;65). Though from different areas and contexts, all of those stories elude to a concept that the fluids of a shaman have power in and of themselves.

A scepter found in the 1987 Sipan excavation also shows the Fanged Deity having sex with a human woman inside an enclosure(Figure 70). Donnan suggests that it may represent an erotic legend involving the deity. This paper agrees with Donnan's hypothesis and suggests further that the scene involves ritual healing in which part of the patient's treatment is intercourse with the shaman.

The Mesa de Brujo

The *Mesa de Brujo* of the modern Moche shaman is notably absent from the depictions of pre-Inca Moche shamanism. As it is the central element of modern Moche healing rituals, it should be present in the ancient art if the two are indeed related. It is proposed here that the ancient equivalent of the *Mesa de Brujo* is the enclosures roofed and/or surrounded by spears so frequently

depicted in association with shamans. The scepter from the tomb at Sipan discussed in the previous section is a perfect example(Figure 70). There are many other examples. Around the modern *Mesa de Brujo* are swords and knives stuck into the ground(Figure 71). The weapons are meant to keep the bad spirits at bay during the ritual(Hadingham 1987;174). The Spanish missionaries no doubt frowned upon healing rituals and both good and bad *brujeria* is against the law in the modern village of Moche. What once could be done in a permanent location was thus forced to become more mobile, hence the creation of the *Mesa de Brujo*.

Manioc

Benson noted that the Fanged Deity is sometimes depicted as corn and other vegetables(Figures 72 and 73). The *Treasures of Sipan* exhibition currently traveling through the U.S. includes an ceramic image identified as "the Manioc God". It is the Fanged Deity's head emerging from the tubers. In the ceramic piece shown in Figure 72 the Deity emerges from the manioc roots *eating* manioc. Turning one more time to the image Donnan uses to explain the Presentation ceremony(Figure 48), one can now see that the animal heads on either end of the sky band are eating manioc. Manioc does not grow in the coastal regions and falls into the same category as jaguars and snakes; of Amazonian origin. To find reasons why manioc would be involved in scenes

of known shamanic content in Moche art, the enthnographies of the modern Amazonian tribes are once again of invaluable assistance.

Koidza is fermented manioc and Culina women make it(the same women are the ones who sing to call the spirits of the forest in curing ceremonies). A cup of *Koidza* is part of the culina healing ceremony. As mentioned earlier, the fermented manioc is for the visiting spirits and is said to quell their violent tendencies(Pollock 1992;34).

Matisigenka people with special souls are said to have "eye souls" located in the pupils. Those people are said to live mainly on divine manioc, the non-poisonous variety given to the Matisigenka by the Father Moon(Baer 1992;81).

Desana patients drink boiled manioc juice to cleanse them, purge them metaphorically of illness(Buchillet 1992;218). Moche shamans and attendants both snuff alcohol out of a flat shell in the process described as raising the table. The purpose of this action is to purify and protect the table. The patient is also "raised"(Gillin 1947;20).

The connection between the series of accounts above is the process of ritually purifying the area in preparation for healing. In each case it involves the use of alcohol. Despite the fact that in the jungle it is made from manioc and in modern Moche it is bought at the store, alcohol as used in healing ritual is similar in both contexts. The ancient Moche may have used *chicha*, or corn beer, considering manioc does not grow in

that part of the coast. The sacredness of manioc, however was strong enough for it to remain in the shamanic portrayals in Moche art and stand as one more piece of evidence that Moche culture had its origins in the Amazon.

The Siona Novice Experience

As the final section of this paper, the story of a Siona novice shaman's first experience in contacting the otherworld will be recounted:

A person apprentices to a master shaman and becomes his attendant. To prepare for the first journey to the otherworld the novice goes through isolation, fasting, enemas and celibacy. Next comes days of drinking *Yage* (Banisteropsis). The novice has visions of his death and of being reborn as a child of the Jaguar Mother. Its frightening and exhausting. The first two days of the drinking produce visions familiar to every Siona because they are compared to an often told creation story. In Siona mythology, stars once walked on the Earth. They were called the Pleiades people and they were the first to drink *Yage*. The youngest brother, a trickster involved in a number of stories, was the first to drink it. He vomited, fainted, urinated and went crazy, rubbing feces over himself. The Moon is said to have gone through the same process and he was taught by his grandfather, the Sun. During the visions of death the apprentice has visions of snakes pulling him underground, wrapping around

nim. They are said to symbolize the vine. The many little snakes transform into one big snake called the Drinking Stick Snake who is recognized as the owner of *Yage*. Since both the snake and the shaman are the master of *Yage*, the apprentice realizes that they are one in the same. The snake is then ridden to a water tube (Milky Way?) that the shaman goes up into and arrives in heaven with the Sun people, who befriend him(Langdon 1992:54-58).

This example is important because it demonstrates that the otherworld is not entirely mysterious but is instead rather well known. Shamans and their patients understand what they will see in trance and know how to interpret it. The Siona example of the first visions of the novice duplicating the actions recounted in myth demonstrates how the same perception of the otherworld could persist for long periods of time transmitted through oral tradition.

you might temper this a little. It may be a little dangerous to make that an absolute statement.

usion

There was only one god worshipped in ancient Moche culture and he is lord of the otherworld, the master of spirits. Benson identifies him as the Fanged Deity and ancient shamans impersonated him in costume and in having attendants/apprentices. Decapitation was done to vanquish avenging spirits before they were created. Prisoners were brought to areas where their heads could be removed in such a way that the power of their souls was

caught in the head. Once trapped, the power in the head could be harnessed by shamans and used in the otherworld. Alcohol may have been used to purify sacred space before ritual began and hallucinogenic drugs such as San Pedro cactus and Misha Negra were used in order to allow the shaman to communicate with the spirits. Singing and music was used to call the spirits to the ceremony. In certain healing rituals, intercourse with a shaman was necessary to enact or divine the cure. Finally, individuals in Moche art who are portrayed wearing the jaguar headdress and\or snakes hanging from the waist are capable of contacting the otherworld. These costume elements are iconographic devices that would be used quite carefully by an a-literate culture such as the Moche. Not all shamans wear the jaguar headdress but no one else but shamans may wear it.

The nature and methods of shamanism in Peru were essentially the same in Chavin, Paracas, Nazca, Moche and Tiahuanaco-Huari cultures, spanning over 2000 years. Chavin, Paracas, Nazca, Tiahuanaco-Huari and even Chimu art can be said to display the same iconographic programs as in Moche art when representing shamans and their associated deity. The consistent theme of jungle animals throughout all of pre-Inca art suggests that the above cultures share a deeper Amazonian heritage going back thousands of years. By proxy, the Inca must be included in this group. After over 2000 years, the Amazonian concept of shamanism had covered all of western South America and must be viewed as at

least partial ancestor of the Inca civilization. Accepting this conclusion leads directly to a more startling one. The modern peoples of the Amazon, considered marginal by their countries and constantly threatened by big business interests, are the progenitor cultures for the "high cultures" that developed in the Andean and coastal regions of Peru. Like seedlings arrested in growth by circumstance, Amazonian cultures like the ones discussed in this paper have been frozen in time and location for longer then anyone can estimate. Thousands of years earlier, people from cultures with the same traditional Amazonian concepts of shamanism struck out to make new lives in the Andes and the desert coastal regions, eventually developing into the Peruvian cultures who left behind them a legacy of beautiful art admired the world over.

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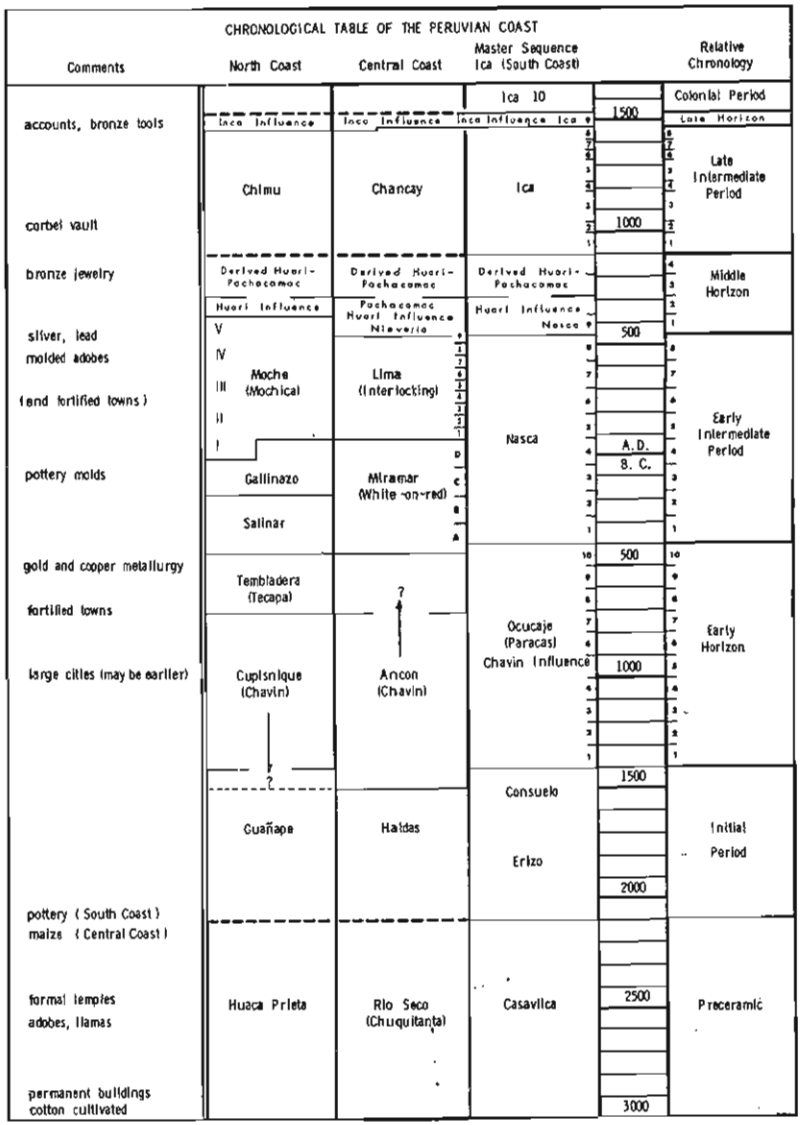
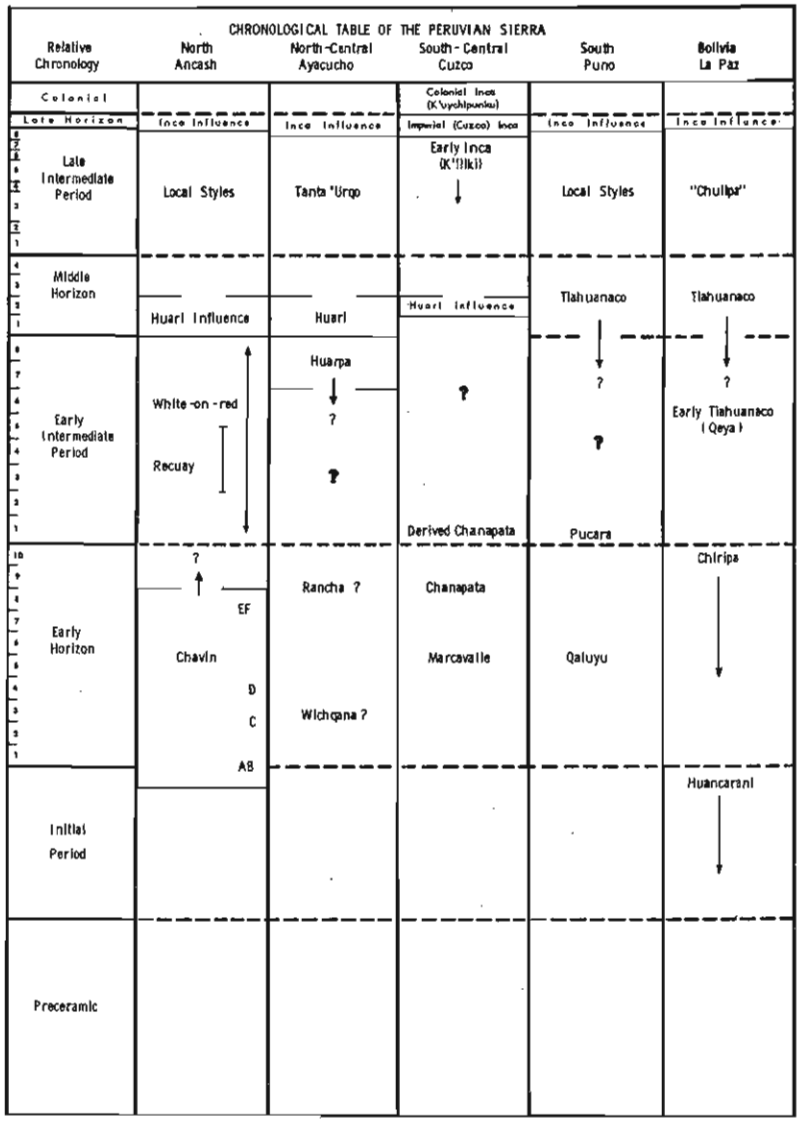
List of Figures


CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PERUVIAN COAST
Comments
North Coast
Central Coast
Master Sequence Ica (South Coast)
Relative Chronology
Ica 10
Colonial Period
Late Horizon
accounts, bronze tools
corbel vault
bronze jewelry
silver, lead
molded adobes
(and fortified towns)
pottery molds
gold and copper metallurgy
fortified towns
large cities (may be earlier)
pottery (South Coast)
maize (Central Coast)
formal temples
adobes, llamas
permanent buildings
cotton cultivated
Inca Influence
Chimu
Chancay
Ica
Late Intermediate Period
Derived Huari-Pachacamac
Huari Influence
Pachacamac
Huari Influence
Nievería
Nasca
Moche (Mochica)
Lima (Interlocking)
Gallinazo
Miramar (White-on-red)
Salinar
Early Intermediate Period
Tembladera (Tecapa)
Ocucaje (Paracas)
Chavin Influence
Cupisnique (Chavin)
Ancon (Chavin)
Early Horizon
Consuelo
Erizo
Guañape
Haldas
Initial Period
Huaca Prieta
Rio Seco (Chuquitanta)
Casavilca
Preceramic
1500
1000
500
A.D.
B.C.
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000


CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PERUVIAN SIERRA
Relative Chronology
North Ancash
North-Central Ayacucho
South-Central Cuzco
South Puno
Bolivia La Paz
Colonial
Late Horizon
Colonial Incas (K'uychipunku)
Imperial (Cuzco) Inca
Inca Influence
Late Intermediate Period
Local Styles
Tanta 'Urqo
Early Inca (K'illki)
Local Styles
"Chullpa"
Middle Horizon
Huari Influence
Huari
Huari Influence
Tiahuanaco
Tiahuanaco
Early Intermediate Period
White-on-red
Recuay
Huarpa
?
Derived Chanapata
Pucara
Early Tiahuanaco (Qeya)
Chiripa
Early Horizon
Chavin
EF
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C
AB
Rancha ?
Wichqana ?
Chanapata
Marcavalle
Qaluyu
Initial Period
Huancarani
Preceramic

FIGURE 1

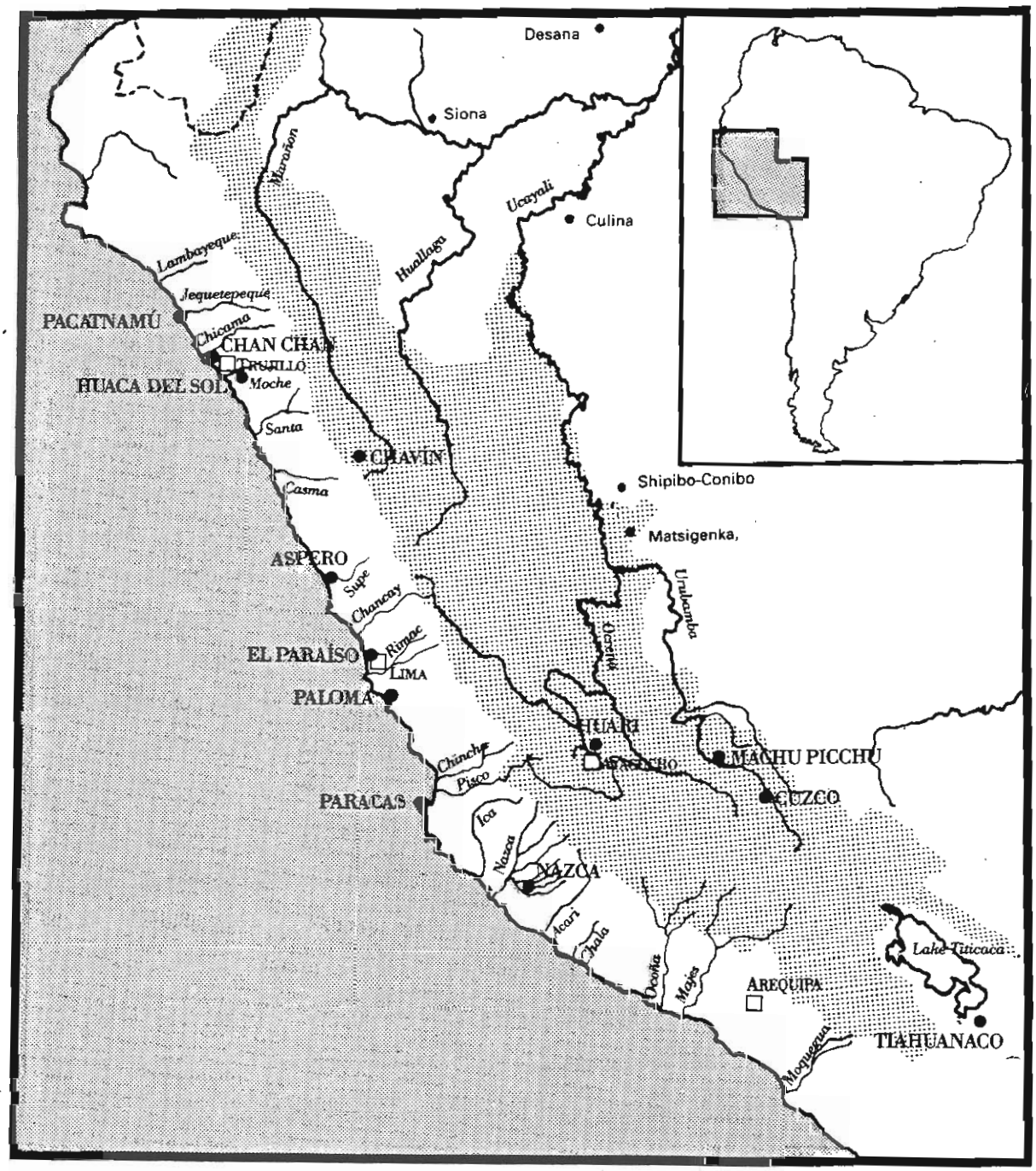
Desana
Siona
Marañon
Ucayali
Culina
Huallaga
Lambayeque
Jequetepeque
PACATNAMÚ
Chicama
CHAN CHAN
TRUJILLO
HUACA DEL SOL
Moche
Santa
CHAVIN
Casma
Shipibo-Conibo
Matsigenka,
ASPERO
Supe
Urubamba
Chancay
Rimac
EL PARAÍSO
LIMA
PALOMA
Chinchay
Pisco
HUARI
AYACUCHO
MACHU PICCHU
CUZCO
PARACAS
Ica
Nazca
NAZCA
Acari
Chala
Ocoña
Majes
AREQUIPA
Lake Titicaca
TIAHUANACO
Moquegua

FIGURE 2

FIGURE 3

FIGURE 4

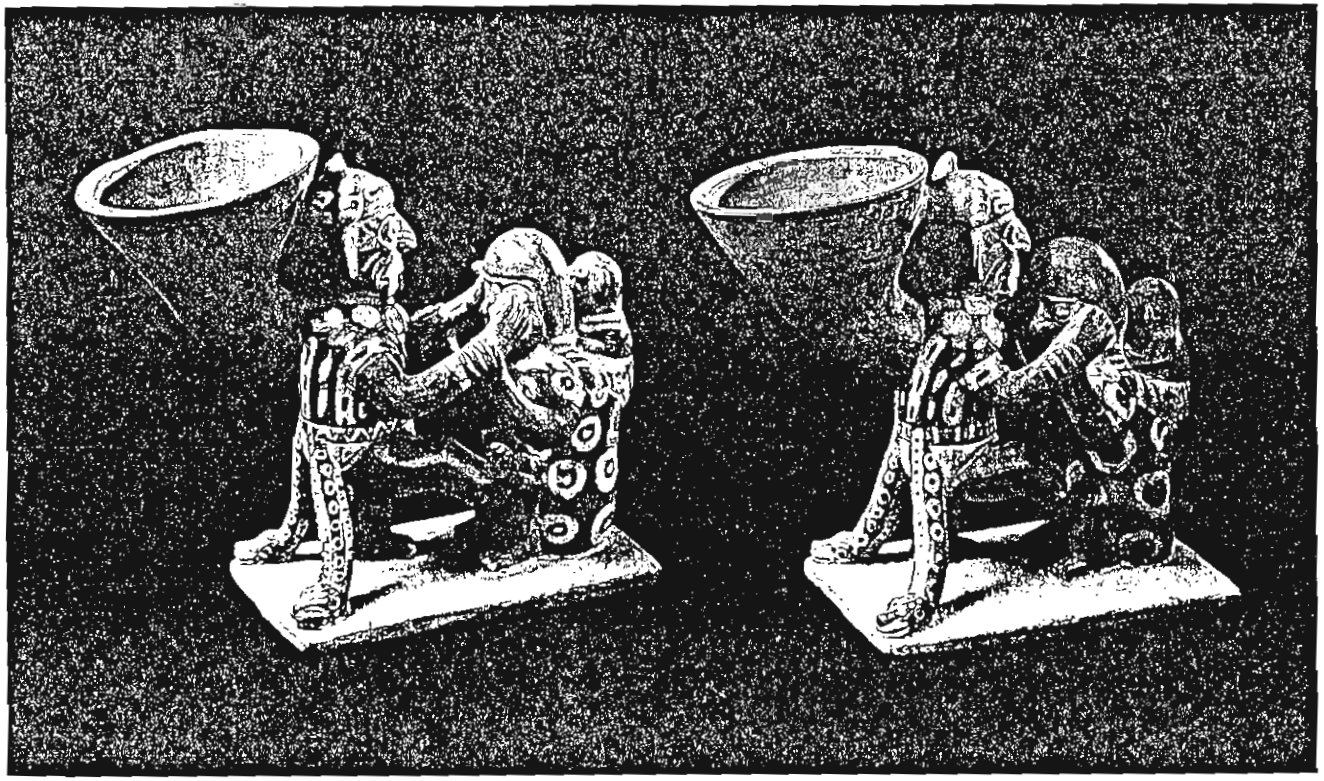

FIGURE 5

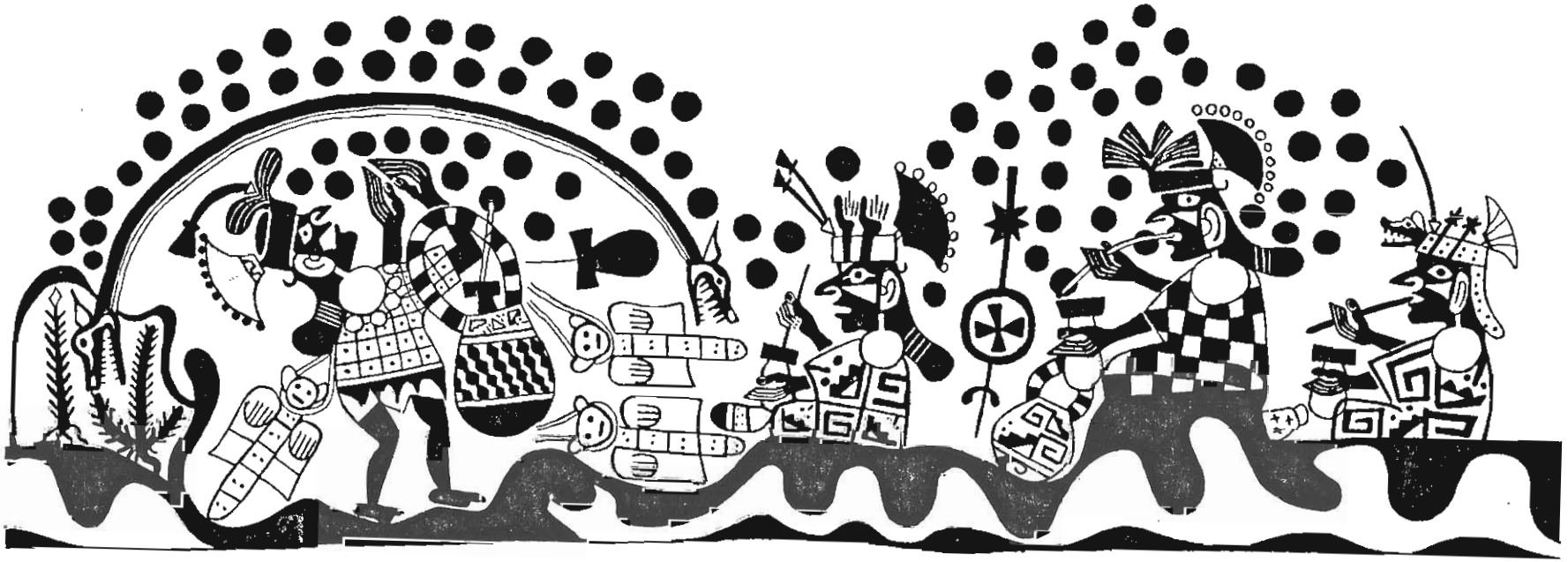

FIGURE 6

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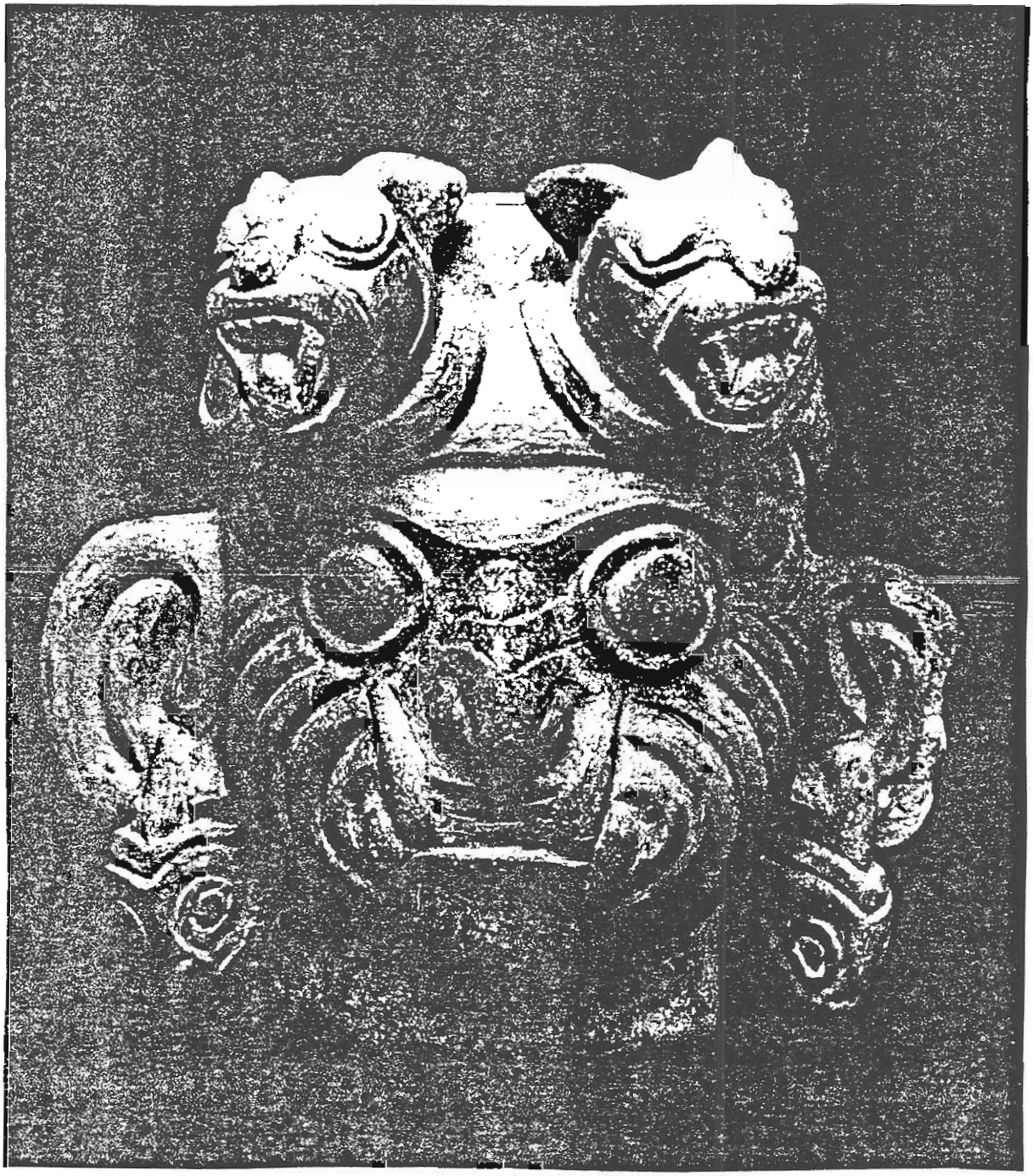

FIGURE 10

FIGURE 11

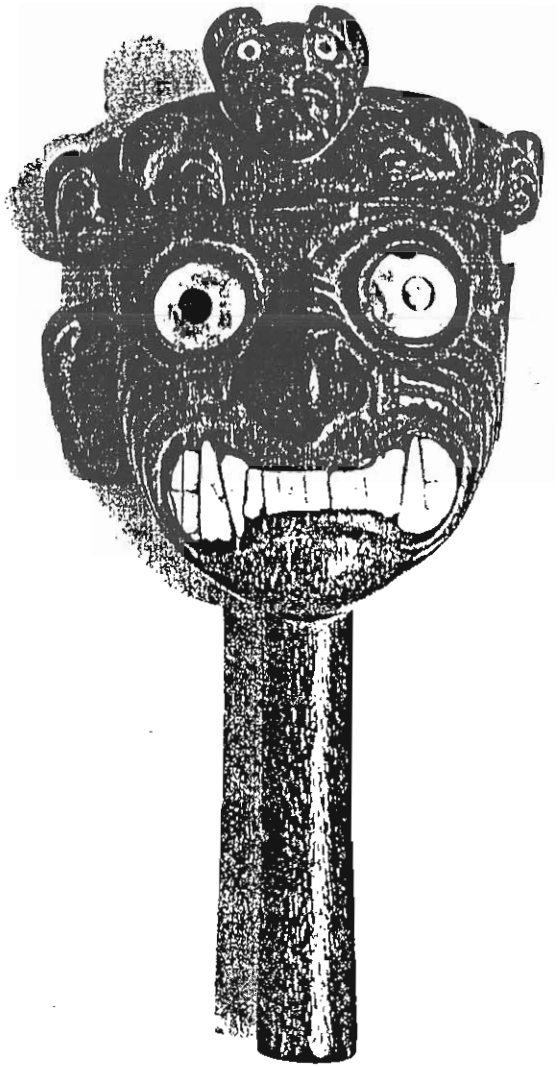

FIGURE 12

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FIGURE 17

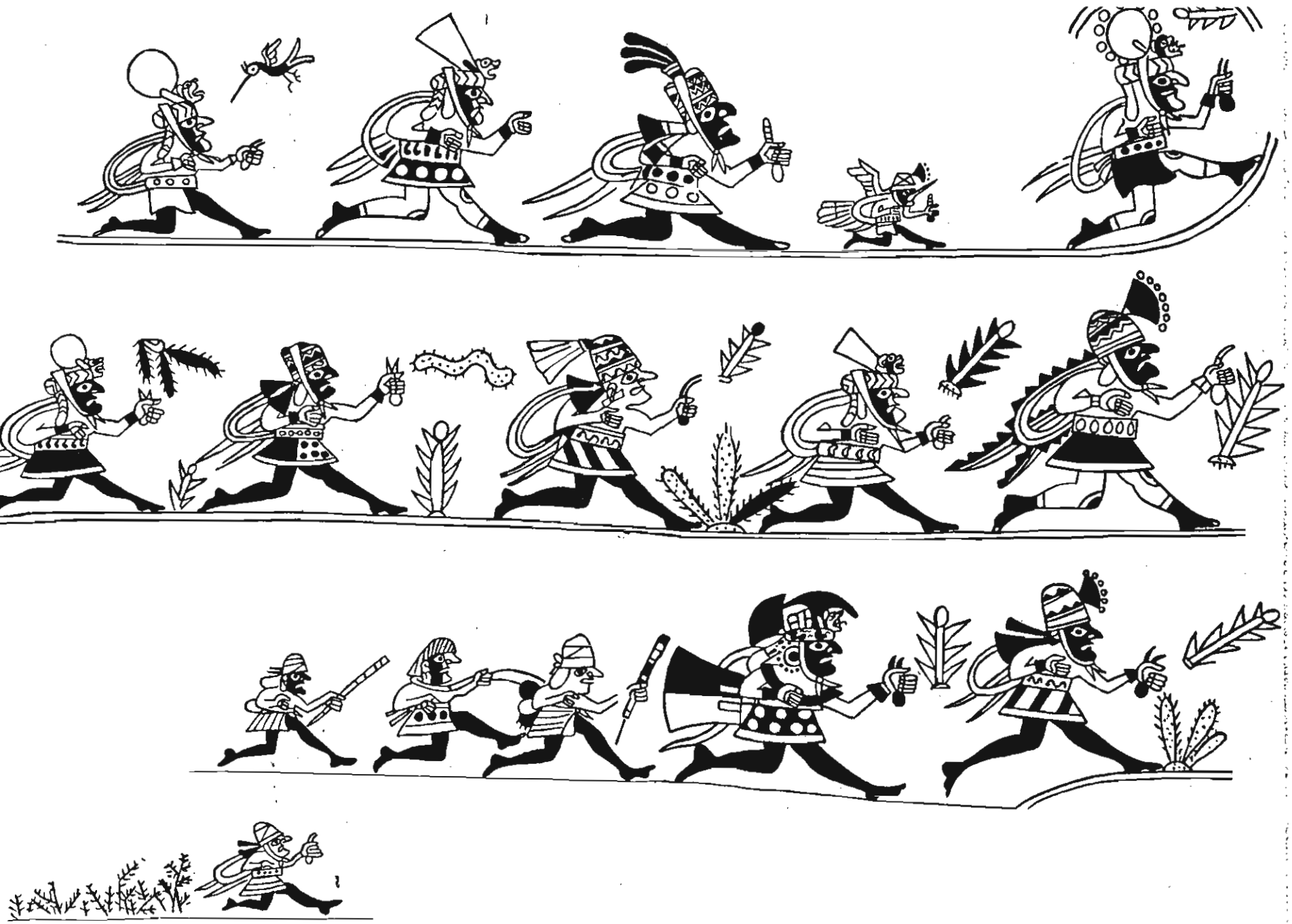

FIGURE 18

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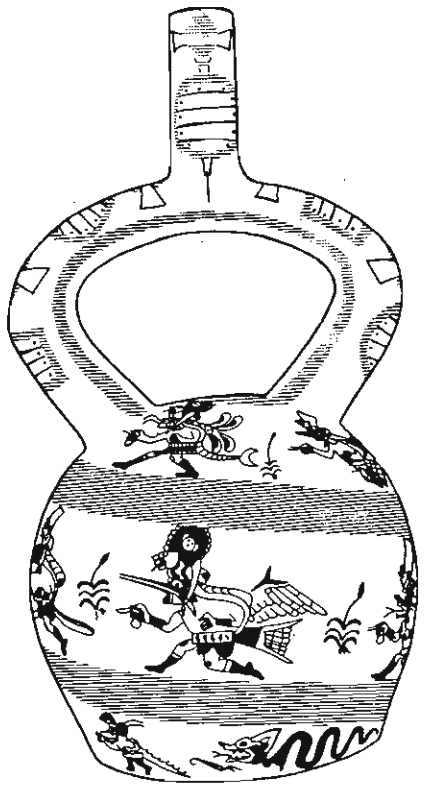
FIGURE 24



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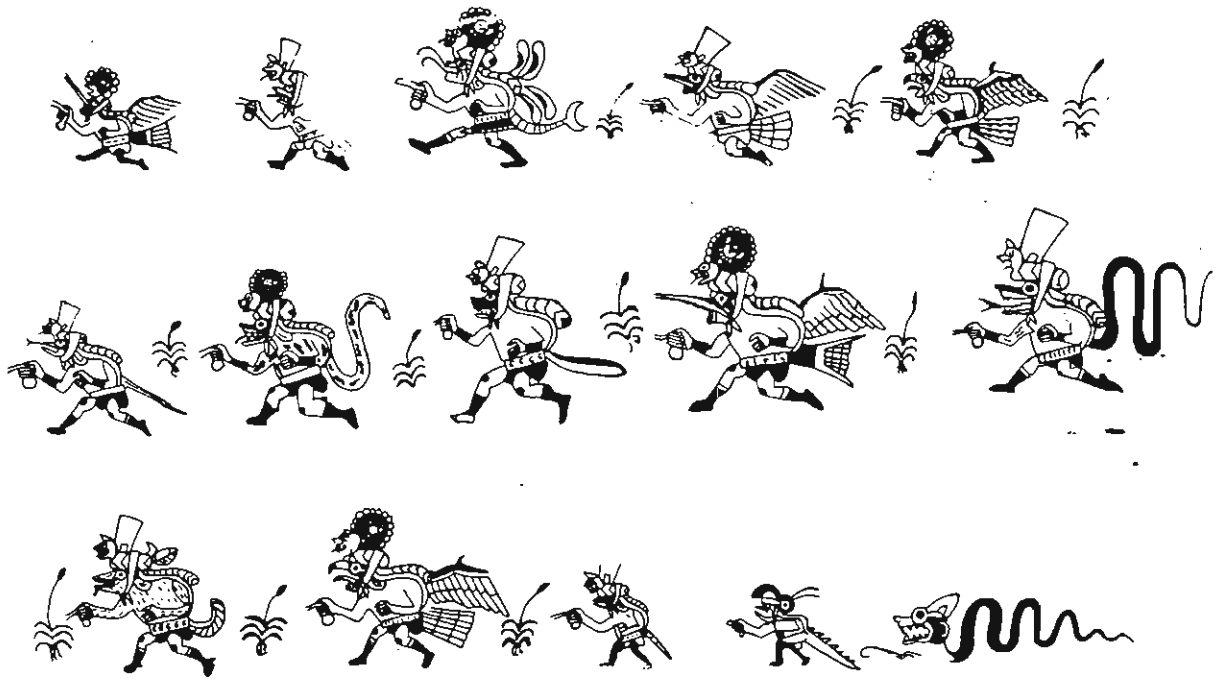

FIGURE 25

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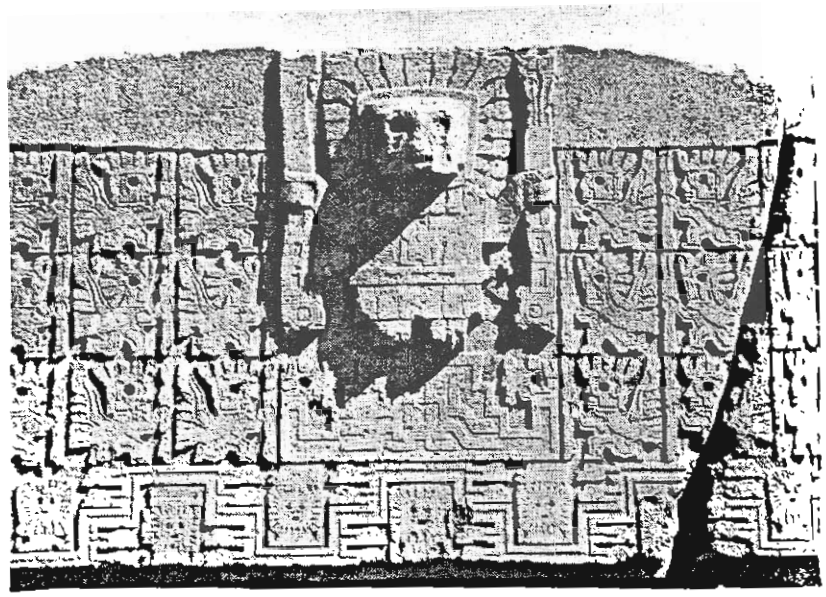

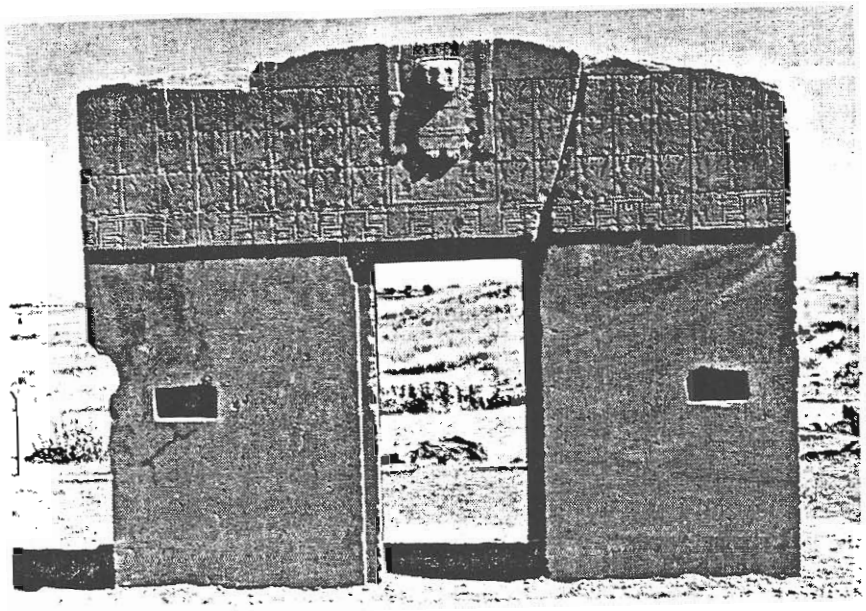

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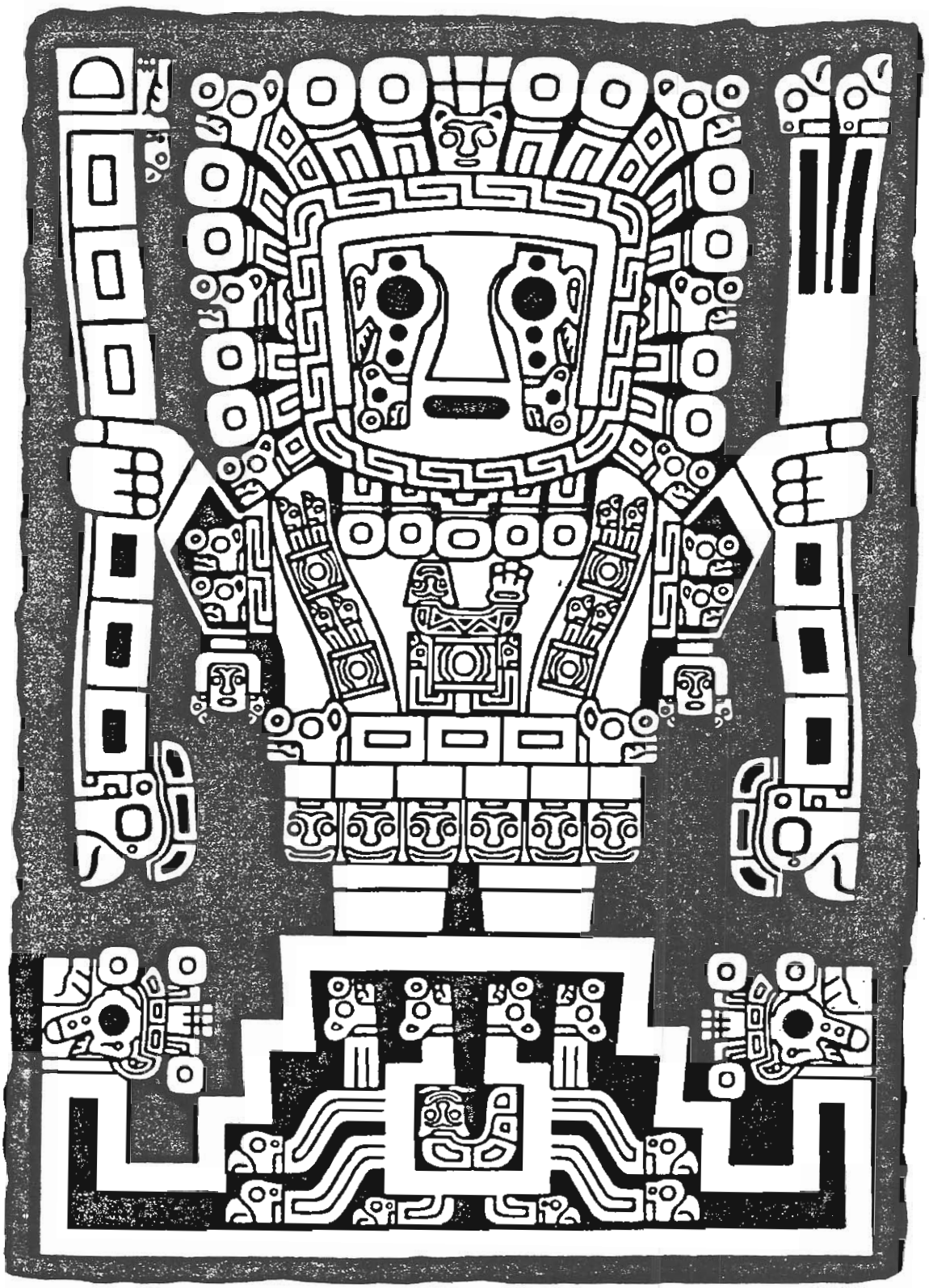


FIGURE 28

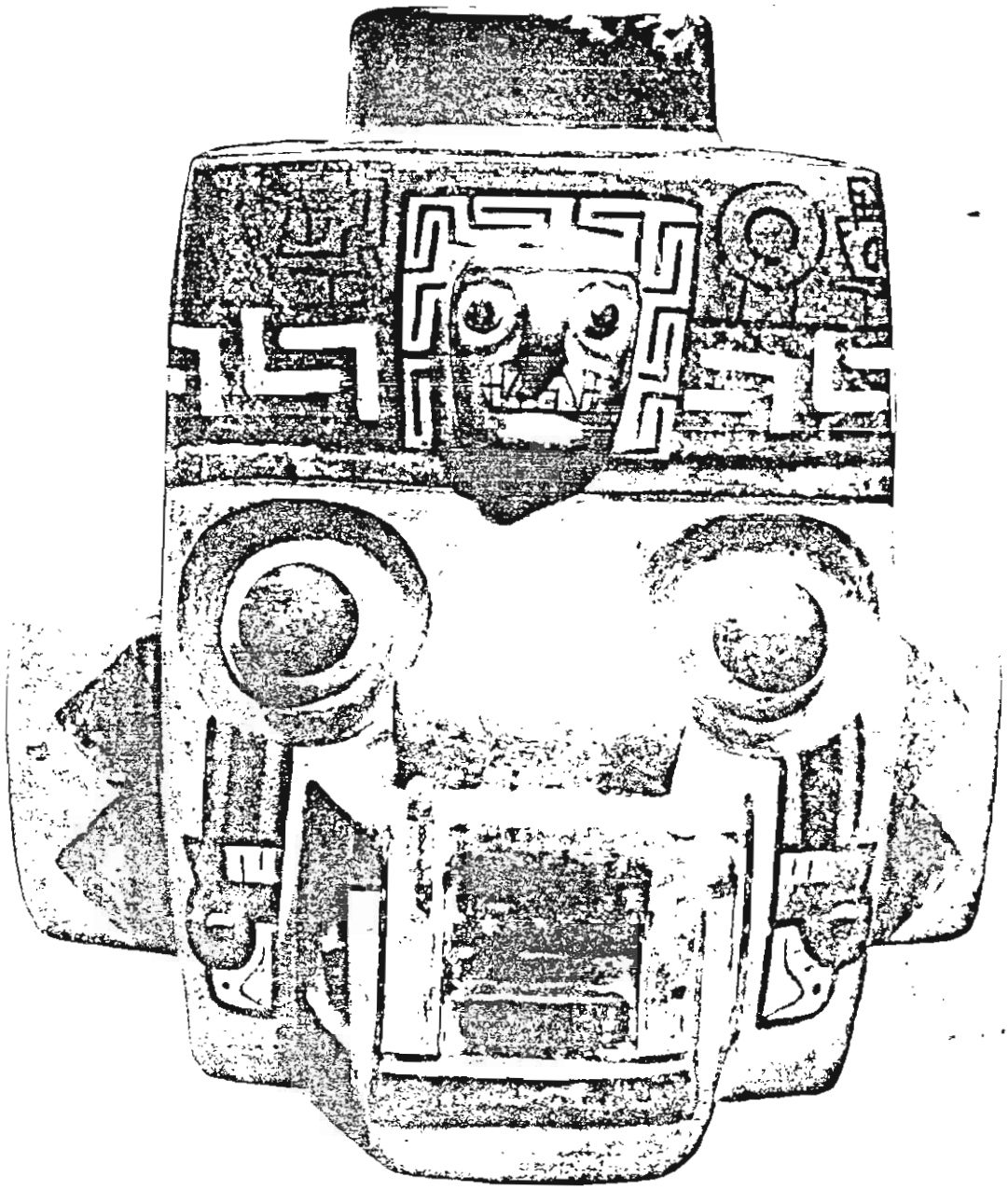


FIGURE 29

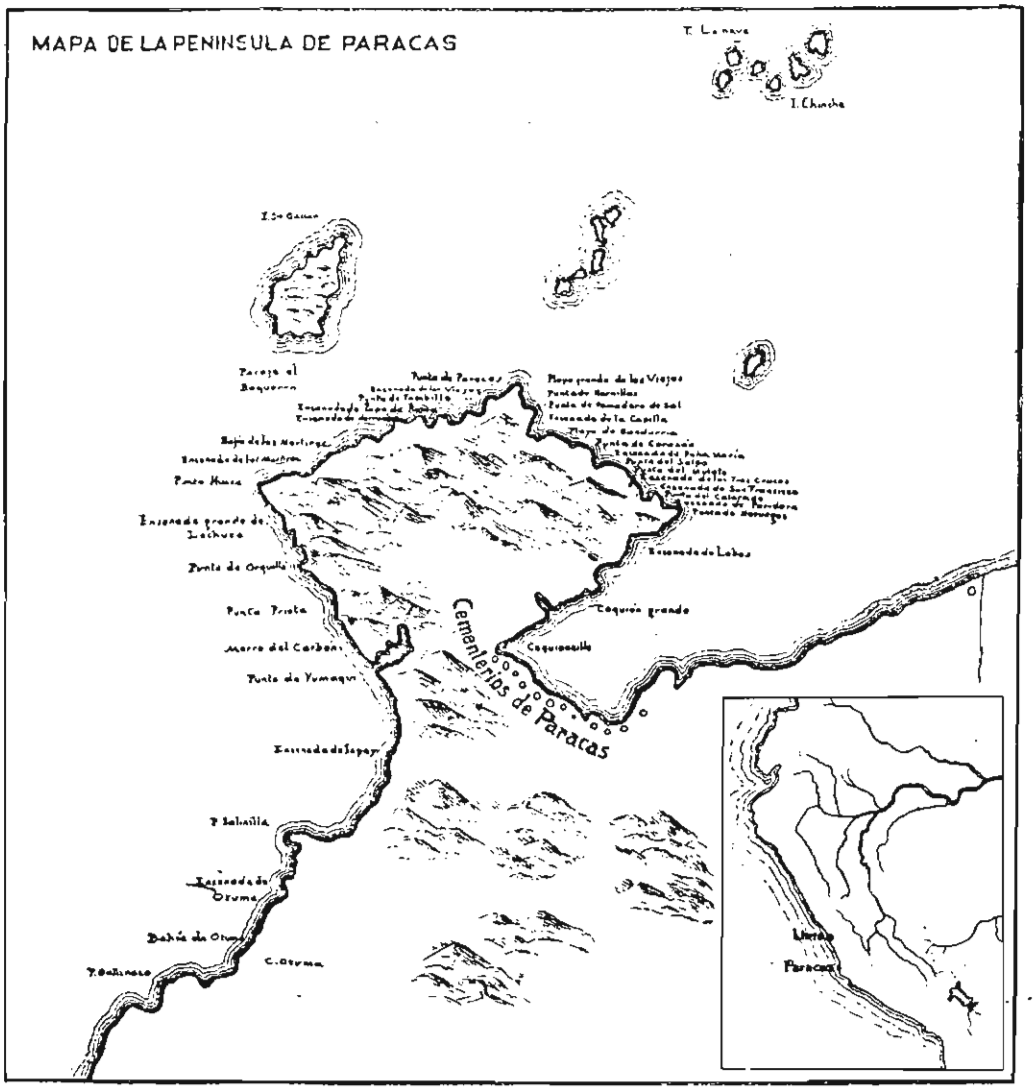
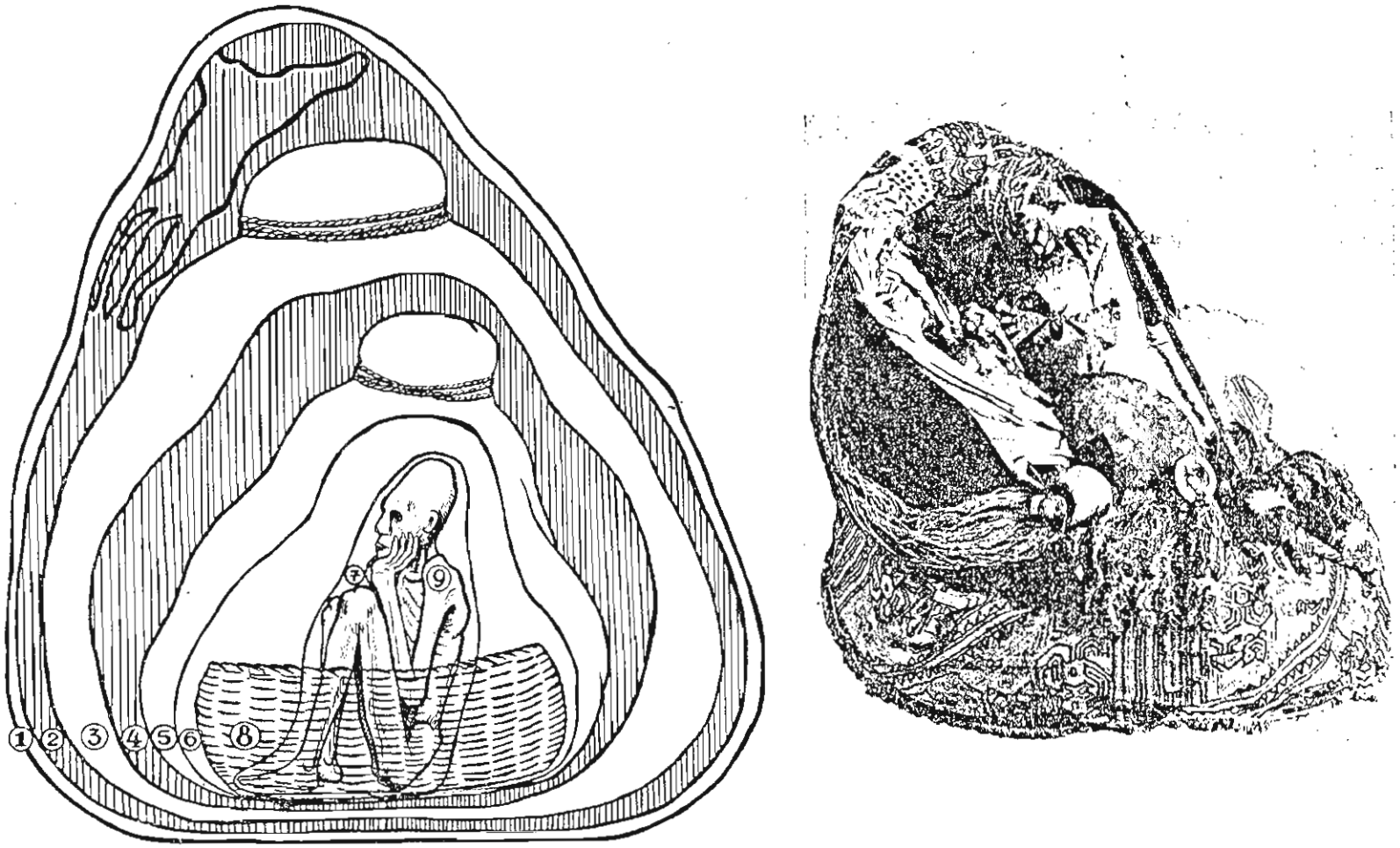

MAPA DE LA PENINSULA DE PARACAS
I. Chincha
Cementerios de Paracas
Paracas

FIGURE 30



Funeral fardels of Necropolis. Paracas: a) Verticle cross-section which shows the arrangement of the fine and coarse fabrics inside the fardels; b) Artificially mummified body placed in a basket.

FIGURE 31

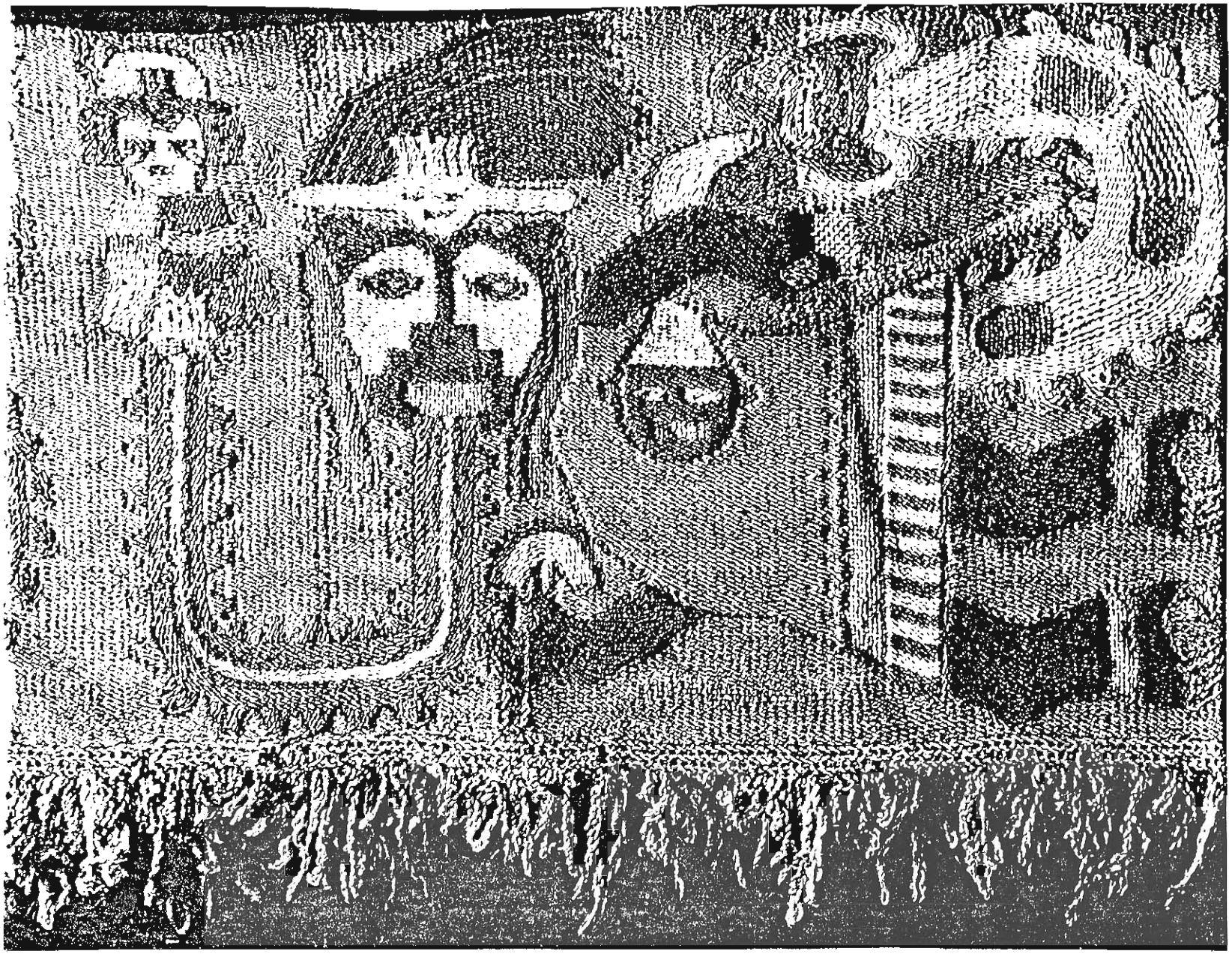


FIGURE 32

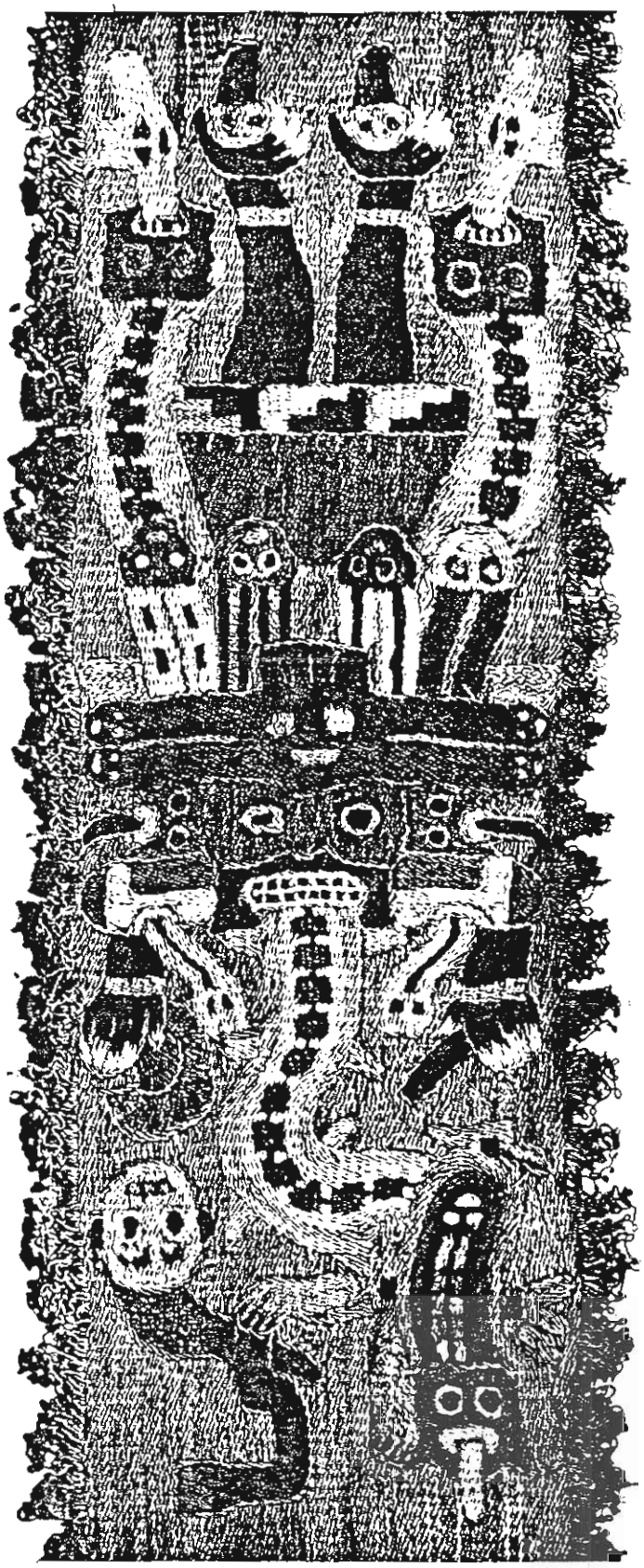


FIGURE 33

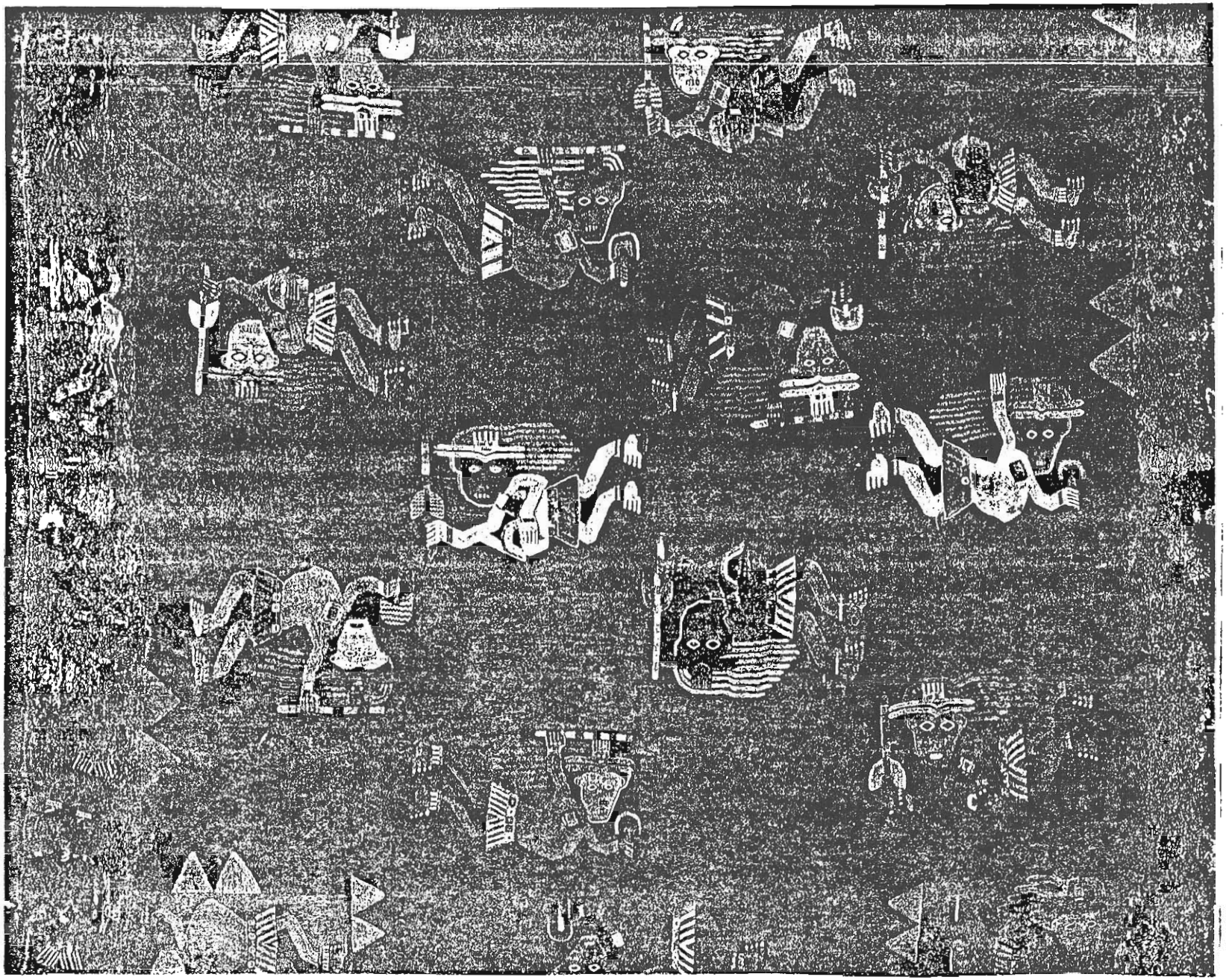


FIGURE 34

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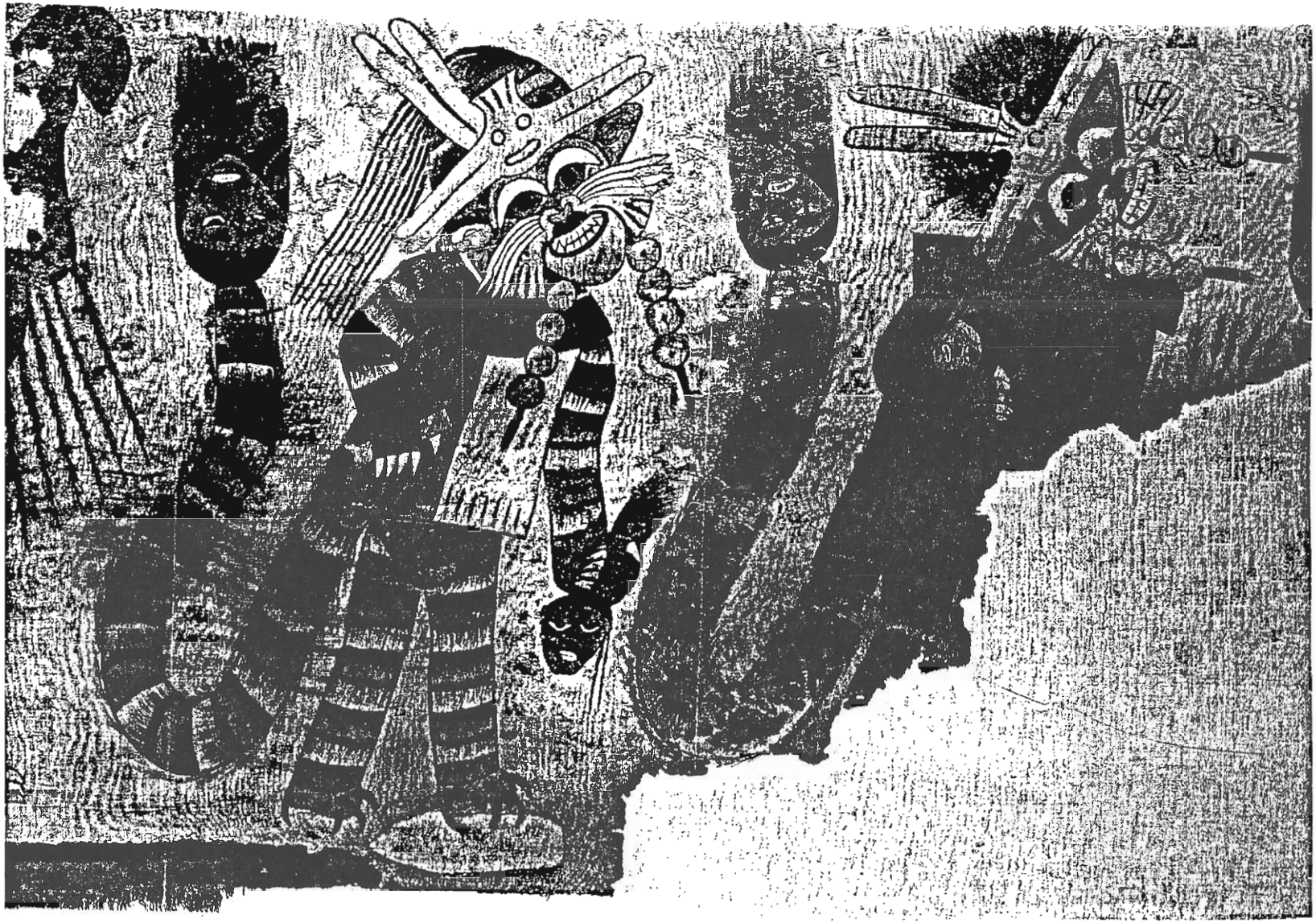

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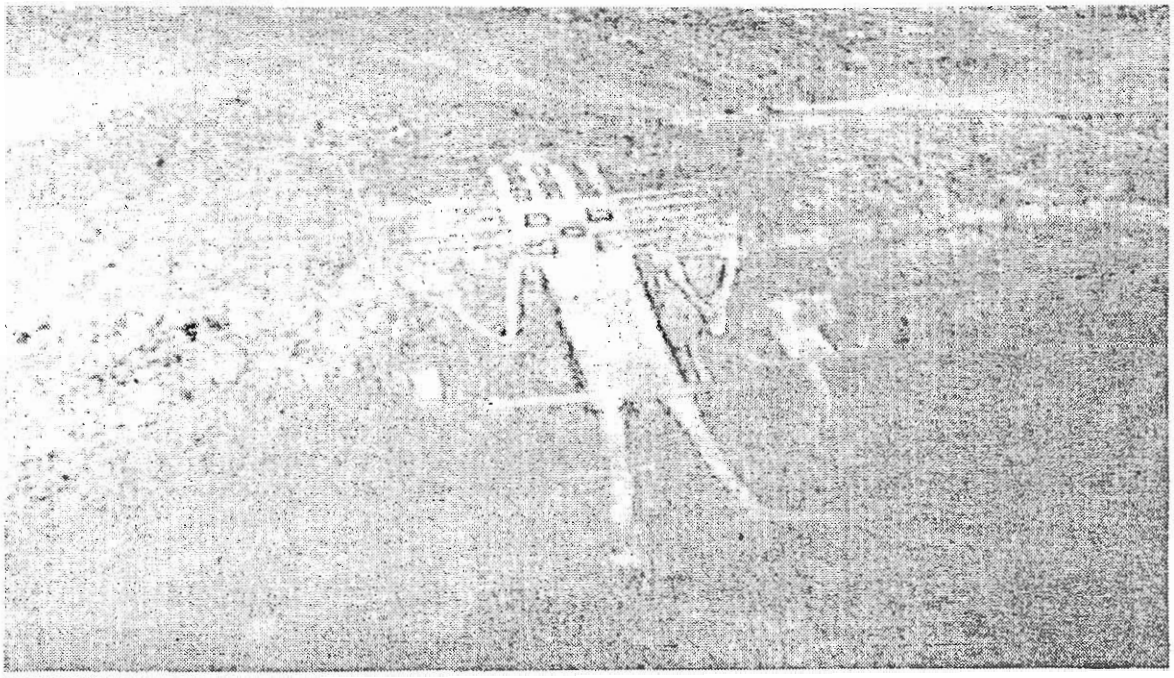

FIGURE 42

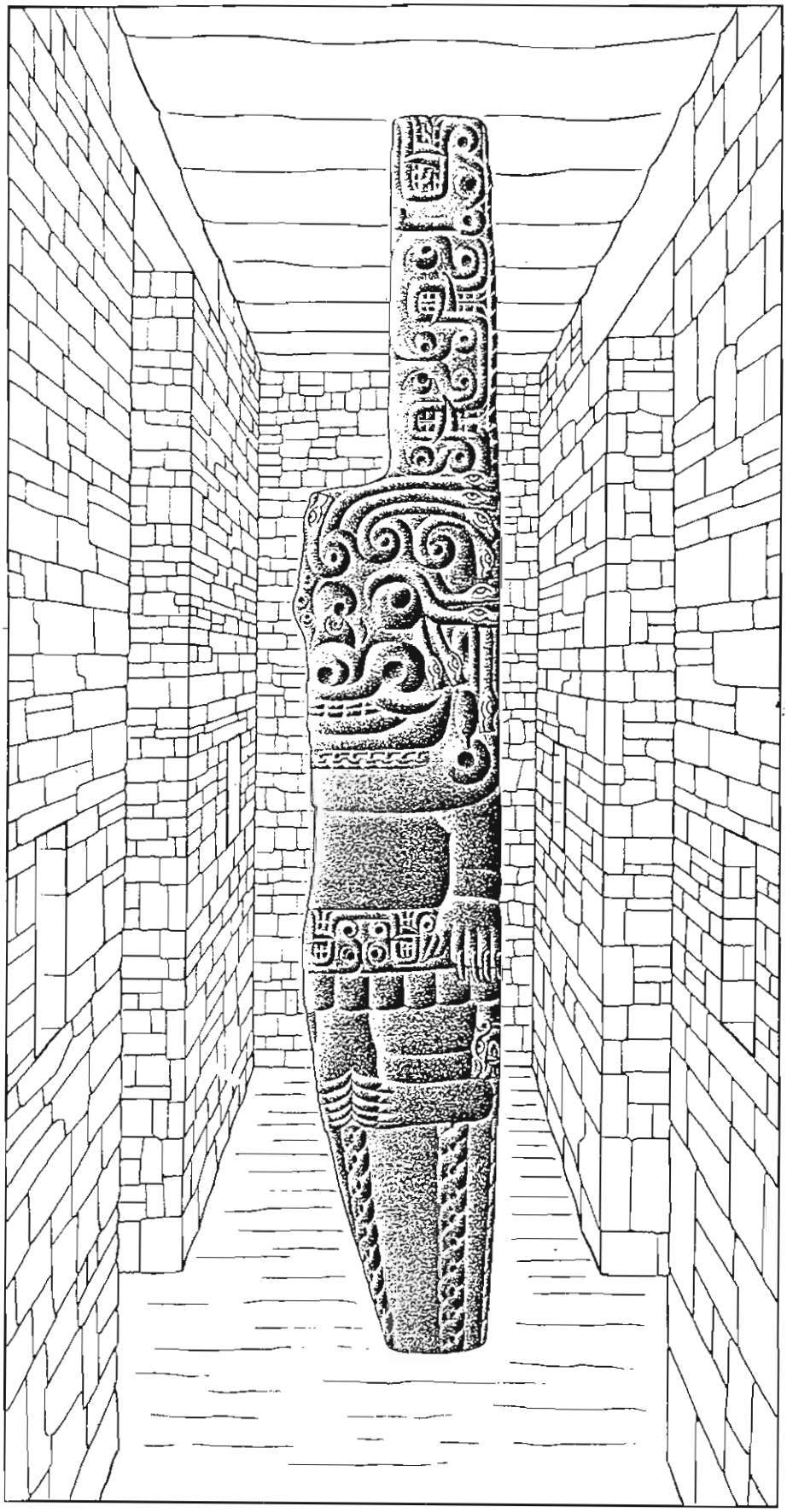

FIGURE 43

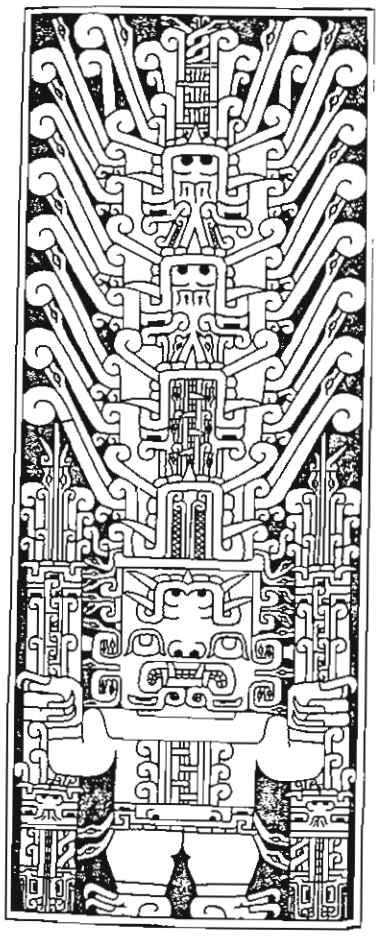

FIGURE 44

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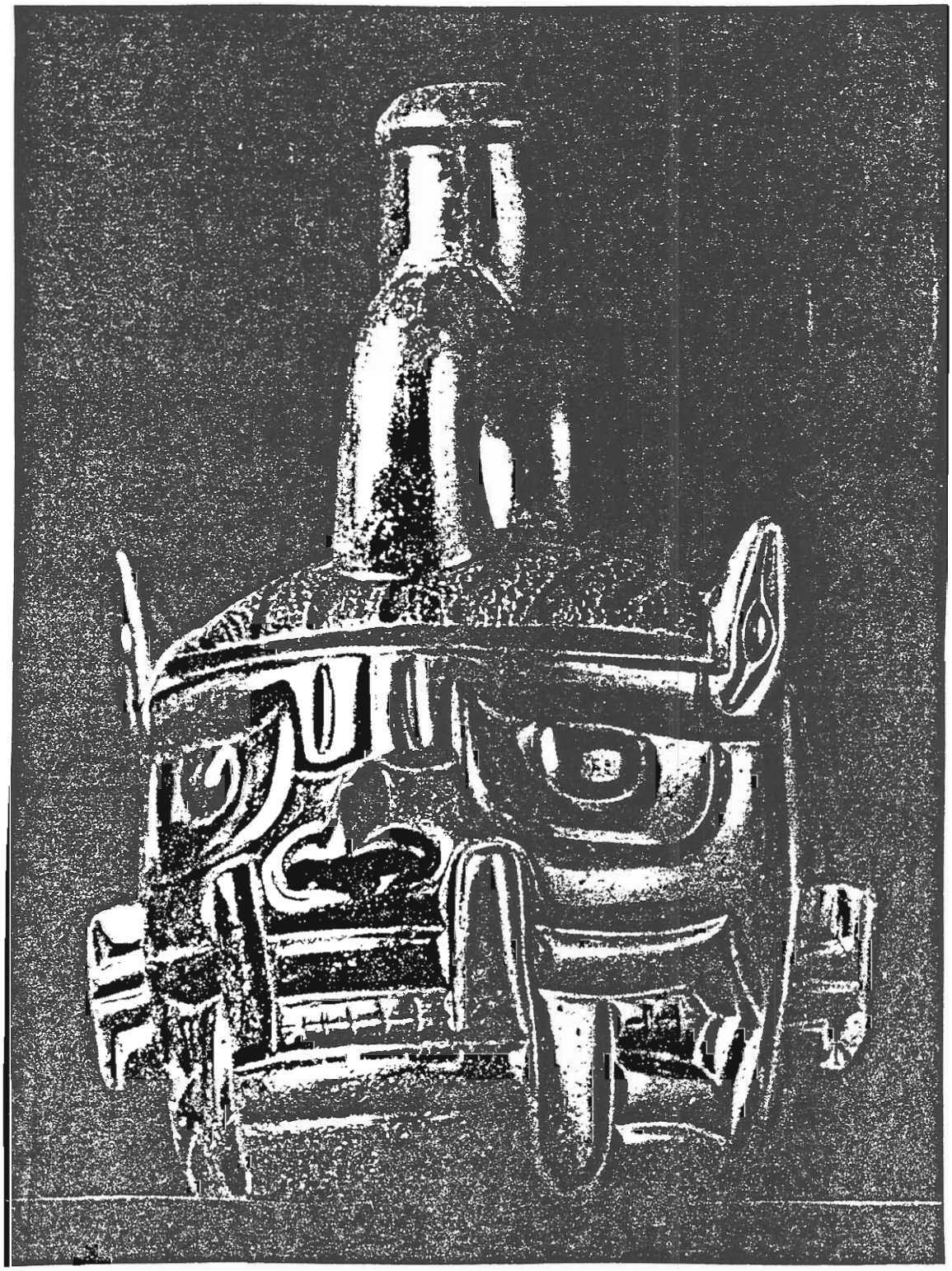

FIGURE 46

FIGURE 47

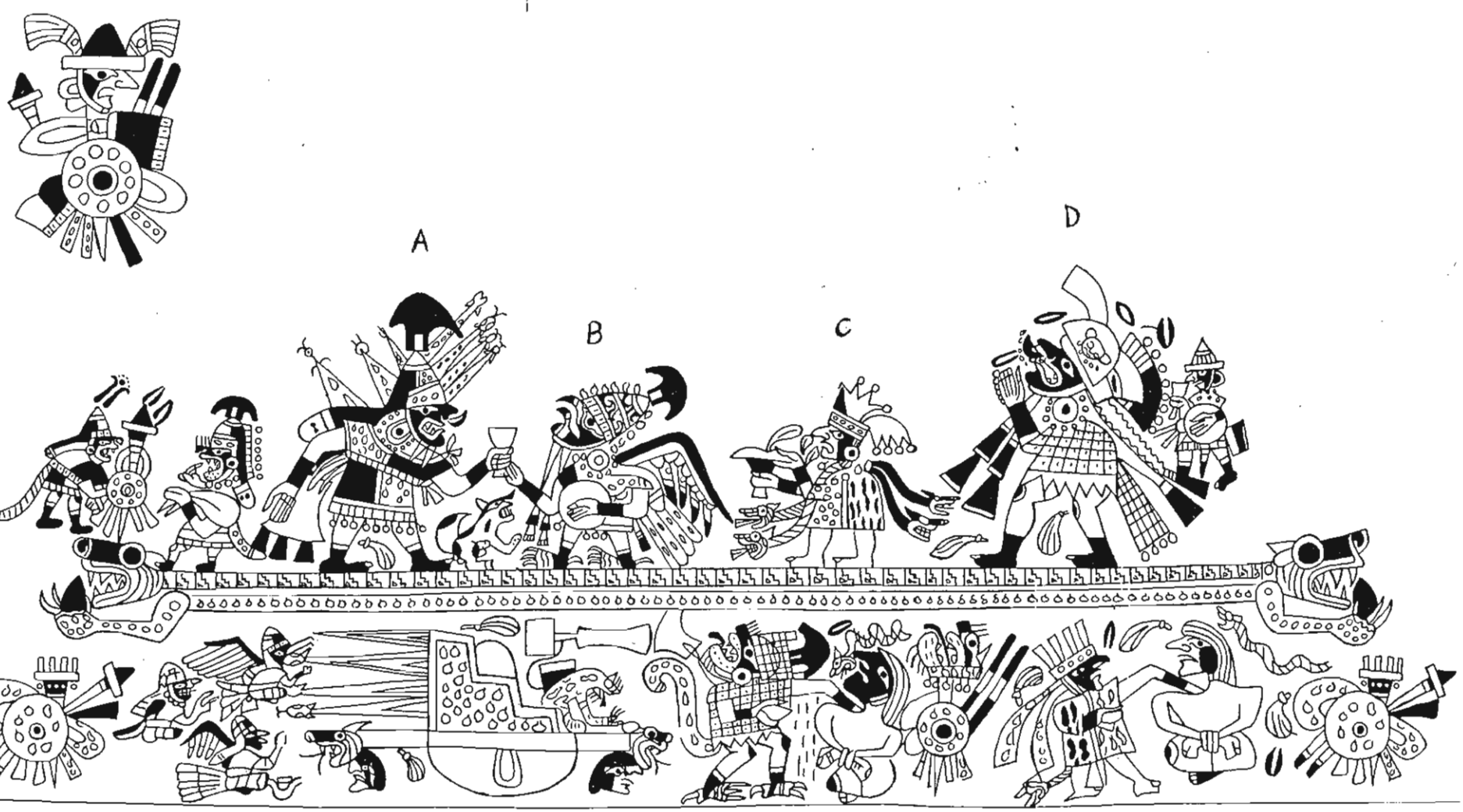

FIGURE 48

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FIGURE 60

FIGURE 61

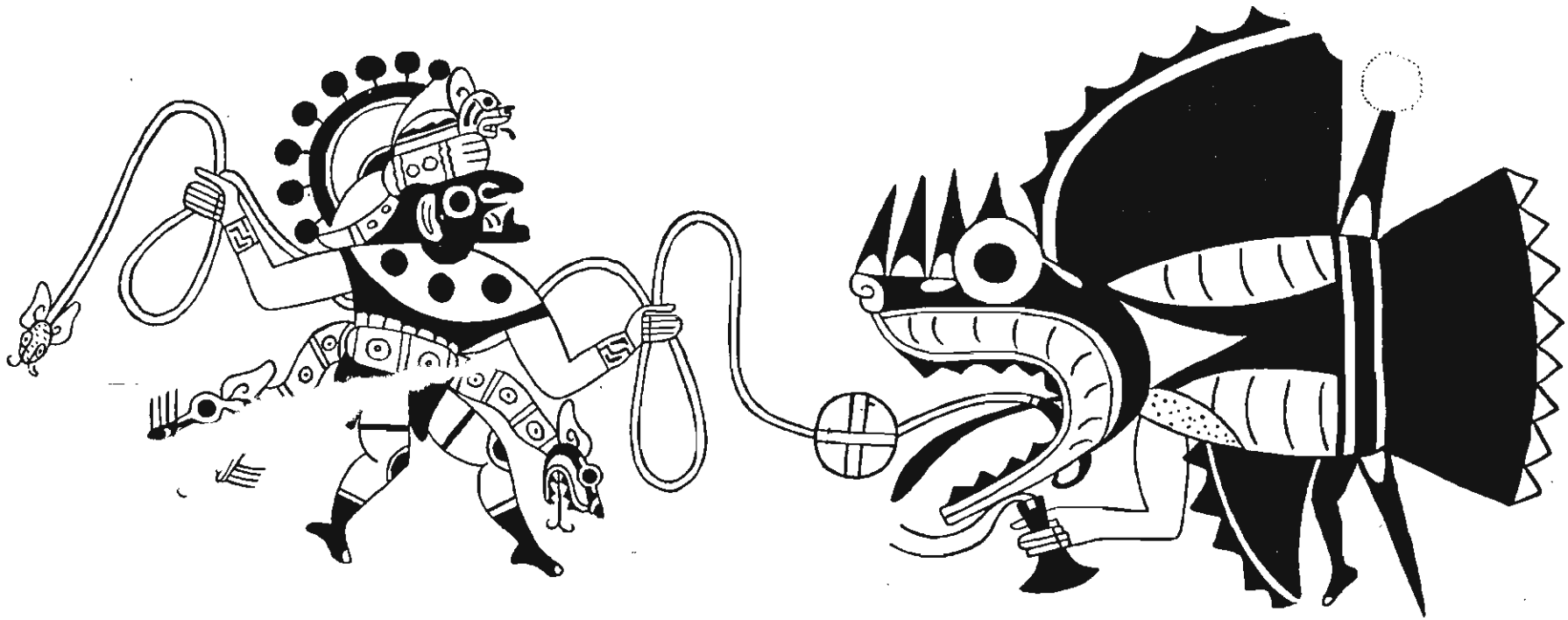

FIGURE 62

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FIGURE 64

FIGURE 65

FIGURE 66

FIGURE 47

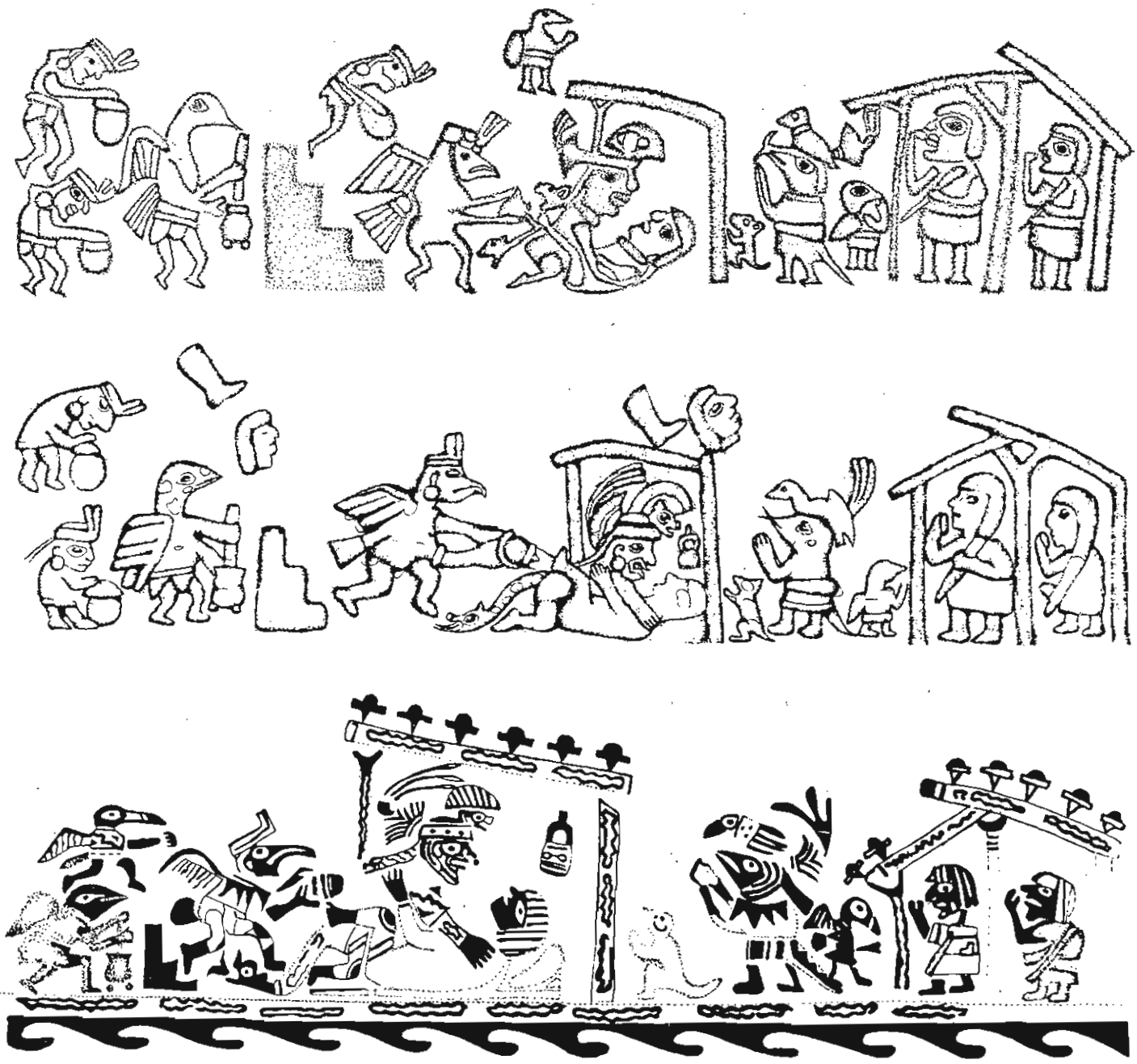


FIGURE 68

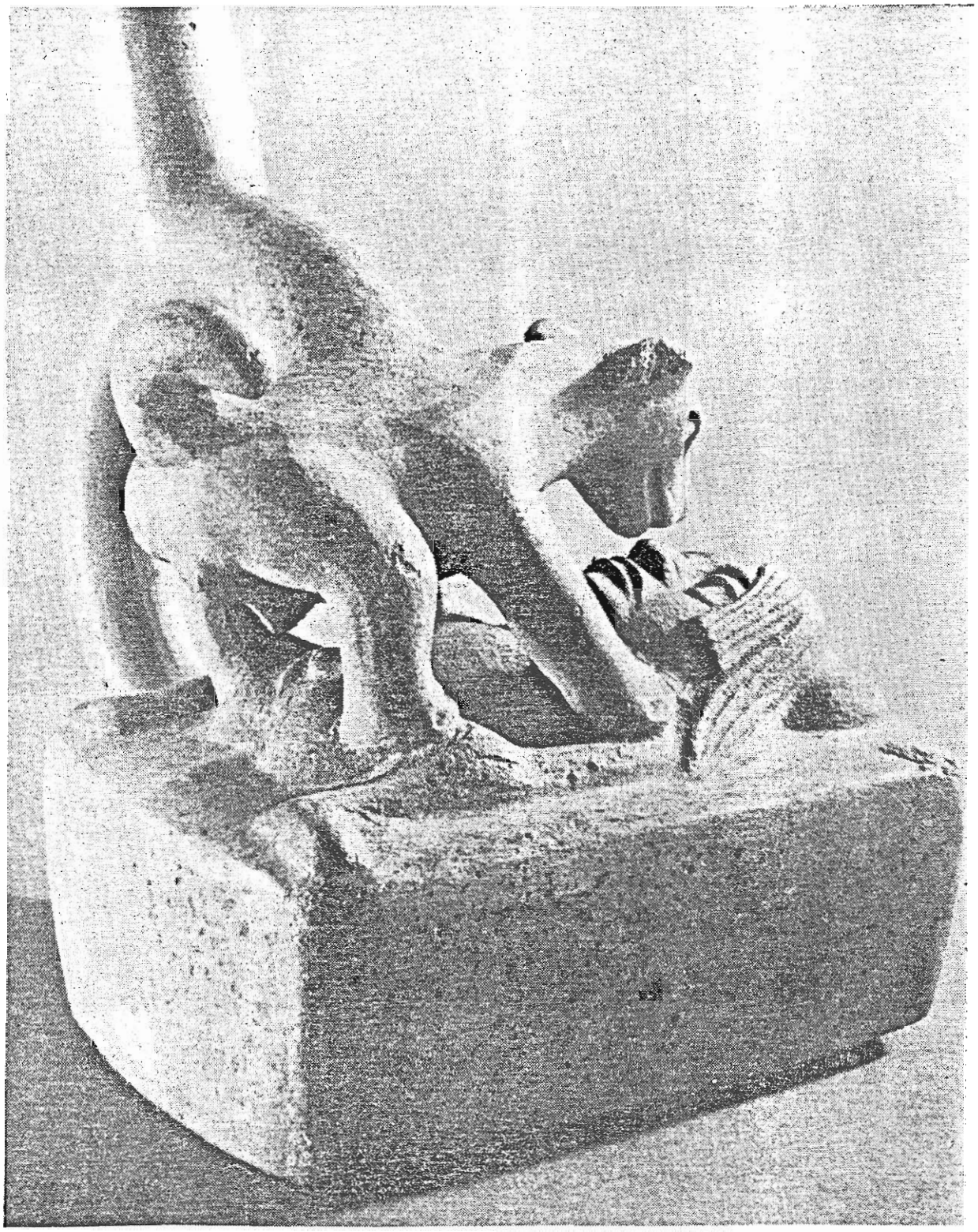


FIGURE 69

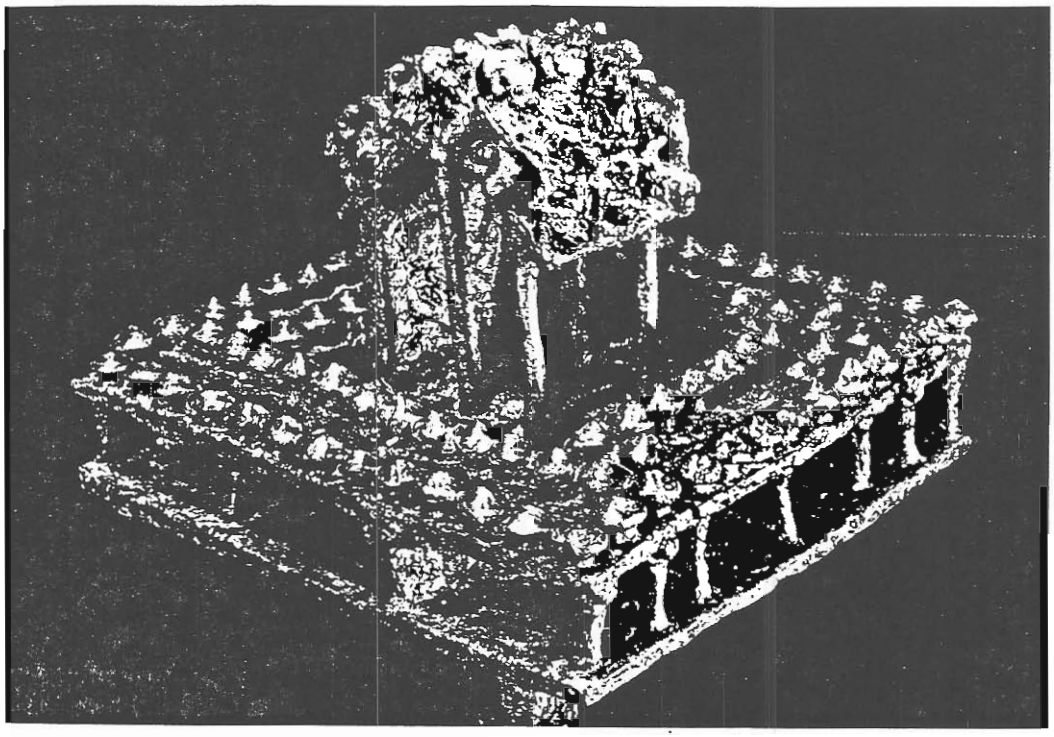
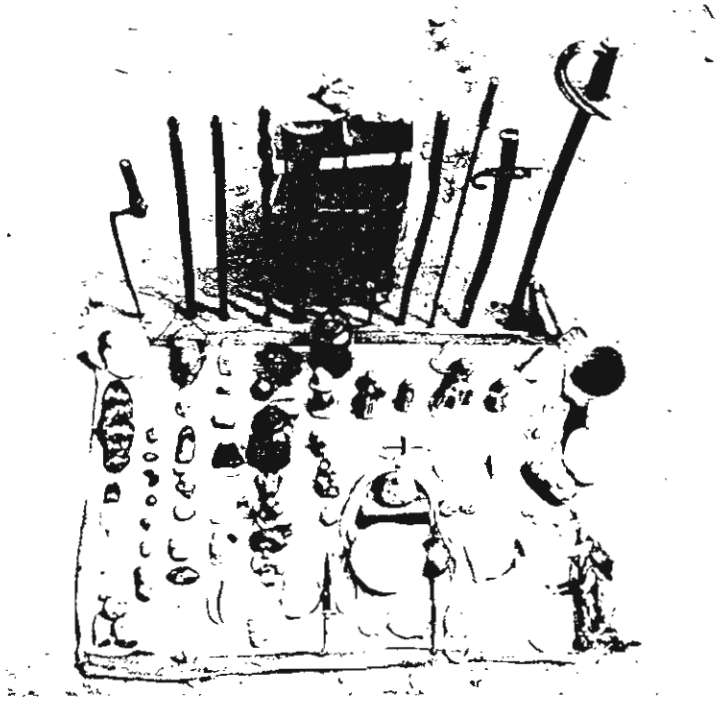


FIGURE 70



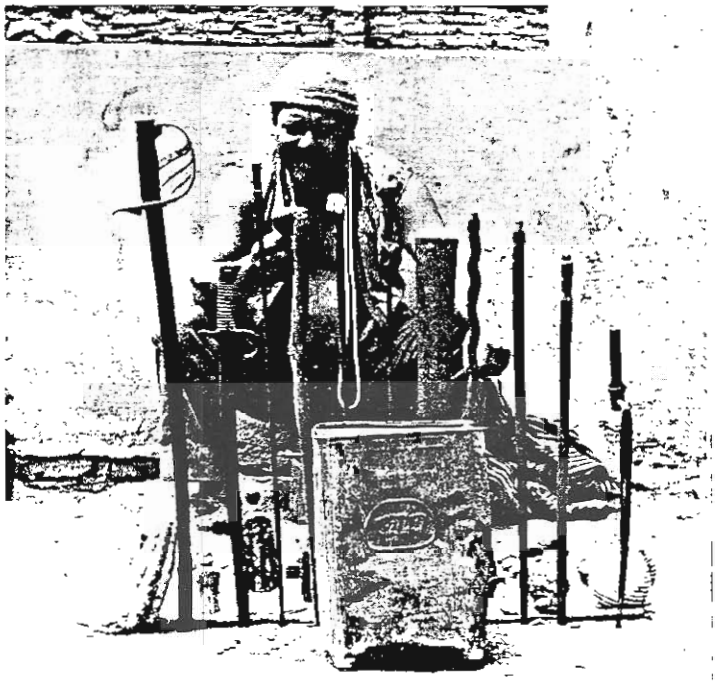


FIGURE 71

5–20. A black-ware pot with a human or deity head coming out of a bunch of tubers. The headdress and bracelets are inlaid with turquoise.

FIGURE 72

FIGURE 73