

THE CULT OF THE FELINE

A Conference in Pre-Columbian Iconography

OCTOBER 31ST AND NOVEMBER 1ST, 1970

Elizabeth P. Benson, *Editor*

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections

TRUSTEES FOR HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Washington, D.C.

Copyright 1972

**Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.
Library of Congress catalog number 72-90080**

Preface

ROBERT WOODS BLISS began collecting Pre-Columbian art because he was lured by the beauty of the materials, the fineness of the craftsmanship, and the fascination of the iconography of the first Pre-Columbian objects he saw. The Bliss Collection has been, since its beginning in 1912, primarily an esthetic one—probably the first esthetically oriented collection of Pre-Columbian artifacts—so it seemed appropriate to organize a conference that would focus on a cross-cultural, art-historical approach. When we sought for a theme, the first that came to mind was that great unifying factor in Pre-Columbian cultures, the feline. Large cats such as the jaguar and puma preoccupied the artists and religious thinkers of the very earliest civilizations, the Olmec in Mesoamerica and Chavín in Peru. The feline continued to be an important theme throughout much of the New World until the European conquests. We are indebted to Barbara Braun for the title, “The Cult of the Feline.”

Pre-Columbian studies merge many disciplines. This conference was not only cross-cultural but cross-disciplinary—with contributions from anthropologists, archaeologists, art historians, and ethnologists—since we believed that the art-historical approach to iconography should be based on the knowledge of what has been found archaeologically and what is known of the customs of the present-day peoples who have been isolated enough to carry on what must be very ancient traditions. Perhaps we should also have invited a zoologist. The conference, ably chaired by Geoffrey Bushnell, covered various facets of the feline presence and meaning in Pre-Columbian cultures from the Valley of Mexico to Argentina, from 1200 B.C. to present-day survivals. We have published in this volume not only the papers of the panelists but volunteered contributions from Alberto Rex González, David C. Grove, and Chiaki Kano (whose material was presented at the conference by Donald Lathrap). Other material—of great interest, but not suitable for publication here—was presented by Mary Elizabeth King, Arthur G. Miller, and Peter Roe.

We are grateful for help received from the many members of the Dumbarton Oaks staff who worked to make the conference a success. In the preparation of this volume, we are appreciative of the editorial assistance of Barbara Braun, formerly the Assistant Curator for the Pre-Columbian Collection, most especially in transcribing the discussion-period tapes.

ELIZABETH P. BENSON
MICHAEL D. COE

THE PANEL

Geoffrey H. S. Bushnell, Chairman	George Kubler
Michael D. Coe	Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff
Michael Kan	Alan R. Sawyer

THE PARTICIPANTS

Joyce Bailey	Julie Jones
Junius Bird	Michael D. Kampen
Peggy Bird	Mary Elizabeth King
Ingeborg Bolz	Elizabeth Kubler
J. O. Brew	Donald W. Lathrap
Patricia Bushnell	Maria Antonieta Cervantes de Larrauri
Frederick J. Dockstader	Olga Linares
Dudley T. Easby, Jr.	Arthur G. Miller
Elizabeth Easby	Louise Milliken
Gordon F. Ekholm	Christine Niederberger
Marguerite Ekholm	Lee A. Parsons
Nora Fisher	Esther Pasztory
Kent V. Flannery	Peter G. Roe
Beatriz de la Fuente	Richard W. Rose
Dee Furst	John F. Scott
Peter Furst	Marion Stirling
Alberto Rex González	Matthew W. Stirling
David C. Grove	Stephen Williams
Terence Grieder	Hasso von Winning
Gillett G. Griffin	

Contents

MICHAEL D. COE	
Olmec Jaguars and Olmec Kings	1
Discussion	13
GEORGE KUBLER	
Jaguars in the Valley of Mexico	19
Discussion	45
GERARDO REICHEL-DOLMATOFF	
The Feline Motif in Prehistoric San Agustín Sculpture	51
Discussion	65
MICHAEL KAN	
The Feline Motif in Northern Peru	69
Discussion	86
ALAN R. SAWYER	
The Feline in Paracas Art	91
Discussion	113
ALBERTO REX GONZÁLEZ	
The Felinic Complex in Northwest Argentina	117
CHIAKI KANO	
Pre-Chavín Cultures in the Central Highlands of Peru: New Evidence from Shillacoto, Huánuco	139
DAVID C. GROVE	
Olmec Felines in Highland Central Mexico	153
GEOFFREY H. S. BUSHNELL	
Concluding Remarks	165

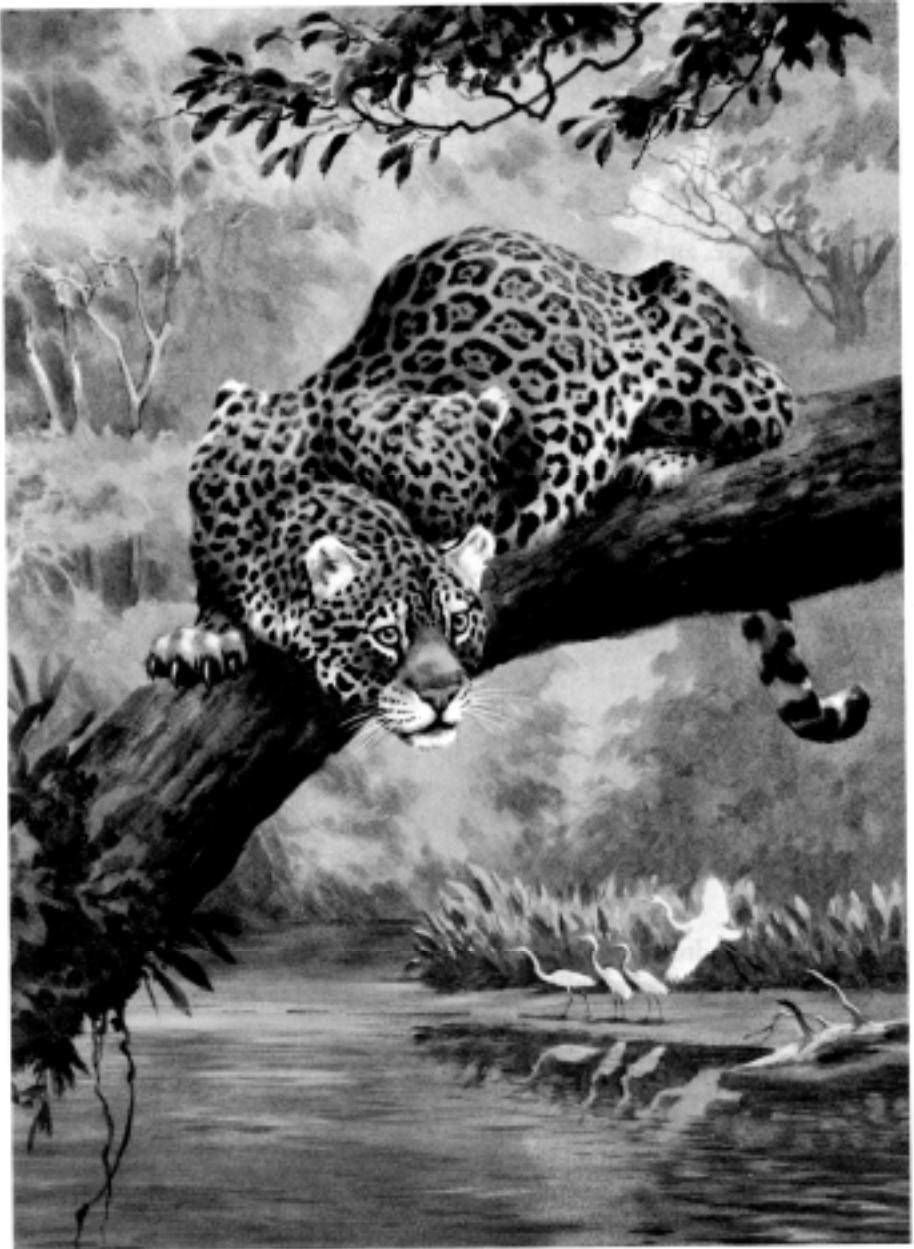


Fig. 1 *Jaguar*. Painting by Walter Weber, © National Geographic Society.

Olmec Jaguars and Olmec Kings

MICHAEL D. COE

YALE UNIVERSITY

This is the second version of a paper which I have prepared on the feline motif in Olmec art. I tore up the first and began again after hearing a fascinating talk by Eric Thompson at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in which he demonstrated the close connection between the supreme god of the Maya—Itzamná—and the cult of the Maya kings. While initially somewhat skeptical, I have become convinced that just such a relationship, involving the very same god-complex, exists between the jaguar and the royal house of the Olmec. While some of my paper may seem farfetched to those unfamiliar with the unbelievably tortuous details of Mesoamerican religion, it should be pointed out that this study is only part of a much larger structural investigation of all known Mesoamerican theogonies, which I strongly feel comprise a single great system of tremendous antiquity.

There are four possible sources of information available for the interpretation of Olmec iconography, the religious imagery of a civilization which began over three thousand years ago and thus is the earliest known in Mesoamerica. The first is Olmec art itself, which can be viewed from a purely formal standpoint; such an iconologic study has been carried out by David Joralemon (1971) of Yale University. The second is the natural history of those animals—including man—which play a major role in Olmec iconography. The third comprises the rich data from native New World cultures on the relationships between man and those groups of animals which seem to have been of overriding importance to the Olmec; here I call attention to Peter Furst's (1968) excellent examination of man-jaguar transformations in the tropical lowlands of South America. Fourthly and lastly, there is the possibility of a genetic analysis which would detect the homologies between Maya and Mexican religious iconographies; after relatively late items of diffusion between the two have been screened out, it is quite obvious that those images which are cognate should stem from their common origin, an origin which can only be Olmec.

Olmec art focuses most obviously upon felines and men, and upon combinations of these. What was this feline, what was its meaning to the Olmec, and how can we analyze the symbolism in back of the bewildering variety of combinational forms which have been termed "were-jaguars"? There are a total of five cat species in the

Olmec "heartland" of southern Veracruz and Tabasco. These are 1) the jaguar, *Felis onca*, 2) the puma, *Felis concolor*, 3) the ocelot, *Felis pardalis*, 4) the margay, *Felis wiedii*, 5) the jaguarundi, *Felis jaguarundi*. While all are closely related and are adapted, like all cats, to the carnivorous life of nocturnal hunters, only two, the jaguar and the puma, play any great role in the lives and thinking of Mesoamerican natives. The others, being of no greater size than large house cats, are of slight importance; in addition, the margay is of such rarity that most lowlanders have never seen one.

A more-than-casual review of Maya and Mexican art styles will show that the feline depicted is almost exclusively the jaguar, with only a few possible representations of the puma; the same is true of Olmec art. Similarly, a survey of Mesoamerican verbal imagery indicates that it is the jaguar which is of overwhelming concern, receiving the name *balam* among the Maya and *océlotl* among the Aztec (the ocelot itself being separately and derivatively termed *tlacoocélotl* and thus not to be confused with its larger relative).

Just what sort of animal is the jaguar? Unfortunately, there are no studies of its behavior in the wild or in captivity, and certainly nothing as illuminating as Schaller's field study of the Indian tiger. The jaguar (Fig. 1) is the third largest cat in the world, and the largest spotted cat. As with all felines, its massive head is perfectly adapted to its role of catching prey at night: since it detects game largely through sight, touch, and hearing, the jaguar's face is rounded, with large eyes capable of binocular vision and with well-developed earflaps. Whiskers are long and sensitive, enabling the creature to find its way through brush in total darkness. A peculiar feature, perhaps present in all the large cats, is a furrow running longitudinally along the top of the head, formed by the folds of the loose scalp.

The jaguar pelage has unique coloration. The kittens have a pale, buffy ground color, heavily marked with rounded, solid black spots. When the animal matures, these tend to form rosettes with interior spots (which differentiate it from the ocelot, which has only streaks). Black coloration along the tail is irregular, but the tip is usually black, again distinguishing it from the superficially similar ocelot. Thus, any Olmec feline with rosette spots and black-tipped tail is likely to be the jaguar and none other.

The jaguar is typically feline in that its claws, unlike the dog's, are retractable into the pads on which it walks. This animal is notably solitary, and it stalks its prey alone and at night. The victim is brought to the ground by the awesome feet, claws, and mighty forearms, and is dispatched by a bite from the extremely well developed canines on the neck or throat. While the puma exists almost exclusively upon deer, and the smaller cats feed mainly on birds, the jaguar has catholic tastes as far as its food is concerned. Peccary, deer, agouti, monkeys, rabbits, and other mammals are all

hunted, usually along the borders of watercourses which form the favored habitat of the stalking jaguar. In fact, the jaguar is an excellent swimmer and is quite at home in the water. Turtles and even fish form part of the diet, and it is reliably reported that jaguars will lie above the water and attract fish by slapping their tails upon the surface, imitating the sound of falling fruit.

To the Indian peoples of the tropical forest who live mainly by hunting, it is very clear that jaguar and man are extraordinarily alike: they both hunt the same animals. The major difference between them is that man has culture and thus cooks his food, while the jaguar eats it raw. It is this theme that Leví-Strauss has explored in his book *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969), and it is one which turns up in such widespread South American myths as the jaguar as Master of Animals, or the jaguar with the human wife from whom fire must be stolen by the hero. Peter Furst (1968) has fully documented another widespread South American concept, that of the near-identity between jaguars and powerful shamans, and has suggested that certain Olmec representations of were-jaguars embody just such a man-animal transformation.

There must certainly be a strong element of the shaman-jaguar idea in Olmec art and in what we can reconstruct of the religion. This notion may, in fact, lie at the bottom of the Olmec interest in this feline in the first place. However, there are, I think, additional elements to be taken into consideration. One of these is that there were definitely various were-jaguar images in Olmec art, each of which was probably a particular god different from the others. Five of these gods are distinctly shown on the greenstone figure from Las Limas, Veracruz (Fig. 2). One lies in the arms of the seated youth, while the other four (Fig. 3) are incised upon his shoulders and knees. It can readily be seen that the image of the jaguar has been considerably altered by the Olmec iconographer in this and other examples of Olmec art, principally by the amalgamation of the jaguar with the human infant. In fact, these representations are only slightly jaguarlike, the snarling mouth, occasional fangs, and furrow or cleft on top of the head being the only indications that we are dealing with a feline component.

The presence of deliberately opposed were-jaguar images on the Las Limas figure led David Joralemon (1971) to a formal study of all available Olmec objects in public and private collections. He was able to isolate about 175 individual motifs, which tended to cluster together into ten images which might well be thought of as Olmec gods. While one of these is obviously none other than Quetzalcóatl, the Feathered Serpent, the others are were-jaguars. A constant feature of these monstrous deities is the cleft at the top of the head, which I suggest originated with the furrow on the crown of mature jaguars. One possible meaning for the cleft is fertility, for on Joralemon's God II (Fig. 4)—surely to be identified as the Maize God—sprouting corn rises from it. A further meaning (not necessarily in contradiction) has been suggested by Peter Furst



Fig. 2 *Cast of greenstone figure from Las Limas, Veracruz. Photograph Michael D. Coe.*



Fig. 3 Drawing of four god-faces on the Las Limas figure.

(1967: 42), namely, that the cleft represents the fontanelle of the infant god, for it is a widespread New World belief that this is the seat of the soul.

Besides the fact that we are dealing with a complex pantheon, there is another reason why it is likely that the shaman-jaguar transformation does not satisfactorily explain all of what we are looking at in Olmec art. It is almost certain that Olmec society was not tribal and egalitarian, but was, like later Mesoamerican societies, composed of ranked hereditary classes dominated by royal lineages; it is inconceivable, for instance, that the Colossal Heads (Fig. 5) are not actual portraits of Olmec kings. In such a milieu, shamans would have played a relatively minor role, as we know was the case among the Aztec and Maya. In my opinion, by 1200 B.C. the shaman-jaguar relationship would have been superseded by one in which the equivalence was between hereditary lord and the jaguar, an animal described by Sahagún's Aztec informants in terms fitting for a king: "It is a dweller of the forests, of crags, of water; noble, princely, it is said. It is the lord, the ruler of the animals. It is cautious, wise, proud . . . It is noble, proud" (1963, Book II: 1).

Now, in Aztec times the god of the royal cult was the great Tezcatlipoca, "Smoking Mirror," so called because in his magic mirror he could look into the hearts of men. It was he who bestowed rulership. Thus, on his accession the ruler was not only placed in the "obsidian sandals," raiment of Tezcatlipoca, but garbed as Xiuhtecuhtli, the Fire God or Old God. During the inaugural prayer, the new king specifically refers to Xiuhtecuhtli as the progenitor of Tezcatlipoca, in his role of "father of the gods, mother of the gods" (Sahagún 1969, Book 6: 19, 41); in other words, the Fire God was the supreme Double God of all Aztec theology.

I would conclude from this that *both* gods, father and son, were to be identified with the royal line and royal succession. Eric Thompson (1970: 209-33) has shown that in the Maya area Itzamná, the supreme god of all and the progenitor of the other gods,

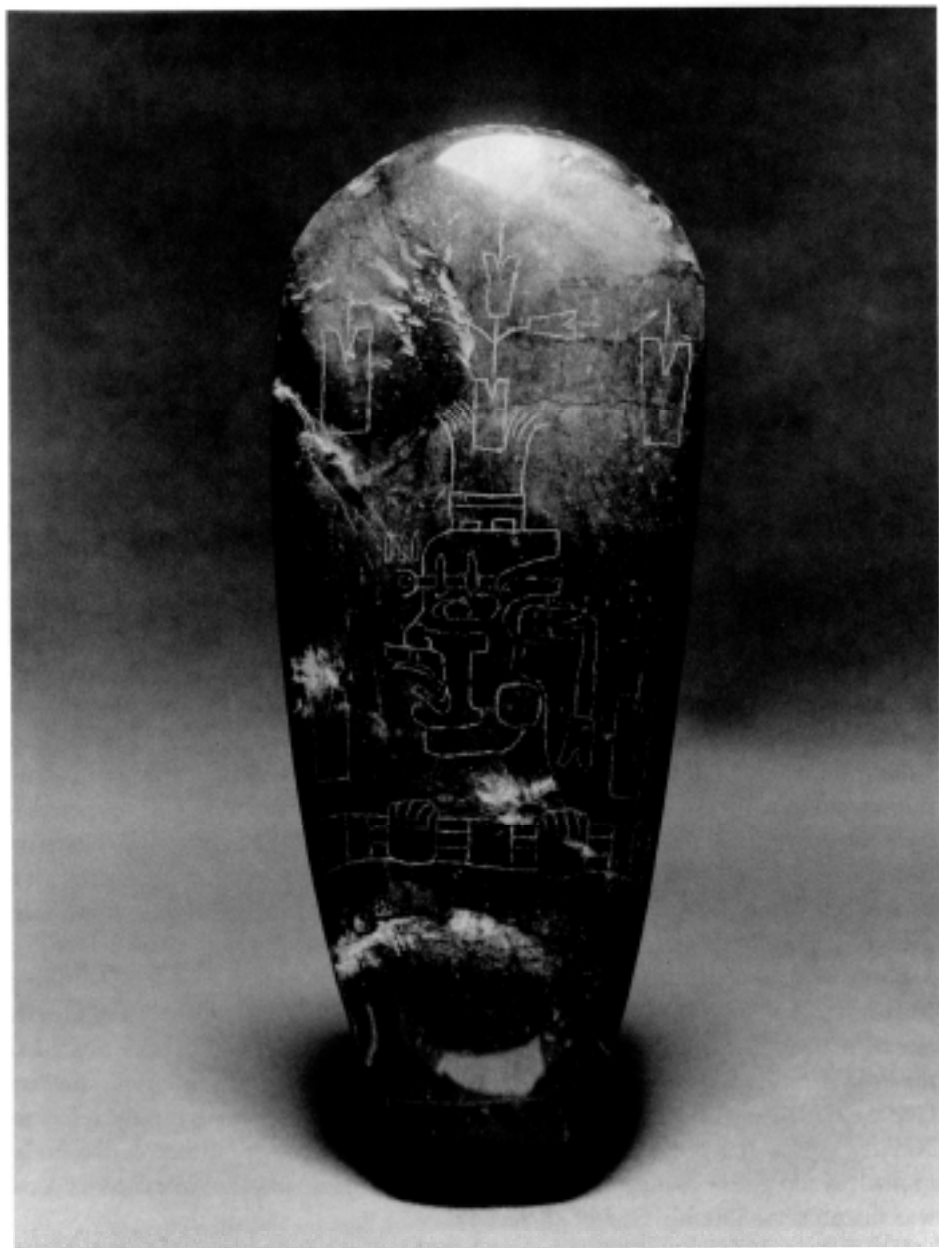


Fig. 4 *Celt from Arroyo Pesquero, Veracruz, with incised representation of God II.* Edward H. Merrin Gallery, Photograph © Justin Kerr.



Fig. 5 *Colossal Head San Lorenzo 1*. Museo de Antropología, Jalapa. Photograph Michael D. Coe.



Fig. 6 *Tepeyóllotl*. Codex Borbonicus
(after Selser 1904: Fig. 28a).

was also the god of the royal house. Now, there are strong iconographic reasons to identify Itzamná with the Aztec Fire God, especially in the latter's guise as *Xiuhcóatl* or "Fire Serpent." Like *Xiuhtecuhтли*, Itzamná is also supposed to have his female counterpart (*Ix Chel*), by which was produced a son, *Bacab*. I would here suggest that *Bacab* and *Tezcatlipoca* were one and the same.

To return to *Tezcatlipoca*, the Aztec definitely thought of him as a jaguar, and so he is often pictured in codices, under his jaguar name *Tepeyóllotl*, "Heart of the Mountain" (Fig. 6). Their justification for this, and for all other aspects of Aztec theology, was contained in the origin myth. Actually, there is a single origin myth for all Mesoamerican peoples, which must be reconstructed from several widely scattered sources, no one of which tells the complete story.

This myth can be summarized as follows. Originally, the world consisted of nothing but an ocean, in which two creatures resided: the male-female Fire God and the Feathered Serpent. Out of this opposition the dry land was produced. Then, the old father god and mother goddess contained in the dual Fire God produced four offspring who were also gods. These were the four *Tezcatlipocas*, each assigned to a color direction; the third of these was the Feathered Serpent, while at least to the Aztec the fourth was *Huitzilopochtli*, their tribal Sun God. These last two created the Death Gods and Water Gods, as well as fire. Most importantly, they created the first pair of commoners or *macehualli*, thus announcing for all time the separate origin of the divine *Tezcatlipoca* line and that of the plebians.

Eventually, since there was only a half-sun giving faint light, the four Tezcatlipocas initiated a series of four consecutive “suns” or creations, each of which ended in destruction. These were also conceived of as the result of a never-ending opposition between Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcóatl. At the end of the First Sun, Tezcatlipoca was knocked from the sky by the Feathered Serpent, fell into the sea, and was changed into a great jaguar, which form he apparently retained throughout the entire cycle of suns.

At the end of the Fourth Sun, which was destroyed by floods, the sky fell to the earth. Just after the start of the Fifth Sun, it was raised again by the four Tezcatlipocas, who created the four world trees to help in the gigantic task; this part of the myth is also found in the Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel, where the identity of these gods with the four Bacabs of the Maya becomes clear.

The remainder of the origin myth describes the creation of the Sun (the Fifth, the one in which we live) and the Moon and deals with other divine and astral matters. It then moves into the world of demigods and heroes who are the ancestors of all the Mesoamerican dynasties. Finally, we come down to the world as we know it, beginning with the purported stay of various royal groups in Tula and their supposed migrations to the lands over which they ruled until the Spanish Conquest.

The primary purpose of this myth, like origin myths found among early or primitive states in other parts of the world, seems clear. By means of a long series of structural oppositions, the divine nature of the royal line and its total separation from (and superiority to) the common people are stated in vivid terms. The kings are descendants of the Fire God and of Tezcatlipoca and are their living representatives on earth. By means of this, all of creation becomes the realm of the royal house, the well-being of the king and well-being of the external world having become identical.

What does this mean for the Olmec? Specifically, that a theology and cosmology shared by both the Mexicans and the Maya must be as old as the Olmec civilization, from which they both stem. We should thus not be surprised to find many Olmec representations of the Fire God; in fact, the most common representation found by Joralemon (1971: 35-51) is what he calls God I and which he demonstrates actually is the Fire God. We should also find a close relation between Olmec rulers and Tezcatlipoca symbolism. The one object which most obviously points to Tezcatlipoca is the mirror; dozens of magnificent concave mirrors fashioned from iron ores have been found in Olmec sites, and sculptures show that they were worn as pectorals by Olmec rulers. But I should particularly like to point out Offering 1943-E at La Venta (Drucker 1952) with its cache of jade celts laid out to form a World Tree (Fig. 7), which is typically cross-shaped; at its base was a concave mirror, symbol of the quadripartite god who raised the World Trees.

But most convincing of all would be an association of jaguar and divine ruler. Here I turn to some remarkable wall paintings recently found in caves in Guerrero. Among the polychrome figures depicted in the last chamber of the Juxtlahuaca caverns is a standing, bearded Olmec ruler, wearing the quetzal-feather headdress that was a royal crown among later peoples like the Maya and Aztec (Gay 1967). His own limbs are

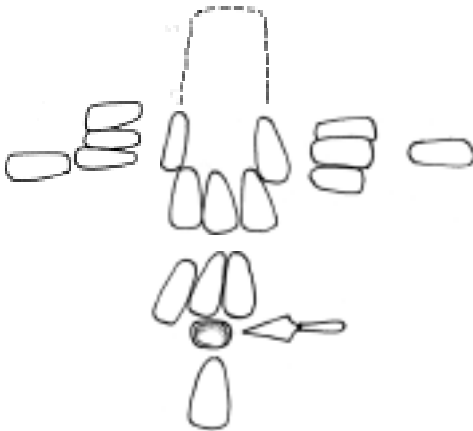


Fig. 7 *La Venta Offering 1943-E.*
Dotted lines = ~~limbs~~ *accidentally*
removed. Trowel points to
mirror.

covered with the legs and paws of jaguars, and an almost phallic, black-tipped jaguar tail hangs below his tunic. This apparently is a scene of royal dominance, the king arrayed as Tezcatlipoca, God of the Warriors, since what seems to be a captive or subordinate cowers before him.

An even more compelling representation is from Oxtotitlan cave (Fig. 8), brought to light by David Grove (1970). A phallic human figure, with body painted in black (like a warrior), stands with arm upraised. Before him is a fairly realistic jaguar unmistakably emanating from his testicles as though it were the embodiment of his procreative power. I am reminded of those old stained-glass windows in European churches which show the entire lineage of Christ arising from the loins of Jesse. In my interpretation, the Oxtotitlan painting would be the expression of Tezcatlipoca as deity of the royal lineage and royal descent.

In summary, the feline element in Olmec art stands for Tezcatlipoca. In its purest form, it is the god himself. The other gods partake of this element because they, too, were created by the quadripartite god or his progenitor the bisexual Fire God. At the same time, the feline-Tezcatlipoca image is the symbolic expression of the separateness and dominance of the Olmec royal line, possibly a concept that goes back to an earlier

link between jaguars and powerful shamans. But by the time that Olmec culture had taken form, by about 1200 B.C., society was no longer tribal but thoroughly stratified with a royal dynasty having taken all power into its own hands.

Olmec religion was therefore a royal cult, in general outline like that of the ancient Egyptians, among whom Osiris and his son Horus stood for the deceased and living kings respectively. I would imagine that among the Mesoamericans, including the Olmec, the Old Fire God and Tezcatlipoca played the same role. I would also put forward the following propositions: 1) that the main point of Mesoamerican theogony was to confirm royal power, and 2) that the entire origin myth, like the Memphite Theogony of the Egyptians, was recited at the accession of a new king so that he, chosen by Tezcatlipoca himself, might know who he was and that his people might know him.

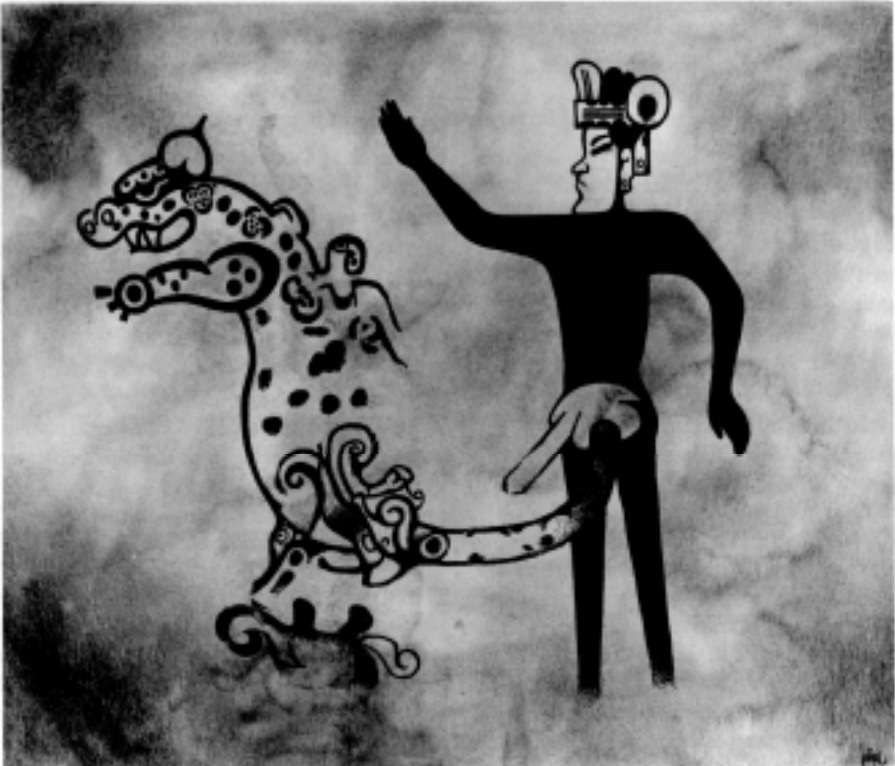


Fig. 8 *Painting 1-d, Oxtotitlan, Guerrero*. Rendering by Felipe Dávalos (after Grove 1970: Fig. 13).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- DRUCKER, PHILIP
 1952 La Venta, Tabasco: A Study of Olmec Ceramics and Art. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 153*. Washington.
- FURST, PETER T.
 1967 Huichol Conceptions of the Soul. *Folklore Américas*, vol. 27, no. 2, pp. 39-106.
 1968 The Olmec Were-Jaguar Motif in the Light of Ethnographic Reality. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 143-174. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington.
- GAY, CARLO T. E.
 1967 Oldest Paintings of the New World. *Natural History*, vol. 76, no. 4, pp. 28-35. New York.
- GROVE, DAVID C.
 1970 The Olmec Paintings of Oxtotitlan Cave, Guerrero, Mexico. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 6. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
- JORALEMON, DAVID
 1971 A Study of Olmec Iconography. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 7. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
- LEOPOLD, A. STARKER
 1959 *Wild Life in Mexico*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- LÉVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE
 1969 *The Raw and the Cooked. Introduction to a Science of Mythology: I.* (Trans. by John and Doreen Weightman.) New York.
- ROYS, RALPH L.
 1933 *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication No. 438. Washington.
- SAHAGÚN, FRAY BERNARDINO DE
 1963-70 *Florentine Codex. General History of the Things of New Spain.* (Trans. by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble.) The School of American Research, the University of Utah, and the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.
- SCHALLER, GEORGE B.
 1967 *The Deer and the Tiger*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- SELER, EDUARD
 1904 *Ueber Steinkisten, Tepetlacalli, mit Opferdarstellungen und andere ähnliche Monumente. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, vol. 2, pp. 717-766. Berlin. (1961 edition: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz.)
- THOMPSON, J. ERIC S.
 1970 *Maya History and Religion*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

DISCUSSION

DR. STIRLING: I was reminded that Marshall Saville, back in the early 1920's, published an article on the jaguar axes that were known at that time—no one even knew they were Olmec axes then; they were just axes with the jaguar motif—and identified the were-jaguar on those axes with the god Tezcatlipoca, which I think is very interesting, since you independently reached that same conclusion. Saville gave considerable detail as to why he thought this was the case. Amongst other things, Tezcatlipoca was identified with the lightning bolts that showed up in the form of jade axes in the earth, and one of course is reminded immediately of the Olmec specialty of jade axes as offerings at La Venta and other places—another thing that Saville knew nothing about. It's rather remarkable that at the time, with no knowledge of the time-gap that existed between the Olmecs and the Aztecs, he managed to arrive at that conclusion. I mentioned this, by the way, and quoted Saville in my last *Dumbarton Oaks* paper on the Olmecs, if anyone is interested in seeing some of Saville's reasons for this.

DR. COE: I must have shoved this into my unconscious or subconscious, because when I first heard about this I thought that the suggestion was so ridiculous it couldn't possibly be correct.

DR. GRIEDER: It seems to me that it is loading the argument to refer to these images by Nahuatl names.

DR. COE: I use the name Tezcatlipoca since that is the best-known name we have, the best-known tag, for the image of the god Tezcatlipoca, and the best description of this particular god who was shared by all these peoples.

DR. GRIEDER: Miguel León-Portilla has argued that Tezcatlipoca is half of the basic duality,

that it is Tezcatlipoca and Tezcatlanextia who are the two gods that represent not only the center, but the periphery and the center. This is really monotheism after all.

DR. COE: What I am struck with—as he and everybody else who has gone into this material have been—is that it is almost as though Lévi-Strauss himself had invented Mesoamerican religion. It is a series of structural oppositions used to make certain points that they wanted to define. In Carl Jung's essay "The Answer Job," he takes the Book of Job, which is trying to define for us who Jehovah is (for after all we believe this is the supreme monotheistic religion), and comes to the conclusion that, while Job is put on trial, Job also puts God on trial. God is put in the position of having to define Himself, and when He defines Himself, it becomes clear that this is no longer monotheism but dualism. Job is the first to discover that God is in effect a dual god. I feel the same way about the Mesoamerican religions. This isn't monotheism, it's dual oppositions all the way through, for certain structural reasons related to Mesoamerican societies.

DR. FURST: The really fundamental nature of the Fire God is very clear in Huichol religion. The Fire God is the original deity. It is the Fire God who raises the four trees to keep the sky from falling down on the earth. It is the Fire God who presides over the birth of the sun. You have two types of fire in Huichol religion: the fire of the earth—that is, the Fire God—and the other fire, a more secular one that had to be stolen from the underworld shamans by the animal people. But there is no doubt that the Fire God is the fundamental deity, and since Huichol religion is about the only system you have left in Mexico that is fairly pure, without the Catholic admixture, I think you

can take this as the fundamental type of Mesoamerican religion.

DR. COE: I was much struck by this in your study on the Huichol soul journey. I reach the same conclusions with the rest of Mesoamerica.

DR. KUBLER: Am I mistaken in thinking that Joralemon has changed his mind about the identification of these forms as gods since submitting his manuscript? Didn't he say at the Metropolitan symposium that he had abandoned their designation as gods and preferred to call them clusters of traits?

DR. COE: That is a question he raised from the floor at the symposium after Henry Nicholson's talk. Nicholson agrees with him that, as far as the Aztec gods were concerned, there is a curious clustering of motifs that go into making these gods. But the fact that many of the motifs shift onto other gods, or god images, is typically Mesoamerican. The hardest word in the English language to define is *god*, as all theologians know, so, rather than going into that point, I think it should be stressed that these are central foci more than things you can draw lines around. I would prefer simply to use the good old-fashioned word *god* for them instead of anything else. However, it does point up the curious overlapping and shifting back and forth between all these forms in all the Mesoamerican systems that we have any data on (mainly we have it on central Mexico; the Maya material is extremely poor). I don't think Joralemon really wanted to ditch the word *god*.

DR. LINARES: Among the people working today on problems of ritual and symbolism, there are two very distinct groups: there is a theoretical group that takes ritual and symbolism as systems of organized ideas; there is another group that takes symbolic systems

as being very specific reflections or projections of specific types of social and organizational ideas. Now, if one follows the latter school, an interesting aspect of felines might be that they reflect very specific and different kinds of social phenomena in different cultures, and that conceiving of all Mesoamerica as a unit might be missing just what is the important central point of using animals to project certain kinds of things.

DR. COE: In Lévi-Strauss' book on totemism, he goes through all known explanations of what totemic animals are there for in these systems—for example, that these animals and plants are important because they are great food sources for those people. However, you run into some very strange things like inedible trees that turn up as totems. Going one by one through all these things, he dispenses completely with the projective psychological approach—like that of Abraham Kardiner, who has come forward with the idea that these religious systems are projections of the childhood situation in the particular socialization stress for the child in a particular society—and arrives at a final explanation of totemism as an expression of thought about differences between groups of men in terms of analyzing the differences. Their analysis of the differences between groups of animals is simply telling them and the rest of the world that the differences are between groups of men. You can accept or reject Lévi-Strauss, but I think that probably—in the systems we are dealing with—his is the most plausible explanation. The animals may once have been totemic, but with the groups that I am dealing with here I think they go the next step beyond totemism.

DR. LINARES: I was curious if, for example, the people who have been working in South America—like Terry Turner, who has been working with the jaguar myth—find that even among a single linguistic unit like Gê,

the jaguar sometimes is female, sometimes is male, sometimes stands for a matrilineal-centered unit, sometimes stands for a more patrilineal group, etc., so that it varies significantly within one area.

DR. COE: Again Lévi-Strauss, with his fantastic ability to explain anything, would demonstrate why, for instance, you find shifting, let us say, between a Bororoan and a particular Gê group, where this group does one thing and that group does another, because these people are living in a watery environment and those people are living in a dry environment; you have exactly the opposition, the reversal of everything, which to Lévi-Strauss merely proves the case. I think you could jump around in Mesoamerica and do the same thing. There are great ecological differences between the lowlands and the highlands, and I would expect to find these closely correlated with aspects of Mesoamerican religion. Obviously there are going to be differences, but I think there is an essential body of thought that you can draw a line around and call Mesoamerica.

DR. MILLER: I would like to return to the point having to do with loaded Náhuatl terms used as Olmec terms. I find no objection at all to using a term like *Tezcatlipoca* to describe something earlier. At Teotihuacan, for example, goggle-eyed forms with fangs are described as *Tlaloc* because this is convenient. However, I do object to what it seems to have done to your thinking, in that you have phrased Olmec things in terms of what we know about the latest manifestation of Pre-Columbian civilization, the Aztecs. The best example—and this seems to be an important point in your argument—is the description of the Fire God, where obviously you are thinking of Náhuatl tradition and seeing the eyebrow as flame. I see little reason to define this as flame. I find this dangerous because this is a label; it could be feathers or cut leather or cut bark

or cut paper or almost anything, as well as flame. That's my criticism of what's in a name; a label is all right, but it has meaning behind it.

DR. COE: I'm not just talking about Aztec iconography, I'm talking about Maya iconography as well, Zapotec iconography, all Mesoamerican iconography. I could demonstrate on that last point about the flame eyebrow that the fire serpent with the turned-up snout, which is the form of this in Aztec sculpture, shows up in Maya pottery, as well as Teotihuacán pottery and elsewhere; that the brow of the creature in Maya art is demonstrably the flame brow developing out of the flame brow of the Olmec God I. I don't care what you call it. Christ was never called Christ in his own day; he was Joshua Ben Joseph. To everybody dealing with this religion he is Christ, but you can call him Joshua Ben Joseph if you wish. He is an image shared by many different cultures. We're not just dealing with Aztec iconography here, although we are much influenced by it because the materials on it are so rich. Joralemon's catalogue will have a postscript in which some of these identifications are put forward. Most of them are considered tentative. There is, for example, the Rain God, whose identification is not at all sure; it is merely a literal catalogue of what you see. That is why you put numbers on them.

DR. MILLER: I think that in making a catalogue what you call something becomes very important. I'm simply not convinced that this "flame" becomes in the Aztec period what you are describing in the Maya area. I don't think it is the same form.

DR. COE: I withdrew one slide—of the so-called Temple of Quetzalcóatl in Teotihuacán. One of the figures is feathered and obviously Quetzalcóatl; the other figure was once identified, not as Tlaloc, but—in Caso's and Bernal's *Urnas de Oaxaca*—as the Fire God. Caso

dropped this identification in his last study of Teotihuacán glyphic motifs, saying he didn't know what it was. But he was right; this *is* the Fire God. I think this is the illustration of the first moment of creation in the Popol Vuh. Quiche material, such as the Popol Vuh, fills in all sorts of things we don't know about Mexico. When I go through the Maya material, such as the Books of Chilam Balam, and then compare it with the Aztec data, I'm struck that we are not dealing with incomparable things, that there *are* cognates, that they are simply different sections of one large story. As far as I am concerned, you can put tags like alpha, beta, gamma on these images; the images are the same, and that is all I am saying.

MR. EASBY: You don't have to go to the Maya or Zapotec; you've got a fire snake on Monument 19 from La Venta.

DR. KUBLER: In the book by Bodo Spranz on the god shapes in the Borgia group of manuscripts, he tabulates the costumes of some twenty-four "god figures," and he finds it very difficult to find out who is who because they are always wearing each other's clothes. How does one identify Tezcatlipoca when he is wearing everybody else's clothes?

DR. COE: The gods disappear and reappear in costumes in strange ways; this is an essential part of the Borgia Codex which nobody yet understands. There is a descent into the underworld by a set of what are obviously twins. Sometimes it is quite clear that these twins are Quetzalcóatl and his twin brother the dog god Xólotl. At other times, it is quite clear that the twin is Tezcatlipoca. If we had some sort of exegesis from an Aztec priest, he would recite a myth with at least two sets of oppositions. This kind of thing doesn't bother me; it is found in the mythologies of people all over the world. I doubt very much whether people

were ever confused by this because they knew the myths; we don't.

MR. KAN: I would like to get back to the question of identifying elements like the serpent brow. It seems entirely conceivable to me that there could be a *double entendre* intended here, that there isn't a single identification for a lot of these elements, but an intentional confusion. You find it in Chavín, where there is a simultaneous image or *double entendre*.

DR. COE: In this type of visual system, you get redundancy. If you didn't you wouldn't get the message. You have this with the Maya, for instance, the way the language is constructed and the way the Maya thought of their gods. It has been brought out by Eric Thompson over and over that there are multiple meanings to these words, puns—perhaps theological—so that what you are talking about does occur, but there would be another kind of communication which only the cognoscenti of the system would have been able to interpret.

DR. FURST: You mentioned that you thought the identification of the jaguar with the royal lineage might go back to the identification of jaguars with powerful shamans. Perhaps we can carry this a step further and suggest that the royal house were shamans, especially since we know from Sahagún and contact sources that the jaguar was still identified with shamans and sorcery, and that powerful sorcerers could transform themselves into jaguars. The founders of the Quiché lineage, for example, were all called jaguars.

DR. COE: The Popol Vuh is the sacred book of the Cauek—or rain—dynasty of the Quiché. Maya, and the first ancestor had the title Balam; he is called Balam—jaguar—Quiché. In Olmec country, in the town of Sayula, very close to San Lorenzo, where the Popoloca

Mixe-Zoquean group are, there is a wonderful Popoloca story about the witchdoctor who is a jaguar and vice versa. This sort of thing persists today in Mesoamerica. The kings were obviously divine kings and priests, perhaps in part because of their fire-god descent—descent from Tezcatlipoca is important—but also because they were descendants of Quetzalcóatl. A lot of shamanism went on. Among the Maya the shaman was quite distinguished. He had a title of Chilam, but he was a special kind of shaman who received messages from the gods, perhaps in some kind of gobbledygook language which was then translated—like the Greek Delphic oracle—to the kings. The kings acted mainly as priests apparently rather than as shamans, but who knows . . .

DR. FURST: The dividing line between shamans and priests sometimes becomes a little indistinct. What I am thinking of specifically is that even in hunting and gathering cultures you seem to have almost an incipient theocracy, even among the Yanoáma. The only chieftains among the Yanoáma are shamans. The community of the village is run by a shaman who is recognized by the group as the chief.

DR. COE: I would call that theocracy, but I would be very loathe to use the word *theocracy* for the Mesoamerican states as we know them at the time of the Conquest. I spent a week once in a theocracy in Mt. Athos in Greece, and I doubt very much whether this—which is government by God or his priests as defined in the Bible—is what we find in Mesoamerica. Rather, you find certain functions combined in the top man in the royal lineage; the king acts as a political war leader as well as priest. The two gods, Quetzalcóatl and Tezcatlipoca, among the Aztecs at any rate, have different functions in terms of the religion. Tezcatlipoca was quite clearly the god of sorcerers. He was the god of the shamans and the witch doctors,

and Quetzalcóatl was the god of the priests. One wonders what this meant to this king who, in his own body, apparently combined the two aspects.

MISS BAILEY: In the drawings you made of the engravings on the Las Limas figure, the basic design of each form is similar. Is it possible that these could be four representations of the same basic idea or the same form, rather than four separate forms?

DR. COE: They're the same in that they are cleft-headed were-jaguars, but they are all different as far as all other details are concerned, and they are in opposition, right and left, up and down, and perhaps even associated with different parts of the body. This quadripartite division would be typically Mesoamerican: for example, the four Tezcatlipocas who were all different, as well as being one Tezcatlipoca; four World Trees as well as one World Tree—it makes five, and on Altar 5 from La Venta you have five representations, two babies in the arms of the adults on the sides and the child carried by the man in the center. You find the same thing on the Las Limas figure, and in other places in Olmec art. I am convinced that on the sides of Altar 5 we have infantile forms of four different creatures, all of whom have different features—the head of one is badly broken, but the other three are there. By the way, one of those four gods on the Las Limas figure is a death god—the one on the lower left—with closed eyes and fleshless upper jaw, so I can't imagine that the death god is going to be amalgamated with any other three gods into one sort of single god. I think there is an opposition there.

MISS BAILEY: Would you eliminate the possibility of the glyphs that you drew being name glyphs?

DR. COE: That these heads are name glyphs

of gods? I think that there is a more abstract glyphic system which is, I suspect, relatively advanced and a shorthand way of writing these gods down.

DR. GROVE: I would like to point out to Dr. Miller that *flame eyebrow* was used as a descriptive term for that type of eyebrow long before Dr. Coe identified it as a fire symbol. Let's say *serrated eyebrow*. Referring to what you said about the Olmec altars and the figure seated in the niche, I have been pushing for this idea of coming-out-of-caves to be part of Olmec origins. You'll note, if you look on the altars and at Relief IX at Chalcatzingo, which surrounds a cave mouth, that their jaguar faces have the "flame eyebrow."

DR. COE: That is interesting and not in opposition to what I have said. As with the Aztec,

there is another way of thinking of the origins of groups as emanating from caves. There are the Chicomoztoc stories, where the groups come out of caves already divided into their lineages.

MISS BRAUN: In the Oxtotitlan image that you showed, could the curious headdress the figure is wearing perhaps be an obsidian mirror? Also, the jaguar has a foot which is curiously like some of the Tezcatlipoca images with an obsidian mirror replacing the missing foot.

DR. COE: That's an interesting suggestion. I believe that David Grove thinks that there was a mirror fixed into a depression in the front of the bird that's over the main figure of Oxtotitlan, the magnificent seated Olmec.

Jaguars in the Valley of Mexico

GEORGE KUBLER

YALE UNIVERSITY

Dedicated to G. Evelyn Hutchinson

JAGUARS¹ appear to be more clever at Teotihuacán than jaguars anywhere else in the Mesoamerican world. They seem on first acquaintance to perform a whole variety show of trained animal acts, such as straddling corn-grinding tables, wearing flowers and feathered ruffs, blowing on shell trumpets, swimming among waves, and shaking rattles. They appear both as cubs and as gravid cats. Men dress up as jaguars, and jaguars wear netted garments.

This first impression of an animal vaudeville is, of course, wrong. When studied in context, all these turns and costumes fit into a coherent pattern of ritual and ceremony that centers upon a jaguar-serpent-bird icon, known first at Teotihuacán² and re-appearing much later at Tula and Chichén Itzá.³ The cult of this icon with clan-protector aspects and dynastic associations may have had its own priesthood at Teotihuacán.

The main argument of this paper is that at Teotihuacán the jaguar image always mingles with other life forms, chiefly bird eye and serpent tongue, to appear as a cult figure with its attendants or worshipers. These wear the insignia of a ritual we may designate as that of the jaguar-serpent-bird (Fig. 1). This ritual was first mentioned as one of a group of schemes in a Dumbarton Oaks paper on the iconography of the art of Teotihuacán (Kubler 1967: 10). I propose here to describe this jaguar scheme in

1. The type known to the people of the Valley of Mexico was *Felis hernandesii goldmani*, inhabiting the humid tropics of Mexico and appearing sporadically north as far as Texas. It is a subspecies known also as the Campeche jaguar (Mearns 1901), differing from *felis centralis* in Central America and from the Mazatlan jaguar of western Mexico, *felis hernandesii* (Gray). The east coast jaguar has a tawny ochreous coloration more intense than the pallid western Mazatlan jaguar, and it is larger than the Central American species. Its black rosette markings are larger than those of western or Central American jaguars.

2. Kubler 1967: 9, cluster D. Caso (1966: 254) separates "man-jaguar-serpent" forms from "man-bird-serpent" forms, connecting the former with Tlaloc and the latter with Quetzalcóatl, and disregarding the avian eye forms and feathered surrounds common to both.

3. Tozzer 1957: 126-32. Tozzer noted that jaguar-serpent-bird appears almost 500 times at Chichén Itzá but he was unaware of its occurrences at Teotihuacán.



Fig. 1 *Cylindrical tripod vessel with appliqué molded relief of the jaguar-serpent-bird icon. Museo Regional, Teotihuacán. Photograph C. Reyes Valerio.*

greater detail, by classing jaguar-serpent-bird images under several headings as quadrupeds and bipeds, as helmeted busts, as priestly headdresses, as ritual instruments, and as frontal icons. The intertwining and alternation of jaguars and coyotes will be discussed, as well as the absence of any pictorial relationship between jaguars and eagles before the Toltec emergence. Finally the ancestry and the descendance of the jaguar-serpent-bird theme will be considered, as well as the problem posed by analogizing from recent to ancient forms of behavior.

QUADRUPEDS

When all jaguar images and compounds including jaguar forms at Teotihuacán are considered as a group, it becomes evident that uncompounded images are nonexistent. Every four-footed image of the jaguar is in one way or another compounded with nonjaguar parts drawn from other life forms. The eyes are usually round and rimmed by feathers; the broken-circle spots on the pelt are treated as flowers or seashells; the tongue is a bifid serpent tongue; and the entire body is often covered with a design resembling a fishnet. For example, the most integral jaguar from Teotihuacán is the



Fig. 2 (above) *Jaguar vessel of onyx*. British Museum, London.

Fig. 3 (below) *Tetitla. Mural painting of a female jaguar*. Drawing by H. Sanchez Vera, courtesy Photographic Archive, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.





Fig. 4 *Temple of Agriculture. Detail of mural of the Mythological Animals.* Photograph Arthur G. Miller.

thirteen-inch-long onyx (*tecali*) figure in the British Museum (Fig. 2),⁴ shown lying belly-down with its paws extended. On each front paw is a glyphlike cipher resembling the serpent mouth associated with rain. The eyes are the round eyes of a bird, and the legs are shown fringed with serrated forms like the “paw-wing” of avian derivation in Olmec art.

Similar interferences abound in the murals. Some jaguars wear feathered headdresses.

4. Batres 1888: Pl. XII. Other fragmentary stone jaguars were published by Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 181A. See also Acosta 1964: Figs. 51-4, for the paw-wing incised upon an onyx seated jaguar discovered during the excavations of the Quetzalpapalotl court. For the paw-wing motif, see Joralemon 1971: Motif 36.



Fig. 5 Drawing of a carved cylindrical pottery vessel wall, found near the auto entrance at Teotihuacán (after Séjourné 1966a: Fig. 85).

Others hold shell trumpets in their paws and their bodies are outlined by pecten shells from neck to tail. All have round avian eyes bordered with feathers. A bifid serpent tongue hangs from the mouths of netted jaguars. A mural jaguar at Tetitla, with floral ornaments painted upon her pelt, is shown as gravid with the rump turned out frontally behind the swollen belly shown in profile (Fig. 3). The flower forms on the pelt resemble Maya *imix* glyphs, signifying fertility or abundance. A connection with the Maya lotus-jaguar is possible (Thompson 1960: 72). Among the pelt markings of this jaguar there is also a star-shaped sea creature. The jaguar is shown as if in arrested motion, with raised front paws and head looking backward.

In the mural of the mythological animals at Teotihuacán, which Clara Millon (n.d.a; see also Miller n.d.) has assigned to an early stage in the history of wall painting at the site, various four-footed jaguars appear among the waves (Fig. 4). One has a winged figure halfway down its throat. One square-jawed feline swims with an overhand stroke, spitting vigorously and wearing a floral pelt like that of the Tetitla cat. Another lacks some claws, having perhaps been flayed. Two more join their profile heads to compose an iconic frontal mask which will be discussed in more detail later. These early jaguars all have round bird eyes.

Such four-footed jaguars are rare in pottery decoration, but the example published by Laurette Séjourné (1966a: Fig. 85) as having come in 1964 from the new roadway surrounding Teotihuacán is also set among wave patterns strewn with starfish and seashells (Fig. 5). The jaguar has seashells outlining his muzzle, and a double scroll



Fig. 6 *Drawing of a tripod vessel wall with netted jaguars* (after von Winning 1968:Fig. 6).

bordered with flowers comes from his mouth. His eye, however, is taken from a feathered serpent-head profile, of which examples are common in murals and on pottery. Throughout the design there are flame elements among the seashells. This tripod cylinder, of Teotihuacán III date, bears the design in a diagonal band like those which contain Tajín scrolls in Teotihuacán III pottery. Its derivation from the earlier mural of the mythological animals seems clear.

Hasso von Winning (1968: 39) has published a plano-relief cylinder, in a Los Angeles collection, which has two rampant, four-footed, netted jaguars (Fig. 6). Their eyes are round bird eyes, and their bodies have feathered surrounds. The ground in front of them is marked out in rising paths with human footsteps, and on each path a feathered eye-disk appears. The surrounding ground contains seashells and jaguar paws, and at the top of each path is a hanging water drop.

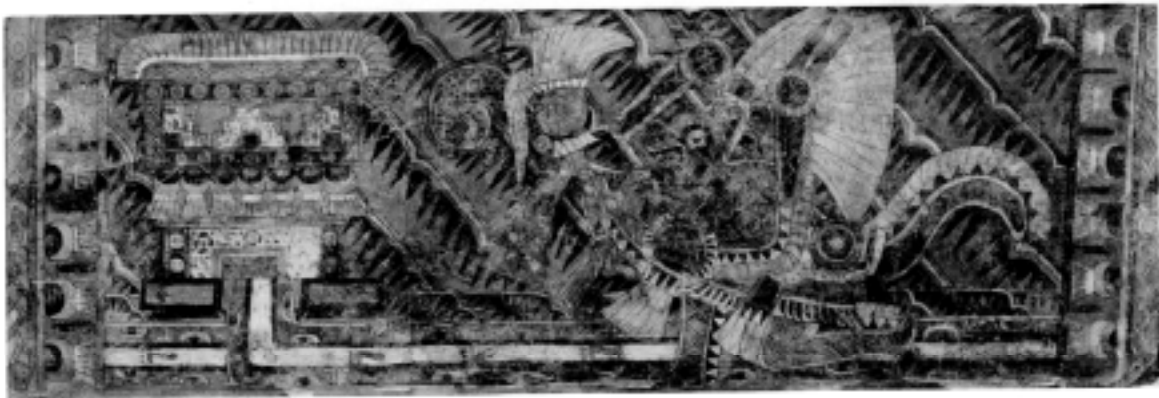


Fig. 7 *Tetitla. Mural showing jaguar-man approaching a temple*. Dumbarton Oaks Collections.



Fig. 8 Zacuala. Mural showing a jaguar-man bearing shields. Photograph Arthur G. Miller.

HUMAN WEARERS OF JAGUAR COSTUME

By far the largest class of jaguar images consists of human beings wearing jaguar costumes. Sometimes the costume is an entire pelt, with head and claws and tail, but more often it is only a jaguar headdress. Whether on full garment or headdress alone, the jaguar traits are always compounded with others drawn from bird and serpent images.

The kneeling jaguar-men of the wall paintings at Tetitla (Fig. 7) wear a full netted costume with the meshes extending to the muzzle and ears of the jaguar suit. But the wearer's human identity is given by his holding a shield and a staff in his hands. He kneels upon a pathway leading to a temple decorated with floral spots like those of the pregnant she-jaguar in Figure 3. These spots surround the doorway and fill the



Fig. 9 Teopanxaco. Casa de los Barrios. Replica of a mural depicting a netted emblem flanked by celebrants wearing jaguar-serpent-bird headdresses decorated with starfish. Courtesy Photographic Archive, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

crenelations below a band of netting like that worn by the man-jaguar on the right. They probably signify the dedication of the temple to a spirit or force characterized by these markings.

Elsewhere the netted figure is associated only with the jaguar-serpent-bird figure in murals and pottery decoration.

Another variety of jaguar-man at Zacuala wears imbricated scales on the pelt, and boots to which claws are fixed (Fig 8). The head has the round, feathered avian eye, but the muzzle is distinctly jaguarlike. Thus the usual association of bird, serpent, and jaguar traits reappears, but with an unfamiliar insistence on body scales.

PRIESTLY JAGUAR-HEADRESS

The mural in the Casa de los Barrios (Fig. 9) shows two priestly figures symmetrically flanking a netted disk upon a pedestal. The priests scatter water. Flowery scrolls emerge from their mouths. Both priests wear jaguar-head helmets with feathered bird eyes and starfish incrustations. Beneath the upper jaw of the jaguar-head helmet an outline appears which represents the serpent element unframed by fangs.⁵ The netted disk upon the pedestal seems to be the object of the priestly songs and offerings, and it contains within its sawtoothed border the netted design we have seen on jaguar bodies.⁶ This netted design has as its preferred setting the body or limb of a

5. Seler (1915: 415, Fig. 8) interpreted the helmet as a "fantastic serpent head," but his drawing shows a serpent-mouth profile within a jaguar's upper jaw.

6. Von Winning (1968: Fig. II) illustrates a molded clay *adorno* of the net in a ring of conch shells. Arthur Miller calls my attention to a netted serpent mural at Atetelco (Patio Blanco, Portico 2) in the lower-wall dado border.

jaguar or jaguar-man; when it appears separately in the Casa de los Barrios mural, jaguar-helmeted priests officiate in its cult. Alfonso Caso regards the net in this scene as a glyphic equivalent for jaguar.⁷

FRONTAL JAGUAR-SERPENT-BIRD ICONS

If we suppose that frontal figures are more likely to represent objects of worship than the profile figures serving or accompanying the frontal figure (Kubler 1967: 6), it is plausible to maintain that large and isolated frontal figures represent cult objects or icons.

A crouching jaguar-serpent-bird in frontal aspect appears both alone and attended by priests on tripod cylindrical vessels of Teotihuacán III date (Seler 1915: Fig. 168, Pl. LXI; von Winning 1949: 137). In one liturgical scene (Fig. 10), the headdress of the priest is unclear, but the icon he approaches is the familiar bird-eye, serpent-tongue, and double-profile jaguar-mouth figure. It appears frontally with a large pecten shell on the chest and serpent scales on the limbs. The background contains conch shells, feathered eyes, and flames. The offering borne by the priest is like a bird with beak and round eye, reminding us of the mural scene of the mythological animals where a

7. Caso 1958-9: 55. C. Millon (n.d.a: 311, 352) was inclined to identify it with the Aztec day-sign of *olin* or motion.



Fig. 10 Fragment of cylindrical brown-slipped vessel incised with celebrant bringing an offering to the jaguar-serpent-bird icon (after von Winning 1949: Fig. 10).



Fig. 11 (left) *Tripod blackware plano-relief vessel with frontal jaguar-serpent-bird icon* (after Seler 1915: 516).



Fig. 12 (right) *Fragment of blackware plano-relief pottery with frontal icon* (after Seler 1915 : Pl. LXI, no. 2).

jaguar is seen swallowing a bird (Fig. 4), and suggesting that birds were offerings welcome to the jaguar-serpent-bird.

Two other pottery designs, both from Ahuizotla, show the frontal jaguar-serpent-bird. One (Fig. 11) has a conch-shell border, a crenelation, and radiant-eye forms. The other (Fig. 12) consists of clearly delineated bird eyes, jaguar mouth, and serpent tongue, upon jaguar limbs, above a cluster of flames and conch shells (reminiscent of similar offerings in the mural at the Temple of Agriculture), beneath a sectional conch-shell outline, all suggesting an icon to which offerings are made by burning.

This scheme reappears without offerings in a number of molded pottery fragments published by Séjourné (1966a: Fig. 149). The feathered bird eyes surmount a jaguar mouth, from which the bifid serpent tongue hangs between crouching jaguar legs and claws (Fig. 13). More or less abbreviated, this theme reappears at Tula and at Chichén Itzá (Figs. 25 and 26), and we shall examine it later.



Fig. 13 *Fragments of appliquéd molded reliefs showing the frontal jaguar-serpent-bird icon (after Séjourné 1966a: Fig. 149).*

HELMETED JAGUAR-SERPENT-BIRD BUSTS

Frequently represented in murals, on pottery designs, and in clay figurines, is a human shown only to the waist, as a pyramidal bust, wearing the jaguar-serpent-bird helmet. In a mural found at Zacuala (Fig. 14), this figure carries a shield on his left arm, and a feathered jaguar-mask in his right hand, held like a vessel or censer. The helmet bears the iconic form of a double-profile jaguar mouth. It has feathered bird eyes and netted panels. The censerlike mask repeats these forms in single profile, with a crowning element which consists of a netted jaguar paw and a bifid serpent tongue. Among the feathers on the mask are drops of water and cusped lines like those of the waves in the fresco of the mythological animals.

Other examples are pottery figurines of a late period in the Diego Rivera collection at the Anahuacalli Museum (Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 73). One type is enthroned upon a platform with an architectural screen at the back (Fig. 15). The jaguar-serpent-bird mask is not netted, and the serpent tongue is like a beard. Both the back screen and the

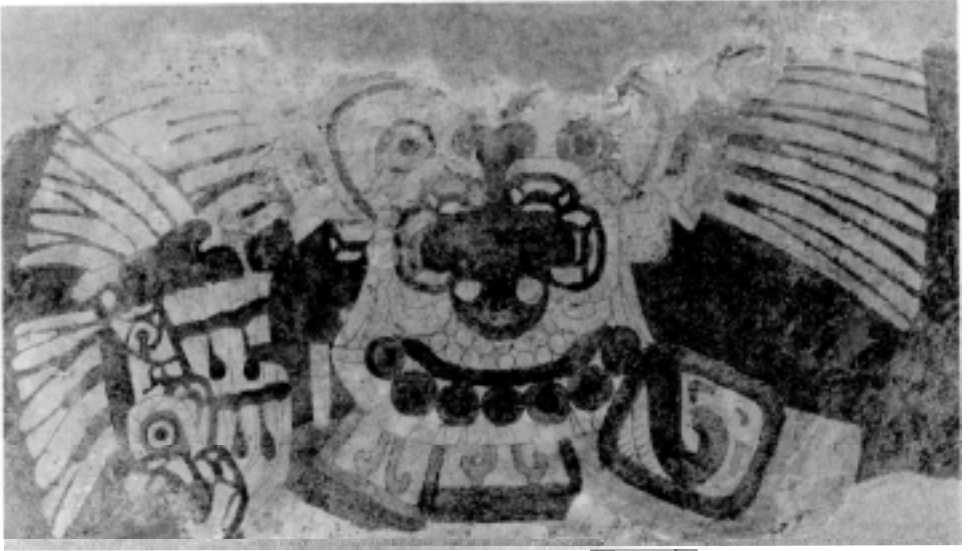


Fig. 14 (above) Zacuala. Mural showing a human bust wearing the jaguar-serpent-bird helmet and carrying a censer with similar shapes. Photograph Arthur G. Miller.



Fig. 15 (left) Drawing of a pottery figurine bust seated in an architectural frame, and wearing the jaguar-serpent-bird helmet. Museo Anahuacalli (after Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 63).

Fig. 16 (below) Drawing of a molded pottery bust wearing a jaguar-serpent-bird helmet and goggles, probably representing a corpse. Drawing by Anne-Louise Schaffer.





Fig. 17 Drawing of a man-jaguar of pottery holding a bust with jaguar-serpent-bird helmet. Museo Anahuacalli (after Séjourné 1962: Fig. 99).

parted upper lip⁸ of the jaguar mask are more like those of Monte **Albán** in Oaxaca than Teotihuacán. Another type differs in having serpent scales on the borders of the jaguar mouth and bird eye (Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 73 and Pl.23; 1962: Fig. 99-Diego Rivera Collection). Here the serpent tongue hangs like an inverted flower beneath a rain-mask nose ornament; the eye goggles, which usually accompany this mouth form, reinforce the meaning. A helmeted bust illustrated by Covarrubias (1957: 129) is of this type (Fig.

16), but the eyes behind the goggles are closed, suggesting death, and the plumage stresses a butterfly identity, often associated with burials (cf. Kubler 1967: 9).

The significance of the form is suggested by a double figurine of baked clay in the Diego Rivera Collection (Séjourné 1962: Fig. 99). A standing human with a jaguar head carries such a helmeted bust in his outstretched arms (Fig. 17). The helmet is of the Oaxacan type with parted upperjaguar lip. The feathers with jeweled ends are not uncommon on jaguar-head figurines of clay (Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 181), which may have either the parted lip of Oaxaca or the continuous lip of Teotihuacán. Some of these were jointed figurines of several parts intended to be strung together as puppets or toys (see also von winning 1955: Fig. 3).

The scenic and narrative context of the jaguar-headed figure holding the helmeted bust allows a provisional interpretation. The helmeted bust may have been intended as the portrait likeness of a dynastic personage, whose clan or family membership was indicated by the heraldic bearer. This reading is reinforced by the architectural setting of other jaguar-serpent-bird busts. It should be noted that thrones⁹ or architectural settings support other figuraltypes of busts as well. Upon such thrones, goggled busts wearing the headdress of the Las Colinas-bowl figures 3 and 4 are known in two

8. The parted upper lip of the jaguar characterizes Oaxacan representations. Cf. Paddock 1966: Figs. 103, 109, and 187. For the architectural screen, see Acosta 1965: 827 and Fig. 7f, the *doble escapulario* panel at Monte

9. Cf. the "throne" of stone published by Gamio (1922).



Fig. 18 *Jaguar court. Mural of netted jaguar cub held by human hands. Photograph Arthur G. Miller.*

examples.¹⁰ A turbaned bust and a butterfly-helmeted bust (cf. Barthel 1968 and Kubler 1969), similarly enthroned, increase the variety of these portraitlike figures, for which a dynastic interpretation is not inconsistent with coeval customs in Oaxaca and at Classic Maya sites, where rulers usually were shown wearing the costumes and attributes of their priestly functions.¹¹

Among the murals in INAH-designated Zone 2, one repeating scene shows human hands holding a netted jaguar-cub (Fig. 18). The meaning perhaps inverts the preceding relationship: instead of the animal protector proffering the bust of a member of the lineage, here a human supports the heraldic animal, as if it were an emblem of a newly born member of the dynasty.

10. Examples in the American Museum of Natural History (30.1/6894; 30.2 /8945).

11. The bust form appears as a cremation bundle in Codex Nuttall, f. 82.



Fig. 19 Atetelco, east structure. Drawing of mural on dado showing a coyote (left) and a netted jaguar (right) within a frame of entwined serpentine jaguar and coyote bodies. Photograph Arthur G. Miller.

COYOTE (*CANIS LATRANS*) ASSOCIATIONS

Cats and dogs do not usually walk together, but at Atetelco jaguars and coyotes¹² appear in peaceful procession (Fig. 19) inside a border where a coyote body intertwines with a netted jaguar, suggesting the interchangeable and complementary character of the two ideas. The netted jaguars have feathered bird eyes and bifid serpent tongues. Under the mouths of both creatures appear trilobed water-signs (Neys and von Winning 1946) like those common in Oaxaca. In the border the watery sign is augmented by an eye signifying the brightness of running water. Séjourné¹³ interpreted this sign as a human heart, by misreading the eye as the top of a heart sliced open and seen in oval perspective—but such Renaissance perspective rendering was unknown to Pre-Columbian painters. The water theme reappears in the upper-wall border, where goggled rain-faces appear among the twining bodies of netted jaguars and coyotes. We are invited to consider the union of cat and dog as connected in some unexplained way with water in various forms.

The dog-and-cat themes appear again on a tripod cylinder published by von Winning (1968: Fig. 6), more condensed but equally contrasting. A netted quadruped

12. *Canis latrans* is the North American prairie wolf. Jiménez Moreno (n.d.) has argued that its appearance at Teotihuacán proves that Náhuatl was spoken.

13. 1956: Fig. 39. Caso (1966: 255) prefers “*ojo arrancado con el nervio óptico y gotas de sangre.*” I propose “bright, fleshy vegetable or fruit, dripping moisture” (possibly *nopal*).

Fig. 20 (right) Drawing of plano-relief pottery fragment showing a netted jaguar between upper and lower borders of coyote-fur strips (after von Winning 1968: Fig. 6).



Fig. 21 (below) Drawing of the Malinalco wooden drum carved with eagles and jaguars as emblems of the Aztec warrior societies (after Marquina 1951: Fig. 15).



jaguar occupies the central zone (Fig. 20), bordered by herringbone coyote-fur bands set with flames and interrupted by disks with a stepped border resembling that of flayed “Xipe” figurines at Teotihuacán. Pedro Armillas reported finding clay plaques with coyote and jaguar figures as decorations of the final rebuilding at the *patio pintado* of Atetelco (see C. Millon n.d.a: 25).

Neither jaguar nor coyote was unknown in the Valley of Mexico, but the coyote was most common in dry northern plateaus, while jaguars abounded in the humid lowlands of Veracruz and Tabasco. Their encounter at Teotihuacán may have signified some resolution of opposites in the cult of Teotihuacán, such as the unifying of unlike peoples in a common ritual.¹⁴

The coyote association is both intertwining and complementary or reciprocating. It is also a singular association, for the jaguar-serpent-bird associates with no other land animal at Teotihuacán unless it is with humans, as in the case of the jaguar cub held by human hands (Fig. 18) or the jaguar holding a human bust (Fig. 17).

This fact is important to any interpretation of the meaning of the jaguar-serpent-bird formula, because there is no example at Teotihuacán—in any medium—of that association between jaguar and eagle which became common at Tula and of central importance in the warrior cult of Aztec religion at Tenochtitlán (Fig. 21).¹⁵ It therefore becomes doubtful that eagle or jaguar images at Teotihuacán corresponded to Aztec warrior societies, or that these images prove the existence of Aztec beliefs in the history of Teotihuacán.¹⁶

By the same token, doubts arise about the credibility of extending Aztec religious beliefs about jaguars to the Teotihuacan horizon. These latter-day beliefs of the Aztec were summarized on textual and archaeological evidence by Eduard Seler (1915: 47off.) under five headings concerning jaguars: (1) as the image of Tezcatlipoca in his aspect as patron of the north, struck by the spear of the planet Venus in the second phase of its revolution (as shown in Codex Vaticanus B, 84); (2) as designations for brave warriors; (3) as the devourer of the sun during eclipses, hence the representative of darkness and earth; (4) as an image of Tlaçoltéotl, the moon goddess and regent of the fourteenth day; (5) as the jaguar form of Tepeyollotli, the god of caves and regent of the west where the sun goes down.

These associations have in common only the idea of darkness as expressed by night, caves, eclipses, and the disappearance of the sun. But no such expression of darkness is manifest in the repertory of jaguar representations at Teotihuacán.

Warriors at Teotihuacán identified themselves with a weapon-bearing owl (Fig. 22; von Winning 1948; Kubler 1967: 9-10). As to the supposed warlike aspect of the jaguar at Teotihuacán, only one mural displays such attributes (Séjourné 1956: Fig.

14. Cf. Palenque at the three temple buildings where highland and lowland peoples may be represented (Kubler 1969: 19) in a ritual of unification.

15. Tozzer (1957: 129-35) noted that the jaguar-eagle cult was unknown at Teotihuacán or among the Classic Maya, and believed that it originated at Tula.

16. On warrior societies of the Aztec eagle-and-jaguar type claimed for Teotihuacán, see Séjourné 1956.



Fig. 22 (left) Drawing of a clay figurine fragment of a warrior in quilted cotton armor, wearing owl and spear panoply (after Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 75).



Fig. 23 (right) Monte Albán. Drawing of incised stone slab. Danzante 41, Mound J (after Caso 1965: Fig. 8).

34); these are attached to one of the human helmeted busts (Fig. 23) we have seen as a possible dynastic image of a person devoted to the cult of the jaguar-serpent-bird. The figure wears the jaguar-serpent-bird mask and carries darts. The weapons may only characterize a person in command, rather than expressing the aggressiveness of the cult to which he belongs. A clay figure shows a helmeted man with a shell at his throat, wearing quilted armor, suggesting that he is a warrior (Séjourné 1966c: Fig. 79). Apart from these two examples, the jaguar repertory seems to lack all other warlike associations at Teotihuacán. The compounding of properties suggested by jaguar, serpent, and bird elements, as emblems of water, earth, and air, points rather more to transcendent powers of a metaphysical nature than to a cult of war.

Looking for pictorial ancestors of the jaguars at Teotihuacán, we find that their predecessors in Mesoamerica were Olmec jaguars and jaguars in Oaxaca. Olmec jaguars usually are humans who wear either jaguar dress or a mouth mask conferring the jaguar aspect. As at Teotihuacán much later, such Olmec traits are compounded with serpent and bird forms as jaguar-dragons to make what we should perhaps regard as adjectival clusters descriptive of natural forces, rather than as gods or idols. The wearers of this gear were possibly priests or chiefs who assumed different combinations of apparel for different rituals.

This behavior also appeared among the early peoples of Oaxaca. Danzante 41 at

Monte Albán (see Caso 1965: Fig. 8) from Period II belongs in this Olmec tradition of the hunter wearing a buccal mask and a headdress featuring jaguar forms (Fig. 24). A severed jaguar head is brandished in the left hand, while the right hand carries a flint knife.

In later periods the jaguar forms of Oaxaca are limited to these same costume traits worn by humans, and to jaguar-paw vessels. These latter are lacking at Teotihuacán, but the processional priests of the murals and incised reliefs of Oaxaca resemble those of Teotihuacán. Monte Albán was in contact with Teotihuacán as early as Teotihuacán II, during the Monte Albán II-III A Transition (Caso 1965: 856), when Monte Albán



Fig. 24 Tepantitla. Mural showing frontal jaguar-serpent-bird icon as a bust, grasping darts and wearing jaguar-foot claws. Photograph Arthur G. Miller.



Fig. 25 Examples of the jaguar-serpent-bird helmet from Piedras Negras (a, e); Oaxaca (b, c, d); Chalco (f); Chichén Itzá (g); and highlands of Mexico (h) (after Spinden 1913: Fig. 251).

turned away from ties with Veracruz and Maya peoples toward the Valley of Mexico.

In brief, there are fewer Olmec and Oaxaca felines than those at Teotihuacán and they display less variety, but their ritual significance may prefigure Teotihuacán more than Teotihuacán prefigures Toltec or Aztec ritual.

The topic assigned me was jaguars in the Valley of Mexico. I have talked mainly about Teotihuacán, finding its jaguar compounds much like those of the Pre-Classic era, yet more intelligible, various, and coherent. To conclude, it may be useful to contrast the felines of Teotihuacán with those of the Toltec and Aztec peoples. These peoples brought about a new era of political expansion, using old symbolic forms for the worship of the new gods brought into the Valley of Mexico by wandering tribes from the north who came as hunters and nomads after the collapse of the polity and the faith represented by Teotihuacán.

When the new Post-Classic peoples began to use the jaguar-serpent-bird form, it was already two thousand years older than they, and it had changed meaning from a miscegenated Olmec were-jaguar to a transcendent spirit compounded of various animal powers. The new folk in due time used the variants as they saw fit. Spinden

(1913: 221-2) was the first to collect some of the regional varieties of this form in Maya art (Fig. 25), and Tozzer (1957: 123ff.) increased the catalogue (Fig. 26), without drawing upon the rich selection at Teotihuacán. These lists included mainly Toltec and Toltec-Maya examples dating from after the destruction and abandonment of Teotihuacán in the eighth century. The new people transformed the jaguar and the eagle into a symbol of warfare conveyed by the complementary images of these creatures. The earlier compounds of the jaguar were converted to other purposes. Thus the old jaguar-serpent-bird acquired a new Toltec meaning as a symbol of the underworld by being placed in a new context at Tula and Chichén Itzá.¹⁷

17. An identification by Seler (1915: 367) as Quetzalcóatl-Kukulcán is based only upon Mexican texts from the highlands and upon Bishop Landa, without specific application to jaguar-serpent-bird forms.



Fig. 26 Jaguar-serpent-bird icons at Chichén Itzá (after Tozzer 1957: Figs. 314-22).

At Chichén Itzá it appears on the bases of square piers, as Tozzer (1957: 123) has noted, “almost 500 times in connection with the top figure of sun disk, the atlantean bacab, or a mask.” Tozzer (1957: 123) believed it to refer to the underworld when conjoined with the sun disk or with a sky-bearer. At Tula the same figure is shown between pairs of eagles and vultures, and on column bases in the “underworld” position beneath the feet of a warrior or priest.

At the same time, however, jaguars and eagles devouring hearts became the emblems of the new warrior societies at Chichén Itzá and at Tula (Tozzer 1957: 129-35, Figs. 410-67), with the result that jaguars acquired new meanings in two ways, as underworld figures when represented as jaguar-serpent-birds, and as warrior emblems when shown as seated or walking animals. Neither of these meanings is evident from jaguar contexts in the usage of Teotihuacán, nor in the usage of Pre-Classic Olmec or Oaxacan peoples. It seems certain, on the evidence of their representations, that jaguars meant different things before and after the end of Teotihuacán.



Fig. 27 *Stone Jaguar, Aztec period, 2.75 m. long. Photograph courtesy Museo Nacional de Antropología e Historia.*



Fig. 28 Cuauhtinchan (Puebla). Early colonial mural in the Franciscan convent depicting the Annunciation, flanked by jaguar and eagle. Photograph C. Reyes Valerio.

With the Aztec emergence, the symbol of the jaguar-serpent-bird waned and vanished, perhaps because of two developments: 1) its replacement by the eagle-and-jaguar warrior cult; and 2) the separation of the cults of Tezcatlipoca as a jaguar from Quetzalcóatl as a feathered serpent. This separation was probably meant, among other things, to factor out jaguar traits for separate treatment. Its effects are visible at the Museo Nacional in one of the great jaguar images of all time (Fig. 27)—the reclining but menacing feline with the eagle basin in its back, carved with two relief figures. The penitential deities, Tezcatlipoca and Tlahuizcalpantecutli, draw blood from their earlobes in a rite of blood-gift closely connected with the eagle-and-jaguar warrior cult (according to Seler 1904: 901). The jaguar now has a teardrop eye. There is a suggestion of a feathered surround in the hairy mane which Seler compares to that of a Bengal tiger, but all traces of serpent nature are gone, having been arrogated presumably by the spreading cult of the feathered Quetzalcóatl snake, whose ancient Olmec form of still unknown meaning was reactivated during the Toltec rule in the Valley of Mexico, this time as a dominant figure.

Our last image is an illustration of one of the rare survivals of Pre-Conquest imagery in colonial Christian art (Fig. 28). It is a fresco in the sixteenth-century Franciscan church at Cuauhtinchan in the state of Puebla. The Annunciation, which marks the displacement of the Old Testament by the New Law and the beginning of a new world age, is shown flanked by a jaguar and an eagle. These positions were usually reserved in Christian iconography for the moon and the sun as symbols of night and day. Here the native painter's intention was clearly to equate jaguar with night or

moon, and eagle with day or sun. But, as I hope to have shown in this paper, such meanings for jaguar and eagle were no older than the Toltec era, which had begun in the Mexican highlands at Tula, after the fall of Teotihuacán. The people of Teotihuacán never connected jaguar with eagle in this fashion. Their respects to the jaguar were addressed to the jaguar-serpent-bird, whose representation ceased after the fall of Tula and before the rise of Tenochtitlán.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACOSTA, JORGE R.
 1964 El Palacio de Quetzalpapalotl. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
 1965 Preclassic and Classic Architecture of Oaxaca. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 814-848. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- BARTHEL, THOMAS S.
 1968 Historisches in den Klassischen Maya-Inschriften. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 93, pp. 119-156. Berlin.
- BATRES, LEOPOLDO
 1889 Teotihuacán ó la Ciudad Sagrada de los Toltecas. Monografías de Arqueología Mexicana. Mexico.
- BERNAL, IGNACIO
 1963 Teotihuacán. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
- CASO, ALFONSO
 1958-59 Glifos Teotihuacanos. *Revista Mexicana de Estudios Antropológicos*, vol. 15, pp. 51-70. Mexico.
 1965 Sculpture and Mural Painting of Oaxaca. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 849-870. University of Texas Press, Austin.
 1966 Dioses y signos teotihuacanos. In *Teotihuacán. Onceava mesa redonda*, pp. 249-279. Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Mexico.
- COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL
 1957 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York.
- GAMIO, MANUEL
 1922 *La Población del Valle de Teotihuacán*, vol. I. Mexico.
- JIMÉNEZ MORENO, WIGBERTO
 n.d. Paper read at the Onceava Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Mexico, 1966. (In manuscript.)
- JORALEMON, DAVID
 1971 A Study of Olmec Iconography. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 7. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
- KUBLER, GEORGE
 1967 The Iconography of the Art of Teotihuacán. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 4. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

- 1969 Studies in Classic Maya Iconography. *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 18. New Haven.
- MARQUINA, IGNACIO
1951 Arquitectura Prehispanica. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
- MEARNS, EDGAR A.
1901 The American Jaguars. *Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington*, vol. 14, pp. 137-143. Washington.
- MILLER, ARTHUR G.
n.d. The Mural Painting of Teotihuacán, Mexico, and an Inquiry into the Nature of its Iconography. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1969.)
- MILLON, CLARA S. HALL
n.d.a A Chronological Study of the Mural Art of Teotihuacán. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, 1962.)
n.d.b The History of Mural Art at Teotihuacán. Paper read at the Onceava Mesa Redonda, Sociedad Mexicana de Antropología, Mexico, 1966. (In manuscript.)
- NEYS, HORACE, AND HASSO VON WINNING
1946 The Treble Scroll Symbol in the Teotihuacán and Zapotec Cultures. *Notes on Middle American Archaeology and Ethnology*, no. 74, pp. 81-89. Carnegie Institution, Washington.
- PADDOCK, JOHN, ED.
1966 Ancient Oaxaca. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- REYES VALERIO, CONSTANTINO
1967 Una pintura Indígena en Cuauhtinchan. *Boletín del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, no. 29, pp. 1-6. Mexico.
- SÉJOURNÉ LAURETTE
1956 Burning Water; Thought and Religion in Ancient Mexico. New York.
1959 Un palacio en la ciudad de los dioses. Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico.
1962 El universo de Quetzalcóatl. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico.
1966a Arqueología de Teotihuacan, la cerámica. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico.
1966b Arquitectura y pintura en Teotihuacán. Mexico.
1966c El lenguaje de las formas en Teotihuacán. Mexico.
- SELER, EDUARD
1904 Die Ausgrabungen am Orte des Haupttempels in México. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, vol. 2, pp. 767-904. Berlin. (1961 edition: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz.)
1915 Die Teotihuacan-Kultur des Hochlands von México. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, vol. 5, pp. 405-585. Berlin. (1961 edition: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz.)
- SPINDEN, HERBERT J.
1913 A Study of Maya Art; Its Subject Matter and Historical Development. *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, vol. vi. Cambridge.
- THOMPSON, J. ERIC S.
1960 Maya Hieroglyphic Writing. (Second edition.) Norman, Oklahoma.

TOZZER, ALFRED M.

- 1957 Chichén Itzá and Its Cenote of Sacrifice. *Memoirs of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, vols. XI, XII. Cambridge.

VON WINNING, HASSO

- 1948 The Teotihuacán Owl-and-Weapon Symbol and its Association with "Serpent Head X" at Kaminaljuyu. *American Antiquity*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 129-132. Salt Lake City.
- 1949 Shell Designs on Teotihuacán Pottery. *El México Antiguo*, vol. 7, pp. 126-153. Mexico.
- 1955 A Two-Part Effigy from the Valley of Mexico. *El México Antiguo*, vol. 8, pp. 66-75. Mexico.
- 1968 Der Netzjaguar in Teotihuacán, Mexico: Eine Ikonographische Untersuchung. *Baessler-Archiv, New Series*, vol. 16, pp. 31-46. Berlin.

DISCUSSION

DR. COE: According to you, the coyote and the jaguar are allopatric, let's say, for the Valley of Mexico, presumably for Mexico in general. But I think there have been a number of find-places of coyotes in the Valley of Mexico. Coyotes get all the way down into the Olmec area. Not far from San Lorenzo there are coyotes near a place called Cerro de la Encantada; also around nearby Jaltipan. As a matter of fact, they overlap with jaguars. As you know, jaguars occur all the way up the western side of Mexico into Arizona and even Texas. They do coexist.

DR. FLANNERY: There is some reason to believe that the coyote's range is expanding into these tropical areas of southeastern Mexico because of land clearance; they are moving into second growth. That is, there is reason to believe that they were not formerly in some parts of the lowland tropical area that they are in now.

DR. COE: The area that they are in near San Lorenzo has not been cleared. As a matter of fact, it is one of the few primary grasslands; that is, the coyotes inhabit the edge of the grasslands into the forest. And they are also found in the drier areas of the isthmus. They have a very wide distribution, and I think it's reasonably ancient.

DR. GROVE: If I understand you correctly, Dr. Kubler, you don't see a continuous meaning between jaguars in Olmec times and jaguars in other cultures. And yet I was struck by the fact that the feathered fringe around the eyes, strongly identified with Teotihuacán, could well be a continuance of the serrated eyebrow in the were-jaguar motifs. I would like to point out that coyotes also have a serrated brow around the eye.

DR. KUBLER: It might be analogous to the situation described by Bodo Spranz, in which he tabulated everybody wearing everybody else's costume in the Codex Borgia group. Possibly, in the delineation of the identifying characteristics of animal types, there is a shuffling going on—plugging in a bird's eye here and a jaguar mouth there. A flame eyebrow, or a serrated eyebrow, would be an element in the game. All of these are parts of the apparatus of representation which is an exercise in imitation. It is very much like the classical doctrine of mimesis, the imitation, not of nature, as in the ancient world, but of ritual.

DR. SAWYER: Both the jaguar and the coyote are animals that salivate—couldn't this have suggested to the people why these animals should be connected with water? They go around with their tongues hanging out and moisture dripping from their mouths. I am sure that the Pre-Columbian people weren't great zoologists, but that they saw in the jaguar and the animals of the dog family, in Peru as well as in Mesoamerica, a common denominator in the canine teeth and in the salivation and in the craft of the two animals. They were not dealing with zoological species so much as with a canineness, or a canine essence, which was common to both animals, and perhaps they didn't make the distinction between the canine and the feline as much as we are tending to. I have a little impatience with our being very modern and zoological, because it's the feline aspect they cared about, not the species, and the feline aspect might be in a wolf or a coyote or—as in Peru—an otter.

DR. KUBLER: I'd be sympathetic to another kind of Linnean system at Teotihuacán that might have put butterfly together with bird as flying things.

DR. COE: They are put together in the Borgia Codex.

DR. FURST: There is a very peculiar thing all through tropical South America—which Dr. Reichel-Dolmatoff probably can talk about better than I—and that is that the jaguar is very often called the dog of the shaman. So you have an association of cat and dog. I have a comment on one other point that Dr. Kubler made, and that is the jaguar-eagle-serpent association. I think this is very ancient. Maybe it goes back to Asia, where you get the association of the bird, the tiger, and the serpent, which becomes the dragon. All through tropical South America you have jaguar, bird, and serpent. The other thing is the continuity of the jaguar. Maybe we're misled by the fact that, in Aztec times, or, let's say, in Toltec times, the jaguar does become a symbol of a warrior society. It never ceases being, at the same time, the symbol of sorcery and shamanism. This seems to go back to times long before the Olmec, so that you do have continuity from, let's say, ten thousand B.C. to 1970.

DR. KUBLER: Are you describing continuities of meaning or continuities of form?

DR. FURST: Continuities of meaning.

DR. KUBLER: How can you be sure of the fit between form and meaning in 2000 B.C.?

DR. FURST: If you go to surviving hunting and gathering cultures today, let's say the Yanoáma or any other group in South America, and to incipient agricultural societies, you find that jaguar and shaman are always associated. I don't know of one in which this is not the case. We can assume that this is a very ancient trait. You get it also in Mexico and in Asia, where the shaman is identified with the tiger.

DR. LATHRAP: I was wondering if the juxtaposition of jaguar and coyote might indicate some sort of vital-forces/death dichotomy, since in the western United States death, evil, and pain are always introduced into the world by coyote.

DR. KUBLER: That's interesting in that particular context, but to take it out of context is like *The Golden Bough*—it's Frazerian, stimulating and suggestive, but it doesn't really prove much.

DR. GRIEDER: One of the names, one of the disguises, of Tezcatlipoca was Huehuecōyotl, "old coyote."

I'm a little nervous about our identification of what we call owls. I wish we could stick to alpha, beta, and gamma, because I suspect that a lot of the things that we identify as owls by the feathers around the eyes could easily be eagles.

DR. KUBLER: Or a butterfly. Laurette Séjourné saw as quetzal what I call owl and what Hasso von Winning calls owl. I call it owl because he sees it as owl. There is always this problem of identification; we are always on shifting sand because of this game of plugging in different parts to round out an idea that is being conveyed. Many of these eye surrounds are clearly linked to butterfly representations.

MR. VON WINNING: The idea of the bird as an owl is first of all borrowed from Seler. Also, the big wing with the fluffy feathers is very typical of an owl, and, in the examples shown today, you could see many times an owl's head with the typical beak and the tail feathers on the body below. The large eyes on the jaguar could very well be owl's eyes.

MRS. PASZTORY: You felt that the jaguar was not an image of the warrior. Do you feel the same way about the coyote with whom he is

associated? The coyote appears as a coyote warrior in the same mural, for example, at Atetelco, where he clearly is carrying weapons, and figures wearing—I shall simply say “bird costumes” since there is a discussion about the identification of the bird—also carry weapons on the third of these three symmetrical patios. Therefore war, or at least weapons, is present in this single group of buildings that were obviously painted at the same time. Although weapons do not occur in that fresco, that particular problem still seems to be involved there and needs to be explained. You also said that the jaguar represented a southern people and the coyote a northern, and I would therefore like to ask you why it is that the jaguar appears so much more frequently and is so much more important at Teotihuacán if it is a foreign kind of symbol.

DR. KUBLER: First, there is certainly no reason to preclude multiple meanings at all times; a cult image can have one system of associations for one group of faithful, and another set of applications for another. Santiago becomes a military saint, the saint of the conquering Spaniards. This sort of interpenetration of behaviors on the same symbol is not at all uncommon. As to the point about the ethnicity of these animal representations, the notion of their southernness and northernness was pure guess—with very little to back it in the case of the coyote, as Michael Coe pointed out. I was led to it by what I had observed at Palenque in the Temples of the Cross, the Foliated Cross, and the Sun, where there is always a pair of figures, one of them muffled up, obviously wearing the clothes of someone coming out of the cold weather, and the other wearing very little. They are repeated three times, confronting each other in different aspects of a ritual. I suggested that there was a contrast of lowland and highland in the observances of a cult, and I was extending this to the interpretation of the jaguar and the coyote.

MR. GRIFFIN: Could the net costume be not a net but a series of *olin* symbols, a network meaning energy or movement, the *olin* being the singular of a net? The way they are woven and the way they are depicted suggest *olins*, especially on that thing they are worshiping in the center of the Casa de los Barrios mural and on the fresco here at Dumbarton Oaks.

DR. KUBLER: Yes, it has generally been thought that crossed bands and interlaced bands would be related to the *olin*.

DR. MILLER: I think there is an interesting possible relationship between the jaguar representations at Teotihuacán and during the Olmec period and in the Maya area, which is implied in your paper, and that is the association of the jaguar with an important individual. Michael Coe also implied this in his paper. There is the mural, which you showed, depicting a man holding a small, netted jaguar. There is a new mural at Teotihuacán, just restored, which shows a jaguar whose arm is wrapped around a flowering maguey. I see a similarity in theme in that perhaps the earlier one is a presentation of the young ruler and the later one—since it is well known that the maguey plant flowers just before dying—is a representation of an old ruler. The only thing in the Olmec area and in the Maya area which is similar in theme is the infant presentation. I am thinking of the numerous were-jaguar infants that are presented by priestlike figures; the only example in the Maya area that I can think of is the Bonampak presentation scene. This may be an indication of how the jaguar is used at Teotihuacán; it may be related to the Olmec and Maya areas in this way—the jaguar is a dynastic personage, a sign for kingship.

DR. KUBLER: I was discussing with some of you the problem of those very long king lists from the Valley of Mexico, some of which

Vaillant and Spinden thought might very well apply to Teotihuacán. That is still a whole textual chapter of the history of the Valley of Mexico that needs to be worked out in better detail than we have.

DR. COE: Since Palenque has been mentioned, I have a comment about the night aspect of the jaguar, which, according to your ideas, doesn't appear until Tula. You will recall that Eric Thompson points out in his *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing* that the representation of the sun in its night aspect takes on jaguar characteristics: the face of the sun takes the ears of a jaguar. At Palenque in the so-called Temple of the Sun, the image between the two figures is actually a shield of the night sun as a jaguar with crossed spears. David Kelley has written a very interesting paper in which he suggests that the entire temple is dedicated to the god of war, to the idea of warfare. I would therefore suggest that this idea of the night aspect of the jaguar and the jaguar as war symbol is older than Tula.

DR. KUBLER: David Kelley's argument is that the temples commemorate the births of different gods, but against that one could say that this shield is an extension of glyph 624 in Thompson's dictionary, which is an appellation. It's a name and it's the name of the occupant of the tomb in the Temple of the Inscriptions, and his name is probably Sun Shield, so that another view is that this is a further glorification of Sun Shield.

DR. COE: I go back to the original statement by Thompson, his identification of the jaguar as a sign for the night sun, the jaguar transformation of the sun—the sun goes under the earth, disappears, and becomes a jaguar. I think that will hold up, at least in Late Classic art.

DR. KUBLER: with regard to Teotihuacán,

though, I have an impression that the jaguar is a daylight creature, not a night creature. It returns to the night world after Teotihuacán, but during Teotihuacán it seems to be out in broad daylight and, as an animal, is not really available except possibly in zoos and animal parks that were kept for the purpose.

MRS. PASZTORY: I have a comment about the persistent association of the jaguar with water, which is so evident at Teotihuacán. It is seen surrounded by shells, and actually swimming in water and flowers. This is something you also have in Maya art, where, as Thompson suggested, the jaguar stands for the earth as it floats in water surrounded by flowers. This might bring us back to the idea of earth and perhaps underworld and water, taking it back to the Olmec. What is interesting here is that we are dealing with two clusters of ideas: the water association and the dynastic, and we haven't quite put them together yet. Are kings water priests—is that really how the two fit together?

DR. FURST: There is another association of the jaguar which I think ought to be mentioned. There is at Teotihuacán an abundance of flowers, but if you look carefully you will find that it is almost always the same flower. Richard Evans Schultes at Harvard has identified the flower—we worked on this together—as most likely the morning glory, *ololiuhqui*. If you look at the procession of jaguars, particularly on some vases in plano-relief, you will find priests and jaguars or a group of jaguars marching along like human beings with scrolls issuing from their muzzles with these flowers attached to them. If Schultes is correct—and there doesn't seem to be another flower that fits this description—then these jaguars or were-jaguars or humans in jaguar guise or transformed humans are associated with *ololiuhqui*, which was the principal and most sacred hallucinogen of Aztec times in the Val-

ley of Mexico. *Ololiuhqui* apparently came primarily from the Xochicalco area, near Cuernavaca; it is not very common in the valley of Mexico itself, but very abundant at the south. The idea of using hallucinogens and transformation by the priests seems to be expressed here in these jaguar representations, but no one as far as I know has commented on the botanical identity of this flower. I gave a paper in Mexico City on this and some of the other better-known hallucinogens, as represented in Pre-Columbian art. Another problem that ought to be investigated more thoroughly is that of the association of jaguar and toad. Like so many other motifs this extends from Mesoamerica right down into northern South America. On the one hand you have the jaguar as alter ego of shamans and chiefly lineages, on the other you have the toad as a transformation symbol, as originator of culti-

gens and in South America even as the Mother of Jaguars. One cannot help but feel that this is somehow related to the fact that toad skin contains powerful poisons with hallucinogenic constituents and that the poison of toads and certain frogs is utilized in shamanistic and magical practices by a number of South American forest tribes whose shamans are identified with jaguars. Also there is the ancient practice of adding poisonous toads to fermented ritual beverages in highland Guatemala. Jaguar association with certain hallucinogenic cacti is yet another field for iconographic inquiry, especially in Chavín and Moche art—the cactus here is the mescaline-containing San Pedro, *Trichocereus pachanoi*. We need much closer cooperation with other disciplines, particularly ethnobotany, to understand the significance of some of these associations of plants and animals in Pre-Hispanic art.



San Agustín. Jaguar copulating with a woman.

The Feline Motif in Prehistoric San Agustín Sculpture

GERARDO REICHEL-DOLMATOFF

INSTITUTO COLOMBIANO DE ANTROPOLOGÍA
BOGOTÁ, COLOMBIA

FELINE representations are a common feature in Colombian archaeology and appear in many different cultural contexts with chronological positions ranging over many time periods. The feline motif is found in almost every region of the country, in varying stages of elaboration and in different materials, from simple clay modelings to complex pottery vessels, from small stone figurines to gigantic statues, and from wood or shell carvings to intricate gold castings.

The most spectacular feline representations are found at San Agustín, on the headwaters of the Magdalena River, and I have chosen this archaeological area as a focal point of my discussion.¹ San Agustín probably contains the greatest number of large stone statues found in any prehistoric context in the western hemisphere. These statues which are found standing on hilltops and mountain slopes seem to have had a variety of functions; some were public monuments which stood on prominent spots while others were exclusively of a funerary character and were buried together with the dead in subterranean chambers built of large slabs and covered with earthen mounds. The sculptures fall into several categories: large freestanding statues carved fully in the round, relief-carved slabs, isolated heads, boulder carvings, bedrock carvings, and small peg-shaped figures. The marked divergences in style make it extremely difficult to establish categories of form and expression.

The schemata for the representation of bodily forms are mainly the same in three-dimensional sculpture and in relief carvings. An almost straight-sided trunk, with high square shoulders, is surmounted by an enormous head; the thin flat arms hang down or are bent stiffly at the elbows, the hands clutching some objects in jointless fingers or simply meeting over the chest, empty and in a rigid pose. The lower part of the body, the legs and feet, are barely outlined, the whole figure, because of the hunched shoulders, appearing to lean slightly forward. Otherwise, the body hardly ever expresses any movement or emotion. It is the face, the grim mouth, and the huge eyes, in which all expressive force is concentrated; the body seems to be only a base, a

1. On San Agustín, see Preuss 1929; Pérez de Barradas 1943; Duque 1964.

plinth, meant to sustain the head, the masklike face which is the true center of the sculpture.

A large percentage of San Agustín sculpture shows feline features and it is to this category that I shall turn my attention. A few statues represent a rather naturalistic jaguar, shown in a crouching position, but in the majority of cases the statues show a combination of human and feline features, a monstrous being, half man, half jaguar. The sculptures show a heavily compressed body with a large head, the composite features of which represent a fanged creature in the shape of a snarling feline. In representing this creature it was obviously less the sculptor's intention to make a jaguar into a man than to make a man into a jaguar. The body, no matter how distorted and compressed, is essentially a human body; the arms end in fingers, not in claws; and the legs, however shortened, are human legs. Even eyes and ears are human although the former vary greatly and sometimes have a catlike slant. The short flattened nose with its flaring alae, although quite out of proportion, is more human than animal, and so are the deep furrowed lines which often separate the mouth from the cheeks. Although all these features are grotesquely deformed, conceptually they are human, but by their very exaggeration they readily blend with the bestial mouth into a dreadful nonhuman face. In reality, with the exception of two or three naturalistic jaguar representations, *the feline features in San Agustín art consist exclusively of fanged mouths.*

It would be difficult indeed to find significant correlations between the sculptural representations of the jaguar-monster of San Agustín and certain minor traits which accompany them. One statue carries a coiled snake, another a fish, and others hold in their hands some unidentified objects, but there is no fixed pattern and clearly diagnostic attributes seem to be absent. Decorative elements which adorn these statues are not frequent either and, when present, do not show any recurrent characteristics. Nor is it possible to associate the jaguar-monster with particular sites such as shrines, mounds, or habitations. The statues with the feline motif are found in all these contexts, ceremonial and domestic; in burials, near middens, and on house sites. To this we must add that archaeological research at San Agustín is not sufficiently advanced yet to be able to attribute precise dates to any of these stone carvings. The marked differences in form, expression, and technique can probably be attributed to differences in time, but we cannot yet arrange the major categories of sculptures into a sequence which would show us the chronological and iconographical developments of the feline motif. The earliest carbon date goes back to the sixth century B.C. and from the available evidence it seems possible that local developments began at an even earlier time level, so that the sculptures might range over many centuries, but it would be impossible to say more at this time.

The problem of interpretation, then, is a most difficult one. Archaeology does not

yet provide a framework of developmental stages which would allow us to trace the feline motif through time, and stylistic analysis does not seem to offer a sufficiently well defined set of iconographic criteria which might help us to interpret the significance of certain categories of stone carvings. But this may be just as well. I do not think that, in the case of San Agustín, a comparison, on stylistic grounds, of sculptural details with feline representations from Mesoamerica and the Central Andes would constitute a fruitful approach. It is obvious that in the two high-culture areas to the north and south of Colombia the jaguar motif has undergone—especially during the Classic and Post-Classic periods—a much more complex development than among the less advanced cultures of the Intermediate Area where, it seems, the motif presents far more simple, fundamental characteristics. This may be an advantage because there are fewer variants and ramifications, and we are, perhaps, closer to the original sources of jaguar imagery. However, under the circumstances I have pointed out before, any attempt at interpretation in strictly archaeological terms is greatly limited by the lack of chronological sequences and contextual units. I shall rather try to examine some broader, underlying ideas which, I believe, are very widespread, deeply rooted, and possibly significant to our inquiry and, in doing so, I shall take frequent recourse to ethnological analogies.²

As an archaeological starting point I shall use a group of San Agustín stone carvings which appear to be of special interest. I am referring to certain sculptures which show a jaguar in the act of overpowering a smaller figure which represents a human being. Until early this year only one sculpture of this type had been known, designated in the literature as the “monkey group,” a name introduced some fifty years ago by Preuss who interpreted the main figure as that of a monkey because of the coiled tail-end which recalls the prehensile tails of New World simians, and who thought that the sculpture represented an adult animal with its young (Preuss 1929, II: Pls. 8.3-4, 9.1-2). A reexamination of this stone carving, however, does not bear out this identification and it rather appears that the animal is a jaguar copulating with a woman. As a matter of fact, the broad head and the snout are not at all like a monkey’s, and the posture of both figures certainly does not correspond to the way monkeys carry their young. The important point, however, is the recent discovery of another sculpture which is very similar in composition and which shows, beyond any doubt, a jaguar which overpowers a human figure that has marked female characteristics. Besides, the jaguar grasps the figure of a child which lies across the back of the female figure. The most significant detail is that the end of the jaguar’s tail is coiled in a spiral, showing that

2. See Furst 1968; this paper is of special interest to our discussion.

Preuss's interpretation of the first sculpture as a monkey was erroneous, since this type of tail corresponds to a jaguar.³

We can speak then of three basic categories of feline sculptures at San Agustín: one in which a rather realistic jaguar attacks a human female; one in which a man acquires feline attributes and is partly transformed into a grotesque jaguar; and one in which a jaguar-man is combined with other monstrous beings, as in the so-called alter ego statues which show a fantastic secondary figure crouching over the back and shoulders of an upright standing jaguar-man. In any case, the feline beast is always shown in close association with human figures and this association obviously constitutes a central theme of an ancient aboriginal belief system which found its concrete expression in these sculptures.

In trying now to discuss this system of beliefs I must refer briefly to the Olmec culture. Among the stone monuments of Potrero Nuevo, Veracruz, Matthew Stirling found a sculpture which he described as representing a jaguar copulating with a woman. Stirling comments: "The episode represented must have been an important feature of Olmec mythology. It is particularly interesting in view of the frequent representation of part human and part jaguar figures in Olmec art" (Stirling 1955: 19-20). The parallel with the San Agustín sculptures is thus a very striking one because the Olmec stone carving is a virtually exact equivalent of the San Agustín carvings which show a jaguar overpowering a woman. The similarity, of course, does not refer to any stylistic resemblances, but exclusively to a common theme, the idea of a powerful feline which enters into a direct relationship with a member of the human species thus establishing a bond which eventually leads to a close and permanent association which is of a sacred or, at least, otherworldly, character. We must look then for other parallels of this kind, and consider the nature of this man-animal relationship.

Quite close to San Agustín, in the region of Tierradentro, several thousand Páez Indians still live, a Chibcha-speaking tribe which conserves many traits of the ancient belief system. Given the close proximity of this large tribe to the San Agustín area, this body of living traditions is of marked interest to our discussion.

According to Páez mythology, in the beginning of time a young Páez woman was assaulted and raped by a jaguar, and from this union the thunder-child was born. This child grew up into a man who became an important culture hero and eventually retired to a lagoon where his spirit continues to dwell. Thunder is the central theme of all Páez myths and is closely associated with the jaguar-spirit, the concept of fertility,

3. Jaguar representations with spirally coiled tails are frequent in aboriginal wood carvings from the Amazon area.

and with shamanism. In fact, a prospective shaman receives the supernatural call to his office from thunder, and it is near a lagoon where apprenticeship takes place, accompanied by hallucinatory experiences. A Páez shaman can turn into thunder, and evil shamans can turn into jaguars in order to do harm to other people.

According to Páez mythology this original thunder-jaguar has many children who combine in their features feline and human traits, and who occasionally manifest themselves in a miraculous manner and become the shaman's helpers. These thunder-children are most voracious little creatures, each of them having several female servants, young girls whom they kill while growing up, by drinking their blood and milk. When these thunder-children appear in a shaman's vision they ostentatiously display their male sexual organs and, once they are grown up, they steal women and carry them off to their dwellings at the bottom of the lagoons (Bernal Villa 1953, 1954; Nachtigall 1955; Otero 1952).

This complex of ideas, found so close to San Agustín, acquires special significance and provides a body of information from which we can follow new directions of inquiry. First of all, it is remarkable that the Páez creation myth should clearly describe the theme I have mentioned when speaking of the San Agustín/Olmec parallel in sculpture, namely the rape of an Indian woman by a jaguar and the origin of a new race. This theme is quite frequent in Colombian Indian mythology and tradition. For example, some of the ancient Chibcha groups of the highlands claimed to be descended from legendary chieftains and shamans who were of jaguar origin (Piedrahita 1881: 24; Lehmann 1920: 50-1). The eighteenth-century Caribs of the Orinoco Plains traced their descent from mythical jaguars (Gumilla 1955: 83) and so do certain modern groups of semi-nomadic Indians who still raid Guahibo settlements (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1944). The myths of the Kogi Indians of the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta tell of jaguars which were created at the beginning of time, and of the jaguar-people who were their descendants and, at the same time, the direct ancestors of the modern Kogi (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51). Several Tukano groups of the Colombian north-west Amazon also claim descent from mythical jaguars, and so do a great number of tribes of the Caquetá-Putumayo region.

The striking fact is that not all Indians trace their origins from the jaguar; many tribes, notably the Arawak, Chocó, Makú, and some others, claim to be descended from other animals, or from trees, caves, or rocks and, in that case, they greatly fear those who are said to be of jaguar origin. The Arawak, Sáliva, and Guahibo tribes of the Orinoco lived in terror of the "Carib-Jaguars" (Gumilla 1955: 83; Reichel-Dolmatoff 1944: 488) and the modern Noanamá and Emberá of the Pacific lowlands still speak fearfully of a race of jaguar-faced enemies who used to raid them and whom they identify with their northern neighbors, the Cuna.

Now this is precisely the point: jaguar-descended Indians lived (and sometimes still live) in fairly close proximity to Indians who did *not* descend from jaguars, and those of jaguar descent were feared mainly because they abducted the women of nonjaguar people. It is then most significant to point out that, according to the Páez myth I have quoted, the jaguar which assaulted the girl and became the progenitor of a new race was a transformed Pijao Indian, a tribe of jaguar-descent which, even in the seventeenth century, still carried out raids against their Páez neighbors (Simon 1892, V: 228).

As expressed in myth and tradition, the danger personified in the jaguar—to be eaten or devoured—is fundamentally the danger of sexual assault and of the abduction of women. It seems probable then that this jaguar/nonjaguar opposition which figures so prominently in many aboriginal traditions, refers in all essence to an underlying principle of exogamic relationships. Now many creation myths are basically accounts of the nature and consequences of a primordial sexual act which is incestuous in the case of general human origins, but which is explicitly exogamous in the case of specific social origins, for example when the origin and genealogy of a lineage, clan, or phratry are spoken of. In Colombian Indian mythology the jaguar is never the progenitor of mankind as a whole, but only of certain groups of it, while other, complementary groups trace their origins to other generative principles.

Within this wider context of a basic jaguar/nonjaguar dichotomy there often appear similar complementary subdivisions *within* the same tribal unit. Among the Sierra Nevada Indians, for example, all of whom claim to be of jaguar descent, there exist, among others, a jaguar and a puma clan whose male members have to marry women of the deer and peccary clans who are intrinsically “female” because they constitute the natural food of the two feline species (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51, I: 168-92). A similar situation prevails among many Tukano tribes of the northwest Amazon where exogamic reciprocity is frequently expressed in the definition of intrinsically “male” and “female” phratries. The structural principle is thus the same, the “male” group taking part in the jaguar essence while the “female” group is “eaten” by the jaguars. I would suggest that the many myths and tales in which a jaguar abducts a woman, marries or devours her, might sometimes be interpreted as accounts and precepts of exogamic marriage rules.

This jaguar/nonjaguar division is sometimes expressed in territorial terms. In the Sierra Nevada certain regions or spots are pointed out which in ancient times were inhabited by “Jaguar People” and where at present the Indians can live only after a purification ritual has been performed. The entire Guajira Peninsula was formerly jaguar territory and could be peopled by the Arawakan Guajiro Indians only after their culture hero had driven the beasts away (Hernández de Alba 1936: 61-2). In many regions (Sierra Nevada, Eastern Llanos) the mere fact of crossing a traditional

“jaguar territory” is likely to cause disease in the traveler, and objects taken from this region are thought to be contaminated by the jaguar’s evil powers. Many archaeological sites in Páez territory are still greatly feared for this reason by the local Indians who attribute them to the ancient “Pijao-Jaguars.” In the Pacific lowlands the Indians will point out rivers which in ancient times formed the limits of advance of the Jaguar-People who formerly attacked them.

But before going further and in order to establish a tentative conceptual frame of reference, we might ask at this point: what exactly is it the jaguar stands for in this context?

Zoologically speaking, the jaguar impresses the rain-forest Indians I know, not so much because it is powerful, swift, or, perhaps, physically dangerous to the hunter, but rather because it can easily be associated with vital forces which act upon society. The main distinguishing trait is that the jaguar is by far the largest carnivore of the American tropics and that it depends for its food almost exclusively upon herbivores. Herbivores have a wide range of food resources while felines are very specialized animals which depend entirely on the flesh of their prey which, we may note here, are the very same game animals man is hunting for. This distinction is essential because it provides a ready model for society. The jaguar has to attack in order to survive, and the cunning and bloodthirsty fierceness of his predatory nature are taken by the Indian to be an essentially male attitude which stands in opposition to the passive and fearful attitude of the herbivores who thus acquire a marked female character. The Indians also point out that the jaguar is a great hunter and that this activity implies a strong erotic element, the act of hunting being equated with a form of courting the game animals (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968: 169-70). The feline is thus seen as a male in pursuit of the female, as a devouring animal which personifies a vital energetic principle in nature.

There are then two different, but related, aspects of the jaguar. As a general power symbol with strong male fertility associations the jaguar is certainly a very basic and ancient concept, while as a symbol of exogamy it seems to undergo a specific elaboration in the raiding patterns between wandering hunters and sedentary farmers where the jaguar image matches that of the predatory conqueror opposed to the sedentary colonizer. The subject is much too complex to be treated here in adequate detail but I think it has become clear that it is necessary to pass from the perceptual, zoological species to its conceptualization, to the different aspects of “jaguariness” which seem to lie at the center of feline imagery.

After this long digression I must return to the Páez myth. From the short description I have given of it it has become clear that the power of the jaguar-monster has a strong sexual component. First we learn of the assault upon a Páez woman, and then

we are told that her offspring display their sexual organs and, eventually, grow up to assault women whom they kill by drinking their blood and milk. This motif finds a close parallel in several Kogi myths according to which the jaguar-monsters used to assault women, sometimes under the guise of a shaman pretending to effect a cure. A Kogi tale tells of a girl who lived with her family in a region formerly inhabited by Jaguar-People. One day the girl was attacked by a jaguar and bitten in the breast. The girl began to growl like a jaguar, and died shortly after and was buried. During the night the jaguar returned and devoured the corpse. The men killed the jaguar and, upon examining the beast's body, discovered that one of its paws was shaped just like a human foot (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51: I, 267-68).

In the Páez myth there appear several additional motifs which invite discussion. The association or, rather, identification of the jaguar with thunder is a point of interest here. In the sixteenth century the temple of the great thunder deity *Dabeiba*, in north-western Colombia, had a jaguar for a guardian and a loud thunderclap was taken as a sign that the deity was angry (Vadillo 1884). Among the Kogi Indians the jaguar-spirits are often identified with thunder, lightning, and rain and, again, appear as the supernatural guardians of ceremonial sites. Thunder and lightning appear in shamanistic visions among the Tunebo Indians (Rocherau 1961: 46). Similar associations are found among the Tukano of the Northwest Amazon; a Tukano myth says: "The Sun created the jaguar to be his representative on earth. He gave him the yellow colour of his power and he gave him the voice of thunder which is the voice of the Sun" (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968: 20). In fact, the concept of a thunder-jaguar which represents the solar creator figure is common among these Indians, and is also present among several tribes of the Caquetá-Putumayo area.

The voracious little thunder-jaguars of Páez mythology make one think again of the Olmec. Michael Coe (1962: 85) emphasizes the childlike aspect of many sculptures and Covarrubias (1954; 1957) has suggested that these personifications were essentially rain spirits and the prototypes of the later rain gods of Mesoamerica. On the other hand, these ferocious little jaguar-babies still survive in the folklore of the coast of Veracruz under the name of *chaneques*, small dwarfed beings who live in cascades and who, besides being rain-spirits, are said to persecute women (Covarrubias 1954: 98-9). It is evident that all these attributes make them appear closely related to the little thunder-jaguars of the Páez. But in Colombia these similarities go still further; in the entire highland area of southern Colombia, a region contiguous with the San Agustín area, the local Indians believe in the existence of childlike spirits who live behind cascades and are associated with thunder and rain. They too persecute women, sometimes appearing to them in sexual fantasies and causing them to waste away if not treated by a shaman. When annoyed, these little spirit-beings turn into jaguars and

may attack a person or even a house, but then the men frighten them off by putting on masks and a dress of Spanish moss.

The Mexican *chaneques* are also the supernatural masters of game animals and fish, and here a new parallel with Colombian Indian cultures arises. Among the Tukano tribes the Master of Animals is imagined as a red dwarf who dwells in caves or at the bottom of deep pools; he is closely associated with the jaguar, assaults women sexually, and watches over the fertility and increase of the animal world. It is from him that the shaman must obtain permission for the hunters and fishermen to kill game (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968: 58ff.).

As we can see, jaguars, voracious little beings, and thunder combine with rain, fertility, and sexual aggression into a complex pattern of inter-related beliefs which, as we now can recognize quite clearly, constitute the principal sphere of action of most shamanistic practices.

The close association between shamanism and jaguar-spirits is too well known to need to be emphasized here, and I can turn therefore to the local Colombian scene. Among most Colombian Indians the basic idea, stated briefly, is that the shaman can turn into a jaguar at will, using the form of this animal as a disguise, sometimes in order to achieve benefit ends, sometimes to threaten and to kill. The jaguar appears as a helper, a friend of the shaman, lending not only his exterior form but also his powers to the shaman's quest. Eventually, after death, the shaman turns permanently into a jaguar and can manifest himself in this form to the living, again in a benevolent or malefic way, as the case may be.

According to the Spanish chroniclers, feline representations in Colombia were frequently associated with ceremonial sites and shamanistic practices. An eyewitness to the conquest of the Cauca Valley tribes writes in 1540 that the Indians of Caramanta, a region to the northwest of San Agustín, had in their temples: “. . . certain boards in which they carve the figure of the devil, very fierce, and in human form, with other idols and *figures of cats* which they worship” (Cieza de Leon 1941: 44). Among the Chibcha of the Bogotá highlands the jaguar occupied an important position; *Bochica*, the principal culture hero, is described as having a jaguar's tail (Piedrahita 1881: 24), the same as some of the priests of the great ceremonial center of Sogamoso, and many of the mythical ancestors were known by names derived from the word for jaguar (Lehmann 1920: 50-I). These priests were said to be able to turn into jaguars and pumas (Castellanos 1886, I: 50, 51), to produce rains, and, in general, to “speak with the devil” who appeared to them in feline form. The jaguar-monster also played an important part among the ancient Indians of the northern provinces; among the Indians of the chiefdom of Guaca for example, the chronicle says, “the devil appeared in the form of a very fierce jaguar,” and the same is reported in early Spanish sources

for the chiefdoms of Sinú, Nutibara, Catío, and others. The shamans who officiated in these temples were said to communicate with a jaguar-faced “devil,” consulting him or receiving his orders. Of the Guayupe, a rain-forest tribe which in the sixteenth century lived to the northeast of San Agustín, the chronicles report that their shamans turn into jaguars at will (Aguado 1956, I: 598), and the same belief is mentioned from many other tribes.

Among the many Indian tribes which survive in Colombia, the jaguar continues to occupy this important position in myth and ritual. Among the Kogi (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51: *passim*) there are many traditions which speak of different jaguar personifications, and of all these beings it is said that they were great shamans who were able to change freely from human to animal form and back again, and who established rituals, fought wars, and exercised their dominion all over the mountains. The Kogi still use elaborately carved wooden masks representing the jaguar-monster, and during certain dances their songs are addressed to this animal (Preuss 1926: Fig. 31). Among the Chimila, Catío, Yuko, Tunebo, and many tribes of the Orinoco Plains the jaguar is associated with shamanism. The rain forests of the Colombian northwest Amazon constitute another immense area where this feline plays a central role in tribal beliefs (Preuss 1921; Whiffen 1915). Among the Tukano tribes, both their eastern and western sections (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968: 99ff.), as well as among the Witoto and their neighbors, shamans are believed to turn into jaguars, and many myths and rituals refer to the powers and attributes of this beast (Preuss 1921: *passim*).

The person of the shaman contains many aspects of sexual energy which are partly derived from, partly reflected upon, the spirit-beings and material objects which are his helpers and tools. Among practically all Tukanoan and Witotan tribes the shaman and the jaguar are designated by one single term, a name derived from the word for cohabitation (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968: 99). The man and the beast are both conceived as progenitors and procreators, as possessing great sexual energy, the former representing society, the latter nature. Within the context of northwest Amazonian cultures the sexual energies are condensed and concentrated in the shaman's person in the sense of a powerful life force, to be freed and used by him for the benefit of his group only. His ceremonial adornment, an elongated cylinder of whitish quartz is called “the Sun's penis”; his ceremonial staff is the phallic world axis from which, according to myth, the Sun Creator's sperm dripped down to earth and brought into existence the first men who peopled the land.

The jaguar, on the other hand, expresses this vital energy in nature. According to the Tukano Indians, his roar is the roar of thunder which announces the fertilizing rains; his color is the bright color of the East, the rising sun, the seminal color of creation and growth. His attribute is the quartz and the rock crystal, another symbol

of seminal fluid, particles of which are the thunderbolts the shaman collects at the spots where lightning has struck. The jaguar is the guardian of the sib house which is imagined as a great protective womb over which he dominates with his fertilizing power. A Tukano myth says: "Just as the Sun, with his power, procreated the earth, so the jaguar is procreating, clad in his yellow coat. Like a man dominating a woman" (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1968: 57). Thousands of kilometers away, in the mountains of the Caribbean coast, the Kogi Indians of the Sierra Nevada express beliefs which are similar in detail to those of the rain-forest tribes of the Amazon (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51).

Among all these Indians, then, the jaguar is essentially a symbol of procreative power but as such-it must be pointed out here-he is ambivalent, the male sexual energy easily becoming a destructive agent, profoundly affecting the fine equilibrium of kinship and social relations at large. It is this ambivalent force the shaman has to master and here seems to lie the key to the close relationship between the man and the beast, between the representative of a social order and the spontaneous life force he sees embodied in the powerful carnivore. According to many Colombian Indians, part of man's essence is of jaguar origin, a wild, untrammelled energy, all-devouring in its impulses (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1950-51), and containing the potential danger of incest. The Arawak Indians say: *hamáro kamungka turawati* / "everything has jaguar" (Roth 1915: 367). It is this "jaguarness" the shaman must tame, and this is why he has to become a jaguar himself in order to control and orient this energy into channels which will avoid harm to others. It is important to emphasize here the role the shaman plays as an agent of social control; even in his capacity as a curer he continues to fulfill this role because among many Indians a state of disease is often interpreted as being caused by magical sexual contamination.

I must turn now briefly to another, most important aspect of shamanistic practices connected with jaguar imagery. Most, if not all, Colombian Indian religions were based upon or, at least, closely related to, the interpretation of drug-induced hallucinations, and these altered states of consciousness provided an important mechanism for individual and collective supernatural experience. The use of hallucinogenic drugs derived from certain plants was, and still is, very widespread among these Indians, and is already mentioned in the earliest Spanish sources (Aguado 1956, I: 599). The principal drugs are concoctions of different species of *Banisteriopsis* and *Datura* and, above all, narcotic snuffs prepared from *Anadenanthera peregrina* or *Virola*. The important fact is that in the preparation of these drugs and in the hallucinations produced by them, the imagery of the jaguar plays a major role. As a matter of fact, hallucinogenic drugs provide the mechanism through which man's jaguarness is brought under control. In the first place, the drug itself is often interpreted as of jaguar origin in the sense of being the

jaguar's sperm which, when absorbed, impregnates the user with the essence of the jaguar. For example, among the Tukano tribes and among the Kori hallucinogenic substances are said to be "jaguar's sperm" or 'jaguar's seed'; among the Guahibo and their neighbors the narcotic powder is designated as "jaguar's excrement" (Reichel-Dolmatoff, *MS*), and among the Ingano and Kamsá, a certain hallucinogenic drug is called "jaguar's intoxicant" (Schultes 1955). In the second place, in the preparation of these drugs the jaguar image is of importance. The Guahibo keep the narcotic snuff in a tubular jaguar bone, and the shaman wears a crown of jaguar claws and a cover of jaguar skin when he takes this drug (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1944). The snuff tablets of the ancient Chibcha are often adorned with jaguar representations.⁴

Under the influence of these drugs people project the culturally preestablished image of the jaguar upon the wavering screen of colors and shapes produced by these psychoactive drugs; they turn into jaguars or, at least, see feline monsters in their hallucinations which the shaman explains to them. The shaman's role is essential in this context. He is the mediator who "talks to the jaguar" and who, at the same time, is the jaguar's voice. It is his task to bridge the ambivalence of the jaguar image which to some might appear as a threatening and horrifying monster, to others as tame and subservient. In those cultures on which there exists a body of detailed information, it seems that the psychological projection of the jaguar is closely connected to the problems of incest and exogamy which underlie the social structure, and in the solution of which the controlled use of hallucinogenic drugs, under the guidance of the shaman, is an all-important mechanism.

In summarizing, then, I suggest that it is this range of ideas which is expressed by the feline sculptures of San Agustín. The psychoactive stimulus which triggers off this imagery might have been of a different nature in other cultural areas, but in the case of Colombia I am inclined to believe that hallucinogenic drugs provided this mechanism and exercised a strong influence upon many aboriginal artistic expressions.

I hesitate therefore to speak here of a "feline cult" or of the jaguar as a "divine" personification. The feline rather represents an energetic principle, the natural life force which, on a social level, has to be controlled if a moral order is to be preserved.

4. Museo del Oro, Bogotá.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AGUADO, PEDRO DE
1956 *Recopilación Historial*, vol. 1. Bogotá.
- BERNAL VILLA, SEGUNDO
1953 Aspectos de la cultura Páez; Mitología y cuentos de la parcialidad de Calderas, Tierradentro. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, vol. I, pp. 279-309. Bogotá.
1954 Medicina y magia entre los Páez. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, vol. II, pp. 219-264. Bogotá.
- CASTELLANOS, JUAN DE
1886 *Historia del Nuevo Reino de Granada*, 2 vols. Madrid.
- CIEZA DE LEON, PEDRO
1941 *La Crónica del Perú*. Madrid.
- COE, MICHAEL D.
1962 *Mexico*. London.
- COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL
1954 *Mexico South*. New York.
1957 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York.
- DUQUE GOMEZ, LUIS
1964 *Exploraciones arqueológicas en San Agustín*. Bogotá.
- FURST, PETER T.
1968 The Olmec Were-Jaguar Motif in the Light of Ethnographic Reality. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 143-178. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
- GUMILLA, JOSEPH
1955 *El Orinoco ilustrado*. Bogotá.
- HERNANDEZ DE ALBA, GREGORIO
1936 *Etnología Guajira*. Bogotá.
- LEHMANN, WALTHER
1920 *Zentral-Amerika*, vol. 1. Berlin.
- NACHTIGALL, HORST
1955 Schamanismus bei den Páez Indianern. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. 78, no. 2, pp. 210-223. Braunschweig.
- MALLOL DE RECASENS, MARIA ROSA
1965 Contribución al conocimiento del cacique-curaca entre los Siona. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, vol. XIII. Bogotá.
- OTERO, JESUS M.
1952 *Etnología Caucana*. Popayán.
- PEREZ DE BARRADAS, JOSE
1943 *Arqueología agustiniana*. Bogotá.
- PIEDRAHITA, LUCAS FERNANDEZ DE
1881 *Historia general de las conquistas del Nuevo Reino de Granada*. Bogotá.
- PREUSS, KONRAD THEODOR
1921 *Religion und Mythologie der Huitoto*. Göttingen/Leipzig.

- 1926 Forschungsreise zu den Kágaba. St. Gabriel/Mödling.
 1929 Monumentale vorgeschichtliche Kunst; Ausgrabungen im Quellgebiet des Magdalena in Kolumbien, 1913-1914. 2 vols. Göttingen.

REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, GERARDO

- 1944 La cultura material de los Indios Guahibo. *Revista del Instituto Etnológico Nacional*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 437-506. Bogotá.
 1950-51 Los Kogi: Una tribu de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia. 2 vols. Bogotá.
 1968 Desana: Simbolismo de los Indios Tukano del Vaupés. Bogotá.
 n.d.a Kogi History and Religion. (Unpublished manuscript 1955.)
 n.d.b Creation Myths of the Tukano Indians. (Unpublished manuscript 1970.)

ROCHERAU, HENRI

- 1961 Los Tunebo. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, vol. x, pp. 37-119. Bogotá.

ROTH, WALTER E.

- 1915 An Inquiry into the Animism and Folklore of the Guiana Indians. *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1908-1909*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

SCHULTES, RICHARD E.

- 1955 A new narcotic genus from the Amazon slope of the Colombian Andes. *Botanical Museum Leaflets, Harvard University*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 1-11. Cambridge.

SIMON, PEDRO

- 1892 Noticias historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales, vol. V. Bogotá.

STIRLING, MATTHEW W.

- 1955 Stone Monuments of Río Chiquito, Veracruz, Mexico. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 157, Anthropological Papers No. 43*. Washington.

VADILLO, JUAN DE

- 1884 Carta del Licenciado Xoan de Vadillo a su Magestad, dándole cuenta de su visita a la Gobernación de Cartagena, Cartagena, Octubre 15 de 1537. In *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía*, vol. 41. Madrid.

WASSEN, HENRY S.

- 1967 Anthropological Survey of the Use of South American Snuffs. In *Ethopharmacological Search for Psychoactive Drugs* (Daniel H. Effron, ed.), pp. 233-289. Public Health Service Publication No. 1645. Washington.

WHIFFEN, THOMAS

- 1915 The Northwest Amazons. London.

DISCUSSION

DR. GRIEDER: This seeing of jaguars everywhere reminded me of a prayer that Jacinto de la Serna recorded for the Aztecs, in which the Aztec prayed to his bed and his mattress and his pillow, saying that they were all “*atigrada*”—all tigerish, all tiger-spotted.

DR. SAWYER: I’m curious about the iconography of San Agustín. In what way besides fanged canine teeth is the jaguar aspect imparted to these anthropomorphic felines? Are there any pelt markings or claws?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: I would say that about 60% of the statues show these feline teeth. In the human-feline statues we only get the teeth. Once in a while we have something more naturalistic.

DR. SAWYER: It occurred to me that, since we are dealing in San Agustín and in the fundamental culture of Peru—Chavín—with anthropomorphic felines, it is perfectly possible that the Pre-Columbian people—I again stress that they were not zoologists—may have looked upon monkeys, with their canine teeth and humanoid features, as anthropomorphic felines, and felt these were feline humans of a strange supernatural mode. I’m not saying I have proof of this; it simply occurs to me because monkeys do appear very frequently in Peruvian art, and they do usually have the coiled tail, as opposed to the gently curving, thicker tail of the feline.

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: The coiled tail is quite frequent in many representations on snuff tablets and wooden sculptures; in the rain forest area, it’s definitely the way to represent the jaguar’s tail.

DR. SAWYER: You don’t think there is any confusion between them?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: No, I don’t think so. Of course, there are monkeys with enormous canines. The basic concept is one of eating and devouring. It is not exactly a matter of what kind of animal it is, but what is important is the mouth and fangs, the idea of eating and devouring, or rather, the concept of incorporation, of finding somehow the expression of something that devours, that kills, that incorporates.

DR. SCOTT: How do you find these alter-ego figures working in *with* the jaguar image? Is the jaguar being transformed into another type of animal? Is there any consistency in the alter-ego images on top?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: There are only a few of these, and they don’t show any consistent pattern, I would say. I believe it is a later elaboration than the associations of feline features, birds, and snakes at San Agustín. Those alter-ego images are, of course, tremendously elaborated in the Central Andes and Mesoamerica. At San Agustín it is sort of a feline figure crouching *at* the back of the human figure. This could be just the shaman’s own kind of protective spirit. We simply don’t have sufficient material on this.

DR. LINARES: I was interested in a comparison between that kind of principle and the fire of the jaguar myth that Lévi-Strauss analyzes among South American groups. There it is not really an exogamic principle, but a more generalized type of principle involving the transition from nature to man—that

is, the jaguar eating raw meat versus man eating cooked meat. The jaguar is very often used as a symbol of the nature principle and man of the culture principle.

DR. FURST: With respect to what Alan Sawyer said earlier, I would not underestimate the "primitive man" as a scientist and a zoologist and a classifier. I think that Lévi-Strauss made that very clear. It seems to me in my work with these people that they often know a good deal more about nature and zoology than we do, and are capable of telling creatures and plants apart that we would classify as the same. Some years ago a Smithsonian-National Geographic scientist in Australia had the experience of wrongly classifying a fish while being watched by an Australian aborigine who pointed out to him that there was a very minute difference on the interior of the fish which in fact made this a different species. I think these people know a great deal more about what animals are and what they are not than we do. However, in defense of what you say, I might suggest that the people in the Tropical Forest might group certain animals that have jaguar characteristics, like fangs. Why, for example, is the bat so important? The bat is an animal of night and of caves, it is the only animal that nurtures its young from two breasts like a human, it has fangs like a jaguar, it has the characteristics of a bird, so it incorporates a great many concepts like this. But I think they knew that a bat was a flying mammal and not a bird, not a jaguar, not a man.

DR. SAWYER: I agree with you completely. I'm glad you clarified it-it sounded as if I thought the Pre-Columbian people did not know the difference between various species. I feel that it wasn't important to them whether they saw a feline quality in a fox or in a wolf or in a bat or in another animal-perhaps a monkey, just as they saw a man quality in a

monkey. My only point is that they were not restricted in feline symbolism to animals that we classify as part of the feline family.

DR. BREW: As I understand Alan Sawyer's remarks, what he said was that the primitive people were not taxonomists. For instance, the Hopi don't have a word for snakes in their language; they have names for the different kinds of snakes, but there is no taxonomic relation linguistically among these names. They have a terrific amount of knowledge of these creatures, but they don't have it codified this way. As you say, they could see aspects. In the Hopi murals, there are a lot of animals, but very few that don't have characteristics of others, sometimes three or four. We have a beautiful mountain lion with eagle's claws, and we also have one little burrowing animal whose tail is a ladder.

DR. DOCKSTADER: One other thing you have to remember in ethnography is that you are very often translating concepts that you simply aren't able to do concretely. You're asking a Hopi or an Arawak or a Páez Indian to tell you in his terms what a given thing is. If he knows what it is, you may not know what he calls it specifically and taxonomically.

DR. KUBLER: Between the San Agustín statues, as Preuss published them, and the Olmec colossal heads there are astonishing similarities in respect to certain conventions in the rendering of anatomical forms: the eyebrow, the nose, the socketing of the eyes. Have you any opinion on this?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: I've tried to compare these things, and frankly I did not find the similarities very convincing.

DR. KUBLER: What is your opinion on the dating of the San Agustín monuments?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: The oldest carbon date we have is about 550 B.C., but, from some pottery evidence that we have now, it probably goes back to the second half of the second millennium B.C.

DR. GRIEDER: I have been working in Ancash in Peru, and have what is still a hypothetical style, in which the art of Huaraz, Pashash, and Marca Huamachaco all fit together at a core, but it spreads out in a lot of relationships to Pokotia and to San Agustín that are really very specific, particularly the carving of a channel for the neck and a square for the shoulders—I'm not speaking of mouth forms and fangs and all these things. I've got carbon dates which should be right in the middle of that sequence beginning A.D. 310. I think the relationships are much more specific to the Central Andes than they are to Mesoamerica.

DR. SAWYER: In the personifications that were shown, you have a very close stylistic relationship to the Huaylas stone sculpture.

DR. MILLER: What's the source of the myths and stories you describe? Is this largely modern ethnology or is it sixteenth-century texts?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: Part of it is sixteenth-century chronicles, part of it is fairly recent ethnology.

MR. ROSE: Do you have any archaeological evidence for the use of psychoactive drugs?

DR. REICHEL-DOLMATOFF: We have snuff tablets archaeologically. We have some of stone from northern Colombia and quite a lot of gold snuff tablets, which are very similar to those Amazonian or Chilean ones that have been published. Then, we have representations of lime vessels for chewing coca-this, of course, is quite frequent.

DR. FURST: We seem to be dealing here not so much with direct diffusion or contact between Olmec and Chavín, but with remnants of what we might call an archaic shamanic substratum which runs all through the Americas, maybe not only through Mesoamerica and South America, but from the Arctic to Tierra del Fuego. I was reminded of this particularly the other day when Johannes Wilbert came up with an account of shamanic initiation among the Yanoáma, in which the prospective shaman in a hallucinatory trance induced by *epéna* or *yopo* snuff goes into the forest and meets the Great Jaguar, the initiatory jaguar, who takes him and rips him open and replaces his internal organs with supernatural organs: a tongue, for example, that is capable of singing the beautiful shamanic chants and a heart of a jaguar; his entrails are tom out, and so forth. There is a Jaina figurine in the National Museum in Mexico City of a gigantic jaguar seated in a human pose, dandling a little human figure on his lap. The human figure has one arm up stroking the jaguar's face; the jaguar in turn is ripping open with his claws the human whose entrails are dangling out, and whose neck is torn open as well, but who shows no fear. The jaguar is maybe four or five times the size of the human. I think this must be a representation of such a jaguar initiation. The only place I've ever seen it published it characteristically says "jaguar devouring human"—never mind that the jaguar is much too large to be an ordinary jaguar and is in fact a supernatural jaguar. So you get this on the one hand in a hunting-gathering culture in Venezuela, and on the other hand in a high culture like the Maya.

DR. BREW: In this connection, I'd like to ask, has any overlap been found between early man and this so-called Giant Jaguar in the jaguar areas in South America? In a cave in Idaho, bones of the Giant Jaguar and of hu-

man beings were found. It is not entirely clear, but it appears that these jaguar bones are in the same level with the human association. I was wondering whether there was any specific, absolutely proven association in addition to this.

DR. FURST: That would be good. The only thing is that it is a characteristic of hallucinogenic snuffs like *yopo* or *epéna* that there is a tremendous enlargement of nature. The Yanomáma says that he sees the world enormously large—the jaguars, the birds, everything is gigantically enlarged in his trance. So I don't know whether we need to account for it by actual natural species.

DR. SAWYER: I am reminded of the common motif in North Peruvian archaeology of the

jaguar dominant over a human figure, which occurs in a number of early cultures. For example, there is a famous ceramic pot from Virú, published in the *Art of the Andes* catalogue by Wendell Bennett, that depicts a big jaguar figure dominating a small human figure with what looks like, but can't be assumed to be, a royal crown. It is a sort of protective figure, like Horus with its wings around the head of Cheops, a guardian figure apparently. Then, in Moche iconography a little bit later, you frequently find jaguar figures shown peering over the shoulders of wounded men, and it's sometimes represented in painted scenes as a wounded man holding his wounds, appearing before a seated jaguar, as if he were the guardian of warriors, receiving perhaps the spirit of a dead warrior.

The Feline Motif in Northern Peru

MICHAEL KAN
THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM

INTRODUCTION

FELINES or great cats such as the jaguar, puma, or leopard are renowned throughout the world for their strength and courage, and thus have become power symbols in the art of many peoples. This is not only true of those areas inhabited by the great cats, but equally true of areas where large felines do not exist or have long been extinct.

The paramount importance of the feline motif has always been stressed in discussions of the Chavín art style; and here I wish to adopt Gordon Willey's definition of the style "as being identical to, or closely resembling, the designs of the stone carvings of Chavín de Huántar" (Willey 1951 : 109). However, few scholars have systematically studied the Chavín feline motif within the many contexts and the many iconographic themes in which it appears. Others have generalized the Chavín feline motif to such an extent that the whole picture has become clouded and confused. Tello, for example, in his 1943 article "Discovery of the Chavín Culture in Peru," describes a monument of this type at Cerro Sechín (Fig. 1) as carved with a "half-human, half-feline monster" (Tello 1943: 141) in Chavín style. Yet there is no cluster of traits in this carving that is truly diagnostic of Chavín art. Furthermore feline attributes appear to be totally lacking. Clearly Tello allowed his visual judgment to be affected by other concepts which he had of the Cerro Sechín site.

It is important to make a distinction between the works of art that can be identified as Chavín on a purely visual basis, and the works which are identifiable as Chavín only by association. In the study of post-Chavín art in northern Peru it is equally important for us to distinguish between the feline motif which is demonstrably Chavín-derived and the motif, which, lacking diagnostic Chavín traits, may equally well show a feline representation of purely local or independent origin.

Although the allotted length of this paper does not permit me to present anything approaching an exhaustive study, I shall attempt to make a brief survey of the feline motif as it occurs in Chavín art, and then trace its possible survival into several later Peruvian art styles, including Salinar, Mochica, and Recuay.

The study of Chavín art in our present state of knowledge is like putting together a



Fig. 1 Monolith from Cerro Sechin (after Tello 1956: Fig. 77).

gigantic jigsaw puzzle. Two pieces will fit very nicely together, and yet it will be difficult to find the third piece that joins the first two. I hope that in this paper I will be able to show how a few more pieces fit into this vast and complicated puzzle.

THE FELINE PER SE IN CHAVÍN ART

I should like to begin my discussion of the feline motif in Chavín art with a quick rundown of felines as they appear in natural or near-natural form, as opposed to feline-human or feline-bird representations. I shall call these felines *per se*.

Since, as Rowe (1967: 77) has pointed out, "the task Chavín artists set themselves was to produce a linear design on a surface which was either flat or treated as if it were flat," I shall start with the feline motif as it appears in flat relief carving in stone, in incised designs on Chavín pottery, or painted on walls. In this context the feline *per se* appears, as far as I know, only in profile.

These Phase AB felines, carved on the cornice stone at the southwest corner of the New Temple at Chavín de Huántar (Fig. 2), can be considered the standard or classic profile types. The following details are particularly noteworthy: 1. the round eccentric eye with a brow kenned as a snake; 2. the feline mouth with rounded corners and crossed fangs; 3. the hair and whiskers kenned as snakes; 4. the unusual markings on the body which resemble figure-eights with eyes; 5. the projecting body appendages such as tail and legs which are compared to a tongue and shown extending out of an extra set of fanged feline mouths; 6. the frontal fanged feline mask centered at the end of the tail. It is also interesting to note that the snakes

bear different pelage markings of the circle-and-dot variety in addition to feline crossed fangs in their mouths.

A frieze of felines (Fig. 3), shown in Figure 65 of Tello's 1960 work on Chavín, represents a simpler version of the southwest cornice frieze and is probably from about



Fig. 2 *Feline-and-serpent cornice, southwest corner of the New Temple, Chavín de Huantar.*
 Courtesy John Rowe.

the same period. The eye on the end of the tail suggests that a comparison to a snake may be intended.

Felines incised in profile on two Ofrendas pottery bowls illustrated by Lumbreras (Fig. 4A) again represent simplified versions of the southwest-corner felines. The pair above are distinctive, however, because the paws do not rest on a ground line but are raised off the ground as though the beast were springing.

The group of felines forming a frieze around the bowl (Fig. 4B) is unusual because there seems to be no indication of the typical Chavín crossed fangs. Pelage markings are shown as plain circles.

Although partially obliterated, the profile feline figure from the top of the Phase C Tello Obelisk (Fig. 5) can be identified as a jaguar by its cross-shaped pelage markings (Rowe 1967: 78). The claws are treated in a fashion similar to those of the standard feline of the southwest corner, as is the tail which is kenneled as a tongue protruding

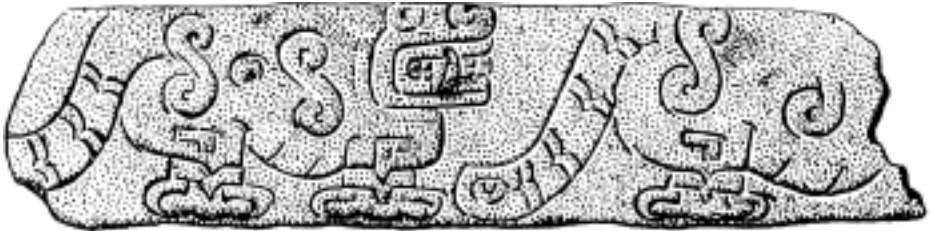


Fig. 3 *Frieze from Chavín de Huantar (after Tello 1960: Fig. 65).*

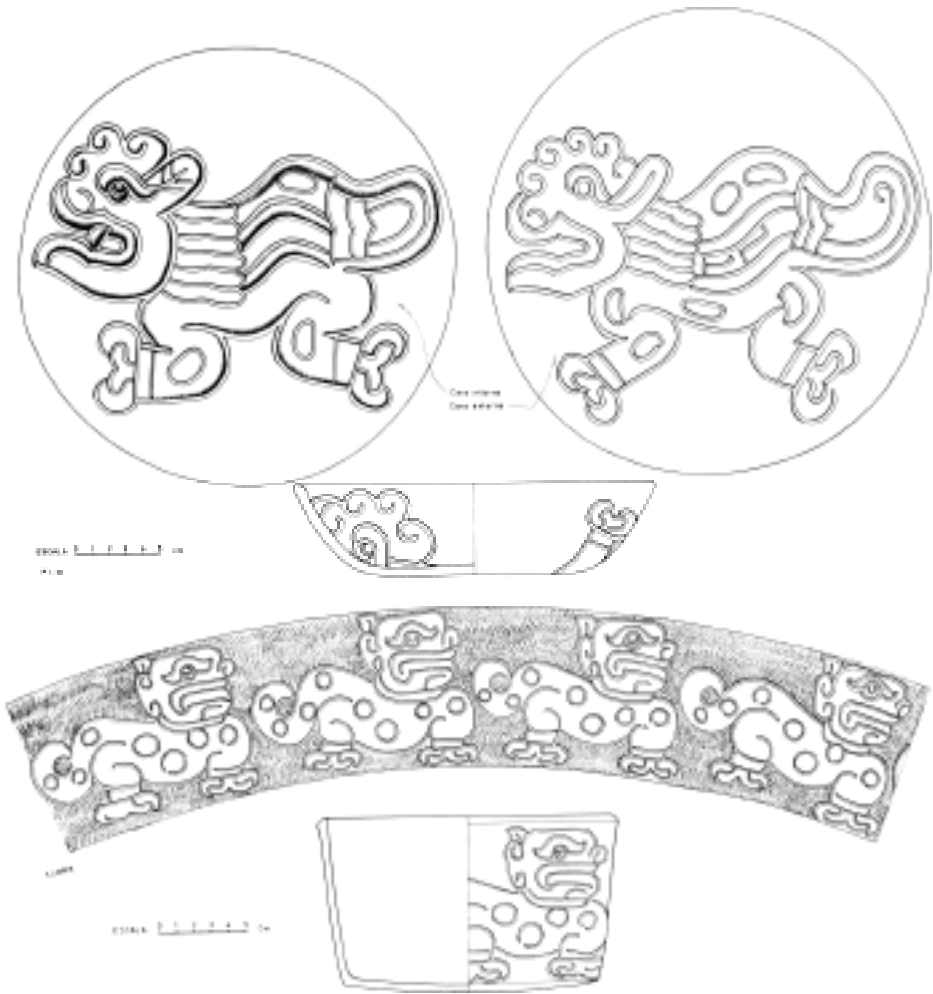


Fig. 4 *Ofrendas shallow bowls from Chavín de Huantar* (after Lumbreras 1971: Figs. 11 and 13 ; drawings by F. Caycho Q.).

from a large profile fanged-feline mask. This, in turn, fits over the animal's rump, and I propose to call it a "rump mask." However, unlike the southwest-corner cat, this animal's tail terminates in a profile feline-serpent head. The jaguar mouth is also peculiar inasmuch as it shows only a large upper canine in a mouth which is rounded but has the typical wavy points which are also to be seen on the mouth of the main cayman deity.

Fig. 5 Jaguar. Detail from Tello Obelisk (after Tello 1960: Fig. 31).



A tail ending in a profile feline mask can also be found on this four-inch gold plaque from the Textile Museum (Fig. 6). However, the treatment of the claws and legs, shown as if they were off the ground, is closer in type to those of the incised feline on the Ofrendas bowl. A lower fang is also shown overlapping the upper lip, differing from the one on the cat on the Tello Obelisk.

Now that we have some idea of the profile feline *per se* examples showing diagnostic Chavín stylistic traits, I would like to examine a couple of examples which qualify only as “weak sisters” or feline representations which are doubtfully classified as Chavín.

The first is this relief carving of a crouching feline (Fig. 7) said to come from Chavín de Huántar. Studying Tello’s drawing, one is immediately struck by the lack of Chavín figurative devices and the generally naturalistic treatment of the subject. True, the beast has a set of crossed fangs but that is about the extent of the characteristics it shares with Chavín art. Crossed fangs can also be explained as the natural characteristic of a cat. The position of the paws, which are tucked under the crouching body and



Fig. 6 Gold jaguar plaque. Textile Museum Collection, Washington.

are equipped with only three claws, and the realistic tail, which is held over the back, are more reminiscent of the later puma slabs from Huaraz and Aija that were described by Schaedel (1948: 74).

By the same token, one might question the Chavín attribution of the painted feline representation (Fig. 8) from the inner wall of the Temple at Cerro Sechín. Although it is true that there is a great deal missing from the original representation, enough can be seen to realize that no Chavín figurative devices are immediately discernible.

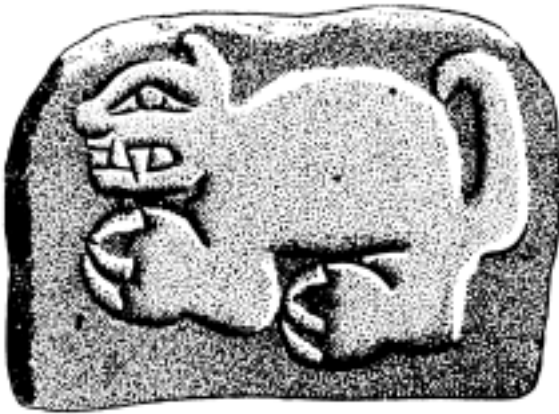
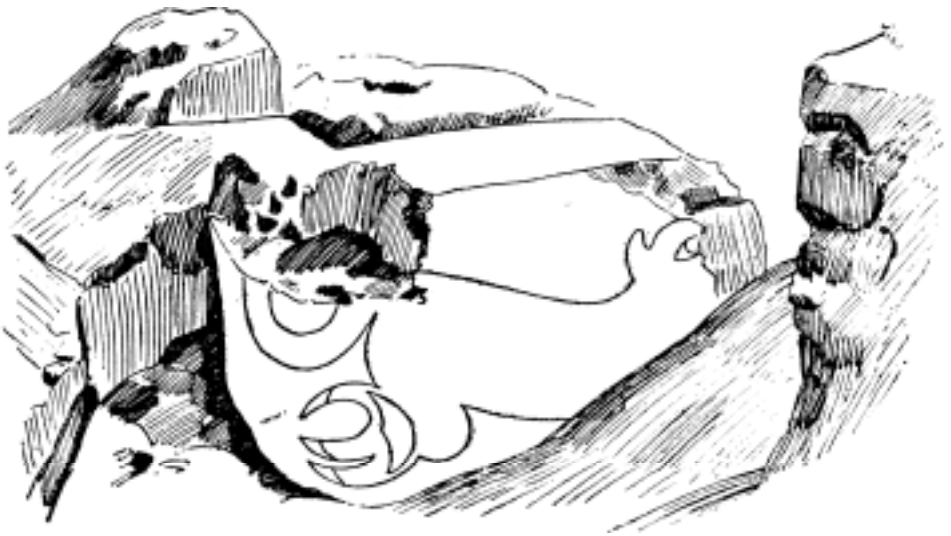


Fig. 7 (left) Sculpture from Chavín de Huantar (after Tello 1960: Fig. 62).

Fig. 8 (below) Painted figure from Cerro Sechín (after Tello 1956: Fig. 109).



THE FELINE PER SE IN THE ROUND

The feline in the round, particularly in stone, is relatively rare in Chavín art, for, as was mentioned earlier, the primary emphasis is upon the two-dimensional elaboration of flat or near-flat surfaces with figurative devices. Form is usually subordinated to relief carving as in the famous mortar from the University Museum which may be considered the standard or classic Chavín feline in the round (Fig. 9). The angular, squared-off forms of this mortar are ideally suited to displaying flat relief carving, and the designs, with the exception of the cross jaguar-pelage markings, are almost identical with felines of the southwest-corner cornice.

Two famous mortars from Pacopampa (Larco Hoyle 1966: Pls. 99, 100), one a feline and the other a felinized eagle, possess the same squared-off forms described for the University Museum mortar, and are carved with circle-and-dot pelage markings. The pestle accompanying the feline mortar is also decorated at one end with a fanged feline head with curved S-shaped elements over the eyes, which correspond to the snake brows of traditional Chavín feline representations.

The feline *per se* is relatively rare in our present sampling of tenon heads from Chavín de Huántar. Most of them are primarily human with added feline characteristics, such as the typical agnathic feline mouth, with only the canine showing. Other common forms are felinized serpent heads, and faces of old men with wrinkles kened



Fig. 9 Mortar in form of a jaguar. University Museum, Philadelphia.

as snakes. The tenon head illustrated in Figure 10 has a classic Phase D feline mouth with the typical pointed corners and cross-fangs which overlap the upper and lower lips.

As one moves away from the style of the classic Chavín mortar in the University Museum, feline representations in the round tend to become more naturalistic, more rounded in form, and generally tend to lack the figurative elaboration of surface which we associate with the Chavín style. I would cite as an example the painted feline head and paws formed out of clay (Fig. 11) which stood midway on the stairway joining the two lower terraces which formed the temple platform at Punkurí, Nepeña. Although there is archaeological evidence that the Punkurí Temple is a Chavín structure, there are no specific visual diagnostic traits relating to the feline representation which would definitely classify it as Chavín in style.

When one isolates the feline *per se* from other feline representations in Chavín art, it becomes immediately apparent that it represents only a very small fraction of the total Chavín output in terms of the feline or elements of the feline. Moreover, the feline *per se* does not occur in contexts in which it occupies the central or most important position. Usually it is shown as an attendant figure such as the one I discussed in connection with the Tello Obelisk. Why then, is the feline considered to be of such great importance to the Chavín art style? Primarily because feline elements are the most omnipresent figurative devices, and, as Rowe (1967: 80) suggests, are the elements that generally distinguish natural from supernatural or mythological representations.

Beginning with the chief deity of Phase AB, known as the Great Image (Fig. 12),



Fig. 10 Tenoned head from Chavín de Huántar (after Tello 1960: Fig. 96).



Fig.11 *Punkurí feline* (after Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 5).

the feline elements are already very much in evidence: the large upturned mouth with the long upper canines prominently displayed, the eccentric round eye with its S-shaped serpent brow, the large rounded nostrils, and finally the chain of paired, fanged, profile heads which decorate the girdle and the raised arm. These profile heads are arranged in such a way that two of them joined together create a third image.

In Phase C, the main monument of this phase, the Tello Obelisk (Fig. 13), features as its central image a humanized cayman deity with a long body, to which is appended what is possibly the most complex set of figurative devices in **Chavín** art. Some of the more salient feline elements are the continuous cross-fanged mouth band which ap-

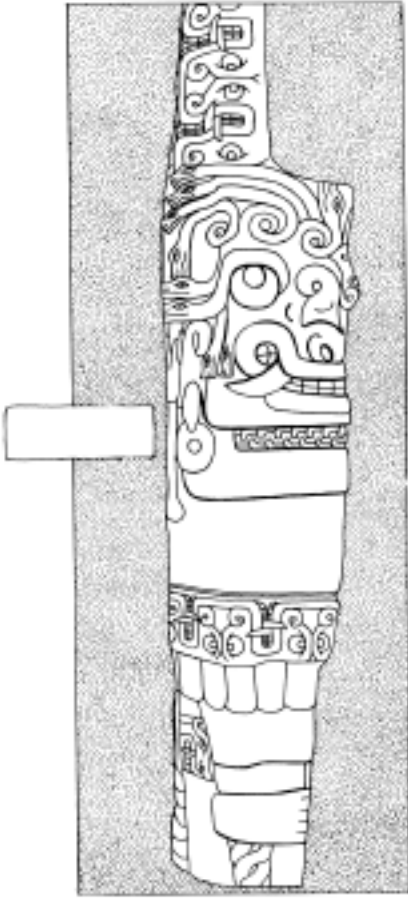


Fig. 12 (left) *The Great Image*, Chavín de Huántar. Drawing by John Rowe.

Fig. 13 (right) *Tello Obelisk*. Courtesy John Rowe.

pears to mark the backbone of the deity, disembodied feline and feline-human heads shown with only one large protruding upper canine, and the half-face of an interesting supernatural feline-human being with cross-fangs and the eye markings of a hawk.

The eagle guardian-angel of the south column of the Black and White Portal (Fig. 14) is an excellent example of the way in which feline elements are used in Phase D in combination with human and avian attributes. The body, arms, and legs of this elaborately kened figure are human, but the wings and claws belong to a raptorial bird. Unlike the body, which is shown frontally, the head of this guardian is shown in

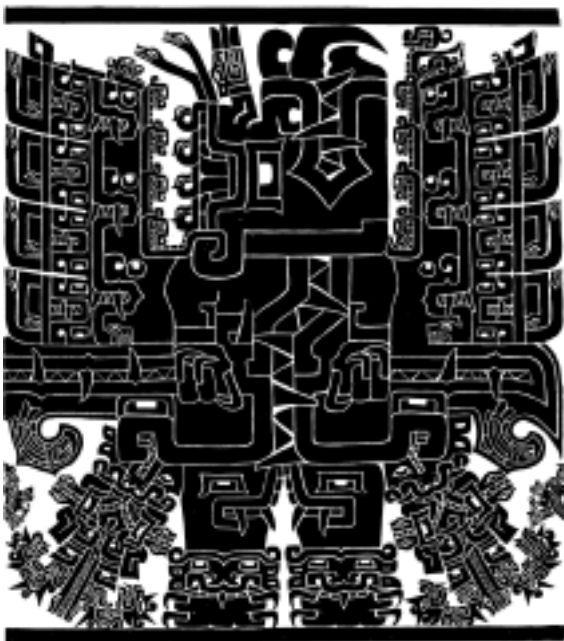


Fig. 14 *Eagle from the south column of the Black-and-White Portal.*
Courtesy
John Rowe.

profile and tilted upward. It consists of an elaborately kened feline face with three fangs shown in a mouth with the typical Phase D points. An eagle's beak is then attached to this profile face almost as a mask. Continuous fanged-mouth bands not only delineate the main axis of the body but also decorate the weapons which are held in each claw horizontally across the body. Feline masks literally cover the entire figure. Profile masks, of both the double and central fanged variety, can be found on wings and knees. Frontal feline masks with prominent central fangs are placed above the two diagonal side appendages and over the clawed feet.

For Phase EF, the flat relief carving from the La Copa Temple (Fig. 15) provides an interesting example of the use of feline elements in this phase. Two profile feline faces are brought together face to face to form a frontal feline mask with large round earplugs and hair and brows kened as snakes. Each profile feline mask is shown with cross-fangs and a third fang which is angled back.

The confusion that is inherent in certain Chavín images such as this is quite intentional on the part of the artist, and a meaningful convention of the art style. The viewer is intended to see simultaneous images of the same mythical being or, in other cases, to associate two animals whose attributes are joined.



Fig. 15 (above) *Relief from La Copa (Kuntur Wasí)* (after Carrión Cachot 1948: Fig. 17).

Fig. 16 A (below, left): *Two-feline effigy vessels from Salinar*. Museo Larco Herrera. Drawing by Anne-Louise Schaffer after Larco Hoyle 1944. B (below, right): *Feline effigy vessel from Tembladera*. Collection Mr. and Mrs. Harold Rosenberg, Chicago. Photo courtesy Alan C. Lapiner.



A



B

THE POST-CHAVÍN FELINE

The feline is quite common in many of the art styles of cultures of the Early Intermediate Period of the Northern Coast and the Highlands. How different are these leering, almost comical cats from the powerful felines of Chavín art! The change does not come suddenly. It now seems likely that whatever change was to take place in the treatment of the feline motif in Early Intermediate Period art had already started to develop in the Late Chavín traditions of Cupisnique and Tembladera.

If we compare Salinar pots which represent felines (Fig. 16A) with the vessel of almost the same construction from Tembladera (Fig. 16B), we can note immediately how close they are in feeling, particularly in the more generalized naturalistic treatment of the feline motif. The stirrup-spout vessel of Late Tembladera type actually shows a monkey with feline markings standing on a feline head.

A Tembladera hollow painted figurine in the collection of Frederick Landmann (Fig. 17A) wears a double-crested headdress and plays a double flute which he holds in two hands in front of him. A rear view (Fig. 17B) shows a large Chavín frontal mask at the back of this figure's head which enables us to place this piece in a late Chavín context. The feline mask is a typical example of the agnathic central fanged frontal mask common in the EF Phase.

A companion piece to the Landmann figurine, in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 18), is not only close to the latter piece in style, but possesses certain features which appear to relate it iconographically to objects in the Recuay and Mochica traditions. The headdress of the Brooklyn figurine is highly distinctive, consisting of a jaguar with circular pelage markings. Its body is spread out, encircling the top of the head of the flute player, and its head and front paws are raised so that they stick up and can be seen from the front. A typical Period IV Mochica portrait vessel in the Nathan Cummings collection (Fig. 19) shows an almost identical feline headdress.

The flutist must certainly represent a particular iconographic theme for it is the subject of a Recuay effigy vessel in a private collection (Fig. 20). The central personage is in a frontal position shown holding his flute in front of him as in the Brooklyn example. He is flanked by two feline heads, which also face forward, and the flanking felines suggest that the central figure is a personage of some importance. Stylistically these felines share nothing of early Chavín style. Their heads are rounded and more naturalistic. No figurative devices decorate this piece, and the feline's crossed canines do not overlap their lips but are completely contained within their mouth.

The lack of diagnostic Chavín traits in Recuay ceramics is entirely consistent with



Fig. 17 A (above, left): *Figurine from Tembladera*. Collection Frederick Landmann, New York. Photo Robert Sonin. B (above, right): *Rear view*.

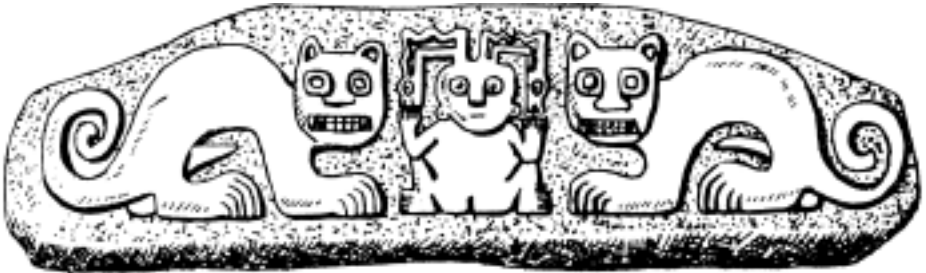
Fig. 18 (left) *Figurine from Tembladera*. The Brooklyn Museum.



Fig. 19 (left) *Mohica* head-effigy vessel. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, gift of Nathan Cummings, 1964.

Fig. 20 (center) *Recuay* effigy vessel. Private Collection, Buenos Aires. Photo Alan R. Sawyer.

Fig. 21 (bottom) *Puma* slab from Aija (after Carrión Cachot 1959: Fig. 1).



Schaedel's findings in connection with the carved stone Puma slabs (Fig. 21) from Aija (Schaedel 1948: 78). In addition to the lack of kennings or other figurative devices, these felines are shown with their bodies in profile but their heads in frontal view, a convention which does not exist in Chavin art. Here again the feline figures appear to be attendants of the central personage.

In the Vicús and Mochica traditions the Chavin feline motif survives primarily in the fanged feline mouth of the principal deity of these cultures. However, contrary to Chavin, Vicús and Mochica artists did not employ the fanged feline mouth on lesser supernatural beings. Following the work of Alan Sawyer (1968: 25), this well-modeled and highly burnished grayware effigy bottle figure can be dated from approximately 400 to 300 B.C. and identified as a prototype of the Mochica god "Ai Apec" (Fig. 22). Seated cross-legged with his hands on his knees, this small but monumental figure has the mouth of a snarling cat, with his teeth bared and his long crossed canines overlapping his lips, a testimony to the longevity of the Chavín symbol of supernatural feline power.



Fig. 22 Early Vicús bottle, D. Collection Domingo Seminario, Piura.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BIRD, JUNIUS B.
1962 Art and Life in Old Peru: An Exhibition. Curator, vol. v, no. 2, pp. 145-210.
- CARRION, CACHOT, REBEEA
1948 La Cultura Chavín; Dos nuevas colonias: Kuntur Wasi y Ancón. *Revista del Museo Nacional de Antropología y Arqueología*, vol. II, no. 1, pp. 99-172. Lima.
1959 La religión en el antiguo Peru. Lima.
- LANNING, EDWARD P.
1967 Peru Before the Incas. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.
- LARCO HOYLE, RAFAEL
1944 Cultura Salinar. Trujillo.
1966 Peru. Geneva.
- LUMBRERAS, LUÍS GUILLERMO
1971 Towards a Re-evaluation of Chavín. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 1-28. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington.
- ROWE, JOHN H.
1962 Chavín Art: An Inquiry into its Form and Meaning. The Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
1967 Form and Meaning in Chavín Art. In *Peruvian Archaeology, Selected Readings* (John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, eds.), pp. 72-103. Palo Alto.
- SAWYER, ALAN R.
1966 Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: The Nathan Cummings Collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
1968 Mastercraftsmen of Ancient Perú. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- SCHAEDEL, RICHARD P.
1948 Stone Sculpture in the Callejón de Huaylas. *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, vol. iv, no. 3, pp. 76-79. Salt Lake City.
- TELLO, JULIO C.
1929 Antiguo Peru; primera época. Lima.
1940 Origen y desarrollo de las civilizaciones prehistoricas andinas. *Proceedings, XXVII International Congress of Americanists, 1939*, vol. I, pp. 589-720. Lima.
1943 Discovery of the Chavín Culture in Peru. *American Antiquity*, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 135-160. Menasha.
1956 Arqueología del Valle de Casma. Culturas: Chavín, Santa o Huaylas Yunga u Sub-Chimú. Publicación Antropológica del Archivo "Julio C. Tello" de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, vol. I. Lima.
1960 Chavín. Cultura matriz de la civilización andina. Primera parte. Publicación Antropológica del Archivo "Julio C. Tello" de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, vol. II. Lima.
- WILLEY, GORDON R.
1951 The Chavín problem: a Review and Critique. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 103-144. Albuquerque.

DISCUSSION

DR. BIRD: You mentioned that there was nothing feline about the Cerro Sechín figure, but the eye is specifically feline. I believe that in Chavín art and in some of the Olmec representations the eye is just as diagnostically feline as are the claws and fangs. Your point, of course, was a different thing—that it was not characteristic of Chavín.

DR. SAWYER: It has a very close corollary in one of the large adobe reliefs at Moxeque: the same face, the same marks going through the eyes and down. However, I doubt seriously if it's Chavín. I personally feel they are both pre-Chavín or something else completely unrelated to what was going on on the Marañón.

MR. KAN: What I was trying to stress was the fact that there wasn't a cluster of features that identified it as Chavín; I didn't mean to throw it out completely. Obviously we know there are traits that do link it to Chavín.

DR. GRIEDER: That also fits with what Dr. Reichel-Dolmatoff was saying, because the warriors at Cerro Sechín have this jaguar eye and the trophy heads have a separate kind of eye, indicative of different people.

MR. KAMPEN: You mentioned several times that the circles and the crosses were symbolic of the jaguar or symbols associated with the jaguar. I was wondering particularly what was the symbolism of the cross that recurred in Chavín art.

MR. KAN: I think that the cross and the quatrefoil are pretty close to the actual jaguar pelage markings. I think it doesn't take much to abstract those or to stylize them into a quatrefoil or a cruciform design.

MR. ROE: Most of the difficulties in accepting these later examples of art as being Chavín in derivation, i.e., the material from Cerro Sechín, Moxeque, and others, come from the fact that they are late in the Chavín sequence, and as such have lost many of the attributes of the more confident iconographic style.

DR. SAWYER: If these non-Chavinoid things like Punkurí and Moxeque and Cerro Sechín are late in the Chavín sequence, show one sherd to prove it.

MR. ROE: I am not basing my evidence particularly on sherds, but on a seriation study of the sculptures.

DR. BUSHNELL: How many sculptures are there to get a seriation out of?

MR. ROE: You have the one example from Punkurí, one particular example from Cerro Sechín—these are primarily cat figures—and then there are two from Moxeque, which are not cat figures. All of these are tied in through a reexamination of the seriation from Chavín itself. In other words, there are specific iconographic features that these elements have that pertain to the end of the Chavín sequence, rather than the beginning.

DR. BUSHNELL: Does this tie up with anything in Chavín itself, for instance, on this pottery found fairly recently in the galleries of Chavín?

MR. ROE: Some of it very precisely. That's mostly C in Rowe's chronology. For almost all of these, and especially Moxeque, I would argue very definitely for a dating of C. There is a large, reconstructed beaker from Ancón, now in the National Museum in Lima, which

represents a very close parallel with the sculpture at Moxeke in terms of style. On it a central personage holds some objects in his two outstretched hands. If you study the types of snake heads on that piece, the formation of the hands, and the execution of the extremities including the hands, you will find that they are nearly identical with the larger-scale reliefs at Moxeke. Since the "C" context of the Ancón specimen is secure, one could argue that a similar dating may hold for Moxeke. Furthermore, the occurrence of the hawk marking also occurs in period C for the first time—it is present in Moxeke. The scalloped skirt on the central figures is taken from the Lanzón, which would put it in the earlier part of the seriation. Most of the later sculptures are very difficult to plug into the series because through time they have lost the more complex traits of the earlier sculpture. The specific eye type on the late cats that you showed—the Tello cat, for example—is very simplified; it has a double-winged eye, which is very characteristic of this, too. Also, on smaller examples, such as Tello's Figure 239, there is a sort of circular appendage which is characteristic of Cerro Sechín. You can plug that in also to Punkurí, which has this identical type of eye formation, and to Salinar and to the Tembladera piece—if you look on the bottom it has the same kind of eye and an almost identical kind of head. Punkurí and Cerro Sechín would be at the very end of the sequence, on the EF, or even G, end.

DR. KUBLER: There is a narrow slit eye, and an eye within a three-sided rectangular field, and a round eye with the iris at the top or the bottom, as the case may be. Are those marking differences of meaning or differences of period?

MR. KAN: I haven't made a specific study of this, but I think both are true. The eye has chronological significance as well as varying

from figure to figure, depending on its composition.

MR. ROE: I think that Mr. Kan's observation is undoubtedly correct. To take one example of an eye form that has chronological importance, the double-lobed eye, note that it does not appear early in the Chavín sequence. This type of eye occurs on those two figurative examples that Tello shows from Chavín de Huántar (Tello 1960: 228, Fig. 62, and 239, Fig. 72) which are late. It occurs on this bottle, which is a relatively late piece. So, it would be my opinion that these simplified felines are really simplified because they are at the end of the sequence.

DR. GRIEDER: I think it is exaggerated to call that eye a Punkurí eye.

MR. ROE: Of course, no two representations of an eye would be identical—they would have to vary somewhat—but an eye like this, that is roughly cut in half, that has the iris located near the top and both ends going down into extensions of variable shapes—usually crescent-shaped—is very characteristic. You have to remember that this is a whole different culture area, so that all these forms can be susceptible to local changes, but the central idea is the same, and its occurrence on this piece is exactly where it should be.

DR. COE: Above and beyond the sequence and all the details of everything, the rest of us in Mesoamerica and to the south have been really sticking our necks out or pulling them in, as the case may be, about what all these things might or might not mean. Would you care to freewheel about this as far as Chavín goes? Are these things gods, and, if so, are all the gods feline or what? I remember that even Rowe identified something as a Staff God with feline characteristics.

MR. KAN: I think that Rowe makes a pretty good case there, just from the placement of the Great Image—its placement in the temple does suggest that it is a deity. Is that what you are driving at?

DR. COE: I'd like to hear what you and the others would say about this—whether there is something comparable to what you find in Mesoamerica or San Agustín.

MR. KAN: I feel, at this state of knowledge, that there is not as great a range of deity figures as there is in Mesoamerica. Maybe I'm wrong, and we just haven't identified them, but I don't feel there is nearly the number that one has in Mesoamerica.

DR. SAWYER: The "doctrinaire diffusionists" have missed a wonderful opportunity here with this splayed figure between two obviously phallic cats, as did those who would like to tie the Callejón with San Agustín. I thought that lower of the two lintels you showed was rather remarkably like San Agustín, on the one hand, and Borneo, on the other.

MRS. PASZTORY: It has been picked up by a diffusionist: Douglas Fraser has it illustrated, I believe, in his article on heraldic woman.

MR. KAN: One thing that does puzzle me is that this cayman from the Tello Obelisk seems to be shown in very few examples, and one would expect that, if it was as important as it seems to be, it would be shown more often.

DR. COE: You find a very similar case in Mesoamerica with the so-called Great Crocodile, the cayman or crocodile floating in a pool of water, which is one way of viewing the earth, the earth as vegetation with everything growing from its back. There are very few representations of that, and yet we're pretty sure that's what it is.

DR. SAWYER: It is pretty hard to prove one way or another whether this is a cayman or crocodile or just a very elaborate feline. It has a fan-shaped tail that is certainly more likely a hawk than a cayman trait. I think that Rowe has a good suggestion, but there are no monuments that clearly show a cayman in them. I may point out that the Yauya Stela is even more obtuse and difficult to interpret than the Tello Obelisk. So you don't have a very strong case there either.

MR. KAN: I think the strongest piece to support your argument is the quite recently pieced-together lintel from Chavín de Huántar that has frontal feline masks running the length of the body, and is sort of cut off midway.

DR. SAWYER: These two fragments which have been discovered by Amat and Lumbreras also match up with one published by Tello.

DR. LATHRAP: The Peruvian archaeologists haven't been quite as reluctant to make complex iconographic interpretations as some of the preceding remarks might indicate. Tello, himself, identified the creature on the "Obelisk Tello" as some kind of a feline monster mixture. Rowe has castigated him for not identifying it as a cayman, but beyond the simple identification, Tello went on to give a very elaborate and highly convincing discussion of this creature as a donor of important crops. Furthermore, Tello suggests that the two aspects of this deity presented on the monument can be identified with particular crops, and appear respectively in the guise of spring—the rainy season—and fall drought, harvest. All this is very Lévi-Straussian. In fact, I recently received a strong endorsement of the interpretation in a letter from Lévi-Strauss. Tello's interpretations are remarkably fresh and "in" considering that they were conceived around 1919.

DR. GROVE: I'd like to reiterate what Dr. Coe said about earth monsters, etc. The cayman motif, if you want to define it as such in Mesoamerica, does occur in conjunction with feline motifs at Chalcatzingo, at Oxtotitlan cave, etc. If you're not going to claim diffusion, then it is certainly odd that you have feline motifs and this cayman-type deity occurring in Mesoamerica and in the highland Andes at approximately the same time.

MR. KAN: The cayman on the Tello Obelisk and the figure on the Yauya Stela are both associated with fish, and this again tends to strengthen their identification as some sort of aquatic reptile.

DR. COE: We doctrinaire diffusionists are told that we shouldn't be comparing anything, or that we've got nothing comparable between Mesoamerica and Peru. However, we don't know what we are supposed to be comparing. Peru hasn't been organized in such a way that you know what you are dealing with.

DR. SAWYER: Here are slides of the two recently discovered lintel fragments mentioned by Mike Kan. Joined together they display the forward two-thirds of a monster figure facing left with the head of a second opposing monster beginning about one-quarter of the way in from the left on the left fragment. The piece published by Tello (lost in the 1954 landslide) completed the head and showed part of the body of this second monster. Together the three fragments represent about eight feet of a massive lintel that must originally have been nearly twice that long. As you can see, the head of the monster is composed of two anthropomorphic faces, one behind the other, sharing a single fang-filled mouth with serpent whiskers below. The body has a mouth pattern running horizontally through its center, as does the being on the Tello Obelisk, but, unlike that representation, the mouth pattern is fringed

above and below with agnathic frontal masks. Two short legs below with claws pointing forward were probably balanced by two pointing backward: this opposition of leg direction is a trait shared by the beings of both the Tello Obelisk and the Yauya Stela and is undoubtedly one of the major reasons Rowe identifies all three as caymans. Though this orientation does not occur in nature it might be suggestive of a crocodilian aspect. The hands of all three, however, appear to be human with bird talons. Obviously we are dealing with a complex mythical representation rather than a literal one. None of the three is cayman anymore than it is feline, human, bird, or fish, though it may display attributes of all of these.

MR. KAN: The thing that distinguishes this from the cayman deity on the Tello Obelisk is the fact that there is one set of eyes for this long mouth, whereas here it is almost like a continuous mouthband, and belongs really to two sets of profiles. That to me is very different from the long mouth that the cayman deity has—it clearly belongs to one being.

DR. SAWYER: I compared this mouth to the spinal central band on the body rather than to the mouth of the cayman.

MR. KAN: You get that here, too. Also, the cayman does not have claws, but human hands, or something very close to it.

DR. SAWYER: These are not reptilian, but more avian. Many of the features of the Tello Obelisk could be interpreted as avian, for instance, that fanlike tail.

DR. BUSHNELL: Could you tell us where you place this thing in the development. Is that C?

DR. SAWYER: I would place it later than the Tello Obelisk and earlier than the Raimondi Stela period. I think it is in a late phase.

Because there are so few monuments to analyze, neither John Rowe or anyone else can get a very definitive, detailed seriation, but I think John would probably agree that this is a bit earlier than the Raimondi. The eye form, for instance, falls about midway between it and the Phase D portal style.

DR. KUBLER: Michael Coe was asking for an Andean theogony that would compare to the one that is being proposed for Mesoamerica. And it is clear that there is an extensive discussion by Tello of possible meaning in those

terms in his early studies on Wirakocha, with a projection backward from Inca theogonies to Chavín.

DR. SAWYER: There are many instances in which Tello is much maligned because he is the first one to give any solid information to go on, and people who followed devoted themselves to criticizing him, but haven't been able to improve on his insight. We come back to Tello's original thinking time after time.

The Feline in Paracas Art

ALAN R. SAWYER

THE TEXTILE MUSEUM, WASHINGTON

IN my presentation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on October 31, 1970, I covered the broad subject of the "Feline in Paracas, Nazca, and Wari Iconography" with the help of over eighty slides. Since it is obviously not possible to use so lavish a number of illustrations in this publication, I shall limit my written discussion to "The Feline in Paracas Art" with only a brief mention of developments that followed. In this way, I will be able to concentrate on that portion of my talk in which newly available evidence made it possible for me to offer fresh observations not put forward in my previous publications.

The area of the South Coast in which remains of the Paracas culture are found comprises one of the most extensive groups of closely interrelated valleys on the entire coast of Peru: the Topara, Chincha, Pisco, Ica, and the Río Grande de Nazca with its several tributaries. Communication between portions of these valleys was and is relatively easy, while at the same time, their far-flung branches provided isolated pockets conducive to the development of regional variation in culture. Little is yet known about the area's Early Ceramic Period, though it is evident that the valleys supported fairly large populations possessing relatively advanced social organization and technology.

Geographically, the South Coast was far removed from the natural habitat of the powerful jaguar, though the inhabitants were familiar with the local ocelot and must have had occasional encounters with a small, shy mountain puma. Neither of the latter creatures, however, gave inspiration for the creation of awesome anthropomorphic feline deity images comparable to those introduced around 1000 B.C. by the Chavín culture and again by the Wari during the seventh century A.D. Rather, it would appear that the fox and the *vencejo* (relative of the whippoorwill) were given local prominence since both, though of non-Chavín origin, played important roles in the iconography of the Chavinoid-Paracas Period and persisted in the South Coast long after the wane of Chavin influence.

THE CHAVINOID-PARACAS PERIOD

Space will not permit us to consider the fascinating problems of the reasons for and

the routes by which the Chavín culture may have spread its influence and its feline-attribute-permeated iconography to the South Coast of Peru. We can only observe that that influence acted as a catalyst for rapid cultural advance in the area and was sustained for a considerable length of time.

An important body of new evidence has recently come to light which dramatically reveals the extent to which the Paracas people were exposed to the intricate complexities of Chavín religious iconography. I speak of Chavínoid-Paracas painted textiles. Until recently, the only known examples of those fabrics were two remarkable pieces purchased about ten years ago by Michael Coe and later given to Dumbarton Oaks. During this past year, a large number of related textiles appeared on the market. Over 120 of them were acquired by two New York dealers and placed on study-loan at the Textile Museum. (They were made available for inspection by members of this symposium at a reception at the Textile Museum on Sunday, November 1, 1970.)

No Peruvianist can ignore the enormity of the tragedy inherent in the fact that these textiles were all the product of *huaquero* activity rather than scientifically controlled excavation. A preliminary study of this material, together with photographs of pieces still in Peru has, however, revealed some surprising facts. All appear to be fragments of (and in rare cases, complete) temple hangings, designed, like medieval Christian murals, to illuminate religious doctrine. The subject matter of many is extremely complex, comparable only to the more elaborate carved stone reliefs of Chavín de Huántar and other northern highland Chavín religious centers. Some feature a repetition of more reduced and abstract religious symbols, but these relate more closely to the motifs found on Cupisnique and Tembladera ceramics than to those occurring on pottery of the Chavínoid-Paracas culture.

Let us first consider one of the two Dumbarton Oaks specimens (Fig. 1), a fragment of a hanging that displayed a repeat of an almost square, compact feline monster depicted in a splayed position and bristling with feline fangs, eye patterns, and claws. In its complexity, it is comparable to the Tello Obelisk and Yauya Stela (Tello 1960: Figs. 31 and 34) but unlike those stone monuments, it is composed almost exclusively of feline attributes, the exceptions being a small human head enclosed in a mouth pattern in the upper center, and feline-headed serpent tresses to the sides and below the being's agnathic mouth. In style, it would appear to belong to the transition between Chavín phases C and D (Rowe 1962) which would place it in about the middle of the Chavín period.

Junius Bird, the first Peruvianist to examine this textile and its companion piece when they appeared on the New York market in 1960, immediately commented on the purity of their Chavín style and suggested that they might be evidence of the manner in which Chavín iconography had been introduced into the South Coast.



Fig. 1 Fragment of a Chavinoid-Paracas painted hanging, 34 3/4" x 25 1/4". Callango (?), Ica valley, ca. 800 B.C. Dumbarton Oaks Collections, gift of Michael D. Coe.

Other Peruvianists excitedly concurred with Bird's observations, but none of us was prepared for the complete presence of the Chavín religion and its iconography that is now dramatically demonstrated by the abundant new textile evidence. The major reason for our miscalculation was that the distinctly regional style of most Chavinoid-Paracas ceramics then available gave little indication of the Paracas people's direct contact with so broad a representation of pure Chavín art.

In 1962, John Rowe cited the extremely important observation of his colleague Dorothy Menzel that Paracas ceramics consistently reflected progressive changes in Chavín stylistic conventions (p. 6). He, Menzel, and Lawrence Dawson made full use of this basic assumption in the preparation of their outstanding study of Paracas ceramics published in 1964, yet they, as well as I, still tended on occasion to fall victim to a second general assumption since proven false: that the closer a Paracas motif followed Chavín precedents, the earlier was its date. A graphic illustration of this logical error is offered by our dating of the ceramic related most closely to the Dumbarton Oaks textile illustrated in Figure 1.



Fig. 2 *Chavinoid-Paracas double-spout bottle, carbon black-ened ware, incised and polychrome resin-painted, 6 1/2" high. Chiquerillo, Ica valley, ca. 800 B.C. Raymond Wielgus Collection.*

There are no known Chavinoid-Paracas ceramics which bear decoration as complex and as pure Chavín in style as the textile under discussion. A bottle in the collection of Raymond Wielgus, however, may display a much-reduced symbolic representation of the same mythical being (Fig. 2). The frontal feline mask with its agnathic mouth and rounded eyes relates closely to the head of the monster on the textile and is probably contemporary in date (Phase C-D). When I first published this piece (1961: Fig. 4a, b), I assigned it a very early date on the basis of its being one of the most strongly Chavinoid of known Paracas ceramics. Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson followed suit, assigning it on similar grounds to an early phase (1964: 13, and Fig. 16). Later, I went farther afield, citing the curved mouth and exaggerated and differently colored central fang of the motif as possibly offering a precedent for the grinning “occult being” with protruding tongue characteristic of later Paracas times (1966: 86). I can take little comfort in the fact that the literature on ancient Peruvian art is filled with similar erroneous conclusions drawn from the incomplete evidence available at the time of writing. With the abundant new textile evidence before me, I wonder how I could have been so blind to a relationship that is now so obvious.

Our second textile example is drawn from the collection placed on loan at the Textile Museum (Fig. 3). It is the corner fragment of a hanging, bearing repeats of a

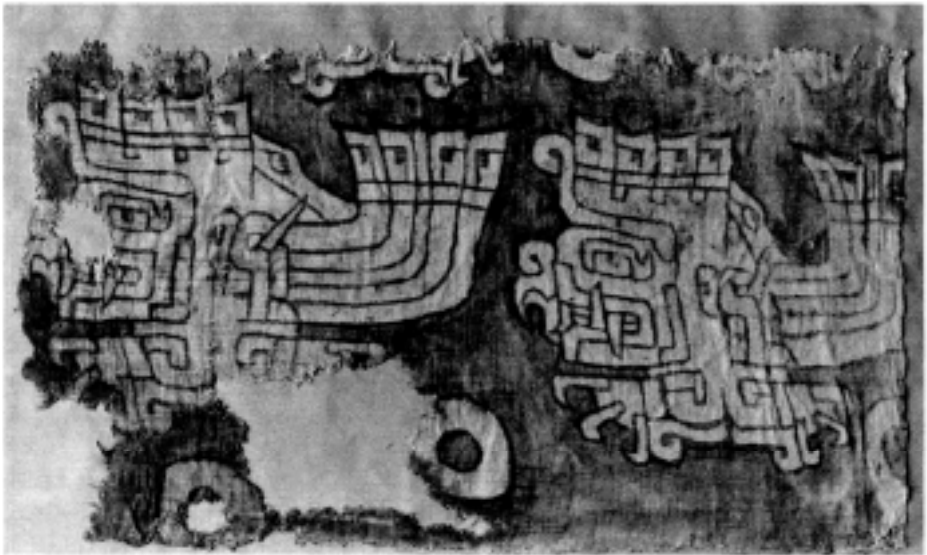


Fig. 3 Fragment of a Chavinoid-Paracas painted hanging, 9 1/4" x 13 1/4". Corawa, on the coast between the Pisco and Ica valleys, ca. 1000 B.C. Property of Alan C. Lapiner and Andre Emmerich.



Fig. 4 *Fragment of a Chavinoid-Paracas painted and tie-dyed hanging, 17 3/4" x 26 3/8". Corawa, ca. 700 B.C. Private Collection, Lima.*

feline-eagle motif which, though simplified, is reminiscent of the feline-eagle and falcon frieze of the Black and White Portal at Chavín de Huántar. It appears to be somewhat earlier in date than both the portal and Dumbarton Oaks piece just discussed and to belong to Rowe's Phase AB. To my knowledge, there are no known examples of the feline-eagle motif on Chavinoid-Paracas ceramics although the related falcon motif does occur and becomes quite common in the following Early Paracas Period.

The Paracas rendering of the falcon bears little resemblance to its treatment in Chavín art; although it shares the same identifying eye markings and is given feline attributes in the form of ears and circular pelt markings, its configuration is frontal rather than profile (see Sawyer 1966: 110). The textile demonstrates the fact that the Paracas people ornamented their ceramics with only selected Chavín motifs and that their exclusion of others was not due to a lack of familiarity with Chavín iconography.

The next example is a textile from a private collection in Lima (Fig. 4). It is a fragment displaying two rampant felines with tie-dyed patterns supplementing the painted designs. The angular mouth corners and other stylistic features place it in Rowe's Phase D, the time of the Black and White Portal. In general, the profile feline figures of the textile are closely comparable to those found on the famous feline frieze on a

Fig. 5 *Chavinoid-Paracas double-spout bottle, carbon-blackened ware, incised and polychrome resin-painted, 6 1/2" high. Corawa, ca. 1000 B.C. Private Collection, Lima.*



stone cornice still *in situ* on the temple at Chavín de Huántar (Sawyer 1966: Fig. 5). Both versions feature a series of volutes at the top of the head, serpent tresses along the back and tail, and agnathic masks at the root and tip of the tail: all fundamental traits of Chavín art which are omitted in the rare renderings of the motif on Chavinoid-Paracas ceramics. One stylistic feature that is shared by the textile and Chavinoid ceramics in general is the use of dotted circles as jaguar pelt markings.

The principal reason that the full-profile feline figure was generally avoided in Paracas ceramic art appears to have been to prevent its confusion with the locally important fox motif (see Sawyer 1961: 289; 1966: 76). In all but a few Chavinoid-Paracas ceramic renderings, therefore, the head of the snub-nosed feline was shown fullface. In later periods this convention was followed consistently and, when a profile feline body was depicted, it was attached to a frontal head. The juxtaposition of rampant felines in the textile illustrated in Figure 4 suggests that the Paracas fullface rendering of the feline head was perhaps arrived at by combining two profile heads nose to nose.

The most common occurrence of the feline motif in Chavinoid-Paracas ceramics was a simplified frontal face mask ornamenting a double spout-and-bridge bottle. A characteristic example of this type (Fig. 5) is drawn from a private collection in Lima and is said to be from Corawa, the coastal site midway between the Paracas peninsula

and the Ica river mouth, at which the painted Chavinoid textiles are reported to have been found. As in the case on the Wielgus bottle, the spout above the motif is blind and in the form of a bird containing a whistle. (Both the whistle device and the double spout-and-bridge arrangement evidently predated Chavín influence and were indigenous to the South Coast.) In style, frontal feline masks of this type are definitely a regional variation on Chavín art, but the curvilinear eyebrows and rounded corners of the mouth of the Lima example make it possible to correlate it with the early Phase AB of Chavín. In both its form and style of decoration this very early Paracas ceramic demonstrates the surprising degree of artistic freedom permitted by the Chavín priesthood whose presence is eloquently proven by the textiles.

A few of the Chavinoid textiles are much less formal in their design scheme than those we have just discussed. A fascinating example of this kind in the collection lent to the Textile Museum (Fig. 6) is composed of fragments mixed in the lower and



Fig. 6 Composite of fragments of a Chavinoid-Paracas painted hanging with parts of a second textile, 21 1/2 x 27". Corawa, ca. 900 B.C. Property of Alan C. Lapiner and Andre Emmerich.



Fig. 7 Composite of fragments of a Chavinoid-Paracas painted band, 6 1/2" X 39 1/2". Corawa, ca. 700 B.C. Property of Alan C. Lapiner and Andre Emmerich.

upper left corners with pieces from another textile. In the upper right you can see a small profile jaguar figure with what resembles a speech scroll emanating from its mouth. It is surrounded with a jumbled array of other motifs, including figures holding long strings of rounded objects, flying birds, llamas, and a curious composite motif resembling both a double-headed bird and a cactus plant. I know of no precedents in Chavín art for this casual composition and most of its motifs. Certain stylistic features of the feline and human(?) figures are reminiscent of a series of small square reliefs found at Chavín de Huántar (Rowe 1962: Fig. 12 [feline]; Tello 1960: Figs. 72 [feline], 81 and 12 [human]). The textile is difficult to date, but apparently belongs to an early phase of Chavín art.

For the benefit of "diffusionists," I would like to briefly mention another textile in the group made available to the Textile Museum (Fig. 7). It is a composite of fragments from a horizontal band about 16.5 centimeters wide bearing what appear to be highly abstracted feline-headed plumed serpent motifs alternating in orientation (shades of Quetzalcóatl!). The only remotely comparable Chavín motifs I have seen occur on Tembladera ceramics. Again the angular mouth treatment and other features place this textile in Chavín Phase D.

An important Chavín motif occurring rather frequently on Chavinoid-Paracas textiles is the anthropomorphic feline staff-bearing god, best known through its representation on the Raimondi Stela (Tello 1960: Fig. 33). The second Dumbarton Oaks Chavinoid textile is a fragment showing the upper portion of one version of this motif (Fig. 8). A more complete and directly comparable rendering of the same deity is illustrated from the collection lent to the Textile Museum (Fig. 9). Both hold staffs in the form of double-headed serpents with plumes emanating from feline-fanged mouths and the agnathic mouth bands of their headdresses. In style, the two paintings closely relate to the slightly earlier small square relief of a frontal figure without staffs found near the Black and White Portal at Chavín (Sawyer 1966: Fig. 4). In date, both of the textiles are pure Phase D in style. A number of other variants of



Fig. 8 *Fragment of a Chavinoid Paracas painted hanging, 10" x 30 1/2". Callango (?), Ica valley, ca. 700 B.C. Dumbarton Oaks Collections, gift of Michael D. Coe.*

frontal anthropomorphic figures both with and without staffs occur in Chavinoid-Paracas textiles. (The serpent tresses and agnathic mouth band of an earlier variant of this staff god may be seen in the upper left-hand corner of the textile illustrated in Figure 6.)

As is true in the case of the full-profile feline figure and other motifs occurring on this group of Chavinoid textiles, the awesome anthropomorphic feline god of Chavín is seldom found represented in its complete form on Paracas ceramics. It does occur in a rare simplified version without staffs on a ceramic given to the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, by Michael Coe and obtained by him from the same source as the two painted textiles (Fig. 10). Occasionally it is found represented by an abstract version of the head alone featuring stylized serpent tresses at each side. There is an interesting example of this type in the collection of the Museum of Primitive Art (Fig. 11). By far its most common symbols, however, are a simple frontal human face with rectangular eyes or, most frequently, the rectangular eye pattern alone.

In view of the purity of Chavín style and the comprehensive coverage of complex Chavin religious iconography present in Chavinoid-Paracas religious painted textiles, we must conclude that they were highly ceremonial in nature and under the direct control of the Chavin priesthood. One possibility that immediately presents itself is that, just as Bennett concluded that Tiahuanaco religious iconography must have been transmitted to Wari in textile form, the primary vehicle for the introduction of Chavín religious symbolism to the South Coast peoples could have been easily transportable painted fabrics such as we have just seen. A great deal of careful research must be done, however, before we can determine whether any or all of them were

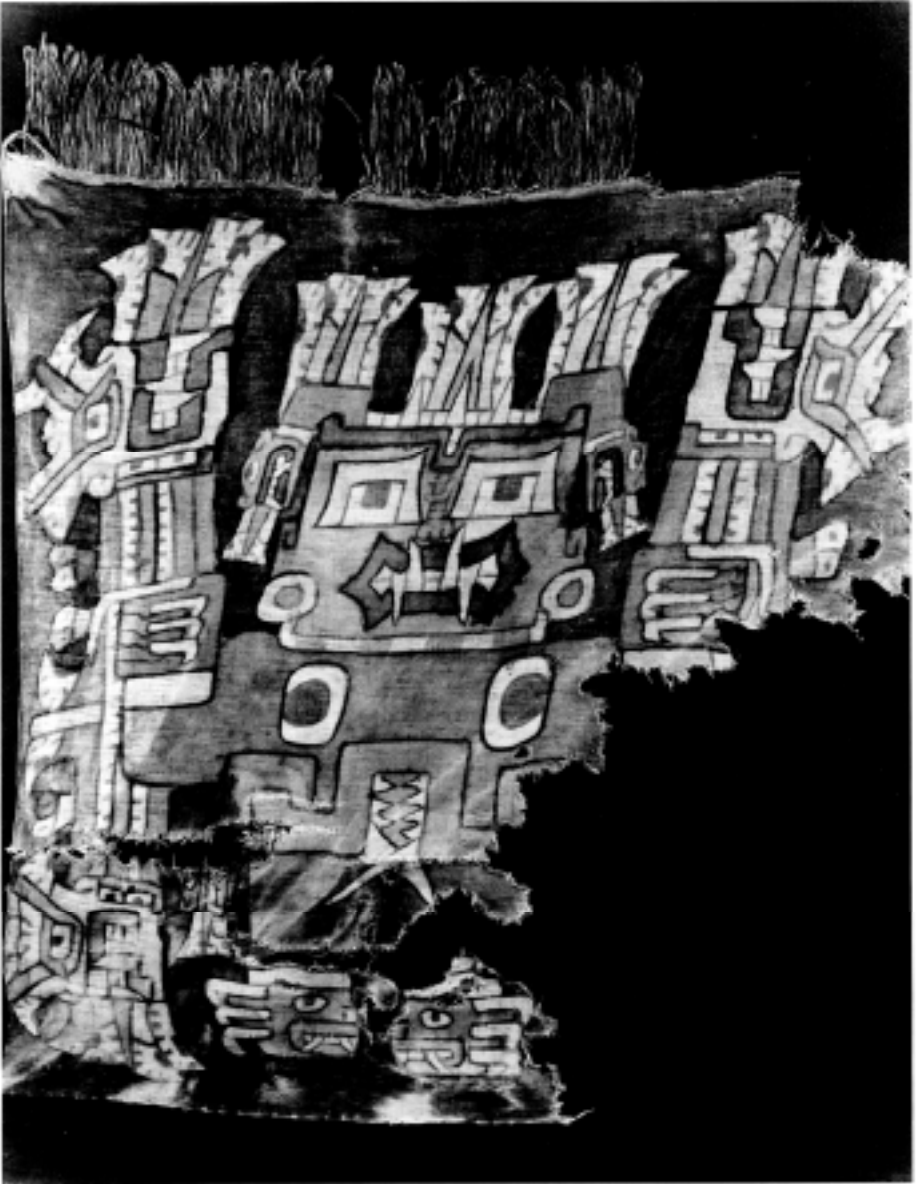


Fig. 9 *Fragment of a Chavinoid-Paracas painted hanging, 26 5/8" x 21 5/8". Corawa, ca. 700 B.C. Property of Alan C. Lapiner and Andre Emmerich.*



Fig. 10 *Chavinoid-Paracas double-chambered bottle with incised and resin-painted decoration, 6 3/4" high. Callango (?), Ica valley, ca. 600 B.C. Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University, gift of Michael D. Coe.*

brought from the north or were instead created on the South Coast by imported Chavín artists or by local artisans under the direction of Chavín emissaries.

We have seen that contemporary ceramics, by comparison, exhibit a much more limited design vocabulary and are usually rendered in a distinctly regional style. The contrast is very similar to that existing between official Wari interlocking tapestry poncho-shirts and the local coastal Wari textiles often found in the same tomb. The latter appear to have been strictly secular in nature and not subjected to the same rigid iconographic requirements as the official garments. We must also remember that in ancient Peru, ceramics were not always the primary medium for the exposition of a culture's religious iconography, especially when that iconography was complex. Consider the plain undecorated ceramics that Tello found associated with the elaborately embroidered textiles of "Paracas Necropolis." On the other hand, when the contemporaries of Necropolis peoples in the Ica and Nazca valleys mastered the fluid and flexible Early Nazca polychrome slip technique, ceramics quickly became their principal bearers of complex religious motifs, taking over the religious function of laboriously embroidered textiles.

Fig. 11 *Chavinoid-Paracas, double-spout bottle with incised decorations and traces of red and white paint, 8 1/2" high. Teojote, Ica valley, ca. 600 B.C. Museum of Primitive Art, gift of Raymond Wielgus.*



The simplicity of Chavinoid-Paracas ceramic motifs was, of course, partly due to the limitations of space as well as to the rather awkward technique of incised and resin-painted decoration they employed. Motifs tended, therefore, to be reduced to a shorthand symbolism, intelligible to the initiated, but often puzzling to those not thoroughly familiar with Chavín iconography.

In 1952, Ubbelohde-Doering published (Pl. 235) a grayware stirrup-spout bottle from the collection of the Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich, in the form of an anthropomorphic feline deity head of obvious Chavín ancestry, but with an Ica Valley provenience (Fig. 12). Most Peruvianists at the time were inclined to regard it as a northern import even though it did not fit comfortably into the stylistic range of any known northern site. Further credence to its South Coast provenience was given by the appearance during the sixties of a number of other stirrup-spout bottles said to have been found at Callango in the lower Ica Valley. All of these bear an applied feline face on one side that falls stylistically midway between the Chavín rendering and the local variant we saw on Figure 5. Still, many Peruvianists were reluctant to accept these stirrup-spout vessels as being of South Coast origin. With the discovery of additional Chavinoid textiles this past year, however, stirrup-spout bottles are now acceptable within the known range of Chavinoid-Paracas art.



Fig. 12 *Chavinoid-Paracas stirrup-spout bottle, grayware, 8 1/4" high. Ica valley, ca. 700 B.C. Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich.*

An interesting fact concerning these stirrup-spout pieces is that the Munich example is the purest in Chavin style and closest to that of the textiles of the same period (Phase D, cf. Figs. 6 and 7), while the others, though earlier (Phase AB), show a regional adaptation of a Chavin motif (see Rowe 1962: Fig. 53). We may conclude that the Munich ceramic, like the textiles, was made for ceremonial use, while the others were less under the direct influence of the Chavin religious functionaries. Though the god-head ceramic remains, for the moment, unique, we must now acknowledge the wisdom of Ubbelohde-Doering's prophecy: "Presumably there do exist further sites, either in the Ica Valley or the Nazca Valleys, where ceramics of pure Chavin Costeño style, such as this one, will be found some day" (1952: 50). I have not yet seen any comparable ceramics from Corawa, but ~~sherds~~ sherds I have examined, which are said to have come from this site, indicate that pottery of extraordinarily fine quality and pure Chavin style may also have been found there.

As indicated in the sampling illustrated here, a large proportion of the Corawa textiles may be assigned to Phase D of the Chavin style, indicating a strong presence of official Chavin religion in the South Coast at that time. Those textiles which may be attributed to the remaining Phase EF are considerably less pure Chavín in style, re-

flecting a weakening of northern influence and the assertion of dominant South Coast control over all aspects of Paracas art.

The evidence of declining Chavín influence is already strongly apparent in the Paracas ceramics reflecting Phase D traits. In spite of rare exceptions such as the Wielgus and Munich ceramics shown in Figures 2 and 12, pottery was rapidly becoming more Paracas than Chavinoid in character. Pieces such as the one illustrated in Figure 11 document the last vestiges of Chavín dominance and the inauguration of an independent era which I have previously described as the "Early Paracas Period." The correlation of ancient Peruvian cultures from different regions is still highly problematical but it is reasonable to assume that the decline of Chavín influence in the south occurred at about the same time as the breakdown of its control in the north. The emergence of the Salinar, Virú, Recuay, Vicús, and Moche cultures was the parallel result.

THE EARLY PARACAS PERIOD

The Early Paracas Period was characterized by a proliferation of regional styles growing out of the Chavín tradition. The feline still dominated Paracas ceramic iconography, but became more benign in character. The indigenous motifs of fox and *vencejo* were given equal importance to that of the Chavín-derived falcon and serpent. I will limit myself here to three examples representative of the many variants of the feline motif found in the period.

The most conservative of Early Paracas styles is found in the upper Ica Valley and is called "Teojate" after the location of the principal cemetery at which it has been found. The most characteristic feline motif of the style is a feline "mask" displayed on a double-spout bottle. Our example (Fig. 13) is drawn from the Nathan Cummings collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and dates to the third quarter of the Early Paracas period. (For the evolution of the style throughout the period, see Sawyer 1966: 102ff.)

The Teojate bottle is an obvious descendant of the early Chavinoid version shown in Figure 5. The eye and mouth elements have become elongated and elaborated and a curl has been added to the ends of each eyebrow designating ears. The "brow" bears pelt marks and may be interpreted as the body with the rear paws indicated next to the spout (the latter feature retains its bird head, but no longer encloses a whistle though the vent remains). Vestigial forelegs are indicated at the corners of the mouth, and below the lower lip, flanked by whisker elements, are two "eye of god" symbols. The latter appear on the breast of contemporary Teojate modeled representations of the feline (Sawyer 1966: Fig. 152). The "mask" is thus shown to be not only a symbol, but actually an abstract representation of the entire feline figure.



Fig. 13 Early Paracas double-spout bottle with incised decoration and traces of paint, 6 1/8" high. Ica valley, ca. 500 B.C. Teojote. Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Nathan Cummings.

The middle Ica Valley Early Paracas style, called Ocucaje after the principal hacienda of the area, is represented by a detail of a painted mantle with triple-cloth borders from the collection of the Textile Museum (Fig. 14). A highly geometricized frontal feline face is set atop a simplified profile body differing from the configuration of feline motifs on Ocucaje ceramics in that they show the body attached to the side of the head. Alternate figures of the textile variant display pelt markings in the form of a cross, indicating that, although the style is decidedly Paracas, the artist was aware of late Chavín conventions (see the University Museum, Philadelphia, Chavín stone mortar; Tello, 1960: Fig. 128).

A third regional Early Paracas style is found in the southern portion of the Ica Valley in the vicinity of Callango. It featured the feline figure motif as a frontal head with a profile body pendant to its chin. The device commonly appeared ornamenting the sides of double-spout bottles and on the interior surface of shallow gambreled bowls. An example of the latter type is illustrated in a drawing taken from a bowl in the Cummings collection (Fig. 15). Felines of similar configuration are also found on Early Paracas ceramics from sites in the nearby Río Grande de Nazca drainage.

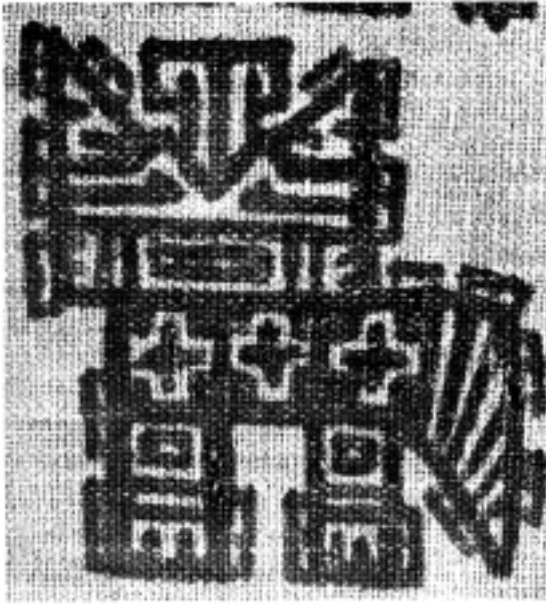


Fig. 14 (left) *Detail of Early Paracas painted mantle with triple cloth border. Ocucaje, Ica valley, ca. 500 B.C. Textile Museum Collection, Washington.*

Fig. 15 (below) *Early Paracas feline motif from the interior of a bowl, diameter 6 3/4". Callango, Ica valley, ca. 500 B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Nathan Cummings. Drawing by Milton Sondag.*





Fig. 16 Middle Paracas, trophy-head-deity motif from a funerary jar, 14 3/4" high. Ocucaje, Ica valley, ca. 300 B.C. Museum of Primitive Art. Drawing by Milton Sunday after a rubbing by Sawyer.

THE MIDDLE PARACAS PERIOD

During the fifth century B.C., the Paracas culture was subjected to a second wave of outside religious influence. The result was a radical shift in Paracas style and iconography to the style identified as "Cavernas" when encountered by Tello at Cerro Colorado on the Paracas peninsula. The new religion overwhelmed the lingering Chavinoid traditions at Ocucaje, exerted a considerable influence on the art of Callango and the Río Grande de Nazca styles, but had little effect on the culture of the upper Ica Valley. Teojate ceramics continued to follow their Chavinoid-based iconographic tradition until the Proto-Nazca period, carrying it well beyond the time of the eclipse of the Chavín culture in the north.

The new Paracas religion centered around a trophy head cult whose principal deity was an anthropomorphic monkey. A typical ceramic rendering of this "occult being" is shown in a drawing taken from a large Ocucaje funerary urn now in the collection of the Museum of Primitive Art (Fig. 16). The gods hold an obsidian beheading knife in one hand while others are attached to its head and tail. A trophy head is held in the other hand and two similar ones are shown on the ends of long streamers emanating from the head of the deity. While monkey attributes predominate in both ceramic and textile versions of this personage, a survival of Early Paracas style conventions is shown in the treatment of the whiskers in the variant illustrated. (Note brow whiskers in Figs. 13, 14, and 15.) The rectangular markings on the body also occur as pelt markings on contemporary feline motifs. In general, however, the feline

and feline attributes played a decidedly secondary role in the iconography of the Middle Paracas Period at Ocucaje and other sites where the new cult gained dominance.

THE LATE PARACAS PERIOD

The remainder of the Paracas cultural sequence was characterized by a vigorous inter-reaction of regional Paracas traditions ranging in locale from the small Topara Valley just north of the Chincha southward to the Río Grande de Nazca drainage. In the Chincha and Pisco Valleys, the Toparoid "Necropolis" tradition of relatively undecorated ceramics and elaborately embroidered textiles won dominance while to the south ceramics continued to be made with incised and resin-painted decor, and embroidered, painted, and other textiles played a less prominent role as carriers of religious iconography.

Leadership in the southern Late Paracas style evidently shifted from Ocucaje to the important ceremonial center of Cahuachi in the Nazca Valley. Our illustration, from the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts collection (Fig. 17), was found at Ocucaje, but is indistinguishable in style from sherds excavated at Cahuachi by Duncan Strong (1957: Fig. 6a). The decided trend toward naturalism exhibited by ceramics of this period is even more strongly in evidence in the embroidered textiles Strong recovered from his Late Paracas and Proto-Nazca levels. They show a close relationship to Late Necropolis embroidery and perhaps form a precedent for it, though no large-scale works comparable to Necropolis mantles have so far been discovered in the Nazca Valley.



Fig. 17 *Late Paracas incised and resin-painted bowl, 2 1/2" high. Ocucaje, Ica valley, ca. 200 B.C. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.*

While a technological revolution was going on in southern Late Paracas ceramics that was soon to lead to the development of the Early Nazca polychrome slip style, a similar revolution was taking place in the religion of the Paracas people. The awe-inspiring power symbol of the Chavín anthropomorphic feline god was all but forgotten. The warlike trophy-head cult of “Cavernas” was being altered and extended to direct the life force gathered from fallen enemies toward the assurance of successful agriculture. A profusion of life symbols such as seeds, flowers, fruits and vegetables, birds, fish and animals was being added to Late Paracas iconography. The ocelot was reemerging as a major religious symbol and was soon to be combined with otter attributes to become the important guardian of agriculture in Nazca iconography.

An interesting Late Necropolis embroidery fragment in the collection of the Textile Museum (Fig. 18) graphically illustrates the ocelot’s emerging new role. The textile dates either from the Proto-Nazca period or the beginning phase of Early Nazca and shows an elaborate monkey deity with a serpentlike streamer ending in an otter head emerging from its mouth. Under its arm it holds an ocelot with a protruding tongue



Fig. 18 Detail of Proto-Nazca “Necropolis” embroidered border fragment, 2 3/4" x 7 1/2". Paracas, Pisco valley, ca. 100 B.C. Textile Museum Collection, Washington.

in the form of a vegetable (yam?) and another streamer originating between its tail and hind legs. It is tempting to interpret the otter-headed streamers as water-fertility symbols. The ocelot’s association with water is logical in view of his natural habitat in the undergrowth bordering streams and irrigation ditches. The otter shared the ocelot’s domain and the combination of attributes of the two animals into a single guardian-of-agriculture symbol was no doubt deliberate. Even today in Peru the otter is familiarly called the water cat (*gato de agua*). His upswept whiskers appear on the Early Nazca version of the ocelot as shown in an example drawn from a double-spout bottle in the Gaffron collection at the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 19).

It has long been the custom to refer to Nazca deity figures as “cat demons.” In view of their direct descent from the monkey deities of Middle and Late Paracas and in spite of the fact that their monkey-feet trait evolved into human feet early in the Nazca Period, I feel that the identification is highly questionable. The gold whisker



Fig. 19 Early Nazca ocelot-otter motif from double-spout bottle, figure 2 7/8" high. Nazca valley, ca. 50 B.C. Art Institute of Chicago, Gaffron Collection. Drawing by Grace Brennan.

ornament first appeared in the Proto-Nazca Period and may, like the monkey feet characteristic of deity representations of that era, have been thought of as a monkey rather than a feline attribute (see Sawyer 1960: 3). Whatever its original meaning, the Nazca whiskered deity was primarily human in aspect although it exhibited a wide variety of traits according to its context. In a characteristic version drawn from another ceramic in the Gaffron collection at the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 20), the Nazca preoccupation with agricultural fertility is clearly demonstrated. The deity holds a dismembered human corpse in its hands while the life force of the trophy heads attached to its "signifier" (Roark 1965: Fig. 36) is symbolized by lucama and guayaba plants sprouting from their tongues. Stylized yucca roots within the "signifier" and shirt of the figure, as well as guayaba fruits ornamenting its headdress, further emphasize the agricultural fertility concepts behind the motif. The "signifier's" probable water connection is suggested by its termination in an otter head and feet in much the



Fig. 20 Early Nazca agricultural deity motif from side and base of a cup-bowl, figure 4 5/8" high. Nazca valley, ca. A.D. 200. Art Institute of Chicago, Gaffron Collection. Drawing by Milton Sondag.

same manner as we observed in the much earlier Necropolis version illustrated in Figure 19.

SUMMARY

The fate that awaited the awesome anthropomorphic feline god of Tiahuanaco when introduced into the South Coast by the Wari centuries later was to be much the same as had been suffered by the jaguar god of Chavín. We must conclude that the only feline that was meaningful to the South Coast peoples of ancient Peru was the gentle ocelot. Since they had no first-hand knowledge of the formidable jaguar, its significance as a symbol of supernatural power was difficult for them to grasp. They may have been forcefully persuaded to accept a jaguar-god concept by outsiders to whom it was a reality, but the idea never gained wholehearted local acceptance and could not be sustained without continuous foreign domination.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- MENZEL, DOROTHY, J. H. ROWE, AND L. DAWSON
 1964 *The Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time*. *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, vol. 50. Berkeley.
- ROARK, RICHARD PAUL
 1965 *From Monumental to Proliferous in Nasca Pottery*. *Ñawpa Pacha* 3, pp. 1-92. Institute of Andean Studies. Berkeley.
- ROWE, JOHN HOWLAND
 1962 *Chavín Art: An Inquiry into its Form and Meaning*. Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
- SAWYER, ALAN R.
 1960 *Paracas Necropolis Headdress and Face Ornaments*, *Textile Museum Workshop Notes No. 21*. Washington.
 1961 *Paracas and Nazca Iconography*. In *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, by Samuel K. Lothrop *et al.*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
 1966 *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: the Nathan Cummings Collection*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
 1968 *Mastercraftsmen of Ancient Peru*. The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.
- STRONG, WILLIAM DUNCAN
 1957 *Paracas, Nazca, and Tiahuanacoid Cultural Relationships in South Coastal Peru*. *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, no. 13. Salt Lake City.
- TELLO, JULIO C.
 1960 *Chavín. Cultura matriz de la civilización andina. Primera parte*. *Publicación Antropológica del Archivo "Julio C. Tello" de la Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos*, vol. II. Lima.
- UBBELOHDE-DOERING, HEINRICH
 1952 *The Art of Ancient Peru*. New York.

DISCUSSION

MR. KAN: I was fascinated by the textiles. Do you think this is the way in which Chavín iconography reached the South Coast?

DR. SAWYER: Had I had time, I would have developed a very favorite old thesis of mine, which I have published and announced before, that textiles must have played a very vital role in the long range spread of religion from the North Coast and highlands to the South Coast in a very pure form, and from Tiahuanaco and the Titicaca Basin to the Ayacucho and Huanucayo area. Bennett mentions this and makes a point of it, too. The interesting thing in these new Corawa textiles is how much more elaborate and complete they are, more like the stone carvings at Chavín de Huántar itself than anything you find in ceramics of the South Coast.

MR. KAN: Don't you think that it relates to a point that I stressed, that Chavín art is basically flat?

DR. SAWYER: It is indeed. That's also true for most ceramic motifs because they follow the stone reliefs.

DR. BUSHNELL: It's easier to carry those on textiles than it is on anything else, in fact.

DR. SAWYER: I'd hate to carry the Tello Obelisk on my back.

Any comments from the Mesoamericanists who are interested in contrasts or parallels?

DR. COE: The one particular thing that I noticed in your supposed Quetzalcóatl is that the tongue coming out of the creature is not the typical bifid serpent tongue, but rather a tridentlike, three-way tongue, and of course this is what is on the Quetzalcóatl or feathered

serpent on the Juxtlahuaca representation. It's a rather peculiar way to make a tongue. The tail of that creature is trident as well.

DR. SAWYER: I was trying to stir things up a little bit, but I'm not as unserious as it might sound. I think there is very possibly some relationship between Middle America and South America. I don't see why not. I'm less ready to find any really crucial influence coming across the Pacific, because I don't see how priest craft and the whole mechanism of religion could be transported by a few boats that might have drifted across. Now coastal travel, which has always gone on between Middle and South America, certainly could carry substantial groups back and forth but I don't think that either area was dependent on the other. Still exchange and influence are certainly very possible.

DR. COE: I would look rather to Peter Furst's substratum. There are resemblances that turn up that are parallelisms or actual cognate forms. The feathered serpent motif, for instance, and the idea of the feathered serpent as a basic figure in a theology is not confined to Mesoamerica in the New world. It is found widespread, for instance, in southwestern iconography—Hopi religion is full of this stuff. I wouldn't be surprised if it is a very ancient idea.

DR. SAWYER: Notice that these staff-bearing deities, both the one here at Dumbarton Oaks and the more complete one now at the Textile Museum, appear to hold plumed serpents, or at least I think that is a very logical interpretation.

DR. COE: One of Wilbert's informants, a great medicine man among the Warao of the

Orinoco basin, whose confidence it took Wilbert years and years to get, recently finally spilled the beans, telling Wilbert the way the Warao cosmic system really works. It is extraordinarily Mesoamerican.

DR. FURST: This is particularly interesting since the Warao are certainly what Willey calls a Meso-Indian culture, in other words, a preagricultural, formerly hunting, now primarily fishing, society. One thing that struck me, during both your talk and Michael Kan's, is that association of bird-jaguar-serpent, which you find in Chavín, in lowland South America, in Teotihuacán, throughout Mesoamerica, and all the way up into the Southwest and beyond.

DR. EKHOLM: It seems to me that if you had this very early relationship all through the Americas, it wouldn't necessarily rule out a much later contact. What do you think of the various other items which seem to be indicating a relationship between Middle and South America, such as the things that Muriel Porter pointed out in her thesis, the presence of pottery stamps, the pyrite mirrors that you get later on, the type of zoned, bichrome wares typical of Honduras and Cupisnique, complex kinds of things that seem to be diffused southward. Perhaps we don't get a similar iconography for the cats in the two areas, but there are many other things which undoubtedly show relationships of these kinds.

DR. SAWYER: One must recognize also that there are natural ways of going about early ceramics, such as punctuation and incising of soft clays in low-fired ceramics and higher oxidation and the development of slips in a later stage. Some of the parallels, say, between Tlatilco Olmecoid ceramics and those of the Chavín period are somewhat superficial, but certainly when you have such things as pottery stamps showing up at Huaca Prieta—

DR. EKHOLM: —stirrup spouts—

DR. SAWYER:—there are a lot of things that we can't dismiss, such as the parallels you showed between the Han Dynasty and the tripod, straight-sided jars at Teotihuacán. As you have pointed out, we must take this into consideration and keep this question open. Our most common failing as a group is trying to get answers too quickly. You have been very reasonable in your presentation of these items, by pointing to things we must consider. I'll go along with you 100% on that.

DR. EKHOLM: I'm inclined to think, for instance, that the interest in felines in South America is probably closely related to the interest in felines in Middle America, and that they are all part of the same complex. Still, it is very difficult to point out specific similarities between the feline representations.

DR. SAWYER: I think we have probably learned today that Olmec and Chavín were twin brothers, results of a rape by a jaguar of San Agustín's daughter. I'm not being totally facetious because there is still no ability to explain either the origins of Olmec or of Chavín, and perhaps we've got to leave the possibility open that somewhere in between we'll find a common ancestral culture.

DR. EKHOLM: I think you've got to have a common ancestral culture, plus relationships through time.

DR. BREW: To get the diffusion of artistic ideas, you don't need to find exact parallels, nor to find the step-by-step series, nor to say this is like this and this is like this. At Awatovi in northern Arizona, a site I excavated for five years, we had a cook shack and a camp library, and the sisters, girl friends, mothers, and what-not of our Hopi workboys used to come over there and go through the books. They

were particularly interested in Earl Morris' La Plata report—it had a lot of early Mesa Verde things from that area. The women would bring us presents of pots, and show us the picture of the Mesa Verde thing that a detail was taken from. In the filler or part of the design would be a checkerboard from Mesa Verde; this girl was copying, taking inspiration from pottery of another part of the Southwest 700 or 800 years ago. And yet you have to have the interpretation to show that she wasn't just showing you another modern Hopi pot. There is a lot of this sort of thing. When the normal craft artist takes inspiration from something he copies, he is more likely just to adapt certain things in a small way. I think we therefore make a mistake in looking for absolute carbon copies to show diffusion or influence.

DR. BIRD: You can also have astonishing similarities that have no connection at all. The cartoonist Steinberg occasionally makes an anthropomorphic cat with an angular head; what identifies it as a cat are a couple of strokes indicating whiskers. We have a cat face in late Paracas or early Nazca almost identical, and I'm sure Steinberg never saw one of these Paracas cats.

DR. BREW: It happens to the southwestern Indians, too. If you take certain of their pottery designs, you can find not just close relationships but practical duplications of them in the Stein Collection from Chinese Turkestan.

DR. DOCKSTADER: I'm glad that Mike Coe started out with the Life Tree, because everybody's gone so far out on a limb. In all of this, the thing that distresses me today is the thing Jo Brew mentioned: so few people consider the individuals in all of this. There are conventionalized designs, but there had to have

been little aberrances here and there. One of Mike Kan's slides had a very large Chavín design, yet if you analyzed it piece by piece looking for specifics in order to prove a point, there were all sorts of variations, omissions, and changes which could have led you right up a blind alley. Lastly, I was very sorry that there was no consideration of North America in any depth. There are a great number of cat-effigy vessels in the Southeastern pottery arts. Many of these have quite interesting iconography within themselves. They are not quite so numerous as you find in Central and South America, but they are certainly a carrying on of the Pre-Columbian manifestation. I remember as a child being warned that unless a quiver was made of mountain lion skin the bow and arrow would not have any effective quality, so this whole thing has carried over for a long, long time.

DR. BREW: You've got quite a number of cats in Watson Smith's kiva paintings of Awatovi.

DR. GRIEDER: To add to that, there is one, probably a very early cat, in the so-called Panther Cave in Texas, which may date somewhere between 6000 and 2000 B.C.

DR. FURST: As a matter of fact, in the rock art in California you find cats all over the place and there is reason to believe that some of the cats that are shown in the rock art in the China Lake area, for example, are "masters" of animals and not just simply cats shown as cats. Their size and position in relation to other animals make it quite clear that they are supernatural beings in addition to being cats. Also certain arbitrary stylistic conventions tie these early California felines to those in Southwestern rock art.



Fig. 1 (above) *Feline-human stone mortar from Tafí del Valle. Tafí Culture.*

Fig. 2 (below) *Condorhuasi negative-painted vase with a human modeled face on one end and a feline on the other. Hualfin Valley, Catamarca.*



The Felinic Complex in Northwest Argentina

ALBERTO REX GONZÁLEZ
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL DE LA PLATA

GENERALITIES

NORTHWEST Argentina is, from the geocultural point of view, an area peripheral to the nuclear center of Peru. We prefer “peripheral” rather than “marginal” because many of the influences which originated in the nuclear center were readapted to the new environmental and cultural media found here. Even when many of the original features can be recognized, it is clear that a great deal of change was involved which gave the cultures of northwest Argentina strong and definite personalities of their own.

We shall try to outline briefly the felinic complex through the archaeological iconography, showing the different cultures where this complex is found, some of the main items of the associated felinic context, and the temporal order of appearance. In a final summary we will point out the lines of change and evolution, and the main trend of the felinic representation and associated images.

The feline representation appears in different associated cultural complexes, which belong to different cultural levels. In the Sierras Centrales and in the Litoral, the feline image is found as a simple and more or less realistic representation. From the technological point of view and perhaps from the sociopolitical aspect, both regions appear less advanced than northwest Argentina. The feline appears depicted in rock paintings at Córdoba in a very simple way. In the Litoral the feline motif is found modeled on simple pottery. In northwest Argentina, the felinic iconography is part of a more complex society, which also had more technical possibilities (metals, pottery, stone carving) and more highly developed artistic forms associated with other complex groups of symbolic representations. The complexity of the cultural contexts and associated images suggests the existence of a cult where the feline or feline-like figures played an important role.

Before analyzing the iconography of the felinic complex, it is important to take a quick look at the periodification of the archaeological sequence used by the archaeolo-

gists working in northwest Argentina, together with the relationship existing between this area and the cultures which developed in the nuclear centers of the Andes. Since there is no evidence of the Chavín Horizon in northwest Argentina, the possibilities of using the Andean horizons to build up a periodification are reduced to the Tiahuanacoid and Inca influences present in this area. We are here mainly concerned with agricultural and pottery-making cultures. These are usually divided in this area into three main periods: Early, Middle, and Late. We have been using this system as an operational tool for lack of a better periodification based on sociopolitical grounds. This latter type cannot possibly be constructed now because of our scanty archaeological knowledge of the Argentine northwest. The Aguada culture, which extends from A.D. 650 to 850 (González 1961), marks the beginning and the end of the Middle Period; therefore, we consider as Early those cultures which developed before the appearance of Aguada. Those that developed after Aguada and until the Inca conquest are considered Late. The feline iconography achieved its richest expressions from the Early Period through the end of the Middle Period.

EARLY PERIOD

The main cultures of the Early Period are Tafi, Condorhuasi, Ciénaga, Alamito, Candelaria, and Saujil. The feline complex exists mainly in Tafi and Condorhuasi.



The geographical setting of this culture is the Tafi Valley in the western part of the Tucumán province (González and Núñez Regueiro 1961). Five radiocarbon datings and some cross-checkings place the beginnings of Tafi around the first century of our era, and the end around A.D. 500-600.

The most important manifestations of the Tafi complex are found in its stone carvings. The pottery of the Tafi culture is poor, mainly utilitarian and undecorated, so no kind of figurative iconography has survived. Contrasting with this poor pottery art, we find the following very rich expression in the stone carvings of the Tafi culture: A. realistic feline stone sculptures; B. stylized felines; C. feline-human figures, as seen in Figure 1, which represents a sort of mortar with feline circular spots, tail, and legs, and a human head with a band on the forehead; D. monoliths, some of which could be feline representations, such as the one from El Mollar (Bruch 1911: 6, ill.).

Some important features of the Tafi culture are the existence of artificial mounds, around which these monoliths or stone pillars were found, and stone enclosures with monoliths at their centers, or stone enclosures with pillars at their entrances (Bruch 1911: 3). All these elements suggest the existence of a quite complicated ceremonialism in which the feline played an important role.

Besides the cultural items we have mentioned, it is necessary to include the use of copper and gold, stone masks, etc.

Condorhuasi-Alamito

The geographical center of Condorhuasi culture is the Hualfín Valley (González 1956) in Catamarca province, but its manifestations are found as far as Laguna Blanca in the north and San Juan province in the south. Two main phases of this culture are recognized. The older dates back to the beginnings of the Christian era; the second phase ends around A.D. 250-300.

The felinic complex appears in the second phase of Condorhuasi culture, according to the data now available. The felinic figures are found in the following artifacts:

A. The pottery art of Condorhuasi was very rich, with polychromed effigy vases or more simple types painted with one or two colors. The modeled figures are sometimes realistic, sometimes fantastic; but the modeling is always of a high quality. We observe realistic modeled feline figures, stylized modeled felines, and a mixture of feline-human features. There are some cases in which naturalistic human and feline figures are represented in the same vase, one at each end (Fig. 2). Sometimes the human figure may be realistically modeled, but it adopts a felinic attitude in its



Fig. 3 *Condorhuasi plain pottery vessel.*
Belén, Catamarca. Instituto
Torouato Di Tella.



Fig. 4 Three stonepieces of the Condorhuasi culture. Top and center: shallow mortars with feline figures around the center. Bottom: a mortar or container with felinic and feline-human figures.

squatting position. Others show a human figure on the back of a modeled feline (Fig. 3). Some other very peculiar vases are those that, when viewed from one side, show a felinic figure in squatting position; if seen from the front, they show a human being.

B. Gold, silver, and copper were employed by the Condorhuasi smiths. One excellent specimen is a gold pectoral with six feline heads in profile.

C. Stone sculpture reproduced the same representations seen in pottery, some of

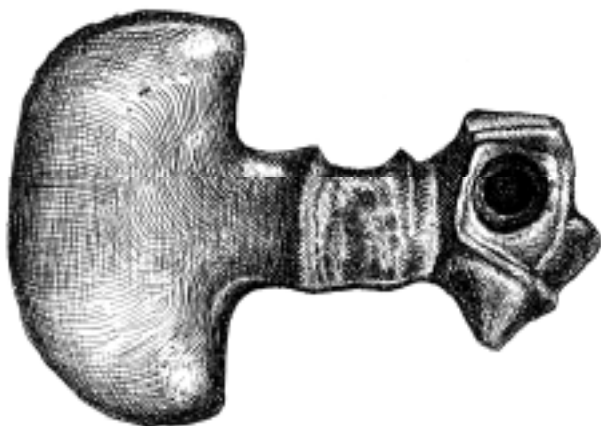


Fig. 5 Stone axe with a carved feline-human figure.

them of excellent manufacture from the artistic as well as the workmanship point of view (Fig. 4). There are stone double mortars (which were perhaps some kind of ceremonial containers), on whose sides are carved felinic or anthropomorphic figures; figures with double heads, one feline and one human; or figures with a mixture of feline and human features. Shallow containers ornamented with felinic or anthropomorphic figures have also been found. Sometimes the carvings represent feline figures with human trophy heads. Other representations of human-feline features are found in the heads of stone axes (Fig. 5). The mortars and containers suggest that hallucinogenic drugs were used.

Burial practices also suggest the important role of the feline in the ritual. One tomb found in Belén, Catamarca, has as funerary offerings two couples modeled in polychrome pottery, one of them a naturalistic human couple, the other a jaguar couple.

According to all this information, there is no doubt that the feline played a very important role in the Condorhuasi religious ideas, and also in the ritual practices. In the Alamito culture (González and Núñez Reguerio 1958-59), which is very close to Condorhuasi, there are also figures associated with the feline complex. A carved stone figure of a woman with a felinelike form on its back (*alter ego*) was found between two stone platforms. At the base of this sculpture, which is one meter high, a shallow container, possibly an offering vase, was found.

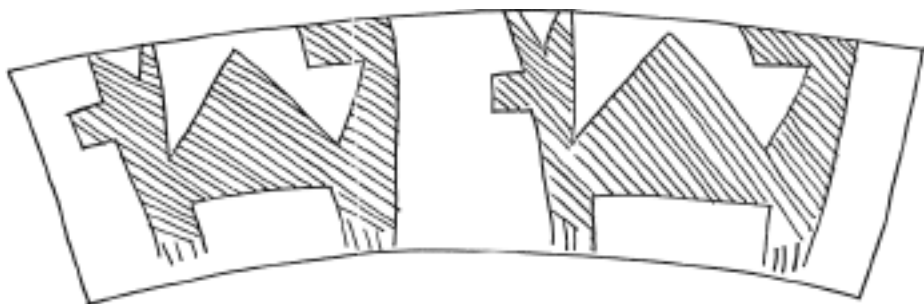


Fig. 6 Incised design on a Ciénaga gray vase.

La Ciénaga

The Ciénaga culture has a geographic distribution similar to that of Condorhuasi, but it is more extended in some places, such as the Abaucán Valley, and its remains are more abundant and frequently found. The Ciénaga culture is subdivided into three main phases, from A.D. 250-300 to A.D. 650.

The feline complex is mainly depicted on pottery. One of the main features is that it is possible to follow the evolution and change of the simple feline representation to more complex figures that have been called "draconian." As we will see, the change and evolution appear mostly because of the progressive arrival of external influences coming from the north.

The pottery of Ciénaga I lacks figurative designs, so no felines appear on it; the vases are decorated with geometric patterns incised on the surface of a gray or black ware.

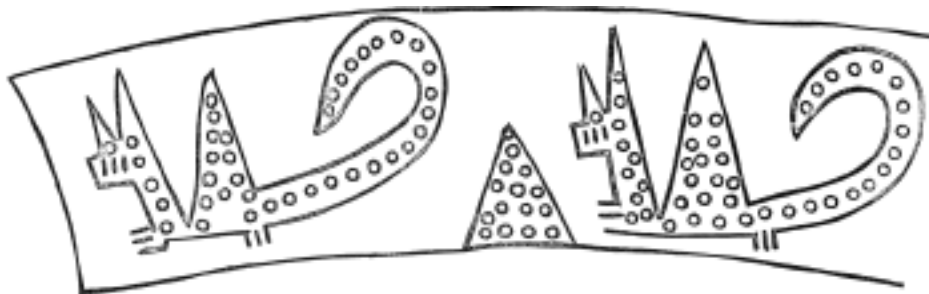


Fig. 7 Incised design on a Ciénaga gray vase.

In Ciénaga II, the figurative elements reappear; the feline now looks llamalike, and is drawn in a sketchy and rigid fashion, with straight lines. Perhaps these figures, as well as human representations or other geometric patterns depicted the same way, are textile-derived. Starting with these simple, straight-line figures, we can follow the changes and progressive evolution toward more and more complicated felinic figures, up to the complex “dragonlike” figures found in the Aguada culture (see Figs. 6 and 7). At the beginning, the feline figures are distinguished by their straight and pointed ears, rectangular or triangular body, and simple tail. In the following step, it is possible to see the appearance of protruding claws, and prominent lines of teeth; all of the figures look forward. In a more advanced step, the head is turning back, the legs and tail are curved, the simple straight lines are replaced by a more frequent use of curved lines. The use of circular design representation of the feline spot is more and more frequent. The associated human figures follow similar steps of increasing complexity. To the

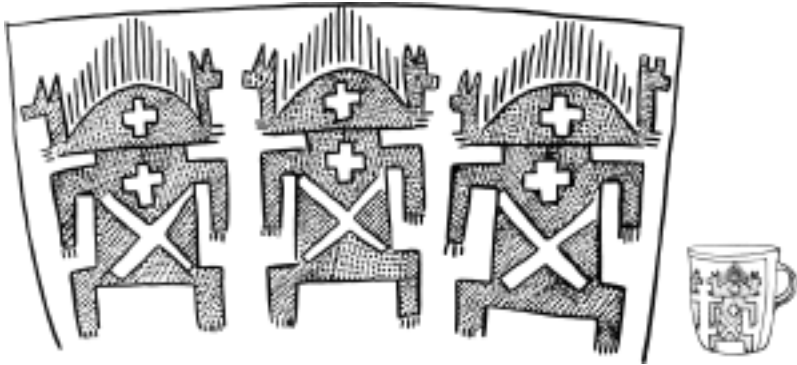


Fig. 8 Ciénaga gray incised vase with simple human figures with two felinic headdresses.

sketchy simple images with rectangular heads and bodies and vertical lines over the forehead representing hair, some felinic headdresses are now added (Fig. 8).

In Ciénaga III, the increasing complexity in pottery designs shows, on the whole, a clear transition to the Aguada culture. The felinic figures are also found in some other cultural items. The clay smoking pipes carry fantastic human or feline modeled images. Frequently the plastic images are placed opposite one another on the pipe bowl. One of the two figures can be human, the other feline. The exceptional and elaborate character of these pipes, found in tombs, suggests a ceremonial use. Some more or less realistic feline representations in effigy vessels are found in Ciénaga. They are also clear influences from Condorhuasi (González 1954: 90).



Fig. 9 Carved figures on stone vessels. Top: a bird-masked human. Bottom: “the sacrificer.” Late Ciénaga or Early Aguada.



Some stone vessels are also found in some Ciénaga III tombs. These vessels seem to be copies of similar wooden vases found in San Pedro de Atacama during Tiahuanaco times. Some of these vessels have realistic feline carvings or human representations on the rims or on the sides. In one case, a human figure wears a feline or a bird mask; in others, it is the so-called “sacrificer”—a character with a human trophy head in one hand and an ax in the other (Fig. 9).

Metals were widely used in Ciénaga times; chisels, ax blades, and tweezers are the main implements, and ornaments (Fig. 10) were also made. Some of the axes have feline representations. These are the same axes represented in the “sacrificer” motif.

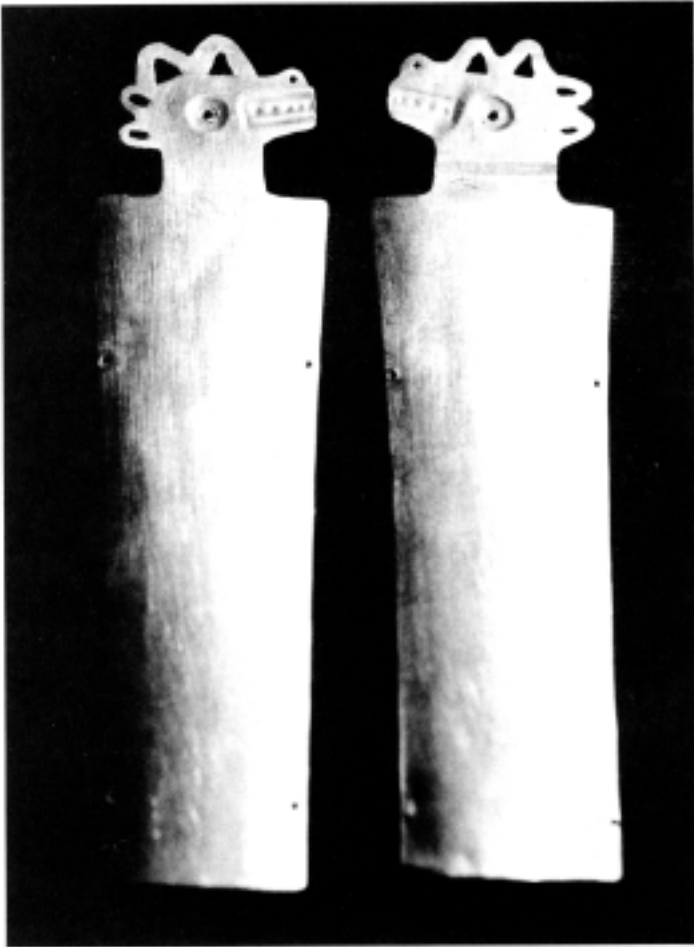


Fig. 10 Gold ornaments of Ciénaga sculpture with felinic heads. Photograph Humberto Rivas, Institute Torouato Di Tella.

Thus we may deduce that they were, in fact, used in human sacrifices, for obvious religious purposes; so the feline played an important or main role in the ceremonialism and religion of these peoples. The warrior figures, with complicated headdresses, and the decorated smoking pipes formed part of the ritualistic ceremonies of the feline complex.

LA AGUADA

The iconography of the feline and associated elements reaches the peak in frequency and in artistic and technological development in the Aguada culture. From the point of view of pottery and metallurgy, Aguada is the most elaborate culture of northwest Argentina. It is also the hallmark of the period&cation actually in use, because it marks the Middle Period.

The Aguada culture is found from the Calchaquí Valley to the north of San Juan province; but its distribution is uneven. In Santa María its appearance is sporadic; great concentrations of its archaeological remains are found in the Abaucán and Hualfín Valleys, in the Catamarca Valley, and north of La Rioja. To the east it reached the western part of Tucumán and Santiago del Estero. The actual dating—based on carbon-14—ranges from A.D. 650 to 850, but lately some deviant datings have fallen off these limits.

The felinic representation has been found in all technological media: pottery, metals, bone, etc. In the first case, abundant images of the feline are found in the gray



Fig. 11 *Stone spindle-whorl of Aguada culture representing a felinic head.* Photograph Humberto Rivas, Instituto Torouato Di Tella.

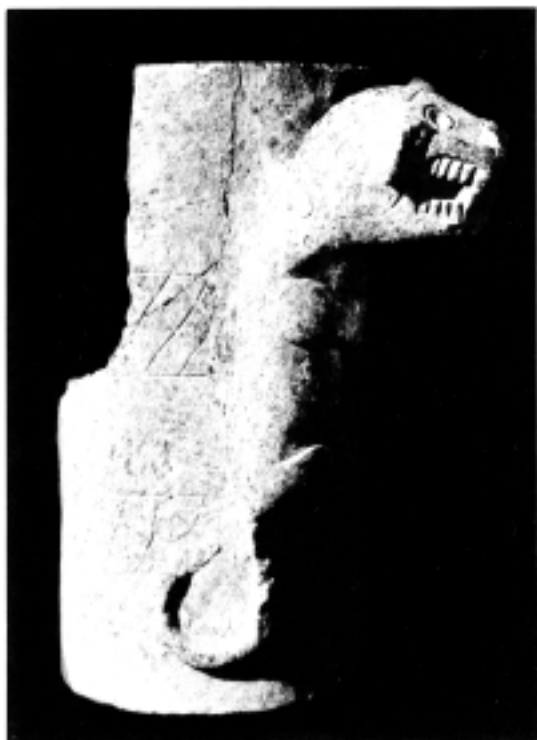


Fig. 12 Late Ciénaga or Early Aguada stone vessel with a felinic figure in relief
Photograph Humberto Rivas, Instituto Torouato Di Tella.

engraved pottery, as well as in the painted kind, in its bichrome and polychrome types. We will make a further analysis of the motifs. Metal ax blades have been found with a more or less realistic felinic engraving on their surfaces, or a mixture of feline-human creatures. There are also silhouettes of the feline, or of the “dragonlike” feline, represented on the part of the blade opposite the edge. Another felinic representation appears on the surface of pectorals, as can be seen in the famous “Lafone Quevedo’s Disk,” which has a central figure flanked by two felines. Wood material has been only poorly preserved in northwest Argentina, so very few specimens have survived; the only wooden piece that we believe belonged to Aguada is an ax handle with a “sacrificer” carved on one end, adorned with a rich headdress of felinic motifs. In bone there are some rectangular spindle whorls of small carvings decorated with felinic motifs (Fig.11).

Stone sculpture has disappeared by the time of Aguada; the only stone carvings are found in vessels belonging to Transitional Ciénaga or Early Aguada, and are similar to those already mentioned for Ciénaga (Fig. 12).

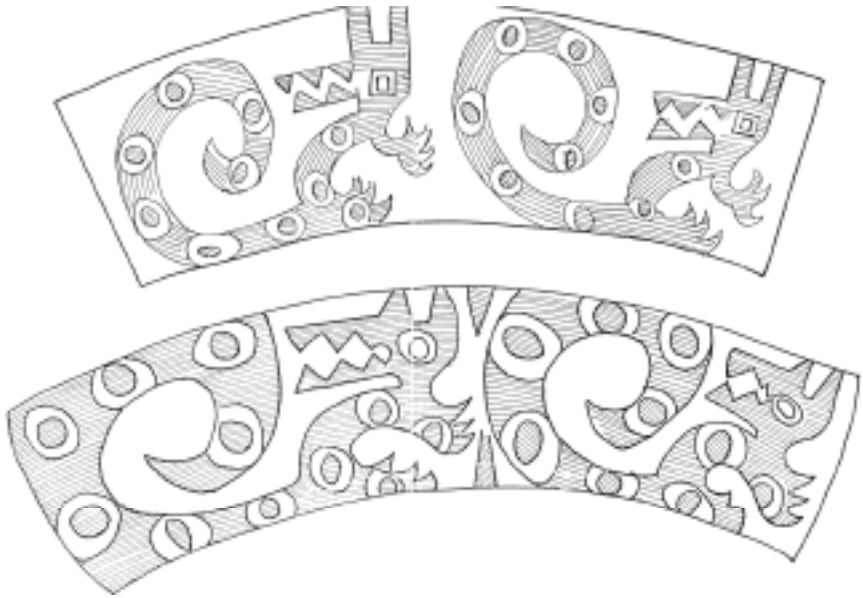


Fig. 13 *Felnic representation on an incised gray Aguada vase.*



Fig. 14 *Gray Aguada vase incised with a felnic figure lying on its back.*

The ceremonialism of Aguada seems to be quite developed. Artificial mounds and some prepared surfaces on hilltops with stairways and small structures are found (González 1961), all of which speak in favor of this ceremonialism.

The feline or “dragon,” as it is called by some Argentine archaeologists, is also found on several other items, such as the face painting on some characters depicted in pottery; in small objects of daily use, such as stone or bone spindle whorls; on spear-thrower handles; in the designs of pottery; and some kinds of helmets or hats worn by warriors have one or more of these feline representations.



Fig. 15 Two felines united by a "collar" and a dart or lance.

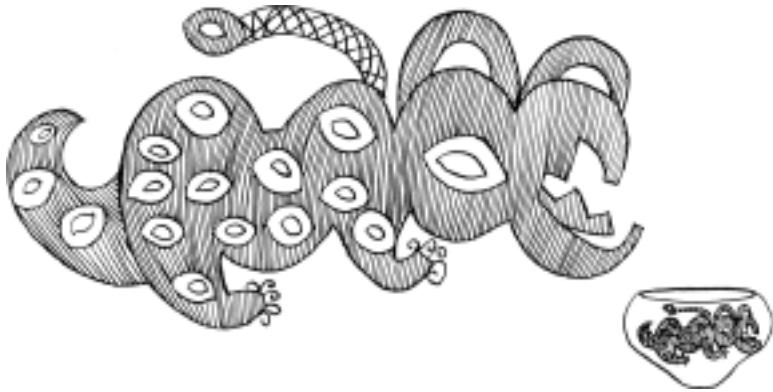


Fig. 16 Aguada gray incised vase.

A special paragraph must be dedicated to the different aspects offered by the felinic figure—a really polymorphic representation. Among the best known we find: A. realistic felines, which are apparently of late appearance in the Aguada culture, contrary to what was previously supposed (Serrano 1943); B. semi-realistic figures, similar to the above-mentioned but with some added features like jaws or crested noses (Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16); C. fantastic or dragonlike figures, such as the multiheaded feline (Fig.

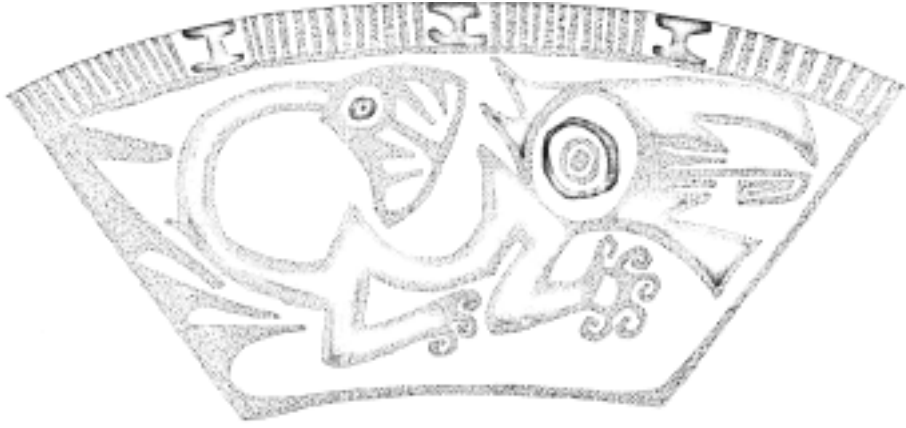


Fig. 17 (top) Multihead feline. Aguada polychrome vase.

Fig. 18 (center) "Crowned" feline. Aguada gray incised vase.

Fig. 19 (bottom) Feline figure with human head. Aguada gray incised vase.

17), which presents several variations, one of them with a snakelike body and feline head; D. “crowned” felines (Fig. 18); E. heteromorphic, or mixture of, feline features, such as claws, body, tails, spots, with a human head (Figs. 19 and 20).



Fig. 20 Feline with a human head. Aguada polychrome vase.



Fig. 21 *Figure of a warrior with feline mask. Aguada incised gray vase.*

The figures associated with the feline are:

Snakes. They are found alone or mixed with felinic attributes like spots, heads, etc. The double-headed snake (*anfísbema*) is also found depicted on Aguada pottery.

Toads. Isolated figures of toads are quite rare. Sometimes they include felinic spots, claws, or legs.

Birds. There is only one known case of a bird figure with extended wings and a felinic head. There is also some mixing of fantastic birds with human heads, extended wings, felinic claws, and associated trophy heads.

Monkeys. These are quite rare, but have appeared in an unmistakable way. It should be pointed out that there are no monkeys in this region.

Human figures. There is quite a realistic skill in modeling human features on Aguada effigy vessels. More frequently, however, human figures are engraved or painted on vessel surfaces.



Fig. 22 *Two warriors with double feline headdress. Aguada gray incised vase.*

The human figures depicted are of different kinds: *warriors*, with rich headdresses, carrying weapons in their hands, mainly spearthrowers and darts; the *two-scepter character*, well known in the Andean area; the *sacrificer character*, a warrior with an ax in one hand and a trophy head in the other; *warriors with felinic masks*; *human figures with felinic attributes*; *felinic figures with tattooed faces*, *felinic spots*, *felinic jaws*, *incurved crests as nose ornaments* (Figs. 21, 22, 23).

COMPARISONS AND ORIGINS

The preceding paragraphs have sketched the appearance of the felinic complex in northwest Argentina around the beginnings of the Christian era, starting in the Early Period of the pottery-making cultures, with the Tafí-Alamito-Condorhuasi cultures. The climax, decadence, and disappearance of the felinic complex occurs with the Aguada culture, around A.D. 850; Ciénaga represents a transitional span between the beginning and the end.



Fig. 23 *Aguada modeled effigy vessel in shape of a human figure in squatting position with two felines incised on its flanks.*

The feline complex undergoes a great deal of variation from its first to its last moments, especially in the formal means of expression and in its frequency. We wonder in which way the differences in technology operated to produce these different appearances. As we pointed out in dealing with Tafi-Condorhuasi-Alamito, stone sculpture and stone carvings are the most frequent media for the feline iconography until the appearance of Condorhuasi polychrome pottery. On the other hand, in Aguada, pottery is the most common and richest means by which the iconography has survived. Nevertheless, the two central themes of this iconography, human and feline images, or their combination, have a basic unity throughout the whole sequence. In Tafi the feline complex is represented mainly in stone sculpture: monoliths, stone containers with relief sculptures, etc. Since the pottery has no decoration, no traces of the feline have been recovered from it. In Condorhuasi, later than Tafi, the feline complex appears not only in stone sculpture but also in pottery effigy vessels. It is also found in gold *répoussé* plaques; but these last are valuable exceptional objects, perhaps reserved for the chief or priest.

One of the main features of the feline iconography at this moment is the *dualistic* aspect of the feline-human conception. Both figures recognize different degrees of mixture and different means of formal expression. This dualistic quality can be seen in the pottery vessels, as well as in the stone mortars and containers. The dual concept, human-feline or feminine-masculine, results in a new "unity," as can be seen in different instances: A. in effigy vessels in which one of the ends is a feline and the other a human being, both modeled in a more or less realistic way so that the body of the vase is the union of both concepts (exactly the same thing is observed in stone containers, mortars, and smoking pipes); B. in new fantastic figures created by mixing feline and human traits; C. in naturalistic human figures with feline attitudes—the characteristic squatting position-or feline attributes; D. by associating in the same tomb a representation of a pair of human beings modeled in ceramics and a pair of effigy vessels with jaguar couples.

Condorhuasi disappeared around A.D. 250-300, and was replaced by Ciénaga. At its beginnings, and from the technological point of view, Ciénaga is not so well developed as Condorhuasi. Along with the disappearance of Condorhuasi, stone sculpture largely ceased. The ceramic effigy vessels with their skillful modeling were replaced by a decorative tradition of figures incised on vessel surfaces. There is no doubt that this technological change vigorously influenced the iconography, and that the feline complex survived and little by little recovered its former importance, along the different steps of the evolution of Ciénaga.

Aguada culture shared many cultural traits with Ciénaga and Condorhuasi, but in the former the feline complex acquired many features of its own. In the Hualfin

Valley, the evolution from Ciénaga to Aguada is quite clear, but the persistence of Condorhuasi traits—mainly as pottery shapes—which are not found in Ciénaga, suggests that, in some place in the northwest, a Condorhuasi tradition survived without many changes until Aguada times.

Since a good deal of stone sculpture had disappeared by Aguada times, our main source of iconographic documents is furnished by pottery and metals. In Aguada the felinic complex reached its climax; the feline cult and ceremonies associated with it achieved their maximum development; diversification of the motifs and associated figures was at its peak. The warrior/trophy-head/feline trilogy shared part of a religious structure that, even though we cannot understand it in its details, possessed an iconography so rich that it speaks for itself. The elements depicted on the surface of the vases are repeated again and again, and show a high degree of stability in their formal appearance; no doubt their symbolic meaning was clear to the people of Aguada, even though it is obscure to us.

The importance of a religious cult in the cultures of the Early and Middle Periods is seen in the fact that only in these cultures do we find traces of real ceremonial centers, such as the artificial mound of Tafi, surrounded as it is by monoliths, or the *allpataucas* or mounds of Aguada, and its ceremonial centers on the hilltops. This kind of ceremonial center has not been found in the cultures of the Late Period.

One important question, especially when we try to relate the feline complex of northwest Argentina to similar manifestations in the rest of the Andean area, is: did this complex originate in this region, or did it arrive fully developed? I will not try to solve the problem of the origins of the feline cult or complex in the nuclear center of the Andes. This problem is beyond the scope of this paper, but I think that a few words concerning the area under study would be of interest, especially if someone decides to take on the task of making a comparative study of the feline complex on the continent.

Tafi appears as a fully developed culture with a high degree of technological skill in stone carving, house building, sculptural art, and metallurgy. We do not know other local predecessors for Tafi. In Condorhuasi the same thing happens, except for the elements that it received from the preceding Tafi tradition. The Tafi material culture (monoliths, stone carving, settlement pattern) points to the Bolivian Altiplano and to the Titicaca Basin as the main source of cultural origins. Also, the main food sources, such as quinoa, the microthermic tuber, and the llama, are all believed to have had their center of domestication in the Altiplano (González and Pérez 1968). All of these elements were readapted to the new ecological conditions of northwest Argentina, thus giving birth to cultures with a high degree of personality, in which traces of their origins had not totally faded.

By the time of Ciénaga I, at its very beginning, some elements differing from the Andean tradition appeared, obscuring the feline complex; but afterwards, step by step, the felinic images and accompanying complex achieved again their main iconographic expression, reaching their climax in Aguada. Even when a high degree of local evolution is evident for the felinic and associated elements, it is also possible to establish that the inspiration of some trend in that change has its source in another place. We have discussed this matter elsewhere (González 1961), pointing out the influences coming from San Pedro de Atacama, which in turn had been influenced by Tiahuanaco at different moments. Many items, such as the two-scepter character (*personaje de los dos cetros*), sacrificer (*sacrificador*), two-feline headdress, sacrificer with felinic mask, as well as the use of bronze, etc., show the influences arriving from the north, via San Pedro. The active interchange between that locality and the Hualfin Valley is beyond doubt because of the frequent finding of Aguada pottery sherds in San Pedro de Atacama. Since the time we pointed out these influences, much additional evidence has accumulated. Thus the conclusion is that the main ideas related to the felinic complex could be traced to the San Pedro sources, where the felinic complex is well represented, especially in the so-called “*complejo del rapé*,” or wooden paraphernalia for hallucinogenic drugs. While agreeing that the main source in relation to the felinic complex came from outside, it is also possible that these ideas were greatly changed and readapted to the preexistent local technical means of expression, and that many iconographic themes of the felinic complex were locally reelaborated to reach a new formal expression quite different from the original ones. Nevertheless, the original ideas behind the original themes have such a continuity that they can be perfectly recognized.

We have no ethnohistorical sources of any kind that could be linked with the original feline complex, only some folkloric legends found in northwest Argentina that refer to felinic man (*el hombre tigre* or *runa-uturunco*), but this is very little indeed when compared with what we know about the felinic complex from archaeological sources. This complex disappeared along with Aguada culture. Some reminiscences may be seen in the iconography of the Late Period, especially in the Santa Maria culture, but these are far from the richest figurative elements of Aguada.

From the point of view of stylistic evolution, it is quite interesting to observe how the llamalike felines evolve from very simple and stylized forms to naturalistic felines, and also to a complicated and “dragonlike” fantastic figure. On the whole, northwest Argentina shows, in the iconography of a theme very well known in some of the high cultures of the Central Andes, a very rich expression, beyond what we might have expected from such a peripheral area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AMBROSETTI, JUAN B.

- 1902 La civilisation Calchaqui. Région préandine des provinces de Rioja, Catamarca, Tucuman, Salta et Jujuy (Republique Argentine). XII^e Congrès International des Américanistes, pp. 293-297. Paris.

BOMAN, ERIC

- 1908 Antiquités de la région andine de la République Argentine et du désert d'Atacama. Paris.

BRUCH, CARLOS

- 1911 Exploraciones arqueológicas en las provincias de Tucumán y Catamarca. Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Buenos Aires.

GONZÁLEZ, ALBERTO REX

- 1954 Contextos y secuencias culturales en el área central del noroeste Argentino. Trabajo presentado al XXXI Congreso de Americanistas, reunido en San Pablo, Agosto de 1954.
- 1956 La cultura Condorhuasi del noroeste argentino. *Runa*, parte 1, vol. 7, pp. 37-86. Buenos Aires.
- 1961 The La Aguada Culture of Northwest Argentina. In *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, by Samuel K. Lothrop *et al.*, pp. 389-420. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- 1962 Nuevas fechas de cronología arqueológica argentina, obtenidas por el método de radiocarbón (IV). Resumen y perspectivas. *Revista del Instituto de Antropología*, vol. I, pp. 303-331. Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades.
- 1963 Cultural Development in Northwestern Argentina. In *Aboriginal Cultural Development in Latin America: An Interpretative Review* (Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans, eds.). *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection*, vol. 146, no. 1. Washington.
- n.d. Dinámica cultural del noroeste Argentino. Trabajo presentado al XXXIV Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Lima 1970.

GONZÁLEZ, ALBERTO REX, AND VÍCTOR NÚÑEZ REGUEIRO

- 1958-59 Apuntes preliminares sobre la arqueología del Campo del Pucará y alrededores. *Anales de Arqueología y Ethnología*, tomos XIV-XV. Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Mendoza.
- 1961 Preliminary report on archaeological research in Tafí del Valle, Northwest Argentina. *Akten des XXXV Amerikanistes Kongres*, p. 481. Wien.

GONZÁLEZ, ALBERTO REX, AND JOSÉ ANTONIO PÉREZ

- 1968 Una nota sobre etnobotánica del noroeste Argentino. *Actas y Memorias del XXXVII Congreso Internacional de Americanistas*, vol. II, pp. 209-228. Buenos Aires.

MARQUEZ MIRANDA, FERNANDO

- 1946 Los diaguitas. Inventario patrimonial arqueológico y paleoetnográfico. *Revista del*

Museo de La Plata (Nueva Serie) III, Sección Antropológica 5-3000, pp. 294ff. La Plata.

SERRANO, ANTONIO

1943 El Arte decorativo de los Diaguitas, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina.

*Pre-Chavín Cultures in the Central Highlands of Peru:
New Evidence from Shillacoto, Huánuco*

CHIAKI KANO
UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO

THE Shillacoto site is located in the first block of Jirón San Martín, Huánuco City, Peru. Excavations were carried out under the direction of Chiaki Kano, during the 1967 and 1969 seasons, in cooperation with the University of Huánuco, and assisted by Yasushi Miyazaki and other members of the Expedition to the Andes of the University of Tokyo.

Since an outline of the excavations was reported in the 39th International Congress of Americanists, held in Lima, Peru, in August 1970, and the preliminary report is now being prepared, we will try in this paper to limit our description within the range of an adequate discussion on the special subject of this conference.

As a result of the excavations at Shillacoto site, the following cultures were revealed: Shillacoto-Higueras, Shillacoto-Kotosh, Shillacoto-Wairajirca, and Shillacoto-Mito. All of them seem to correspond to those cultures already discovered at the Kotosh site. However, at the Shillacoto site, numerous finds were recovered that should serve as more important evidence in solving problems about the origin of Andean Formative cultures.

STRUCTURES

A structure, the so-called "Templo," belonging to the Mito period, exists at the Shillacoto site. Although the fundamental plan of this structure is almost identical with those of Kotosh-Mito, its dimension is larger, measuring about 15 meters by 15 meters by 3 meters. The structure is accompanied by pottery sherds of Wairajirca type. Because of this fact, it is assumed that some cultural relationship existed between Mito and Wairajirca.

Among structures of the Wairajirca and Kotosh periods, the tombs are of particular interest. In the former period, a magnificent burial construction was built of fine stone masonry, measuring about 3.7 meters by 3.2 meters by 2 meters. Its inner walls were originally covered with white plaster painted red on its lower part. Because the interior of this tomb had been much disturbed, few objects were found. In the latter



A



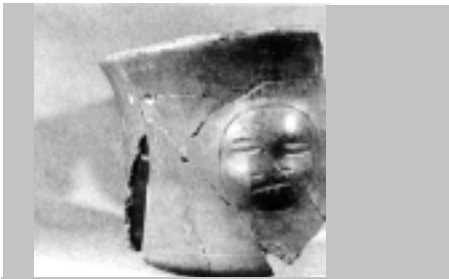
D



B



E



C



F

Fig. 1 A,B,C: Vessels with anthropomorphic design of monkey faces. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. D: Bottle with representation of monkey face. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. E: Deep bowl with representation of monkey face, Shillacoto-Kotosh period. F: Effigy vessel of monkey. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period.

period, a semicircular subterranean tomb, utilizing part of a structure of the Wairajirca period, was made. Many complete ceramic vessels and jars, and lithic or bone artifacts were contained there.

ARTIFACTS

A large quantity of pottery sherds found at Shillacoto was of the Wairajirca and Kotosh types. Most remarkable is the abundance of elaborate effigy vessels and jars representing animals or human beings (Figs. 1 and 2). Above all, the existence of many figurines of monkeys (Fig. 3-C) would suggest that in early ~~pre-Chavín~~ times some totems or cults related to this animal species prevailed.

Further important finds were some pottery sherds of a type apparently foreign to this region, probably deriving from the Tropical Amazon area. This fact indicates that from early times a cultural interchange between both regions took place (Fig. 4-B, C).

Cat figurines also turned up in the Shillacoto-Wairajirca period (Fig. 3-A, B). In addi-



Fig. 2 Vessel of Shillacoto-Kotosh period.

tion to these figurines, bone implements were recovered with incised designs of specific feline motifs that seem to be almost identical with the typical Chavín style (Fig. 5-A, B, c). These specimens seem to be very good evidence clarifying the development of the Chavín culture.

We also found a large quantity of stone objects. Almost all types of lithic objects found in the Formative period were already known from the Initial ceramic period of Wairajirca; they were made with a highly advanced technique. The most representative objects are as follows:

Polished T-shaped stone axes

This particular form of ax has been assumed to be typical of the Montana or Selva zone in the Andes, where it was probably used as a tool for cutting trees. In the Shillacoto site, this type of ax appeared at first in the lower stratum of the Wairajirca period and lasted continuously until the later Formative period of Shillacoto-Higueras, with some transformation of shape which certainly reflects the changing of the function of the ax (Fig. 6-A, B, c, D).

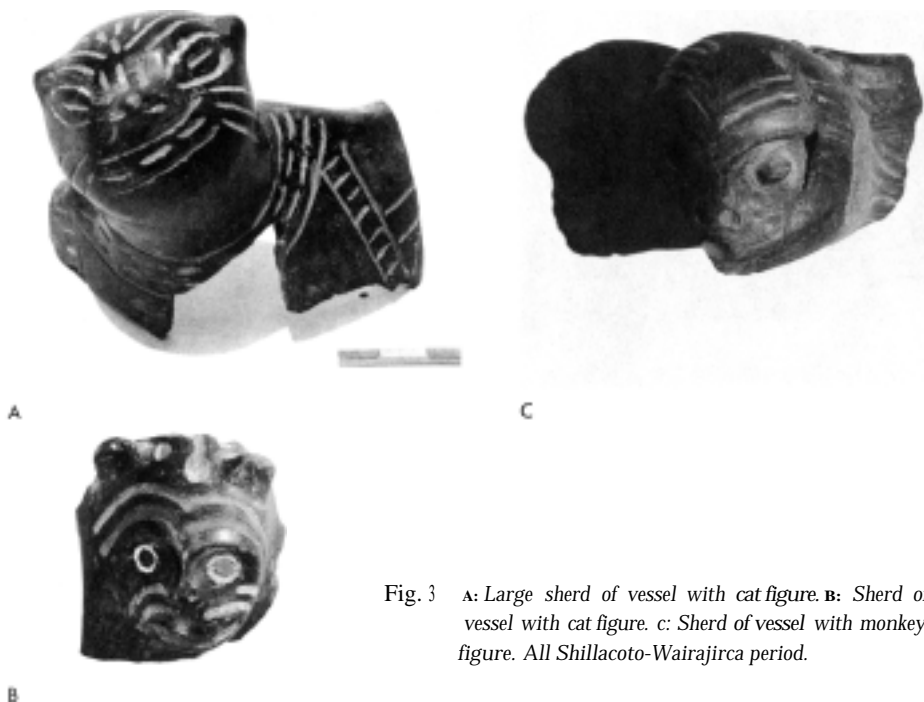


Fig. 3 A: Large sherd of vessel with cat figure. B: Sherd of vessel with cat figure. C: Sherd of vessel with monkey figure. All Shillacoto-Wairajirca period.

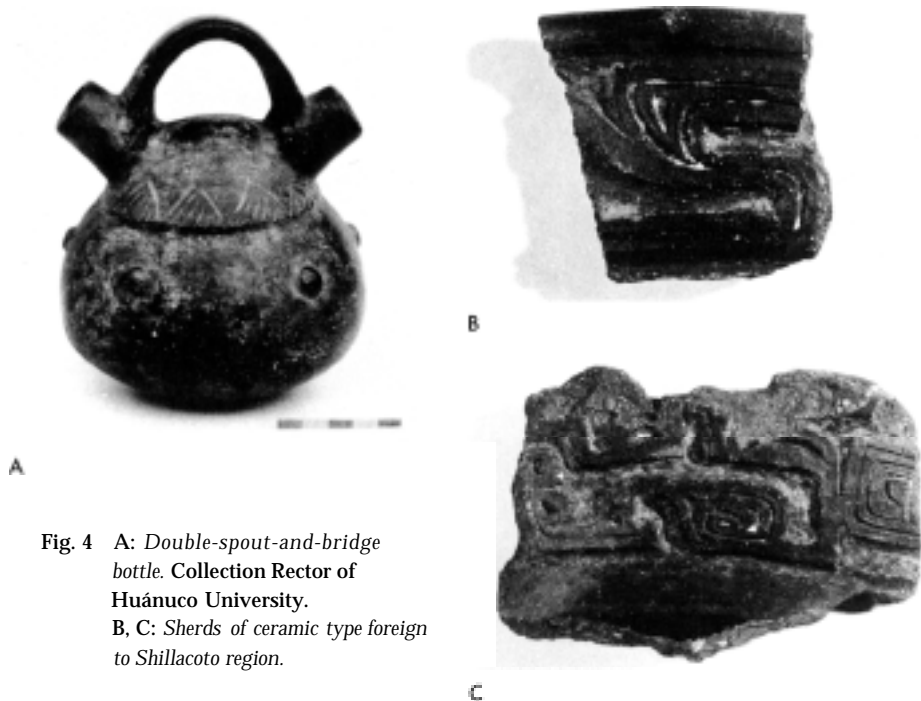


Fig. 4 A: Double-spout-and-bridge bottle. Collection Rector of Huánuco University.
 B, C: Sherds of ceramic type foreign to Shillacoto region.

Polished stone knives

Numerous stone knives, mainly of slate, were also found. They were divided largely into two classes by their form. One class has a rectangular shape; most of these were found in the stratum of the Wairajirca period (Fig. 7-A, C, D). The other class is of a semicircular shape and comes from the Kotosh period (Fig. 7-B, E). All of them have a sharp edge on one side with high polishing; visible traces indicate that they were used as cutting tools. We did not find this type of tool in the Shillacoto-Higueras period.

Polished stone club heads

This type has been found commonly in other areas of the Andes as well. We have obtained a considerable quantity of these in Shillacoto—enough to trace the transformation of the type, period by period (Fig. 8-B, C, D). They were most abundant there in the Wairajirca period. The Wairajirca type, which was extremely well made, is a magnificent large form whose center was perforated accurately with skillful technique.



A



B



C

Fig. 5 A, B: Bone implements with incised design of feline. C: Bone implement with incised design. All Shillacoto-Kotosh period.

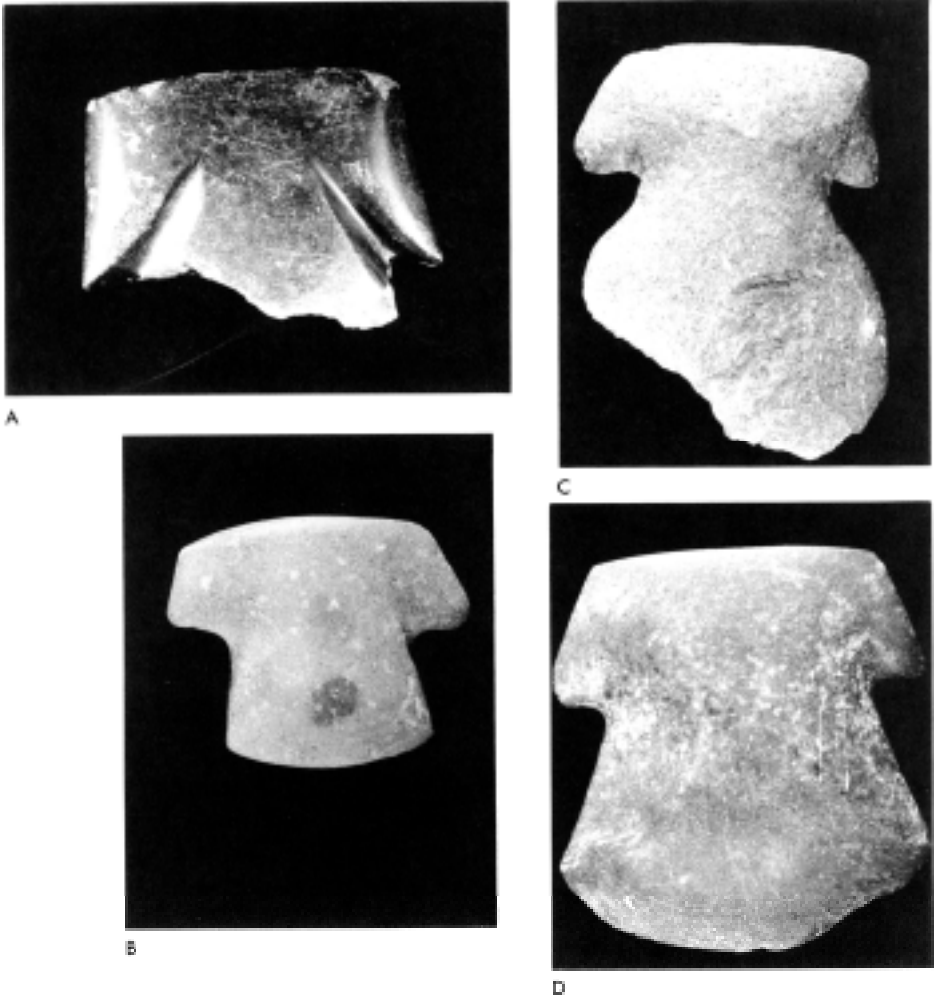


Fig. 6 A: Fragment of T-shaped axe. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. B: T-shaped axe. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. C: Large T-shaped axe. Shillacoto-Kotosh period. D: T-shaped axe. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period.

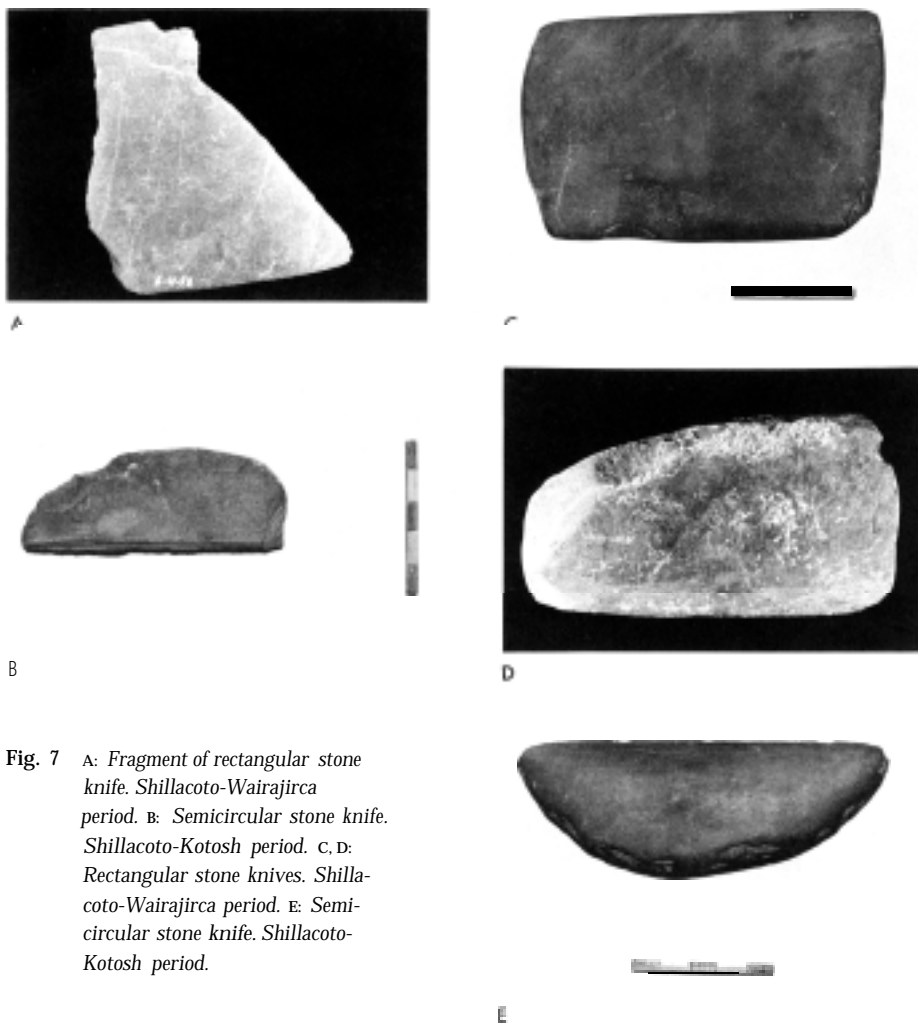


Fig. 7 A: Fragment of rectangular stone knife. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. B: Semicircular stone knife. Shillacoto-Kotosh period. C, D: Rectangular stone knives. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. E: Semicircular stone knife. Shillacoto-Kotosh period.

Jet mirrors

Among various stone objects, we would like to mention especially the jet mirrors (Fig. 9). There are many types. One specimen retains a brilliant surface on which one can see a clear reflection. Consequently, we are almost convinced that this material was used as a real mirror. Such mirrors were made in several shapes and sizes. One example, illustrated in Figure 9-B, found in the Wairajirca-period tomb, is circular and has in its center two depressions, possibly used for handling. Another was made in rectangular shape, with very accurate cutting on each straight side (Fig. 9-C). This

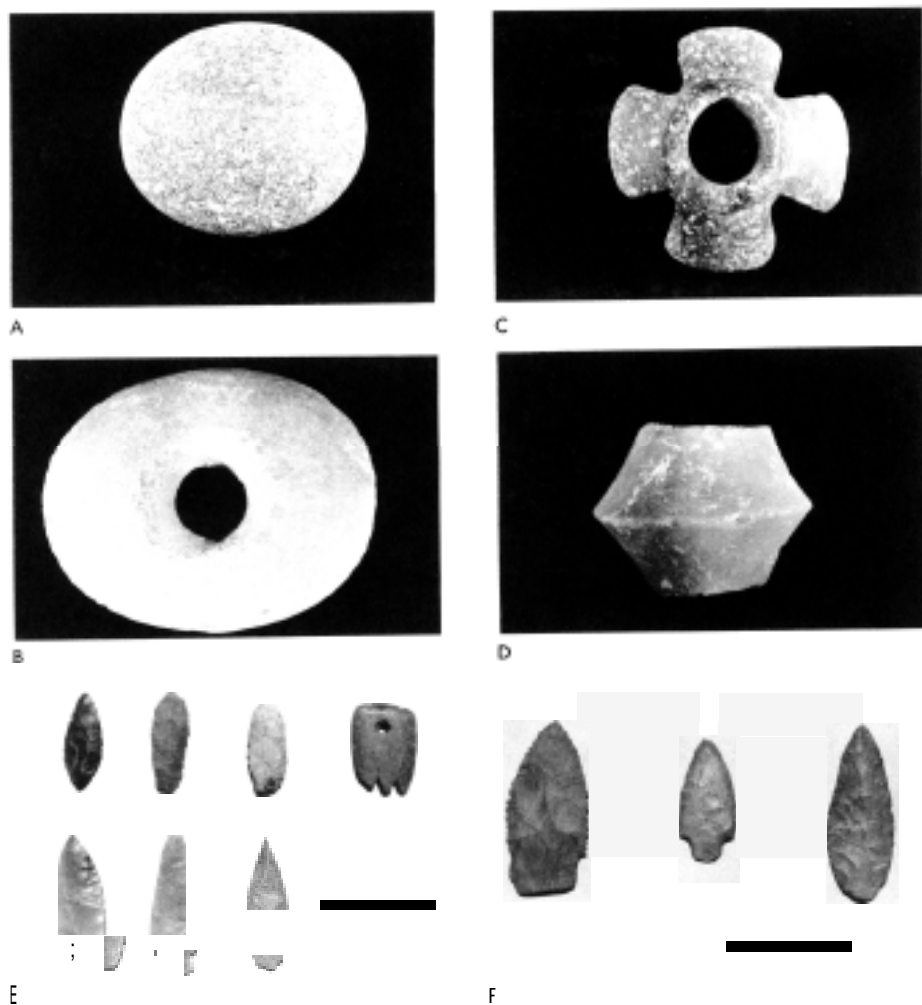


Fig. 8 A: Ground stone *mano*. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period. B: Circular stone club head. Shillacoto-Kotosh period. C: Star-shaped stone club head. Shillacoto-Higueras period. D: Angular stone club head. Shillacoto-Higueras period. E: Chipped stone projectile points and stone pendant. Shillacoto-Wairajirca and Kotosh periods. F: Chipped stone projectile points. Shillacoto-Wairajirca and Kotosh periods.

specimen was found in the tomb of the Kotosh period. The two types are conspicuously distinctive.

Stone bowls and plates

The specimen illustrated in Figure 10 is assumed to be one of the first examples of a

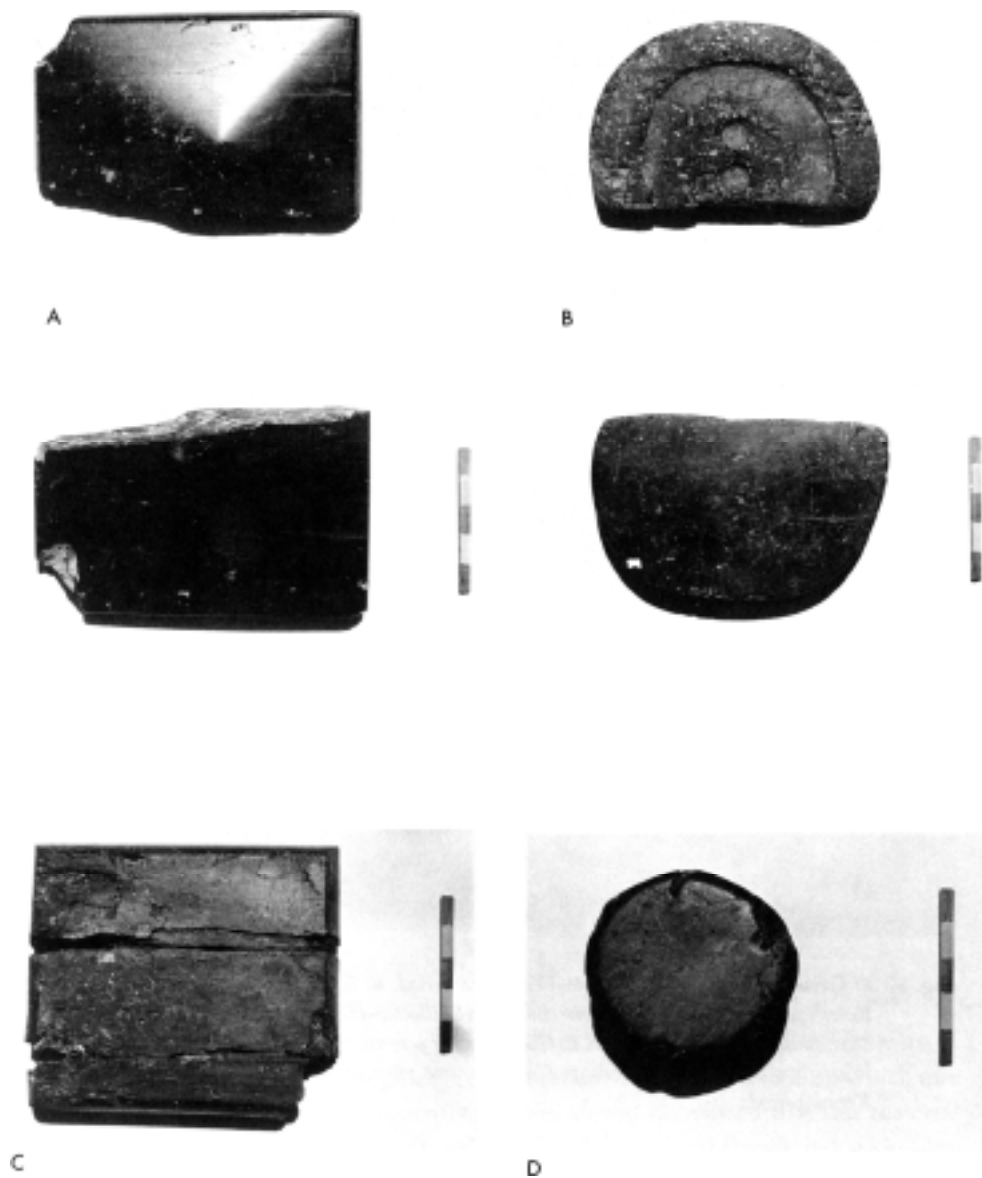


Fig. 9 A, C: Jet mirrors of rectangular shape. Shillacoto-Kotosh period. B, D: Jet mirrors of circular shape. Shillacoto-Wairajirca period.

stone plate with four legs in the highlands. This was found in the Wairajirca-period layer with small ground manos (Fig. 8-A). We also found many stone bowls with legs and with incised designs. Though most parts were in fragments, it is possible to reconstruct their original form. It should be noted that all of them were made in the Wairajirca or Kotosh periods.

Other important stone objects include chipped stone projectile points (Fig. 8-E, F), chipped stone axes, perforated flat stones, metates and manos, spindle whorls and disks, stone figurines, earrings, pendants, etc.

The work on this branch of study in the highlands has advanced only a little because of the scarcity of material or the lack of definite information. But now we are convinced that the examples from Shillacoto will serve to solve many obscure points in the work in this field.

DISCUSSION

We now have some reliable information about the development of the pre-Chavín cultures in the central highlands of Peru. Judging from the available evidence of ceramic artifacts, stone or bone objects, and construction of stone buildings, etc., it is assumed that these cultures had already reached a considerably high level, presenting an advanced technique of manufacture with a well-organized religious system. Their fundamental subsistence would have been based mainly on agriculture. In several places, they constructed “temples” as a religious center, and developed a village or town surrounding them.



Fig. 10 *Large stone plate with four legs. Shillacoto- Wairajirca period.*

Although we do not yet know whether these pre-Chavín cultures originally developed in this region or derived from other places, we have some authentic evidence to demonstrate the existence of the cultural contact or exchange between the highlands and the lowland Tropical Forest.

Another important piece of evidence is the existence of double-spout-and-bridge bottles, which we can take as a prototype of the ceramic category which in later times was so prevalent in the Paracas and Nazca cultures of the southern Peruvian coast (Fig. 4-C).

As for the ceramic ware of the Wairajirca and Kotosh periods, we can point out not only the striking similarities to that of Tutishcainyo in the Central Ucayali basin, but we can also recognize some resemblance to that of Valdivia or Machalilla in Ecuador, Malambo or Momíl in Colombia, and Barrancas in Venezuela. Furthermore, in many respects, we can see that some ceramic traits exactly coincided with those of several cultures in Mesoamerica. Consequently, on the nature of pre-Chavín cultures in the highlands of Peru, it is necessary to discuss this problem under a wider framework of the development of the Formative culture in Nuclear America as a whole.

Since the pre-Chavín cultures of the Wairajirca and Kotosh periods showed a very excellent character as far as ceramic cultures are concerned, in spite of the Initial ceramic stage in this region, we should presume the existence of a long tradition of the manufacturing technique which would yield such a prominent ceramic.

On the other hand, it seems difficult to make a distinction between cultures of the Wairajirca and Kotosh periods. It is thought that the ceramic culture of the Kotosh period—though we can distinguish the change in the shape or design and also admit the appearance of some new types—lay essentially in the extension of the Wairajirca culture, developing several of its ceramic traits. As a good example of this, we can illustrate a series of vessels that obviously indicate the course of the transition from the Wairajirca to Kotosh periods. As seen in Figure 1-A, B, C, we can recognize that vessels with anthropomorphic monkey-face designs in the Wairajirca period were gradually transformed to vessels with a human face. In the Wairajirca period, the characteristic monkey traits were emphasized, but these gradually diminished and tended to be replaced by a human character. Such a transformation finally resulted in excellent vessels with five human faces in the typical Kotosh period of the Kotosh site.

In the excavations at the Shillacoto site, we found very important material, such as ceramic cat figurines and bone implements with incised feline designs, which undoubtedly shows a definitive relationship between the pre-Chavín and Chavín cultures.

The ceramic cat figurines were made by a modeling technique, with incision to

represent more detailed features. Most parts of such figurines were originally attached to the rim or the body of the ware as an accessory or "adorno." The representation of cats with realistic expressions was made mainly in Wairajirca and continuously throughout the Kotosh period, but in the latter time it generally seemed to have a tendency toward simplification or abstraction of design.

Apart from the above figurines, We found in the tomb of the Shillacoto-Kotosh period, the bone implements, accompanied by many complete vessels and jars, and several stone objects. The design of the bone implements, depicted by incision, represents the diagnostic trait most typical of the Chavín art style—the fang, an attribute of the feline. Most suitable for comparison with this design are the many stone carvings found at Chavín de Huántar, such as the "Lanzón," the "Cornisa de los Felinos," etc. In this case, it should be noted that their identification specifically involves the representation of two fangs, upper and lower, which correspond exactly to each other.

Thus, if we can admit this Chavínlike design on bone implements as a real "Chavín style," we must allow that, even though these objects would have been brought from another region to Shillacoto by means of trade or exchange, the so-called Chavin art style would have prevailed to some extent in the highlands during the pre-Chavín period, because this feline representation can be regarded as a considerably stylized design pattern rather than a rudimentary one. In addition, it should be noted also that, in one example of these bone implements, a human face has been depicted in combination with the Chavinlike design (Fig. 5-B). This human face in turn is almost comparable to the representation of the human face on vessels of the Kotosh period.

While any definite conclusions based only on these materials found at the Shillacoto site should be reserved, at least it is necessary to modify somewhat the concept of Chavin culture or the Chavin Horizon generally accepted hitherto, and we now have to revise its chronological position to include a wider cultural range.

In any case, the appearance of the feline motif in the pre-Chavín period in the highlands is very important evidence bearing on the origin of **Chavín** culture and its development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CARDICH, AUGUSTO

- 1964 Lauricocha, Fundamentos para una Prehistoria de los Andes Centrales. *Studia Praehistorica III*. Centro Argentino de Estudios Prehistóricos, Buenos Aires.

CRUXENT, JOSÉ M., AND IRVING ROUSE

- 1958 An Archaeological Chronology of Venezuela. Social Science Monograph VI. Pan American Union, Washington.

EVANS, CLIFFORD, AND BETTY J. MEGGERS

- 1960 Archeological Investigations in British Guiana. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 177*. Washington.

FORD, JAMES A.

- 1969 A Comparison of Formative Cultures in the Americas: Diffusion or the Psychic Unity of Man. *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, vol. II. Washington.

IZUMI, SEICHI, AND TOSHIHIKO SONO

- 1963 Andes 2: Excavations at Kotosh, Peru, 1960. University of Tokyo Scientific Expeditions to the Andes, Tokyo.

LATHRAP, DONALD W.

- 1958 The Cultural Sequence at Yarinacocha, Eastern Peru. *American Antiquity*, vol. 23, no. 4, pp. 379-388. Salt Lake City.
- 1965 Origins of Central Andean Civilization: New Evidence. Review of Andes 2, by S. Izumi and T. Sono. *Science*, vol. 148, no. 3671, pp. 796-798. Washington.
- 1966 Relationships between Mesoamerica and The Andean Areas. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 4, pp. 265-275. University of Texas Press, Austin.
- 1971 The Tropical Forest and the Cultural Context of Chavín. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 73-100. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington.

LATHRAP, DONALD W., AND LAWRENCE ROYS

- 1963 The Archaeology of the Cave of the Owls in the Upper Montaña of Peru. *American Antiquity*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 27-38. Salt Lake City.

MEGERS, BETTY J., AND CLIFFORD EVANS

- 1957 Archaeological investigations at the Mouth of the Amazon. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 167*. Washington.
- 1962 The Machalilla Culture: An Early Formative Complex on the Ecuadorian Coast. *American Antiquity*, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 186-192. Salt Lake City.

- 1963 Aboriginal Cultural Development in Latin America: An Interpretative Review. *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 146, no. 1, Washington.

MEGERS, BETTY J., CLIFFORD EVANS, AND EMILIO ESTRADA

- 1963 Early Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador: The Valdivia and Machalilla Phases. *Smithsonian Contribution to Anthropology*, vol. 1. Washington.

REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, GERARDO

- 1955 Excavaciones en los conchales de la costa de Barlovento. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*, vol. 4, pp. 247-272. Bogotá.
- 1957 Momil: A Formative Sequence from the Sinú Valley, Colombia. *American Antiquity*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 226-234. Salt Lake City.
- 1965 Excavaciones arqueológicas en Puerto Hormiga (Departamento de Bolívar). *Antropología 2*. Ediciones de la Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá.

REICHEL-DOLMATOFF, GERARDO AND ALICIA

- 1965 Momil: Excavaciones en el Sinú. *Revista Colombiana de Antropología*. vol. 5, pp. 109-333. Bogotá.

Olmec Felines in Highland Central Mexico

DAVID C. GROVE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

ALTHOUGH it has been noted that purely zoomorphic jaguar representations are rare in Olmec art (Furst 1968: 148), they are present in the monumental art, including that of Mexico's central highlands. Here, in addition to purely zoomorphic forms, the feline is also shown in varying degrees of stylization. In this the highland Olmec art differs little from its Gulf Coast counterpart. Although we tend to identify the felines in Olmec monumental art as jaguars, it is only in the painted art that typical jaguar markings such as spot motifs occur. Since the great majority of felines in Olmec art occur in carvings lacking identifying characteristics, their jaguar identification is hypothetical. However, there is good reason to suspect that many Olmec carvings were painted. Stirling (1943: 58) found traces of paint on a colossal Olmec head, and it seems possible that jaguar-spot motifs as well as other iconographic devices were once painted on the carved feline representations.

Chalcatzingo, Oxtotitlan, and Juxtlahuaca are the three highland sites known today to have major monumental Olmec art. These have all been reported upon previously (e.g., Gay 1967; Grove 1968a, 1970) and need not be discussed completely here. This paper will discuss feline representations at these sites, and particularly at Chalcatzingo, but a few general comments appear appropriate first.

While the general consensus today is that highland Olmec art is derived from a Gulf Coast Olmec source, there are some who for a variety of reasons still believe in the highland origin of Olmec culture. Simply from the standpoint of the art style (and not considering the archaeological data which currently confirms Gulf Coast priorities), a highland origin for Olmec culture seems incorrect. The jaguar or feline motif is popular in highland Olmec monumental art, but there is little if any data to indicate that jaguars were native to the highlands during the past three thousand years. However, the jaguar abounds along the Gulf Coast, and so too do the major Olmec ceremonial centers. The presence of Olmec art in the highlands can best be explained at this time by diffusion from a Gulf Coast center or centers.

The manner of the diffusion from the Gulf Coast to the highlands is important to a proper interpretation of the highland feline motifs, for the mechanism by which they arrive in the highland locale may determine to a large degree the iconographic

significance placed upon them there. The basic question is, was the art brought to the highlands by Gulf Coast culture carriers, or did it diffuse independently of actual contact? The latter situation would suggest that different iconographic values and roles might be placed upon the art. The similarities between the highland and Gulf Coast Olmec styles are so close as to suggest not only actual contact diffusion, but also that the persons executing the art were quite familiar with the style and iconography, and were in all probability themselves from the Gulf Coast. The manner through which such contacts could have occurred has been explored in other articles (Coe 1965: 123; Flannery 1968; Grove 1968b, 1970; Grove and Paradis 1971) and need not concern us here.

Does the jaguar in Olmec iconography represent one or a manifold concept? Miguel Covarrubias (1957: 57-60, Fig. 22) stressed the Olmec jaguar as a rain deity which eventually evolved into the rain gods of later Mesoamerican civilizations. Peter Furst, on the other hand, suggested that Olmec jaguar symbolism is related to shamanistic transformations (1968: 150). Ignacio Bernal (1969: 103) and others feel that no particular deities were present in Olmec religion, a conclusion not supported by the recent investigations of Michael Coe (1968, this volume) and David Joralemon (1971). It appears obvious to me that the jaguar enjoyed a number of iconographic roles including some related to rain or to transformation, and others just now becoming apparent. Regarding the rain-deity aspect, to be discussed further below, this concept may have been deeply rooted in Gulf Coast Olmec mythology, and during the zenith of Olmec culture overpowered in the art by more dominant jaguar themes. However, the evolution of the were-jaguar face into the goggle-eyed rain deities of the Classic and Post-Classic (e.g., Covarrubias 1957: Fig. 22) seems doubtful. Painting A-3 from Oxtotitlan (Grove 1970: Fig. 27) and a recently discovered and yet unpublished Chalcatzingo carving both exhibit the goggle-eye motif. Both are apparently Olmec and Early Formative. The goggle-eyed deity is unknown on the Gulf Coast at this time period, and its early presence in the highlands suggests that it may be a highland innovation.

The Chalcatzingo bas-reliefs contain a number of feline representations, including one purely zoomorphic and several stylized only in the head region. Several highly stylized jaguar-monster faces also occur. These carvings are discussed individually below.

RELIEF III (FIGURE 1)

The feline in this large boulder bas-relief is purely zoomorphic, with no apparent stylistic embellishments. In general form it is unlike most jaguars shown in highland Olmec art. As with all carved felines, it lacks the jaguar-spot motifs, but is depicted

with a line along its side. It is possible that this feline represents a puma rather than a jaguar, for the puma has much lighter coloration on its undersides—if this is what the line along its side is actually depicting. This feline is shown in a prone position, quite similar to the felines of Río Chiquito Monument 2 (Stirling 1955: 8, Pl. 3) and Monument 7 from San Lorenzo (Stirling 1955: 13, Pl. 17). However, the Relief III feline is depicted with its tongue touching or licking an unusual plant. In comparing this plant to the current flora of the Chalcatzingo region, the closest similarity appears to be with the cardon cactus, *Lemaireocereus weberi*. The fruits of this tree cactus were gathered for food in Pre-Hispanic times. Of course, this identification is extremely tenuous, for it is equally probable that the plant illustrated is highly stylized or even mythical. The act of the feline's tongue licking the plant could perhaps symbolically represent ingestion of something from the plant. Furst's (1968) suggestion concerning shamanistic transformations could be employed in interpreting this carving; the animal might be ingesting a psychoactive alkaloid from the cactus, while the feline would represent the transformed state. Furst recently has noted (personal communication) that the cardon cactus is currently sold in the "curing" sections of some Mexican market places and that at least one species in Peru contains mescaline. An argument against an interpretation of transformation in this scene would be Furst's own observation (1968: 148-9) that his "transformed shamans" are not zoomorphic but are shown as were-jaguars.

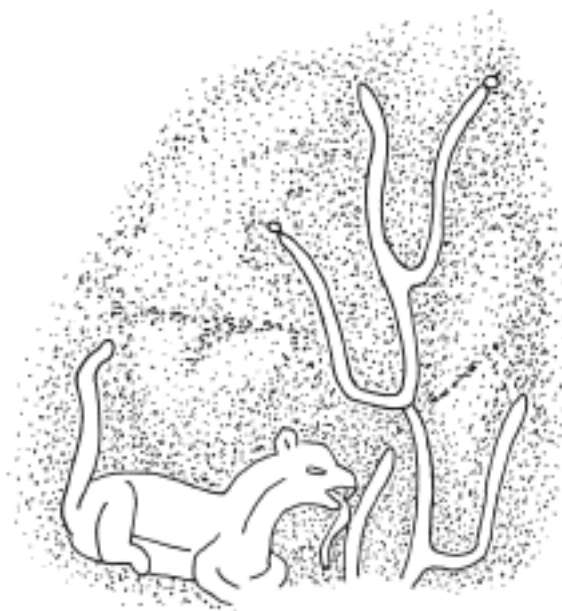


Fig. 1 *Relief III,*
Chalcatzingo.

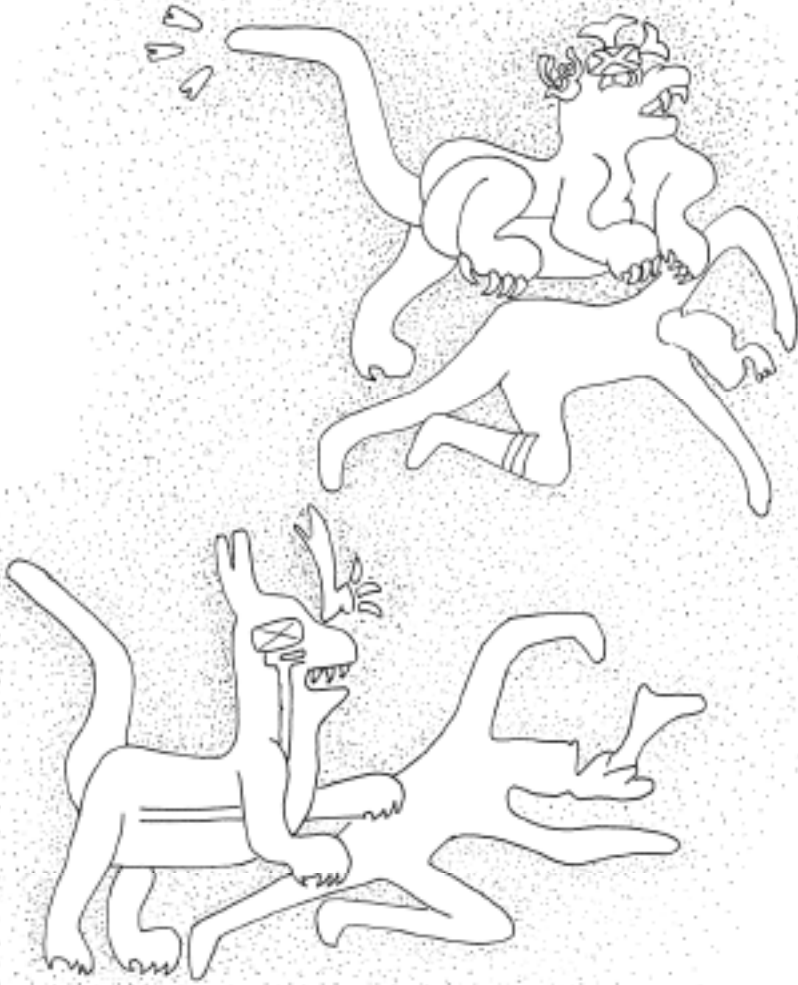


Fig. 2 Relief IV, Chalcatzingo.

RELIEF IV (FIGURE 2)

This relief is the only monumental Olmec art known today which depicts two felines or jaguars together. With the exception of their stylized heads, these jaguars can be considered zoomorphic. There is general similarity in the manner in which each jaguar is represented. They have similar body postures and elaborate head ornamentation, both lack ears, and each has a cartouche containing a St. Andrew's cross over its eye. Both in addition are depicted with unsheathed claws, crouching over or leaping upon prone human figures. However, these jaguars also exhibit several significant differences between them. The face of the upper jaguar is shown with a snarling mouth with upper gums exposed, and the animal's eye is realistically represented. Its head ornamentation includes the motif which Coe (this volume) has connected with the corn deity. In the area where the ear should be represented there is a symbol or glyph which is difficult to discern on the carving today, but which appears similar to Maya glyphs for Venus (e.g., Thompson 1960: Fig. 22.51) and to the Olmec capital-U element which is often shown with stylized plant motifs within it. In this case it shows similarities to stylized plant motifs on Chalcatzingo Relief IX (Fig. 4C). The tail of this jaguar has three "notched" elements radiating from its tip. These are similar in shape to many small Olmec jade "axes" and to the Olmec notched-fang motif. The ornamentation of the lower jaguar is contrastingly different. Its eye is a narrow, vacant slit; its fanged mouth lacks the snarling, exposed gums; and in addition this animal has a stripe running along its side and up to its eye. The vacant eye and stripe are reminiscent of Xipe symbolism. Of particular importance is the head ornamentation of this jaguar, with the long plumes at the forehead and the long notched piece at the rear. This is identical in form to the headdress worn by one of the standing masked Olmec figures of nearby Relief II (Fig. 3).

The St. Andrew's cross above the eye of each jaguar is probably significant to their proper identification, as few Olmec jaguars have this iconographic device. To the Maya it appears to have represented sky, heaven, or divinity, and in Olmec art it may, when enclosed in the cartouche, be a symbol indicating a deity. It suggests that these jaguars are jaguar deities. The plumed forehead of the lower jaguar and the "corn motif" of the upper jaguar suggest they are in some manner fertility deities. The figure in Relief II (Fig. 3) is probably a priest representing the same deity as the lower jaguar. Within the headdress of the standing figure is a motif which I have earlier suggested (1970: 9) was an Olmec glyph for water, which in my opinion tends to support the fertility aspects in both these reliefs.

Because the jaguars are ornamented differently, are they different deities or simply different aspects of the same jaguar deity? This is a difficult question to answer, for the

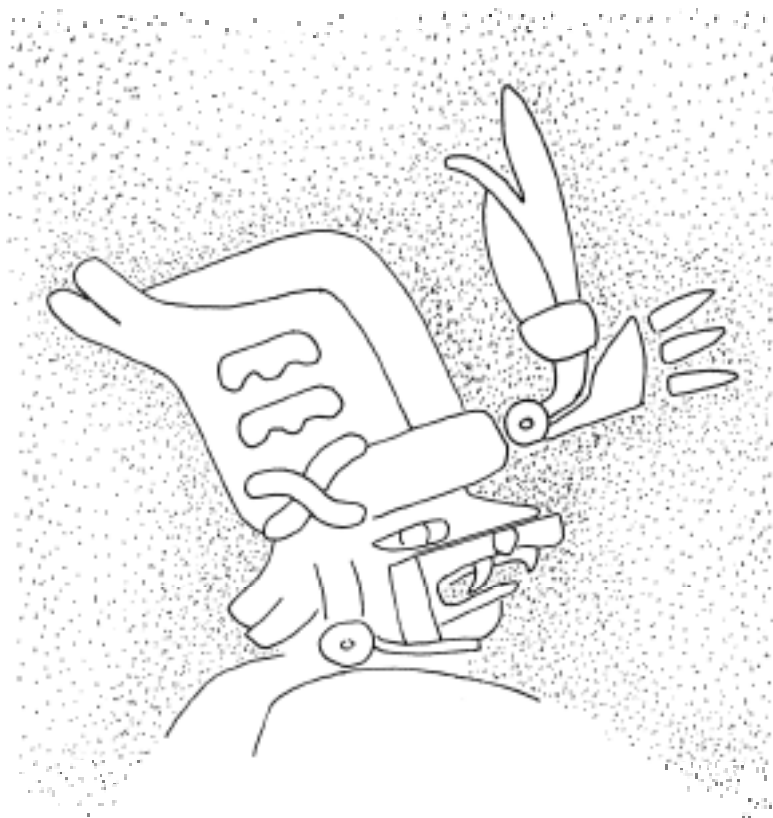


Fig. 3 *The masked face of a standing Olmec figure in Chalcatzingo Relief II.*

dividing line between separate deities and separate aspects is often quite vague. The fact that they are different may indicate that in Lévi-Straussian terms they are an opposition of deities, such as life and death, day and night, or sky and underworld. The fact that they are depicted together on the same relief may imply a concept of duality. Thompson (1970: 293) has pointed out the duality in the Maya jaguar god who reigns both in the sky and under the earth. The concept of duality was particularly strongly associated with Mesoamerican creator gods who in turn were strongly associated with fertility concepts and symbolism (Caso 1958: 9-10). The normal association of the jaguar in Mesoamerican religions was with caves, the night sky, and the underworld. The mythical origins of Mesoamerican foodstuffs were often also attributed to caves and the underworld (Nicholson, n.d.: 6).

It would be unrealistic at the moment to attempt a definite interpretation of this relief, other than mentioning its fertility aspects. Using various types of ethnographic and ethnohistoric data a number of analogies, none of them completely satisfactory, can be offered. For example, the depiction of the jaguars leaping upon human figures is quite similar to the idea of domination discussed by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (this volume). He also spoke of a culture group thinking of themselves as jaguars, and of neighboring groups fearing them because they too believed them to be jaguars. If we were to ignore the deific aspects of our two jaguars, we could hypothesize that they represent Jaguar-People (the Olmecs) dominating or "conquering" non-Olmecs: the Gulf Coast "conquest" of the highlands. In this case the stylistic differences in the jaguars would have to be interpreted as designating different clans or possibly different Olmec centers. While this idea may appeal to those who hypothesize militarism as an explanation for Olmec art in the highlands, it is probably incorrect.

It would be difficult to ascribe a theme of shamanistic transformations (e.g., Furst 1968) to this relief. While the jaguars could represent visions, alter egos, or *naguales* of the prone human figures, the positioning of the jaguars and their overall ferocity make such an interpretation improbable. They appear to be attacking the humans. There are a number of mythical accounts in Mesoamerica concerning jaguars attacking humans, etc. I would like to briefly mention two, both dealing with the destruction of the world. The present-day Lacandón Indians believe that the world will end with jaguars devouring the sun and the moon (Cline 1944: III). Could the human figures in Relief IV represent these celestial bodies? In the Pre-Hispanic creation myth of the five Suns, the initial Sun is presided over by the jaguar. At the end of this Sun, jaguars devour the giants inhabiting the earth. I occasionally wonder if a trace of historical reality lies behind this legend. The chronicles discussing this myth present actual time spans which place the beginning of the Jaguar Sun at 1050 or 955 B.C., dates which fall within our archaeological time span for Olmec culture. I infer no accuracy to mythical time spans, and the similarity to Formative chronology may be purely coincidental, but it is interesting that jaguar symbolism is strong in Olmec culture. Does the myth faintly remember the dominance of Jaguar-People (Olmec) during a date far in the past? A Lacandón myth (Cline 1944: 108, 110) states that one of the first groups of people created on the earth were named the Jaguar-People.

RELIEFS I AND IX (FIGURES 4b AND c)

Because of their similarities, these carvings will be considered together. Both represent stylized jaguar-monster mouths, although this identification is certainly more apparent in Relief IX (Fig. 4c). Relief I (Fig. 4b) shows the jaguar-monster mouth in profile, as a U-shaped niche. Atop this niche is an eye motif with St. Andrew's cross

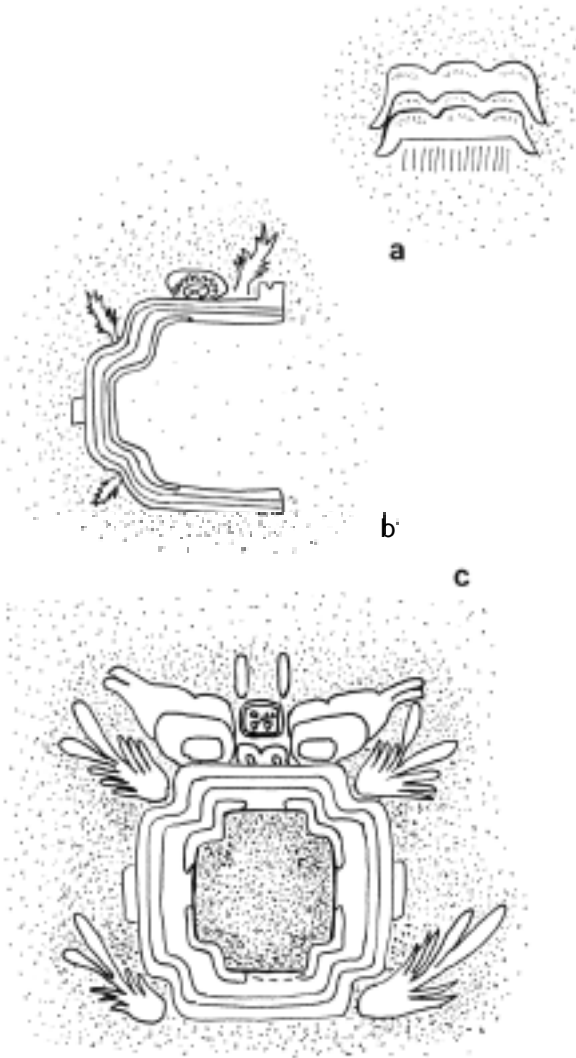


Fig. 4 A: Rain-cloud motif from Chalcatzingo Relief I.

B: Jaguar-monster-mouth motif from Chalcatzingo Relief Z, representing a cave.

C: Relief IX, Chalcatzingo.

and flame eyebrow which aids in its identification. The connection between earth-monster or jaguar-monster mouths and caves is well documented for Pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica. Above the stylized jaguar-monster-cave mouth of Relief I are three tri-lobed rain-cloud symbols (one shown in Fig. 4a), all similar in execution and shape to the typical were-jaguar or “baby-face” mouth so prominent in Olmec art. Whether this is purposeful symbolism or simply artistic expression is unclear at the

moment. Plants are shown sprouting at various places on this relief, including from the U-shaped niche itself. This relief clearly represents an association of caves, rain, and agricultural fertility. The style and execution of Relief IX are quite similar to that of Relief I. The cruciform mouth of Relief IX in frontal view is the same basic shape and form as the profile mouth of Relief I. Relief IX also has plants shown sprouting from its corners. The plants on Relief I appear to represent maize, but the long double spikes emanating from the Relief IX plants seem to preclude an **identification** as maize, amaranth, maguey, etc. Of course, these plants may be highly stylized and beyond identification. There is some similarity between these double spikes and the unusual motif on the rear of the head of Relief IV's upper jaguar, which could be interpreted as the Olmec U-element with the double spike growing from it. The association of plant motifs with jaguar-monster mouths is not a phenomenon restricted to highland Olmec art. Stylized plants occur with the jaguar-monster mouth of Altar 4 at La Venta (Drucker, Heizer, and Squier 1959: Pl. 56b), and grow from the U-element. In all these cases the jaguar-monster mouth appears to represent a cave, again reiterating the cave-jaguar-fertility association.

Gordon Ekholm (personal communication) has recently suggested that Relief IX may have been a free-standing slab rather than attached to the Chalcatzingo cliff face (Grove 1968a: 489-90). The cruciform mouth is hollow and shows a definite wearing of its lower edge, indicating it probably once served as a passageway. Furst (personal communication) mentions the use of the jaguar mouth symbol in initiation ceremonies of South American tropical forest tribes, with initiates being "re-born" in passing through the jaguar's mouth. Relief IX could have served a similar ceremonial purpose.

OLMEC PAINTED ART

Today our only evidence of the Olmec painted art form is preserved in the Guerrero caves of Oxtotitlan and Juxtlahuaca. Both have recently been discussed in detail (Gay 1967; Grove 1970). Three jaguar representations are known from Oxtotitlan, and two from Juxtlahuaca. These latter occur deep within the cave in apparent affirmation of Olmec associations between the jaguar and caves. In this case the jaguar paintings probably decorated ceremonial chambers. The relationship between jaguar and cave is also present at Oxtotitlan. Mural I at the site (Grove 1970: frontispiece) contains an elaborate jaguar-monster face painted directly over one mouth of the actual cave. Within the cave, painting I-d (Grove 1970: Fig. 13) shows a human and a jaguar in an apparent act of sexual intercourse. Since representations of this nature also occur in Gulf Coast carvings, this appears to relate to Olmec concepts of mythical origins of the "Jaguar-People." I believe that these mythical jaguar-human origins are associated with caves, as at Oxtotitlan, and that the large stone "altars" found at

San Lorenzo and La Venta relate in their iconography to this concept. These Gulf Coast altars generally portray a jaguar-monster face above and/or surrounding a concave niche at the base of the altar. Human figures are shown seated in (or emerging from) these niches, often holding were-jaguar infants. The mating of human and jaguar and the birth of infants with jaguar features is strikingly similar to the Páez myths discussed by Reichel-Dolmatoff (this volume). The altar niches beneath the jaguar-monster mouths certainly represent caves, the same association which appears with the jaguar-monster mouth symbolism in the highlands. In at least two cases (San Lorenzo Monument 14 and La Venta Altar 4) the figure emerging from the altar niche-cave grasps a rope which passes along the base of the altar to the wrists of human figures carved upon the altar's sides. While this may represent captives, the probable interpretation is that the rope represents *tlacamecayotl*, the "human rope" of kinship bonds such as discussed by Carrasco for Post-Classic central Mexico (Carrasco, n.d.: 28).

Finally, a number of otherwise human representations in highland Olmec art are shown with the were-jaguar or "baby-face" mouth. Coe (1968: 114; this volume) has demonstrated that the were-jaguar face occurs on a number of Olmec deities and thus need not be restricted to the concept of shamanistic transformations. In the highlands these baby-face figures are often shown wearing serpent or bird-serpent masks. This indicates to me that the artistic canon of the baby-face mouth in these cases is something apart from an iconographic symbol. Two plausible explanations I can suggest are that it is an artistic means of denoting priests, or a means of denoting a Gulf Coast (jaguar) person from a "non-Olmec." Ethnic identification with the baby-face mouth has been proposed previously (Covarrubias 1957: 58; Soustelle 1966: 35). Quite often the human figures which lack the baby-face mouth are bearded, both in Gulf Coast and highland Olmec art. Perhaps the bearded figures (e.g., Chalcatzingo Relief II, La Venta Stela 3) represent central highlanders.

In summary it seems apparent that there is no one concept involved with the feline motif in Olmec monumental art. The art of the highlands and Gulf Coast appears complementary, as one would expect from a direct and intensive contact situation (at least at the sites discussed). The feline motif appears associated with a complex conglomeration of ideas related to origins, fertility, and probably also rulership. The feline can generally be identified as the jaguar, and its abode, caves and the underworld.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BERNAL, IGNACIO
1969 *The Olmec World*. (Translated by Doris Heyden and Fernando Horcasitas.) University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- CARRASCO, PEDRO
n.d. *The Social Organization of Ancient Mexico*. Submitted for *Handbook of Middle American Indians* (in press). Mimeographed copy.
- CASO, ALFONSO
1958 *El Pueblo del Sol*. Fondo de Cultura Economica, Mexico.
- CLINE, HOWARD
1944 *Lore and Deities of the Lacandon Indians, Chiapas, Mexico*. *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 57, pp. 107-115. Philadelphia.
- COE, MICHAEL D.
1965 *The Jaguar's Children: Pre-Classic Central Mexico*. The Museum of Primitive Art, New York.
1968 *America's First Civilization: Discovering the Olmec*. New York.
- COVARRUBIAS, MIGUEL
1957 *Indian Art of Mexico and Central America*. New York.
- DRUCKER, PHILIP, R. F. HEIZER, AND R. J. SQUIER
1959 *Excavations at La Venta, 1955*. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 170*. Washington.
- FLANNERY, KENT V.
1968 *The Olmec and the Valley of Oaxaca: a Model for Inter-regional Interaction in Formative Times*. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 79-110. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington.
- FURST, PETER T.
1968 *The Olmec Were-jaguar Motif in the Light of Ethnographic Reality*. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 143-178. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington.
- GAY, CARLO T. E.
1967 *Oldest Paintings in the New World*. *Natural History*, vol. 76, no. 4, pp. 28-35. New York.
- GROVE, DAVID C.
1968a *Chalcatzingo, Morelos, Mexico: a Reappraisal of the Olmec Rock Carvings*. *American Antiquity*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 486-491. Salt Lake City.
1968b *The Pre-Classic Olmec in Central Mexico: Site Distribution and Inferences*. In *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on the Olmec* (Elizabeth P. Benson, ed.), pp. 179-185. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington.
1970 *The Olmec Paintings of Oxtotitlan Cave, Guerrero, Mexico*. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 6. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.
- GROVE, DAVID C., AND LOUISE I. PARADIS
1971 *An Olmec Stela from San Miguel Amuco, Guerrero*. *American Antiquity*, vol. 36, no. 1. Salt Lake City.

JORALEMON, PETER DAVID

- 1971 A Study of Olmec Iconography. *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, no. 7. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington.

NICHOLSON, H. B.

- 1971 Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico. In *Handbook of Middle American Indians*, vol. 10, part 1, pp. 395-446. University of Texas Press, Austin.

SOUSTELLE, JACQUES

- 1967 *Arts of Ancient Mexico* (translated by Elizabeth Carmichael). New York.

STIRLING, MATTHEW W.

- 1943 *Stone Monuments of Southern Mexico*. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 138*, Washington.

- 1955 *Stone Monuments of the Rio Chiquito, Veracruz, Mexico*. *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 157, Anthropological Papers No. 43*, pp. 1-23. Washington.

THOMPSON, J. ERIC S.

- 1960 *Maya Hieroglyphic Writing: An Introduction*. Second edition. University of Oklahoma, Norman.

- 1970 *Maya History and Religion*. University of Oklahoma, Norman.

Concluding Remarks

GEOFFREY H. S. BUSHNELL

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

At the start of the conference, I suggested a few points on which I would appreciate information, and I am glad to say that some of them have been covered in the course of the papers and discussions. One point was about the actual animals involved—but of that more later—and another was about what was worshiped in the pre-Chavín temples of Peru, to which Don Lathrap produced the answer: “Cats!”

I can divide the papers we have heard roughly into two categories: the interpretative ones on Middle America and Colombia, and the remainder the illustrative ones, which I think shows the difference between our knowledge of the areas of high civilization, Middle America and Peru.

Mike Coe set things going with a masterly exposition of the relationship between the jaguar and the Olmec kings. He began by showing us pictures of the various species of feline, and in so doing clarified matters a lot, for me at least. I forget whether anyone who said in the discussion that the Indians were good observers of nature also said that they mixed up cats with foxes or dogs, but I am quite sure that those who knew them cannot have been in any doubt which animal they were dealing with and that any mixture was deliberate.

We can go a long way with Mike Coe’s identification of five Olmec gods, which may rise to ten when David Joralemon has finished with them; but I feel very doubtful if we can, as I think he implies, go the whole hog and postulate 2700 years of complete Aztec theology. Surely the whole system can’t have been built up in a maximum of 800 years (say, from 2000–1000 B.C.), and then remained static for another 2700 years. After all, new peoples sometimes arrived in the Valley of Mexico, and probably elsewhere, too. Can they all have thought exactly alike?

Even the unbeliever will accept the association between the Old Fire God and the feline, although he would prefer not to commit himself to calling the feline Tezcatlipoca, and in this connection he was expecting somebody to mention the idea that the volcanolike cone at La Venta might indicate the early worship of the Fire God there. It is an idea which, if I may change person, has long attracted me, and it would strengthen the association.

If Mike's ideas are right, how are we to fit in George Kubler's scheme? It surely must be admitted that a considerable change of symbolism did take place in the Valley of Mexico between Teotihuacan and Tula, and I am going to be old-fashioned enough to suggest that this is associated with the increase of militarism. What more natural than to give one of the new warrior orders a badge associated with your top god? It might be profitable to follow Kubler's work up with similar studies in areas rich in symbolism like Oaxaca and the Gulf Coast.

In South America felines are widespread but not universally important. By chance I have more than a passing acquaintance with the coast of Ecuador, where, at some periods at least, much more interest was shown in pelicans than in cats, for no better reason I believe than that they were-and are-so constantly before one's eyes. Our present concern starts in Colombia. In San Agustín most of the representations are of men with false feline teeth, but it seems to me that the evidence from the "monkey group" and from the mythology of the Páez and others points to inspiration from the north, perhaps from the Olmec. Incidentally we were told that the jaguar and puma men among the Sierra Nevada Indians had to marry women of the essentially feminine clans, but I omitted to ask, as I intended, what happened to the women of the jaguar and puma clans? Were they stowed away in some sort of *accla-huasi*?

Passing to Peru, I have a strong impression that the only real, full-blooded fierce felines are in Chavín and its successors in the north. In Moche also I call to mind a naturalistic jaguar attacking a naked prisoner, as well as the many fanged personages or gods.

I recognize that the South Coast is full of feline representations, but they don't seem very happy there, and sometimes turn into otters, foxes, and monkeys almost unawares. Alan Sawyer speaks of the awesome fang-and-claw feline of Chavín becoming a thoroughly domesticated cat. I like Sawyer's suggestion that the cats were carried there from the north on textiles in the first instance. Many years ago someone -Bennett, I think-gave a similar explanation of how Tiahuanaco and Wari motifs reached the coast, and I have proposed that some very Peruvian-textile-looking cat faces on Mixtec polychrome pots were carried similarly to Mexico.

When he reaches his limit in Northwest Argentina, the feline gets so stylized that it is difficult to tell what he is, although Rex Gonzalez assures us that there are natural felines at hand for the artist to copy.

In all the Peruvian area we lack the wealth of literary material to aid in interpretation which exists in Mesoamerica, and the best hope which a number of participants saw was a renewed scrutiny of the speculations of Tello, who has so often proved right when no one believed him. Unfortunately a great many of his ideas died with him.