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The Plant Teachers: *Trichocereus* and *Anadenanthera* in the Imagery of Tiwanaku's Bennett Monolith

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Abstract

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by Kendyll Gross

This thesis analyzes the iconography of the Bennett Monolith, a 24-foot figural stela found at Tiwanaku, the capital city of a vast state in ancient Bolivia. My project specifically focuses on the statue and its incised imagery, which feature two sacred plant motifs that have not been adequately identified and explored to date. The Bennett Monolith figure holds two ritual objects, a drinking *kero* and a snuff tablet, that were used to ingest psychoactive plant substances: the "San Pedro" cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi)* and *vilca* seeds (*Anadenanthera colubrina)*. Naturalistic and abstracted versions of the cactus and the seed pods occur on the many figures inscribed on the main figure as well. The presence of the ritual objects and sacred plants have caused scholars to mention that the Bennett's imagery is shamanic. Nevertheless, the main discourse focuses on the stela as a socio-political statement primarily agricultural in nature.

Analysis of how these complementary sacred plants appear within the monolith is linked to the shamanic visionary experience: according to modern shamans, the cactus induces feelings of flying and peacefulness, while the seeds cause sensations of heaviness and restlessness. The common visionary perception of transforming into animal-selves, specifically the condor and the puma, is also expressed in the Bennett incised figures (part-avian, part-feline humans with wings). By linking the imported plants, the highland animals, the incised transforming shamans and the main shaman figure, I demonstrate that the monument is a spiritual object that the Tiwanaku installed centrally in their capital as a political statement of power in both the terrestrial and otherworldly realms.

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Introduction

Early chronicles of the sixteenth-century Spanish conquest attest that Inka royalty considered the ancient site of Tiwanaku and nearby Lake Titicaca to be places of birth and creation. Inka myth tells that before the beginning of time, the creator deity Viracocha emerged from Lake Titicaca, the largest body of water in the South American highlands (Urton 35). The deity then moved to the site of Tiwanaku, where he spawned the entire Andean cosmos. Here he created the sun, moon, and humankind itself. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, Spain's first official historian of the Andes, recorded the myth of Virococha, stating that he "went to a place now called Tiahuanacu [*sic*]...he sculpted and designed on a great piece of stone, all the nations that he intended to create" (Janusek 4). This retelling of the myth emphasizes how Inka ideology venerated Tiwanaku as a spiritual center that fashioned the diverse cultures of the Andes. The Inka sought to legitimize their empire by proclaiming their kinship with Tiwanaku, a reputed site of power and cosmic creation.

The site of Tiwanaku is located in the Bolivian *altiplano*, or high plateau, at a startling elevation of 12,600 feet (Stone, *Art of the Andes* 131). Although the site was likely inhabited by 800 B.C. or earlier, the state reached its apex between 400 and 800 A.D. and began declining around 1000 A.D. Tiwanaku is situated between Lake Titicaca and a mountain range dominated by Mt. Illimani. Lake Titicaca provided the site with rich resources such as fish, wildfowl, and aquatic plants.[1] The mountain range was an essential source of water, and the Tiwanaku considered Illimani to be a sacred peak that housed the spirits of their ancestors. These natural

[1] Although it is called Lake Titicaca, the body of water is actually an inland sea. Approximately 120 miles long and 50 miles wide, it is the largest inland body of water in South America. ("Lake Titicaca")

sources of abundance were imperative to the growth and prosperity of the ancient site -- the Andean *altiplano* was, and continues to be, a supremely harsh climate due to its debilitating altitude and aridity. During the summer of 2013, I had the opportunity to visit Tiwanaku. Traveling to the site, I could not help but observe how the *altiplano* contains little vegetation except for the wispy ichu grass. I also noticed the intensity of the sunlight and the sweeping winds, which make temperatures drop dramatically as night falls. The Andean *altiplano* is a place of change, as it experiences unpredictable freezes, hails, winds, droughts, and floods.

Nonetheless, as a far-reaching polity, Tiwanaku was able to mitigate the effects of the chaotic climate, becoming a thriving state that exhibited a visible social hierarchy and was able to impart its influence onto other surrounding sites. Tiwanaku imports have been found as far as 500 miles south of the capital (*ibid* 128). Many traditional trade routes were under the jurisdiction of the state, as the empire tried to obtain monopolies over the most lucrative businesses. The anthropologist Alan Kolata notes how the state's llama caravans facilitated trade between highland-coast locations, linking the state-implanted colonies with the capital itself (Kolata 57-58). Extensive trade brought about an interregional exchange of people, products, and political and religious ideologies. The Lake Titicaca basin was crucial to the domestication and regulation of necessary high-altitude food crops. The state developed technologies for optimum crop yields, such as dams, aqueducts, and dikes to divert water onto agricultural fields (*ibid* 182). The domestication of high-altitude crops and trade allowed the Tiwanaku people to create a permanent urban center, which was dominated by impressive stone monuments and buildings that echoed ideas of elite power and control. The city itself embodied the hierarchy of a state, as the extensive walled compounds of Tiwanaku's elite were made of durable materials that remain

standing today. The homes of the lower-class, however, were ephemeral, making it harder for archeologists to track just how far the empire extended.

The city incorporated numerous monumental complexes and stone monoliths and portals. "Each structure drew subjects up onto raised platforms, through portals and passages, and then down into smaller inner temples and courts that were the setting for powerful rituals and dramatic performances" (*ibid* 110). The plan of Tiwanaku conveyed the state's desire to regulate and control movement within the space while the buildings and monuments themselves were meant to evoke awe by emphasizing their solidity, permanence, and strength. One of the most important complexes at Tiwanaku was the Sunken Temple, a subterranean court adorned with effigy heads. The sunken court once contained an array of monumental sculpture. One of these monuments was the Bennett Monolith (Fig. 1.1), which is the subject of this thesis.[2]

The Bennett Monolith is a 24-foot-tall sandstone stela that depicts a figure holding ritual items. In 1932, the American archeologist Wendell C. Bennett moved the stela to La Paz, where it was placed in a town square across from the Hernando Siles sports stadium. Yet, the monument remained a significant source of cultural pride and heritage for the indigenous Aymara people who live on the *altiplano*. Defying Bennett's claim to naming the ancient object, many Aymara call the stela the *Pachamama* ("Earth Mother") Monolith, as *Pachamama* was a principal deity for the Inka people. For the purposes of this paper, however, I will continue to refer to the monolith as the Bennett Monolith. During the 90s, a workshop was offered at the National University of San Andrés in La Paz to discuss the repatriation of the Bennett back to the "Aymara capital of Tiwanaku", and in 1997, the Association of Young Professionals began

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[2] While the Bennett Monolith was found in situ, it is possible that it could have been moved. The Sun Gate, another monument found at Tiwanaku, remains in the same location where it was found buried. No one is certain where the monument's original location would have been. The Bennett Monolith could have a similar history.

lobbying the Bolivian government to return the stela to Tiwanaku (Silverman and Isbell 1098). In 2002, the Bennett Monolith was finally returned to the ancient site. Thousands of people in La Paz gathered to witness the departure, which was marked by a final offering to the monument for prosperity. The next day, the people of the *altiplano* welcomed the Bennett Monolith back to home with song, dance, and prayer, and the local Aymara hailed the stela's return as a sign of good fortune ("Ancient Tiwanaku Tiahuanaco"). Today, the Bennett is housed within a room at the Tiwanaku Museum at the ancient site.

Unfortunately, once Bennett excavated the statue, he exposed it to a myriad of conditions that slowly began to erode the monument's fine imagery. Placed within an urban environment, the stela was vulnerable to acid rain and pigeon feces. The object even carries the indents of more than 20 bullets (Enever, "Spiritual Return for Bolivian Monolith"). While I was elated to finally see the monument up close and personal, I was dismayed to discover that a lot of the object's great detail has been lost. The procession of figures along the head of the object is no longer visible, and many other details that can aid in interpretation are gone. It was hard to observe the nuances of the Bennett's carvings in the dimly lit room (although harsh lighting would have washed out the figures as well). Therefore, scholars have relied heavily upon the Polish-Bolivian archeologist Arthur Posnansky's 1945 drawing of the Bennett Monolith when performing in-depth investigations of the stela. Posnansky's drawing has become essential to analyzing the monolith's enigmatic imagery, and my thesis will involve an analysis of the Bennett using Posnansky's sketch, which captures more detail than one can ever hope to observe on the monument today.

The ritual objects being held by the Bennett were often used during rituals to ingest psychoactive substances that facilitated the shaman's access to the spirit realm. In the proper left hand, the statue holds a drinking *kero* beaker. In the proper right hand, it holds what is believed to be a snuff tablet, which is based on comparison to more readable ones. Therefore, we may interpret the imagery as primarily shamanic. The monument's elite attire has also led scholars to believe that the Bennett Monolith portrays an important figure within Tiwanaku society. Kolata argues that this symbol of an elite personage adorned with images of llamas and flowering cacti emphasizes farming and agriculture as claims to power. Many scholars agree with Kolata and analyze how the monolith engages concepts of authority based on agriculture. However, within this discourse, the importance of the shamanic experience has been neglected. Some will venture that the images are shamanic, yet do not take the time to specify how the Bennett and its imagery embody the shamanic experience itself. Instead, analyses of the Bennett Monolith remain focused on the object as a socio-political statement. It is not enough to simply label the stela as shamanic without discussing what makes it so. Without specificity, the object, and shamanism as well, becomes two-dimensional and is robbed of its substance and dynamism. An in-depth analysis of how the Bennett Monolith figure and its multiple incised images, in conjunction with the ritual shamanic objects it holds, convey shamanic character is essential to understanding the art of other major Tiwanaku monuments and artifacts (a topic, however, beyond the scope of the present study).

The presence of sacred plants within the monument's imagery also underscores the shamanic aspect of the monument. Sacred plants were used during shamanic rituals to access the Other Realm, where shamans could find solutions to communal problems. These plants are often

called plant teachers because of the invaluable wisdom and insight they offer shamans who embark on trance journeys. One plant teacher present within the Bennett's imagery is the San Pedro cactus (Fig. 1.2). In *The Tiwanaku: Portrait of an Andean Civilization*, Kolata identified the plant sprouting from the back of a llama figure as the San Pedro cactus (Fig. 1.3) and notes that it appears prominently on other figures as well (139). Studying the sandstone monument, Kolata remarks, "The Bennett stela...was a highly compressed image of esoteric knowledge that turned on the complementary relationships between agriculture and llama husbandry, the two economic pediments of Tiwanaku's political power" (*ibid* 141). Tiwanaku combined images of elite figures with images of agropastoral productivity. Together, Kolata argues that these motifs underscored the power of the elite to nourish and provide for the public. Through their appeal to and interactions with divine forces, the ruling officers of Tiwanaku guaranteed the city's success.

The scholar Patricia Knobloch identified another sacred plant called *vilca* (Fig. 1.4) within the Bennett's imagery.[3] Knobloch has performed extensive work identifying *vilca* in the artwork of the Wari, a contemporary culture that paralleled the Tiwanaku. One of Knobloch's most important images is a Wari tunic that depicts an attendant figure with the plant teacher (Fig. 1.5). The most comprehensive image of the plant is seen on the staff. Using this image as a template, Knobloch breaks down the identification of *vilca* into three main attributes: the circled dots represent the plant's the spherical flowers, the ovate shapes with interior lines represent the leaves, and the oblong shapes with interior circles represent the seedpods. Knobloch also attests that *vilca* can be found in the imagery of the Bennett Monolith. She claims that the frontal figure situated between the *kero* and snuff tablet (Fig. 1.6) is an anthropomorphized icon of *vilca,* as the

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[3] *Vilca* is not a word created by the Tiwanaku, but an Inka word, which means "Sacred" in the Inka language, Quechua (Bauer 226). As *vilca* is the most commonly used name for *Anadenanthera colubrina*, it will be used in this paper.

three hanging circles reference the plant's seedpods. However, throughout the rest of the stela's imagery, Knobloch believes the circled dots are actually references to the plant's flower. She concludes that the absence of the seedpod attribute is intriguing because the psychoactive properties of the plant come from its seeds. Knobloch speculates that *vilca*'s characteristics may have been simplified so only the elite and other learned figures would understand such images.

Although I agree with Kolata's assessment that the Bennett accentuates the power of the elite, what is striking to me is how the shamanic aspect of the monument has been shortchanged. After discussing the monument's socio-political nature, he continues, "If I have decoded the essential meanings integrated in the form and iconography of the Bennett Monolith, what of the other sculptures...?" (*ibid*). Yet the iconography of the Bennett Monolith has not been fully decoded or analyzed. How does the sacred plant he identified affect the imagery of other figures, and where are these other images of the San Pedro flower that apparently dominate the monolith? Also, while Knobloch notices that contemporary Andean images of *vilca* usually have circled dots for the flowers, I would say that these icons represent the plant's seeds (Fig. 1.7) in the incised surface imagery of the Bennett Monolith. I also ask the same question of Knobloch that I do of Kolata – in addition to the anthropomorphized figure, where can we see other images of *vilca*, and what role does it play within the Bennett's imagery?

Understanding that the shamanic realm is a place of flux and change, I argue that the motifs of these sacred plants do not remain consistent within the monument and are subject to dynamic levels of abstraction and transformation. At first, looking at the Bennett Monolith can be overwhelming, especially given the wide spectrum of representation that each sacred plant possesses. Yet, if one can break down the iconography into separate elements and view the

various figures with an informed lens of the shamanic experience, the disarray of the imagery becomes clearer. Drawing from the research of scholars who have identified images of the sacred plants, as well as visual sources from Tiwanaku and other ancient Andean cultures, I will explore the transformative imagery of the San Pedro cactus and *vilca* within the iconography of the Bennett Monolith. Using Knobloch's method of breaking down *vilca* into readable, key parts, I will navigate the range of representation for each plant teacher, from most naturalistic to most abstract.

The Sacred Plants and the Shamanic Experience

According to the artistic record, the shaman was an essential figure to the Tiwanaku. Shamanism is not an institutionalized religion, but rather a religious complex that contains a set of beliefs and ritual acts based on visionary experience. Shamans act as a skilled mediators between the terrestrial community and the spirit realm. These individuals are called to serve because they possess something that distinguishes them from others. For example, they may have survived an often fatal illness and therefore may be called to a shamanic role. To maintain natural order, shamans engage in trance journeys to cosmic realms, seeking guidance to problems that plague their community, such as sickness, social problems, or natural imbalances. As Westerners, it is easy to view shamanism from an ethnocentric point of view, dismissing visions as hallucinations, illusions, or even evidence of psychosis. However, shamans, anthropologists, scientific subjects, and other visionaries agree that their visions seem more real than the terrestrial world. An anonymous Huichol shaman stated, "There are not hallucinations with peyote. There are only truths" (Siegel 29). During rituals, shamans typically close their eyes, as

they enter into a trance state. Instead of seeing with their corporeal eyes, shamans see with their "spiritual eyes" or engage in what is known as "closed-eyes-seeing" (Stone, *The Jaguar Within* 15).

While each trance journey is unique, they all contain familiar elements that come to define the shamanic experience. For example, they involve intense colors that become indescribable; once solid beings exist in constant flux as well. In the Other Realm, shamans experience dual consciousness, bright colors and light, geometric forms, and multiplicity and flux. Dual consciousness means that participants experience a mundane, terrestrial consciousness, as they travel through the Beyond. The misconception that shamans become unconscious during altered states dismisses the visionary experience. Indescribable colors and light overwhelm the senses and often convey wisdom and revelation. Geometric forms commonly introduce the Other Side itself before the later narrative of the vision itself. As the precursor to the spirit realm, geometric forms demonstrate power and foresight. Finally, participants experience multiplicity and flux, as they witness a repetition of elements and the rapid deconstruction and reformation of beings. The Beyond is defined by fast levels of change and transformation. For example, flux is often embodied by shifts in perspective. Under the influence of the San Pedro cactus, the modern Peruvian shaman Doña Isabel described her spirit as soaring. "It was as though from there she looked out over all the problems the patients would have" (Glass-Coffin 64). This set of common themes can be conveyed through art. "...mystical experience is brought into the mundane world; the gap between ordinary and non-ordinary reality is transcended by artistic symboling" (Stone, *The Jaguar Within* 2).

Indeed, the imagery of the Bennett Monolith encompasses these concepts. The Bennett Monolith captures multiplicity. The figures spread throughout the Bennett's body, and a majority of the figures are not singular entities, but come in pairs. It is also important to note that the monolith has an extra finger on its right hand wrapped around the *kero*. The Bennett figure experiences polymelia, which is defined as the presence of extra digits. After ingesting plant teachers, participants often describe seeing their digits and limbs multiply (Klüver 73). Thus, not only does the Bennett visualize multiplicity, but its own body begins to embody the concept as well. This leads to the idea of constant flux, as the body of the shaman appears alive with the animation and abstraction of the surface incised figures.

A key element of the trance journey also involves the transformation into the animal self. "Aggressive animals - reptilian, feline, avian - are the agents of ecstatic trance-state transformation which enhances the shaman's communication with and meditation between the natural and supernatural worlds..." (Sharon 11). Interactions with the animal-self offer unprecedented knowledge and strength, as the shaman takes on the characteristics of predatory and often powerful animals. For example, shamans who seek to heal patients may take the owl as their animal self because of the creature's acute nocturnal vision. The impressive vision of the owl aids the shaman in searching for a cure in the daunting spirit realm. During trances, shamans experience sensations of becoming the animal itself. The late shaman Pablo Amaringo stated, "I was becoming a snake. I had the desire to jump out into the water to find frogs and insects to eat" (Luna and Amaringo 27, 11). Shamans can also take on the form of a series of animals, which embodies flux. One Western woman describes becoming a snake then a jaguar then a snake again (Metzner 200).

Two distinct animals occupy the visual landscape of the Bennett Monolith: the puma and the condor. The two creatures are a part of a trinity of sacred Andean animals (with the other sacred animal being the serpent). Each animal represents a different energy and realm. The puma represents the earth and is the "great protector that guards our precious awakened energy as it makes its journey to conscious awareness." (Heaven, *The Hummingbird's Journey to God* 102). The condor represents the open sky and "is the self that is fully awake and, like the bird itself, can soar above the world" (*ibid*). The animal heads can be seen sprouting from the wings of the running human and bird-headed figures, and emanating from the faces of disembodied heads. As top sacred animals, it is no surprise that they are depicted on such an elite monument, and their status as rulers of the sky and earth would certainly make these animals powerful companions while traversing the Other Realm.

While the concept of the animal-self has received a lot of attention, the role of plant teachers and otherworldly spirits have not been studied as much. Yet one cannot neglect their importance, as the plant teacher acts as a gateway to the Other Side. Before a shaman can reach the spirit realm and transform into an animal self, the guidance of the plant teacher is necessary. Speaking of the San Pedro cactus, the shaman Lesley Myburgh stated, "It is a master teacher. It helps us to heal, to grow, to learn and awaken, and assists us in reaching higher states of consciousness" (Heaven, "San Pedro, the Miracle Healer"). Myburgh's statement highlights the foresight and acumen that plant spirits offer shamans. A shaman's ability to heal is attributed not to his own person, but to the authority of the plant teacher. Without the plant teacher's guidance, the shaman would not be able to access the spirit realm and fulfill his role as a guardian of the community. The name "plant teacher" itself emphasizes the authority and wisdom of the plant. In

2005, the late Pablo Amaringo, an artist who illustrated his vivid visions resulting from ingesting the entheogenic brew *ayahuasca*, stated, "The consciousness of plants is a constant source of information for medicine, alimentation, and art, and an example of the intelligence and creative imagination of nature" (Heaven and Charing, Foreword). Those who practice shamanism view flora as animated, conscious beings. Thus, they do not possess a passive role within shamanic rituals. Instead, they are active, engaged teachers that instruct and guide shamans on their trance journeys.

Focusing on Amaringo's use of the word "consciousness," we can even begin to think of plants as being capable of possessing a self. In *Plant Spirit Shamanism*, Ross Heaven and Howard Charing declare that the main goal of a trance journey is to meet with one's plant teacher or plant ally, which is "the consciousness of a plant that will guide you into a magical world of the collective plant mind" (18). When retelling their journeys to the Other Side, shamans often speak of meeting and speaking with a personified version of plant teachers. Pablo Amaringo's paintings of his visions often illustrate the personas of certain plants. In *The Spirits or Mothers of the Plants (*Fig. 1.8)*,* the viewer notices that much of the flora has taken on a human appearance. The *Remo Caspi* tree, which appears at the far left, resembles an old, bearded man with a crown and scepter. On the far right of the painting is the personification of the *Renaquilla* bush, which resembles a Shipibo woman from the amazon rainforest in Peru. Without these spirits, shamans would not be able to access the spirit realm. Shamanic power does not come from the shaman alone, but from the plant who offers guidance and wisdom.

Another useful word used to describe plant teachers is entheogen. While the term "plant teacher" is widely used by shamans to describe the essence and role of ritual plants, the term

"entheogen" was created by academics hoping to avoid words like "hallucinogen" and "narcotic" that carry negative connotations. Introduced in 1979 by a group of scholars from the United States, entheogen describes a psychoactive substance that is ritually used to induce visions. Derived from the ancient Greek *entheos* (inspired, animate with deity) and *genesis* (becoming), the word emphasizes a substance's ability to unearth one's connection to the divine (Fridman and Walter 111). Throughout this paper, I will use both entheogen and plant teacher as synonymous terms to describe the two ritual plants featured within the Bennett's iconography.

The San Pedro cactus, scientifically known as *Trichocereus pachanoi*, represents one of the most ancient plant teachers of South America.[4] The oldest archeological evidence of the plant is found in northern Peru at a Chavín de Huantar temple complex; it is a stone relief carving (Fig. 1.9) found in the sunken courtyard before one enters the structure. This early representation of the cactus dates back to ca. 1000 BC. The use of San Pedro was widespread throughout the Andes from then until when the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth-century. The Catholic church fought against shamanism and ritual use of the cactus. In his account of the plant teacher, a Spanish official reported, "This is the plant with which the devil deceived the Indians of Peru in their paganism...those who drink lose consciousness and remain as if dead..." (*Trout's Notes on San Pedro* 108). The modern use of the San Pedro Cactus has been greatly influenced by Catholicism, thus the name San Pedro, which comes from St. Peter who holds the keys to heaven.

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[4] *Trichocereus pachanoi* is also synonymous with *Echinopsis pachanoi,* as some taxonomists believe there are differences between the variety of cacti predominantly prescribed as *Trichocereus.* The genus is native to South America, and there are over sixty known species included within the genus. The cacti are very diverse, yet many appear similar in appearance, which causes people to group separate species under the same name. For example, the San Pedro cactus is often confused with the the Peruvian torch (*Trichocereus peruvianus*). However, although *Echinopsis* is becoming more popular, *Trichocereus* is still widely used as the genus for the San Pedro Cactus. ("Visionary Cactus Guide")

The name seems fitting, as the plant is the key to unlocking trance journeys. It contains the alkaloid mescaline, which is primarily responsible for the plant's psychoactive properties.[5] Ingestion of San Pedro is associated with sensations of flight, as participants are "set free from matter" and engage in flight through cosmic regions (Schultes and Hofmann 157). In the sixteenth century, a Spanish clergyman described the shamanic use of the plant : "They take the form they want and go a long distance through the air in a short time; and they see what is happening, they speak with the devil, who answers them in certain stones or in other things they venerate" (*Trout's Notes on San Pedro* 108). Certain aspects from this account seem familiar: the "form they want to take" speaks to the idea of transformation into an "other" self and "they see what is happening" may refer to dual consciousness. What is truly fascinating about the official's retelling, however, is his description of how shamans travel "a long distance through the air," which coincides with contemporary accounts of participants experiencing sensations of flight. An anonymous, modern shaman detailed the principal effects of San Pedro: "...the drug first produces...drowsiness or a dreamy state and a feeling of lethargy...a slight dizziness...then a great 'vision', a clearing of all faculties...It produces a light numbness in the body and afterwards tranquility. And then comes detachment, a type of visual force...inclusive of all the senses...including sixth sense, the telepathic sense of transmitting oneself across time and mater...like a kind of removal of one's thoughts to a different dimension" (Schultes and Hofmann 156). Both the colonial and the modern accounts share the common theme of euphoric flight. The San Pedro cactus transports one "across time, matter, and distance in a rapid and safe

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[5] Aside from peyote, San Pedro has more mescaline than any other natural source. The majority of the cactus' mescaline content is found in the outer half-inch of its skin (Thies 179). San Pedro contains at least two to three percent mescaline. In addition to mescaline, the plant also contains the alkaloids 3,4-dimethoxyphenethylamine, 4-hydroxy-3-methoxyphenethylamine, 3-hydroxy-4,5-dimethoxyphenethylamine, 4-hydroxy-3,5-dimethoxyphenethylamine, anhalonidine, anhalinine, hordenine,tyramine, and 3-methoxytyramine (Crosby and McLaughlin 416).

fashion...” (*ibid* 157) so the shaman may reach the Other Realm in search of a solution that troubles their community.

It is important to emphasize that the trance journey is not undertaken for its own sake. The ultimate role of the shaman is to heal using the wisdom and power of the plant teacher. This healing power is reflected in ancient Andean ceramics. The famed, late Peruvian healer Eduardo Calderón stated, “The ceramics are like a book, like a text, in which, through the medium of my art, I have been given important knowledge, and where I have learned numerous techniques which I am now trying to apply” (Calderón 42-43). Calderón’s statement highlights how ancient Andean ceramics were not simply decorative or purely utilitarian items. Like the plant teachers themselves, they were objects capable of teaching. A ceramic from the ancient Moche culture of Peru (Fig. 1.10), a contemporary of Tiwanaku, depicts an owl shaman using the cactus to extract a sickness from an ill patient. It is fitting that the shaman would take the owl as an animal-self, as the creatures are considered guardians of herbalists and shamans in the Andes.

Another plant teacher featured on the Bennett Monolith is *vilca*, scientifically known as *Anadenanthera colubrina*. *Anadenanthera* contains two different species of trees, *A. colubrina* and *A. peregrina*, and they are used to create the psychoactive snuffs, *vilca* and *yopo*, respectively. The alkaloid Bufotenin, which is found in the seeds of tree, activates visions. The plant has many different names according to different geographic regions. In 1741, the Jesuit missionary named Gumilla described the use of *yopo* by the Otomac people of Venezuela: “They have another abominable habit of intoxicating themselves through the nostrils with certain malignant powers which they call Yupa which quite takes away their reason, and they will furiously take up arms... before a battle they would throw themselves into a frenzy with Yupa,

wound themselves and, full of blood and rage, go forth to battle like rabid jaguars" (Schultes and Hofmann 118). Although *vilca* and *yopo* are different species, the psychoactive properties of both plants come from Bufotenin. Therefore, while both plants may not give participants the exact same experience, similarities can be drawn between the effects of both species. While the San Pedro offers sensations of lifting off and airiness, *vilca* signals feelings of restlessness and heaviness.

Reading the account, one cannot help but notice the connection between past and present experiences of the plant teacher. A contemporary observer described the effects of *Anadenanthera*, stating, "His eyes started from his head, his mouth contracted, his limbs trembled. It was fearful to see him..." (Schultes and Hofmann 119). An anonymous patient who participated in a study of the substance Bufotenin said it made her "feel like an animal; she saw the nurses as rubber dolls and the walls as crumbling paper" (Turner and Merlis 125). Once ingested, *vilca* seems to trigger a heavy, more hostile feeling within participants. While San Pedro "transports" and lifts, *vilca* attacks and grounds the senses, making participants feel weighted and even numb. Yet, the aggressive nature that *vilca* inspires should not be read as solely warlike or destructive. Healing a communal problem does not simply mean working with a sick patient; it can also mean engaging in spiritual battle in order to restore balance. Traveling to the Other Side is not an easy feat; on the journey, shamans must overcome malignant forces that disturb their community's natural balance. To overcome such forces, the shaman must engage in a spiritual battle that requires the strength of an animal self, which is unearthed by the plant teacher. The animal self, and the trance journey itself, cannot be achieved without an

entheogen's guidance. Knowing this, *vilca* can also be viewed as a plant teacher capable of healing, just like the San Pedro cactus.

The once naturalistic features of the plant teachers become enigmatic within certain figures. The llama figure (see Fig. 1.3) identified by Kolata carries the most naturalistic representation of the San Pedro cactus. The cactus within the image alludes to the plant's multiple branches with its budding stalks, and the flowers possess characteristic sepals, or false petals, which wrap around their true petals. The San Pedro also sprouts from the creature's legs and what has been deemed a "crown." Even the face inscribed within the llama's torso has the immature buds of the plant branching from its face. These images capture key features of the San Pedro cactus and its flower.

However, as one probes deeper into the Bennett's imagery, the images of the San Pedro shed their naturalistic features. The bird-headed figures (Fig. 1.11) running along the back of the monument have scarves ending with a San Pedro flower that eschews distinct defined sepals or lobes. Here, the flower has been reduced to a bulbous bottom with an internal circle and four distinct petals. The staffs held by the running "elite figures" also seem rather peculiar. The staff's internal demarcations and sprouting heads catch the eye, triggering a sense of familiarity, as one can read these traits as cactus-like. Are the alleged elite figures with wearing "tunics, crowns, and sashes" and "specters and staffs of office" (*ibid*) really just the ruling class, and do they only hold staffs?

Images of *vilca* also undergo a similar treatment of abstraction. The three hanging pods that Knobloch identified suddenly become a single circle within a circle, as seen with the emanations that radiate from a disembodied head (Fig. 1.12). These icons hang from limbs (Fig.

1.13) and become sprouting wings (see Fig. 1.11). They can also be seen hanging from the eyes of figures (see Fig. 1.12), making one wonder if the eyes themselves become icons for the plant. Eyes are continuously the focus of artistic attention in shamanic art as a whole. This is understandable since the spiritual complex is based on visionary experience.

Finally, in the conclusion, I will link my findings to the prevalent scholarly discourse and discuss how the Bennett Monolith is both a political and spiritual object. It is important to understand what the abstraction of the plant teachers convey by understanding key concepts found in the Andean worldview, such as *ayni*. *Ayni* is a Quechua word that expresses the idea of duality and two coming together to make one. Shamanism recognizes the multiplicity of life, yet also believes all things share a common bond. This is a prevalent concept seen in the art of the Bennett Monolith, which is demonstrated through the balance of the ritual objects (the *kero* and snuff tablet), the sacred animals (the condor and the puma), and the two sacred plants (San Pedro cactus and *vilca*). The exaggeration of the sacred plants may have also obscured them from unknowing eyes, as suggested by Knobloch. Thus, only the elite would have understood such subtle yet powerful symbols. The abstraction of the plant teachers may also suggest hidden layers of meaning. Free from limitations, the images can convey more than one set meaning. For example, circles attached to the elbows of staff-bearing figures are often detailed as disembodied heads in Andean art. Thus, the circled dots hanging from the elbows of the staff-bearing figures take on a more complex meaning beyond what we initially perceive.

Chapter 1: The Bennett Monolith

The exact identity of the Bennett Monolith is unknown, yet some scholars postulate that it depicts a high-status ancestor of the Tiwanaku elite. In *Art of the Andes*, Rebecca Stone states that the presence of sacred objects alludes to the Bennett's status as a shaman. The stela may depict the most powerful shaman of Tiwanaku, given the object's large size and the elaborate figures that decorate its surface (137).

Before analyzing the figures depicted on the stela, it is important to analyze the Bennett as a main figure itself. The bird-headed and puma-headed shamans that run along the monolith's body are not a part of an intricate textile. The symmetry of the scene may trick the eye, making one believe that it is indeed just a textile, but there are no clear cut edges to suggest a garment. Therefore, the intricate weaving of characters represents a look inward that one would not be able to see on the terrestrial realm. Without due regard for the main figure's shamanic role, one would simply see a large figure dressed in finery.

As previously mentioned, the *kero* and snuff tablet are sacred ritual items associated with the ingestion of entheogens, and I propose that each is associated with the sacred plants depicted on the main figure. The San Pedro cactus is typically prepared as a liquid; the meat of the cactus is boiled with water into a thick and bitter drink (Webb, "Mind and Body; Spirit and Flesh"). Because the cactus is consumed as a liquid, a ritual drinking cup, the *kero,* is used to consume the plant teacher. In the main figure's left hand, we see a *kero*, which emits snaking puma-condor heads; this stylized image emphasizes the beverage's role as a mediator of visions, as we see the fantastic actually emerging from the cup itself. So, within the monolith's imagery, the *kero* can be associated with the sacred cactus, and we begin to see the plant's effect on the actual figure of

the Bennett. Wrapped around the front of the *kero* are five fingers. However, it is impossible to securely hold a cup this way. The Bennett figure experiences polymelia, as it grows extra digits on its hand. The Bennett's polymelia speaks to the multiplicity that is encountered in the Other Realm.

Unfortunately, the identity of the object in the monolith's right hand is less clear and therefore more contested. One reason for the confusion is that snuff tablets are usually photographed the other way around. Thus, the Bennett is actually holding the tablet "upside down" vis-a-vis its decoration, but this side up emphasizes that the snuff tablet is in use.[6] The item's rectangular form flares outward as it rises above the hand, suggesting that it may be a snuff tablet, another common ritual item used to inhale plant teachers. The detailed nature of the questionable object may also allude to the snuff tablet, as the items were usually decorated with sacred animals, geometric forms, and anthropomorphized figures. *Vilca* is usually ingested nasally, so it would be associated with the snuff tablet. The most frequent evidence provided for the use of *vilca* comes from snuffing paraphernalia (Torres and Repke 11). The seeds of *vilca* are roasted then ground into a fine powder. Lime or ash could be added to the mixture (*ibid* 69). Like the *kero*, one may also view the tablet as emanating puma-condor heads; it is hard to tell whether the tablet is highly decorated or actually emanating the fantastic animal heads.

The persona's open mouth and wide eyes mimic the look of a shaman in trance. The open mouth could signal the bearing of teeth or even speech. Shamans are known to growl, snarl, and bear their teeth when accessing their animal self. These acts defy the laws that govern social decorum, and place the shaman within the realm of the uninhibited. Free from social laws, the

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[6] It is also important to remember that this image of the Bennett Monolith is a man-made sketch. If Posnansky was less sure of what he was seeing, he may have confused us further.

shaman is able to access his animal self, as he imitates the nature of the animal that will guide him on his journey. The open mouth could also signal the Bennett speaking with the supreme wisdom of the plant teachers San Pedro and *vilca*. The Ponce Monolith (Fig. 2.1), another sandstone monolith found in Tiwanaku's Kalasasaya, possesses many similar features to the Bennett, and thus helps with interpretation of the object. One noticeable feature of the Ponce Monolith is the bifurcating projection coming from the statue's mouth, and at the ends of the emanation are the puma-condor heads that appear throughout the Ponce and Bennett as well. This bifurcating motif with the puma-condor heads also appears above the *kero* that the Ponce holds. Modern shamans give reports of spirits talking through them. The Mexican healer Doña María Sabina reported that the sacred mushroom spirit "has a language of its own. I report what it says" (Schultes and Hoffman 25). The Colombian anthropologist Luis Eduardo Luna states, "Knowledge - particularly medicinal knowledge - comes from the plants themselves, the senior shaman only mediating the transmission of information of information..." (Luna and Amaringo 12-13). So, the puma-condor heads that project from the shaman's mouth accentuate its ability to speak with the power of the plant spirit within the *kero*. While these bifurcating heads do not appear above the Bennett's mouth, the figure's open mouth could signal it speaking with the voice of the two plant teachers.

The wide eyes of the Bennett also resemble the simultaneous inward and outward looking that a shaman performs. Trance journeys are intense visual endeavors, so artists often exaggerate the eyes of shamanic figures. This exaggeration lets the viewer know that they are witnessing something that goes beyond the ordinary and everyday. The bird and puma-condor heads that spring from the Ponce's and Bennett's eyes and hair also alert the audience of the shamanic. The

line of circled dots hanging below the Bennett's eyes resemble the hanging seeds of *vilca* (Fig. 2.2). So it is fitting to see the circled dots end in a puma-condor head, as it is the power of the entheogen that brings such visions. The bulging, wide trance eyes of the Bennett Monolith confront those who gaze upon it, letting viewers peer into its inner visionary experience.

The surface of the Bennett Monolith explodes with the same motifs that we see in the main figure itself. This connection between the macro and micro perspectives resembles the dual consciousness that shamans speak of when they undergo a trance journey. Shamans understand themselves as grounded in two realities, the earthly realm and the Other Side. After taking *ayahuasca*, the British artist and theorist Roy Ascott recalls feeling as if he occupied two states of being:

> ...I entered a state of double consciousness, aware both of my own familiar sense of self, and of a totally separate state of being. I could move more or less freely between these two states. Similarly with my body: I was at one and the same time conscious of inhabiting two bodies, the familiar phenomenology of my own body sheathed as it were in a second body which was made up of a mass of multicoloured particles, a million molecular points of light...I could at any point stop and review these states, moving in and out of them more or less at will (68).

Ascott's account clearly demonstrates that the ingestion of entheogens is not synonymous with being unconscious or creating a fabricated reality. If anything, the dual consciousness of shamans makes them hyperaware of the nuances of the world around us. Dull colors can grown bright, and the smallest noise can become a roar. The iconography of the Bennett Monolith illustrates

the concept of dual consciousness, as it possesses a three-dimensional and two-dimensional message, similar to each other and both are bridged by shamanic motifs.

Chapter 2: The Sacred Animals

Shamanism envisions the world as interconnected, and a shaman does not seek to distance himself from nature, but to place himself within the natural order (and as high in that natural hierarchy as possible). A trance journey may well invoke feelings of humility, as the grand scheme of creation is perceived to dwarf the authority and ego of humans. Animals appear often within shamanic visions and can signal several meanings. Creatures may attack shamans, spurring them to face their fears and act bravely. It may prove to be a helpful companion capable of offering guidance, or the shaman may actually transform into the animal itself, taking on its characteristics of aggression or insight. The nineteenth-century ethnographer Matilda Stevenson documented an all-night curing séance at Zuni pueblo where "Beast Gods" possessed the healers. "..their bodies thrown forward until they appear like the animals they personate, growling and wrangling with one another..." (Tedlock 53). Becoming one with the animal, shamans access a level of wisdom and ability that they did not have as a human alone, and finding one's way through the chaos of the spirit realm is certainly a task that requires unique assistance. Plant teachers offer shamans the chance to discover their potential animal-selves. This chapter will focus on two reoccurring animals seen in the shamanic iconography of the Bennett Monolith: the puma and the condor.

While the jaguar is considered the most powerful feline of the jungle, the puma dominates the mountainous terrain of the Andes. The puma (*Felis concolor)* is a mass of bone and muscle that can easily carry off young livestock and even small children. There have been reports of pumas up to twelve feet in length and weighing as much as five hundred pounds. In certain parts of South America, the big cat earned the names "mountain screamer," "mountain

demon," and "mountain devil" (Tinsley 11). However, the animal's nature is not entirely perceived of as vicious. In Argentina, the gauchos of the pampas named the puma *amigo del cristiano* ("friend of the Christians), as they noted the animal's general passivity towards people (*ibid*). In either case, the puma was revered as a powerful figure. The scholar John H. Rowe attests that the Inka built the city of Cusco in the shape of a puma, hoping to embody the animal's prowess for protection and power (Rowe 74).

The puma is the fourth largest cat in the world, and in the Americas, is second only in size to the jaguar. Pumas have a relatively compact head and a slender, yet muscular body. The feline's long legs and tail give it almost perfect muscular coordination and exceptional capabilities in running, jumping, and climbing. Observing the puma's gait, British philanthropist Stan Brock remarked, "Its agility, grace, and poise are sheer poetry of motion" (Tinsley 17). Frank Dufresne, an author-sportsman, also stated that the animal was "as airy in its grace as a puff of campfire smoke" (*ibid*). The Andean mountain lion's pelt varies in hue from tawny reddish-brown to grayish-brown, and an outline of black fur emphasizes the white hairs around its muzzle. Interestingly, puma cubs are born with black spots and black rings around their tails that begin to fade as they mature. Even their eye color changes from a striking blue to a darker brown or amber color. By nine months old, their spots and rings begin to fade into light brown markings, and they usually disappear altogether before the cub reaches twenty-four months of age (Logan 20). The puma's large conical canines are the most striking and hair-raising. These long, pointed teeth were meant to take down down prey, as they are easily capable of puncturing skin, muscle, ligaments, and bone.

Traveling through the disorienting and sometimes dangerous spirit realm, a shaman could certainly benefit from the puma's agility, as well as the animal's ability to ambush its victims and deliver a quick bite that kills in seconds. The puma's hunting skills and swift, powerful attack would have aided shamans in overcoming the hostile forces of the Other Realm. Using the puma as a guide, a shaman would have mobilized the prowess of the animal against their enemies. Therefore, the puma can be seen as an aggressive yet protective figure. Pumas may have also been considered animals of transformation because the spots that litter the cubs' coat disappear as they mature. This change in appearance may have inspired the Tiwanaku to view the puma as a transformative animal, and a specifically highland one in keeping with the *altiplano* location of the city. Such an animal guide would have certainly been desired by shamans who seek greater powers while operating in the Beyond.

I argue that images of the puma can be seen throughout the Bennett monument. In Figure 3.1, the heads emanating from the flower-like figure can be interpreted puma heads. The feline heads possess the rounded ears of the puma, and the accentuated mouth mirrors the puma's own muzzle that is outlined in black. Some scholars have described the heads as simply feline, but knowing the importance of the mountain lion in Andean culture, I would contend that these side faces are puma faces. These faces also turn outward along the waist of the Bennett. In Figure 1.14, the sprouting motifs seem to be frontal views of the profile puma face. Their mouths are pulled back in a snarl, rather than a "smile" as is often misinterpreted. The rounded feline ears remain characteristic in this view as well.

The condor (*Vultur gryphus*) is another sacred animal of the Andes. The bird is prominently featured in the folklore of the Andes. The Inka believed the condor brought the sun

into the sky every morning and was a messenger to the gods. The indigenous people's reverence for the condor, who was named *Apu Kuntur* ("one who brings our prayers to the gods"), became a threat to the Christian ideology and imagery of the Spaniards. In the early colonial period during the sixteenth-century, Spanish authorities attempted to eradicate the beliefs and rituals of the indigenous Andes people. Colonial rituals such as the *cóndor-rachi* ("tearing of the condor to pieces") or *arranque del cóndor* ("pulling apart of the condor") originate from the Spaniard's attempts to destroy the potent symbolism of the condor. These events involve the violent beating of about ten to fifteen condors until, exhausted by their struggle for freedom, they finally die (Wilkinson 348-349). Nonetheless, the condor remains a national source of pride for countries across South America, and it is the national bird of Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Ecuador. Today, many highland peoples still believe that the condor can impart magical powers to them, especially in sickness, and parts of the bird are used as talismans.

While the puma dominates the earth, the Andean condor controls the skies with its astounding wingspan and grace. The condor's wingspan can read up to ten feet across ("Andean Condor"). Their heavy size, however, can prove cumbersome for flight. For that reason, condors prefer to live in windy areas where updrafts help them glide. Once condors reach high altitudes, they ride on thermal currents and rarely flap their wings. The Andean condor is mostly black with a distinctive, fluffy white "collar" around their necks and some white markings on their wings. Their primary feathers are particularly noticeable, as they stick out like fingers from the end of the wings. The birds have bald grayish-red heads that may change hues in response to the bird's emotional state ("Andean Condor"). Males have a caruncle, which is a fleshy lump at the front of their heads. Their beaks are large and hooked, and they have large feet with sharp claws,

of which the center one is noticeably larger. Their hooked beaks and sharp claws aid in their role as scavengers, as they allow the condor to easily rip apart the remains of prey. They may travel up to one hundred and fifty miles a day in search of carrion, which they can locate at high altitudes due to their excellent eyesight ("Andean Condor"). They prefer to feast on large animals, wild or domestic. As scavengers, they perform an important function of cleaning up the remains of the dead.

Given these impressive features, it comes as no surprise that a shaman would have wished to associate himself with the animal. Taking on the condor as an animal self turns the shaman into a figure of authority. Just as the condor rules the sky with power, so does the shaman navigate his way through the Other Side with ease. The condor's role as a scavenger would have also made it an excellent animal guide, as shamans must travel to the land of the dead. Just as the condor fixes the messes left by carrion, so does the shaman seek to maintain natural balance by journeying to the land of the dead. The bird's effortless flight would also prove useful in a space where there is no up or down, left or right. While the earthly realm is limited to definite binary spaces of earth versus sky, the spirit realm takes away all sense of what is grounded and what is not, and flying becomes a feasible way of traversing through the chaos. Although the bird's title of *Apu Kunter* postdates the Tiwanaku, it emphasizes the condor's legacy as a figure of wisdom and protection, and the condor's reoccurrence within Tiwanaku art certainly highlights it as an animal of esteem. The creature's sharp beak and talons can also aid shamans in taking down any enemies that stand in their way.

Images of the condor dominate the iconography of the Bennett Monolith. The bird can be seen hanging from the braids of the statue itself (see Figure 2.2) and engulfing the eyes of many

figures (see Figure 1.12). They also appear as independent characters running along the monolith's body. Looking at Figure 1.12, we can identify the Andean condor's characteristic caruncle and hooked beak. Its fluffy "collar" has been turned into a scarf-like hanging that trails behind it. I also read the fingers that grasp the "staff" as the condor's finger-like primary wings, and its wingspan has been turned into an abstracted wing that seems to sprout from an *Anadenanthera* seed. The bird figures also have what I would deem a "snarling" mouth, as the their beaks open slightly. This gesture parallels the shamans bearing their teeth; thus, these bird-headed figures can be read as hostile and ready to attack.

Interestingly, the Bennett Monolith features another mysterious creature, which many scholars have accepted as a fish head (Fig. 3.2). Lake Titicaca has only twenty-six native species of fish. These species occupy two general genera, the *Trichomycterus* and the *Orestias* (Orlove 118). The upturned mouth "fish" figures could be the *Orestias*, as the fish from the genera commonly have a similar upturned mouth. Lake Titicaca was an important source of nutrition, as the Tiwanaku utilized the body of water's natural resources.

However, fantastic creatures are commonly depicted in ancient Andean art, and I believe this "fish" head could actually be an in-between, mythic animal. Unencumbered by the set rules of the terrestrial realm, animals on the Beyond are free from the limits of taxonomy and defined categories. As previously mentioned, an anonymous Western woman described becoming a snake then shifting into a jaguar, only to transform once again into a snake. A Moche vessel (Fig. 3.3) also suggests the fast-paced and transformative nature of the Other Realm. Initially, the creature's wide, squat body resembles that of a toad, yet, upon closer inspection, the toad has rounded, feline ears. In place of spread, webbed feet are compact feline-like paws, and the

demarcated mouth looks suspiciously feline as well. The Moche vessel does not depict just one animal, but two that combine to create a mythic creature. An incense vessel from Tiwanaku (Fig. 3.4) illustrates a feline with rounded ears, a demarcated mouth and nose. I would argue that these features suggest that the feline is most likely a puma. At the same time, the Tiwanaku effigy also possesses a white cuff around its neck that looks like the condor's own ruffled collar, and also has wings, another unnatural detail. The puma depicted on the vessel is not purely one animal, but another fantastic take on two separate animals, the puma and the condor.

So, the "fish" heads of the Bennett can in fact be read as transformed puma-condor heads. Like the puma-condor on the vessel, the puma-condor heads on the Bennett have defined upturned and demarcated mouths. This in-between mouth cannot be defined as representative of either animal, as the spirit realm is not a comforting place of set boundaries. On the Other Realm, these two sacred animals have melded into one. Individually, they rule the earth (the puma) and the sky (the condor), but both combined convey a message of total authority and control. What is true for the animal imagery may be found in the plant teachers depicted, as San Pedro and *vilca* undergo dynamic levels of transformation and abstraction.

Chapter 3: The Sacred Plant Teachers

*Trichocereus pachanoi (*synonymous with *Echinopsis pachanoi*) grows in temperate and warm zones of the central Andes. The plant is known by several different names: *huachuma* in Peru, *achuma* in Bolivia, and *aguacolla* and *gigantón* in Ecuador. However, it is commonly called San Pedro. It is most commonly found at an altitude of 6,000-9,000 feet. Its favored natural habitat seems to be rocky slopes and cliff faces, and the cactus' branching adventitious roots help to anchor it in place.[7] It can grow up to 19 feet in height with numerous branches sprouting from the base, rarely the center (*Trout's Notes on San Pedro* 81-83). The plant's diameter ranges from 4 inches in smaller species to 8 inches in larger species. Although it is usually described as dark green, the cactus comes in a variety of colors, including a bright green or even a yellowish-green. The spination of the plant also differs; some cacti have long, pronounced spines that shoot from the plant's white areoles, while others carry much shorter spines (*ibid* 16).

While it can contain up to eight ribs on a single column, the four-ribbed cactus is considered the most rare and sacred. Known as the Cactus of the Four Winds, those who find it are considered very lucky. It is said to have special healing powers, as it is associated with the four cardinal directions of the world, which are invoked during the San Pedro healing ceremonies (*ibid* 17). Eduardo Calderón, a Peruvian healer, spoke of the four-ribbed cactus, saying, "...he who finds a four-ribbed San Pedro can cure all sicknesses and maladies. Four-

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[7] Adventitious roots are roots originating from an unusual place, like the stem or leaf tissue, rather than from another root.

ribbed San Pedro is the mystical San Pedro: it was used in time immemorial, and...its application to curing is essential up to the present" (Calderón 41).

Interestingly, the San Pedro's buds remain firmly closed during the day and open at night. The white, funnel-shaped flowers can grow up to 7-9 inches in length with a diameter of 7-8 inches when open, and their nightly bloom unleashes a noticeable fragrance. While the petals are white, the outer sepals, or false petals, are green with tips of reddish-brown (*Trout's Notes on San Pedro* 84). As many shamanic activities take place at night, night-blooming flowers are associated with the shamanic, and the San Pedro cactus is no different. Other entheogens, such as the peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*), also bloom at night.

The plant's mescaline content causes sensations of buoyancy and levity. The cacti's christianized name emphasizes the its ability to open the gates between the earthly realm and the invisible world. The Peruvian shaman Doña Olinda remarked, "Just as the saint called San Pedro is 'keeper of the keys...and guardian of the doors of Heaven' so the San Pedro plant is called 'guardian of the doors of remedy,'" (Heaven et al 5). Those who use the plant teacher describe sensations of flight and transportation; as the senses become heightened, the weight of the body sheds away, leaving only the spiritual self, which is able to communicate with the plant ally and travel to the Other Side. Calderón describes the effects of the plant as a "dreamy state...then great visions, a clearing of all the faculties...and then detachment, a type of visual force of the sixth sense, the telepathic state of transmitting oneself across time and matter, like a removal of thoughts to a distant dimension" (Heaven et al. 8).

Ultimately, San Pedro is used for healing purposes; as previously stated from the shaman Doña Olinda, it is the "guardian of the doors of remedy." Free of the body, those who use the

cactus seek to ameliorate the natural balance of things, whether it be for personal or communal reasons. Reports of the plant's healing powers date back to the seventeenth century. Although Spanish missionaries denounced the use and worship of San Pedro, they could not deny the plant's medicinal value: "...it is a plant with whose aid the devil is able to strengthen the Indians in their idolatry...they are almost carried away by the drink and dream a thousand unusual things and believe that they are true. The juice is good against burning of the kidneys and, in small amounts, is also good against high fever, hepatitis, and burning in the bladder" (Rudgley, "San Pedro Cactus"). The plant is still used today as an important remedy. In 1981, the anthropologist Wade Davis described a ceremony for a girl who had been paralyzed and was suffering from back and stomach pains, a person seeking help for a relative who had gone mad, and a businessman who wanted to know who had stolen money from his company. Although the last case may seem odd, it still involves a quest for order and balance. Therefore, it is situation that requires healing.

Nonetheless, it is important to establish that the use of San Pedro existed long before the Spanish arrived, as the cactus is depicted in the artwork of early Andean cultures. The earliest evidence of the plant teacher comes from the site of Chavín de Huántar, which is just north of Lima, Peru. At the site, there is an ancient stone complex known as the Old/New Temple, and it carries one of the most prominent images of San Pedro (see Fig. 1.9). Before one enters the temple, they must step into a U-shaped plaza and step down into a sunken courtyard. The courtyard is embellished with elaborate stone carvings, and it is here that we find the earliest image of the San Pedro cactus, which dates ca. 1300 BC. The stone carving illustrates a feline-human transfiguration creature that bears crossed fangs and holds a cactus within its hands. It is

easy to dismiss the object as a simple staff, but scholars are convinced that its noticeable ribs and columnar shape are cactus-like features. It is also important to note that the cactus has four ribs that are displayed to the viewer, making this a rare and sacred Cactus of the Four Winds. The entheogen also appears in early Chavín textiles (Fig. 4.1). These cacti possess more detail than the cactus we see at the Old/New Temple. Instead of simple lines suggesting the ribs, we see rounded inner shapes that hint at the three dimensional aspect of the plant. The plants within the image are also alive with multiple branches. The central column of each cacti sprouts a stylized flower, which is represented as a rounded bulb that shoots out triangle-shaped petals. Upon further inspection, one also notices that the roots of the cacti have turned into snakes. This transformation alludes to the plant's actual roots that extend and twist as they grow.

The plant was also represented in the ceramics of the Nasca culture that flourished in southern Peru from 1-700 AD. In a Nasca ceramic (Fig. 4.2), two stalks of the San Pedro cactus protrude from the shoulders of a shaman, as if the cacti have actually become a part of the figure's body. While the other images are flat and two-dimensional, the San Pedro stalks pop out in a spectacular fashion. Decorated with small asterisks that reference spines and orange indentations that suggest the ribs, these stalks were created with an eye for realism. Another Nasca ceramic (Fig. 4.3) has a similar look, as the cacti protrude from the shaman's shoulders. In this ceramic, however, the San Pedro can also be found emerging from the figure's forehead. As visions take place within the mind, the head is where visions are said to emerge from. Thus, the entheogen growing from the figure's head indicates the beginnings of a trance journey.

The stylized San Pedro Cacti makes an appearance in the iconography of the Bennett Monolith. First, we will look at the most naturalistic representation of the entheogen, which is

the impressive cactus growing from the back of the llama (see Fig. 1.3). We can see that the artist has given particular attention to this image. The cactus has multiple branches that stem from a central stalk. The images of the flower emphasize the rounded bases of the flowers. A great amount of detail is also given to the sepals, or false petals. The sepals are found at the sides of the true petals. Their style gives them a winged look, as the sepals are given an outer tip.

However, while this is the most naturalistic image of the San Pedro, it is also quite fantastic. Although the image carries the natural branching of the cactus, the stalks do not emerge from the base alone, and it is very rare for San Pedro cacti to branch from anywhere but the base. This odd branching pattern and the numerous stalks themselves alert the viewer that this plant is extraordinary and sacred. The open, vibrant flowers should also peek the viewer's curiosity because they only bloom at night, which is when most shamanic activity takes place. Void of the day's busy activities, the night signals a time of relaxation, away from distractions and the daily things that overwhelm the senses. During such a time, it is easier to enter an altered state of consciousness and embark on a trance journey.

Knowing that shamanic rituals take place at night, and given the large size of the Bennett stela, one can infer that the visibility of the monument's intricate detail would not have been a priority. The Lanzón (Fig. 4.4), a monolithic sculpture found within the Old/New Temple complex, is another object whose symbolic nature outweighs its visibility. The monument's notched wedge shape refers to the lowland Amazonian foot plow, linking the fertility of the Amazon to the Chavín cult (Stone, *Art of the Andes* 39).Yet, the Lanzón was never clearly seen, as it was deeply imbedded within a maze of dark underground tunnels with few sources of light. Thus, it was not important for devotees to behold the monolith in its entirety; what was important

was the essence and symbolic nature of the object (*ibid* 41). A similar argument can be made for the Bennett. There is no evidence that the 24-foot-tall object was painted, which would have made its detailed surface imagery pop, and such intricately carved designs would have been difficult to read at night. Nonetheless, the essence of the Bennett main figure and its surface figures take precedence over witnessing the actual object. Such a concept speaks to the idea of *uhku*, an Inka word meaning that which is hidden inside yet important and capable of manifesting outwardly.

As natural as this cactus appears, its unusual features let us know that it is not mundane, and the flowers emanating from the llama let us know this. The flowers dominate the creature's headpiece. The same naturalistic San Pedro flower that grows from the actual cactus germinates from the llama's eye. The sprouting emanation also visually mirrors the stalks that branch from the actual San Pedro cactus main shaft. In a way, the eye has become a circled seed from which the entheogen grows, emphasizing the visionary aspect of the image. Kolata discusses the saddlebag that drapes over the llama, which contains a depiction of a "banded *kero* with a painted human face from behind which sprouts a maize plant" (*ibid* 139). As the *kero* is used to ingest the fermented corn beer beverage *chicha* (which often has entheogens added to the mix), I am not surprised that Kolata would come to such a conclusion. However, I would argue that the plant is not maize, but the emerging buds of the San Pedro flower. The cactus is ingested in a liquid state, so the *kero* would have been used to consume the entheogen. While the *kero* contains the immature, closed flower, the llama sprouts the opened flower from its body.

Even the cactus that it carries on its back may in fact be sprouting from the llama itself as a symbolic substitution for the tail. Thus, it seems as if the llama has become the main shaft of

the cactus, as the flowers bloom from the creature like wildfire. This image is not depicting a simple beast of burden, but the animal as plant. In shamanism, all things (people, plants, animals) are believed to be connected to one another. So, just as the human is capable of taking on an animal self, so can an animal take on a plant self. Both the llama and the San Pedro cactus are infused within the image.

Images of the plant teacher only become more abstract as one explores the other figures. In another image, we can see the flowering plant emanating from a human head (Fig. 4.5). The cactus in this image looks similar to the early Chavín textile (see Fig. 4.1) that contains various images of the San Pedro cactus. Like the cacti from the textile, this image uses an inner repeating shape to convey the plant's lobes. Both motifs also sprout flowers at their ends, although Figure 4.5 renders the plant in a more naturalistic manner, as we see both the false and true petals instead of mere suggestive shapes. The emergence of the cactus in full bloom from the head accentuates the image's shamanic activity because the head is the place where visions begin. In many shamanic cultures, the head is the gateway between the physical world and the Other Side. Due to cephalization, an evolutionary trend where nervous tissue concentrated and formed the head, this region of the body is loaded with sensory organs that ignite during trance journeys.

While images like Figure 4.5 keep the flowers intact, other figures contain a more reductive image of the San Pedro. Many of the running human-headed and bird-headed shamans hold what have been deemed staffs in their hands. Following the abstraction process, it is no longer promised that these objects are simple "staffs". The bird-headed figure that runs along the Bennett's headband (see Figure 1.12) holds one of these staffs, yet the vertical divisions in the staff look similar to the lobes found within cacti. The branch that extends out from the "staff"

also seems rather odd for a club or pole because it is a cactus-like characteristic. In the Chavín carving (see Fig. 1.9) , the processing feline-human was not simply walking with a staff in hand; it carried in front of it a stalk of the San Pedro cactus. Therefore, by comparison, I would argue that these shamanic figures are also holding very abstracted versions of the cactus. This then makes one wonder - if the staff is a cactus, are these creatures found on the staff stand-ins for the flower? Does this replacement allude to shamanic experience of change and flux? We shall explore these questions as we continue discussing the sacred plant imagery and shamanic transformation in the next chapter.

Another important plant teacher that can be found in the stela's imagery is *vilca*. *Vilca* (*Anadenanthera colubrina*) is a mimosa tree with hanging bean-like pods. The plant only grows south of the equator in countries such as Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia. It has adapted to a wide variety of environments; one can find the tree along low river banks or dry slopes that rise 8, 000 feet into the air (Torres and Repke 6). Like the San Pedro cactus, the plant has many different names according to different geographic regions. For the purpose of this paper, however, we shall use *colubrina's* most common name, *vilca* (which was given to the entheogen by the later Inka people). The tree can grow up to 80 feet tall and its trunk has a diameter of 2 to 3 feet ("Cebil"). It has long, green pinnate leaves that fold together at night and open in the morning (which is the opposite of the San Pedro's flowers that fold in the morning and bloom at night). *Vilca's* spherical flowers form clusters, which are covered in fine hairs that range from white to pale yellow in color. The seed pods of *vilca* are flat and dark brown in color; they can grow up to one foot long, and each one can contain between 8 to 16 seeds (*ibid*). The thin, rounded, shiny seeds are barely an inch in size.

Vilca's entheogenic properties come from the high amount of Bufotenin found in the plant's seeds and seed pod. While San Pedro offers sensations of flight, *vilca* gives its participants a heavy, restless feeling before one experiences erratic visions of color and shapes. In 1955, Fabing and Hawkins reported a clinical trial of pure Bufotenin using four prisoners from the Ohio State Penitentiary. The participants experienced a heavy feeling within the chest, numbness of the body, and intense flushing and tingling of the face (Fabing and Hawkins 886-87). In 1985, McLeod and Sitaram published a study in which participants ingested Bufotenin intravenously. Doses of 2 to 4 mg of the substance created moderate anxiety while doses over 8 mg produced "profound emotional and perceptual changes, involving extreme anxiety, a sense that death was imminent, and a visual disturbance which was associated with color reversal and distortion..." (McLeod and Sitaram 447). In 1996, German anthropologist Christian Rätsch described his experience of taking a dose of powered *vilca:* "Initially I noted my body felt heavier. Particularly the arms and legs assumed a leaden weight...I grew aware of swirling, dancing phosphenes in my visual field" (Rätsch 60). Despite the sensations of anxiety and intense physical reaction, participants also reported feelings of peace. A subject in Fabing and Hawkins' study stated that he "had a feeling of great of great placidity during the experiment" (Fabings and Hawkins 886). Although another experienced the usual intense "facial sweating and purpling," he was still "present with eyes both open and closed...the subject felt calm" (*ibid*). While Rätsch felt his body being weighed down, "the sensation in the body was characterized by a quite pleasant warmth...It was a truly novel visionary experience" (Rätsch 61).

Like the San Pedro cactus, *vilca* is ultimately a shamanic substance meant to heal. The archaeologist and ethnobotanist Constantino Manuel Torres divided the use of *vilca* into three

broad categories: to sure sick individuals, to aid the community, and to participate in divinatory activities (Torres and Repke 6). Although Torres' divisions are helpful, the underlying factor that connects all three are their ties to a greater idea of healing. *Vilca* allows shamans to visualize the Other Realm that harbors a solution to the problems of the earthly realm, and curing sessions can take place for several nights depending on the type of problem at hand. *Vilca* offers users an odd sort of dual experience; while those who partake in the entheogen usually describe disconcerting sensations of anxiety and restlessness, it also offers insight and the same refreshing out-of-body experience that one feels with San Pedro.

Some of the best representations of *Anadenanthera colubrina* come from the Moche and Wari cultures. The Moche occupied the north coast of present-day Peru from 100 to 800 AD. Peter Furst was the first to identify the plant within Moche pottery, as he analyzed a pottery dipper painted with a deer hunting scene (Fig. 4.6). Furst argued that the bipinnate leaves and distinct, hanging seedpods clearly pointed to the *Anadenanthera* tree (*ibid* 13). Knobloch's examination of Wari textiles has also aided scholars in identifying the *vilca* plant.

I argue that the seeds of *vilca* are present in the iconography of the Bennett Monolith. While the San Pedro cactus has a comprehensive, mimetic image and states of abstraction, the most naturalistic image of *vilca* on the stela begins at a high level of abstraction. The only aspect of the anthropomorphized *vilca* figure (see Fig. 1.6) that identifies it as the sacred plant are the hanging seedpods. As one moves from this central figure into the surrounding icons, it becomes harder to read signs of the entheogen. Nonetheless, I would argue that *vilca* has a subtle, yet dominant presence throughout the monolith, and the discernible image is, in fact, that of the seeds, not the flower as Knobloch argues. The circled dots within Bennett figure's body mirror

the look of the ritual seeds, and the central stalk of the anthropomorphized icon's body looks like the seedpod rather than the flower.

Every wing of the human-headed and bird-headed attendants has these circled dots, which appear to be germinating from the circled dots. The wings seem to emerge from the rounded forms like the new shoots of a sprouting plant. In Figure 4.7, a human-headed shaman possesses one of these sprouting wings, which emerges from the circled dot, and the wing continues to grow as bird heads begin to emerge from it. I believe the transformation of the wing expresses the plant spirit's ability to guide shamans to the Other Realm and to offer them unprecedented visions. For an image carved in stone, these scenes of germination are active, moving images, as they manifest the plant spirit's ability to grow and transform within the shaman. Suddenly, the simple *vilca* seed shoots out into a wing, which highlights the shamanic journey of traveling to the Other Realm, and the emanating bird heads could possibly emphasize the visionary aspect of the quest. They could also represent the transformation into the animal self, as condor imagery frequently decorates snuff paraphernalia (Torres and Repke 39).

Vilca seeds could also be used as symbolic substitutions for disembodied heads. Knobloch noted that a secondary attribute of *vilca* was its association with stylized heads. In Figure 4.7, the circled dot hangs from the figure's elbow. Throughout Tiwanaku art, and Andean art in general, these hanging circled dots are usually shown as attached disembodied (previously "trophy") heads.[8] A cubical stone bowl found at Lake Titicaca (Fig. 4.8) displays the lower half of a frontal staff-bearing figure, and at each elbow is a stylized head. The Nasca ceramic with the

[8] Disembodied heads were often taken during war. Some ancient Andean cultures placed spines through the mouths and eyes of the heads. Holes were also drilled into the skulls, and a carrying cord was strung through them. These "trophy" heads were not mere trophies, but objects believed to be imbued with spiritual power. Disembodied heads were often represented in ancient Andean ceramics. Interestingly, the "trophy" heads were often depicted as icons of life and death; their wide eyes symbolized the alert trance eyes of a shaman, but their mouths closed with spines and decapitated heads highlighted their death (Silverman 218).

San Pedro coming from the shaman's forehead (see Fig. 3.4) also sees the figure holding disembodied heads. In fact, the circled dots that run along the shaman's arms suddenly turn into the stylized heads, which emphasizes the connection between the two motifs. "Trophy" heads are a reoccurring motif within the art of the Tiwanaku, and it is not unusual to think that the heads that prominently drape from the elbows of staff-bearing figures are such. Therefore, one wonders is there a connection between the sacred plant seed and trophy heads, as each image can be swapped for one another. Knowing this, the circled dots take on a more active role than mere decoration, and their presence adds another layer to the monolith's complexity as a religious and socio-political monument.

The connection between disembodied heads and the *vilca* seed also accentuates the plant's ability to unearth feelings of restlessness. While *vilca* is often used for healing, it can also arouse aggression within participants. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Otomac people of Venezuela used *Anadenanthera* to agitate themselves before going to battle. The sensations of chest oppression and prickling may have mimicked the blows of an opposing enemy, which would have prepared the Otomac for the reality of an actual battle. Thus, *vilca* would have been associated with battle and the "trophy" heads of competitors. If the intense effects of *vilca* can be understood as an "invisible enemy", the disembodied heads can be understood as the adversary manifested in the flesh. The healing sessions performed by shamans may also require a spiritual battle. To prepare, the shaman may take *colubrina*, which would act as a formidable teacher and opponent, before actually confronting forces on the spirit realm. If shamans can handle the oppressive effects of the sacred plant teacher, they will have the power to overcome lesser beings on the Other Realm.

Chapter 4: The Shamanic Figures

Analyzing the Bennett Monolith with the informed lens of the visionary experience aids in the reading of the monument. Multiplicity has already been mentioned in regard to the main figure's polymelia. It can also be seen in the imagery of the object, as the majority of the images have a similar partner. As I broke down the monolith image by image, I found myself labeling the figures Figure 8a and 8b, Figures 9a and 9b, Figure 9c and 9d, and so on. Very rarely were there solitary motifs that did not have a matching companion. The visual landscape is overwhelmed by these multiple figures that fill any empty spaces. Because a majority of the figures are bound in similar pairings, certain key icons stand out from the rest, such as the anthropomorphized version of *vilca* that Knobloch identified. Another anthropomorphized figure (see Fig. 1.13) does not have a match and outweighs the other images in size; it will be discussed below.

The absence of any ground lines indicates that the landscape is not controlled by defined coordinates. Instead, we are on a spiritual, two-dimensional plane. The characters are not attached to solid ground. There is no hint of a defined background and foreground except for basic figure and ground. While the earthly realm has set directions and plains, the Beyond has no controlled set of standards. Accounts that we've seen from those who take San Pedro describe sensations of flight and lifting off. The absence of any ground lines within the monolith's imagery emphasizes the earlier account of a shaman being "set free from matter" (Schultes and Hofmann 157).

Transformation and flux are major components of the visionary experience (Stone, *The Jaguar Within* 6), and they are an important aspect of the Bennett Monolith. The greatest example of flux comes from the range in representation of the two plant teachers. For example, as we explored in the last chapter, the image of *vilca* ranges from a more mimetic depiction as it hangs from the anthropomorphized figure to a more abstract depiction as it becomes the wings of the running human and bird-headed icons. The San Pedro cactus and flower also have an interesting range of representation, from the cactus that the llama carries (or that sprouts from the animal itself, or both) to the staffs that can actually be interpreted as columnar cactus. The entheogens' diverse portrayals emphasize the swift movement of a viewer's eyes across the two-dimensional elements. It is easy to think of the Bennett and its images as static because it is made of stone, a material that carries connotations of permanence and solidity. These qualities are certainly appropriate for such an elite and grand-sized monument like the Bennett. However, while the material itself may be static, the images themselves are anything but; the formal arrangement is one of dynamic movement. The bird and human-headed shamans appear to be running, as they step with one foot forward. Around the Bennett's torso, we see a continuous band which holds multiple abstract cacti-like forms. The linear motif wrapping around the cacti makes the viewer's eyes go up, across, and down each form. The absence of any ground lines also adds to the movement of the scene. Without any set ground, one can think of the characters as taking off and soaring, as they are free to move as they please.

Following Patricia Knobloch's analysis of *vilca* imagery, I will break down the San Pedro cactus and its flower into consistent identifiable parts. While the previous chapter mentioned a wide range of examples, the remainder of this chapter will put each depiction of San Pedro on a

continuum from specific, readable components to those more abstracted states. Starting from the most mimetic image, the cactus upon the llama (see Fig. 1.3), the cactus and flower can be broken down into three noticeable components: the cactus, the flower, and a stylized head. The cactus is often depicted as having a columnar shape, usually with branching and inner sectioning or divisions. The flower usually has a rectangular, almost trapezoid shape with demarcated tips at the top (ordinarily three). Sometimes, the flower will also have a circular base with a dot inside. The final element is the frontal head motif, which features a framed or rectangular face. Interestingly, it is possible to argue that the disembodied head may also abstractly reference the seeds of *vilca*.

Moving out from the llama figure, Figure 4.5 also abstractly references the most naturalistic image of the San Pedro flower and cactus. The image possesses all three identifiable elements. Atop of the stylized head is a San Pedro cactus with naturalistic blooming flowers. The image of a disembodied head is associated with visions, as it is the place from which visions emerge. The British doctor and author Havelock Ellis wrote an account of his experience with mescaline, stating, “With the suddenness of a neuralgic pang, the back of my head seemed to open and emit streams of bright colour...” (Heaven, *The Hummingbird's Journey to God* 88). Ellis’ description of his head breaking open and emitting bright colors emphasizes the head as a place where visions originate. The eyes also add to the head being the origin of visions because trances are intense visual experiences, and head emanations are a consistent motif found throughout all of ancient American shamanic art.

The disembodied head looks similar to the head of the main figure of the Bennett itself, as it has wide trance eyes, an open mouth, and emanations projecting from its eyes. Unlike the

Bennett, however, the stylized frontal face motif has feline heads (probably puma due to the rounded ears and marked off mouth) germinating from it. The frontal head even seems to resemble a puma, as it has a demarcated, open mouth and a noses. The way the feline emanations radiate from the stylized frontal face mirrors the look of petals on a flower. The San Pedro flower itself has a "face," which are the inner yellow stamen nestled by the the surrounding white petals (Fig. 5.1). With the puma heads acting as the flower's rounded petals, the disembodied head *becomes* the plant teacher it ingested.

Naturalistic images of San Pedro sprout from the trance heads. Once again, we see the familiar true petals surrounded by the sepals. There are three distinct petals, and each one has a tip at the end. Each flower blooms from atop a columnar branch of the cactus. The body of the cactus has an inner, repeating shape, which hints at the actual lobes and ridges of the cactus as seen in nature. While the cactus upon the llama's back rises to a great height, this San Pedro is more reserved. The sprouting from the base appears more naturalistic, and the cacti's short height makes it seem more immature (perhaps like a vision which is just beginning to emerge).

Along the waist of the Bennett main figure is a series of branching puma-condor heads emanating from geometric symbols. One variation of the plant also has all three identifiable elements (Fig. 5.2). Instead of a readable stylized head at its core, this motif has a geometric symbol at the center. Just like the head, geometric symbols are seen as the gates to visions; as one enters the Other Realm during a trance, the person is greeted first and foremost by sacred geometric symbols (Heaven, *The Jaguar Within* 34-35). Constantino Torres claims that Tiwanaku imagery can be broken down into what he calls "thematic clusters" of "meaningful activity," as "individual component signs" (such as the geometric symbols) build upon one another to create

"individual themes" (such as the staff-bearers) (Torres and Repke 41). Torres' concept affirms the idea of geometry as wisdom because it is the motifs themselves that must come together to create the larger vision and figure; without the basic geometry of the landscape, there would be no greater cosmic forces. Thus, the frequent geometric symbols found throughout the Bennett (the criss-cross and rounded shapes) can be associated with the emergence of powerful visions. These motifs are found cradled within the bodies of the running shamans and nestled within the "staffs" of power that the shamans hold. Also, the series of cacti emanating from the geometric symbols may allude to the beginning of visions, as this simple band lies below the scene depicted on the Bennett figure. Perhaps the Bennett's visual landscape is actually an unfolding vision being produced by the band of geometric symbols.

Figure 5.2 also has the columnar, branching cacti and rectangular flower with three tips. One central stalk of the cactus rises straight into the air with a lone San Pedro flower. This version of the flower lacks the defined sepals that we have seen before, but the recognizable three petals with tips at the ends remain. The stalk also has the identifiable inner shape, which mimics the multiple lobes of cacti. The other branches have a more curious twist. The blooming San Pedro flower is replaced by multiple condor heads, and the inner lobes seen on the central stalk is replaced by simple lines. Below the rounded geometric symbol, bird heads emerge. The emanating bird heads resemble the Chavín textile (see Fig. 4.1) that shows snakes replacing the roots of the San Pedro cactus. In the Bennett, the snakes are replaced by condor heads as a substitution for the actual roots of the plant. Given the San Pedro's ability to give participants the sensation of flight, it is not unusual to see bird heads spring from the geometric motif, which is the gateway to visions.

A central puma-condor head cactus motif (Fig. 5.3) is found below the frontal anthropomorphized *vilca* plant. Although it only has two of the distinguishing traits (the cactus and the "flower"), it is nevertheless an important image: unlike the other similar images wrapping around the Bennett's waist, it is not a part of a pair. Though the sprouting cactus format is retained, any sign of the San Pedro flower has been replaced with the puma-condor heads. In the Beyond, what one deems naturalistic is swept away, and unimaginable transformation takes over. It is a place governed by multiplicity, as the shaman realizes the diversity of life yet also recognizes the unity of all things. Therefore, the connection between the San Pedro cactus (which allows shamans to free their animal-self and visit the Beyond) and the image of the puma-condor head (which is a potent mixture of two fearsome animals and defies categorization) is understandable. Substitution is a critical element of ancient Andean art that attempts to demonstrate the transformation one experiences on the Other Realm. The substitution of the puma-condor heads for the San Pedro flower performs such a role, as the San Pedro flower and puma-condor heads codify flux relationships.

It also has the most exuberant array of branches and a less naturalistic feature: the branching of the cacti resembles previous examples, but the branches are much more angular and even begin to echo the shape within the geometric symbol. Perhaps this resemblance serves to accentuate the connection between the plant teacher, sacred symbols, and the visionary experience. The abundance of branches and puma-condor heads establish the icon's power and high status. The multiple branches also speak to the polymelia that is experienced on the Other Realm. Just as the Bennett main figure itself experiences multiple digits, so does Figure 5.3 experience an abundance of branches. It is also important to note that the cactus regrows more

branches if it is cut properly. The growth of numerous new branches typifies an over-abundance of life and self-healing power, all valuable traits that an elite plant teacher would possess.

The final variation of the cacti along the Bennett's waist are much simpler than the previous examples (Fig. 5.4). They still emanate from the geometric symbols, but lack any branching. The stalks of the cacti curve slightly into the air with bird heads and puma-condor heads at their tips. The stalks still possess the inner demarcations that hint at the lobes of the cactus. These simple variations may represent the immature stage of the San Pedro's growth, as they lack the complex branching of older San Pedro cacti plants. Perhaps this overall series of cacti along the Bennett's waist is meant to show the different stages of San Pedro growth as encountered on the Spirit Realm. Perhaps the stream of puma-condor heads that snake around the cacti is meant to unite the multiple images in a true display of multiplicity and unity.

There are several other key motifs which feature the San Pedro. As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, the staffs that the running shamans hold (see Fig. 1.11 and 4.7) bear a notable similarity to a stalk of the San Pedro cactus. The animal heads may deter people from believing the staffs are more than just that, but, as seen in previous examples, the San Pedro flower can be swapped with bird and puma-condor heads in a one-for-one substitution. The staffs also have familiar identifiable elements, such as the presence of a geometric symbol. Additionally, the lines within the cacti around the Bennett's waist resemble the lines within the staffs' shafts, and a few of them have sprouting emanations that mirror the branching pattern of cacti. Whatever is happening within the image, it is too simple to deem these objects mere staffs, especially with the budding animal heads that suggest movement and transformation.

The San Pedro flower also appears on the headdresses and scarves of the running bird- and human-headed shamans (see Fig. 1.11 and 4.7). Like the other examples of cacti, the headdress band contains repeating inner shapes. While I cannot conclusively state that the headdress is an example of the cactus, it certainly bears a likeness to the plant's features, and I am not sure if this is mere coincidence. Germinating from the headband are puma-condor heads, bird heads, the San Pedro flower, and a spiral motif. Like the cacti from the waist of the Bennett, the components of the headdress address the factors of the trance journey. The swirl highlights the actual spiral movement one experiences on the Other Realm. After taking *ayahuasca*, one subject describes the swirl as a cosmic organizing device: "I saw an image of the Great Spiral and had the physical sensation of moving within it" (Naranjo 171). Thus, the spiral emphasizes the fast movement and flux in the Beyond. The animals heads could be animal selves or guides that one encounters on the trance journey. Finally, these are joined with the plant teacher which offers the visions. Once again, the placement of all three elements upon a single headdress seems to accentuate their relation to one another and the general concept of multiplicity. The placement of such a symbolic headdress upon the head also underscores the head as a place from which visions emerge.

While the flower upon the headdress has the familiar three petals and tips, it also has a new feature: a circled base in which a dot resides. San Pedro flowers generally do not have curved, bulbous bottoms, but rather a trapezoidal funnel shape. So, I cannot help but wonder why the artist has depicted the flower in such a manner, especially given the other more naturalistic variations. The dot within the flower may stand for the essence or spirit of the plant. It could also be a hybrid symbol that combines the motif of the San Pedro flower with the motif of a *vilca*

seed within its pod. Throughout the Bennett, San Pedro and *vilca* are often placed within close proximity of other. Seeing how the puma and condor have been combined to form the puma-condor, it is not unreasonable to think that the features of San Pedro and *vilca* may have been united within this image. A larger version of the flower sails behind a scarf around the condor's neck (except this version has four tips), and like the headdress, the scarf is split into sections with inner nested shapes.

Along the back of the Bennett are two disembodied heads with rayed emanations (see Fig. 1.12 and Fig. 3.1). Both trance heads look similar to the other heads explored above. Figure 3.1 has the round circled dot trance eyes and an open mouth with bared teeth. The figure still has the hanging eye emanations (that resemble that hanging of *vilca* seeds), but the hanging emanation also grows wings. These wings parallel the wings of the running shamans; although the details are minute, one can discern a small circle from which a line emerges. The ends of the wings also have marked off tips. While the earlier disembodied heads may have been immature versions of the San Pedro cactus, this figure seems to be a flower in vibrant bloom. The emanations that surround its face mirror the look of petals, and it is important to note that these petals mirror the look of wings. So, once more, the viewer can make a connection between the San Pedro flower and its ability to give participants the sensation of flight and suspension in air.

The meander pattern that surrounds the disembodied head also emphasizes its power. The geometric pattern snaking around the face germinates various petals/wings and puma heads (indicated by the rounded ears and demarcated mouth). We also see a San Pedro flower on its crown and a seed of *vilca* hanging from its chin. Together, the two plant teachers create the powerful visions that stem from the disembodied head. The placement of the entheogens also

symbolize a directional balance, as the San Pedro comes from the top of the head, and the *vilca* seed hangs upside down below.

Like the other disembodied head, Figure 1.12's rayed emanations make it look like an open, blooming flower. However, while the other head has puma heads and petals of San Pedro, this trance head is surrounded by *vilca* seeds and condor heads. The two disembodied heads embody balance and unity: San Pedro and *vilca*, condor and puma. Ceremonies with the San Pedro cactus usually happen at night because this is the time when the plant opens its buds and when spirits are at their most potent (Heaven, *The Hummingbird's Journey to God* 58). The ecstatic bloom of both heads highlight the shamanic aspect of the scene.

Both trance heads also float atop a platform, which gives the images precedence over the other figures that simply float. While the running figures are shown only in profile, the two disembodied heads possess a frontality that confronts the viewer. Very few figures in the Bennett Monolith's iconography project such a gaze, so we can infer that these heads are of higher importance. The icon within the platform also confirms their important status; the image appears to be a seed of *vilca* topped by an abstract version of the San Pedro flower. The three different tips are missing, yet the marked off tip still reads as the San Pedro flower. The inner square also resembles the variation of the San Pedro with the inner circle and circled bottom. The emanations emerging from the seed could be the sprouting of the plant and/or the effusion of visions. They also could be stalks of the San Pedro cactus due to the familiar inner lobes. This image is quite unique, as it combines different features of both plant teachers into one image. The abstracted plant teachers raise both trance heads into the air, and they serve as a reminder to the viewer that this is where the status and power of the heads are generated from. The abstracted

plant teachers literally raise the heads above all others. The open mouth of the heads also suggest that their own speech and transformation comes from the wisdom of the plant teachers, just like the Bennett main figure.

Finally, I want to turn our attention to the *axis mundi* of the Bennett's iconography (see Fig. 1.13). Although the Bennett's cluster of figures can appear quite chaotic, many fit within a symmetrical grid system. The central figure on the monument's back, however, does not fit within any of the designated quadrants. Instead, each part of the figure's body overlaps into a different section. Its completely frontal gaze and singularly large size also emphasize that this image is figuratively as well as literally central. This character has often been deemed a sun god, probably due to the rayed emanations sprouting from its face. However, I would argue that this figure is possibly an anthropomorphized version of the San Pedro flower. In the Introduction, I discussed how plants could appear in a humanoid form. The Ashininca of the Peruvian Amazon, also claim that spirits appear to the entranced shamans "in human form, festively attired" (Weiss 44). The puma heads completely surround the figure's face, bearing their teeth and staring out at the audience. They also create the look of a San Pedro flower radiating in full bloom. A small rectangular flower with three tips grows atop the figure's head, like an emerging vision. The naturalistic flowers that grow from the spirit's feet (which contain the lobes associated with cacti) further emphasize its role as the spirit of San Pedro. While the other figures sprouted the plant from their heads, headdresses, or staffs, in this central figure alone, it actually grows from its being. The San Pedro is not something that merely emerges forth, but is actually a *part* of it physically.

The power of the spirit can also be read through its various attributes. It too is raised by the power of the abstracted and combined plant teachers, and this figure alone holds a majority of the individual geometric signs seen in the lesser attendant figures. It is unclear what the figure holds exactly; they could be a *kero* and snuff tablet like the Bennett holds or two small staffs of power. Either way, its dynamic posture gives the figure presence and demands attention. The two dots at the figure's elbow represent *vilca*, but could also allude to disembodied heads. The Sun Gate at Tiwanaku (Fig. 5.5) bears an icon similar to the San Pedro spirit; both are frontal figures lifted on platforms with rayed emanations. The central figure on the Sun Gate also has icons attached to its elbows, but these icons are clearly detailed disembodied heads. "Trophy" heads were often taken as the spoils of war, and shamans were also capable of taking the heads of rival shamans on the Other Realm. As the head is the place of visions, trophy heads were thought to increase the spiritual power of shamans and warriors alike. So, the two dots hanging from the San Pedro spirit's elbows could in fact be disembodied heads, which highlight the spiritual authority of the figure.

Another aspect of the spirit's prestige comes from a pair of animal eyes hiding in plain sight. After a year of studying this figure, I never noticed the hidden puma eyes staring right back at me. Above the wide open trance eyes of the spirit are an extra pair of puma eyes (Fig 5.6). What makes these eyes truly fearsome is that they are the eyes of a puma about to strike. Before felines attack their prey, they bend their head low to the ground. Head down and looking up, their pupils become half circles that look slightly cross eyed. The hidden puma eyes mimic this exact look of predation. Yet, it is unlikely that many viewers would have noticed these felines eyes. As mentioned in the Introduction, the images carved into the Bennett are not easily seen. Although

the central anthropomorphized being is larger than the other figures, the hidden feline eyes are such a small detail that it would have been difficult to spot them. Returning to the idea of *ukhu*, I would argue that it was not essential for viewers to witness these hidden eyes. Instead, what was important was the essence of the figure itself and all of its realized selves. As previously mentioned, it is not uncommon for plant spirits to have animal selves. In this one image, we see a mixture of selves that the spirit takes on: its plant self (the rayed petals), its human self (anthropomorphic figure), and its animal self (hidden puma eyes). The various selves within one figure reiterates the concept of multiplicity and unity, as the multiple beings fit comfortably within one being.

Axis Mundi

As previously mentioned in the Introduction, art serves as the "the gap between ordinary and non-ordinary reality is transcended by artistic symboling," and art is how the "mystical experience is brought into the mundane world" (Stone, *The Jaguar Within* 2). The distribution of art objects aided in shaping shared cosmologies. Many of the motifs that we have seen in the Bennett Monolith were encoded into the iconography of portable Tiwanaku objects. For example, a miniature Tiwanaku-style tunic (Fig. 6.1) is adorned with feline-headed shamans that wear headdresses containing the two sacred plant teachers. While the tunic's attendant figures and the Bennett's shamanic figures are not exactly alike in appearance, they are similar motifs, and such figures can be seen throughout Tiwanaku art. Reoccurring motifs aided the state in molding the worldview of outlying communities. Thus, the city was not simply exporting utilitarian goods, but objects imbued with spiritual messages. The miniature Tiwanaku tunic is so small that it could not have been worn by anyone, not even a baby. Highly detailed nonetheless, the tunic demonstrated the city's intent to preserve and export Tiwanaku's set cosmology.

Yet, the spiritual and the political can rarely be separated. An early Andean object serves as a case in point. A Moche effigy vessel (Fig. 6.2) seamlessly ties together the spiritual and political. The object portrays a shaman realizing not only his animal self (as evidenced by the crossed fangs), but also his plant self, as his body turns into a maize cob. Since the food crop was a great source of nutrition for the Moche people, it is not surprising that the body of the plant would take precedence over the human figure. The snarling shaman can be viewed as a guardian of the plant, which ensures the health and well-being of his community. With fangs bared, the

figure confronts whatever negative forces may threaten the fertility of the crop. So, while the effigy vessel is a spiritual vessel, it also carries a political layer, as it was necessary for the sustenance of the state. Without food, the thriving society would have dwindled, letting other surrounding localities gain control. The cobs the shaman holds have been scientifically identified as a specific breed of maize ("Maize Supernatural Effigy Vessel"), which was imported from the far north of Colombia. Displaying a distant foreign crop on an effigy vessel speaks to the Moche people's power, as it maintains alliances with far-reaching places. Likewise, plant-animal-human composites in Tiwanaku art bridge not only states of being and the terrestrial and Other Side, but also the spiritual and the political spheres as well.

Thus, while I have analyzed the shamanic experience within the Bennett Monolith's iconography, I must also explore the political implications of these images by considering their social context. Alan Kolata asserts that the order of the cosmos framed the organization of Tiwanaku. Echoing the balance of the cosmos, the city would become an ideal society of moral authority and social stability (Kolata 88). As an ideal polity, Tiwanaku considered itself the *axis mundi* of the Andes. The ceremonial core of the city was in many ways an *axis mundi*, as it was separated from the rest of the state by an artificial moat. While Posnansky inferred the moat served a defensive purpose, Kolata argues that it was meant to turn the core of the city into an island that mirrored the sacred islands of Lake Tititcaca, which were sites of human creation and emergence (*ibid* 90). The barrier created a central locus within the city that restricted easy access to public buildings, emphasizing the site's exclusive, ritual nature. Only the elite of Tiwanaku dared to inhabit this sacred space.

One of the structures embedded within the spiritual core was the Sunken Temple, which apparently housed the Bennett Monolith. The sandstone stela was most likely at the center of the arena, given the monument's large size. The monolith was not alone, as several smaller stelae were found in the courtyard as well. The statues did not feature one distinct style. Rather, they formed a disparate group of objects that were most likely captured from other cultures that surrounded the Lake Titicaca basin. Scholars believe these statues embodied the concentrated spiritual power of ancestral figures from diverse ethnic groups (*ibid* 142). These objects that were once major spiritual symbols within their own cultures took on subsidiary roles within the Sunken Temple. Their presence affirmed the superiority of Tiwanaku, as they were arrayed around the Bennett Monolith, which loomed over the smaller statues. Modern shamans have loose hierarchies of the more powerful and the less so. Knowing this, the Bennett's large size accentuates its great importance, and in such a context, each sculpture reads as a figure that has surrendered its own message of spiritual and political authority. The tenon heads that embellished the walls of the courtyard also highlighted the Tiwanaku's power. The anthropologist Nicole Couture suggested that these heads represent the founding ancestors of social units that are assumed to have comprised the state (Janusek 110). Once again, the tenon heads underscored the dominance and power of Tiwanaku, as they all literally looked to the Bennett and its presence over the other ancestral statues. So, while the Sunken Temple was a place for spiritual rituals, it was also a politically charged space.

The personage of the Bennett Monolith itself conveys a spiritual and political message. The figure has long been deemed an elite figure of Tiwanaku due to its supposed elaborate "clothing," its placement within an exclusive sanctum, and the presence of the *kero* and the snuff

tablet allude to the figure's ability to contact ancestral forces (*ibid* 138). However, I would agree with Stone's idea that the Bennett is not merely an elite figure, but a shaman who holds the tools of his craft in his hands. The figure's wide, trance eyes and open mouth mirror the look of a shaman in trance, and its extra digit indicates that he is experiencing polymelia. The monolith could be contacting ancestral spirits in the Other Realm, but a shaman undergoes trance journeys for various other reasons as well. So, the Bennett's role cannot be generalized and limited to an elite figure with ancestral ties. Knowing this, one wonders about the identity of the other statues that surround it. While the foreign statues are understood as ancestral figures, one wonders if they too represent shamanic figures. If so, the Bennett can been viewed as an all-powerful shaman with the ability to capture and accumulate the spiritual energy of other opposing forces.

Nonetheless, the Bennett's spiritual ties carry a political layer. The Bennett's role as a shaman combines the sacred and the secular, as shamans serve the well-being of the state. Whether shamans are overlooking the fertility of food crops or speaking with forces in the Other Realm, they play a great part in the development of the community. Truly potent shamans act as influential mediators between the terrestrial and spirit realm, ensuring that no harm - spiritual as well physical - comes to the community. The Bennett's intercession on behalf of Tiwanaku ensures that Tiwanaku will continue to thrive among the *altiplano*'s harsh environment. Furthermore, if the Bennett represents "the principal tenets of Tiwanaku state ideology and cosmology" (Kolata 135), it can be read as an icon for the city of Tiwanaku. Therefore, it is not just a singular shaman who possesses control over nature's cyclical balances, but it also represents the entire state as well. The Bennett looming over the other smaller sculptures parallels the ancient city that spread its influence to distant societies.

The individual icons carved into the Bennett also enforce political messages, as seen with the abstraction of the sacred plant teachers. Distorting the plants' natural features may have hidden them from unknowing eyes so they could have only been read by the elite, as suggested by Knobloch (397). This idea is certainly plausible given the exclusive location of the Bennett. It is also doubtful that the lower-class citizens would have been able to enter the Sunken Temple at will because it was a highly charged ritual sanctum; access to this area was most likely strictly controlled, first by the moat, then by progression toward central, key spaces.

Abstraction also creates images that can express multiple meanings. While generic images may seem insignificant, they are useful icons that defy static meaning. "A generic image has the capacity to inhabit more quotidian and other-worldly contexts, just as a shaman does, precisely by not declaring an allegiance to too specific a form" (Stone, *The Jaguar Within* 70). Consequently, the circled dot motif does not just stand for the *vilca*. It can also be used to symbolize disembodied heads, which similarly round and hang by their hair. This double image may allude to Tiwanaku's power to capture the spiritual power of other shamans, as evidenced by the accumulation of diverse ancestral statues. With the help of the entheogen, shamans were able to conquer whatever forces threatened the livelihood of Tiwanaku.

Another double meaning can be seen in the llama image of the carrying the blossoming San Pedro cactus. As discussed in the previous chapter, the llama and the San Pedro cactus can be read as infused into one spiritual being, while a political reading of the image sees the llama as a beast of burden exporting the cactus to distant peoples. The camelid was the only efficient pack animal in the ancient Americas, as it was capable of crossing the dangerous and daunting Andean terrain (Kolata 47). A distant item that llama caravans may have carried to Tiwanaku

would have been the San Pedro cactus. Although the cactus is known to grow at high altitudes, it is uncertain whether the plant is native to the *altiplano*, which lacks flora diversity. If the cactus is not native to the region, the llama can be read as importing the plant teacher, and access to such a powerful and distant plant teacher would have demonstrated the state's power and political alliances. The presence of the llama itself also demonstrates Tiwanaku's ability to spread out and engage with distant communities. The creature played an essential role in Tiwanaku's development, as it was the only suitable beast of burden that could travel long distances. It ensured Tiwanaku's ability to influence and control surrounding localities. The llama image infused with the San Pedro underscores the state's ability to disperse its worldview to nearby settlements. *Vilca*'s presence in the Bennett's imagery also emphasizes the power of Tiwanaku, as it is another exotic plant that is not native to the region. Adorning the monument with non-native plant teachers highlights Tiwanaku's authority, as it can obtain plant teachers from far away lands with ease.

Finally, the theme of duality that is seen throughout the Bennett's imagery reflects Tiwanaku's organizational duality, as the stela's iconography exemplifies *ayni*. Together, the ritual objects of the *kero* and snuff tablet add a layer of *ayni* to the Bennett Monolith. The objects combined also express directional *ayni*, as the kero is side up and the snuff tablet is held upside down. With both items in hand, one can think of the Bennett as a powerful figure who is capable of ingesting two powerful plant teachers at once. With the monument representing the state, we can also think of Tiwanaku as an impressive entity powerful enough to access both plant teachers. The polity was guided by not just one, but two invaluable sacred plants.

The pairing of the puma and the condor also communicates the power of the Bennett shaman, who will not only take on the attributes of both powerful animals, but will also have authority over the realms they control. Both animals are symbols of highland pride. The puma represents the top animal of the earth with its agility and strength, and the condor rules the Andean sky with its large wingspan. Although the plant teachers hail from distant lands, the animal-selves that the shaman embodies are local, dominant creatures. Perhaps the decision to use local animals accentuates Tiwanaku's ability to protect itself rather than depending upon other foreign allies. Animal selves offer shamans fierce protection and unique offensive abilities. Knowing this, the use of the puma and the condor as animal selves represents the state's ability to manipulate the wildlife around it and to use it to the state's advantage. Tiwanaku officials have turned the fearsome qualities of both highland creatures against its enemies; they do not need the protection of other foreign animals. The puma-condor fusion symbolizes the state's ability to take on both animals as animal-selves and its capacity to rule the highlands.

The combination of *vilca* and San Pedro is one of the greatest examples of *ayni*, as the plant teachers act as gatekeepers to unparalleled knowledge and wisdom. Without the sacred plants, shamans would not be able to access the Beyond and solve communal problems. The coming together of these plants accentuates the shaman's unhampered connection to the Other Realm. The San Pedro offers its power of flight, ensuring the shaman that he will be able to navigate through the Other Realm with ease. *Vilca* grants the shaman the ability to fight anyone or anything that stands in his path. With both entheogens at the shaman's disposal, he can best any enemy and overcome any force that attempts to hinder him. If the shaman is able to access

the Beyond without obstruction, he can solve all problems that plague that state. Guarded by the power of unmatched plant teachers, the state secures its own protection and longevity.

The Bennett Monolith captured the state's cosmology through its iconography, as it combined the spiritual and secular. Guided by the wisdom of the San Pedro cactus and *vilca* and the protection of the puma and the condor, Tiwanaku established cosmic order among the chaotic terrain of the *altiplano*. There was the balance of the terrestrial realm and the Beyond, the sacred and the mundane, and the ruling elite and the lower-class. The moat that surrounded the sacred core of the city impressed balance onto the city itself, as Tiwanaku was split into a sacred center with outlying secular villages. Tiwanaku was a harmonious *axis mundi* prospering in an unpredictable environment, and at the center of this *axis mundi* was the essential figure of the Bennett Monolith. With *kero* and snuff tablet in hand, the sandstone monument served as a permanent intermediate figure perpetually ameliorating the dangers of the Beyond to secure Tiwanaku's safety on the earthly realm.

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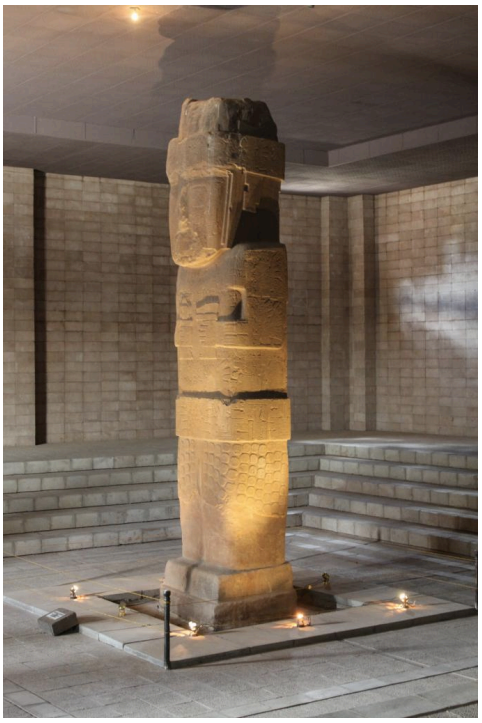

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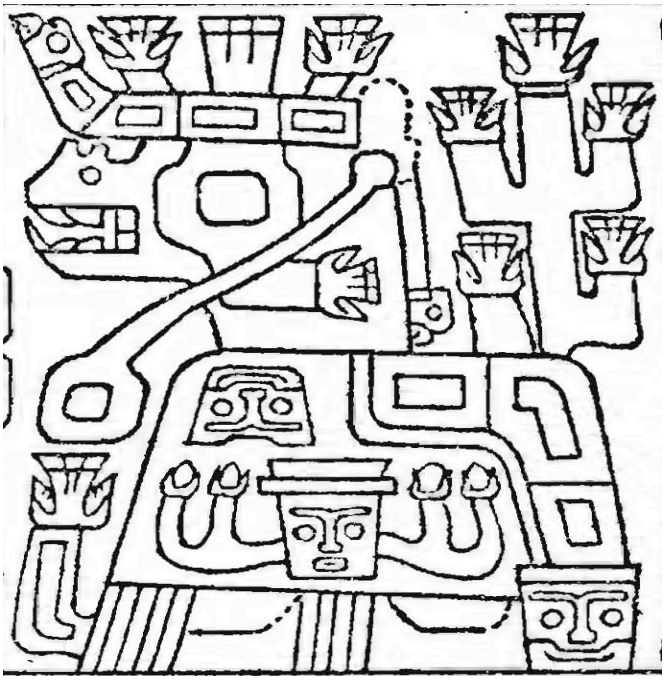

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Image can be found at http://www.academicroom.com/article/wari-ritual-power-conchopata-interpretation-anadenanthera-colubrina-iconography on slide 5

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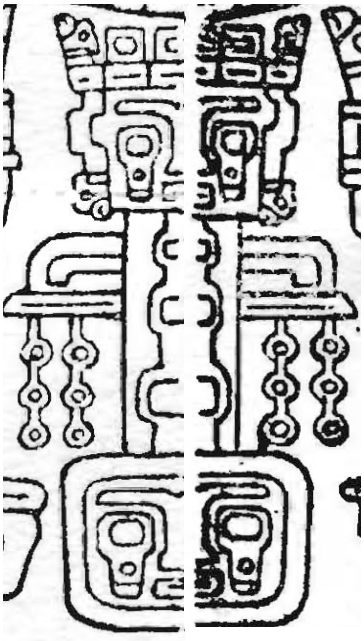

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Figure 1.9: Carving of the San Pedro Cactus at Old/New Temple (Creative Commons)

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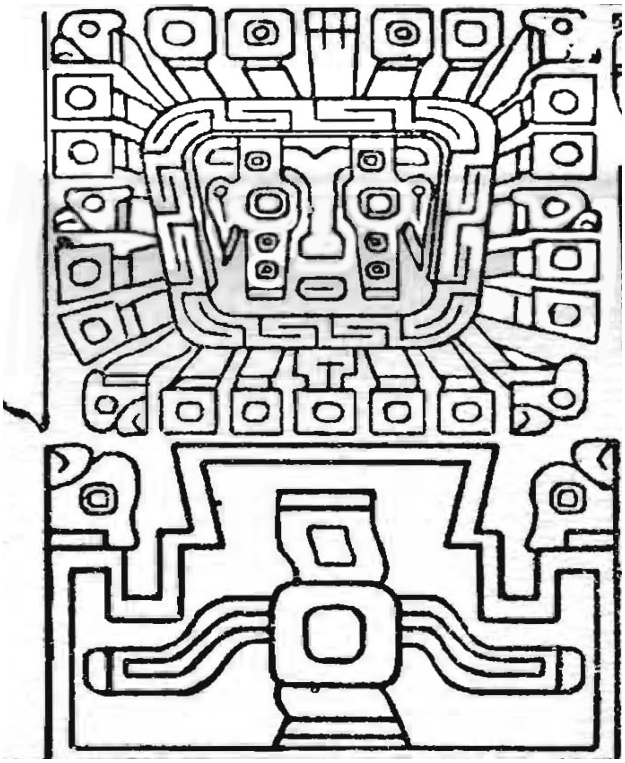

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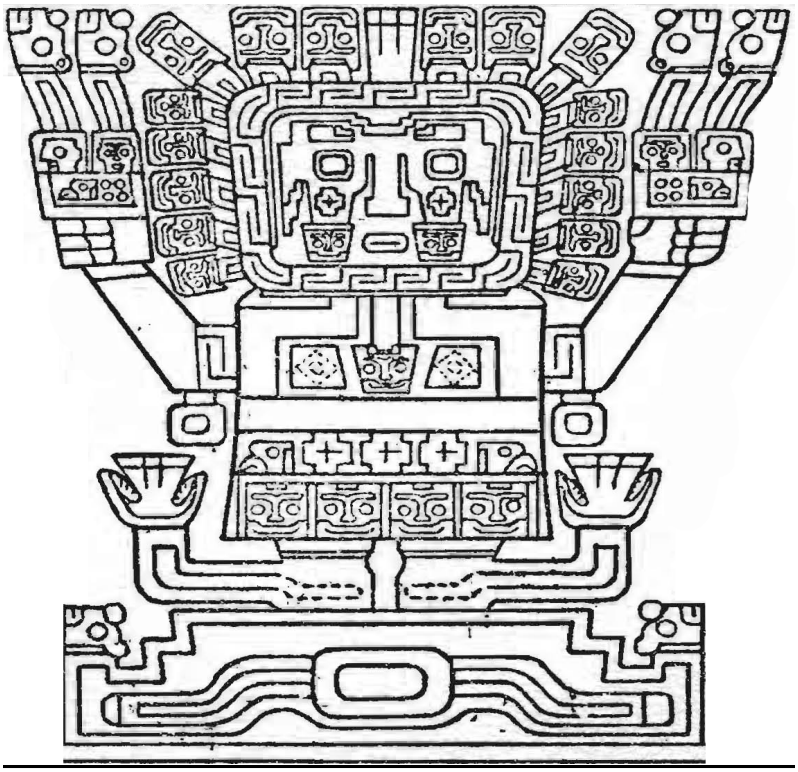

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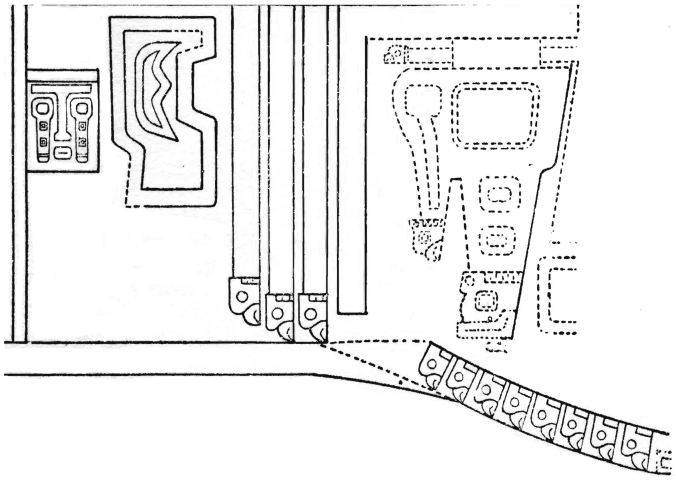

Figure 2.2: Frontal face of the Bennett Monolith (From Posnansky 1945)

Chapter Two Figures

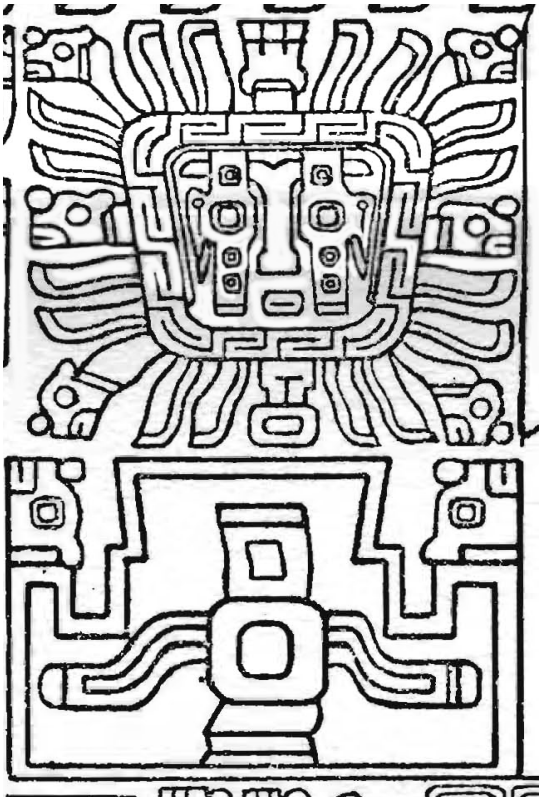

Figure 3.1: Disembodied head with rayed emanations of San Pedro flower petals and puma heads from the Bennett Monolith (From Posnansky 1945)

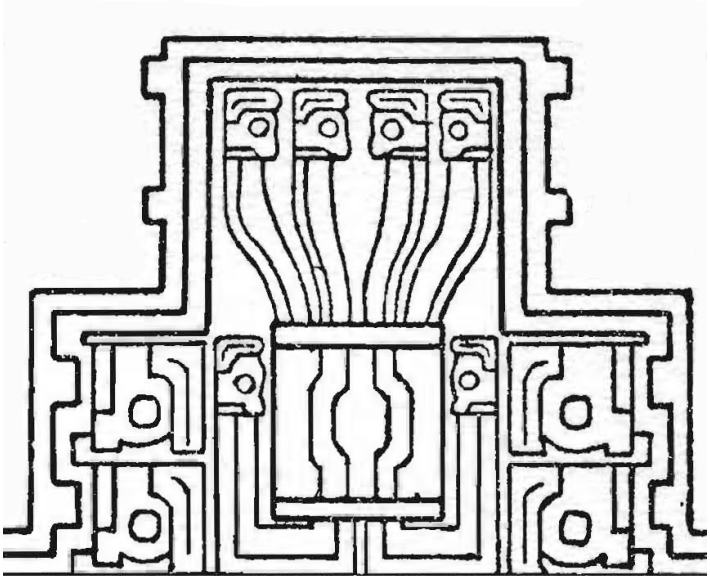

Figure 3.2: Cacti-like figure from the waist of the Bennett Monolith (From Posnansky 1945)

Figure 3.3: Stirrup Spout Vessel with Toad/Feline. South America, Central Andes, North Coast, Moche. Early Intermediate Period, 1-650 AD. Ceramic. Michael C. Carlos Museum accession number 1989.008.061. Gift of William C. and Carol W. Thibadeau. © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Michael McKelvey.

Figure 3.4: Feline Incense Vessel. Precolumbian, Tiwanaku, Bolivia. 6th-9th century. Ceramic. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1969 (1978.412.100). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Chapter Three Images

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Image can be found at http://peregrinadanza.wordpress.com/category/in-english/

Figure 4.1: Painted textile that illustrates the San Pedro cactus (from Textile museum)

Figure 4.2: Nasca ceramic with San Pedro cactus on shoulders (Creative Commons)

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Image can be found at http://www.artstor.org/index.shtml

Figure 4.3: Nasca ceramic with San Pedro sprouting from head known as the Personification of the San Pedro cactus

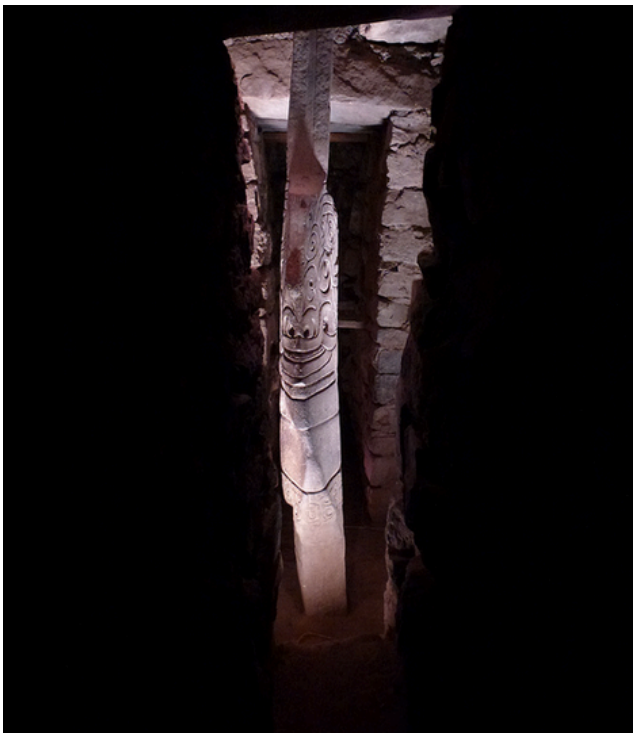

Figure 4.4: Photograph of the Lanzón found at the Old/New Temple at Chavín de Huantar (Creative Commons)

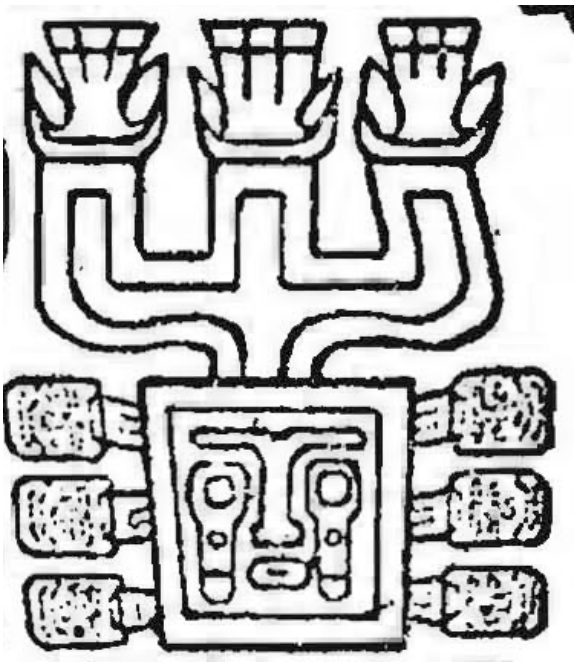

Figure 4.5: Disembodied head with the San Pedro emerging from top of head (From Posnansky 1945)

Figure 4.6: Deer hunting scene from a Moche pottery dipper (Creative Commons)

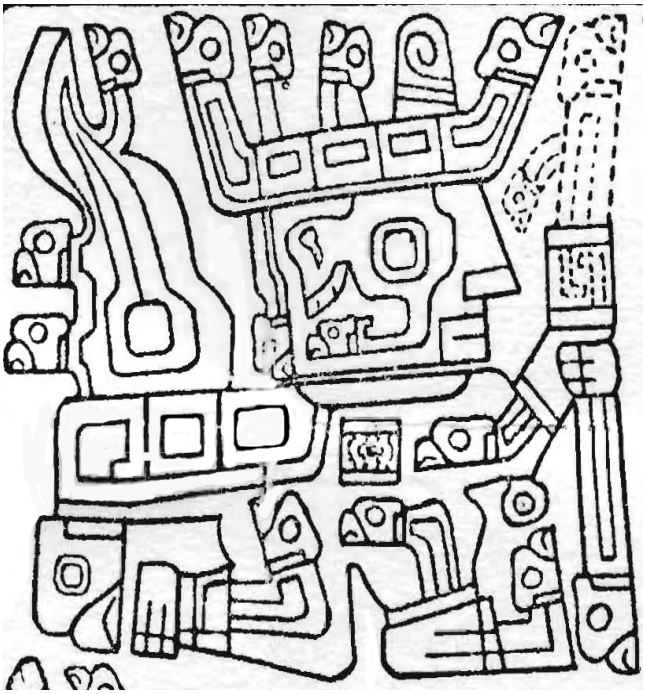

Figure 4.7: Human-headed shaman with sprouting *vilca* wing (From Posnansky 1945)

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Image can be found at http://www.academicroom.com/article/wari-ritual-power-conchopata-interpretation-anadenanthera-colubrina-iconography on slide 10

Figure 4.8: Sketch of a figure from a stone bowl from Taquiri, Lake Titicaca with vilca hanging from the attire of the figure. Also notice the stylized heads at the ends of the staffs and hanging from the elbows.

Chapter Four Images

Figure 5.1: The San Pedro flower's yellow stamen (the "face") and its surrounding white petals (Creative Commons)

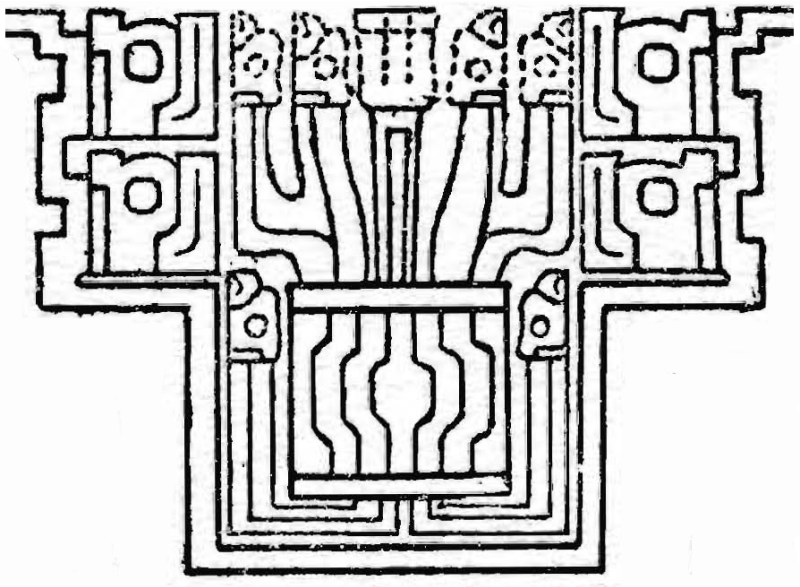

Figure 5.2: Cactus-like figure with naturalistic image of the San Pedro flower along the waist of the Bennett Monolith (From Posnansky 1945)

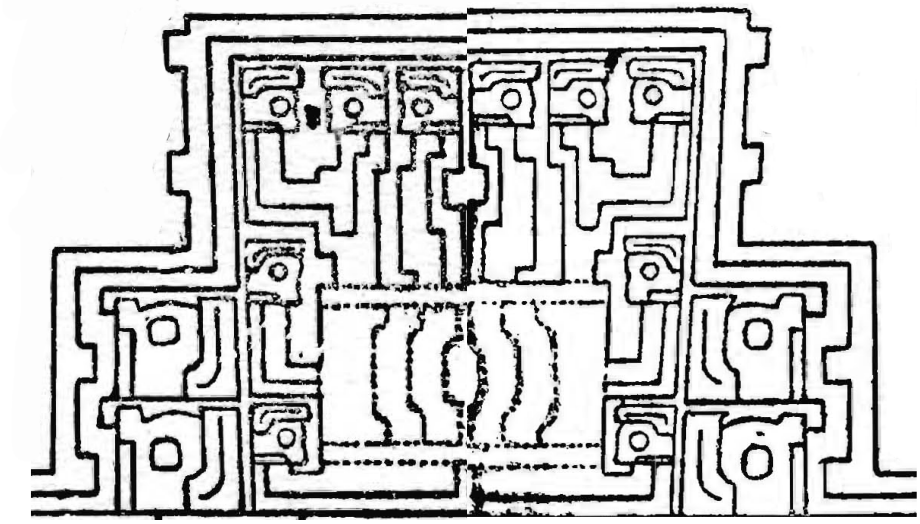

Figure 5.3: Highly abstracted cactus-like figure along the waist of the Bennett Monolith (From Posnansky 1945)

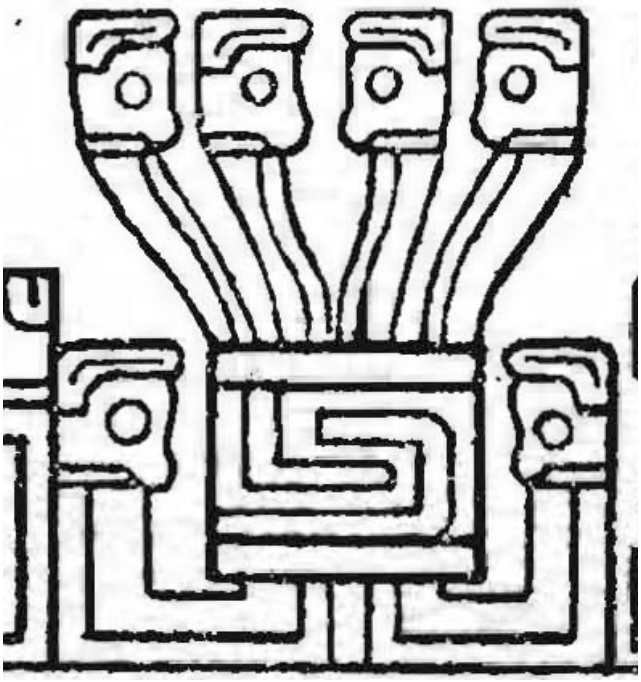

Figure 5.4: Highly abstracted cactus-like figure along the waist of the Bennett Monolith (From Posnansky 1945)

Figure 5.5: Sun Gate at Tiwanaku (Photograph by Kendyll Gross)

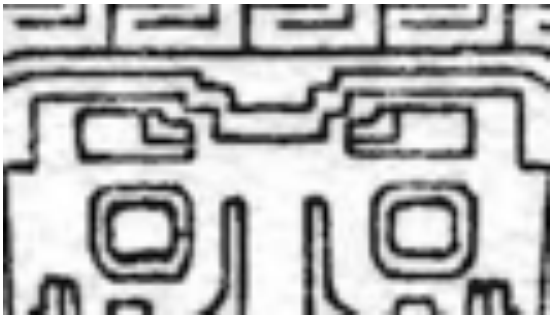

Figure 5.6: Hidden pair of puma eyes above the wide trance yes

Axis Mundi Figures

Figure 6.1: Miniature tunic from Tiwanaku (Creative Commons)

Figure 6.2: “Master of the Maize” Effigy Vessel. South America, Central Andes, North Coast, Moche. Early Intermediate Period, 1-650 AD. Ceramic. Michael C. Carlos Museum accession number 1989.008.073. Gift of William C. and Carol W. Thibadeau. © Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University. Photo by Michael McKelvey.