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Signature:

Meghan Tierney

Date

Envisioning Nasca: Sculptural Polychrome Ceramics, c. 1 – 450 CE

By
Meghan Tierney
Doctor of Philosophy

Art History

Rebecca R. Stone, Ph.D.
Advisor

Elizabeth C. Pastan, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Gay Robins, Ph.D.
Committee Member

Accepted:

Lisa A. Tedesco, Ph.D.
Dean of the James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies

Date

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By

Meghan Tierney
B.A., Smith College, 2000
M.A., University of New Mexico, 2007

Advisor: Rebecca R. Stone, Ph.D.

An abstract of
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James T. Laney School of Graduate Studies of Emory University
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Abstract

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By Meghan Tierney

The Nasca culture thrived during the Early Intermediate Period on the south coast of modern-day Peru (c. 1 – 750 CE). At the foothills of the Andes, Nasca artists created superlative works of art, not only the famous Nasca Lines (geoglyphs) and three-dimensionally embroideries, but also the most colorful ceramic tradition, as examined here. Early Nasca ceramic imagery is more decipherable and so provides a productive starting point for interpretive approaches, in contrast to the Late Nasca style in which images appear with appended emanations and “signifiers” that make the images increasingly difficult to read. In the past, studies of Nasca iconography tend to focus on the subject matter that relates to the terrestrial world, concluding that the Nasca were intent on documenting nature. Images for which no natural counterpart could be easily identified were then relegated to the realm of the supernatural, leading to sacred-secular dichotomy in the Nasca scholarship. By contrast, this art-historical study analyzes a corpus of 243 polychrome sculptural vessels in the forms of head jars and full-body effigy vessels depicting bodies on a continuum of transformation between human and animal, implying shamanic visionary experience was considered central. Shamanic themes of cephalocentrism and transformations between life and death also emerge. Further, the imagery and forms of these disembodied and embodied beings point up the essential shamanic capacity to sustain dual consciousness. Visual and ethnographic analysis suggests the vessels served less as representations or illustrations, but rather constituted beings in and of themselves.

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For Isla & Clare

In memory of Clive J. Giboire

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Table of Contents

Abstract

Acknowledgements

List of Tables and Figures

Chapter 1: Nasca Shamanism and Sculptural Polychrome Ceramics	1
Identifying Nasca Shamanism	6
Achieving Trance	6
Shamans	11
Shamanic Activity	14
Visions	16
Polychrome Ceramics	19
Polychrome Ceramic Production	22
Forming	24
Painting	28
Firing	29
Theoretical Approaches	30
Research Methods	35
Museum Collections	38
Dissertation Organization	39
Chapter 2: Nasca Chronology, Setting, and Art	40
The Early Intermediate Period	41
Geography and Environment	44
Nasca Art and Material Culture	54
Plainware Pottery	55
Textiles	57
Metallurgy	60
Pyroengraved Gourds	62
Geoglyphs	65
Chapter 3: Historiography: Nasca Polychrome Ceramics and Shamanism	70
Polychrome Ceramics	72
Early Archaeology	74
Stylistic and Iconographic Studies	75
Refining the Nasca Ceramic Sequence	79
Recent Archaeology	82
The Sacred-Secular Dichotomy	83
Shamanism	90
Chavín	90

Paracas	94
Nasca Sculptural Vessels	
Disembodied Beings: Head Jars	97
Embodied Beings: Human-Animal	103
Embodied Beings: Animal-Human	113
Chapter 4: Disembodied Beings: Head Jars	122
General Description	124
Continua of Transformation	125
Human to Animal: Suspension and Flying	125
Life to Death	130
Cephalocentrism	134
Chapter 5: Embodied Beings: Human-Animal and Animal-Human Vessels	141
General Description	141
Continua of Transformation	143
Suspension and Flying	146
Rebirth and Regeneration	156
Fox Pelt Wearers	159
Cephalocentrism	166
Polycephaly	168
Double-Necked Vessels or “Twins”	168
Vessel Pairs	176
Shrouded Figures	179
Chapter 6: Conclusions and Future Research	186
Tables	
Figures	
References Cited	
Appendix	
Corpus of Nasca Sculptural Polychrome Ceramics	

List of Tables

Table 1	Nasca Chronology
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List of Figures

Figure 1.1	Variety of Nasca polychrome slip colors (Late Nasca) Source: Proulx, <i>A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography</i> , pl. 10
Figure 1.2	Double-spout-and-bridge vessel Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Gift of Emilio Sanchez, 1962, Acc. #1978.412.91
Figure 1.3	Nasca bowls with birds and half-beans Source: Paul A. Clifford et al., eds., <i>Art of the Andes</i> , cat. no. 111 (acc. # N-431 (right), and cat. no. 120 (acc. # N-317) (left)
Figure 1.4	Nasca polychrome sculpted corn stalk Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Purchase, Judith S. Randal Foundation Gift, 1989.62.1
Figure 1.5	Late Nasca “Proliferous style” bowl Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Cummings, 64.228.77
Figure 1.6	Late Nasca vessel with figures and San Pedro cactus Source: Left: Proulx, <i>A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography</i> , pl. 8; Right: Ibid., fig. 1.6
Figure 1.7	Nasca vessels depicting a bird perched on a cactus Sources: Left: Collection Museo de America, Madrid, Inv. # 08230 Right: Sharon, <i>Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus</i> , pl. 108E
Figure 1.8	Nasca polychrome “night” scene with San Pedro cactus Source: Proulx, <i>A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography</i> , fig. 5.213
Figure 1.9	Nasca polychrome ceramic drum Source: Museo Larco, ML013683
Figure 1.10	Anthropomorphic Mythical Being (AMB) Source: Proulx, <i>A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography</i> , fig. 5.1

- Figure 1.11 “Proliferous style” Anthropomorphic Mythical Being
Source: Roark, “From Monumental to Proliferous,” Plate VI, fig. 37
- Figure 1.12 Painted Nasca figure wrapping around vessel
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.8.114, photographs and line drawing by M. Tierney
- Figure 1.13 Nasca modeled musician
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, plate 13
- Figure 1.14 “Shaman’s kit”
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, plate 14
- Figure 1.15 Nasca polychrome ceramic bowl with nested or telescoping squares
Source: Clifford, et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, pl. 118
- Figure 1.16 Nasca polychrome ceramic bowl with brightly colorful zig-zags
Source: Clifford, et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, pl. 119
- Figure 1.17 Cupisnique blackware (Chavín substyle)
Source: Museo Larco, ML010863
- Figure 1.18 Moche portrait vessel
Source: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, VA 32567
- Figure 1.19 Paracas ceramic vessel with incised lines
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 62.266.68
- Figure 1.20 Painting implements found at Cahuachi
Source: Museo Antonini, photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 1.21 Nasca bowl depicting pigment pouches
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 79.206.1106
- Figure 1.22 High relief step-fret vessel
Source: Museo Amano, MAR-037
- Figure 1.23 Plaque with humans and animals processing
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, pl. 9
- Figure 2.1 Nasca Lines
Source: Photograph by Meghan Tierney
- Figure 2.2 Moche fineline painting of sacrifice ceremony
Source: Museo Larco, ML010847

- Figure 2.3 Recuay vessel with modeling and resist painting techniques
Source: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology – Harvard University, 42-12-30/3164
- Figure 2.4 Lima Culture, Interlocking style ceramic vessel
Source: Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú
- Figure 2.5 Tiwanaku ceramic effigy vessel
Source: Paul A. Clifford et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, cat. no. 151
- Figure 2.6 Desert pampas in Nazca region (with Pan-American highway bisecting)
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.7 Tierras Blancas River valley
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.8 Cerro Blanco
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.9 Huarango tree near Cahuachi
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.10 Guaman Poma de Ayala drawing of Nazca
Source: “The Guaman Poma Website,” <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1051/en/text/?open=id2978109>
- Figure 2.11 Nasca puquio ojo with Cerro Blanco in the distance
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.12 Textile embroidered with beans and a bean border
Source: The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., no. 1965.40.23
- Figure 2.13 Late Nasca coca chewer effigy
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, pl. 37
- Figure 2.14 Vessel with tethered llamas (drawing)
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, fig. 5.184
- Figure 2.15 Karwa textile depicting vivified cotton plant
Source: Cordy-Collins, “The Cotton and the Staff God,” fig. 3
- Figure 2.16 Pyro-engraved gourd with AMB
Source: Museo Antonini, Nazca, photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.17 Cahuachi ceremonial center (with modern reconstruction)
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

- Figure 2.18 Disrupted graves at Cahuachi cemetery
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.19 Nasca plainware vessel with incised exterior surface
Source: Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 130
- Figure 2.20 Hide-wrapped and tied stone scraper from Guitarrero Cave
Source: Lynch, *Guitarrero Cave: Early Man in the Andes*, fig. 10.8
- Figure 2.21 Paracas shaman textile
Source: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú
- Figure 2.22 “Paracas Mantle”
Source: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 38.121
- Figure 2.23 “Göteborg Mantle”
Source: Museum of World Culture, Göteborg, Sweden, 1935.32.179
- Figure 2.24 Processional on a painted Nasca textile
Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Norweb Collection, 40.530
- Figure 2.25 Hammered gold alloy mouthmask
Source: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1945.37
- Figure 2.26 Gold sheet forehead diadem
Source: The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.
- Figure 2.27 Chavín goldwork
Source: Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene and Margaret McDermott Art Fund, Inc., 2005.35.McD
- Figure 2.28 Nasca gold trophy heads
Source: Lechtman, “Tradition and Styles,” fig. 9
- Figure 2.29 Man carving gourds
Source: <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/peruvian-art-gourd-carving-180955656/?no-ist>
- Figure 2.30 Engraved gourd with resin found at Cahuachi
Source: Museo Antonini, Nazca, Peru, photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.31 Paracas geoglyph (“The Candelabra”)
Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/7521861232/>
- Figure 2.32 Nasca geoglyph in the shape of a spider
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

- Figure 2.33 Nasca geoglyph in the shape of a fox
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.34 Nasca geoglyph in the shape of a hummingbird
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.35 Nasca geoglyphs, overlapping straight and geometric lines
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 2.36 Nasca geoglyphs in the shape of a killer whale
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 3.1 Crossed hands in the “Temple of the Crossed Hands” at Kotosh
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, fig. 30
- Figure 3.2 “Black and White” portal at Chavín de Huantar.
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, fig. 173
- Figure 3.3 Map of Inca Cuzco.
Source: Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, map 10.1
- Figure 3.4 Nasca bowl with pair of fish
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.008.088
- Figure 3.5 Tenoned heads at the Old Temple at Chavín de Huantar
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, figs. 147-155
- Figure 3.6 Processing jaguar/humans at Chavín de Huantar, Sunken Circular courtyard. Left: *in situ*; Right: line drawing of upper panel
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, figs. 123 & 125
- Figure 3.7 Fragment of processing figure panel showing roots of San Pedro cactus
Source: Rick, “Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture,” fig. 1.16
- Figure 3.8 Miniature tenoned head with San Pedro cactus lobes sprouting from eyes
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, fig 181
- Figure 3.9 Cupisnique stirrup-spout vessel depicting a jaguar-human
Source: Museo Larco, ML040218
- Figure 3.10 Drawing of a painted Karwa textile figure
Source: Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., fig. 39
- Figure 3.11 Early Classic Maya Shaman/Jaguar *incensario*
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1992.15.176

- Figure 3.12 Maya glyph for “way” or “animal self”
Source: Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, fig. 3.4. Drawing by Nina West
- Figure 3.13 Chancay standing whale-shark shaman
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1988.012.012
- Figure 3.14 Whale shark. Photograph by Andy Murch (<http://elasmodiver.com>)
Source: Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, fig. 7.13
- Figure 3.15 Paracas ecstatic shaman mantle.
Source: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 205788
- Figure 3.16 Paracas shamans with disembodied heads
Source: Memorial Art Gallery, MAG 44.63
- Figure 3.17 Moche fineline drawing with owl shamans
Source: Linden-Museum, Stuttgart
- Figure 3.18 Nasca treated head from Cahuachi
Source: Museo Antonini, Nazca, photograph M. Tierney
- Figure 3.19 Head jar found in passageway at Cahuachi
Source: Silverman, *Cahuachi*, fig. 16.19
- Figure 3.20 Head jars from Marcaya
Source: Vaughn, *Marcaya*, figs. 1.1 (left) and 8.3 (right)
- Figure 3.21 Pair of head jars with birds sucking at the head wrappings
Source: Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 252, and plate 18, no. 170710 (left) and fig. 252, no. 170716 (right).
- Figure 3.22 The “Tello Obelisk” and rollout drawing
Source: Urton, "The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art," figs. 8.2 (top) and 8.3 (bottom)
- Figure 3.23 Nasca female figurine
Source: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 79.116.1, photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 3.24 Nasca male figurine
Source: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 86.224.58, photograph by M. Tierney
- Figure 3.25 Nasca Vessel Shapes
Source: Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 90
- Figure 3.26 Effigy jar missing head
Source: Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 127

- Figure 3.27 Nasca ecstatic shaman ceramic jar
Source: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 4-8705
- Figure 3.28 Four transforming San Pedro Cactus shaman vessels
Source: Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*, plate 109A – D (after Tello, *Paracas, Primera Parte*, 291-294, figs. 84-87)
- Figure 3.29 “San Pedro Deity”
Source: Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism, Transformation, and Deities in West Mexican Funerary Art,” fig. 15
- Figure 4.1 Painted treated heads
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, catalog number 135
- Figure 4.2 Head reduced to eye and lock of hair
Source: Museo Larco, ML032327
- Figure 4.3 Late Nasca spout-and-handle vessel with ritual scene
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, plate 21
- Figure 4.4 Aplomado falcon eye markings
Source: <http://www.earthshare.org/2011/09/1-per-pay-period.html>
- Figure 4.5 Pampas cat markings
Source: Peters, “Ecology & Society,” fig. 7.44
- Figure 4.6 Embroidered birds from Nasca textile border
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2002.001.003
- Figure 4.7 Cross-section of the San Pedro cactus as compared to a Nasca bowl
Source: Artstor.org/56787, Emory University Art History Dept. Collection
- Figure 4.8 Jaguar eye
Source: Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, fig. 4.19
- Figure 4.9 Drawing of painted “farmers” on a Nasca bowl
Source: Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World,” fig. 6
- Figure 4.10 Treated head with eye sockets stuffed with textile
Source: Verano, “Where Do They Rest?” fig. 10
- Figure 4.11 Nasca cranial deformation (left) and trepanning (right)
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, fig. 1.1

- Figure 5.1 Moche vessel depicting a leishmaniasis survivor
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.8.72
- Figure 5.2 Polychrome ceramic drum
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.412.111
- Figure 5.3 Peregrine falcon
Source: <http://www.avianphotography.com/Gallery.htm>
- Figure 5.4 Bird skeleton with sternum (and protruding keel) highlighted
Source: <http://bilingualbiology10.blogspot.com/2013/08/topic-12d-class-aves-birds.html>
- Figure 5.5 Nasca body interment positions and grave forms
Source: Carmichael, "Nasca Burial Patterns," 167, fig. 2
- Figure 5.6 Paracas mummy bundle (left) with fox skin (right)
Source: Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, figs. 4.7 (left) and 7.5 (right)
- Figure 5.7 Night scene with San Pedro cactus and foxes
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, cat. no. 144
- Figure 5.8 Human-animal effigy, fox-pelt wearer (multiple views)
Source: Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca Tomo 2*, Numero 344, Museo de América, Madrid
- Figure 5.9 Human-animal effigy, fox-pelt wearer
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, cat. no. 112
- Figure 5.10 Drawings of fox/shaman figures from a Nasca painted textile
Source: Sawyer, "Painted Nasca Textiles," fig. 20m-p
- Figure 5.11 Nasca double-necked vessel
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, catalog number 191
- Figure 5.12 Nasca double-necked vessel
Source: Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, tomo II, Numero 352, Museo de América, Madrid
- Figure 5.13 Nasca double-chambered/bodied effigy vessel (side and front views)
Source: Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, tomo II, Numero 351, Museo de América, Madrid
- Figure 5.14 Nasca double-bodied vessel depicting two shrouded figures
Source: Sawyer, *Ancient Andean Arts*, fig. 35

- Figure 5.15 Moche parasitic twin vessel
Source: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 4-2974
- Figure 5.16 Effigy vessel pair with “head pads”
Source: Orefici, *Cahuachi*, fig. 6
- Figure 5.17 Nasca tunic with embroidered figures
Source: Sawyer, “Painted Nasca Textiles,” fig. 22
- Figure 5.18 Moche achumeras
Source: Scher, “Clothing Power.”

Chapter 1: Nasca Shamanism and Polychrome Sculptural Ceramics

Sculptural vessels from the Early Nasca period (c. 1 – 450 CE) unite the pivotal and innovative medium that has come to define the Nasca culture with the bright colors, shimmer, and hyper-plasticity of shamanic visions. Nasca polychrome ceramics were painted in the widest array of colors found in the Andes: up to fifteen within the overall palette and up to eleven on a single vessel (fig. 1.1).¹ Bold black or pure white lines surround opaque fields of reds, yellows, browns, and green (fig. 1.2). The intensely colorful and shiny surfaces depict motifs such as birds, fish, beans, and plants in two-dimensions. These appear as solitary, emblematic images contrasted against solid grounds of red and white (fig. 1.3). Sculpted forms are modeled, painted, and burnished with equal virtuosity to create bulbous and complex forms (fig. 1.4). Overwhelmingly, these Early Nasca sculptural vessels form body parts and bodies, be they human, animal, or combinations thereof. The composite human-animal body is a diagnostic feature of shamanic art and experience. Further related to the glowing qualities of shamanic visions, Nasca potters replicated in slip the vibrant dyes that colored earlier shamanistic Paracas textiles in three-dimensional ceramic forms. Despite its reputation for easy “reading,” the Early Nasca ceramic corpus is replete with images and forms that defy simple categorization or straightforward definitions, resisting one-to-one correlations to mundane objects. Rather, I argue the multiple telltale aspects of shamanic visions and trance states permeate and complicate the Early Nasca iconography.

¹ Helaine Silverman and Donald A. Proulx, *The Nasca, The Peoples of America* (Malden, Mass.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 149.

Indisputably, Early Nasca polychrome painting is distinctive on many levels and is characterized by what has been called a “readable” and “classic” style. With few exceptions Early Nasca images are non-narrative (i.e., a solitary object that may or may not be repeated is depicted on the vessel surface). Very rarely do multiple figures interact with each other, although this begins to happen during Late Nasca in the “Proliferous” style, which has proven more difficult to interpret (fig. 1.5). In the past, Nasca scholars identified a change in subject matter from Early to Late Nasca in that two-dimensional images of disembodied heads and human figures become more frequent. Yet, few recognize that during Early Nasca, disembodied heads and embodied (full-bodied) beings are present in the Nasca corpus in the form of sculptural polychrome vessels. During the research phase of this project, head jars comprised a significantly larger portion of the Early Nasca polychrome vessels in museum collections than did fully embodied effigies; I chose to limit the numbers of the former rather than change the topic to head jars alone.² Therefore, disembodied heads provide the starting point for the present study to best characterize Nasca sculptural vessels as a fundamental medium for the expression of shamanic ideas.

Specifically, the head jar form emphasizes the importance of the head as the locus for visions, a concept known as cephalocentrism, as well as the shaman’s ability to exist within and mediate between Here and the Otherworld along a continuum of transformation from life to death and back again (see chapter 4). The other significant group of sculptural vessels shows fully embodied beings in various configurations, including shrouded figures, double-necked or “twin” vessels, and fox-pelt wearers. Like

² For example, the Larco Museum collection contains almost one hundred head jars that would be applicable to the current study. Ultimately, I restricted the number of head jars I examined to avoid a project based solely on one vessel form.

their disembodied counterparts, these figural effigy vessels reinforce the concept of cephalocentrism, and show bodies on continua of life and death as well as on of transformation between human and animal, highlighting the phenomenological experience of a shaman in trance (see chapter 5). In order to recognize shamanic features in this important sub-set of Nasca ceramics, first a general definition of shamanism is necessary to then establish a particularly Nasca version of the practices and phenomenology evident in Early Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics.

Within the ancient central Andean context in which the Nasca culture and its sculptural polychrome ceramic tradition originates, shamanism can be defined as a socio-religious practice centered on spiritual healing through visionary consultation with Otherworldly forces.³ I can begin to consider a being, object, image, or idea to be “shamanic” if it exists as an integral aspect of a community in which shamans are recognizable and deemed efficacious.⁴ In other words, it is important to be able to note

³ Shamanism has been called a religious “complex” (see Mircea Eliade and Willard R. Trask. *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York: Bollingen Foundation; distributed by Pantheon Books, 1964), 5; and Rebecca R. Stone, *The Jaguar Within: Shamanic Trance in Ancient Central and South American Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 2), but this term is unclear to those outside the fields of anthropology and religious studies. For a discussion of the limits of the Western “semantic field” in which shamanism has been defined and discussed in the past, see Graham Harvey, “General Introduction,” in *Shamanism: A Reader*, ed. Graham Harvey (New York: Routledge, 2003), 1-23. So much so that some have called the shamanic approach a “disease,” see Cecilia F. Klein, Eulogio Guzmán, Elisa C. Mandell, Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, and Josephine Volpe, “Shamanitis: A Pre-Columbian Art Historical Disease,” in *The Concept of Shamanism: Uses and Abuses*, ed. HP. & R. Hamayon Francfort in collaboration with P. Bahn (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2001), 207-241. Likewise, Alice Beck Kehoe argues against the apparent blanket use of the terms shaman and shamanism for traditions outside of Siberia and nearby regions in which “Siberians historically linked with Saami, Inuit, and American Indians,” (see *Shamans and Religion: An Anthropological Exploration in Critical Thinking* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, Inc., 2000)). By contrast, Schroll argues that ethnographers must actually immerse themselves in an experiential study (i.e., ingest entheogens) in order to get at the real thing, see Mark A. Schroll, “Toward a New Kind of Science and Its Methods of Inquiry,” *Anthropology of Consciousness: Special Section: The Future of a Discipline: Considering the ontological/methodological future of the anthropology of consciousness*, Part I 21, no. 1 (2010): 1-29.

⁴ The appellation “shaman,” and subsequently “shamanism” as the practice within which the shaman is central, originates in Siberia; its practice was famously the subject of an influential publication by Mircea Eliade, first translated into English in 1964 (Eliade and Trask, *Shamanism*). Since Eliade’s epic, albeit now largely eclipsed, undertaking, the definition and reach of shamanism as an analytic tool in the study of

that the conditions under which a shaman operates, namely the trance state in which visions occur and later can be interpreted, were essential to the society as a whole.

Typical functions of the profession include: healer; midwife; diviner; and consultant for hunting, planting, familial, and community concerns, to name only a few.⁵ Although external substances are not necessary to achieve trance, shamans often employ “plant teachers,” a type of “entheogens,” to guide their visions.⁶ Here, like Rebecca R. Stone, I use the word entheogen, meaning that which brings one to the divine, because it more neutrally approximates the catalytic function of plants visually associated with Nasca

ancient cultures has spread. Now shamanism is mentioned in relation to many cultures, myths, and artistic traditions, particularly within the Americas, where peoples from Siberia migrated between 30,000 – 10,000 years ago. For discussion of the history of the use of the term shaman, its origins and continued use in scholarly studies, see Peter T. Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism, Transformation, and Deities in West Mexican Funerary Art,” in *Ancient West Mexico: Art and Archaeology of the Unknown Past*, ed. Richard F. Townsend (Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 177-180, and Staller and Currie, “Introduction,” Staller, John E., and Elizabeth J. Currie, eds. *Mortuary Practices and Ritual Associations: Shamanic Elements in Prehistoric Funerary Contexts in South America*, Bar International Series. Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2001. With ongoing investigations on the South American continent, speculation is growing as to how the Americas were peopled, and, therefore, how shamanic practices might have been conveyed from Siberia across the Bering Strait during the last ice age, if at all. Currently, the prevailing theory regarding the peopling of the Americas suggests a population from Asia crossed the Bering Strait via a land bridge accessible during the last ice age (see James Shreeve, “The Greatest Journey,” *National Geographic*, March 2006, 60-69). However, this so-called “Clovis first” theory is increasingly challenged by new discoveries, most recently at Serra de Capivara, Brazil and Monte Verde, Chile where cultural objects date to no less than 12,000 years ago, several thousand years before humans were previously thought to have reached South America (see Simon Romero, “Discoveries Challenge Beliefs on Humans' Arrival in the Americas,” *New York Times*, published electronically March 27, 2014.

<http://nyti.ms/1eXgUaP>; and Moore, *Prehistory of South America*, 68-87). Moreover, recent evidence shows that people in Brazil share portions of their DNA with Australians, see Maanasa Raghavan et al., “Genomic Evidence for the Pleistocene and Recent Population History of Native Americans,” *Science* 349, no. 6250 (2015), doi:10.1126/science.1253884. <http://www.sciencemag.org/content/349/6250/aab3884.abstract>; and Pontus Skoglund et al., “Genetic Evidence for Two Founding Populations of the Americas,” *Nature* (2015), doi:10.1038/nature14895, <http://www.nature.com/nature/journal/vnfv/ncurrent/abs/nature14895.html#supplementary-information>, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1038/nature14895>. If the Americas were peopled prior to 13,000 years ago, this does not diminish the importance of shamanism, although the term itself, of Siberian origin, might have less credence.

⁵ Tod Swanson commented that a primary concern in the Quichua community of Venecia Derecha, Napo, Ecuador was evil sorcery that might harm one's family. Such dark magic could only be neutralized by consulting with a trusted shaman who would go engage in spiritual battle on your behalf (personal communication, July 2009).

⁶ For more regarding “plant teachers,” see Luis Eduardo Luna, “The Concept of Plants as Teachers among Four Mestizo Shamans of Iquitos, Northeastern Peru,” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 11, no. July 2 (1984): 135-56; and Luis Eduardo Luna and Pablo Amaringo, *Ayahwasca Visions: The Religious Iconography of a Peruvian Shaman* (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 1999), 12-13.

shamanism, namely the San Pedro cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi or peruvianus*), than do our loaded and presentist terms “hallucinogen” and “psychedelic.”⁷

While culturally specificity is inevitable, the concept of a core shamanism recognizes certain aspects of shamanic practice and visions to be universal and thus at the center of all shamanic activity, including: use of sacred plants, meditation, and music as methods to reach visionary realms via a trance state; phenomena experienced during trance, such as flying and transformation, and other states of being; and power objects used as essential vehicles for spirits in shamanic ritual.⁸ Overall, the practice and experience of shamanism is a corporeally based enterprise: sometimes individuals are called to the profession of shaman because of their special bodies (marked by the survival of congenital condition or disease); during shamanic rituals the shaman positions her body in poses conducive to entering a trance state and administers to other people’s bodies to treat physical ailments;⁹ and, perhaps most important to the present study, shamans attest to intense bodily effects during visions, such as an out-of-body suspension or transformation into an animal. However, aside from the superficial identification of two-dimensional illustrations in which shamans engage in ritual activities like dancing and drinking the pulp of the San Pedro cactus and excavating the remains of what are

⁷ Precedent for use of the term can be found in Rebecca R. Stone, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca*, 3rd ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012), 15; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 3. There appears to be some debate as to the attribution of San Pedro cactus to a particular species (*peruvianus*, *pachanoi*, etc.) of the genus *Trichocereus*, see Richard Evans Schultes, Albert Hofmann, and Christian Rätsch, *Plants of the Gods: Their Sacred, Healing, and Hallucinogenic Powers* (Rochester, Vt.: Healing Arts Press, 2001), 166-169. Rätsch notes ten species (*Trichocereus* spp.) of the columnar cactus that contain mescaline, see Christian Rätsch, *The Encyclopedia of Psychoactive Plants: Ethnopharmacology and Its Applications*, (Rochester, Vt.: Park Street Press, 2005), 511-513.

⁸ For details of the assignation of core elements of trance, visions, and the shamanic experience overall, see Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 3-4.

⁹ Throughout the dissertation I will consciously interchange the pronouns (e.g., her and his) to reflect the gender neutrality that characterizes core shamanism. It has been shown that shamans can be men, women, or even occupy a third-gender category for which we have not yet accurate terminology (see Barbara Tedlock, *The Woman in the Shaman's Body: Reclaiming the Feminine in Religion and Medicine* (New York: Bantam Books 2005)).

assumed to be shamans and their activities, few scholars have examined Nasca iconography through a shamanic lens.

Identifying Nasca Shamanism

While not well or exhaustively described in the literature, the vast Nasca ceramic corpus offers images of many core shamanic elements. Previous studies address this “first level of shamanic iconography” by “identifying effigies of shamans, and the abundant images of visionary substances and their use.”¹⁰ As a preliminary step, the recognition of shamanic subjects and subject matter in Nasca imagery is crucial and speculation regarding the position of shamans in Nasca society permeates the literature. Certainly, the identification of entheogens and other shamanic accouterments bolsters the argument that Nasca shamanic practice included the pursuit of visions and interaction with Otherworldly forces and therefore will be reviewed in brief here. Yet, while the presence of such elements show Nasca was one of many ancient Andean cultures to practice shamanism, the specifically Nasca version of shamanism will be introduced here. This will be further explored through analyses of the sculptural vessels depicting disembodied and embodied beings in chapters 4 and 5.

Achieving Trance

A shaman’s ability to enter trance is essential to her efficacy. Many modes of trance induction exist, including ingestion of organic substances, meditation, sensory deprivation, and long periods of music, chanting and/or rhythmic drumming; the presence of all or most of these in Nasca iconography highlights their importance to the culture of

¹⁰ Rebecca Stone-Miller, “Human-Animal Imagery, Shamanic Visions, and Ancient American Aesthetics,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 45, no. Spring (2004): 50.

achieving a visionary state. Of these, entheogens or plant teachers are the most commonly depicted in the art of the Nasca. In particular, lobes of the mescaline-containing San Pedro cactus are depicted in both two and three dimensions on polychrome ceramics, leading Douglas Sharon and others to identify it as the primary entheogen used in Nasca shamanic ritual (figs. 1.6 and 1.7).¹¹ However, as Donald A. Proulx comments “[w]e have no direct archaeological evidence for the use of hallucinogens by the Nasca people.”¹² Indeed, in order to concentrate the mescaline from within the cactus pulp, lobes of the San Pedro are boiled, a process that leaves little or no absolute trace in the archeological record. Still, ethnobotanist Margaret Towle reports the presence of the San Pedro cactus on the Peruvian coast during ancient times, but does not specify a particular region.¹³ Archaeologist Lidio Valdez also recovered seeds of the cactus at the Nasca ceremonial center of Cahuachi; however, he also notes that the San Pedro cactus is not typically found in the Nazca Valley, suggesting the plant was imported for growing and ceremonial purposes.¹⁴ Be that as it may, depictions of the cactus in polychrome ceramics still serve as the primary evidence that the ancient Nasca people were familiar with and used the plant for its entheogenic properties.

¹¹ Douglas G. Sharon, and Christopher B. Donnan, “The Magic Cactus: Ethnoarchaeological Continuity in Peru,” *Archaeology* 30, no. 6 (1977): 374-81; and Douglas G. Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*, San Diego Museum Papers 37 (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Man, 2000). In addition, many studies of the San Pedro cactus relate to its natural habitat and shamanic use on the Peruvian north coast from ancient to modern times, for examples see Bonnie Glass-Coffin, “Shamanism and San Pedro through time: Some Notes on the Archaeology, History, and Continued use of an Entheogen in Northern Peru,” *Anthropology of Consciousness* 21, no. 1 (2010): 58-82; and Marlene Dobkin de Rios, “Plant Hallucinogens and the Religion of the Mochica—an Ancient Peruvian People,” *Economic Botany* 31, no. 2 (April-June 1977): 189-203.

¹² Donald A. Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography: Reading a Culture through Its Art* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 62.

¹³ Margaret A. Towle, *The Ethnobotany of Pre-Columbian Peru*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 30 (Chicago: Aldine, 1961), 71.

¹⁴ Lidio M. Valdez, “Cahuachi: New Evidence for an Early Nasca Ceremonial Role,” *Current Anthropology* 35, no. 5 (1994): 675-679. As convention dictates, I will hereafter also use the spelling “Nasca” to refer to the ancient culture, and “Nazca” to refer to geographic locations in and around the modern-day city of Nazca, Perú,

Furthermore, the vision-inducing cactus can be seen on a polychrome vessel depicting a night scene, as indicated by an atypical black background (fig. 1.8). Primarily, this scene highlights the fact that the cactus blooms at night.¹⁵ Secondly, shamans often perform their ceremonies at night as light deprivation can induce the trance itself and the mydriasis (dilated pupils) that characterizes trance makes daylight painful. Finally, black sky could imply the Other Side, a place often understood as an inversion of normative terrestrial space occupied by diurnal humans.¹⁶ Nicholas Saunders describes this alternate plane that is not “human or ‘here’ in the physical world, but ‘there’ in the parallel spirit world which is conceived as a mirror images, and which may, according to circumstance, be regarded as an inversion of the physical world.”¹⁷ By ingesting the cactus’ pulp, shamans too assume the form of crepuscular or nocturnal animals that thrive at twilight or in darkness (e.g., jaguar, owl, and bat).¹⁸ Additionally, the Early Nasca sculptural polychrome corpus contains several examples of pointed visual connections between raptorial birds and cactus lobes, further linking the vision-inducing role of the cactus to the experience of the trance itself, in which shamans experience flight and elevated perspective like those of avians or in avian form itself (fig. 1.7).¹⁹

Along with the San Pedro cactus, Marlene Dobkin de Rios and Mercedes Cardenas speculate as to whether plant entheogens such as *Datura (floripondio)*, tobacco,

¹⁵ Schultes, et al., *Plants of the Gods*, 166-169.

¹⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 130-131.

¹⁷ Nicholas J. Saunders, “Chatoyer: Anthropological Reflections on Archaeological Mirrors,” in *Recent Studies in Pre-Columbian Archaeology*, eds. Nicholas J. Saunders and Olivier de Montmollin (Oxford: B.A.R., 1988), 6. Saunders also cites a report by Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (*The Shaman and the Jaguar* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975), 110) that suggests the concept of inversion extends to the shaman’s body, which “in his jaguar guise the shaman’s body is reversed, his back faces downward and his belly is turned upwards.”

¹⁸ For examples see Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes: Highlights of the Michael C. Carlos Museum Collection of Art of the Ancient Americas* (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2002), and “Human-animal Imagery”; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*.

¹⁹ Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*. For more on the connections between raptorial birds, entheogens, the shamanic experience, and Nasca sculptural ceramics, see chapter 5.

wilka (or *vilca*) snuff (*Anadenanthera colubrina*), and espingo seeds might also have been available and used.²⁰ We should also consider the visionary potential of the spiny oyster (*Spondylus princeps*) and its availability to the ancient Nasca people. Mary Glowacki suggests that *Spondylus* was important in the Andes, not only for its entheogenic properties at certain times of year (i.e., seasonal toxicity), but also as a symbolic link to water and the potentially disastrous El Niño phenomena.²¹

In addition to plant teachers and other organic entheogens, other means of achieving a trance state are portrayed in the Nasca ceramic corpus. States of meditation and sensory deprivation can equally prompt visions that reportedly contain the same experiences.²² Effigies often hold their hands at the center of the body, offering a multivalent image indicative of meditation, but also suggesting fecundity (e.g., cat. no. 100; see chapter 5). Some Nasca ceramic vessels show figures with shrouded eyes deprived of light (e.g., cat. nos. 001 – 118) and others are shown playing musical instruments (cat. nos. 053 and 054).

²⁰ Marlene Dobkin de Rios, and Mercedes Cardenas, “Plant Hallucinogens, Shamanism, and Nazca Ceramics,” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 2, no. 3 (1980): 238. Orefici and Drusini also note the presence of *Datura* in the Nasca record (Giuseppe Orefici, and Andrea G. Drusini, *Nasca: Hipótesis Y Evidencias De Su Desarrollo Cultural* [in Spanish], Documentos E Investigaciones. (Lima, Perú: Centro italiano studi e ricerche archeologiche precolombiane, 2003), 177). For more about the use of *Anadenanthera* in the Americas, see Siri von Reis Altschul, *The Genus Anadenanthera in Amerindian Cultures* (Cambridge, MA: Botanical Museum, Harvard University 1972) and, in Peru specifically, see Siri von Reis Altschul, “Vilca and Its Use,” in *Ethnopharmacologic Search for Psychoactive Drugs*, eds. Daniel H. Efton, Bo Holmstedt and Nathan S. Kline (New York: Raven Press, 1979): 307-314; and Eugenio Yacovleff and F. L. Herrera, “El Mundo Vegetal De Los Antiguos Peruanos, Parte 1,” *Revista del Museo Nacional* 3, no. 3 (1934): 241-322.

²¹ Mary Glowacki, “Food of the Gods or Mere Mortals? Hallucinogenic *Spondylus* and Its Interpretive Implications for Early Andean Society,” *Antiquity* 79 (2005): 257-68. See also, Judith R. Davidson, “Ecology, Art and Myth: A Natural Approach to Symbolism,” in *Pre-Columbian Art History: Selected Readings*, ed. Alana Cordy-Collins (Palo Alto: Peek, 1982): 331-43. For more on the phenomena of red tide during which the meat of the spiny oyster becomes mildly toxic, see Rebecca R. Stone and the Michael C. Carlos Museum, “‘For I Am the Black Jaguar’: Shamanic Visionary Experience in Ancient American Art,” <https://scholarblogs.emory.edu/blackjaguar/spondylus-in-nature/>, accessed April 21, 2016.

²² Stone, *The Jaguar Within*.

It has been shown that during shamanic trance music plays important roles; whistling, chanting, and playing flutes can serve “as a vital link bridging separate realities,”²³ and contrastingly animated conditions inspired through rhythmic drumming or dancing incites visual phenomena akin to trance states induced by other means.²⁴ Extant polychrome instruments, primarily ceramic drums, whistles (e.g., cat. nos. 226 – 235) and trumpets (e.g., cat. no. 225) and their iconography also highlight the import of music in Nasca and are notable within the Nasca ceramic corpus.²⁵ Panpipes, or *antara*, were made by a unique technique called slip casting, in which a liquid clay mixture was poured in and out of a mold to create tubes.²⁶ Extant ceramic drums often depict a figure divided into three sections (head, torso, and legs) that correlate to the lobes and neck of the instrument, similar to the registers of effigy vessels (fig. 1.9).²⁷

Regardless of the method, entry into trance has physiological effects that mark a shaman’s body and are depicted in Nasca sculptural vessels; for instance, extreme

²³ Marlene Dobkin de Rios and Fred Katz, “Some Relationships Between Music and Hallucinogenic Ritual: The “jungle gym” of Consciousness, *Ethos* 3, no. 1 (Spring 1975): 65.

²⁴ Michael Winkelman, “Trance States: A Theoretical Model and Cross-Cultural Analysis,” *Ethos* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1986): 178.

²⁵ Regarding the drum form in Nasca, see Josafat Roel Pineda, “Tambor de botija del valle de Nazca,” *Historia Andina* 12 (1982): 29-37.

²⁶ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 120 (motif “MI-1”). For a more in-depth description of the slip-casting technique see Lawrence E. Dawson, “Slip Casting: A Ceramic Technique Invented in Ancient Peru,” *Nawpa Pacha* 2, no. 1 (1964): 107-11. However, Helaine Silverman notes that Dawson’s technical assessment of panpipes has been challenged (*Cahuachi in the Ancient Nasca World*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 241). Kroeber et al. note finding “pan’s pipes” in his excavations at Cahuachi and Majoro Chico (Kroeber, Collier, Carmichael, and Field Museum of Natural History, *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru: Alfred L. Kroeber's 1926 Expedition* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1998), 50, 51, 78, and 109. See also Karl Izikowitz, *Musical and Other Sound Instruments of the South American Indians: A Comparative Study* (Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri, 1935), 378-380, fig. 246; Joerg Haeblerli, “Twelve Nasca Panpipes,” *Ethnomusicology* 23, no. 1 (1979): 57-74; Paz Cabello Carro and Cruz Martínez, *Música y arqueología en América precolombina: estudio de una colección de instrumentos y escenas musicales*, Bar International Series 450 (Oxford, England: B.A.R., 1988), 39-40, figs. 10-14; and Cesar Bolaños, *Las antaras Nasca: historia y análisis* (Lima: Programa de Arqueomusicología del Instituto Andino de Estudios Arqueológicas (INDEA), 1988).

²⁷ For more regarding the single membrane drum from Peru, see Karl Gustav Izikowitz, “Le Tambour À Membrane Au Pérou,” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 23 (1931): 163-175; and Raoul d'Harcourt, “Les Formes Du Tambour À Membrane Dans L'ancien Pérou,” *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 43 (1954): 155-159.

dilation of the pupil as part of a suite of “trance eyes,” or “trance gazes” can be seen on all sculptural vessel types in the present corpus (e.g., cat. nos. 058, 077, 112, 144, 148, 162, and 195).²⁸ In sum, images of the San Pedro cactus and other methods of trance induction along with their physiological effects strongly indicate a Nasca shamanic practice. I suggest the Nasca polychrome corpus is replete with images of further corporeal phenomena that characterize a shaman’s body in trance, and will be discussed here.

Shamans

Though scholars are reluctant to make the connection of this image to a shaman on an aerial journey, what in Nasca studies has been called the “Anthropomorphic Mythical Being” (AMB), I suggest be renamed the Nasca Ecstatic Being (NEB) after the Paracas Ecstatic Shaman and throughout use this from now on.²⁹ Nasca Ecstatic Being figures are ungrounded, horizontally positioned, have an arched posture and are often associated ritual paraphernalia (figs. 1.10 and 1.11)(see chapter 2).³⁰ Previously, the AMB has been called a god, deity figure, and spirit, but, oddly enough, is rarely

²⁸ Rebecca R. Stone, “The Trance Eye in Ancient Andean Art,” paper presented at the *College Art Association Annual Meetings* (Los Angeles, California, 2009); and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 85-92.

²⁹ Anne Paul and Sloveig Turpin, “The Ecstatic Shaman Theme of Paracas Textiles,” *Archaeology* 39, no. 5 (1986): 20-27.

³⁰ Eduard Seler, Charles P. Bowditch, Theodore E. Gutman, Ingeburg M. Nagel, and Frank E. Comparato, *Collected Works in North- and South-American Linguistics and Archaeology: English Translations of German Papers from Gesammelte Abhandlungen Zur Amerikanischen Sprach- Und Alterthumskunde* (Lancaster, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 2002); Richard P. Roark, “From Monumental to Proliferous in Nasca Pottery,” *Nawpa Pacha* 3 (1965): 1-92; Donald A. Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences in Nasca Pottery*, University of California Publications in Archaeology 5 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); and Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*. The figure type has also been called the “Nasca Flying Shaman,” see wall text and public programs, “‘For I am the Black Jaguar’: Shamanic Visionary Experience in Ancient American Art,” Michael C. Carlos Museum, Atlanta, GA.

connected to the experience or role of a shaman.³¹ Versions of the AMB are painted in two dimensions on prestigious “double-spout-and-bridge” vessels or globular vessels with two short spouts connected by a handle, that are indicative of the Early Nasca period (fig. 1.12).³² Importantly, these two-dimensional images do not place their feet consistently in one direction, but appear to float on the vessel surface. In many cases they wrap around the vessel, thus denying the viewer a complete view of the image,³³ and so contributing to purposeful visual confusion; this artistic choice underscores how a shamanic worldview privileges the visionary experience.

These Early Nasca painted NEBs share some features with those found on another key Early Nasca sculptural ceramic type: the drum.³⁴ Ceramic drums offer a particularly apropos medium for the depiction of the Nasca Ecstatic Being, since rhythmic beats are a prime trance inducer. Figures are often painted on Nasca drums, the torso and head on the two lower spherical sections that comprise the body of the drum and the legs on the upright cylinder that acts as the neck of the drum (fig. 1.9). Like effigy jars, drum sections replicate the way in which a human body is partitioned; the head occupies one

³¹ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 56. Roark names iterations of the figure the “Mythical Beings” (i.e., Masked Mythical Being, Feline Mythical Being, etc.) after Seler (1923), see “From Monumental to Proliferous,” 17-25.

³² Noting the lack of double-spout-and-bridge vessels at the household level, Vaughn asserts, “[t]he lack of one of the most conspicuous Nasca pottery types is significant, as it have been regarded as the ‘most prestigious vessel form’ in Nasca (Proulx 1968: 13). All double-spout bottle of known provenience, however, have been recovered from burial contexts. As no graves were found at Marcaya, the absence of double-spout and bridge bottles in the vessel assemblage strongly suggests that they were probably reserved for graves” (Kevin J. Vaughn, *The Ancient Andean Village: Marcaya in Prehispanic Nasca* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 95). For a description of typical Nasca vessel shapes see Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 11-15; Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, 94-96, figs. 90-91; and Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 14-15, fig. 2.2.

³³ Mary Margaret Blagg, “The Bizarre Innovation in Nasca Pottery,” Thesis (MA) (University of Texas at Austin, 1975), 21.

³⁴ Few Nasca drums are held in museums collections and therefore are not included in the present corpus. However, they will be used as a comparative form here.

section, while the body is painted on the second, typically larger, section.³⁵ Animal skin was stretched across the circular opening and tied tightly around the cylinder to create the surface membrane.³⁶ To be played, the drum would be turned on its side, and held underneath the musician's arm and across the lap (fig. 1.13).

As with many objects, it is productive to consider Nasca drums and the images painted on them as they would have appeared during use. Museums and published photographs typically favor a configuration in which the human figure stands upright; however, I suggest that this view obfuscates the true position of the figure when the drum was in use and therefore which is was capable of inducing trance; the painted figure assumes a horizontal, flying position much like that of the gravity-defying Ecstatic Beings. Similar to a sculptural vessel showing a raptorial bird alighting on a cactus lobe (fig. 1.7), depicting both the result of the trance state (transformation into a bird) as well as the means by which the trance is achieved (ingesting the entheogenic cactus), drums often depict a body that becomes transformed through the act of rhythmic drumming.³⁷

The multi-directional and ungrounded nature of bodies that have achieved ecstatic flight in trance is emphasized in a scene painted on a ceramic drum (fig. 1.9). Strands of hair in the form of snakes flow down the figure's neck and back. While the interaction with and transformation into and out of animal bodies spans a multitude of species, the animation of appendages as snakes appears frequently in visionary art, such as earlier at Chavín de Huantar and in Paracas art, and is confirmed by first-hand accounts of

³⁵ It is important to note that extant examples of double-spout-and bridge vessels with drum-shaped containers reinforce the high status of the instrument's form itself (cat. nos. 094 and 095).

³⁶ Izikowitz calls this type of instrument a kettle-drum. His ethnographical study of South American instruments includes a ceramic kettle-drum with membrane intact from the Ica region of Peru (*Musical and Other Sound Instruments of the South American Indians*, 167, fig. 76).

³⁷ Polychrome ceramic drums are held in museum collections; however, none are included in the present catalog for access reasons.

visions.³⁸ The addition of subsidiary “spirit helpers” (entities present in other realms that can facilitate for another being) and faces around the main figure may confer additional supernatural status to the larger shaman, as has been suggested for similar Paracas imagery.³⁹ This could be related to the vivification of other seemingly inanimate objects such as mouth masks and disembodied heads (e.g., fig. 1.12). Certainly, the addition of extra curling mouths and dots for eyes amplifies the figure’s sensory capacity, a distinct advantage for a shaman.⁴⁰ Lastly, cross-sections of the San Pedro cactus adorn the figure’s cheeks near the eyes, indicating that the ingestion of the powerful entheogen led to the figure’s visionary sight and Otherworldly corporeal experience.

Shamanic Activity

In concert with entheogens and other methods for inducing the all-important visions, shamans often assemble powerful objects to facilitate the resolution of a patient’s illness or problem. The recovery of such objects in the archaeological record provides a substantive link between the Nasca people and shamanic activity. A prime example comes from a suite of objects found wrapped within a textile bundle of unknown provenance that has long been identified as a “shaman’s kit” (fig. 1.14).⁴¹ Alan Sawyer’s analysis of the bundle suggests it might be considered “a set of ritual objects (fetishes?) of the fertility cult.”⁴² Such interpretations of images and objects, though seminal and

³⁸ Alana Cordy-Collins, “An Artistic Record of the Chavín Hallucinatory Experience,” *The Masterkey* 54, no. 3 (1980): 84-93; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 40-41.

³⁹ Paul and Turpin, “The Ecstatic Shaman,” 27.

⁴⁰ Stone-Miller, “Human-Animal Imagery,” 48.

⁴¹ Alan Sawyer and Donald A. Proulx both date the objects to Early Nasca. See Alan Sawyer, “A Group of Early Nazca Sculptures in the Whyte Collection,” *Archaeology* 15, no. 3 (Sept. 1962): 152-59; and Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 201, plate 14.

⁴² Sawyer, “A Group of Early Nazca Sculptures,” 159. For a comparison of objects observed in modern shaman’s mesas and ancient practices of shamanism, in this case with the ancient Moche culture, see

relevant to this study, show how shamanism can become confined to the limited notion of a “fertility cult,” a vague construct that obfuscates the presence of an over-arching shamanic milieu within which such objects, people, and acts are considered spiritually efficacious. Perhaps more accurately, Lee Parsons described one of the objects in the bundle as an “effigy of an emaciated human figure,” and likened the grouping to a North American Indian “medicine man” kit.”⁴³ Silverman and Proulx also comment on this object grouping, “the ritual objects were manipulated through some kind of sympathetic magic with invocations. A private rather than public ritual was involved because of the small size and low weight of the bundle, i.e. it is portable.”⁴⁴ Although these descriptions approach a more nuanced shamanic description of the context in which the bundle was used, a visual consideration of the objects contained in the bundle, in concert with modern ethnographic analogy, more effectively introduces some of the methods and sculptural forms used in the present study.

The kit consists of five sculpted objects: one wooden human head with inlaid eyes and teeth; one small, striped polychrome ceramic vessel in the shape of pepper; and three carved stone objects depicting a mottled orange-red and cream llama head, a white full-bodied llama, and a human figure curled in a fetal position holding a disembodied head. Within this grouping, a Nasca way of forming bodies of all species is highlighted; human and animal bodies each are shown as capable of existing as disembodied and a fully embodied beings. The containment of these human, animal, and plant bodies together

Sarahh E. M. Scher, “Held in the Balance: Shamanism and Gender Role in Ancient and Modern Practice,” *Acta Americana* 15 (1) 2007: 29-47.

⁴³ Lee Parsons, “Peruvian Mortuary Art: The Malcolm K. Whyte Collection at Milwaukee,” *Archaeology* 15, no. 3 (September 1962): 151.

⁴⁴ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 204.

within a bundle, is akin to the use of *entierros*, or burials, by modern shamans that make spirits and entities manifest in order to neutralize any detrimental effects.⁴⁵ Likewise, contemporary Peruvian shamans in the Cuzco region, construct *despachos*, or dispatches—“ceremonial offering[s] to the spirits of the earth”—to serve as conduits or mediators, much like the shaman herself between multiple realms, often those of the living and the dead.⁴⁶ Therefore, in an ancient Nasca context we can envision imagine that the presence of disembodied and embodied beings as objects of power in this bundle, as well as similarly sculpted and divided polychrome ceramics depicting the same subject matter, were vital to the Nasca shamanic enterprise.

Visions

Creative and often subtle artistic solutions in both two and three dimensions—which in the Nasca ceramic corpus run the gamut—also express the shamanic visionary imagery and phenomena. Yet, this spiritual content can be difficult to identify without understanding the major stages of visions as reported by practicing shamans as well as by subjects of scientific experiments. At their onset, visions are often described as having “varied and saturated colors, intense brightness and symmetrical configurations,” and can be profitably compared to the bright colors capable via Nasca slip paint technology (fig. 1.1).⁴⁷ Likewise, in a clinical setting Heinrich Klüver identified some form constants, or phosphenes, seen during this stage, including “grating, lattice, fretwork, filigree, honeycomb, and chessboard,” as well as “cobweb, tunnel, funnel, alley, cone, vessel, and

⁴⁵ Donald Joralemon and Douglas Sharon, *Sorcery and Shamanism: Curanderos and Clients in Northern Peru* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 131.

⁴⁶ Hillary S. Webb, *Yanantin and Masintin in the Andean World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 1.

⁴⁷ Ronald K. Siegel, “Hallucinations,” *Scientific American* 237, no. 4 (1977): 2. See also Heinrich Klüver, *Mescal and the Mechanisms of Hallucinations* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 1966).

spiral.”⁴⁸ These descriptions match some images found in the Nasca ceramic corpus, such as nested rectangles and colorful zigzags (e.g., fig. 1.15 and fig. 1.16).

During the second stage of visions, imagery becomes more complex. In this deeper state a shaman’s training and expertise becomes critical in the typical encounters with frightening animals, such as snakes and jaguars, visions of Otherworldly or supernatural beings, and a sense of clairvoyance brought on by engagement with far off places, times, and people.⁴⁹ It is also in these latter stages that kinesthetic (located in the body as opposed to in sight) experiences take hold, both distinctly and in combination. Visionaries report dissolution of the ego, divination of the future, conflict resolution (sometimes combative), assumption of other perspectives, and the separation of the spirit from the body, often in order to journey elsewhere via a sense of flight.⁵⁰

Innumerable depictions of metamorphosed body parts and bodies in the Nasca corpus highlight the importance of a shaman’s transformation to and from an animal-self or selves (e.g., cat. no. 148). At times animal features are more or less overt, although it appears that birds and avian attributes signal the particularly key parts of the physical and perspectival shifts necessary for shamanic flight in the Nasca take on shamanism (see

⁴⁸ Siegel, “Hallucinations,” 2.

⁴⁹ For an in-depth description and first-hand accounts of these experiences, see Michael J. Harner, “Common Themes in South American Indian Yagé Experiences,” in *Hallucinogens and Shamanism*, ed. Michael J. Harner. 155-75 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). Cordy Collins suggests that the first and second stages of the trance state overlap (“The Iconography of Visionary Experience: A Resolve of the Conflict between Ordinary and Non-Ordinary Reality,” in *Cultures in Conflict: Current Archaeological Perspectives: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Diana C. Tkaczuk and Brian C. Vivian. 34-43 (Calgary: University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1989), 35). Stone also notes that in some instance the shaman reports to becoming the phosphene or shape, so the presumption of another perspective or being is not limited to that which is or was at one time “alive” (*The Jaguar Within*, 37).

⁵⁰ Perhaps implicit in the transformation into and assumption of non-human perspectives is the ontological construct of Amerindian social relationships between humans and non-humans discussed by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (“Exchanging Perspectives: The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies,” *Common Knowledge* 10, no. 3 (2004): 463-84).

chapter 5).⁵¹ The artistic interpretation of the phenomenology of the trance state itself, what Rebecca Stone-Miller has called “the imagery of becoming,” can be seen by and through the shaman’s body. Although explored in relation to many other ancient American cultures, visual renderings of transformation and its implicit shift of perspective is clearly a subject in need of explication to expand the discourse art and religion in Early Nasca ceramics.⁵²

The vast corpus of polychrome ceramics convincingly suggests Nasca artists had a deep knowledge of shamanic practice and trance experiences through depictions of myriad ways of achieving trance, the shaman’s body (both in trance and enacting shamanic rituals), powerful object groups showing the importance of disembodied and embodied beings, and visionary imagery, such as colorful and bright phosphenes. Such an intimate knowledge of these phenomena then begs the question as to whether the creators of such works of art were shamans themselves. I will not attempt to answer that question directly; instead, I suggest that, regardless of the artist’s immediate knowledge of the visionary realm and trance experience, a shamanic way of knowing must have infused the culture in which these objects were used on a daily basis, proliferated on a massive scale, and valued as integral participants in multiple realms.⁵³ The Nasca drive to produce new and numerous colors and intense sheens to replicate shamanic visions suggest that the products of new technologies conferred meaning, and that as Heather Lechtman avers, “process and product were culturally indivisible and, therefore,

⁵¹ Stone notes that birds were important animal selves in the ancient Americas though her study did not focus on this animal-self in particular (*The Jaguar Within*, 39).

⁵² Stone-Miller, “Human-Animal Imagery,” 54; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 85-92.

⁵³ For further consideration of the shaman as artist, see Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 155, and Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 179.

manipulable to the ends of ideology.”⁵⁴ Indeed, innovations in the ceramic-making process were an essential part of revealing the shamanic visionary experience through a lasting medium and will be described here.

Polychrome Ceramics

As part of a sustained tradition of ceramic production in the Andes, the Nasca would have been aware of the character and longevity of the artistic methods that preceded them. Clay vessels were first fired in the Andes around 1800 BCE, late in comparison to other areas of the world; it appears that ancient Andeans instead favored working in fiber and developed weaving and textile making techniques first. In spite of its relatively brief history, several distinctive and high-quality ceramic traditions emerged; for example, Chavín blackware (fig. 1.17) and Moche portrait vessels (fig. 1.18). Paracas, Nasca’s South Coast predecessors, incised ceramic vessels with lines that delineate features and were painted with organic resins after the vessel had been fired (fig. 1.19). Because the resins held the pigment in a matrix that was applied topically, the resins did become hard, but tend to chip, flake, and wear off over time.⁵⁵ Organic materials also limited the Paracas color palette to four colors: yellow, red, green, and dark brown/black.

By contrast, Nasca invented a slip painting process, which, in combination with the increasing complexity of the ensuing imagery, was a distinct departure from earlier South Coast ceramic vessels. As Proulx notes, “[t]he transition from the Paracas culture

⁵⁴ Heather Lechtman, “Technologies of Power: The Andean Case,” in *Configurations of Power*, ed. John S. Henderson and Patricia J. Netherly. 244-80 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 274.

⁵⁵ For further description of the Paracas ceramic tradition, see Christopher B. Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1992); and Alan R. Sawyer, *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: The Nathan Cummings Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966).

to the Nasca culture is marked by an arbitrary point in a ceramic sequence that corresponds neither to a radical change in the social or political organization of the people of the south coast nor to an invasion of new peoples or ideas, but rather to a technological innovation: the use of slip painting on ceramics.”⁵⁶ Although some Paracas vessel shapes and images continued to be used, the application of mineral slip paints before firing enabled the vastly increased color palette of paints to be permanently fused with the vessel. Nasca potters also eschewed the incised lines of their predecessors and instead bound color fields with bold lines of dark brown or black slip paints as two-dimensional versions of the shadowed boundaries for images. Only during the earliest Nasca ceramic phases, sometimes called the Proto-Nasca period, do incising and slip painting briefly occur together (cat. no. 159).

Early Nasca ceramic imagery has been described as a “classic” and decipherable style that might therefore provide a productive starting point for interpretive approaches.⁵⁷ Indeed, Max Uhle, a German archaeologist credited with the discovery of the Nasca culture, called the Early style “representational.”⁵⁸ His assessment was based on the use of clear images of recognizable subjects like birds, fish, and beans as well as his assumption that in the evolution of art styles representation comes first.⁵⁹ To Uhle, the Early Nasca images stood in contrast to later “conventionalized” imagery he described as “a mass of meaningless staff or arrow-like points and scrolls around the original nucleus

⁵⁶ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 30.

⁵⁷ Catherine Allen, “The Nasca Creatures: Some Problems of Iconography,” *Anthropology* 5, no. 1 (1981), 44.

⁵⁸ Max Uhle and Edward K. Putnam, *The Nazca Pottery of Ancient Peru* (Davenport, Iowa: Davenport Academy of Sciences, 1914), 9.

⁵⁹ Silverman and Proulx explain that from the outset Uhle contrasted representational (Monumental) and conventionalized (Proliferous) styles and correctly deduced that the referential iconography preceded the conventionalized images. At the same time, Tello (1917) and others (Truel 1960) believed that the “conventionalized” or abstract imagery preceded the representational (*The Nasca*, 23).

of the design” (fig. 1.5).⁶⁰ Likewise, John Rowe coined the terms for a “Monumental” style due to “dibujos relativamente realistas, de contornos severos” (relatively realistic drawings, [and] severe contours), and a “Proliferous” style, based on “dibujos más convencionalizados y la riqueza de su ornamentación de volutas, rayas y puntos” (more conventionalized drawings and rich ornamentation with spirals, stripes and dots).⁶¹ Proliferous imagery appears to build upon the Monumental by appending emanations and “signifiers” to familiar forms, making the images increasingly difficult to read (fig. 1.11).⁶² Richard Roark also defined a Middle Nasca stylistic period as a bridge between the Early and Late styles, which could provide clues to the stylistic shifts.⁶³ Due to such disparate styles between the Early and the Late periods, Catherine Allen proposes that it is essential to understand the Early Nasca style in its simpler iteration of the iconographic system in order to then decipher the Late Nasca “baroque” style.⁶⁴ In order to productively examine the iconography in both two and three dimension, it is first essential to outline the methods for ceramic production that were innovated to produce the objects central to Nasca cultural expression.

⁶⁰ Uhle and Putnam, *The Nazca Pottery of Ancient Peru*, 9.

⁶¹ John H. Rowe, “Nuevos Datos Relativos a La Cronologia Del Estile Nasca,” *Antiquo Peru, espacio y tiempo, trabajos presentados a la semana de Arqueologia Peruana*, 9-14 de noviembre de 1959 (1960): 29. (translation by author).

⁶² Roark defines a signifier as something “that cannot be positively identified as representing part of the costume, and it is clearly not part of the body of the mythical being.” Further, he explains the need for the term, “‘signifier’ (meaning – bearer) because different variants of the signifier (sic) appear to distinguish slightly different manifestations or aspects of the mythical being” (“From Monumental to Proliferous, 17).

⁶³ Ibid. As mentioned above, scholars are reconsidering the Middle Nasca period as a concurrent and regionally specific style (see Vaughn, Kevin J., Jelmer W. Eerkens, Carl Lipo, Sachiko Sakai, and Katharina Schreiber, “It’s About Time: Testing the Dawson Ceramic Seriation Using Luminescence Dating, Southern Nasca Region, Peru,” *Latin American Antiquity* 25, no. 4 (2014): 449-61).

⁶⁴ Allen, “The Nasca Creatures.” Also, Silverman and Proulx provide a summary of how Nasca stylistic phases, periods and styles have been defined and characterized in the literature through 2002 (*The Nasca*, 19-37).

Polychrome Ceramic Production

According to Patrick Carmichael, many Nasca polychrome vessels reflect “the quality of their interior construction on their painted exteriors,” pointing up the consistency of workmanship between the clay vessel body and the painted finishes.⁶⁵ The basic ceramic-making process (forming, painting, and firing) can be reconstructed based on study of the end products and the existence of known paintbrushes (fig. 1.20), pigments, and images of pigment pouches on ceramics (fig. 1.21).

Nasca vessels with polychrome slip-painted surfaces, also called “fineware” and simply “fancy” pottery, are renowned for thin walls of a fine, uniform clay paste.⁶⁶ The even texture of polychrome ceramic paste indicates that little or very fine temper was used.⁶⁷ The clay sources, fiercely protected even to this day by practicing potters, seemingly provided the desired properties for a ceramic paste without much modification.⁶⁸ María C. Blasco Bosqued and Luis J. Ramos Gómez report:

distintos tipos de desgrasantes [antiplásticos] como son: arena, pequeños fragmentos de concha o de madera o de cualquier otra material vegetal, así como granos de mica dorada, perfectamente perceptibles debido a su peculiar brillo (different types of temper include: sand, small pieces of shell or wood or some other organic material, such as golden mica, easily perceptible due to its particular shine).⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Patrick H. Carmichael, “Nasca Pottery Construction,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 24 (1986): 39.

⁶⁶ See Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 15; Helaine Silverman, “Cahuachi: An Andean Ceremonial Center” (University of Texas at Austin, 1986), 389; Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 227; and Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 95.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁶⁸ Alberto Segura, personal communication, July 2010; and Patrick H. Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context,” in *Andean Ceramics: Technology, Organization and Approaches* ed. Izumi Shimada. 213-32 (Philadelphia: Museum of Applied Science Center for Archaeology, 1998), 217.

⁶⁹ María C. Blasco Bosqued and Luis J. Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, Serie Americanista Bernal (Valladolid: Seminario Americanista de la Universidad, 1980), 21 (translation by author). Spanish language terms for temper include both *desgrasante* and *antiplástico*. The latter is more common in Perú (see Elba Manrique Pereyra, *Guía Para Un Estudio Y Tratamiento De Cerámica Precolombina*, (Lima, Perú: Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología, 2001).

Indeed, modern-day potters who seek to replicate ancient techniques and forms attest to a Nasca proclivity for adding such ingredients to the clay. In some cases, small metallic additions created tiny pits in the surface during firing due to a difference in the heat retention of the clay and the metal (e.g., cat. nos. 056, 054, and 175).⁷⁰ It is unclear whether, in Nasca times, the inclusions were original to a particular clay source or were intentional embellishments to the clay before forming and firing. Here, the Quechua word *uhku* can aid an understanding of this artistic choice since it particularly refers to the interior or hidden aspects of a thing, being, or experience, such as shamanic trance. Stone compares the concept to the “inner experience of trance acts as another inspiration for art.”⁷¹ Certainly, the heretofore hidden metallic pieces that burst forth to reveal the inner composition of a ceramic vessel manifest this idea through the transformative process of firing.

Overall, the addition of specular hematite to slip paints and the micaceous and metallic inclusions in clay matrices indicate an interest in the shine and brilliance of the vessel surface evident in the highly burnished exterior as well as an the internal property revealed when the clay pops off the metallic inclusion hidden within the vessel wall. Here, we find an interest in the disclosure of an essential internal compositional quality of the object exposed as a shimmer on the outermost surface. Nasca metallic inclusions and the compulsion for highly burnished surfaces confirm Saunders’ assertion that in terms of many Amerindian practices, the “spiritual values of matter integrate physical and spiritual aspects of phenomenological experience,” in many instances the experience of the

⁷⁰ Alberto Segura, personal communication, July 2010.

⁷¹ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 19.

shaman.⁷² In other words, it seems, that the brilliant light both seen by and emitted by the shaman in trance, was an important feature to integrate into Nasca polychrome ceramic vessels; those that take the shape of bodies seem only more apropos.⁷³

Forming

In addition to prestigious double-spout-and-bridge globular vessels common to the Early Nasca period, many other shapes were used, including: head jars; effigy jars and bottles; drums; wind instruments (including *antaras* and flutes and whistles, *ocarinas*); plates; bowls; and single-spout-and-handle bottles that, in place of a second spout, have a sculpted element known as a “blind spout.”⁷⁴ To achieve these complex forms a majority of Early Nasca ceramics was constructed using the techniques of coiling and drawing, each of which began with a flat, usually rounded vessel base that was formed via direct modeling.⁷⁵ The coiling method begins with cylindrical bands of malleable clay that are spiraled or stacked on each other to form walls that are then smoothed. Drawing, also referred to as modeling or direct shaping, is accomplished by pinching the clay upward into the desired shape. To aid in the shaping of vessel bases and to turn the vessel during forming and painting Nasca potters used a *platito* or “a shallow round bottom plate which served as a turntable,” although this should not be confused with the potter’s wheel, as these vessels are not thrown and the wheel was not used in the

⁷² Nicholas J. Saunders, “‘Catching the Light’: Technologies of Power and Enchantment in Pre-Columbian Goldworking,” in *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2003), 15.

⁷³ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 30-31.

⁷⁴ For description of the occurrence of the blind spout in Paracas ceramic forms, see Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*, 37.

⁷⁵ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 23; and Carmichael, “Nasca Pottery Construction,” 34.

ancient Americas.⁷⁶ Archaeologically recovered platitos consists of shallow plates with “rough, undecorated surfaces, [that] exhibit considerable abrasions on their bases and range in diameter from 10 to 20 cm.”⁷⁷ After forming the basic vessel shape, some Early Nasca vessels have modeled and appliqué elements that were added to the surface to create features in relief, as seen throughout the present corpus (see Appendix).⁷⁸ Finished vessels were left to dry and become “leather hard” before small stones or smoothed bones were used to burnish the painted vessel surface. This careful reorganization the clay particles that had been jumbled during the modeling process creates a smooth exterior surface.

Many scholars imply that little to no modeling or sculpting in clay was done during the Early Nasca period.⁷⁹ For example, Richard Townsend remarked, “if volume was to be shown, it was achieved by using the shape of the vessel itself,”⁸⁰ my study attests otherwise (see Appendix). In fact, a combination of modeling of vessel shape and low relief details are evident and, I argue, are important to the meaning of the entire sculpted object itself. Effigy vessels in particular—including those depicting humans and human body parts, animals, bodies in the process of transition between the two, and plants—are composed of modeled elements that combine with two-dimensionally painted features to create complete and dynamic forms. Beyond effigy vessels, other high-relief vessels, like the famous stepped-fret vessel (fig. 1.22), date to later periods of Nasca

⁷⁶ Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*, 14. For more on the wheel in the Americas and Nasca, see Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 78; and Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 60.

⁷⁷ Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context,” 218.

⁷⁸ For other descriptions of modeled Nasca vessels see Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*; Carmichael, “Nasca Pottery Construction”; Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context”; and Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*, 1992.

⁷⁹ Allen “The Nasca Creatures,” 43; and Richard F. Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World: Ceramic Images from Ancient Peru,” *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 11, no. 2 (1985): 118.

⁸⁰ Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World,” 118.

ceramic production, thus the exploration of modeling continued to be a Nasca preoccupation over time.

I apply the term “sculptural” to the present corpus of Early Nasca sculptural vessels as follows: sculptural vessels include modeled features unnecessary to the utilitarian function of the vessel itself, which arguably is also sculpted. For example, a bowl with the addition of a modeled bird head is considered a sculptural vessel because the bird head exists as an addition to the bowl function of the vessel (cat. no. 158). In addition, I use the term “sculptural” comparatively within the Nasca ceramic tradition. With the exception of the famous Tello plaque (fig. 1.23), few modeled “scenes” exist. Furthermore, my sample does not include figurines, because they typically date to Middle and Late Nasca, and as a group comes under suspicion of forgery.⁸¹ In other words, within the Nasca ceramic corpus what I am calling effigies are body-vessels with three-dimensional aspects, and thus are “sculptural.” Certainly, the Early Nasca sculptural corpus has its own way of expressing shamanism visually and physically by having chosen three-dimensional modeling as a medium.

By assigning cultural significance to the choice of the three-dimensional medium, the terminology with which we refer to these sculpted bodies becomes important. In the past, scholars have referred to vessels depicting bodies and body parts as “effigies.”⁸² I continue to use that term because of its continued usefulness and recognizability. In

⁸¹ See Alexandra Morgan, *The Pottery Figurines of Pre-Columbian Peru: The Figurines of the South Coast, the Highlands and the Selva*, Bar International Series, vol. III (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009) and Karen O. Bruhns, and Nancy L. Kelker, *Faking the Ancient Andes* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Left Coast Press, 2010), 116-117.

⁸² For example see Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 14; Patrick H. Carmichael, “Nasca Mortuary Customs: Death and Ancient Society on the South Coast of Peru,” Thesis (PhD) (University of Calgary, 1988); Elizabeth Spurlock Hornor, “Nasca Human Effigy Vessels as Shamanic Images,” Thesis (MA) (Emory University, 2001); Kevin J. Vaughn, “Households, Crafts, and Feasting in the Ancient Andes: The Village Context of Early Nasca Craft Consumption,” *Latin American Antiquity* 15, no. 1 (2004): 61-88; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*.

general parlance, “effigy” refers to a likeness, or image, typically of a person or living thing. More specifically, in contemporary (i.e., the twentieth century onward) vernacular the term most often applies to “a *sculptured* representation or to a habited image.”⁸³ So, in a general sense, effigy provides a shorthand term for a sculptural rendering of a bodily form, which underlies the Nasca enterprise. In addition, some colloquial uses of the term increase its applicability within an ancient Nasca context. For example, to hang or burn in effigy means “to inflict upon an image the semblance of the punishment which the original is considered to have deserved.”⁸⁴ Such an understanding imbues the representation itself with qualities of the human (in this case the shaman), as if to act upon the image has repercussions in the earthly arena in which the effigy exists. Because we must reconstruct and reassign context to many Nasca objects and images, understanding how ceramic vessels that represent bodies and body parts were used and understood is a difficult task, and arguably one without resolution.⁸⁵ Less literally taken, this usage of the term “effigy” emphasizes the inseparable link between the image (i.e., ceramic object) and entity represented (the subject). Indeed, it goes further to become an image that is present as a being itself, a vessel-body; thus, the term “image” is no longer tenable. While the three-dimensional features of these effigies are integral to their shamanic interpretation, it is the combination of the sculptural with the two-dimensional polychrome painting that marks a uniquely Nasca tradition.

⁸³ Oxford English Dictionary (online edition), accessed April 11, 2013 (my italics).

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ This is unlike Voodoo dolls that serve as proxy for the person whose effigy has been reproduced and are actually a tool used “to act in a defined way toward a targeted person” for both positive and negative outcomes. From New Orleans Historic Voodoo Museum [<http://www.voodoo-museum.com>] (Accessed September 21, 2014).

Painting

Slip paint—the technological innovation that differentiates Nasca ceramic production from that of the preceding Paracas culture—is a suspension or slurry of crushed mineral pigment and clay particles in water. To create such a wide range of colors Nasca used “iron oxides such as hematite and limonite for red, yellow, and brown; kaolin for white; carbon or manganese oxide for black.”⁸⁶ These pigments all occur naturally in the Nasca region. One mineral might produce a range of hues based on changes in temperature and oxidation during the firing process. The addition of specular hematite to paints is noted in Late Nasca, although in my experience some Early Nasca vessels have traces of its telltale sparkle, particularly evident in the purple and gray color fields (e.g., cat. no. 162).⁸⁷ As previously noted, it remains unclear whether the addition of a separate material was added to paint slurries, or whether to achieve certain colors (most often purple and gray hues) the specular hematite was present within the natural state of the mineral itself.⁸⁸

According to Carmichael, “Nasca potters followed a fairly standard pattern of color application” in which the ground color for the entire vessel was applied first.⁸⁹ In many cases it was followed by the painting of bands around the rim and the basal inflection to define an area for the primary image field (fig. 1.2). In a few cases, such as the simplest iconographic motifs (e.g., geometric shapes), image outlines were drawn first and later filled with color. However, in his sample from the early phases, Proulx

⁸⁶ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 152.

⁸⁷ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 16.

⁸⁸ Recent work regarding purple slip paint used in ceramics from the Coclé region of Panama reveals that purple can be achieved by firing hematite at high temperatures, see Kathryn Etre, “Four-Color Polychrome Pottery from the Coclé Region of Panama: Investigating the Production of the Purple Colorant,” Michael C. Carlos Museum, unpublished manuscript.

⁸⁹ Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context,” 221.

noted only “one or two examples in which the outlining was drawn first.”⁹⁰ More often Nasca artists painted color fields and then added outlines and image details in black slip; extant unfinished vessels confirm this process (cat. no. 006).⁹¹ After the application of each layer or color slip, the vessel was left to dry before adding the next color. Once all of the slip paint had been applied, the vessel was again allowed to dry before being burnished again to unite the clay particles of the vessel structure with those in the mineral clay slurry, creating a bond that becomes permanent upon firing. Burnishing multiple times creates an extremely smooth surface and generates the characteristic bright sheen of Nasca polychromes for as much shine as possible within the ceramic medium.⁹²

Firing

Painted, burnished, and dried vessels were fired in an oxidizing environment (i.e., one that allows free air flow). Dried grasses, camelid dung, and wood (probably *huarango*), in ready supply in the region, are the most likely candidates for firing fuel (see chapter 2).⁹³ During Nasca times firing was likely done in open pits or kiln-like structures, although these have yet to be discovered.⁹⁴ However, the vessels themselves give us certain clues regarding their firing methods. Carmichael mentions some vessels with interior ghost images indicating that multiple vessels were stacked to be fired at one

⁹⁰ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 25.

⁹¹ The Krannert Art Museum at the University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign holds an excellent example of an unfinished Nasca polychrome vessel (accession # 67-29-128), illustrated in Alan Sawyer, *Ancient Andean Arts in the Collections of the Krannert Art Museum* (Urbana Champaign, Ill.: The Krannert Art Museum, 1975), 136; figs. 136a-b (as cited in Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 76).

⁹² In an explanation of modern-day “replicative pottery production” in the Nasca region, Silverman and Proulx describe the “final procedure is to polish the pots with small stones lubricated with naturally occurring facial oil. This polishing can produce a surface so lustrous that the pots appear to be glazed” (*The Nasca*, 152).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁹⁴ Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context,” 221. Orefici and Drusini mention that vessels were fired in “hornos” (kilns) at Cahuachi, yet their report does not document any specific finds, see *Nasca: Hipótesis Y Evidencias*, 144.

time. He explains, “[g]host images result when the painted exterior of a vessel is pressed against the interior of another during firing. Impeded oxygen circulation leaves the negative design outline of the upper bowl traced on the interior walls of the lower vessel.”⁹⁵ It is also clear that through experimentation Nasca artists attained a masterful knowledge of each step of the process required to transform mineral pigments into such a wide range of hues. Vessels from the Proto-Nasca era attest to the testing of new materials and techniques, and even during Early Nasca when the highest quality polychromes were created, firing clouds, “carbonized areas caused by direct contact with firing fuel,” are present on many vessel bases (e.g., cat. nos. 005 and 088).⁹⁶ Superior technical skill in all steps of polychrome ceramic production resulted in vessels that served as near-perfect surfaces to shape and display significant cultural iconography. Having identified some core shamanic aspects within the Nasca ceramic corpus and outlined the methods for the production of sculptural polychrome vessels, I now turn to a discussion of the shamanic framework within which I approach the present corpus of objects.

Theoretical Approaches

Within the study of the ancient Americas the disciplines of art history and archaeology often rely upon each other for information gleaned from cultural remains; consequently, methodologies and interpretations interdigitate. Archaeological evidence undergirds an examination of how the ancient Nasca depicted shamanic experience and thought. For example, objects recovered from Nasca sites indicate the induction of trance and traditional shaman tools that hold specific power are similar to items found on the

⁹⁵ Carmichael, “Nasca Ceramics: Production and Social Context,” 222.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

mesas used by modern shamans.⁹⁷ However, the philosophical and cultural implications of a shamanic worldview cannot be recovered from physical remains alone. To begin, it is necessary to adopt as close to an emic perspective as possible for the practice of shamanism. When considering Mesoamerican visual discourse, Elizabeth H. Boone observed the “challenge to pre-Columbianist art historians, then, is first to decenter ourselves, forsake the knowledge arrangements of the West, and recognize the particular nature of [pre-Columbian] visual discourse.”⁹⁸ Such decentering, for Westerners and the Western discipline of art history itself, is difficult due to the near-opposition of worldviews, which according to Stone is the difference between a Western linear worldview and one based on cyclical relationships.⁹⁹ She argues that a linear view “tends to privilege the singular individual entity in a series of directional events over the group of interconnecting elements that endlessly repeat, like the seasons and the movements of the planets,” while within shamanic worldviews any “clear distinctions between humans and animal are obliterated,” displacing any anthropocentric tendencies.¹⁰⁰ An ability to shift one’s perspective is complicated further by the absence of historical documents relating to Nasca culture, shamanism, and art production, use, and reception. However, when taken together, archaeology, material culture studies, and ethnographic analogy offer a productive starting point for the present analysis.

⁹⁷ For comparisons between Nasca and Moche power objects and modern shaman’s *mesas* see Sarah E. M. Scher, “Held in the Balance: Shamanism and Gender Role in Ancient and Modern Practice,” *Acta Americana* 15, no. 1 (2007): 29-47.

⁹⁸ Elizabeth H. Boone, “When Art Is Writing and Writing, Art: Graphic Communication in Preconquest Mexico,” in *Dialogues in Art History, from Mesopotamian to Modern: Readings for a New Century*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2009), 58. For more on decentering the Western perspective for a more meaningful analysis of the art of the ancient Americas, see Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, xv-xxvi.

⁹⁹ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 16.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. and Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, xvi.

Ethnographic analyses that consider modern accounts by practicing shamans in post-Conquest times have been used as an essential component of the identification and interpretation of ancient shamanic art.¹⁰¹ Shamans remain active members of traditional societies in many regions of the Central Andes and specifically southern Peru today, including the department of Ica where the Nasca thrived.¹⁰² This is not to say that there are continuities lasting unchanged since Nasca times; however, scientists, ethnographers, and art historians have noted certain basic universal characteristics of shamanic trance experiences and characteristics of the practice of “core” shamanism held in common (see chapter 3).¹⁰³ In the case of the Central Andes, it has been noted that traditions and “cosmic structures can and do endure many millennia and vast evolutionary changes.”¹⁰⁴ Certainly, the diachronic approach of ethnographic analogy has been called into question due to the massive disruption brought on by Spanish invasions and colonization; however, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts by Spanish chroniclers attest to the ongoing colonial Inka shamanic practices (albeit in derogatory terms).¹⁰⁵ For example, in describing “New World” practices and beliefs, many Colonial-era writers denigrate rituals as “sorcery” and “magic,” and refer to rituals such as the use of plant substances

¹⁰¹ In an examination of West Mexican art that employed ethnographic analogy between the cultures of El Opeño and the Colima-Jalisco-Nayarit group that are separated by over a millennium, Peter T. Furst argued that although a “direct historical relationship is doubtful,” the art found in the tombs “may be related ideologically, if not historically” (“Ethnographic Analogy in the Interpretation of West Mexican Art,” in *The Archaeology of West Mexico*, ed. Betty Bell (Ajijic, Jalisco, Mexico: West Mexican Society for Advanced Study, 1974), 132-46).

¹⁰² Mario Polia Meconi, “*Despierta, Remedio, Cuenta*”: *Adivinos Y Médicos Del Ande* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1996).

¹⁰³ Siegel, “Hallucinations,” 2; and Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, *Shamanism and the Art of the Eastern Tukanoan Indians: Columbian Northwest Amazon* (Leiden; New York: E. J. Brill, 1987); and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 3.

¹⁰⁴ William H. Isbell, “Cosmological Order Expressed in Prehistoric Ceremonial Centers,” in *Actes du 42e Congrès International des Américanistes, Congrès du Centenaire* [Proceedings of the 42nd International Congress of Americanists], ed. Congrès international des Américanistes, 269-97, (Paris: Société des Américanistes: Musée de l'Homme, 1976), 296.

¹⁰⁵ William H. Isbell, “Constructing the Andean past or “as you like it”,” *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* 23, no. 1-2 (1995): 1-12; and Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 312.

and other means for reaching Otherworldly states of consciousness as “abominations” and “sinister.”¹⁰⁶ Similarly from a skewed perspective, but broadly identifying the attributes of core shamanism among the Inka and their descendants, Friar Bernabé Cobo describes the diversity of Inka shamanic practices and specialties.¹⁰⁷ While these accounts must be considered within the context of the Catholic Church’s mandate for the “extirpation of idolatry” as one aspect of domination over native peoples, they also point up the persistence of local shamanic practices during Inka and European colonization. Therefore, evidence supports long-standing shamanic practice throughout the Central Andes.¹⁰⁸ Such key cultural traditions are difficult to break, but do bend in significant ways; the flexibility allowed by shamanism aids in its longevity and ubiquity.¹⁰⁹

Importantly, Quechua concepts (such as *uhku* mentioned earlier) endure from Inka times and can also be recovered through the language spoken by millions in the Andes today; they surely provide a more closely emic (internal to the culture) perspective. Thus, they can aid in the reconstruction of the Andean worldview. Another example, *ayni*, or the reciprocal and balanced interaction between elements in opposition, defies the seemingly simple, dualistic relationships that persist in a modern understanding

¹⁰⁶ For accounts by European chroniclers see Bernabé Cobo, with foreword by John H. Rowe, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1990); and Pedro de Cieza de Leon, *Crónica Del Perú* (Lima, Perú: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1984). See also Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, “The Guaman Poma Website”: El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno,” <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1051/en/text/?open=id2978109>. For a discussion of how Cobo’s writings framed shamanic practices, see Rebecca R. Stone, “Shamanic Roles, Practices, and Beliefs during the Inca Empire according to Friar Bernabé Cobo’s Inca Religion and Customs” (unpublished manuscript, April 2015), <https://www.academia.edu/11801419>. See also Fernando Cervantes, *The Devil in the New World: The Impact of Diabolism in New Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 30.

¹⁰⁷ Stone, “Shamanic Roles, Practices, and Beliefs.”

¹⁰⁸ John V. Murra outlines the politics of the Inka conquest, including the allowance for local practices within the *mita* system, in *The Economic Organization of the Inka States*, Research in Economic Anthropology, ed. George Dalton (Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, Inc., 1980), 181.

¹⁰⁹ See Graham Townsley, “Song Paths: The Ways and Means of Yaminahua Shamanic Knowledge,” *L’Homme* 33, no. 126-128 (1993), 450-451.

of ancient Andean cultures (see chapter 3).¹¹⁰ Within ayni each part of a dyad could not exist without the other (and there are no exactly equal partners in pairs); ayni assumes balance, its relationality dissolving strictly dichotomous categories.¹¹¹ Reciprocity, negotiated within a world of perpetual imbalance in search of resolution, is ayni.¹¹² Shamanic thought dovetails with principles such as ayni, in that it can negotiate and elide dichotomies. In regard to Early Nasca sculptural vessels, shamanism will serve as a lens for interrogating these relationships of mediated reciprocity that imbue the most ubiquitous of the Nasca arts. Moreover, as a conceptual resolution to the separation of sacred and secular, long a common theme in the study of Nasca iconography, shamanism can help redefine the conditions under which we discuss Nasca art.

¹¹⁰ This is similar to Patrick H. Carmichael's method of a "contextual synthesis or contextual approach" that "draws upon all possible sources of information (local environment, archaeology, art history, ethnology, ethnography, and ethnohistory)" and aims to "place[s] the research question within a native framework." ("Interpreting Nasca Iconography," in *Ancient Images and Thought: The Archaeology of Ideology: Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Sean A. Goldsmith and et al., 187-97 (Calgary: University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1992), 187.

¹¹¹ Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community*, Smithsonian Series in Ethnographic Inquiry (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 91-94.

¹¹² Both ethnographic and anthropological studies often rely on language to unlock the nuance of a worldview and thereby its art. Since we have yet to know, and probably never will know, the language spoken by the Nasca people, scholars of the ancient Andes often use terms from indigenous languages still in use today to explain cultural complexities foreign to a Western audience. We know from Spanish chroniclers that the Inka people spoke Quechua (also spelled Quichua and Kichwa depending on the locale), an indigenous language spoken by millions of people living in the Central Andean region of South America today. Although many centuries divide the zenith of the Nasca culture from that of the Inka empire in the Andes, some Quechua terms and their related concepts known from the Quechua language have helped scholars better understand some ancient Andean practices and might be efficacious in relation to Nasca art, as well. For examples, see Catherine J. Allen "The Sadness of Jars: Separation and Rectification in Andean Understandings of Death," in *Living with the Dead in the Andes*, ed. Izumi Shimada and James L. Fitzsimmons (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015), 304-28; Tamara L. Bray, "An Archaeological Perspective on the Andean Concept of Camaquen: Thinking through Late Pre-Columbian Ofrendas and Huacas," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19, no. 3 (2009): 357-66; and Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 16-19.

Research Methods

This dissertation addresses a corpus of 243 Early Nasca sculptural polychrome vessels, many of which have not previously been published, let alone examined in a scholarly or especially an art-historical manner (see Appendix). I have narrowed the focus to the Early Nasca period for several reasons: first, in order to constrain the number of possible examples that might be gathered from an international corpus that numbers in the tens of thousands; second, to analyze what is considered a "classic" Nasca ceramic style; and third, to lay the groundwork for subsequent better understanding of the highly abstracted Late Nasca or Proliferous style iconography, as well as other forms of Nasca art. To date, scholars understand the Nasca people to have lived from approximately 1 – 750 CE. While variations on the start and end dates of the culture exist and understandably are open for change based on ongoing archaeological investigations, for the purposes of the present study, I cast a broad net when speaking of Nasca cultural longevity, but narrow my focus to Early Nasca (see table 1). In this way I can better restrict the number of examples, analyze what is considered a "classic" Nasca ceramic style, and provide a foundation for the analysis of later "abstract" iconographic styles.

Although not concerned with refining the Nasca stylistic chronology, this dissertation offers a visual and iconographic analysis of one subset of Early Nasca vessels, which may later be applied to the Late Nasca style to better understand its increasingly abstract imagery. Moreover, recent scientific studies demonstrate that at any given time a single Nasca style did not exist across the entire region; rather, many locally produced styles existed simultaneously.¹¹³ In other words, Nasca ceramic painting style

¹¹³ These studies employ optically stimulated luminescence (OSL), which measures the last time an object was heated to a temperature of approximately 500 degrees centigrade, or, in the case of ceramics, when the

may not correlate to a single, exact linear chronology. Such findings reaffirm George Kubler's contention that pottery cannot and should not be used for an absolute definition or periodization of civilization. He laments how archaeologists use ceramic remains, and argues "the meaning of the sherds has produced an incomparable history of pottery, but not a history of civilization, because pottery alone does not reveal much more than itself."¹¹⁴ Helaine Silverman and Proulx also caution the "imputation of identity between pottery style and ancient ethnic group."¹¹⁵ Indeed, I would not argue that Nasca polychromes could completely define the culture or its particular shamanic tradition. Yet, in the case of the Nasca tradition, there remain strong, culturally dictated aspects of polychrome ceramic painting and forms that are uniquely Nasca and deserve nuanced scholarly attention.

As with much of Nasca material culture in museum and private collections around the globe, a majority of the objects in this corpus lack archaeological provenance, but offer important visual evidence from which to propose interpretations grounded in comparative archaeological context, religious theory, culturally relevant ethnographic analogy, and, most importantly, art-historical evidence. Therefore, the assembled corpus is intended to be a reference for scholars who may wish to study these objects further. The information provided, including accession information and measurements, is intended to be brief.

clay was fired (see Kevin J. Vaughn, et al. "It's About Time? Testing the Dawson Ceramic Seriation using Luminescence Dating, Southern Nasca Region, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 25, no. 4 (2014): 449-461).

¹¹⁴ George Kubler, "Period, Style, and Meaning in Ancient American Art," *New Literary History* 1, no. 2, A Symposium on Periods (Winter 1970): 132.

¹¹⁵ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 13.

Objects throughout the corpus were chosen on the basis of several criteria. First, modeled or sculptural elements were of primary import, and therefore I considered only complete vessels or those with significant extant sculptural features. In some cases small losses and previous repairs to the vessel walls are evident; however, unless there was extensive (i.e., distorting) modern reconstruction or overpainting the object was included, although this remains subjective. Furthermore, because there are typical Early Nasca vessel shapes, somewhat damaged examples were still included. Second, Early Nasca painting style and vessel shapes are particularly identifiable due to their recognizable painting style and objects were selected based on visual criteria matching them with the clear iconography.¹¹⁶ Finally, vessels with archaeological provenance were prioritized. I have attempted to cull objects with questionable authenticity.¹¹⁷

Works for this study were selected based on the criterion that they included modeled or sculptural elements. When possible, the museums' collection databases were consulted before each museum visit and objects were selected for examination. I selected objects based on style and iconography. I made selections from the Early Nasca or “Monumental” style, dating to approximately 1 – 450 CE. During the “transitional” Middle Nasca period ceramists produced an increasing amount of head jars as well as two-dimensional disembodied head imagery. The reason for this proliferation has yet to

¹¹⁶ The transition from Early Nasca to Middle Nasca (c. 350 – 450), which itself is under review, remains a gray area. Therefore, there may be objects from the Middle Nasca included in the study, but without archaeological context, the exact dates and phases of the objects are difficult to determine. Every effort has been made to include objects whose iconography and form correspond to the most common Early Nasca stylistic definitions.

¹¹⁷ After handling several hundred Nasca ceramics, visual and tactile characteristics of authentic and fake objects become clear, although are hard to describe. Nasca ceramic vessels have a particular “feel” and weight to them based on their size and shape. Typically, Early Nasca ceramic pastes range from gray to a distinct orange color and the surface of Nasca vessels have aged in a similar manner over time. Most importantly, Nasca polychrome painting and form has characteristic style and hand-made quality and it is obvious when an object deviates from the authentic (i.e., some appear to be too “perfect”).

be satisfactorily explained, however, the formal and visual changes provide one of the limitations for this dissertation. Although the head jar form continues into Late Nasca, these iterations have increasingly elongated, flaring necks that exhibit multiple registers of complex head wrappings and therefore were culled from my study.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, none of the objects in the present corpus have exact provenance or have undergone scientific methods of dating (i.e., OSL and radiocarbon dating). However, based on the above criteria of form and style, I make the assessment that the objects I have included date to Early Nasca.

Museum Collections

Research was conducted in eleven museum collections in the United States and Peru over the course of eight months during 2011 and 2012. Noteworthy examples of Nasca ceramics, determined stylistically and via connoisseurship, and those pieces with archaeological provenance directed my selection. With that in mind, there are a few art museum collections included (e.g., Museo de Arte de Lima, Museo Larco, and the Brooklyn Museum of Art); however, I focused primarily in archaeological and anthropological museums. Objects in archaeological collections are less likely to have been collected, retained, and restored because of appealing aesthetics alone, but rather are associated with an investigator or a specific archaeological project.

Museums with singular examples were not made a research priority, for the innumerable collections with Nasca ceramics across the globe reach beyond the scope of this project. Therefore, the following museums were visited: American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History (YPM), Peabody

¹¹⁸ I owe much of my knowledge of the Nasca ceramic seriation to Kevin Vaughn who organized and led a Nasca ceramic workshop at Purdue University in November 2010.

Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University (PMHU), National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), and the Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA) in the US; and Museo Regional de Ica (MRI), Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos (MAA-UNMSM), Museo Larco, and the Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú (MNAAHP) in Perú.

Dissertation Organization

Chapter 2 situates the production and iconography of Nasca polychrome ceramics within their historical, geographical, and cultural settings. Chapter 3 provides a historiography of Nasca sculptural ceramics generally, and disembodied heads and embodied beings in specific. Chapter 4 analyzes a group of 35 sculptural polychrome head jars as disembodied parts of the human form, suggesting an overall emphasis on the head in Early Nasca vessels, but also a continuum from life to death and back again. Chapter 5 addresses several groups of polychrome effigies that depict embodied beings that, like heads, are positioned along continua of transformation, and reinforce the cephalocentrism of the Early Nasca corpus. These bodies also evince shifted perspectives implying an aerial journey and physical metamorphoses between human and animal, emphasizing an overarching concern with shamanic dual consciousness. Chapter 6 summarizes the findings regarding disembodied and embodied shamans in sculptural polychromes ceramics, and proposes avenues for the author's further research.

Chapter 2: Nasca Chronology, Setting, and Art

Since its discovery by Westerners in the early twentieth century, the Nasca culture has captivated scholars of many disciplines as well as fired the popular imagination. Although best known for the Nasca Lines (fig. 2.1), enormous geoglyphs (ground drawings) on the south coast of modern-day Peru, the innumerable polychrome ceramics and the images on them have contributed most to our definition and understanding of Nasca culture. Nasca polychrome ceramics have been heralded for the technological advances allowing for novel vivid colors and shiny bright surfaces; the Nasca excelled in and innovated the mining of clay, building of vessels and other items, firing, and, above all, in applying the mineral slip paints that yielded more colors than previously known in the Andes. The imagery is arguably far more detailed and its arrangement around three-dimensional forms more complex than previous styles, as well. However, for many years the two-dimensional images found on the vessels were considered largely as simple illustrations of Nasca daily life. Given the myriad artistic images of animals, flowers, fruits, and vegetables, initial attempts at understanding Nasca culture via polychrome ceramics often yielded conclusions that the makers were a people obsessed with agricultural fertility and with documenting Nature.

To present a more nuanced approach to Early Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramic vessels, it is necessary to provide background on the circumstances in which the ceramics were produced and continue to be interpreted. Therefore, this chapter first provides information about the chronological, cultural, geographical, and environmental settings within which the Nasca culture flourished and artistically innovated polychrome

ceramics. Then it describes specific Nasca material culture practices to better understand how sculptural polychrome ceramics fit within Nasca artistic production overall. All of this serves to contextualize the questions and methods that guide the present research, namely how shamanism—including experiences common to the practice and the specific Nasca cultural context in which it was efficacious—provides an effective lens through which to interpret Early Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics. Furthermore, although polychrome ceramics were a unique development on Peru's south coast at the turn of the first millennium, the Nasca ceramic tradition did not develop in complete isolation, and Nasca artistic production was not limited to the clay medium.

The Early Intermediate Period

As with most regions in which archaeological investigations are ongoing, the reconstructed chronology of the ancient Central Andes is under constant revision.¹¹⁹ Currently, the Nasca culture dates to the Early Intermediate Period (hereafter EIP) (0 – 750 CE), beginning with the Paracas-to-Nasca transition at the turn of the first millennium and ending as the Wari gained control of the region at the start of the Middle Horizon (table 1).¹²⁰ As with many ancient cultures in the Americas, the Nasca did not develop independently or in seclusion. Rather, it is understood that Nasca ethnogenesis clearly connects it to the previous peoples living on the South Coast, namely the Paracas

¹¹⁹ The Rowe-Menzel timeline for the Andes is separate from that established by Luis Lumbreras, but Andean scholars use both chronologies. Here, I have opted for the timeline continued by Quilter and other Andean art historians, "Late Preceramic Peru," *Journal of World Prehistory* 5, no. 4 (1991): 387-438, and dates compiled in graph form in *The Ancient Central Andes*, 35-37. See also Rebecca R. Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 7; and John H. Rowe, "Stages and Periods in Archaeological Interpretation," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 18, no.1 (Spring 1962): 40-54.

¹²⁰ Jeffrey Quilter, *The Ancient Central Andes* (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 35-37.

culture.¹²¹ In addition, some theories regarding drastic stylistic changes during Late Nasca phases suggest that the Nasca people had contact with North Coast cultures such as the Moche.¹²² Ultimately, the Nasca succumbed to the cultural pressures and military advances of the Wari culture from the highlands.¹²³ That said, despite connections to others, the Nasca culture persisted for over 750 years. For the purposes of this dissertation, I cast a broad net when speaking of Nasca cultural longevity, but narrow my focus to Early Nasca ceramic production.

Exact dates for the Early Nasca style remain speculative.¹²⁴ Based on the relatively few scientific excavations that have taken place, archaeologists have constructed a stylistic ceramic seriation that is based on an “evolution of style” method, which generally presumes that representationalism precedes abstraction, as in much of the Western art canon.¹²⁵ Currently, investigations of the transitional periods between the Early, Middle, and Late Nasca are underway. Archaeologists are focusing their attention

¹²¹ For the details of Nasca ethnogenesis from Paracas, see Hendrik Van Gijseghem, “A Frontier Perspective on Paracas Society and Nasca Ethnogenesis,” *Latin American Antiquity* 17, no. 4 (December 2006): 419-44. The Paracas chronological framework and ceramic seriation is known as Ocucaje phases 1-10 and was originally outlined in a study of findings from the Ica Valley by Dorothy Menzel, John H. Rowe, and Lawrence E. Dawson. *The Paracas Pottery of Ica: A Study in Style and Time* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); see table 1.

¹²² Donald A. Proulx, “Stylistic Variation in Proliferous Nasca Pottery,” *Andean Past* 4 (1994): 91-107. See also Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 12 in reference to Anna H. Gayton, and Alfred L. Kroeber, *The Uhle Pottery Collections from Nazca* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press: 1927), 16.

¹²³ Some also suggest that changes in the Nasca environment and climate caused its decline; see David G. Beresford-Jones, *The Lost Woodlands of the Ancient Nasca: A Case-Study in Ecological and Cultural Collapse* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹²⁴ Jeffery Quilter notes that major revisions of the contemporaneous north coast Moche culture are currently underway (Rebecca R. Stone, personal communication, June 15, 2015).

¹²⁵ In the case of Nasca, representation before abstraction remains the prevailing and generally accepted sequence, however, in the Andes realism and abstraction often coexisted. Esther Pazstory, “Andean Aesthetics,” in *Thinking with Things: Toward a New Vision of Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 203. Although naturalism and portraiture is often most valued in the West and abstraction is seen as a choice, Pazstory notes that “for the modern artist abstraction is a choice, but for the non-Western artist it is a given,” as if abstraction were the only style of which they were capable. “Still Invisible: The Problem of the Aesthetics of Abstraction for Pre-Columbian Art and its Implications for Other Cultures,” in *Thinking with Things*, 125. See also Sawyer, “Paracas and Nazca Iconography,” 365.

on the periods of cultural change from the preceding Paracas culture and to the conquering highland Wari culture.¹²⁶ As the details of these intra- and inter-cultural interactions come to light, the Nasca timeline, as well as further external stylistic influences, will no doubt be clarified.

The Nasca did not exist in a vacuum in the Central Andes, rather the EIP saw the emergence of many cultures, and each was marked by a distinctive ceramic style and various substyles.¹²⁷ In fact, Christopher Donnan has called this period in the Andes “the Florescent Period” due to the increase in stylistic and procedural innovations that produced ceramics that were “never surpassed in either technological or artistic virtuosity.”¹²⁸ On the North Coast the Moche culture is world-renowned for naturalistic ceramic “portraits” (fig. 1.18) and fine-line painting that depicts narrative scenes of sacrifice and ritual that have been linked to particular ceremonial events (fig. 2.2), evidence of which has been found in archaeological excavations.¹²⁹ Close by the Moche in the northern highlands, the Recuay culture produced technologically sophisticated ceramics with “elaborate surface treatment including polychrome and resist painting, and hand-modeled sculptural decoration” (fig. 2.3).¹³⁰ Likewise, according to Jeffrey Quilter, the Lima culture on the Central Coast, of which little comprehensive information has

¹²⁶ See Stefanie Bautista San Miguel (Stanford, forthcoming) and Verity Whalen, “Re-Becoming Nasca: A Household-Based Analysis of the Transformation of Community and Tradition at a Late Nasca Village, Peru” (PhD diss., Purdue University, 2014).

¹²⁷ Quilter, *The Ancient Central Andes*, 168-198.

¹²⁸ Donnan, *Ceramics of Ancient Peru*, 41.

¹²⁹ For comparative studies linking Moche ceramic iconography with archaeological findings, see Walter Alva and Christopher B. Donnan, *Royal Tombs of Sipán* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1993); Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Portraits of Ancient Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); and Donna McClelland, Donald McClelland, and Christopher B. Donnan, *Moche Fineline Painting from San José De Moro* (Los Angeles, Calif.: Costen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA, 2007).

¹³⁰ George F. Lau, *Andean Expressions: Art and Archaeology of the Recuay Culture* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press), 138. For more information on the Recuay cultural tradition see Quilter, *The Ancient Central Andes*, 171-174; Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 95; and Dieter Eisleb, *Altperuanische Kulturen*, vol. 4 – Recuay (Berlin: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1975).

been compiled, created some examples of "ceramic artisanship that equal those of Moche or Nasca."¹³¹ Lima-style ceramic shapes appear to have been influenced by the Nasca culture, especially in the use of the double-spout-and-bridge form (fig. 2.4). In the southern highlands several other cultures with distinctive ceramic styles grew: Huarpa, near the modern-day city of Ayacucho; Cuzco, known as a collection of chiefdoms located near the Inka capital of the same name and best represented by the Qotakalli style; and Pucara, close to the modern-day cities of Arequipa and Puno.¹³² The Tiwanaku culture began to thrive toward the middle of the EIP, and would ultimately, like Wari, provide great ideological and artistic influence throughout large swaths of the Central Andes in the Middle Horizon (fig. 2.5).

Geography and Environment

The Nasca region is sandwiched between some of the highest mountains of the Andean *cordillera* (ranges that to the east overlook the lush Amazonian rain forest) and the largest ocean on the planet.¹³³ The Pacific Ocean's cold water, driven by the Humboldt Current that flows northward along the South American coastline, creates a generally dry environment. The Nasca people settled within the Río Grande de Nazca drainage system located in the Andean foothills and the coastal desert *pampas* (lowland plains) that surround the modern-day cities of Nazca and Palpa (fig. 2.6). The fingers of the river system comprise ten river valleys: the Santa Cruz, Grande, Palpa, Vizcas,

¹³¹ Quilter, *The Ancient Central Andes*, 182.

¹³² For information on the Cuzco culture and Qotakalli ceramic style, see Quilter, *The Ancient Central Andes*, 193. For more on Pucara ceramics, see John H. Rowe and Catherine T. Brandel, "Pucara style pottery designs" *Ñawpa Pacha* 7-8 (1969-70): 1-16.

¹³³ The Atacama Desert is considered one of the driest places on Earth; "[a]long the coast of Perú, mean annual rainfall commonly ranges from less than 2 mm to about 15 mm." P.W. Rundel, P.E. Villagra, M.O. Dillon, S. Roig-Juñent, and G. Debandi, "Arid and Semi-Arid Ecosystems," in *The Physical Geography of South America*, ed. Thomas T. Veblen, Kenneth R. Young, and Antony R. Orme (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 160. See also Beresford-Jones, *The Lost Woodlands of the Ancient Nasca*, 9-12.

Ingenio, Aja, Tierras Blancas (fig. 2.7), Nazca, Taruga, and Las Trancas.¹³⁴ Cerro Blanco, a large hill consisting entirely of bright white sand, can be seen from many vantage points throughout the region's valleys and most easily from the flat pampas to the west (fig. 2.8).¹³⁵ Ethnohistoric studies attest to the long and ongoing importance of this geographic feature, which can be related to the persistent belief in mountain spirits (*apus* or *apuchitas* in Quechua). In fact, one of most direct historical references we have to help reconstruct ancient Nasca culture comes from Jesuit friar José de Acosta writing about Cerro Blanco in 1590:

In [the town of] Nasca they showed me a large hill of sand, which was the particular place of worship, or *huaca* of the ancients. When I asked what divinity was there, they told me that they worshiped the wonderful circumstance that a very tall hill of sand existed among others that were all rocks. And indeed it was astonishing to think how such a great hill of sand was placed in the middle of massive hills made of stone.¹³⁶

While Cerro Blanco remains an important geographical feature, recent research by David Beresford-Jones shows that the environment of the South Coast is greatly changed since ancient times.¹³⁷ He contends that what is now a landscape of “scrub forest” originally supported an expansive *huarango* tree woodland environment, including many varieties of the species (fig. 2.9). Strangely, however, the *huarango* is not overtly imaged in polychrome Nasca ceramics. Beresford-Jones claims that precisely

¹³⁴ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 42.

¹³⁵ Stefanie Bautista and Jessica Kaplan, “Seeing the Sacred: Investigating Early Andean Ritual Practice Using Visibility Analysis,” (presentation, Society for American Archaeology 77th Annual Meeting, Memphis, TN, April 18-22, 2012).

¹³⁶ José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Mangan, Walter Mignolo and Frances M. López-Morillas, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 262. “En Cajamarca de la Nasca me mostraban un cerro grande de arena, que fué principal adoratorio o guaca [huaca] de los antiguos. Preguntado yo qué divinidad hallaban allí, me respondieron que aquella maravilla de ser un cerro altísimo de arena en medio de otros muchos, todos de peña. Y a la verdad, era cosa maravillosa pensar cómo se puso tan gran pico de arena en medio de montes espesísimos de piedra.” José de Acosta, *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*, (México: Fonda de cultura económica, 1940), Libro 5, Capítulo 5: 359-60.

¹³⁷ Beresford-Jones, *The Lost Woodlands of the Ancient Nasca*.

because of its ubiquity in the landscape, importance in Nasca life, and the lack of need for human intervention in its propagation, Nasca artists did not need to picture the huarango for its presence to be inferred.¹³⁸ Whether or not this is so, his conclusions reinforce the growing realization that Nasca art is not an encyclopedia of the environment or the culture, as I contend.

Despite some environmental changes, today, as in ancient Nasca times, the rivers of the Río Grande de Nazca drainage system typically rise each year, displacing the people who live and farm in the valleys. El Niño/Southern Oscillation (ENSO) events also create periodic, although sometimes long-lasting, and often devastating inundations; however, periodic and lengthy droughts still occur as well. A seventeenth-century drawing of Nazca by indigenous chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala depicts a verdant scene with clusters of grapes hanging in the foreground (fig. 2.10). The accompanying text attests to the paradoxical reality that Nasca had both abundant and little water.¹³⁹ Indeed, the transitional Middle Nasca period (c. 450 – 550 CE) was marked by a severe drought. By necessity the Nasca people engineered a network of *puquios*, an underground duct system that tapped into the deep water table, making water accessible for irrigation and drinking even during dry times.¹⁴⁰ Each waterway is dotted by entries, known as *ojos* (eyes), providing access to the tunnels for cleaning, maintenance, and use as wells. Some remain in use today (fig. 2.11).¹⁴¹ In addition, each

¹³⁸ Ibid., 217-19.

¹³⁹ Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* [folio pages 1043 [1051] and 1044 [1052]]. “The Guaman Poma Website,” accessed March 9, 2015, <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1051/en/text/?open=id2978109>.

¹⁴⁰ For alternatives to the term *puquio*, see Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 45. For further details about the location, construction, and history of the use of *puquios*, see Katharina J. Schreiber and Jose Lancho Rojas, *Irrigation and Society in the Peruvian Desert: The Puquios of Nasca* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003).

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 87.

filtration gallery ends in a trench that could be accessed for agricultural irrigation and for personal use (drinking, cooking, and washing).

Consistent access to water allowed the ancient Nasca to maintain a variety of crops. Scholars confirm the cultivation of many fruits, vegetables, legumes, and roots via their representations in material culture.¹⁴² The primary edible crops included: maize, peanut, several types of peppers (*aji*), squash, jícama, manioc (*yuca*), eggfruit (*lúcuma*), avocado, guava, huarango fruit (*huaranga*), and many varieties of potatoes and beans, to name a few. Many cultigens and important foodstuffs are painted on (fig. 1.3) and sculpted in clay (fig. 1.4), as well as woven, embroidered, and cross-knit looped, a “type of three-dimensional embroidery,” as design elements of textiles (fig. 2.12).¹⁴³

Along with these staples of sustenance, another key Andean plant appears to have been used, if not necessarily grown by the Nasca.¹⁴⁴ Coca (*Erythroxylum sp.*), a plant with leaves containing alkaloid that has anesthetic and analgesic effects, has always been chewed, brewed as a tea to alleviate altitude sickness, and used to treat a variety of ailments in the Andes. The existence of “painted coca bags and modeled bulging cheeks on late Nasca male effigy figures” leads Helaine Silverman and Proulx to conclude that in general the ancient Nasca used coca (fig. 2.13).¹⁴⁵ Men carry the bags, known now as *chuspas*. They are filled with dried coca leaves, which are inserted like chewing tobacco

¹⁴² See for example Seler, et al., *Collected Works*; Eugenio Yacovleff, “La jiquima, rais comestible Extinguida en el Peru,” *Revista del Museo Nacional* 2, no. 1 (1933): 51-66; and Lila M. O’Neale and Thomas W. Whitaker, *Embroideries of the Early Nazca Period and the Crop Plants Depicted on Them* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1947).

¹⁴³ Ibid., 296. See also: Raoul d’Harcourt, *Textiles of Ancient Peru and Their Techniques* (New York: Dover Publications: 1962), 124-26.

¹⁴⁴ Warwick Bray, and Colin Dollery, “Coca Chewing and High-Altitude Stress: A Spurious Correlation,” *Current Anthropology* 24, no. 3 (June 1983): 269-282; and Joyce Marcus, and Jorge E. Silva, “The Chillón Valley “Coca Lands”: Archaeological Background and Ecological Context,” in *Conflicts over Coca Fields in XVIth-Century Perú*, ed. Maria Rostworowski, *Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology* 21, 1-32 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1988), 7-8.

¹⁴⁵ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 55.

into the cheek and sucked on, producing a recognizable lump in one or both cheeks. It is worth noting that shamans are known to chew coca leaves, taking advantage of its stimulating effects to counteract the soporific effects of entheogens.¹⁴⁶ In the present study human effigies carry bags (e.g., cat. nos. 006 and 110), although only one clearly demonstrates coca use (cat. no. 058). This figure appears to hold a quid of coca in his mouth, as indicated by a telltale bulge in the lower cheek on the proper right side of the face. Further investigation of Early Nasca effigies may yield additional examples, like the Late Nasca example mentioned above.¹⁴⁷

Faunal remains are recovered archaeologically, and animal resources are also depicted on the polychrome ceramics and textiles. In addition to the many cultivated plants, the Nasca diet consisted of guinea pigs (*Cavia porcellus*), also known as *cuy*, and marine animals, including innumerable varieties of small and large fish, shellfish, and mollusks. Based on ceramic iconography, scholars also infer the presence of: birds, seals, otters, whales, dogs, foxes, pampas cats (*Leopardus pajeros*), mice, monkeys, frogs, lizards, snakes, and spiders. Evidence for the husbandry of camelids, llamas (*Lama glama*) and possibly alpacas (*Vicugna pacos*), suggests they were used as food, ritual sacrifice, and pack animals, and their wool was locally shorn, spun, and dyed for textile weaving and embroidery (fig. 2.14).¹⁴⁸ Camelids are sculpted in the round as effigy

¹⁴⁶ Dobkin de Rios and Cardenas, "Plant Hallucinogens" (1980), 238.

¹⁴⁷ It is unclear if temporal distinctions for coca use can be determined from the depiction of coca chewers in early versus late ceramic effigy forms. Recent research at a Late Nasca site in the Tierras Blancas Valley implies that coca was relevant to Nasca sites situated well within the low-lying Andean foothills. Its name "Cocahuischo" was described by local residents when the site was first identified, and derives from Quechua (*kuka wisch'uy*), meaning literally "to throw or abandon coca." This can be taken to imply the elevation where coca no longer grows or, more likely, the elevation at which chewing coca is no longer necessary to mitigate the effects of elevation – and thus one spits it out" (Whalen, "Re-Becoming Nasca," 80). For further information, see Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 54-55.

¹⁴⁸ For evidence of camelid husbandry see Lidio Valdez Cárdenas, "Los camélidos en la subsistencia nasca: El caso de Kawachi," *Boletín de Lima* 57 (1988): 31-35; Silverman found the remains of ritual camelid

vessels (e.g., cat. nos. 208 and 210) and painted versions of them serve as eye markings on a Early Nasca sculpted human effigy vessel (cat. no. 091).

Ancient Nasca people cultivated other natural resources for use in artistic production, as well. On the South Coast, cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*) was the premier material used for making textiles such as sartorial items and fishing nets.¹⁴⁹ In fact, the cotton plant was depicted on textiles found in the area centuries prior to Nasca occupation of the area (fig. 2.15). Cotton continues to be grown in the area today.¹⁵⁰ Objects decorated with feathers are often attributed to Nasca; however, most garments woven with feathers post-date the Nasca and should be viewed skeptically.¹⁵¹ Beyond the fiber arts, gourds were often used as containers, rattles, and as surfaces for decorative pyro-engraving (burning in designs) (fig. 2.16; see below).

In the Andean region, because of the sharp increases in elevation over short distances, the local ecology changes rapidly. Certain crops grow best at specific altitudes, therefore making communities dependent on each other for the exchange of goods through reciprocal trade and bartering relationships.¹⁵² Not only was Nasca trading

sacrifice and interment at Cahuachi (*Cahuachi*, 304); and Silverman and Proulx note the use of llamas and alpacas as pack animals (*The Nasca*, 56-7).

¹⁴⁹ Elena Juarez S. Phipps, "Cahuachi Textiles in the W. D. Strong Collection: Cultural Transition in the Nasca Valley, Peru" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1989).

¹⁵⁰ For an investigation of the images of the cotton plant on Chavín-style painted textiles from the south coast, see Alana Cordy-Collins, "The Cotton and the Staff God: Analysis of an Ancient Chavín Textile," in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textiles Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973*, ed. Ann P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson and Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington D.C.: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, 1979), 51-60. Silverman and Proulx note the modern-day cultivation of cotton in the Nazca region (*The Nasca*, 54).

¹⁵¹ Donald A. Proulx, "Nasca Art," in *Oxford Bibliographies in Art History*, <http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199920105/obo-9780199920105-0069.xml> (accessed July 19, 2015), DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199920105-0069.

¹⁵² In 1967 John V. Murra presented a model for how the Inka, and pre-Incaic cultures, gained agricultural and economic diversity ("El control vertical de un máximo de pisos ecológicos en la economía de las sociedades Andinas," in *Visita de la provincia de León de Huánuco en 1562*, ed. John V. Murra, Vol. 2: *Visita de los Yacha y Mitmaquna Cuzque* (Huánuco, Perú: Universidad Nacional Hermilio Valdizán,

vertically for foodstuffs and crops that could not grow in in their immediate surroundings, such as coca; however, they also engaged in long-distance trade for non-edible products of high cultural import. For example, the spiny oyster (*Spondylus princeps*), found in the warm waters off the far north coast of Peru and the coast of Ecuador, was valued for its bright red and orange colors. It is depicted as rectangular and triangular plaques strung on necklaces worn by human effigy figures (e.g., cat. nos. 082 and 074).¹⁵³ Likewise, obsidian, a dark volcanic, glass-like rock sourced from highland site of Quispisisa to the northeast of Nazca, was worked and traded.¹⁵⁴ The stone could be knapped to razor-sharp edges for use as hunting tools and instruments for cranial surgery, known as trephination.¹⁵⁵

Evidence for ritual practices, Nasca societal structure, and artistic production comes from the major ceremonial center of Cahuachi and its immediate surrounds (fig.

Facultad de Letras y Educación, 1972), 427-76). Mary Van Buren describes Murra's model that argued the vertical strategy was a way for Andean societies to preserve self-sufficiency: "Andean societies established colonies in distant and often noncontiguous ecological zones in order to gain access to the goods produced in them. In this way they could diversify their resource base without engaging in trade with other ethnic groups" ("Rethinking the Vertical Archipelago: Ethnicity, Exchange, and History in the South Central Andes," *American Anthropologist* 98, no. 2 (June 1996): 338). John E. Staller uses the term "vertical complementarity," which might be more accurate ("The Social, Symbolic, and Economic Significance of *Zea Mays L.* in the Late Horizon Period," in *Histories of Maize: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Prehistory, Linguistics, Biogeography, Domestication, and Evolution of Maize*, ed. John E. Staller, Robert H. Tykot and Bruce F. Benz (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast, 2006): 462-64).

¹⁵³ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 66-67. For examples of figures wearing spondylus shell pendant necklaces, see Alan Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*, (London: Laurence King in association with Alan Marcuson, 1997), 48-50, figs. 23 and 24; and effigy figures wear necklaces with red/orange square pendants that appear to be made of *Spondylus*. Remains of the shell are rarely found at Nasca sites (Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 294-295); and Johnny Isla Cuadrado, "From Hunters to Regional Lords: Funerary Practices in Palpa, Peru," in *New Technologies for Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Investigation in Palpa and Nasca, Peru*, ed. Markus Reindel and G.A. Wagner (Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 2008), 133.

¹⁵⁴ For more specific information regarding the acquisition and trade of obsidian, see Kevin J. Vaughn and Michael D. Glascock, "Exchange of Quispisisa Obsidian in the Nasca Region: New Evidence from Marcaya," *Andean Past* 7 (2005): 93-110; and Jelmer W. Eerkens, et al., "Spatio-temporal patterns in obsidian consumption in the Southern Nasca Region, Peru," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37 (2010): 825-832; see also Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 65-66.

¹⁵⁵ See also Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 3.

2.17).¹⁵⁶ In fact, relatively little regional archaeology has been done outside the Cahuachi locale in non-ritual contexts.¹⁵⁷ Study of the site has been ongoing since William C. Farabee first broke ground during excavations in 1922.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, understanding of the Nasca ceramic seriation is due mostly to information gathered at this important epicenter of Nasca life.¹⁵⁹ Located along the banks of the Nazca River, the site is widely considered to be the major ceremonial and political center for the Nasca culture. It reached its apogee between 250 and 400 CE, precisely during the period of interest in this study.¹⁶⁰ What was once called a “great city” has been ravaged by over a century of looting; therefore, much knowledge has been irreparably lost. That being said, structures and spatial arrangements at Cahuachi nevertheless provide information about how Nasca built and gathered on a grand scale. Silverman and Proulx argue that the centrality of Cahuachi in the physical and social landscape is based on the site’s “sacred geography that led to its

¹⁵⁶ For a sample of reports on Cahuachi, see Silverman, “Cahuachi: An Andean Ceremonial Center”; Helaine Silverman, “Nasca 8: A Reassessment of its Chronological Placement and Cultural Significance,” in *Multidisciplinary Studies in Andean Anthropology*, ed. V. J. Vitzthum, (Ann Arbor: Michigan Discussions in Anthropology, 1988), 23-32; and Helaine Silverman “The Early Nasca Pilgrimage Center of Cahuachi and the Nasca Lines: Anthropological and Archaeological Perspectives,” in *The Lines of Nazca*, ed. Anthony F. Aveni (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990), 207-244.

¹⁵⁷ Projects focused on households, mines, and transitional sites related to the shift from Paracas to Nasca are increasing. See Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 2009; Kevin Vaughn, Hendrik Van Gijsegheem, Verity H. Whalen, Jelmer W. Eerkens, and Moises Linares Grados, “The Organization of Mining in Nasca During the Early Intermediate Period: Recent Evidence from Mina Primavera,” in *Mining and Quarrying in the Ancient Andes Sociopolitical, Economic, and Symbolic Dimensions*, ed. Nicholas Tripcevich and Kevin J. Vaughn (New York, NY: Springer, 2013); Conlee, “Nasca Culture Integration and Complexity”; and Whalen, “Re-Becoming Nasca.”

¹⁵⁸ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 14-15. Others had visited and recognized the site as having man-made mounds potentially as early as Max Uhle during his expeditions in 1901 and 1905 as well as Julio C. Tello in 1915. For recent excavation information and conclusions see Orefici and Drusini, *Nasca: hipótesis y evidencias*, and Giuseppe Orefici, *Cahuachi: capital teocrática Nasca* (Lima, Peru: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2012).

¹⁵⁹ See William Duncan Strong, *Paracas, Nazca, and Tiahuanacoid Cultural Relationships in South Coastal Peru* (Salt Lake City: Society for American Archaeology, 1957); Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*; Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*; and Carmichael, “Nasca Mortuary Customs.”

¹⁶⁰ For information about smaller centers that exist at Los Molinos and Pueblo Viejo, see Johny Isla Cuadrado and Marcus Reindel, “New Studies on the Settlements and Geoglyphs in Palpa, Peru,” *Andean Past* 7 (2005): 57-92; and Johny Isla Cuadrado, Mario Ruales, and Andrés Mendiola, “Excavaciones en Nasca: Pueblo Viejo, sector X3,” *Gaceta Arqueológica Andina* 12 (1984): 8-11.

development as a seat of the Nasca cult and focus of pilgrimage.”¹⁶¹ Silverman notes that Cahuachi sits next to a rare natural spring, a site likely chosen as a supernatural oasis within the expanse of desert.¹⁶²

Some scholars contend that the later decrease in architectural construction and site expansion marked a decline of the site’s importance in the region and was concurrent with changes in settlement patterns and socio-political shifts.¹⁶³ Very often change at Cahuachi signaled broader cultural shifts that were echoed in polychrome ceramic forms and imagery. For example, during the shift into Middle and Late Nasca ceramic imagery became less naturalistic and moved toward abstract and less readable imagery. Because of a lack of art-historical studies of this material, many questions remain about this stylistic change, such as whether the late Nasca style is truly an abstracted version of earlier imagery or if foreign influences inspired changes in Nasca images (e.g., the Moche from the North Coast), or both.¹⁶⁴

Myriad objects have been found in caches and tombs that surround Cahuachi’s main spaces in a vast cemetery, which unfortunately has been subject to intensive pillaging (fig. 2.18). Nevertheless, Cahuachi was host to an immense volume of aesthetically laden objects and tools, deposited at times of the year when people would gather together for ritual feasting and ceremony.¹⁶⁵ Textiles recovered from intact

¹⁶¹ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 247.

¹⁶² Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 305.

¹⁶³ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 324-332; Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 250-251. For this and other topics relating to Cahuachi and the geoglyphs, see also Schreiber and Lancho, *Irrigation and Society*, 2003.

¹⁶⁴ Allen sees a link between the early and late styles (“The Nasca Creatures,” 44), and Proulx suggests that Moche influence propelled stylistic changes in Nasca polychromes during Middle and Late Nasca (“Stylistic Variation in Proliferous Nasca Pottery,” *Andean Past* 4 (1994): 91-107).

¹⁶⁵ For technical analyses of textiles recovered at Cahuachi, see Lila M. O’Neale, “Archaeological Explorations in Perú, Part III; Textiles of the Early Nazca Period,” *Anthropology Memoirs* 2, no. 3 (1937): 119-218; and Phipps, “Cahuachi Textiles in the W. D. Strong Collection.” For further excavations of

Cahuachi tombs have helped to identify the techniques favored by Nasca weavers as well as how people were dressed in life and death.¹⁶⁶ Panpipes and drums recovered from the architectural platforms and plaza spaces indicate that music was an important aspect of activities that took place at the site.¹⁶⁷ In 2000, Kevin Vaughn suggested that Cahuachi might also have served as a locus for the production and distribution of polychrome pottery.¹⁶⁸ His hypothesis emerges from a distinct absence of evidence for the production of ceramics in his investigations at the household site of Marcaya; based on a single site, this may not prove conclusive. However, Vaughn's work does bolster the long-standing notion that polychrome ceramics, like those addressed in this study, were accessible to all levels of society via centralized ritual activity that took place at Cahuachi.¹⁶⁹ Once considered an empty ceremonial city that hosted large feasts, celebrations, and ritual performances only at important times of the year organized around agricultural cycles, Cahuachi can now be seen as an ongoing center for artistic production, as well as a locus for other periodic activities.¹⁷⁰

Interpretations of Nasca socio-political organization are often based on the rise and fall of architectural construction at Cahuachi, settlement and burial patterns within its surrounds, and changes in the ceramic iconography. Silverman and Proulx suggest that

textiles at Cahuachi and their implications see Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 274, and Helaine Silverman, *Ancient Nasca Settlement and Society* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002), 165.

¹⁶⁶ See Elena Phipps, "The Great Cloth Burial at Cahuachi, Nasca Valley, Peru," in *Sacred and Ceremonial Textiles: Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, Inc.*, Chicago, Illinois, 1996, ed. Textile Society of America, 1997: 111-20; and Mary Frame, "What the Women Were Wearing: A Deposit of Early Nasca Dresses and Shawls from Cahuachi, Peru," *Textile Museum Journal* 42/43 (2003-2004): 13-53.

¹⁶⁷ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 114 and 201. For more on panpipes in the Andes generally, see Dale A. Olsen, "Panpipes of Transfiguration and Death," in *Music of El Dorado: The Ethnomusicology of Ancient South American Cultures* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 61-99.

¹⁶⁸ Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 168-172.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 116 and 154. See also Vaughn, "Households, Crafts, and Feasting."

¹⁷⁰ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 319. See also Orefici and Drusini, *Nasca: hipótesis y evidencias*, 143-163.

early Nasca society, as represented by activity at and imagery from Cahuachi, “is reminiscent of Turner’s (1974) ‘cult of the earth’ with its emphasis on communal (non-exclusionary) fertility rituals.”¹⁷¹ Nasca social structure and political hierarchy has been hotly debated; however, most understand Nasca to be a ranked society most closely resembling a chiefdom, defined as a centrally organized population with varying degrees of social and economic stratification.¹⁷² Recently, preference for a new term, “middle-range society,” has emerged to avoid “neo-evolutionary typologies.” Instead “pre-state societies such as Nasca [lie] between polities organized by the independent village and bureaucratic states.”¹⁷³ In addition, the lack of a strict and centralized power structure left Nasca society open to include individuals with special knowledge and skills.¹⁷⁴ Therefore shamans, who frequently operate outside of the rigidly defined structures of political hierarchies, were free to play key roles within the Nasca cultural landscape. Regardless of the label attached to Nasca societal structure, it is clear that the creation, distribution, and consumption of polychrome ceramics in conjunction with their imagery and forms play a major role in how we understand Nasca culture today.¹⁷⁵

Nasca Art and Material Culture

Although polychrome ceramics dominate the aesthetic end of their material culture production, the Nasca created a wide range of objects from the quotidian to the ceremonial: plainware pottery, textiles and fiber arts (including weaving with cotton and

¹⁷¹ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 248.

¹⁷² See Silverman, *Cahuachi*; Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*; Schreiber and Lancho Rojas, *Irrigation and Society*; Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*; and Vaughn, *Marcaya*.

¹⁷³ Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 3 and 13.

¹⁷⁴ For more on the ability of those with esoteric knowledge to gain authority, see Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 52-53.

¹⁷⁵ It is not the goal of this dissertation to assess the applicability of one term over another in relation to Nasca societal structure, nor do I foresee the analysis of ceramics presented here as necessarily influencing what we know of Nasca local and regional political hierarchies.

camelid fibers), metallurgy, pyro-engraving on gourds, and geoglyphs. The arid environment of the South Coast has aided the long-term preservation of all these materials. Much of the iconography found on polychrome ceramics is repeated, and in some instances elaborated upon in these other types of objects, according to the capabilities and limits of the materials chosen. Sawyer argued that certain images were transferred from textiles to ceramics; however, scholars now agree that at any given time prevailing Nasca iconography was shared across media, although polychrome ceramics remain the standard against which others are compared.¹⁷⁶

I will introduce each of the other artistic media relative to polychrome ceramics and situate Nasca material culture with respect to some earlier artistic traditions in the region. At the turn of the first millennium CE Nasca artists continued to work materials and create forms much like those used by their predecessors throughout the Andes; however, technological and stylistic innovations as well as a veritable explosion of production in many media including polychrome ceramics, three-dimensional embroidery, and geoglyphs distinguish the Nasca artistic tradition.

Plainware Pottery

It is significant that in addition to “decorated pottery” (i.e. polychrome ceramics) Nasca plainware, or “utility/utilitarian undecorated pottery,” was also made for cooking, serving, and storage.¹⁷⁷ Yet even the most functional examples from the earliest periods

¹⁷⁶ Alan Sawyer, “Paracas and Nazca Iconography,” in *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*, ed. S. K. Lothrop (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 278. Johan Reinhard, “Interpreting the Nazca Lines,” in *The Ancient Americas: Art from Sacred Landscapes*, ed. Richard F. Townsend, 290-301 (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1992); and Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*.

¹⁷⁷ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 227.

of Nasca ceramic production have been called “fine plainware.”¹⁷⁸ Typically, plainware vessels are characterized by coarse ceramic fabric (or paste), thick walls, and unslipped surfaces, although some have incised patterns on the exterior surfaces (fig. 2.19). Alfred L. Kroeber’s investigations found “unslipped utility vessels” associated with contexts dating to Early Nasca at the sites of Cahuachi and Aja.¹⁷⁹ Although unslipped, some of his examples do exhibit modeling and incising.¹⁸⁰ Silverman’s excavations at Cahuachi confirm, “utilitarian ware does not bear standard Nasca iconography.”¹⁸¹ She attests that plainware, although generally coarse with a gritty exterior feel, can range from the seemingly rudimentary construction with “sloppy” lines and spots painted on the exterior to examples that she describes as “nicely smoothed and shaped.”¹⁸² Vaughn reports that the *olla*, or cookpot form, was the most common vessel recovered at the Early Nasca habitation site of Marcaya.¹⁸³ Evidence of wear on polychrome ceramics recovered from tomb contexts show that during Early Nasca these vessels were used for everyday purposes, such as serving and drinking, although not for cooking. Therefore, it seems that generally little differentiation was made between plainware and polychromes in terms of function and day-to-day context in ancient times.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷⁸ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 25.

¹⁷⁹ Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 109 and 119.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 245.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 103.

¹⁸⁴ Carmichael, “Nasca Mortuary Customs.”

Textiles

In keeping with the importance of fiber arts broadly in the ancient Andes, textiles played a major role in Nasca life and death.¹⁸⁵ Manipulation of plant and animal fibers preceded the firing of clay vessels in the Andes; in fact, Andeans held the fiber arts above all others, and worked in every technique, be it twining, weaving, or embroidery, to name only a few.¹⁸⁶ In fact, Early Nasca comes relatively late in the Andean textile record. As part of the world's first tradition of mummification, the Chinchorros culture (c. 7000 BCE – 500 CE) wrapped and re-wrapped the deceased over time within twined reed mats that “reached beyond functionality, being painted and sometimes embroidered with geometric patters.”¹⁸⁷ For a brief time, the Chinchorros also shrouded or “bandage-wrapped” deceased and reformed bodies, whose bones and skin were elaborately reconstructed and stuffed, preserving the person in perpetuity.¹⁸⁸ This tendency for wrapping and shrouding was often extended to non-human objects, such as the stone scraper found at the Lithic period Guitarrero Cave that was wrapped in animal hide and secured with spun vegetal fibers (c. 5500 BCE) (fig. 2.20).¹⁸⁹ The Andean preoccupation

¹⁸⁵ A concept Rebecca Stone-Miller has called “textile primacy,” in *To Weave for the Sun: Andean Textiles in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 13-18. See also John Murra, “Cloth and its Functions in the Inca State,” *American Anthropologist* 64 (1962): 717-722. For the importance of textiles in Nasca specifically, see Phipps, “Cahuachi Textiles in the W. D. Strong Collection.”

¹⁸⁶ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 19.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 22; Mario A. Rivera, “The Preceramic Chinchorro Mummy Complex of Northern Chile: Context, Style, and Purpose,” in *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 12th and 13th October 1991*, ed. Tom D. Dillehay (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 43-77; and Sonia E. Guillén, “Mummies, Cults, and Ancestors: The Chinchorro Mummies of the South Central Andes,” in *Interacting with the Dead: Perspectives on Mortuary Archaeology for a New Millennium*, ed. Gordon F.M Rakita, Jane E. Buikstra, Lane A Beck and Sloan R. Williams (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2005), 142-49. See also Bernardo T. Arriaza, Matthew Doubrava, Vivien G. Standen, and Herbert Haas, “Differential Mortuary Treatment among the Andean Chinchorro Fishers: Social Inequalities or in Situ Regional Cultural Evolution?,” *Current Anthropology* 46, no. 4 (2005): 662-71.

¹⁸⁹ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 21-22; and Thomas F. Lynch, *Guitarrero Cave: Early Man in the Andes*, (New York: Academic Press, 1980) 241.

with enveloping in fiber extends to Nasca practices, as well. Bundled textiles and cloaked bodies were found buried in caches and tombs at Cahuachi, and a group of sculptural polychrome ceramic effigies depict individuals with partially shrouded faces (see chapter 5).¹⁹⁰

Nasca also elaborated upon earlier images of shamans embroidered on Paracas garments. Anne Paul and Sloveig Turpin describe the Paracas “Ecstatic Shaman” figures that appear to float on mantle ground cloths as humans, animals, and melded bodies of the two (fig. 2.21).¹⁹¹ They argue that the embroidered figures represent “the shaman during his magical combat with the spirits,” in which the body contorts into a backward bend, the hair flows freely, and the arms extend outward.¹⁹² Nasca artists shifted versions of this figure from the emblematic floating body at the center of a mantle to versions repeated around textile borders (figs. 2.22 and 2.23). Painted Nasca textiles also show ritual processions of shamans in myriad versions of their transforming selves (fig. 2.24). It is significant that textile painting and embroidery were the two most common textile processes employed during Early Nasca, since, as Sawyer notes, these techniques freed the artist from the “geometry of weaving [and] tend to relate closely to the drawing of ceramics.”¹⁹³

Images on embroidered textiles and borders, as well as the few extant painted textiles, do in many ways mirror those of contemporaneous polychrome ceramics. In fact, the Early Nasca ceramic painting style has been considered the ceramic equivalent of the

¹⁹⁰ For details about the interment of Nasca textiles see Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 264-274. Regarding textiles recovered from the Early Nasca Cabildo gravelots see Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*.

¹⁹¹ Paul and Turpin, “The Ecstatic Shaman.”

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁹³ Alan Sawyer, “Painted Nasca Textiles,” in *The Junius B. Bird Pre-Columbian Textiles Conference, May 19th and 20th, 1973*, ed. Ann P. Rowe, Elizabeth P. Benson and Anne-Louise Schaffer (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum and Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, 1979), 129.

late Paracas and Early Nasca textiles created in the Block Color embroidery style, described as “composed of carefully delineated opaque parts,” and therefore “distinct from the background,” which creates “an image that is visually clear and legible.”¹⁹⁴ These words are nearly identical to those used to define Early Nasca polychrome ceramic painting. For example, a painted textile populated by innumerable birds recalls the avian figures that often line the exteriors of ceramic bowls (figs. 1.2 and 1.3), and a textile embroidered with beans parallels the many varieties pictured in polychrome ceramics (fig. 1.3).¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, the Nasca innovated the extraordinarily laborious technique of “three-dimensional embroidery,” which translates the two-dimensional images embroidered on ground cloths into equally colorful and substantive figures that circumambulate and even propel themselves off of textile edges.¹⁹⁶ The so-called “Paracas Textile” (which is actually Nasca) and the “Göteborg Mantle” best exemplify entire garments constructed in this technique (figs. 2.22 and 2.23).¹⁹⁷ The process of

¹⁹⁴ Anne Paul, “The Stitching of Paracas Embroidered Images,” *RES* 9 (Spring 1985): 99.

¹⁹⁵ Although rare, brilliantly colored bird feathers were woven into Nasca textiles, suggesting the importance of trade and travel to obtain tropical birds from afar to further augment clothing and burial shrouds. Orefici and Drusini note, “[m]uchas aves tenían importancia por su plumaje, elemento indispensable para realizar diademas, mantas y prendas ceremoniales. El colibrí, el loro, el guacamayo (importado), el flamenco tienen plumas coloreadas que pueden servir para este fin” (Many birds were important because their feathers were essential to the production of diadems, blankets and ceremonial clothing. The hummingbird, parrot, macaw (imported), and the flamingo have colored plumes that could serve this purpose)(translated by author) (*Nasca: hipótesis y evidencias*, 114). As a common subject matter, painted and sculpted birds in burnished, shiny polychrome might best replicate the vibrant colors and iridescence of tropical bird feathers.

¹⁹⁶ The term “three-dimensional embroidery” provides the clearest descriptor for the technique (Rebecca R. Stone, personal communication, June 15, 2015). The technique has also been called: “needle knitting” (O’Neale, “Archaeological Explorations in Perú,” and Lila M. O’Neale, and Thomas W. Whitaker, *Embroideries of the Early Nazca Period and the Crop Plants Depicted on Them*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1947)); a “network embroidery with loop stitch” (d’Harcourt, *Textiles of Ancient Peru*); “cross knit looping” (Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*); and “three-dimensional cross-knit looping” (Anne Paul, “Why Embroidery? An Answer from the Ancient Andes,” in *Silk Roads, Other Roads: Textile Society of America 8th Biennial Symposium*, 313-22 (Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts: Omnipress, 2003)).

¹⁹⁷ For detailed drawings of the figures on the “Brooklyn Mantle,” see Lois Martin and Katherine Spitzhoff, “The Paracas Textile” (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1991), exhibition brochure. For an interpretation of the textile as a whole, see Joerg Haeberli, “Brooklyn Museum Textile, no. 38.121,” *Journal of the Steward*

taking two-dimensional images and bringing them to life in three-dimensional textiles highlights this Nasca inclination toward sculpturalism also seen in polychrome vessels.

Metallurgy

Objects made from hammered sheets of *guanín*, the copper and gold alloy used throughout the Andes and the Central American isthmus, also are found archaeologically and depicted in polychrome ceramics, in both two and three dimensions. In Nasca mouthmasks (large, dangling nose ornaments that often have whiskers and emanations that wrap upward around the eyes, see chapter 5) (fig. 2.25) and forehead diadems (fig. 2.26) cut from the flattened material, provide further examples of objects depicted in both two and three dimensions in polychrome ceramics.¹⁹⁸ Within the ancient Americas, metallurgy was first undertaken in South America. From there, the technological knowledge as well as the raw materials and finished objects were conveyed north to Panama, Costa Rica, and, to a lesser extent, Mesoamerica. Goldwork became highly

Anthropological Society 23 (1-2): 121-51. The “Göteborg Mantle” is currently in the collection of the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg, Sweden (previously the Göteborgs etnografiska museum) in the Gothenburg Collection, accession #1935.32.0179. See Anne Paul, *Paracas Textiles: Selected from the Museums Collections* (Göteborg: Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum, 1979). See also <http://www.varldskultur.museerna.se/en/varldskulturmuseet/research-collections/the-göteborg-collection-unique-textiles-from-paracas-in-peru/> (accessed February 14, 2015). For more information about Nasca textiles, the deposition of Nasca fiber objects, cloth figurines, and garments in miniature, see Frame, “What the Women Were Wearing”; Ann P. Rowe, “Nasca Figurines and Costume,” *The Textile Museum Journal* 29-30 (1990-1991): 93-128; and Donna M. Horié, “A Family of Nasca Figures,” *The Textile Museum Journal* 29-30 (1990-1991): 77-92.

¹⁹⁸ The term “*tumbaga*” has also been used to describe the gold-copper alloys common to these regions (see Heather Lechtman, “Traditions and Styles in Central Andean Metal-Working,” in *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys*, ed. Robert Maddin (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988): 344); however, Ana María Falchetti notes that *tumbaga* is an “imported” term from Southeast Asia. Therefore, the Caribbean island origin of “*guanín*” rings truer in an Andean context (“The Seed of Life: The Symbolic Power of Gold-Copper Alloys and Metallurgical Transformations,” in *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia*, ed. Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003), 345).

prized and elaborate wherever it appeared.¹⁹⁹ Goldworks from the Nasca predecessors of Chavín and Paracas were created using the techniques of hammering, annealing, and repoussé (fig. 2.27). To date, few gold and other metal objects have been excavated archaeologically in Nasca contexts, so the circumstances in which these objects were created and used are difficult to determine.²⁰⁰ However, mouthmasks and forehead diadems are part of the ritual regalia worn by what I am calling the “Nasca Ecstatic Being” as depicted on polychrome ceramics (see chapter 1).

In particular, Early Nasca artworks that depict bodies in transformation—whether in textiles (fig. 2.22), two-dimensional painted ceramics (fig. 1.12), or three-dimensional ceramic effigies (e.g., cat. nos. 077 – 080)—show figures donning these accessories. This correlation between the art and extant physical objects contributes to the debate regarding whether Nasca individuals who wore these accouterments were seen as impersonators of deities, or embodiments of transforming shamans, or both. Furthermore, a pair of hollow gold trophy heads from a Nasca grave in the Ica Valley creates a correlation between heads made of precious metals and those sculpted as polychrome ceramic jars (fig. 2.28).²⁰¹ Based on the visual and cultural evidence we might presume these accessories enhanced the transforming shaman’s body, adding to the communication of a “shining

¹⁹⁹ See Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes eds., *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Colombia*, (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003); and Duane H. King, Richard G. Cooke, Nicholas J. Saunders, John W. Hoopes and Jeffrey Quilter, eds., *To Capture the Sun: Gold of Ancient Panama* (Tulsa, Okla.: Gilcrease Museum, 2011).

²⁰⁰ For examples of gold items that have been attributed to Nasca without archaeological context, see Judith Rickenbach, and Museum Rietberg, *Nasca: Geheimnisvolle Zeichen Im Alten Peru*, (Zürich: Museum Rietberg Zürich, 1999), 310-312, cat. nos. 147-151; Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 73, fig. 56; and Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*, 50-53, figs. 27-29. For examples of gold that has been archaeologically excavated, see S. K. Lothrop, “Gold and Silver from Southern Peru and Bolivia,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 67, (Jul.-Dec. 1937): 305-25; and Isla Cuadrado, “From Hunters to Regional Lords,” fig. 8.9.

²⁰¹ Lechtman, “Traditions and Styles,” 14. According to Lechtman, each of these gold heads is a technological *tour de force*, constructed by soldering together nineteen separate pieces of hammered gold into an object just two centimeters high.

and no longer completely human being.”²⁰² This is based on the seminal work of Heather Lechtman who suggested the cultures of the Andes favored a “technology of essence.” Using metalworking techniques as a guide, she concludes, “the object is not that object unless it contains within it the essential quality, even if the essence is only minimally present.” In a widespread choice to use depletion gilding, the picking off of surface copper in a gold-copper object, Andeans allowed the inner essence of gold to appear on the exterior. No premium was placed, however, on the highest possible percentage of gold; even “minimally present” it served its purpose. For ancient Andeans, including the Nasca, the essential quality of gold was its unchanging reflective brilliance and sheen.²⁰³ Saunders argues that the importance of shiny objects relates to “pan-Amerindian attitudes toward the spiritual and creative power of light,” known to be an integral part of shamanic visionary experience.²⁰⁴ Certainly the making and interring of golden disembodied heads and gold accouterments that dress embodied figures highlights the preciousness of the head as the place of visions, as well as the light emitting power of the shaman’s body. The reflectivity and shine of the gold, as well as the shiny polychrome ceramics that represent them, matches the overall brilliant light of the visionary realm, providing another instance of the interconnectedness of Nasca art objects and shamanic experience.

Pyroengraved Gourds

Similar to the Nasca gold heads, Lisa DeLeonardis reports that a comparable substitution of the human head with art occurs in Nasca burials where gourds serve as

²⁰² Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 74.

²⁰³ Heather Lechtman, “Andean Value Systems and Prehistoric Metallurgy,” *Technology and Culture* 25 (1) (Jan. 1984), 30.

²⁰⁴ Saunders, “Catching the Light,” 15; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 30-31.

replacement heads for headless bodies.²⁰⁵ In addition to this direct equation with the head, the Nasca followed in the footsteps of earlier Andeans by modifying and using heated tools to burn patterns into gourd containers and rattles (fig. 2.16).²⁰⁶ The exact methods and tools by which gourds were burned in ancient times are unknown; however, techniques used at more ancient sites provide clues. For example, the burning techniques used at Huaca Prieta, a North Coast Preceramic site (c. 12,000 – 1500 BCE), appear similar to those used by Nasca artists in the EIP and even continue in use today (fig. 2.29).²⁰⁷ Gourds found at Huaca Prieta show surfaces “ornamented in low relief by cutting away the background and incising the inner details of the motifs.”²⁰⁸ The Chavín and Paracas cultures also had traditions of modifying gourds in this way and most likely were molding and binding gourds to achieve the desired shapes.²⁰⁹

In the Nasca context, gourd images with dark outlines call to mind the earlier incised lines that define images on Paracas vessels (fig. 1.19), as well as the painted outlining on Nasca slipped ceramics. Importantly, well-preserved Nasca gourds show the application of colored resins to the gourd surface and the incised lines may have been filled with pigment of a contrasting color to further emphasize the outlines (fig. 2.30),

²⁰⁵ Lisa DeLeonardis, “The Body Context: Interpreting Early Nasca Decapitated Burials,” *Latin American Antiquity* 11, no. 4 (2000), 372-373.

²⁰⁶ Silverman excavated two gourd rattles at Cahuachi (see *Cahuachi*, 283-284 and fig. 13.38). Izikowitz also notes the use of gourd stems (*Lagenaria*) to make *quenás* (flutes), see *Musical and Other Sound Instruments*, 321 (fig. 185).

²⁰⁷ For a discussion of contemporary regional techniques of gourd decoration, see Mary Strong, *Art, Nature and Religion in the Central Andes*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 219-241.

²⁰⁸ Sawyer, *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics*, 10. See also Junius B. Bird, John Hyslop, and Milica Dimitrijevic Skinner, *The Preceramic Excavations at the Huaca Prieta, Chicama Valley, Peru*, ed. Brenda Jones (New York: Museum of Natural History, 1985), 228; figs. 42 and 43. The dates for Huaca Prieta I use here are according to new research and dating of the site by T. Dillehay, Duccio Bonavia and others as reported by Jerry D. Moore, *Prehistory of South America: Ancient Cultural Diversity on the Least Known Continent* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014), 221-224.

²⁰⁹ For information regarding the modification of gourds with Chavín iconography, see Richard L. Burger, *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992), 196. For more on the Paracas gourd tradition, see Ruth McDonald Boyer, “Gourd Decoration in Highland Peru,” in *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, ed. Nelson H. H. Graburn (Berkeley: University of California Press), 186.

just as in polychrome ceramic painting. Common motifs on Nasca pyro-engraved gourds include the Nasca Ecstatic Being (formerly AMB) (fig. 2.16), animals, and birds that echo those found on polychrome ceramics.²¹⁰ Many examples of worked gourds have been recovered from graves at Cahuachi. For example, Kroeber reported an Early Nasca pyroengraved gourd modified into a deep bowl shape, incised with the image of a standing winged figure wearing a snake headdress and playing a panpipe.²¹¹ Silverman also excavated a pyro-engraved gourd in a burial at Cahuachi dated to Early Nasca, that depicts the “winged Anthropomorphic Mythical Being” (my Nasca Ecstatic Being), among numerous other fragments of broken pyroengraved gourds.²¹²

Given the Nasca proclivity for human head taking and cranial modification, plus creation of effigy figures with wrapped and padded heads as well as head jars with wrapped heads (see chapter 5), the binding of gourds to shape them beyond their natural contours may be part of this cultural complex. Through modern ethnographic analogy in parts of the Andes, we see that gourds are manipulated through a process of binding similar to that used on human crania.²¹³ As Elka Weinstein reports:

[G]ourds have also been strongly associated with the human head, and perhaps with trophy-head taking in the areas where this practice survived the Spanish conquest. Part of the association might have been due to the similarities between the practice of skull deformation with pad-and-bandage binding which was widespread throughout the Americas and the deliberate re-forming of gourds during their growth for various purposes.²¹⁴

²¹⁰ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 54 and 155.

²¹¹ Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 78.

²¹² Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 282-284.

²¹³ Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff, “Los Kogi: una tribu de la Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia,” (Bogotá: Procultura u.a, 1985), 66; cited in Elka Weinstein. “Fruitful Death. The Symbolic Meanings of Cucurbits in the Late Formative Period of Coastal Ecuador,” in *Mortuary Practices and Ritual Associations: Shamanic Elements in Prehistoric Funerary Contexts in South America*, ed. John E. Staller and Elizabeth J. Currie (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2001), 44.

²¹⁴ Weinstein, “Fruitful Death,” 44.

Much like the impulse to echo the disembodied heads in ceramics, gourds (and other cultigens such as jícama, ají, and lúcuma) were sculpted in clay (cat nos. 216 – 220).²¹⁵

Geoglyphs

As with many of their material culture practices that echoed earlier Andeans but on a much grander scale, the Nasca also drew lines on the earth. Earlier, geoglyphs have been found at the Initial Period site of Canto Grande on the Central Coast (c. 1700 – 800 BCE), on the North Coast, and still others created by the Paracas culture in the valleys surrounding the Rio Grande de Nasca drainage (fig. 2.31).²¹⁶ However, Johan Reinhard notes, “none of the concentrations of these other geoglyphs can rival that found on the desert plain near Nazca in variety and elaboration of forms.”²¹⁷ Ancient Nasca geoglyphs were achieved by pushing aside dark (oxidized) stones and sand to uncover a lighter (non-oxidized) layer.²¹⁸ Although best known for the thirty or so representational figures—including a monkey (fig. 2.1), a spider (fig. 2.32), a fox (fig. 2.33), and a hummingbird (fig. 2.34), to name a few—the vast majority of the approximately 700 Lines form geometric shapes and straight, wedge-shaped paths. They often overlap one another, having been made over several centuries (fig. 2.35).²¹⁹

²¹⁵ For line drawings of typical Nasca cultigens, see María C. Blasco Bosqued and Luis J. Ramos Gómez, *Catálogo de la cerámica Nazca del museo de América* T. 2 Recipientes descorados con figuras humanas de caracter ordinario o con cabezas cortadas y otras partes del cuerpo humano, (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura Dir. General de Bellas Artes, 1991), 18, (Lamina I).

²¹⁶ Quilter notes Initial Period geoglyphs (*The Ancient Central Andes*, 131), Reinhard cites north coast examples (“Interpreting the Nazca Lines,” 291), and Orefici and Drusini attest to Paracas precursors (*Nasca: hipótesis y evidencias*, 170-172). For an example from the Atacama desert in Chile, see John Reinhard, “The Nazca Lines, Water and Mountains: An Ethnoarchaeological Study,” in *Recent Studies in Pre-Columbian Archaeology*, ed. Nicholas J. Saunders and Olivier de Montmollin (Oxford: Bar International Series 421, 1988), 375-376 and figs. 12, 13.

²¹⁷ Reinhard, “The Nazca Lines, Water and Mountains,” 291.

²¹⁸ Ibid., 292.

²¹⁹ Anthony F. Aveni, “Order in the Nazca Lines,” in *The Lines of Nazca*, ed. Anthony F. Aveni (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990), 41-113.

Since their discovery in modern times, these large-scale ground drawings have garnered the world's attention, unfortunately inspiring popular speculations such as alien encounters and foreign influences.²²⁰ In addition to their role as a tourist attraction and notoriety as “mysterious designs” and “enigmatic features,” the Lines have provided some cultural information.²²¹ Early interpretations focused on astronomical associations and geographical relationships to water sources.²²² Now most scholars agree the geoglyphs were re-inscribed and vivified during centuries of ritual processions, and note the technological acumen of the ancient culture to produce straight lines across the pampa, some as long as 20 miles.²²³

One example of scholarly attention paid to the visual manifestations of these experiences connects the large-scale and soaring perspective necessary to view the Nasca Lines to the shaman's out-of-body experience.²²⁴ Dobkin de Rios' work notes that the ecstatic flight and aerial journey experienced by the shaman in trance provide the perspective necessary to view the ancient geoglyphs in their entirety. She argues that the Lines can be best understood through a shaman's body that has taken on a floating perspective. Indeed, shamans' bodies become the sites for all kinds of transformations

²²⁰ See Erich von Däniken, *Chariots of the Gods: Unsolved Mysteries of the Past* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971). For popular culture examples, see Steven Spielberg, director, “Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull” (2008); and “Nazca Lines,” *Solving History with Olly Steeds*, Discovery Channel, January 20, 2010.

²²¹ Allen, “The Nasca Creatures,” 43; and Aveni, *The Lines of Nazca*, iii-iv.

²²² C.L.N. Ruggles, “A Statistical Examination of the Radial Line Azimuths at Nazca,” in *The Lines of Nazca*, ed. Anthony F. Aveni (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990), 245-269; and Reinhard, “The Nazca Lines, Water and Mountains.”

²²³ See Gary Urton, “Andean Ritual Sweeping and the Nazca Lines,” in *The Lines of Nazca*, ed. Anthony F. Aveni (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990), 175-206, and Reinhard, “Interpreting the Nazca Lines,” 295. For a description of the lines as effigies and architecture, see George Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America: The Mexican, Maya and Andean Peoples*, 3rd ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 421.

²²⁴ Marlene Dobkin de Rios, “Plant Hallucinogens, Out-of-Body Experiences and New World Monumental Earthworks,” in *Drugs, Rituals and Altered States of Consciousness*, ed. Brian M. De Toit (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema: 1977), 237-249.

during trance. Many modern visionaries' accounts describe birdlike flight, and certainly the preponderance of bird imagery within the Nasca ceramic corpus reveals the importance of human-avian relationships (see chapter 5).²²⁵ Moreover, during trance, perceived scale can change and warp on multiple levels. Klüver's documentation of the effects of mescal shows that the telescoping of the canvas, or what Stone-Miller describes as "the enlarging of all phenomena in the visual field," is common.²²⁶ This may relate to the inordinate size of the geoglyphs; the hummingbird is as long as six model 747 airplanes (fig. 2.34).

Unquestionably the geoglyphs also highlight a Nasca inclination for outlining, as well as the repetition of significant iconography in a broad range of scale and media.²²⁷ However, of interest here, polychrome ceramic vessels were smashed along the pathways, thus providing information regarding the dates and cultural associations of these superlative earthworks.²²⁸ Such "ritual killing" of the objects suggests the Nasca were offering up the life force of these vessels during ritual activities along the pathways.²²⁹ Most importantly, several of the representational figures etched into the

²²⁵ See Eugenio Yacovleff, "El Vencejo (Cypselus) En El Arte Decorativo De Nasca," *Wira Kocha* 1 (January 1931): 25-35; and Eugenio Yacovleff, "Las Falconidas En El Arte Y En Las Creencias De Los Antiguos Peruanos," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 1 (1932): 35-111.

²²⁶ Klüver, *Mescal*, 38, as cited by Stone-Miller, "Human-Animal Imagery," 50.

²²⁷ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 90.

²²⁸ In personal communication regarding ceramics found around the Nasca Lines, Dr. Karsten Lambers states, "the ceramics on geoglyph sites did not differ from those that we found during our excavations in chronological, typological, and iconographic terms. The ratio of plainware to polychrome pottery was roughly 50 to 50, also among the smashed pots. Many of the latter ones were broken into so many small pieces that we did not try to reconstruct them" (email communication, July 14, 2010). See also, Karsten Lambers, *The Geoglyphs of Palpa, Peru: Documentation, Analysis and Interpretation* (Aichwald: Linden Soft, 2006), 98; Isla Cuadrado and Reindel, "New Studies"; and Niels Hecht, "Of Layers and Sherds: A Context-Based Relative Chronology of the Nasca Style Pottery from Palpa," in *New Technologies for Archaeology Multidisciplinary Investigations in Palpa and Nasca, Peru*, ed. Markus Reindel and Günther A. Wagner (Berlin: Springer, 2009).

²²⁹ For more regarding the idea that objects are beings with agency, see Jeffrey Quilter, "Moche Revolt of the Objects," *Latin American Antiquity* 1, no. 1 (1990): 42-65; Catherine Allen, "When Utensils Revolt: Mind, Matter, and Modes of Being in the Pre-Columbian Andes," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 33, no. Pre-Columbian States of Being (Spring 1998): 18-27; Catherine J. Allen, "The Whole World Is

pampas mirror images and forms of polychrome ceramics. One prime example is the killer whale with an outstretched arm that grasps a disembodied head (fig. 2.36). Not only is there a direct translation of this figure in a sculptural polychrome ceramic bottle (cat. no. 156), but also the disembodied head imagery can be linked to sculpted ceramic head jars (see chapter 4); each highlighting the import of shamanic themes such as human-animal transformation and cephalocentrism.

In sum, across media, common Nasca subject matter includes geometric shapes, animals, plants, and anthropomorphic beings, linking the artistic practice to the physical and cultural landscapes, but also importantly exhibiting imagery and forms relate-able to aspects of shamanism. As with the innovations for color and shine in polychrome ceramics, Nasca artists employed and innovated varied traits of other unique media to highlight shamanic ideas, such as in textiles where two-dimensional embroidered images becomes three-dimensional figures that process around textiles borders, and the geoglyphs that transform the desert pampa into a canvas displaying macroscopic pictures “visible” from the perspective of a shaman on an aerial journey or out-of-body trance experience. Importantly, hammered sheets of alloyed gold highlight an aesthetic priority for perpetual shimmer and light much like the highly burnished surfaces, use of specular hematite, and inclusion of shiny metallic pieces in clay pastes revealed upon firing Nasca polychrome ceramics. Having described the chronological, cultural, geographical, and environmental settings for Nasca ceramics, the next chapter reviews past scholarly

consideration of Nasca polychromes to place the present study within the academic trajectory of approaches to Early Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics.

Chapter 3: Historiography: Nasca Polychrome Ceramics and Shamanism

Having described the chronological, cultural, geographical, and environmental landscapes in which Nasca thrived, this chapter situates the interpretation of its key artistic medium within the theoretical approaches common to art of the ancient Andes, taking the environment as its starting point. The Central Andean environment has been aptly described as full of dualisms: high mountains loom in stark contrast to flat coastal pampas; the expansive Amazon rain forest lies only a few hundred miles, as the crow flies, from the driest desert on the planet. Deluges, brought on by ENSO events (e.g. El Niño) and snowmelt from the peaks, bookend years of devastating droughts. Previous scholarship shows that these “natural” juxtapositions have informed the scholarship regarding the art of the Andes, as well. For example, Richard Burger claims the crossed hands at the Formative site of Kotosh (2500 BCE – 1 CE) express “duality, in which the unity of fundamentally opposing forces is symbolized” (fig. 3.1);²³⁰ the “Black and White Portal” located within the pilgrimage site of Chavín de Huantar is named for the contrasting colors of the lintel, but also the subtle low-relief carving of male and female beings that encircle the side pillars (fig. 3.2);²³¹ and the Inka city of Cuzco was divided

²³⁰ Burger, *Chavín*, 48. Burger links the structure of the ceremonial architecture of the Old Temple Chavín de Huantar to William Isbell’s theory regarding the “dual opposing forces, represented by the right and left wings” of ‘U’-shaped structures common to Formative sites, also known as a key element of the “Kotosh Religious Tradition.” Burger, *Chavín*, 132. For more on the Kotosh Religious Tradition and the site of Kotosh, see Quilter, *Ancient Central Andes*, 124; and Moore, *Prehistory of South America*, 239-241.

²³¹ Burger, *Chavín*, 175-176; and Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 46-47; and Peter G. Roe, “How to Build a Raptor: Why the Dumbarton Oaks ‘Scaled Cayman’ Callango Textile is Really a Chavín Jaguaroid Harpy Eagle,” in *Chavín: Art, Architecture and Culture*, ed. William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 211-212.

into upper and lower, or *hanan* and *hurin*, segments (fig. 3.3).²³² In an Andean worldview, however, a hierarchical judgment granting one half of the dyad absolute importance over the other does not exist. Instead, as previously shown, the Quechua concept of *ayni* allows for synergisms in which any mutually exclusive and absolute distinctions disappear. It is also a Western propensity to impose a pyramidal hierarchy—with one entity at the pinnacle—which then flattens what are fundamentally dynamic reciprocal relationships.²³³ Yet, scholars still present the essentially uni-dimensional term “dualism” as a basic tenet of an Andean worldview.²³⁴ Nasca scholarship has not been immune to this inclination; a sacred-secular dichotomy permeates the interpretation of Nasca polychrome ceramics.²³⁵

This chapter provides background for the application of a shamanic lens in the analysis of several types of ceramic vessels that take the form of disembodied heads and embodied beings on continua of transformation from life to death and back again as well as between human and animal.²³⁶ First, I review some previous Nasca scholarship that addresses the iconography of painted polychrome vessels and two cultural precedents for the presence of shamans in Nasca culture. Then, I review the literature for the three subsets of sculptural polychrome vessels addressed in this present study. Within these sections, some superlative examples of Nasca art from various periods and sub-styles will

²³² R. Tom Zuidema, “The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco,” in *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America*, ed. Gary Urton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985): 183-250.

²³³ Relationships between ideas, physical structures, and people as well as the dynamism present within those relationships are highlighted by approaches like that proposed by William H. Isbell in reference to the dual arms of ceremonial centers prevalent at Formative period sites (“Cosmological Order”). Also see The Metropolitan Museum of Art, “Dualism in Andean Art,” http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/dual/hd_dual.htm. Accessed June 6, 2015.

²³⁴ See Esther Pasztory, “Andean Aesthetics” in *Thinking with Things*; and Olsen, *Music of El Dorado*, 98.

²³⁵ For example, in an art-historical consideration of the stylistic changes during Middle Nasca, Blagg groups Nasca iconography into two categories: mythical subjects or the natural world (“The Bizarre Innovation,” 8).

²³⁶ I borrow the term from Stone-Miller, “Human-Animal Imagery”; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*.

be reviewed to demonstrate how shamanism might be inserted for more productive interpretations. Finally, in keeping with a shamanic worldview in which all entities are experienced as alive, I consider the term “effigy” in relation to Nasca sculptural ceramics, and explore how disembodied and embodied ceramic vessels are more than simple illustrations of material presence. Instead, in terms of Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics, shamanic experience and ways of knowing can be considered to dissolve physicality and then reunite spirituality and materiality in new ways.

Polychrome Ceramics

In the case of Nasca, scholarly interpretations of Nasca polychrome ceramic iconography and forms are greatly influenced by archaeological studies of the culture and thus have changed over time. In the past it has been archaeologists, rarely art historians, who have undertaken studies aimed at deciphering the meaning of Nasca images. Moreover, some archaeological studies admit to a lack of interest in the deciphering of the images, but nevertheless employ statistics to calculate the frequency of iconographic themes in particular contexts in which they are found.²³⁷ In order to expand the limited interpretations that this attitude promulgates, it is essential to review the basis for the typologies and the biases that they perpetuate alongside the artistic influences from preceding cultures that set a precedent for shamanic interpretation in Nasca. In particular, I trace the persistence of a sacred-secular dichotomy in Nasca studies and highlight

²³⁷ For example, Silverman states “[i]n this book I am not concerned with deciphering Nasca iconography, about which a small body of literature exists (see chap. 3). I am, however, interested in issues such as how much mythically decorated pottery occurs at Cahuachi in comparison to pottery decorated with naturalistic and geometric motifs and if a pattern can be discerned in the occurrence of kinds of decorated pottery” (Cahuachi, 227).

scholars who recognize the need to move beyond the problematic dyad, one that shamanic analyses call into question from the outset.

Scholars continue to study Nasca ceramics and other material culture to interpret and create a stylistic chronology for the Nasca culture. Similar to research regarding many ancient American societies whose communications systems did not include the “written” word, Nasca scholarship relies upon artistic material remains as cultural evidence.²³⁸ Ceramic vessels have survived in abundance in domestic, ceremonial, and burial contexts; however, an ever-increasing interest in ancient American art has exposed much of the remaining cultural evidence to widespread destruction.²³⁹ As a consequence, most Nasca polychrome ceramics held in museum collections across the globe lack contextual evidence. We have often lost the settings within which these objects were conceived of, created, used, and in some cases interred or purposefully destroyed. In fact, unfortunately all of the objects in the present corpus lack provenance. Current and future studies of Nasca materials depend upon the earliest investigations that are presumed to contain predominantly more authentic objects and, in some cases, provide the most complete information we have to date about the Nasca culture. Moreover, new and developing archaeological and scientific technologies may recover additional information from the un-provenanced material in the future.

Silverman provides a succinct summary of the trends in Nasca fieldwork that have shaped Nasca scholarship:

²³⁸ See Elizabeth Hill Boone and Walter D. Mignolo, eds., *Writing Without Words: Alternative Literacies in Mesoamerica and the Andes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994).

²³⁹ Often, vessels display damage typical of one that has been looted. Today, pothunters or looters (*huaqueros*) use lengths of iron reinforcing bars (rebar) to penetrate the sand to find objects. The sound and feel of the metal on ceramic makes a distinct sound locating a cache. In some cases the rebar also creates a telltale circular puncture hole in the vessel (e.g., cat. no. 078).

The history of the archaeological investigation of Nasca society is, in large part, a reflection of the trajectory of the study of Perú's past. The early period of investigations at Cahuachi and elsewhere was overwhelmingly concerned with cemetery excavations and the establishment of a time-space framework. The middle period, motivated and influenced by the Virú Valley Project, brought to the south coast a newfound interest in settlement patterns and stratigraphy.²⁴⁰ This was followed by an intense concern in the 1950s through the 1970s with the construction of a fine relative chronology. The most recent era of Nasca investigations, the 1980s through the present, has seen a return to the field to tackle problems of social and political organization and cultural change through the study of settlement patterns.²⁴¹

Likewise, Katharina Schreiber's afterword to the most recent edited volume of Alfred L. Kroeber's 1926 expedition offers a panoramic view of Nasca scholarship post-1926.²⁴²

The following delineates the contributions of individual scholars and specific studies that augment our knowledge of Nasca polychrome ceramics considered in this dissertation.

Early Archaeology

At the start of the twentieth century, archaeologist Max Uhle traveled to Peru to investigate the cultural origins of the brilliantly painted ceramic vessels he observed in the collections at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. His explorations, including excavations and the purchase of looted materials, resulted in the Nasca collections now in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley.²⁴³ Uhle published several reports on his findings and is credited with the twentieth-century discovery of the Nasca culture. Uhle's interest sparked that of other scholars. In 1915, Julio C. Tello, considered one of the founding fathers of Peruvian

²⁴⁰ Virú Valley Project refers to one of the earliest settlement pattern surveys conducted by Gordon R. Willey in the 1940s (see Gordon R. Willey, "Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Virú Valley, Peru," *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* (1953), 155).

²⁴¹ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 14.

²⁴² Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 261-270.

²⁴³ For a detailed account of other reports and descriptions of Nasca objects from the first half of the twentieth century through the present, see Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 14-29; and Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 1-11. Major contributions to Nasca iconography and style will be outlined here.

archaeology, investigated in the Nazca Valley with a particular focus on cemeteries.²⁴⁴

The Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú in Lima now holds a majority of the objects he found during those excavations. Tello was particularly taken with the great quantity of disembodied human heads he encountered, which became the subject of his 1918 doctoral dissertation.²⁴⁵ Additionally, excavations by Kroeber in 1926 and William Duncan Strong in 1957 at Cahuachi remain essential to our understanding of the site, especially because of the subsequent extensive looting.²⁴⁶

Stylistic and Iconographic Studies

Like Uhle, Eduard Seler, an anthropologist, ethnohistorian, and linguist, was interested in collections of Nasca ceramic vessels he encountered in German collections. In 1923, Seler undertook a comprehensive visual examination of a group of Nasca vessels from the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, Munich (now the Museum Fünf Kontinente), and a private collection belonging to Dr. Eduard Gaffron, a collector from Lima.²⁴⁷ His figures and drawings remain central to Nasca iconographic studies today.²⁴⁸ Most importantly, Seler's observations established a model for subsequent studies of the iconographic and stylistic elements of Nasca polychrome pottery. In terms of the analysis of Nasca imagery, one of Seler's lasting

²⁴⁴ Tello, "Los Antiguos Cementarios, 283-91.

²⁴⁵ Julio C. Tello, "El uso de las cabezas humanas artificialmente momificadas y su representación en el antiguo arte peruano," *Revista Universitaria* 13, no. 1 (1918): 478-533.

²⁴⁶ Kroeber's excavations have been published in (Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*) and are held in the Field Museum, Chicago. Objects from William Duncan Strong's have been published in (William Duncan Strong, "*Paracas, Nazca, and Tiahuanacoid Cultural Relationships in South Coastal Peru*," *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 13 (Salt Lake City: Society for American Archaeology, 1957); and Phipps, "Cahuachi Textiles," and are held at Strong Museum in the department of Anthropology at Columbia University, New York.

²⁴⁷ The Buck-Seler Collection is currently held in the Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Germany. See Seler, et al., *Collected Works*, 71.

²⁴⁸ For examples within the "Anthropomorphic Mythical Being" category alone, see Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, figs. 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.29, 5.32, and 5.33.

contributions remains his method for distinguishing complicated image types: he introduced the idea of “signifiers,” or elements added to a standard form that compound meaning.²⁴⁹ This idea is key to recognizing that “deities” with set characteristics are less applicable in shamanic art, which interchanges such “signifiers” as feline whiskers, snake bodies, and other elements to signal transformational spiritual states.

Unfortunately, some of Seler’s initial observations also established associations between image types and either the supernatural or the merely mundane. Specifically, Seler used the loaded term “demon” to describe feline, avian, and vegetal variations of supernatural or otherworldly figures which stand in contrast to categories of “reality” that include animals, plants, and weapons (slings and arrows). Thus he would identify a face-painted human carrying weapons as a “warrior,” unrelated to anything spiritual.²⁵⁰ Likewise, Seler decreed that the “the spotted cat” could be considered a “bringer of foodstuffs” due to its association with agricultural products, a connection that persists in the belief that much of Nasca imagery overwhelmingly relates to a concern for natural fecundity.²⁵¹ In addition, Seler’s assessment of female figurines, now known to date to Middle Nasca and suspected to be mostly of modern manufacture, has had a lasting effect on how scholars consider depictions of sex and gender and generally impose potentially anachronistic definitions on ancient Nasca society.²⁵²

²⁴⁹ This concept would be expanded upon in the work of Donald A. Proulx, a student of John H. Rowe’s at Berkeley (see below).

²⁵⁰ According to Proulx, Lawrence Dawson coined the term “Horrible Bird” as an alternative to Seler’s “bird demon” category (*A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 52).

²⁵¹ Seler, et al., *Collected Works*, 73-78. Seler’s term “Cat Demon” has been reconsidered, see Petra Kindt, “Los seres con antifaz en la iconografía Nasca,” *Arqueología y Sociedad*, no. 20 (2009): 281-291.

²⁵² Bruhns and Kelker (*Faking the Ancient Andes*) attest to many of the “tattooed ladies” or fertility figurines to be fakes, coinciding with an interest in the feminine during the mid-20th century. However, the objects Seler observed would have been in collections well before such fakes flooded the market. This is not to say that Seler did not observe fakes. As Bruhns and Kelker continue, forgeries made by local potters were sold soon after George Squier’s *Peru Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*

In contrast to Seler's broad iconographic inquiry, during the early 1930s Eugenio Yacovleff produced several in-depth and focused studies of specific Nasca ceramic image themes. His studies, published in quick succession, link Nasca imagery to the broader panorama of ancient central Andean image making and thought. Yacovleff first made connections between depictions of falcons and falcon eye-markings on head jars and warriors: his encyclopedic offering on avian imagery supports my contention that birds held special shamanic significance to the Nasca (see chapter 5). Other foundational studies determined supernatural and fantastic beings to be ritual performers, or humans who don costumes to imitate gods, deities, and powerful Nature spirits.²⁵³ However, this now-prevalent interpretation of a "ritual impersonator" stands in contrast to my observation that far from imitations, these beings are transforming shamans. Many of these publications on Nasca objects and collections offer catalogs of image types and vessel forms, which not only set the tone but also provide interpretations that are repeated in subsequent studies.

More recent stylistic inquiries focus on individual motifs in Nasca ceramic iconography, some of them quite specific. For example, Sandra Flood undertook a comprehensive iconographic study of Nasca tongues, establishing the Chavín and Paracas cultures as visual precursors.²⁵⁴ She concludes that the multiplicity of tongue imagery can be related to agricultural fertility in general, associated both with themes of growth and

(New York: Harper & Bros., 1877). The objects that both Uhle and Seler observed in German collections could well have been forgeries sold to tourists and other intrepid adventurers on Squier's heels. A better understanding of the origins of the German collections would greatly clarify this position.

²⁵³ For a brief summary of some of these early sources see Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 49-50.

²⁵⁴ Sandra Wasko Flood, "Nasca Tongue Iconography," University of Northern Colorado Museum of Anthropology: Occasional Publications in Anthropology: Ceramics in Archaeological Cultures in South America, no. 42 (1987): 95-125. Flood's compilation of drawings of Nasca tongues offers a resource for this imagery, see "Nasca Tongue Iconography," 110, fig. a.

death.²⁵⁵ Jürgen Golte addressed Nasca iconography chronologically and across media.²⁵⁶ He first recognizes an androgynous Creator from which all males and females spring, which he argues gives a genealogical focus to Nasca imagery, i.e. a cosmology rooted in kinship. To Golte Nasca art depicts beings within a hierarchy of ancestral descent.²⁵⁷ One of Golte's students, Christiane Clados has examined Nasca iconography broadly as well as conducted a focused thematic study on "El 'Hombre Ballena'" (the Whale-Man), including one well-known effigy vessel in the collection of the Museo Larco.²⁵⁸ She ties the orca-human figure, which she refers to as part of a pantheon of divinities, to trophy heads, in turn signaling military themes and associations with victories in battle. In another project, Clados created a valuable resource in a database of drawings of Nasca ceramic iconography.²⁵⁹ Although Golte and Clados' studies address cosmology and images of human-animal transformation, neither connects these concepts to Nasca shamanism.

As discussed in chapter 1, Nasca scholars superficially have acknowledged the presence of shamanic activity in Nasca through overt and identifiable subject matter on polychrome ceramics (see chapter 1). In regard to Nasca religion, Silverman and Proulx have characterized Nasca it as "shamanistic" and see its rituals as "fluid and flexible, more subject to innovation and modification with each celebration," a description well

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 109.

²⁵⁶ Jürgen Golte, "La iconografía Nasca," *Arqueológicas* 26 (2003): 179-218.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 215.

²⁵⁸ Christiane Clados, "El 'Hombre Ballena' de Nasca," *Arqueología y Sociedad* 20 (2009): 269-80.

I was able to examine this vessel at the Museo Larco; however, I determined that with heavy reconstruction and over-painting too many ancient aspects and overall authenticity of the object has been compromised. Therefore, it not included in the present catalog. Its exclusion does not preclude acknowledgment of Clados' argument or the consideration of the general transformative nature of the vessel form.

²⁵⁹ Christiane Clados, "Nasca Drawings Collection," Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies, Inc. (FAMSI), <http://www.famsi.org/research/nasca/index.html>; and Christiane Clados, "Der Nasca-Ikonenkomplex: Siene Mythischen Gestalten Un Ihre Entwicklung, Erscholssen Aus Den Darstellung Gegenständlicher Blidwerke" (Freien Universität Berlin, 2001).

suited to the non-institutionalized nature of shamanic communities.²⁶⁰ Furthermore, other scholars see that Nasca shamans—like all shamans—were held responsible via esoteric knowledge and power for the continued fecundity of the earth and supernatural realms.²⁶¹ Yet, while most acknowledge the iconography of shamans and entheogens to be indicators of the influence of shamanism on Nasca ritual and spiritual life, there have been few examinations of how shamanism inflects the visual properties of sculptural polychrome ceramics. Instead, early studies of Nasca ceramics sought to clarify an independently Nasca chronology as well as Nasca's place within an ancient Andean timeline.

Refining the Nasca Ceramic Sequence

Rowe's 1960 distinction between the Monumental and Proliferous styles remains the most succinct discussion of the possible methodologies for determining a Nasca ceramic timeline.²⁶² With access to Uhle's collections at the University of California at Berkeley, Rowe and his students long have directed the study of Nasca ceramics toward establishing a firm timeline for the culture based on the changes in style on polychrome ceramic vessels. Around the same time, Alan Sawyer addressed the formal changes in ceramics that identified a relationship between some images in Paracas and Nasca iconography, providing insight about the artistic transition between those two cultures.²⁶³

Chief among the accomplishments of Rowe's students is Lawrence P. Dawson's still-unpublished, nine-phase ceramic seriation from which others have endeavored to

²⁶⁰ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 196-97.

²⁶¹ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 323-324; and Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 52-53.

²⁶² See also Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Perú*; and Roark, "From Monumental to Proliferous."

²⁶³ Sawyer, "Paracas and Nazca Iconography."

ground further studies regarding stylistic changes in time and subject matter.²⁶⁴ For example, in Roark's study of the Middle Nasca period, he describes one motif of non-representational figures as the "Horrible Bird," continuing Seler's pejorative terms such as "demon."²⁶⁵ Expanding upon Roark's study, Mary Blagg considered the transitional Middle Nasca period through three sub-styles.²⁶⁶ She concluded that one Roark had called the "Bizarre Innovation," characterized by some new motifs, an emphasis on ornament and the subordination of the figure, had the greatest effect on what became the Late Nasca Proliferous style.²⁶⁷

Elizabeth Wolfe addressed a group of Nasca vessels in a diachronic study of two image themes: Seler's "Spotted Cat" and Roark's "Horrible Bird." Her study offers a chronological sequence, but little in the way of image interpretation. Yet, Wolfe's descriptions provide supporting evidence regarding combinations of certain motifs (i.e. falcon eye-markings and mouth-masks) as they relate to anthropomorphic vessels. A majority of these considerations connect Nasca images and forms to "everyday pursuits such as farming, fishing and hunting," as is common in Nasca studies.²⁶⁸ In the absence of a clear method for the interpretation of images that do not appear mundane, Wolfe describes them as outliers that are "esoteric, reflecting a complex world view which transforms the ordinary topics with symbolism and abstraction."²⁶⁹ While almost approaching the present topic, her oblique and rather vague comment also typifies Nasca

²⁶⁴ Many note the continued use of Dawson's phases as the primary stylistic Nasca timeline, see Quilter, *The Ancient Central Andes*, 188. Proulx's *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography* is the most expansive version with the most examples, to date.

²⁶⁵ Roark, "From Monumental to Proliferous," 24.

²⁶⁶ Blagg, "The Bizarre Innovation," 38-51.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 42-51.

²⁶⁸ Elizabeth Farkass Wolfe, "The Spotted Cat and the Horrible Bird; Stylistic Change in Nasca 1-5 Ceramic Decoration," *Ñawpa Pacha* 19 (1981): 1.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

scholarship. “Symbolism” is almost meaningless in her comment, begging the question at what point an illustration becomes “symbolic” of something beyond itself.

The most prolific of Rowe’s students is Donald A. Proulx. His 1968 dissertation addressed a sample of Early Nasca vessels from the Uhle collections at Berkeley. Since then Proulx’s published works also have considered trophy head imagery, stylistic changes in the Proliferous period, and broader considerations of the Nasca culture and iconography.²⁷⁰ Over the course of his career Proulx has undertaken a comprehensive inventory of Nasca iconography; however, his methodology remains rooted in typological studies that seek to clarify the ceramic seriation for dating and classification purposes. Proulx bases a methodological overlap with art history on Panofsky’s idea of the “period eye” through which multiple levels of meaning might be interpreted for any image.²⁷¹ In a brief exploration of this method, Proulx suggested themes considered through semiotics might also be an effective method of analysis for “mythical” Nasca figures.²⁷² “Mythical” is an oft-used, catchall term like symbolism, again vaguely delineating that which is supposedly not mundane. Much like Donnan’s approach to Moche ceramic imagery, Proulx believes that an effective study must include an adequate sample in which themes can be observed diachronically.²⁷³ His work offers few visual analyses, but his methods and classification categories do prove to be useful tools,

²⁷⁰ Donald A. Proulx, “Headhunting in Ancient Peru,” *Archaeology* 24, no. 1 (1971): 16-21; Donald A. Proulx, “Nasca Trophy Heads: Victims of Warfare or Ritual Sacrifice,” in *Cultures in Conflict: Current Archaeological Perspectives: Proceedings of the 20th Annual Conference of Archaeology Association of the University of Calgary*, ed. Diana Claire Tkaczuk and Brian C. Vivian, 73-85 (Calgary: University of Calgary Archaeological Association, 1989); Proulx, “Stylistic Variation”; Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*; and Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*.

²⁷¹ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 53-54.

²⁷² Donald A. Proulx, “A Thematic Approach to Nasca Mythical Iconography,” *Faenza* 75, no. 4-6 (1989): 141-58.

²⁷³ Christopher B. Donnan. “The Thematic Approach to Moche Iconography,” *Journal of Latin American Lore* 1, no. 2 (1975): 147-62.

providing irrefutable evidence of the variability of Nasca polychrome ceramic imagery that I argue mirrors the flexibility of the shamanic experience.

The culmination of Proulx's work was a study of Nasca iconography published in 2006. Using the Dawson seriation, the book presents forty major motifs with 365 sub-varieties. Proulx assigns names to each motif as the primary means of interpretation, which identifies recognizable animals or natural world counterparts (i.e. overt subject matter). However, shamanism and the representation of it are not considered major motifs and analysis of that topic does not extend beyond the identification of “shaman/priest” figures in direct association with the San Pedro cactus. The present study will move well beyond this correlation, but depends on the overt shamanic context as its starting point. Indeed, Proulx’s conclusions include shamanism as an aspect of Nasca religion, but do not note its potential significance in ceramic art and material culture.²⁷⁴ The breakdown of each image into motifs with modifiers and multiple signifiers makes his “classification” fall apart under the weight of so many varieties. Perhaps more aptly put, “the art created in shamanic societies ‘embarrasses’ our [Western] categories.”²⁷⁵

Recent Archaeology

Current archaeological projects continue to survey the Nasca landscape but, as both Silverman and Schreiber note, also focus on settlement patterns and household settings.²⁷⁶ Still other investigations harness the latest technological advances to reassess current findings as well as older materials. For example, Vaughn has focused on

²⁷⁴ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 193-210.

²⁷⁵ Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, xvi.

²⁷⁶ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 14-29; and Schreiber, "Afterword: Nasca Research since 1926," in *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru: Alfred L. Kroeber's 1926 Expedition*, ed. Patrick H. Carmichael (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 1998), 261-70.

determining the locations of clay deposits and mineral veins used in slip paints central to polychrome ceramics.²⁷⁷ In addition to his work regarding Cahuachi (see chapter 2), Vaughn also suggests that access to some vessel forms such as head jars was reserved for high-status households.²⁷⁸ Evidence for ceramic production (i.e. paintbrushes and pigments) has been discovered at Cahuachi, but more convincingly, the mineral composition of the uniform clay pastes typical of Nasca polychromes matches that of clay sources near the site.²⁷⁹ Indeed, Vaughn's efforts may finally determine artistic production sites; strangely, these have been absent from the archaeological record thus far despite the tens of thousands of ceramic vessels known. Technology might also offer a welcome shift from seriations and typologies of Nasca iconography that attempt to establish the evolution of styles and iconographic themes; determining with some certainty the Nasca ceramic seriation. Already Vaughn's work has helped show that many Nasca phases and sub-phases may actually be concurrent regional styles.²⁸⁰

The Sacred-Secular Dichotomy

Certain studies, albeit limited, comment that many sculptural vessels (especially those in which human and animal forms meld) are three-dimensional renderings of

²⁷⁷ Kevin J. Vaughn, "Moving Beyond Iconography: Neutron Activation Analysis of a Ceramic Sample from Marcaya, an Early Nasca Domestic Site," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 27, no. 1 (2000b): 75-90; Kevin J. Vaughn, and Hector Neff, "Tracing the Clay Source of Nasca Polychrome Pottery: Results from a Preliminary Raw Material Survey," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 31 (2004): 1577-86; Kevin J. Vaughn, Christina A. Conlee, Hector Neff, and Katharina J. Schreiber, "A Compositional Analysis of Nasca Pigments: Implications for Craft Production on the Pre-Hispanic South Coast of Peru," in *Laser Ablation Icp-MS in Archaeological Research*, ed. Robert J. Speakman and Hector Neff (Albuquerque N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 139-53; Kevin J. Vaughn, Christina A. Conlee, Hector Neff, and Katharina J. Schreiber, "Ceramic Production in Ancient Nasca: Provenance Analysis of Pottery from the Early Nasca and Tiza Cultures through INAA," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006): 681-89; Kevin J. Vaughn, Laure Dussubieux, and P. Ryan Williams, "A Pilot Compositional Analysis of Nasca Ceramics from the Kroeber Collection," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, no. 12 (2011): 3560-67; and Vaughn, et al., "It's About Time."

²⁷⁸ Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 157.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 168-169.

²⁸⁰ Vaughn, et al., "It's About Time," 458-59.

painted supernatural beings. They call these figures “deities” and “mythological creatures,” just as scholars do for the two-dimensional imagery.²⁸¹ Thus, the sacred-secular dichotomy has persisted because the three-dimensional and two-dimensional images are treated as very similar, if not conflated, subsets. However, it is essential to note that there are no Early Nasca two-dimensional polychrome images of the human figure in the positions, gestures, and dress, and with the facial markings seen in Early Nasca sculptural fully embodied effigy vessels. Granted, some animal-like features place them at the human end of a continuum of transformation, but by and large, these figures appear mostly human and have no two-dimensional counterparts during the Early Nasca period. By contrast, disembodied heads, and embodied vessels that clearly show an animal-human transformation, have what look like, and are thought to be, two-dimensional equivalents in the Early Nasca corpus. The preponderance of transformational images in two dimensions, and the importance of the image itself as implied by its manifestation in three dimensions, point up the need for a nuanced visual analysis that elides firm contrasting distinctions, as are present in the sacred-secular dichotomy prevalent in Nasca scholarship to date.

Several scholars have proposed that we must move beyond the sacred-secular organization that typically frames studies of Nasca iconography; however, few have presented an art-historical approach and none have suggested a concrete alternative to date. In 1992 Carmichael explained that in keeping with the prevailing anthropological studies, scholarship regarding Nasca iconography had maintained a structuralist view, labeling images as symbolic of either the sacred or secular realms.²⁸² He suggests “[t]his

²⁸¹ Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*.

²⁸² Carmichael, “Interpreting Nasca Iconography.”

trend can be traced to classifications of the iconography which differentiate between referential motifs, or naturalistic representation of subjects in the real world (fish, birds, plants, animals, and people), and conceptual motifs; those for which no worldly referent can be identified (supernatural creatures).”²⁸³ Carmichael also identified as another drawback of this approach the tendency to assume that the frequency of identifiable imagery (i.e. the secular) correlates to the depicted subject’s importance to Nasca culture as another drawback of this approach. For example, as a coastal culture it seems clear that the Pacific Ocean and its resources would have been a major provider for the Nasca people. Indeed, fish and other marine subjects appear regularly in ceramic iconography (fig. 3.4), which has led some to assume the sea provided substantive resources for the Nasca people.²⁸⁴ Yet, Carmichael has argued that despite the frequency with which fish and other marine subjects are depicted, there is little archaeological evidence that the Nasca were reliant upon the ocean for everyday sustenance. This disparity, in turn, leads Carmichael to question the reliability of the ceramic iconographic corpus as a gauge of Nasca life and ultimately proclaim “motif frequencies bear no relation to the secular or daily concerns of the Nasca people.”²⁸⁵

Carmichael suggests that instead of dichotomous categories, “most Nasca iconography is a symbolic, interrelated system from which specific themes cannot be isolated and treated as reflections of ordinary reality.”²⁸⁶ He employs a contextual

²⁸³ Ibid., 187.

²⁸⁴ Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, 128; Allen, “The Nasca Creatures,” 43; Townsend “Deciphering the Nazca World,” 125; and Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 195. Furthermore, recent research by Patrick H. Carmichael, Brenda V. Kennedy, and Lauren Cadwallader, confirms that although Nasca people settled near the vast resources of the Pacific Ocean they used them relatively sparsely (“Coastal but Not Littoral: Marine Resources in Nasca Diet,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 34, no. 1 (June 2014): 3-26).

²⁸⁵ Carmichael, “Interpreting Nasca Iconography,” 188.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

approach that synthesizes all types of information from a wide variety of disciplines to place the “research question within a native framework, as opposed to a Eurocentric framework of analysis.”²⁸⁷ While astute, Carmichael’s recognition of the importance of taking an emic perspective, as opposed to an etic one, comes surprisingly late in the trajectory of Nasca studies. By contrast, a recent study by Elizabeth Spurlock Hornor considered a small group of Nasca ceramic effigies and identified them as depictions of shamans, including fishermen, musicians, and figures wearing animal headdresses.²⁸⁸ She also recognized forehead protrusions, avian markings, trophy heads, and feline whiskers to be common traits associated with Nasca shamanism. Most importantly, Hornor’s study connects Nasca iconography of fertility to shamanism, as opposed to the more basic association with a Nasca “water/fertility cult,”²⁸⁹ and places Nasca ceramics into the art historical discipline while using shamanism as an analytical framework.

However, Carmichael’s approach was not completely novel, nor did he consider Nasca iconography as entirely sacred. In 1985 Townsend had invoked the presence of an Andean worldview through which we might analyze Nasca iconography.²⁹⁰ Townsend wrote:

The ancient arts of Peru thus are not only meaningful for their sophisticated design, technical refinement, and expressive qualities, but also because they record historical processes and *offer windows to other orders of thought*—to ancient ways of looking at the world that are deeply rooted in the cultural traditions of this hemisphere and that continue to affect the lives of millions in Andean nations today.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Hornor, “Nasca Human Effigy Vessels.”

²⁸⁹ Reinhard, “Nazca Lines, Water, and Mountains,” 382.

²⁹⁰ Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World.”

²⁹¹ Ibid., 117 (my italics).

Townsend concluded that every object should be considered within a broader system of imagery in which meaning is rooted in the Nasca worldview, and can therefore “be understood in terms of larger patterns of Andean thought and symbolism.”²⁹² Ultimately, for Townsend, uncovering Andean thought meant recognizing the deep connection between human and natural domains.²⁹³ Therefore, in separating humans from Nature, as opposed to including them within the same conceptual sphere, Townsend inadvertently maintains a dichotomous approach to Nasca iconography; however, his approach reveals how a change in method might be developed.

Around the same time, Allen provided another starting point for the present study. Like Carmichael and Townsend, Allen contended that Early to Late Nasca subject matter can be read as a “coherent iconographic system.”²⁹⁴ Using the example of images of severed heads, Allen stated “the preoccupation with killing in association with shamanic, or transcendental, experience is explicable only in terms of the total dialectical ideology, in which the destruction of life is part of the perpetuation of life, and killing and living are so related—as thesis and antithesis—that each mutually implies the other.”²⁹⁵ Allen’s identification of this dialectic in diachronic permutations of trophy-head imagery supports the idea that Quechua concepts like *ayni* can be expressed by Nasca ceramic imagery, uncovering the ebb and flow of relationships that govern cultural conceptions of

²⁹² Ibid., 137.

²⁹³ Likewise, Seler recognized a lack of conceptual separation between humans and animals in Nasca imagery; he writes: “Animals appear to primitive people not as subordinates, subjects who basically have a different existence from their own, but as equals in their being—and as even higher-standing beings, since they have developed forces and abilities that humans do not have” (*Collected Works*, 79).

²⁹⁴ Here Allen is concerned with decoding the Late Nasca (Proliferous) style (c. 450 – 650 CE) that she calls “baroque.” She argues that Proliferous images are fundamentally like those of the Early Nasca period. Further, she posits that the key to understanding Late images may be a semiotic deciphering of Monumental images for which we have the syntax but not the syntactic or pragmatic aspects (“The Nasca Creatures,” 44).

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 57.

life and death.²⁹⁶ Furthermore, Allen deviates from her colleagues regarding Nasca supernatural imagery previously described as “mythical”; instead, she suggests the more specific and therefore meaningful terms “shamanic” or “transcendent.”²⁹⁷ Allen seeks the internal logic of a broad system of iconography, to which, she asserts, we might later apply to other elements of the culture, like shamanism.²⁹⁸ Yet, in so doing Allen nevertheless separates the logic of the iconographic system from shamanism, as if they are two distinct modes of thought or cultural expression. I, on the other hand, argue that the two cannot be separated. Shamanism should instead be considered an “ensemble of techniques for knowing” that infused the culture, including polychrome ceramics.²⁹⁹ My view aligns with material culture studies that assert, “objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger *society* to which they belonged.”³⁰⁰ By comparison, in a consideration of Inka cosmology, Constance Classen suggests that the division between seemingly opposing categories “cannot be glossed as one between sacred and profane,” but instead the “distinction is rather between kinds of sacredness.”³⁰¹ Furthermore, I contend the sacred-secular dichotomy as an analytical mechanism cannot adequately explain an ancient America worldview, but shows “how unstable and problematic those polarities can be

²⁹⁶ Allen makes a similar contention about the concept of *raki raki* and Inka ceramic forms and images in a more recent article (“The Sadness of Jars”).

²⁹⁷ Allen, “The Nasca Creatures,” 55.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

²⁹⁹ I borrow this term from Townsley, “Song Paths,” 450-452.

³⁰⁰ Jules David Prown, “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring, 1982): 1-2.

³⁰¹ Constance Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 23.

made to appear, once they have been forced to bear ‘unnatural’ interpretations and unexpected rearrangements” that a lens like shamanism provides.³⁰²

Therefore, in following, but greatly expanding upon Carmichael’s insight that the sacred-secular dichotomy is unproductive, I argue that iconographic meaning cannot be read as if from an illustrated dictionary. One motif or image configuration does not always equate to the same object, animal, person, or idea and lead to a single interpretation of set categories. Even Proulx’s problematic classificatory attempt demonstrates this. Instead, we should attempt to locate a system of interrelated and complex objects, images, and ideas within its defined cultural context.³⁰³ In fact, when Kubler addressed Nasca ceramic imagery specifically, he suggested “[i]t is probable that the compositions convey relationships among ideas rather than among things.”³⁰⁴ Certainly, it is a truism that religion forms a fundamental element of all cultures. Therefore, given at the very least the San Pedro cactus imagery, shamanism and the worldview within which its practice and modes of thinking exist are a fundamental part of the Nasca cultural context; thus, it follows that shamanism informs the creation and use of polychrome ceramics. This does not invalidate representational interpretations; for example, specific bird species often are identifiable (i.e. a heron (cat. no. 187) versus a penguin (cat. no. 195)) or a body with head, two arms, two legs, fingers, and toes can be called human (at least to some degree given the common conflation of birds and humans). Ultimately, the representational nature of Early Nasca images *aids* our ability to understand the visual system, which then can be used to interpret more complex meanings when combinations of beings are found.

³⁰² Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives,” 464.

³⁰³ Carmichael, “Interpreting Nasca Iconography,” 187.

³⁰⁴ Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, 427.

Shamanism

Given the limitations of previous studies until Carmichael's mandate to look more holistically, this dissertation presents a more nuanced interpretation of Nasca shamanic content and considers how shamanism bridges the apparent dichotomy of sacred and secular. To establish a framework for my analysis of Early Nasca sculptural polychrome vessels, it is important to discuss some previous studies that use interpretive frameworks based on shamanism and the motifs that emerge from the art. Stone has argued for the strong influence of a visionary aesthetic grounded in the shamanic experience in much of the art of the ancient Americas.³⁰⁵ The present study expands that approach to an in-depth examination of Early Nasca sculptural ceramics, which does not form a strong emphasis in her work to date. In this brief overview, myriad cultures share key elements, such as disembodied heads, human-animal transformation, entheogens, and ecstatic flight. Certainly, examples of shamanic art from the ancient Central Andes pre- and post-date the ancient Nasca culture;³⁰⁶ however, the artistic records of cultures that directly influenced Nasca prove most informative and begin the discussion.

Chavín

Imagery from the foundational Chavín culture, found at its major pilgrimage center of Chavín de Huantar located in Peru's northern highlands, provided a strong basis for shamanic themes that continued in the art of later cultures, including Nasca.³⁰⁷ In

³⁰⁵ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 1-11.

³⁰⁶ For example, see Staller and Currie, eds., *Mortuary Practices and Ritual Associations*.

³⁰⁷ Julio C. Tello was the first to suggest that the cultural influence of Chavín stretched throughout the Andes, and included the coastal regions in *Chavín: Cultura Matriz De La Civilización Andina* (Lima, Perú: Impr. de la Universidad de San Marco, 1960). Sawyer highlights links between Chavín and early Paracas ceramic imagery (*Ancient Peruvian Ceramics*, 73-110). Marcus Reindel and Johnny Isla have more recently inferred Chavín's lasting impact in Nasca ("The Legacy of the Formative Period: Nasca," in *Chavín: Peru's Enigmatic Temple in the Andes*, ed. Peter Fux, Walter Alva, and Reitberg Museum (Zürich: Scheidegger &

1960 Julio C. Tello suggested that the series of tenoned sculpted heads punctuating the outer walls of the Old Temple at Chavín de Huantar represent stages of transformation between humans and mythical animals (fig. 3.5).³⁰⁸ Broadly, Chavín art contains many references to human-animal metamorphoses linked to a veritable “pharmacopoeia” of psychoactive substances.³⁰⁹ Burger confirmed “[t]he role of hallucinogenic snuffs in shamanistic transformation is clearly expressed in the tenoned heads” as well as other sculptures found at the site.³¹⁰

Furthermore, Alana Cordy-Collins’ work on Chavín highlighted the analytic potential for connections between iconography and the shamanic visionary experience.³¹¹ In one study she examined the processing figures carved in rectangular, stone panels lining the sunken circular courtyard at the entrance to the Old Temple (fig. 3.6). She recognized the entheogenic, lobed San Pedro cactus grasped by transforming human-jaguars that are identified by crossed fangs, pendant irises, and clawed hands and feet.³¹²

Spiess, Museum Reitberg, 2013), 207-211).

³⁰⁸ Tello, *Chavín: Cultura Matriz*, 159-171.

³⁰⁹ For iconographic links to the San Pedro cactus see Cordy-Collins, “An Artistic Record of the Chavín Hallucinatory Experience,” 84-93; and Constantino Manuel Torres, “Chavín’s Psychoactive Pharmacopoeia: The Iconographic Evidence,” in *Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture*, ed. William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California 2008), 239-59.

³¹⁰ Burger, *Chavín*, 157-159.

³¹¹ Cordy-Collins, “The Iconography of Visionary Experience, 34-43. Cordy-Collins credits the “pioneering of the comparison of non-figural “primitive” art to the standard phosphene patterns elicited in clinical studies of neurology” to Gerardo Reichel-Dolmatoff (*Beyond the Milky Way: Hallucinatory Imagery of the Tukano Indians* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1978). She also notes the effective use of this approach by several others, including Peter T. Furst (*Hallucinogens and Culture* (San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, 1976); Ken Hedges (“Phosphenes in the Context of Native American Rock Art,” in *American Indian Rock Art*, 7-8, ed. Frank Bock, 1-10 (American Rock Art Research Association, 1982); Peter W. Stahl (“The Hallucinogenic Basis of Early Valdivia Phase Ceramic Bowl Iconography,” *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs* 17, no. 2 (1985): 105-23, and “Hallucinatory Imagery and the Origin of Early South American Figurine Art,” *World Archaeology* 18, no. 1 (1986): 134-50); and Angelika Gephart-Saer (“The Geometric Designs of the Shipibo-Conibo in Ritual Context,” *Journal of Latin American Lore* 11, no. 2 (1985): 143-75).

³¹² Alana Cordy-Collins, “Chavín Art: Its Shamanic/Hallucinogenic Origins,” in *Pre-Columbian Art: Selected Readings*, ed. Alana Cordy-Collins and Jean Stern (Palo Alto: Peek Publications, 1977).

John Rick's excavations at the site uncovered a fragment of one of those panels that reveals the root structure of the cactus, confirming Cordy-Collins' identification as the vision-inducing plant (fig. 3.7).³¹³ In addition, full and partial metamorphosis into snakes is a common trance experience under the influence of many entheogens; indeed, strands of hair cascade as snakes flowing from the San Pedro-bearing figure's head.³¹⁴

Numerous objects made by the Chavín culture feature a visual link between vision-inducing methods and the phenomenology of the trance itself. A miniature version of the tenoned heads found on the Old Temple at Chavín de Huantar sprouts lobes of the San Pedro cactus from its eyes, highlighting the visionary sight produced by the plant (fig. 3.8).³¹⁵ A blackware vessel in the local Cupisnique style, one of many Chavín artistic substyles, features transformation and spirit co-essence in a vertically split human-feline head, suggesting the simultaneity of the human-jaguar aspects in one visage (fig. 3.9).³¹⁶ Chavín's influence extended to Peru's south coast, as evident in the transformative iconography of painted textiles recovered from the site of Karwa. These compositions again feature flying jaguars and humans with animal fangs and claws (fig. 3.10).³¹⁷

Similarly, interpretations of transforming, what I will call "multi-species," beings from the ancient Americas reinforce the notion that human and animal bodies were linked

³¹³ John W. Rick, "Context, Construction, and Ritual in the Development of Authority at Chavín de Huantar," in *Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture*, ed. William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, 2008), 22.

³¹⁴ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 40-42. Images like this are seen on some Nasca sculptural polychrome vessels in the present catalog as well (see chapter 4).

³¹⁵ See Burger, *Chavín*, 176; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 87-88.

³¹⁶ For more on the subject of three-dimensional representation of co-essence in ancient American art, see Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 3-5. For more on this specific blackware vessel, see Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 164-168, and Richard L. Burger, "Life and the Afterlife in Pre-Hispanic Peru: Contextualizing the Masterworks of the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera," in *The Spirit of Ancient Peru: Treasures from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera*, ed. Kathleen Berrin (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 21-32.

³¹⁷ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 51-54.

through shamanic experience in Nasca. For Stephen Houston and David Stuart, the term “co-essence” best describes the Maya version of a shamanic phenomenon in which the shared consciousness could be between a human (shaman) and an animal or a celestial phenomenon (i.e. lightning).³¹⁸ As a comparison for the vessels studied here, a virtuosic Maya *incensario* that dates to the Early Classic period (c. 250 – 500 CE) perfectly translates the concept of an animal co-essence in sculptural ceramic (fig. 3.11).³¹⁹ This object provides one example of how ancient American artists creatively solved the visual conundrum posed by the idea of a dual being capable of periodic interchange between two states of being. In this case, the human and jaguar bodies sit in the exact same pose, back to back; human and animal bodies are depicted as equivalent. Indeed, this incensario not only depicts the paradox of the dual state of being, but also physically manifests the glyph that denotes the concept (fig. 3.12).³²⁰ This comparison is particularly apt in that the paradoxical notion is rendered in three-dimensions, bringing to life a two-dimensional glyph, as sculptural Nasca polychrome vessels add flesh to more commonly painted images.

In the ancient Central Andes, Chavín’s influence reached other cultures too. Many ancient Andean artists experimented with solving the visual problem of portraying the flux inherent in shamanic human-animal transformation, a particularly fluid process to embody in the ceramic medium. Another coastal culture, Chancay, created a standing effigy figure that at first glance appears toward the human end of the continuum (fig.

³¹⁸ Stephen Houston, and David Stuart, “*The Way Glyph: Evidence for ‘Co-Essences’ among the Classic Maya*,” *Research Reports on Ancient Maya Writing*, Vol. 30 (Washington, D.C.: Center for Maya Research, 1989), 1-2. Here, the Houston and Stuart credit John Monaghan with the creation of the term co-essence and quote his definition (the authors cite: “Categories for the Perception of Self in Traditional Mesoamerica,” unpublished manuscript in possession of the authors, 1982).

³¹⁹ Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 3-5, cat. no. 1; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 63, figs. 3.1-3.3.

³²⁰ Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 3-5.

3.13); however, attention to more subtle visual cues suggests otherwise.³²¹ When viewed from the side, the body shape mirrors that of a whale shark (fig. 3.14). The seamless coexistence of the two mouths—one sculpted and human, the other a broad, painted one mouth with hundreds of small, pointed whale shark teeth—provides the clearest indication of the figure’s active transformation; the figure is at once human and fish. Furthermore, textile imprints on the figure’s chest indicate that it would have been clothed, thus hiding the spotted animal skin beneath.³²² Overall, Chavín and Nasca share some motifs across media and in sculpted ceramic, including disembodied heads, human-animal transformation, and the San Pedro cactus.

Paracas

Paracas, Nasca’s direct cultural predecessor, was coeval with Chavín and also fell under its vast sphere of influence at the beginning of its trajectory. Quite often Paracas weavers emphasized another corporeal phenomena of the trance state: ecstatic flight. Paul and Turpin’s analysis identifies these figures as shamans in Otherworldly “magical flight,” thereby coupling shamanism and iconic imagery created by the Nasca cultural precursor.³²³ They conclude that a textile adorned with the Ecstatic Shaman imagery served as “an indicator of status, marking the special relationship of the wearer to the supernatural,” connecting a material culture object to a ritual role and special body.³²⁴

As a group, the Paracas embroidered figures point up several aspects of shamanic experience pertinent to my study of Nasca bodies. Mainly, the figures are first

³²¹ Ibid., 157-164, figs. 7.10 – 7.12.

³²² Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 247; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 163.

³²³ Paul and Turpin, “The Ecstatic Shaman,” 24. See chapter 2 for more on Paracas influence on and cultural relationship to Nasca.

³²⁴ Ibid., 27.

characterized by an ungrounded or floating presence on the ground cloth of large mantles; the arched bodies, each turned in a different direction, repeat in a loose, grid-like pattern (fig. 3.15). Overall, the repetition and lack of a singular orientation contribute to an overwhelming sense of disorientation for viewers, embodying the paradox of the shaman who experiences being Here *and* Not Here or in multiple places simultaneously. On an individual level, bodies with exposed ribs exhibit signs of emaciation, offering the potential that these are initiate bodies undergoing stages of shamanic training requiring such deprivation.³²⁵ On the other hand, perhaps these bodies are shown in an “x-ray” view to emphasize the extra-ordinary vision of which a shaman in trance is capable.³²⁶ The ability to see through flesh to bone might be taken literally in that the shaman can view through a patient’s skin to the inside in order to recognize and treat a problem. Taken figuratively, this characteristic could communicate that a shaman sees an alternate and more detailed version of normative reality in which living humans are composed of skin, muscle, and bones.

This seeing the Other Side could also relate to shamans more broadly in their role as intermediary between the realms of the living and the dead, transitioning between the various bodily and spiritual forms.³²⁷ In some instances, the Paracas shamans hold a disembodied head, suggesting a connection between the shaman in trance and human decapitation (fig. 3.16). Paul has described the abundance of disembodied head imagery present on textiles recovered from Paracas Necropolis mummy bundles. She enumerated

³²⁵ Eliade, *Shamanism*, 84.

³²⁶ Siegel introduced the idea that when prompted to remember something while under psilocybin, LSD and mescaline, subjects had visions of themselves in a scene, one he notes is “obviously fictitious,” and that they also saw “equally improbably images, such as aerial perspectives and underwater views.” It is possible that x-ray vision, knowing that the human body is made of bones and thus seeing the body for only the bones during visions, could be a related phenomenon (“Hallucinations,” 136).

³²⁷ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 200.

the many contexts in which heads can be found, including textile borders and tabs, and noted the heads associated with humans, animals, and “supernaturals” in embroidered scenes.³²⁸ In fact, Eliade notes, in the case of the Shuar (previously Jívaro), the notorious head-takers and “head-shrinkers” of the Ecuadorian Amazon, shamanic initiation involves “the perfect schema of a ritual death and resurrection.”³²⁹ In order to be efficacious, a shaman must have contact with the dead, which requires “*being dead oneself*.”³³⁰ Therefore, possession of dead heads could signal that the shaman has traveled to the realm of the dead to collect the head which itself contains the knowledge of the spirit realm. Overall, the Paracas shaman imagery seems to highlight the fluid and multivalent existence of the shaman, a notion continued in Nasca art.

The artistic traditions that influenced the Nasca, such as Chavín and Paracas, highlight many trance phenomena, including the aerial journey or ecstatic flight, perceptual and physiological shifts of animal transformation. They also feature images that invoke shamanic practice, such as sacred plants and their physical effects on shaman’s bodies. Importantly, both South Coast foundational cultures employ disembodied heads as well as fully embodied figures as the medium for these concepts.

At the same time, on Peru’s north coast, the Moche produced works that indicate shamanic activities; for example, fineline drawings show Owl-human shamans (fig. 3.17), and figures engaged in bloodletting rituals (fig. 2.2). Moreover, Nasca successors, the Wari, also created works that show artistic grappling with the expression of a

³²⁸ Anne Paul, “Bodiless Human Heads in Paracas Necropolis Textile Iconography,” *Andean Past* 6 (2000), 69.

³²⁹ Eliade, *Shamanism*, 84.

³³⁰ Ibid.

shamanic worldview.³³¹ It is clear that Nasca did not deviate from these Andean trends, but rather developed visually complex solutions to the representation of culturally significant visionary phenomena especially in sculptural polychrome vessels.

Nasca Sculptural Vessels

Sculptural vessels in the present study fall into two broad shamanic categories: jars showing an isolated and disembodied head or “head jar;”³³² and effigy vessels showing complete bodies along a human-animal continuum of transformation (some more human than animal and others more animal than human). The specific analysis of head and body forms and imagery will be presented in chapters 4 and 5; however, the historiography of each of these specific categories is part of the overall context of the Early Nasca corpus.

Disembodied Beings: Head Jars

Nasca head jars offer the most concentrated version of two-dimensional imagery that has been “fleshed” into sculptural relief, reducing the human body and the ceramic body to only one key part. The present study includes 35 head jars (cat. nos. 112 – 147). As with the heads of human effigy vessels, sculptural elements of head jars are incorporated into vessel shape as well as appliquéd as additions to the vessel surface. Generally, the nose is modeled, and the ears bulge from the sides of the head as if pushed out from the inside of the vessel; both features are integrated into the overall shape of the container. Kroeber describes this degree of modeling and painting on the vessels, noting:

³³¹ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 176-182.

³³² Although each object in the catalog will not be addressed individually, the count reflects the overall number of object form or type I examined in US and Peruvian museum collections. In some cases, one or two exemplary objects serve as prime examples of a type or feature highlighted in the analysis (see Appendix).

“apart from the pinch of clay pressed on as a nose, the ‘faceness’ of the vessel is wholly in the painting.”³³³ At times, the ceramist has pushed out the sides of the vessel from the interior to indicate bulges for the brow, cheekbones, jaw, and chin. The neck height and opening diameter of head jars vary, although clearly the neck height becomes extended over time, with short or non-existent necks found during Early Nasca, and elongated ones in Late Nasca times.³³⁴

I use the term “head jar” to refer to polychrome ceramic vessels in the shape of a human head, whereas the term “treated head” will be reserved for actual disembodied and preserved human heads, historically called “trophy” heads (fig. 3.18). Despite this commonly used name, visual and archaeological evidence suggests there were a range of meanings ascribed to the severed crania and their ceramic counterparts, ones that move beyond their constituting only the spoils of warfare (see chapter 4). In fact, I have previously suggested that these vessels might more productively be called “vision heads.”³³⁵ Certainly, head jars highlight the cephalocentrism of the Nasca sculptural ceramic enterprise; moreover, the form suggests an understanding of the separation of the physical self from the spiritual self during trance, contributing to the Nasca visual record of shamanic dual consciousness.

Trends within studies of Nasca disembodied heads and two-dimensional imagery of them have mirrored those regarding the overall Nasca corpus. Seler considered head jars in his study published in 1923, describing features such as hair, beards, eyes, and

³³³ Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 154, [ref. fig. 226, plate 15].

³³⁴ Kevin J. Vaughn, personal communication, Dawson seriation workshop, Purdue University, November 2011.

³³⁵ Meghan Tierney, “Vessels of Shamanic Visions: Nasca Trophy Head Imagery,” (unpublished seminar paper, Emory University, 2008).

other facial marks he refers to as “face painting.”³³⁶ Seler differentiated between heads with open eyes and those that are shown with closed eyes, suggesting that the former could be the faces of “real people,” and the latter were those of the dead, and the few that “have lips closed by thorns, and therefore have to be regarded as prepared heads” or heads that have “been subjected to a conservation process.”³³⁷ Seler’s speculation regarding faces with open eyes are particularly relevant here in that he describes some faces that “have open eyes and can be considered alive, but this is not necessarily so, because in [two examples] we find paintings with open eyes whose lips are closed by thorns and represent proper trophy heads.”³³⁸ In fact, similar examples are found in the present corpus as well (e.g., cat. no. 132; see chapter 4). An early study by Proulx described eleven examples of head jars from the Nasca Valley, repeating Seler’s categories of “living heads” with open eyes and trophy heads with closed or partly closed eyes.³³⁹ He also describes a form I will call “oversized head jars,” in which a “‘living’ head is characterized by a face surmounted by a bulging turban drawn and modeled into a vaselike vessel form” (cat. nos. 144 – 147).³⁴⁰ These initial observations of Proulx’s are limited in scope due to a modest sample size and interpretations of the forms and imagery are absent in favor of showing basic differences between the Ica and Nasca valleys.³⁴¹ Indeed, early interpretations of head jars generally conclude that their function and meaning are unclear and most considerations of the form are descriptive comparisons to

³³⁶ Seler, et al., *Collected Works*, 121.

³³⁷ Ibid.

³³⁸ Ibid., 122.

³³⁹ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 14.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 64.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 92-95.

actual “trophy heads.”³⁴² Therefore, early examinations of heads set the tone for the interpretation of Nasca as the pinnacle of head-taking traditions within the ancient Americas.³⁴³

Certainly, the overwhelming ubiquity of disembodied human crania, two-dimensional depictions of separated heads, and ceramic head jars bolsters the presumption that Nasca was a bellicose culture that constantly waged war with its neighbors.³⁴⁴ Therefore the heads were believed to be those of vanquished enemies (i.e. male warriors).³⁴⁵ Within his many considerations of disembodied heads and depictions of them, Proulx has critiqued Seler’s assessment, saying he “failed to note the strong military component in the art and the relationship of warfare and the taking of trophy heads to fertility.”³⁴⁶ Yet, Proulx’s assertion regarding Nasca militancy has yet to be substantiated by archaeological excavations.³⁴⁷ Instead, evidence now suggests an internal Nasca cultural origin for the decapitated individuals and women and children are included in the list of “victims” of the custom.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, many scholars consider the practice of head taking and the treatment of disembodied human heads to date to Middle Nasca and later, increasing over time; however, as noted earlier, the sculptural head jar form clearly precedes Middle Nasca, appearing at the middle of the Early Nasca

³⁴² Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*; and Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Catálogo*, tomo 2, 113-221.

³⁴³ Richard J. Chacon, and David H. Dye, eds., *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians* (New York: Springer, 2007).

³⁴⁴ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 14; and Proulx, “Headhunting in Ancient Peru.”

³⁴⁵ Proulx, “Headhunting in Ancient Peru.”

³⁴⁶ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 50.

³⁴⁷ Perhaps Seler’s reluctance in this regard was actually astute (see chapter 4).

³⁴⁸ Bruce Bower, “Taking Trophy Heads Close to Home: Ritual Skulls May Be from Local People, Not Foreign Warriors,” *Science News* 175, no. 2 (Jan. 17, 2009): 12.

era.³⁴⁹ Yet, this new information still fails to explain the zeal with which heads are modeled and painted in the artistic oeuvre (a topic of chapter 4).

Archaeologically, head jars are found in both ceremonial and domestic settings and in each case, context implies the vessels were considered high-status items.³⁵⁰ Silverman found a head jar in a passageway at Cahuachi (fig. 3.19), and Vaughn excavated five head jars (both complete and fragmented) at the Early Nasca household site of Marcaya, three of which he was able to determine are represented as “alive.”³⁵¹ The vessels were concentrated in two patio groups leading him to conclude they are a connected to specific high-status people (fig. 3.20).³⁵² In fact, Vaughn suspects the heads may be representations of “important ancestors or perhaps important living individuals.”³⁵³

However, despite these suggestive contexts, like most sculptural vessels, head jars are most often found in burials.³⁵⁴ In one grave, placed at opposite ends of a body, Kroeber found a pair of miniature head jars that show a modeled head below an extended neck painted with hummingbirds whose beaks pierce the band of visionary imagery (fig. 3.21).³⁵⁵ In some other extraordinary instances, head jars are found with headless bodies. Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez consider the replacement of missing heads with head jars to be a common practice.³⁵⁶ Yet, while current evidence does not quite support their

³⁴⁹ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*.

³⁵⁰ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 240; and Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 155, figs. 8.3 and 8.4.

³⁵¹ Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 155.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, 157-158.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 158.

³⁵⁴ Carmichael, “Nasca Mortuary Customs.”

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 170, fig. 252, plate 18. Head jar pairs are also represented in the present catalog (cat. nos. 136 and 137).

³⁵⁶ Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, 161.

claim, a few telling examples are recorded.³⁵⁷ Kroeber excavated an Early Nasca burial in which a head jar appeared to replace the head missing from the interred body, strongly suggesting a direct equivalence between the head jar and the human head.³⁵⁸ He described the object as “possibly serving at burial the function of replacing a head lost in the interminable trophy taking.”³⁵⁹ Importantly, Carmichael further specifies this particular burial context, noting that the “base of the vessel was intentionally knocked out, presumably to balance it on top of the mummy bundle.”³⁶⁰ The myriad burial contexts for these different artistic versions link head jars and the disembodied crania they appear to represent to the Otherworld or the Land of the Dead, a place through which shamans can travel and communicate.

More recently, Christina Conlee excavated a headless burial at the site of La Tiza that dates to Middle Nasca.³⁶¹ She also sees the jar as a replacement for the head, reflecting the “Nasca belief that a person needed to have a head when he entered the afterlife.”³⁶² Ultimately, Conlee considers decapitation and head jars as integral elements of Nasca rituals that focus on “agricultural fertility, and the continuation of life and rebirth of the community.”³⁶³ Indeed, the relationship between heads and fertility is being

³⁵⁷ Carmichael, “Nasca Mortuary Customs,” 314.

³⁵⁸ Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 118, fig. 154; DeLeonardis, “The Body Context”; and Christina A. Conlee, “Decapitation and Rebirth: A Headless Burial from Nasca, Peru,” *Current Anthropology* 48, no. 3 (2007): 438-45. In addition, Heinrich Ubbelohde-Doering described a grave he excavated as having a headless body, however no ceramic replacement head was noted (*On the Royal Highways of the Inca: Archaeological Treasures of Ancient Peru* (New York: Praeger, 1967), 143).

³⁵⁹ Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 118, fig. 154.

³⁶⁰ Carmichael, “Nasca Mortuary Customs,” 314.

³⁶¹ Conlee, “Decapitation and Rebirth.”

³⁶² *Ibid.*, 442.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, 443.

fleshed out in the literature; however, none yet convincingly suggests the vital role that shamanism plays (see chapter 4).³⁶⁴

Embodied Beings: Human-Animal

Generally, sculptural vessels depicting fully embodied human-animal being can be identified by vessel shape, usually jars and bottles, which mimic the contours of a crouching or seated figure.³⁶⁵ Vessels are divided horizontally into two sections, each with different degrees of modeled and painted components: the upper section depicts a human head with combinations of typical facial features, hair, and accessories, while the lower represents the remainder of a human body on which varying iterations of appendages, clothing, and other accouterments are painted. A meeting of convex slopes, indicating where anatomical shoulders would be, separates the sections; however, there is no neck delineated. Effigy jars have a wide opening at the crown up the head in the upper register; the rims of the opening are smoothed or rounded. Effigy bottles are closed vessels with a small “whistling hole” at the top of the modeled head and either a spout or handle emerges from the upper register and connects to the figure’s back. It has been noted that what I am calling human-animal effigy vessels (those in which the

³⁶⁴ Patrick H. Carmichael, “The Life from Death Continuum in Nasca Imagery,” *Andean Past* 4 (1994): 81-90; and DeLeonardis, “The Body Context.”

³⁶⁵ Both forms are included in the present catalog. I have grouped them together thematically within my analysis. However, in some instances a visual motif is specific to one form. For example, eye markings in the shape of a vertical “keyhole,” and in two cases shaped like a plus sign or Greek cross, are found on effigy jars with “head pads.” Carmichael describes jars and bottles as follows: “Effigy jars include a range of modeled human figures garbed in a variety of clothing and symbols. The distinguishing feature is a modeled human head. The mouth of the vessel is located in the top of, or just above the head. Many effigy jars exhibit bulges at the painted shoulders and/or legs, providing relief contours to the vessel surface, although such features are often absent on earlier specimens” (“Nasca Mortuary Customs,” 473 and plate 12C); and “Effigy bottles are shaped to represent humans, birds, fish, animals, and plants, or objects such as drums, baskets, and severed heads. In the case of humans, other creatures [*sic*], appendages project from the body [*sic*] which are shaped with a degree of realism. The vessel may have one or two spouts attached in a similar fashion described for double spout and head, and spout bottles. Plant effigies often occur as clusters consisting of two or more adjoined effigy chambers” (Ibid., 478, plate 19A-B).

preponderance of features are human) are common to the Early Nasca ceramic sequence (c. 200 – 400 CE).³⁶⁶

Historically, the human figure has provided an instantly recognizable image and one that also serves as an ideal vehicle for the expression of cultural concerns. As Gary Urton notes in his exploration of a key Chavín monument, the Tello Obelisk (fig. 3.22), the body is “the object in the world with which we are most familiar and through which we experience the world.”³⁶⁷ For Rosemary Joyce, the human body is “the instrument of lived experience.”³⁶⁸ Humans absorb their surroundings through myriad physiological attributes of the body; sensory organs receive sights, sounds, tastes, and tactile information to construct a multi-dimensional world. Therefore, it could be argued that images of the body from a particular time and place can most powerfully express the cultural construction of self and surroundings.

Previously, a few scholars underscore the overall importance of the human figure within the Nasca ceramic corpus. Seler mentioned Nasca effigy bottles in 1923, describing them as “ceramic bottles representing a human figure have a spout at their backs that is connected by a bridge to the rear of the head.”³⁶⁹ However, his assessment is by no means a complete picture of the Early Nasca effigy corpus: his work primarily addresses two-dimensional painted imagery, including that of humans, which is useful in the present study for comparison purposes. Proulx’s 1968 compilation of Early Nasca

³⁶⁶ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*.

³⁶⁷ Gary Urton, “The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art,” in *Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture*, ed. William J. Conklin and Jeffrey Quilter (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California 2008), 219.

³⁶⁸ Rosemary Joyce, “Archaeology of the Body,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34 (2005), 140.

³⁶⁹ Seler, et al., *Collected Works*, 72. Seler goes on to say, “so-called geometric designs, step meanders, and other patterns are common, as they have their origin in basketry technique. These however take a back seat regarding the important ornaments. Animals, animal demons, plants and parts of them, humans, heads, weapons, and other picture of objects” (Ibid.).

vessels includes fourteen human effigy vessels from the Ica and Nasca valleys. Overall, he describes the Nasca human body as appearing in three forms: “painted figures, modeled effigy forms (including face neck jars), and figurines, either solid or hollow.”³⁷⁰ His second category, “modeled effigy forms,” is the focus of my study. Proulx considers most depictions to be “[g]eneric representations of people engaged in specific occupations: farmers, warriors, shamans, and so forth.”³⁷¹ Relevant to this study, within those representations Proulx notes that some figures wear headdresses and that three vessels in particular show a figure wearing an animal-skin headdress (see chapter 5).³⁷² Overall, Proulx calls for further investigations of individual object types, which in the present study I aim to accomplish by looking at sculptural vessels through a shamanic lens.

In the same vein, Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez published a volume dedicated to Nasca ceramic depictions of the human form, its traits and parts in the Museo de America in Madrid.³⁷³ However, the authors’ typically typological approach lacks visual analysis and remains largely unenlightening. Their major contribution is the identification of iconographic themes and trends of motif representation alongside detailed drawings of vessel forms and painted imagery.³⁷⁴ The volume does help to verify vessel form type and frequency in the overall Nasca corpus, offering comparative images and descriptive language for my study.

Nasca bodies are depicted in two and three dimensions and participate in various activities that hint at how Nasca considered bodies to operate and interact. For example,

³⁷⁰ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 122; categories “HUM-1-10,” 122-127.

³⁷¹ Ibid., 122.

³⁷² Ibid., 31, 43, 52, and 79; plate 31.

³⁷³ Blasco Bosqued, and Ramos Gómez, *Catálogo de la cerámica Nazca*, tomo II.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

though rare in Early Nasca ceramic iconography, an often-cited Middle Nasca painted scene on a double-spout-and-bridge vessel depicts two-dimensional figures in two ways: four standing humans with profile faces play instruments (panpipes and a trumpet (e.g., cat. no. 224)), and flank a large seated human-animal being (fig. 1.6).³⁷⁵ A four-stalked San Pedro cactus, cups, and *ollas* (large capped storage containers) are interspersed around the figures, suggesting the method used for inducing trance. In addition to its exaggerated scale in relation to the other humans and participation in a musical scene, the large central figure shares some shamanic features highlighted in the present corpus of sculpted effigies: falcon eye-markings, feline-like ears formed by a vivified snake headdress, and a spondylus shell bead necklace. Additionally, a well-known painted Nasca textile features the depiction of standing human-animal transforming figures in procession (fig. 2.24), a scene also translated into three-dimensional embroidery borders (see chapter 2). In the fiber medium, these two-dimensionally painted bodies combine with the textile's inherent flexibility to reiterate a sense of movement and corporeal fluidity.

In contrast to images of bodies painted on textiles that were further enlivened when worn by a person, Early Nasca effigy vessels appear as more static figures. While these clay bodies might seem frozen in time—as the solid, unyielding ceramic medium indeed reinforces—they provide considerable information to link the Nasca human body to a shamanic worldview. While Nasca human-animal vessels are easily recognized and considered “generic,” the details of the figural depictions are rarely standardized. Instead, I suggest that rather than a “typical” Nasca human image predominating in the overall

³⁷⁵ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 8-9. Proulx calls the central figure a shaman, but identifies the flanking people as farmers (Ibid., caption to plate 8).

corpus, the striking variety within the human imagery visually communicates flexible beings within a worldview infused with fluid shamanic experiences and ideas.³⁷⁶

In terms of pots embodying persons, it has become customary to refer to formal elements of ceramic vessels using physiological terms. As Philip Rawson avers: “it is no accident that we, as well as other peoples, have always used anthropomorphic terms to designate these different parts of the pot which is seen to be, in some sense, a symbolic analogue of the human body.”³⁷⁷ Often parts and proportions of what Rawson calls “container pots” are called their necks and lips; studies of Nasca effigy vessels have used similar descriptors. Yet, Early Nasca sculptural ceramics break with Rawson’s assertion that pots only rarely have heads.³⁷⁸ In fact, the entirety of the upper section of Nasca human-animal effigy jars is a modeled human head (e.g., cat. no. 001). This configuration supplants falsely metaphorical terminology: *the pot has a literal human head*. What in other cases might be called the “neck” of the vessel is here the figure’s head. From a shamanic perspective, the head and its ceramic counterparts serve as a locus for experiencing the visionary realm, a theme explored in chapter 4. Certainly, the particular adaptation of relevant body/pot terms adds to the challenges in discussing Nasca effigy vessels that defy typical interpretation.

Indeed, it is important to contrast effigy vessels with extant Nasca figurines (fig. 3.23) and Middle Nasca female effigies (e.g., cat. no. 224). The former are solid, modeled figures that typically depict an unclothed female form including genitalia and breasts, although males are also found (fig. 3.24). The latter are modeled jars and bottles.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ Ibid., 93 and 122.

³⁷⁷ Philip Rawson, *Ceramics* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 100.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

³⁷⁹ Female figures were described by Seler as early as 1923, see *Collected Works*, 133-138.

Patricia Lyon searched for a link between the Nasca female figurines and other supernatural representations of the fertile women associated with the *vagina dentata*, a popular topic during the height of the late twentieth-century feminist movement.³⁸⁰ As a cautionary tale, Karen Olsen Bruhns and Nancy Lee Kelker claim that many Nasca female figures are fakes and can be linked to the black market.³⁸¹ They assert that a majority of figurines were created “in the interest of the collecting public” and images linked to fertility (i.e. birthing scenes and large-hipped, tattooed women) are an unfortunate result of “Eduard Seler’s fanciful projection of an obsession with fertility upon the primitives [sic] lives!”³⁸² More recently, Alexandra Morgan argued for a maritime association of the Nasca figurines (male and female), as representations of the mythical Master or Mistress of the Fishes.³⁸³ Proulx counters any particular connections to the sea, claiming the iconography of Nasca art does not support such a relationship.³⁸⁴ Kroeber excavated a “magnificent head-and-spout of a naked tattooed woman” in a grave he dated to phase 5, toward the close of the Early Nasca period, distinguishing this figural tradition from earlier human effigies.³⁸⁵

Furthermore, use of the human body, its parts and functions, as an organizing structure for the cosmos, surfaces in many cultures from the ancient Central Andes.³⁸⁶

Specifically, in considering Nasca effigy vessels as bodies, a brief examination of the

³⁸⁰ Patricia J. Lyon, “Female Supernaturals in Ancient Peru,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 16 (1978): 95-140.

³⁸¹ For a Middle Nasca example from a burial context, see Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 171, fig. 254 (170727); and Bruhns and Kelker, *Faking the Ancient Andes*, 116-118, figs. 5-6.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, 116-117.

³⁸³ Alexandra Morgan, “‘The Master or Mother of Fishes’: An Interpretation of Nasca Pottery Figurines and Their Symbolism,” in *Recent Studies in Pre-Columbian Archaeology*, edited by Nicholas J. Saunders and Olivier de Montmollin. 327-61. (Bar International Series 421: Oxford, 1988), 327-361; and Morgan, *The Pottery Figurines of Pre-Columbian Peru*, 33-66.

³⁸⁴ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 127-129.

³⁸⁵ Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 171, figure 254.

³⁸⁶ Urton, “The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art.”

better documented, later Inka cosmology and language may prove helpful. As cultural historian Constance Classen contends, many Inka concepts regarding the organization of the universe are predicated on metaphorical relationships with the body.³⁸⁷ Certainly we can assume that as a capstone culture in the Central Andes, basic ideas from the Inka may transfer to other cultures. In particular, Classen highlights ideas of liminality—in-between spaces, and dividing lines—that seem relevant to Nasca sculptural ceramic bodies. She cites research by Urton in which he identifies a perceptual shift in the Andean recognition of “dark cloud” constellations in which the “empty space” between stars creates the image, as opposed to Western constellations that make an image by connecting stars.³⁸⁸ For the Inka, the unbound and spaces in between are considered liminal and dangerous, for only a shaman is knowledgeable and trained to navigate these precarious regions.

With the form of Nasca effigy vessels in mind, the Inka practice of naming “in-between” spaces is particularly apropos; Classen avers, “[t]hese areas serve both to divide and to mediate, and the fact that they have separate names demonstrates the importance of in-between spaces and dividing lines for the Andeans.”³⁸⁹ When forming human effigy vessels, Nasca artists eliminated the liminal spaces of the body, such as the neck as a connector between the torso and the head; negative space also is kept to a minimum as appendages are usually kept to two-dimensions and painted on the body. A Nasca proclivity for outlining bolsters the suggestion that they too were concerned with the binding of unbounded spaces (as previously suggested in chapter 2), a focus also seen in

³⁸⁷ Classen, *Inca Cosmology*.

³⁸⁸ Ibid., citing Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky: An Andean Cosmology*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 10.

³⁸⁹ Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 14.

the way bodies and body parts (e.g., heads and hair) are wrapped and contained in burials. These apparent similarities between Inka cultural concerns and those visually evident in Nasca art highlight the applicability of ideas from Inka cosmology and the Quechua language as aids in the analysis of Nasca effigy bodies and body parts.

Although scant, archaeological context for embodied sculptural effigy jars provides vital information for their interpretation. Similar to polychrome wares overall, every stratum of Nasca society apparently used effigy jars. Effigies are most often excavated in tomb contexts, but were not made exclusively for interment, for many show evidence of previous use and repair.³⁹⁰ Few examples of sculpted or modeled vessels of any kind are found in surface collections and household contexts of both late Paracas/Ocucaje and Early Nasca sites.³⁹¹ Therefore, scholars assume effigy vessels served a functional purpose prior to being buried, most likely in a ceremonial context. Such evidence bolsters the argument for a connection between the effigy vessel and multiple realms, such as those of the living and the dead.³⁹²

Carmichael argued that ceramic vessels, and pottery sherds for that matter, placed in graves could have functioned as records of relationships maintained by the deceased during life.³⁹³ Indeed, Kroeber and William Schenck excavated a total of four Early Nasca human effigy jars, Kroeber's "Shape X" (fig. 3.25), at several locations within the

³⁹⁰ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 131.

³⁹¹ Kevin J. Vaughn and Hendrik van Gijseghem, personal communication, May 8, 2013. Head jars are the exceptions that have been found in households and settlement contexts (see Vaughn, *Marcaya*).

³⁹² Kevin J. Vaughn and Hendrik van Gijseghem, personal communication, May 8, 2013.

³⁹³ Carmichael, "Nasca Mortuary Customs." Carmichael's project reconsidered the material compiled from three major collections that were collected scientifically: Farabee Collection (1922) at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology; the Kroeber Collection (1926) at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago; and the Strong Collection, at the Strong Museum of Anthropology, Columbia University, New York. See also Carmichael, "The Life from Death Continuum," 81-90.

Nazca River valley, including Cahuachi.³⁹⁴ All of the vessels were recovered from grave contexts; one effigy is missing its head (fig. 3.26), and the other three wear fox pelts (e.g., cat. no. 068), two of which were found together as a pair (see chapter 5).³⁹⁵ Of represented humans, Silverman and Proulx say little of context, other than to note that effigy jars (presumably of all shapes) are well known in Early Nasca and “[t]he number of painted human representations on pottery increased dramatically,” in Middle Nasca.³⁹⁶ Silverman found the pieces of thirty-seven modeled vessels (i.e. effigies and head jars) in her excavations at Cahuachi; however, their fragmentary condition precludes the identification of a specific vessel shape or imagery.³⁹⁷ Most recently, Vaughn found no examples of human effigy vessels within a household context.³⁹⁸

Furthermore, I see my art-historical inquiry in conversation with a scholarly trend in anthropology that recognizes the importance of indigenous ontologies and epistemologies, such as shamanism, for the understanding of culture. Specifically, I engage with theories of an Amerindian perspectivism as defined by Viveiros de Castro. He argues that in contrast to Western relativism, humans, animals, spirits, and artifacts as subjects have self-reflexive humanity. Distinct perspectives, culturally-based and species-specific have value based on an external frame of reference.³⁹⁹ Indeed, perspectivist

³⁹⁴ Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 94, 107, and 125.

³⁹⁵ Kroeber, et al. include photographs of two of the three fox pelt wearers, not including both objects in the pair (see chapter 4); see, *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 107 and 125, figs. 126, and 173.

³⁹⁶ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 27 and 31.

³⁹⁷ Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 240.

³⁹⁸ Vaughn, *Marcaya*.

³⁹⁹ See Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, “Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4, no. 3 (Sep. 1998): 469-88; Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives”; and Morten A. Pedersen, “Talismans of Thought: Shamanist Ontologies and Extended Cognition in Northern Mongolia,” in *Thinking through Things: Theorising Artefacts Ethnographically*, ed. by A. Henare, Martin Holbraad and S. Wastell (London: Routledge, 2007). For a discussion of how the “ontological turn” relates to philosophical debate and involvement in the questions of ontology, see Martin Paleček and Mark Risjord, “Relativism and the Ontological Turn within Anthropology,” *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 43, no. 1 (2012): 3-23. See also Allen, “The Whole World is Watching,” 23-46.

methodology is especially germane to studies by Westerners regarding those outside of their own cultural tradition.⁴⁰⁰

Recently anthropologists have focused ontological studies on the indigenous peoples of Amazonia and have returned to the idea that animism was a dominant mode of thought in the region.⁴⁰¹ Some new terms demonstrate the potential intersections of this scholarly “ontological turn” with shamanism as it has been applied to ancient artistic traditions to date. For instance, in some cases, anthropologists now believe it might be helpful to consider the spiritual inhabitants of bodies to be “transspecific” or “species-androgynous,” despite what outward physical appearances intimate.⁴⁰² Of central importance, shamans attest to assuming the perspectives of other beings during visions, especially those of animals, and they have the unique ability for placing these perspectives in conversation.⁴⁰³ Citing the example from the Makuna (a northwest Amazonian Tukanoan people), Viveiros de Castro explains: “animals see their food as human food (jaguars see blood as manioc beer, vultures see the maggots in rotting meat as grilled fish).” However, if a human begins to see maggots as grilled fish, there is a problem because “perspectives should be kept separate.”⁴⁰⁴ Yet, the shaman, in the trance state during which she maintains control, can make sense of and transcend these shifted

⁴⁰⁰ I hesitate to use the term non-Western to classify anything and everything outside of the Western tradition, which in essence reinforces another problematic dichotomy.

⁴⁰¹ For examples of this discussion see Nurit Bird-David, ““Animism” Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology,” *Current Anthropology* 40, no. S1, Special Issue Culture--A Second Chance? (1999): S67-S91; and Bill Sillar, “The Social Agency of Things? Animism and Materiality in the Andes,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 19 (2009): 367-377.

⁴⁰² To borrow terms from Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives,” 465, and 471.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 471.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 466.

perspectives, a prime reason that a human and animal(s) may be combined in Nasca art.⁴⁰⁵

Embodied Beings: Animal-Human

In contrast to the numerous considerations of effigies that appear mostly human in form, few scholars equally consider the visual properties of effigies that appear predominantly animal, revealing a pervasive anthropocentric bias. Instead, these figures are often dismissed as characters from myths that can never be recovered (e.g., the Anthropomorphic Mythical Being) and therefore do not merit further inquiry. Comparable in many ways to the human-animals, but in reverse, effigies toward the animal end of the continuum of transformation combine subtle human traits with those of animals. Fundamental vertical or horizontal orientations—humans the former, animals the latter—mean that vessels take significantly different shapes. Heads are naturally located at the top of the human body, but at the side of an animal one, and certainly the appendages of bipeds, quadrupeds, and winged creatures demand different compositional choices. Moreover, the animal-human transformational figures in the present study (cat. nos. 148 – 157) are significantly fewer in number than the head jars and human-animal effigies, although arguably this does not lessen their importance (see chapter 5). Likewise, just as in the human-animal figures, the limited archaeological record for animal-human vessels assigns them to burial contexts, implying they carry a similar degree of cultural significance.

Some animal-human vessels depict a figure wearing ritual regalia associated with the Nasca Ecstatic Being (fig. 1.12), also called the “cat demon,” “masked god,” and the

⁴⁰⁵ Lawrence E. Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions* (New York: Macmillan, 1988), 421.

“Masked Mythical Being.”⁴⁰⁶ Although no “typical” Ecstatic Being exists, the most simplified Early Nasca version has a large face with staring lenticular eyes and wears a golden mouthmask and forehead ornament.⁴⁰⁷ The whiskered mouthmasks are thought to transform the human wearer with qualities of several animals common to the Nazca region and ancient Nasca iconography, including the monkey, the otter, and the pampas cat.⁴⁰⁸ The arms of the figure extend from the head area and sometimes hold a baton or a disembodied head. At times the Being’s body (torso and legs) are either bent downward in relation to the head or take a horizontal, “flying” position akin to earlier and contemporaneous ecstatic shaman figures. Proulx describes this basic rendition of the figure as the “most frequent sacred themes in Nasca art.”⁴⁰⁹ Similarly, Blagg describes the image as “a man in costume...impersonating a supernatural being,” substantiated by the fact that “[o]rnaments of beaten gold, like the depicted mouthmask (meant to represent animal whiskers) and forehead ornament, have been found in Nasca graves.”⁴¹⁰ More in line with the present study, Allen avers “[w]hile the masked beings on Nasca vessels might be interpreted as actual representation of priests in costume, wearing real mouth masks, I am inclined to treat the Mouth Mask motif as a general sign of the

⁴⁰⁶ Seler, *Collected Works*, 79-105; Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World,” 131; Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 62; and Roark, “From Monumental to Proliferous,” 12.

⁴⁰⁷ Proulx lists 16 categories of the AMB with 27 sub-categories, each with a different bodily configuration and combination of “signifiers” (*A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 62-79).

⁴⁰⁸ For the identification of the otter in Nasca iconography, see Luis Valcarcel, “El Gato de Agua, sus representaciones en Pukara y Nasca,” *Revista del Museo Nacional* 1 (no. 2), 1932: 3-27. For further identifications of the pampas cat in a variety of media, see Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*, 50, and “Painted Nasca Textiles,” 130-131. Moreover, Beresford-Jones argues that new evidence shows that the environment of the south coast during the Early Intermediate Period could have supported flora and fauna no longer common to the area. Chief among the animals we might reinsert into the Nasca landscape are the monkey and perhaps the puma or other large cats. In fact, Beresford-Jones cites a contemporary instance in which a puma was known to have been living in the Nasca region for months, before being killed by local farmers (*Lost Woodlands of Ancient Nasca*, 219).

⁴⁰⁹ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 62.

⁴¹⁰ Blagg, “The Bizarre Innovation,” 12.

transcendent, or spirit, dimension of reality (which is, after all, what the actual mask would signify of the wearer as well)” (see chapter 2).⁴¹¹

In 1975, Blagg suggested that Early Nasca AMB images depict a costumed individual participating in rituals involving the impersonation of a supernatural being.⁴¹² Proulx disagrees, clarifying his and Roark’s previous classification of the AMB as a “mythical creature,” to state the images should not be viewed as “costumed impersonators,” although he does suggest shamans may have impersonated the AMB. Rather, Proulx now sees the figures as “symbolic composite creatures representing the essence of powerful natural forces.”⁴¹³ In fact, seemingly innumerable iterations of the ecstatic figure embody clearly shamanic elements, and ones generally recognizable throughout Nasca art and specifically in sculptural vessels.

For example, Stone examined a ceramic jar dating to the Middle to Late Nasca periods on which two painted bodies are in apparent free-fall set against a black and white, web-like background (fig. 3.27).⁴¹⁴ She uncovered a plethora of similarities to the iconography of the Paracas Ecstatic Shaman as well as the out-of-body experience cited in relation to the perspective of the Nasca Lines, namely free-flowing hair, a bent backward pose with feet up.⁴¹⁵ In this one example the Nasca artist has combined common physiological effects of the trance state, such as wide eyes and dark, central pupils, and, like Paracas embroideries, exposed ribs that connote emaciation as a method

⁴¹¹ Allen, “The Nasca Creatures,” 50-51.

⁴¹² Blagg cites the recovery of gold mouth masks and forehead ornaments in grave contexts as proof that the images depict a “human agent rather than the cult figure itself” (“The Bizarre Innovation,” 12).

⁴¹³ Ibid., 63.

⁴¹⁴ The background is similar to the hatched painting in the mid-section of cat. no. 083.

⁴¹⁵ For Stone’s protracted considerations of sensations of flying, suspension, and an aerial perspective as part of the phenomenology of shamanic trance, see *The Jaguar Within*, 44-45. Sawyer previously identified a similar figure as a “corpse in water” (“A Group of Early Nazca Sculptures,” 155).

used to achieve trance.⁴¹⁶ In addition, visionary elements like geometric patterns provide the background for the figure. But, as her analysis shows, the multi-directional, hatched lines do more than illustrate a phosphene, but rather, in combination with the bodies' free fall positions within the patterns, create movement and make unstable the relationship between figure and ground.⁴¹⁷ She explains, "[t]he viewer, finding it impossible to make sense of the spatial organization, is effectively removed from normal expectations of a coherent setting and becomes propelled into placelessness, a difference place, the Other Side."⁴¹⁸

Importantly, through this Nasca object Stone recognizes several levels of analysis from which my study draws. First, the two-dimensional images embody many of the perceptual sensations of the trance state, such as the synesthetic seeing with the body via a "navel eye," and the paradox of being located in two places at once through the repetition of the same figure on opposing sides of the vessel. Second, nearly nude bodies, which stand in contrast to the typical copiously dressed and adorned Nasca figures, show the anomalousness of the figures' form and identity.⁴¹⁹ Finally, the figures exhibit an overall cephalocentrism, or focus on the head, implied by its large size relative to the body, as well as a cleft that highlights the fontanel area. Despite its relevance to the present study, although the imagery is two-dimensional, this is the only Nasca composition addressed in Stone's volume, leaving open the potential to consider other vessel types, including the sculptural along these same lines. Significantly, this study places Nasca ceramics within a broader context of ancient American shamanic

⁴¹⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 153.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

embodiment and the expression of a visionary aesthetic.⁴²⁰ Perhaps most importantly, however, is her characterization of “great aesthetic creativity” of Nasca painting.⁴²¹ In essence, it fell to the Nasca artist to solve a paradox: capturing the ephemeral nature and non-physical elements of the Otherworldly within lasting and inflexibly physical ceramic forms.

For Kubler, the visual associations with animals and animal traits in Nasca art “suggest an intricate ritual of sympathetic and imitative magic” in which the replicated traits, such as falcon eye markings common to Nasca effigies, will bestow the person with the keen sight of the raptorial bird.⁴²² However, he continues, “the puma, the falcon, and the killer-whale were all surely deities, worshipped by impersonators wearing the divine markings.”⁴²³ Blagg continues this line of thinking, claiming that the killer whale, hawk, and ocelot also would have been admired for their superlative strengths in various arenas.⁴²⁴ Conversely, within a shamanic worldview, images embody the infinitely dynamic and inseparable relationships between humans, animals, and every other earthly and living thing, including plants and insects, clearly surpassing “admiration.” In shamanism there is not a stable of deities as in Greek mythology and certainly not a “God” as in monotheistic religions. Some have suggested that Nasca shamans were “ritual performers” and “deity impersonators,” both problematic characterizations.⁴²⁵ Indeed, these definitions may be based more on assumptions made through Western

⁴²⁰ Ibid., 149-155.

⁴²¹ Ibid., 154.

⁴²² Kubler, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, 3rd ed., 427-428.

⁴²³ Ibid. 428.

⁴²⁴ Blagg, “The Bizarre Innovation,” 16.

⁴²⁵ Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World,” 131; Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*, 50; Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 196-199; Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 63; and Roark, “From Monumental to Proliferous.”

notions of shamanism and less on evidence relating the perceived similarities of world shamanic traditions and Nasca shamanism, specifically.⁴²⁶

Peter T. Furst has questioned the ability to identify and separate the shamans as impersonators from deities themselves, because if “deities have the same distinguishing traits as the shamans themselves, how can one determine which representation is supposed to be divine and which human?”⁴²⁷ Stone-Miller, too, takes issue with the designation “impersonator” on two counts:

First, it fails to see masquerade as part of an overarching preoccupation with representing the shamanic change into the animal co-essence. Second, the term “impersonator” implies that there is a distinction being drawn between the representation of a person and the being or force they are *pretending* to be (pretense figures into our definition of impersonator), as opposed to the representation of a profound unity of a human with all other cosmically important forces.⁴²⁸

As a case in point, four Nasca effigy vessels sprout cactus lobes from each shoulder (fig. 3.28).⁴²⁹ Furst describes a similar figure—one he calls the “San Pedro Deity”—as the “personification of the San Pedro cactus” (fig. 3.29).⁴³⁰ Instead of names, such as deity, that suggest a falsely religious or anthropocentric hierarchy, another Quechua concept can enrich our interpretation of what is clearly a dynamic relationship. *Camay*, meaning “to infuse with energy, and embody” suggests that perhaps this figure manifests the relationship between *camac*, or genesis spirit that imbues all entheogenic

⁴²⁶ Harvey points out “while our semantic field portrays a common Western vision of shamans, it is inadequate as a definitive statement and, in some places, inappropriately polemical and arguably erroneous” (“General Introduction,” 19).

⁴²⁷ Peter T. Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism, Transformation, and Deities in West Mexican Funerary Art,” in *Ancient West Mexico: Art and Archaeology of the Unknown Past*, ed. Richard F. Townsend (Chicago, Ill.: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998), 177.

⁴²⁸ Stone-Miller, “Human-Animal Imagery,” 54-56.

⁴²⁹ Currently, these vessels are known only through color drawings found in Julio C. Tello, *Paracas. Primera parte*, 1959, figs. 84-87, reproduced in Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*, plate 109A-D. None of these vessels are included in the present catalog because they exist in private collections or are preserved only in color drawings.

⁴³⁰ Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism,” 176.

cacti with their special life force, and the *camasca*, in this case a shaman who has imbibed the pulp.⁴³¹ Indeed, the emergence of the cactus from the body suggests an intimate relationship between the plant and the being with which it has melded: “[t]he tip of this columnar plant is represented by the hornlike growth emerging from the figure’s forehead. This part of the plant is said to contain the highest concentration of the psychoactive alkaloid, mescaline, which has been employed in ecstatic ritual by Andean people for a least three millennia.”⁴³² Far from a literal depiction of a person wearing a cactus costume or adorned with pieces of a cactus, the artist has rendered the entheogen and the human as one single entity; human and plant are melded in form and knowledge within a non-terrestrial realm, an alternate plane of existence where such an in-between body seamlessly exists. Moreover, protrusions from the head are documented in several ancient American artistic traditions and have been linked to the trance experience in which consciousness expands.⁴³³ Additionally, iconography is very culturally indicative, and a denial of the implications of images that depict a shaman as the San Pedro cactus, constitutes an overly literal archaeological interpretation.

When describing Nasca imagery, Dobkin de Rios and Cardenas describe these human-animal and human-plant relationships as ones in which the shaman in particular can “transform into, in order to incorporate some quality of power, speed, vision, predation, fecundity or the like, which the shaman is able to use for his own ends.”⁴³⁴

Perhaps more aptly put by the ancient central Colombian Muisca, shaman or

⁴³¹ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 17.

⁴³² Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism,” 176 (caption to fig. 15). For current information regarding the chemical make-up of the cactus, see Olabode Ogunbodede, Douglas McCombs, Keeper Trout, Paul Daley, and Martin Terry, “New Mescaline Concentrations from 14 Taxa/Cultivars of *Echinopsis* Spp. (Cactaceae) (“San Pedro”) and Their Relevance to Shamanic Practice,” *Journal of Ethnopharmacology* 131, no. 2 (2010): 356-62.

⁴³³ Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism,” 180-181; and Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 80.

⁴³⁴ Dobkin de Rios and Cardenas, “Plant Hallucinogens, Shamanism, and Nazca Ceramics,” 239-240.

subquayguyn means “full of the quality of a bat.”⁴³⁵ It has also been noted that for the Guaraní and the Maya the words for shaman and jaguar, the most powerful co-essence in this region of the Amazon, are the same.⁴³⁶ As the present corpus suggests, the Nasca term for shaman might relate to birds, for aspects of the avian pervade Early Nasca sculptural forms.

In conclusion, studies of Nasca polychrome ceramics have tended to emphasize seriation and categorization, resulting in a pervasive sacred-secular dichotomy. While some studies have shown that a shamanic interpretation of Nasca iconography could productively blur such a strict division of motifs, few have recognized shamanism beyond illustrations of shamans and entheogens. Instead, studies that confirm a shamanic aesthetic within the ancient Americas point up the applicability of such an approach to Early Nasca art. Many recurring shamanic motifs, including disembodied heads, human-animal transformation, and visionary flight, can be found in the subsets of sculptural effigies found within the present corpus. It is important to note that some combinations of features on sculptural vessels make it difficult to restrict the object to only one category of analysis. In other words, in the present study, the discussion of an effigy “type” in regard to one concept by no means precludes a relationship with another. In fact, the multiplicity of interpretations for the endlessly variable imagery and forms highlights the shamanic nature of the corpus, as well as the implausibility that these artworks might fit neatly into any one category. A nuanced visual analysis of these groups (and their intersections) offers better approximation of a particularly Nasca shamanism.

⁴³⁵ Anne Legast, “Feline Symbolism and Material Culture in Prehistoric Colombia,” in *Icons of Power: Feline Symbolism in the Americas*, ed. Nicholas J. Saunders (London: Routledge, 1998), 122-54 [cited in Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 62].

⁴³⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 63.

The next two chapters present an analysis of disembodied and embodied beings depicted in sculptural polychrome vessels. On a superficial level the objects include body parts and bodies on a continuum of transformation, and depict myriad versions of human and animal forms through which the Nasca people contemplated their shamanic worldview. Although the ancient Nasca did not privilege themselves over animals and Otherworldly beings, but rather saw themselves as equal partners in the material realm, the human body remained an immediate channel for shamanic thought and activity. In particular, a shaman's head and body served as the earthly conduit for reaching other realms to procure knowledge, and corporeal forms were the channels on, with, or through which such information would be enacted and known. Therefore, chapters 4 and 5 offer visual examinations of head jars and human-animal/animal-human effigies, which epitomize how the ancient Nasca depicted disembodied and embodied beings in sculptural polychrome ceramics.

Chapter 4: Disembodied Beings: Head Jars

In many respects reconstructing the ancient Nasca world is reliant upon the climate, materials, and natural subjects that were made into and inspired art. Since polychrome ceramics are considered to be the dominant and indisputably are the most abundant medium for the expression of cultural ideology, closely interrogating the imagery and form seems crucial in this endeavor.⁴³⁷ However, as Carmichael has shown to be true of marine imagery, the frequency with which a particular subject is depicted does not always correlate with archaeological evidence. Therefore, objects, images, and remains must be examined together on myriad levels to glean their potential cultural import and possible meanings. Head jars, the sculptural form of disembodied heads, are another case in point. In the past the abundance of the disembodied heads were thought to be evidence of extensive bellicose activity in Nasca; however, archaeological evidence does not support a war-based society in which head were taken as trophies of war, so we must consider alternate interpretations.

Nasca artists depicted disembodied heads in many ways: they appear as images painted on ceramic vessels (fig. 4.1), are held by figures embroidered on textiles (fig. 3.16) and are modeled and painted as polychrome vessels (cat. nos. 112 – 147). Two-dimensional versions range from Early Nasca heads shown with carrying ropes to Late Nasca versions in which extreme stylization has reduced the head to a pendant eye connected to a lock of hair (fig. 4.2). In a rare instance of Nasca imagery correlating to archaeological evidence, a Late Nasca painted scene shows a cache of heads within an

⁴³⁷ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, ix.

architectural structure (fig. 4.3), and a group of 48 disembodied heads have been recovered archaeologically.⁴³⁸

Previous studies and interpretations rarely distinguish a two-dimensionally painted disembodied head from a sculpted one; instead, “trophy heads” (i.e. disembodied heads) are discussed as one consistent iconographic category within the Nasca ceramic corpus. In addition, the existing literature fails to differentiate the cultural meaning of the taking and treatment of a human head from the multitude of two- and three-dimensional representations in polychrome ceramic and other media. Often, one is considered evidence of the other: a sculpted head jar documents the tradition of decapitation and mummification of a person or head, and the disembodied crania or “trophy heads” serve as authentication of a Nasca impulse to document common cultural practices in polychrome ceramics. However, the reiteration of the head in multiple dimensions brings us closer to understanding the cultural importance of the head in Nasca.

Nasca head jars are associated with a multitude of contexts and iconographic motifs that connect them to a distinctly shamanic worldview and will be explored here, beginning with a brief description of the overall corpus. First, it is important to present contexts for head jars that prompt a reconsideration of these objects as disembodied beings as opposed to interpretations that cast them as “trophy heads” taken during physical combat. Instead, the visual features of head jars are then discussed along continua of transformation,⁴³⁹ in this case from human to animal and life to death and

⁴³⁸ David M. Browne, Helaine Silverman, and Rubén García, “A Cache of 48 Trophy Heads from Cerro Carapo, Peru,” *Latin American Antiquity* 4, no. 3 (1993): 274-94.

⁴³⁹ A phrase borrowed from Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 11.

back again.⁴⁴⁰ In particular, bird imagery is prevalent and shows the import of the shamanic experience of suspension and flying even for disembodied beings. Furthermore, Nasca artists working within the sculptural ceramic medium seem intent on overall cephalocentrism, or focus on the head, for which head jars provide a clear example and can be linked to the Nasca practices of head taking and cranial modification.

General Description

Head jar shapes vary, but can productively be discussed through painted imagery that often corresponds to a particular vessel shape. For example, heads showing open eyes tend to adhere to the jar shape in which a short, flaring vessel neck displays registers of head wrappings (e.g., cat. no. 124). On the other hand, heads with closed eyes exist in the jar form and the “lipless” jar, a spherical vessel lacking an extended neck (Kroeber’s “trophy head” form and Proulx’s “open mouth” jar) (e.g., cat. no. 142).⁴⁴¹ Pendant eyes, in which a semi-circular iris appears to be suspended from the upper lid, are found on the “lipless jar” form (e.g., cat. no. 141) and a shape I will call the “oversized head jar,” which is characterized by a bulging upper hair register (cat. nos. 144 – 147).⁴⁴² A comparably shaped hair register can be found on three human effigy jars as well (cat. nos. 062, 063, and 065).⁴⁴³ Pendant irises are also depicted on a unique vessel form called the “flaring rim head jar,” which in the present corpus is found on a matching pair (cat. nos.

⁴⁴⁰ The concept of a continuum comes from two sources: as mentioned previously, Stone considers bodies on a continuum of transformation and flux in *The Jaguar Within*, chapters 5-8, as does Carmichael in “The Life from Death Continuum.”

⁴⁴¹ Kroeber, et al. call this shape a lipless jar or a “trophy-head jar” (*The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 95); see also Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 14.

⁴⁴² Kroeber et al., call this large form a “head jar,” when in fact the scale is larger than most of the head jars (his “face jars”) more common in the vast Nasca corpus (*The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 94-95, fig. 90).

⁴⁴³ In the present catalog there appears to be a correlation between the bulging hair register and a painted sling within it.

136 and 137).⁴⁴⁴ Head jars in the present corpus generally show three types of eye markings: falcon or bird markings (cat. nos. 112 – 120); triangles (e.g., cat nos. 122 – 127); and bands that either extends across the entire face (e.g., cat. nos. 128 and 129) or are rectangular blocks underneath each eye (e.g., cat. nos. 130 – 132).⁴⁴⁵

Hair depicted on head jars is similar to that on human-animal vessels: as wrapped with textile strips (e.g., cat. no. 128) or a sling (e.g., cat. nos. 144 and 145); as a solid mass of hair over the crown and down the back of the head (e.g., cat. no. 119); and as strands of hair that fall down the back of the head (e.g., cat. no. 116). At times, strands of hair can be seen at the sides of the head (e.g., cat. nos. 122 and 130), and in several head jars, short strands of hair come down from the forehead as “bangs” (cat. nos. 116, 126, 127, and 129). Varying combinations of each of these styles also are found on some head jars. For example in catalog number 131, the hair at the back of the head is a solid mass, there are hairs strands at the sides of the head, and bangs emerge from the head wrappings at the forehead.

Continua of Transformation

Human to Animal: Suspension and Flying

Loss of the sensation of gravity pulling on one’s body is often reported during the shamanic trance experience.⁴⁴⁶ In many instances, the ability to attain such weightlessness is equated with birds. For example, Halifax reports that the Teleuts people

⁴⁴⁴ Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 94-95, fig. 90. There is one human-animal effigy jar with pendant irises in the present corpus (cat. no. 065).

⁴⁴⁵ In fact, the bisecting of the face into an upper dark color, may also relate to bird anatomy, see Gary R. Bortolotti, “Natural Selection and Coloration: Protection, Concealment, Advertisement, or Deception?” in *Bird Coloration, Function and Evolution*, vol. 2, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), 14, Box 1.1.

⁴⁴⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 44.

of modern-day Russia consider eagles to be shaman-birds, ascending to the celestial realm.⁴⁴⁷ She also notes that, the world over, a shaman's association with birds relates to concepts of "rising, activation, change, and vitality."⁴⁴⁸ In many instances the avian embodies the soul and communicates otherworldly messages.⁴⁴⁹ In addition, a shamanic connection to a bird's sense of sight pertains for several reasons: some birds have eyesight up to eight times better than a human and can pinpoint prey up to 1.5 kilometers away; birds can see ultraviolet light; and owls can see in almost complete darkness.⁴⁵⁰ Such an ability to "See" is important for shamans, hunters, and prognosticators alike; these professions are inextricably linked, for it is often the shaman who determines the most advantageous locations and times to hunt, plant, and harvest. More importantly, inhabiting the eyes of a bird of prey and its ability to "See" beyond the human, bestows supernatural authority upon the shaman's body, for as Stone avers, by "[t]aking animal form, the shaman is projected beyond normal human realities into realms that offer the spiritual power to cure."⁴⁵¹

Head jars and sculpted human-animal and animal-human visages alike commonly exhibit falcon eye markings, or what Allen—rather unproductively—calls "tear streaks."⁴⁵² Painted on polychrome vessels, the markings appear, like in their avian counterparts (fig. 4.4), as black swaths surrounding the inner eyes, then splitting outward to the side of the face at the upper and lower lids (e.g., cat. no. 112). Many species of birds have swaths or lines of dark colored feathers on the face. In biological terms these

⁴⁴⁷ Joan Halifax, *Shaman: The Wounded Healer*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 23.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁴⁵⁰ Arnold J. Sillman, "Avian Vision," in *Avian Biology*, eds. Donald S. Farner and James R. King (New York and London: Academic Press, 1973), 350; and "Nature: Owl Power," <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/nature/owl-power/11628/>, accessed April 20, 2016.

⁴⁵¹ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 39-44.

⁴⁵² Allen, "The Nasca Creatures," 46.

are called “eye lines” and “malar streaks;” ornithologists offer several hypotheses for the existence of the markings: to reduce glare (much like the black that athletes apply under their eyes); to aid in tracking and capturing prey as sight lines; to obscure the location of the eye itself because bird irises are also dark, an evolutionary trait thought to increase visual sharpness; and to at once reduce their own visibility from predators (as the eyes are an attractive trait), and also to reduce the avoidance response in one another to remain at short distances, presumably to share food and find a mate.⁴⁵³

Regardless of why they exist on the bird, the mimetic design of the eye markings painted on effigy vessels indicates a correlation between the figure and a bird. Indeed, the sensation of flight, and thereby transformation into a bird, is a very common visionary experience; it is called variously the “out-of-body” or “aerial voyage experience” and more generally “ecstatic flight.”⁴⁵⁴ To be suspended above the earth, unbound by the rules of gravity, is to be in the shaman’s bird-self, flying with a bird’s point of view and seeing broadly and accurately through its eyes. Within the Nasca landscape such a view provides the perspective from which the geoglyphs can be viewed, which is certainly not that of an earthbound human (see chapter 2).⁴⁵⁵ The conception and creation of the Nasca Lines, as well as their repeated ritual re-inscription over centuries, highlights the cultural imperative that these patterns *are* visible; the omnipresence of an aerial observer with a distinctly non-human vantage point forms the bridge between terrestrial and Otherworldly perspectives.

⁴⁵³ Bortolotti, “Natural Selection and Coloration,” 12-16.

⁴⁵⁴ See Dobkin de Rios, “Plant Hallucinogens, Out-of-Body Experiences,” 244; Harner, “Common Themes,” 158-160; and Paul and Turpin, “The Paracas Ecstatic Shaman.”

⁴⁵⁵ Dobkin de Rios, “Plant Hallucinogens, Out-of-Body Experiences,” 246.

In a more literal vein, Anne Peters has suggested these eye markings, common from earlier Paracas times as well, might be seen not as bird markings but also as the patterns of the pampas cat (*Lynchailurus colocolo*) (fig. 4.5).⁴⁵⁶ Indeed, the facial pelage of the desert feline exhibits a dark eye line extending from the corner of each eye to the outer cheek and malar streaks extending from the middle of each cheek along the jaw. I argue that surely the physiological similarities between the falcon and the pampas cat, one celestial and the other earthly, would not have gone unnoticed in Nasca times. Therefore, a single animal attribution is not necessary as the eyes of both the falcon and the markings of the pampas cat can combine with the human for a multi-perspectival being, or to Viveiros de Castro, “species androgynous.”⁴⁵⁷ Indeed, it has been argued that part of the frustrating “multiplicity inherent in shamanic imagery” is a lack of relevance of a specifically identified species; “bird” or “cat” may suffice and more easily blend with “human” in its more generic form. Further, the inherent paradox of attempting to “make an image of the entranced shaman’s body” often leads to purposefully ambiguous imagery with a distinct “lack of clarity.”⁴⁵⁸ The spotted pampas cat is ubiquitous in various media in the Nasca corpus, and the shamanic importance of felines is well documented.⁴⁵⁹ Some examples show other colors of eye swaths orange and eye lines (e.g., cat. nos. 059 and 085), or three-part ones (e.g., cat. no. 120); however, despite the variety of eye markings, the message remains that the figure sees through an animal’s eyes.

⁴⁵⁶ Ann H. Peters, “Ecology & Society in Embroidered Images from Paracas Necrópolis,” in *Paracas Art & Architecture: Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*, ed. Anne Paul, 240-314 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 275.

⁴⁵⁷ Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives,” 471.

⁴⁵⁸ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 5 and 67.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 39-44.

Polychrome ceramic images of birds sipping nectar from flowers are common in Nasca two-dimensional painting (fig. 1.2), and three-dimensionally embroidered birds frequently alight around textile borders (fig. 4.6), some of which have been recovered archaeologically. Another noteworthy intersection of visionary heads and avian motifs shows birds painted on the head wrappings of a head jar (cat. nos. 115 and 116).⁴⁶⁰ Silverman excavated an Early Nasca burial in which the interred body had textiles wrapped around the head. They included elaborate three-dimensional embroidery of birds feeding at flowers along the edges, providing a rare instance of a Nasca burial restating the connection between birds and head in various media.⁴⁶¹ At the practical and the conceptual levels, to wrap one's head in textiles with such imagery or to represent that imagery on a ceramic head suggests a connection between the head and this visionary imagery. The implication is that the transformed bird-shaman flies and perhaps gathers nourishment from visions, just as a shaman ingests and becomes spiritually nourished by the trance-inducing entheogen and as a bird does the nectar of a flower. Similarly, two-dimensional images of hovering birds with beaks piercing what have been interpreted as the cross-sections of the San Pedro cactus, thereby linking feeding birds directly to visionary phenomena (fig. 4.7).

Visually, head jars also show the separation between the head and a corporeal "ground," despite a clear detachment from a body in terms of its form. Often the separation of the head jars "face from its base can best be seen when viewed from the side that a dark line is drawn from ear to ear beneath the chin (e.g., cat. no. 122). At the

⁴⁶⁰ Other examples of this imagery exist in head jars outside my catalog, showing this is not unique to my sample (see Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Ceramica Nazca*, 214-215, Numeros 491 and 492); and a pair Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 170, fig. 252, plate 18).

⁴⁶¹ See Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 266, fig. 18.4.

back of the head visual separation is achieved by painting a solid block of dark hair, sometimes with contrasting strands painted within in it (e.g., cat. no. 114). This provides a stark color change from the lower hairline to the unslipped base (e.g., cat. nos. 112 and 119). Some show individual strands of hair that never fall below the basal inflection, maintaining a visual separation from the vessel base (e.g., cat. nos. 116 and 124).

Life to Death

Moreover, in head jars the visual separation of the head from a body, as differentiated by the painted face and hair and a blank base and underside, implies an unfettering from that which might weigh it down, as if by reducing the body to a head, the spirit can resist gravitational pull to the earth more effectively. In addition, unbound from the body the head is arguably free to reach other spheres, such as the visionary realm. Certainly, there is a correlation to be made then between the head jars separation from the body and those real heads that are separated from deceased and interred bodies (see chapter 1). Those heads have been unfettered from the body that remains in the ground, so that they can rise again to the earthly realm. Yet, despite their disembodied state, these head jars are shown as “alive” through their sensory capability (i.e. open eyes). To be alive and dead simultaneously implies the ability of the shaman to move along a continuum of life and death, reminiscent of the symbolic death of shamanic novitiates reported by Eliade.⁴⁶² In fact, open-eyes are prevalent in the present corpus, suggesting an alertness belied by the body’s composed and even corpse-like position in addition to the suggestive burial contexts in which the vessels are found. Such a depiction conveys the shamanic ability to be both Here and Not Here at once, to occupy multiple

⁴⁶² Eliade, *Shamanism*, 84.

realms while appearing present in all of them, and the eyes are a key feature in making those distinctions.

Overall, the eyes of Nasca sculptural vessels are easily recognizable, immediately engaging (be they open or closed), and emphasize a focus on the head and, within that, the eyes. As described, head jars have eyes painted in three distinct ways: open staring eyes with a central pupil (e.g., cat. no. 112), which in past Nasca studies have been called “alive”;⁴⁶³ closed eyes (e.g., cat. no. 133), which are sometimes paired with pinned lips (e.g., cat. no. 143) and have been called “trophy heads;”⁴⁶⁴ and eyes with pendant pupils (e.g., cat. no. 140), which have been called a “rolled eye,” as if in death.⁴⁶⁵

The “alive” or open staring eyes have been described as a “trance eye” that can “successfully express the wonder and intensity of all the fluctuating, moving, changing, colorful percepts being experienced,” but also has the potential as a representation of an eye dilated from the affects of an entheogen.⁴⁶⁶ Notable exceptions to the presence of the “trance eye” include), head jars in which the eyes are specifically shown closed (e.g., cat. no. 147), and eyes with pendant irises (e.g., cat. no. 065). Distinctions of seeing with eyes open or closed are key to the “distinctive veracity” of visions, or the qualities and occurrences in visions that relate them enough to the quotidian realm so as to be believed.⁴⁶⁷ One’s ability to see with closed eyes, especially when taking mescaline, the active ingredient in the San Pedro cactus pulp, adds to this believability in that, as subjects taking mescaline report, the world seen through open eyes can seem colorless

⁴⁶³ Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 155.

⁴⁶⁴ Proulx considers vessels depicting a head with “pinned lips and closed or partly closed eyes [i.e. pendant irises]” to be modeled trophy heads due to the similarities with treated human crania (*Local Differences and Time Differences*, 64).

⁴⁶⁵ Carmichael notes the similarity of the pendant eye imagery to that of death (“The Life from Death Continuum,” 81).

⁴⁶⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 87-88.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid., 13.

and unclear, while with the eyes closed the visionary world is revealed as colorful and three-dimensional.⁴⁶⁸

The pendant iris has been related to a feline or an animal-like eye (fig. 4.8).⁴⁶⁹ A jaguar's iris often appears at the upper-most half of the eye, appearing to hang from the top lid, especially when crouched low hunting. In the case of Nasca head jars, in addition to its animal reference, I also suggest the presence of pendant irises creates an upward looking visage, contributing to the visual elevation of the overall object.⁴⁷⁰ If we consider a burial context for the ceramic heads, such eyes look upward from the realm of the dead toward the earthly realm, as if in contemplation of the Beyond toward a lofty visionary realm above, and skyward at its "out-of-body" self within aerial journey.⁴⁷¹ However, regardless of the physical context of the vessel, the gaze connects the Here with the Not Here. In addition, the visage simultaneously looks up into the upper register of the vessel, toward the fontanel, the place from where visions are felt to emanate and float. Klüver's subjects attempt to report where their visions take place, either "the phenomena are 'in the eyes' or 'in the head,' or: 'It is not possible to localize them [the visions] definitely in space; they seem to me rather near, but floating indefinitely in the air.'"⁴⁷²

In addition to links between heads and the visionary realm, head jars, treated disembodied heads, and two-dimensional images of heads can also be connected to issues of fertility and the revolving stages of life and death and afterlife and rebirth. For example, Townsend studied a painted scene as an illustration of five "farmers" and

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid., 15.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 90-91.

⁴⁷⁰ In the present catalog, a majority of pendant irises are found on head jars; however, one example is found on a human effigy jar (cat. no. 065).

⁴⁷¹ For reports of head jars in burial contexts see Carmichael, "Nasca Mortuary Customs," and Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*.

⁴⁷² Klüver, *Mescal*, 27.

“harvest ritual performers” identified by their conical caps, digging sticks, and associated cultigens (fig. 4.9).⁴⁷³ He argues that the inclusion of farmers indicates their important role in the perpetuation of agricultural fecundity. However, Townsend’s analysis neglects to note the farmers’ heads as treated heads despite the fact that their faces are shown with sunken cheeks, indicated by diagonal slashes along each protruding cheekbone; their lips are sealed shut by vertical lines, just as the lips of treated heads are shaped by the vertical insertion of cactus spines; and two small dots indicate nostril openings, suggesting the exposed nasal cavities of a decomposing or de-fleshed face or perhaps even those of an animal that come straight out from their heads. The figures stand upright, holding tools and foodstuffs in outstretched hands. While their sticks seem to be for digging, such items are seen in many Nasca artworks and are assigned varied meanings. Carmichael avers, “[w]hen held by supernaturals these objects are referred to as clubs associated with warfare, [and] when held by figures identified as farmers or harvesters they are called digging sticks or farming tools.”⁴⁷⁴ Still scholars struggle with dichotomies as this contextualized identification is problematic if all-purpose terms are applied to characters such as “farmers” that have “supernatural” attributes such as “dead” heads without further explication. Aspects of the role of the head in the portrayal of the life and death continuum in Nasca art correlates with archaeological evidence for other ritual practices as well, and maintains the overwhelming focus on the head as seen in Early Nasca head jars.

⁴⁷³ Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World,” 125-126.

⁴⁷⁴ Carmichael, “Interpreting Nasca Iconography,” 192.

Cephalocentrism

Although not encyclopedic, in some important instances Nasca art can correlate well with certain archaeological realities. Disembodied heads, called “trophy heads” in the past, are such a case; the incredible frequency with which heads are painted (both representationally and in highly abstracted styles) and modeled as vessels (i.e. head jars) matches the extensive physical evidence for the practice of decapitation by the Nasca people (fig. 3.18). Although head taking is well documented throughout the ancient Americas, the unprecedented numbers of heads recovered as well as the zeal with which Nasca ceramicists pictured the disembodied parts suggests why the practice has become a hallmark of Nasca culture.⁴⁷⁵ Previously, anthropologists have straightforwardly explained the decapitation and the subsequent treatment of the heads as the consequence of an increasingly aggressive society, directed both internally and externally; heads were seen simply as spoils of war. Yet, scant evidence for such intensive fighting and verification of secondary burial practices in which heads were taken from already decomposing bodies contribute to a new interpretation of the ceramic versions with an altogether different significance.⁴⁷⁶

Decapitation or the taking of heads was a frequent occurrence in the Nasca culture.⁴⁷⁷ Physical evidence for this practice exists in archaeologically recovered remains of disembodied heads (fig. 3.18).⁴⁷⁸ These archaeological specimens are deemed

⁴⁷⁵ See Chacon and Dye, eds. *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies*.

⁴⁷⁶ Tierney, “Vessels of Visions.”

⁴⁷⁷ See Proulx, “Headhunting in Ancient Peru”; and Tiffany A. Tung, “From Corporeality to Sanctity: Transforming Bodies into Trophy Heads in the Pre-Hispanic Andes,” in *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians*, ed. Richard J. Chacon and David H. Dye (New York: Springer, 2007), 481-504.

⁴⁷⁸ John W. Verano, “Where Do They Rest? The Treatment of Human Offerings and Trophies in Ancient Peru,” in *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 12th and*

“trophy” heads due to their apparent ritual treatment; often the heads have undergone modifications that preserve the head or aid in its mummification. In order to then preserve the head as a “trophy” to be carried, the brain was removed and the interior cavity filled with cotton. The eye sockets were also stuffed with cotton, other plants, and “[s]ometimes pitch or stones were inserted in place of the eyes,”⁴⁷⁹ and some heads examined by John Verano show that eye sockets were sometimes stuffed with plain textiles (fig. 4.10).⁴⁸⁰ Next, the center of the forehead was punctured to create a hole through which a carrying rope was inserted. As well as was possible, the skin and scalp with hair were left intact, and the lips were pinned together with cactus spines, or, as Proulx has also reported, with “one or two thorn splinters of *huarango* wood.”⁴⁸¹ Verano also reports that some Nasca heads appear to have been skinned and defleshed before layering the skull with a textile and stretching the skin back in place.⁴⁸²

Archaeological evidence suggests that both freshly severed heads and partially decomposed heads were treated for preservation.⁴⁸³ It is the second group that might relate most to shamanic activity and visions. Forensic investigations suggest that, in most cases, the decapitated person had died of another cause before the head was taken.⁴⁸⁴ In some cases, there are indications that a head was removed after the body had begun the process of decomposition. For instance, Vaughn attests that in one tomb the position of

13th October 1991, ed. Tom D. Dillehay. 189-227 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995).

⁴⁷⁹ Proulx, “Nasca Trophy Heads,” 78. Proulx notes that “[i]n the case of the specimens excavated at Chaviña, contained traces of vegetable matter including maize, maní [peanut], pacae [(*Inga feuilleei*)] (also known as ‘pacay,’ guama, or ‘ice-cream bean.’ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Verano, “Where Do They Rest?,” 105.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., 104-105.

⁴⁸² Ibid.

⁴⁸³ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 102-104.

⁴⁸⁴ See Verano, “Where Do They Rest?,” 213-215; and José Pablo Baraybar, “Cabezas Trofeo Nasca: Nuevas Evidencias,” *Gaceta arqueológica andina* 15 (1987): 6-10.

the body and lack of tool marks on the bones suggest that the head was twisted off the neck and shoulders of the corpse.⁴⁸⁵ Certainly, tomb re-entry, head taking, and cranial modification is not specific to the Nasca culture, but rather, these practices place Nasca within a broader Andean tradition in which focused and elaborate attention is given to the human head both in life and death.⁴⁸⁶

In a shamanic worldview, bodies that have been dead for some time are known to have truly died and therefore progressed to the Other Side. Arguably, a head, having survived in the grave for some time, would be imbued with even more power because it had achieved death but was still present physically. Once dug up, the half-dead, half-alive putrefying head could be re-enlivened to exist again in the terrestrial realm. At that point a head would have begun to putrefy, but the eye sockets, cheeks and lips would be padded and pinned to once again resemble a living being. Such a dramatic transition arrested between life and death (as a place to be journeyed to) solidified the head's power, perhaps it was considered to have the power to aid the shaman who possessed it in the transition to the Other Side during trance. The shaman too, as an intermediary, half-alive and half-dead traverses these spaces and can appear transformed in the process. Moreover, the contexts in which sculpted ceramic head jars were placed in graves seemingly as a replacement for missing crania (see chapter 3), suggests the head jars could serve as a viable stand-in for the body's missing head, acting as another intermediary and permanent record of the transition between life and death. Within the context of the life and death continuum, treated heads and head jars occupy the liminal

⁴⁸⁵ Kevin Vaughn, personal communication (2011) regarding unpublished excavations within the Tierras Blancas River valley, Nasca, Peru.

⁴⁸⁶ Patrick H. Carmichael, "Nasca Burial Patterns: Social Structure and Mortuary Ideology," in *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 12th and 13th October 1991*, ed. Tom D. Dillehay (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 177.

space between those two states-of-being. Most importantly, the Nasca sculptural corpus expresses the essential paradox of the dual consciousness necessary for the shamanic enterprise through depictions of body parts and bodies. Indeed, to pull a head off of a body separates the locus of the senses and seat of visions from the body and represents a death, either symbolic or, in the case of disembodied human heads, a literal one; thereby placing the consciousness of the head and its body in two separate physical places, and locating the consciousness of the head within the realms of life and death simultaneously.

Although Nasca often serves as the example of a central Andean culture in which head taking played a prominent role, they were not the only people to decapitate and treat deceased human bodies.⁴⁸⁷ Certainly the posthumous treatment of the human body and its parts has existed in the Andes longer than in any other region of the world and disembodied heads appear with regularity in the art. A reverence for the head as the bearer of a person's essence continued to Inka times, when Spanish chroniclers report, with sacrificial connotations, the taking and public display of a vanquished enemy's head, and heads (skulls) used for drinking vessels.⁴⁸⁸ Using a modern example, Proulx suggests that the Shuar (formerly Jivaro) practice of head taking also offers some productive parallels to how we might imagine the Nasca to have conceptualized what is to us only a violent act.⁴⁸⁹

While some Andean head-related practices do seem to document warfare, I argue that the Nasca head-related evidence (actual heads and those in sculpted jar form) points to a kind of spiritual warfare waged by shamans in non-terrestrial realms. These battles

⁴⁸⁷ Tung, "From Corporeality to Sanctity," 481-504.

⁴⁸⁸ Denise Y. Arnold, and Christine A. Hastorf, *Heads of State: Icons, Power, and Politics in the Ancient and Modern Andes* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2008), 214.

⁴⁸⁹ Proulx, "Headhunting in Ancient Peru."

should not necessarily be considered, as does Proulx, ritual reenactments in which victims were systematically captured and killed in a secular setting.⁴⁹⁰ He does admit, however, that “[t]rophy heads may imply some form of conflict but their associations go beyond combat.”⁴⁹¹ In turn, Dobkin de Rios points to the Nasca shaman’s combative role as essentially a defense of his community.⁴⁹² Pablo G. Wright’s description of shamanic combat among the Toba of Argentina is also pertinent here,

The struggles begin during the dreams when the image-souls leave the sleeping shamans and meet those of other shamans. Then, with the help of the auxiliary spirits and the vigilants, they take part in fierce fights, which result in the accumulation of power by the winner and loss of power by the defeated. Such a loss is conceived as the escape of the shaman’s soul entities, thus leaving him without protection against other shamanic attacks that will make him ill. A sick shaman is, almost certainly, equivalent to a dead shaman.⁴⁹³

More generally, and perhaps vaguely, Carmichael sees the trophy head (and presumably images of it carrying the same meaning) as “a generic reference to the collective ancestors and their life-giving powers of rejuvenation.”⁴⁹⁴ Additionally, the generic visual character of Nasca head jars adds yet another purposefully ambiguous quality to what is the most individualized body part. I would argue that human heads, regardless of their former attachment to a human body, when treated and carried, and then also modeled as a vessel, partake in the powerful liminality of shamanic visions. While the physical remains of the heads may have been carried as “trophies,” they were not necessarily trophies of military war of which there is no archaeological evidence during the Nasca era, but rather physical remnants of a spiritual engagement, waged

⁴⁹⁰ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 104.

⁴⁹¹ Carmichael, “Interpreting Nasca Iconography,” 190.

⁴⁹² Dobkin de Rios and Cardenas, “Plant Hallucinogens, Shamanism, and Nazca Ceramics,” 234.

⁴⁹³ Pablo G. Wright, “Dream, Shamanism, and Power among the Toba of Formosa Province,” in *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America*, ed. E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 164.

⁴⁹⁴ Carmichael, “The Life from Death Continuum,” 84.

between shamans in another realm. Furthermore, evidence for cranial modification during life suggests that disembodied heads, alongside the aspects of fox-pelt wearers suggesting cranial modification, were part of an overarching concern with the manipulation of and focus on the head.

The recovery of innumerable modified skulls indicates that the Nasca practiced cranial deformation and trepanning (or trephination) (fig. 4.11).⁴⁹⁵ A sample of skulls from Nasca burials showed that almost had some kind of cranial alteration.⁴⁹⁶ In particular, “frontal occipital cranial deformation, which created a skull that was unnaturally elongated and flat across the forehead,”⁴⁹⁷ suggests the importance of the head and its appearance or openness, which might have been both about outward appearance as well as the physical extension of the place of visions. Purposefully elongating the crania visually elevates the area encompassed by the face and expands the place in which visions occur. Trephination or trepanning, the removal of pieces of the skull, could be interpreted as an attempt to allow for the freedom of visions. By contrast, the operation and its potential effects on the brain could have caused visions themselves.⁴⁹⁸

The potential for the head to be seen as the seat of shamanic visions can explain how “cephalocentrism,” or a focus on the head, is a regular occurrence in the arts of the

⁴⁹⁵ Proulx, *A Sourcebook for Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 3-4. See also, Dr. K.P. Oakely, F.B.A., Miss Winifred M. A. Brooke, A. Roger Akester, and D.R. Brothwell, "Contributions on Trepanning or Trephination in Ancient and Modern Times," *Man* 59, no. June (1959): 93-96; T. Wilson Parry, M.A., and M.D. Cantab F.S.A, "Diagnosis of Holes in Prehistoric Skulls: A Differential Diagnosis of the Various Kinds of Holes Discovered in the Skulls of Prehistoric Man," *Postgraduate Medical Journal* 2, no. 20 (1927): 122-25; and Alejandro Pezzia Assereto, *Ica Y El Perú Precolombino*, (S.l.: s.n., 1968).

⁴⁹⁶ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 3.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁸ Further scientifically-based research is necessary to determine if a specific area of the brain were affected by trephination and whether the Nasca always operated on the same part of the skull to have the same effect repeatedly.

Americas.⁴⁹⁹ Perhaps it goes without saying that the multitude of disembodied beings, depicted by head jars, is the pinnacle of this tendency in the Nasca sculptural ceramic medium. Yet, several other forms accentuate the overall cephalocentric character of Early Nasca sculptural vessels. In the present corpus of sculptural vessels there is a clear emphasis on the head via modeled and painted elements in multiple configurations. In addition to disembodied examples, themes of cephalocentrism as well as the continua of transformation explored here can be seen in the myriad configurations of embodied beings. In these instances the continua can be further defined by changes in states of being marked by shifts of perspective, which in Nasca manifest in visual features conveying suspension and flying, even an aerial journey, as well as those that emphasize rebirth and regeneration. Indeed, myriad embodied states of being and the inherent perspectival shifts of the shaman in trance can be traced and will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁴⁹⁹ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 77.

Chapter 5: Embodied Beings: Human-Animal and Animal-Human Vessels

As proposed in the previous chapters, shamanism infused the form and imagery of sculptural polychrome vessels. As shown to be the case with head jars, the present corpus emphasizes disembodied cephalocentrism as well as beings that exist on continua of transformation, from human to animal and life to death and back again. This chapter examines several types of embodied beings in the form of human-animal and animal-human effigy vessels that also have characteristics that suggest they exist along similar continua of transformation as well as exhibit a focus on the head. Therefore, these human-animal and animal-human effigies first will be considered along continua of transformation between human and animal and life and death, from which themes of suspension and flying and rebirth and regeneration emerge. Then, groups that highlight the cephalocentrism of the Nasca embodied being corpus will be explored, such as double-necked or “twin” vessels, vessel pairs, and shrouded figures. First, a brief description of some general characteristics of Early Nasca sculptural effigy vessels points up the continuity of imagery found on disembodied beings and shows the overlapping of shamanic traits found within the corpus overall.

General Description

In the present study human-animal effigies are most frequently encountered as jars, bottles, and double-necked vessels.⁵⁰⁰ Subgroups of these broad shape categories include certain types that have received little or no previous scholarly attention, such as

⁵⁰⁰ Whistles in various forms are also present in the catalog (cat. nos. 226 – 235); however, although they fit into the broader formal categories discussed here, as they are musical instruments and not vessels and are limited in number, they do not provide a major component of the analysis, but could, in the future be used as further supporting evidence.

shrouded figures, vessel pairs, and double-necked effigy vessels or “twins.” Modeled elements often include the upper head’s bulging eyes, protruding nose, ears, as well as the lower portion of the face’s sculpted chin, cheeks, mouth, and even lips (e.g., cat. no. 108). Some vessels also feature what have been called “hair tusks,” or protrusions from the upper forehead (e.g., cat. nos. 052 – 061), and other enigmatic modeled elements added to the head, one example of which I refer to as “head pads” (cat. nos. 023 – 040). Painted elements include indications of: arms, hands, and what they grasp (cultigens, weapons, tools); legs and feet; clothing and other body adornments, such as tunics, head wrappings, necklaces, bracelets; and markings on the cheeks and around the eyes, which in the past have been narrowly identified as “war paint,” but I will call simply “cheek” or “eye markings.”⁵⁰¹ Importantly, Nasca human-animal and animal-human effigies most frequently depict wide, staring eyes outlined in the typical Nasca fashion and characterized by a lenticular white sclera and a central circular black iris and pupil (e.g., cat. no. 091). One key exception to this pattern is shrouded figures, in which by definition the eyes are not visible (e.g., cat. no. 001).

Aside from the obvious expansion to an entire human figure from a disembodied head, the modeled and painted features of the upper section (i.e. head and face) of human-animal effigies are almost identical to those of head jars. Modeled features include noses, ears, chin, jaw, and hair,⁵⁰² while painted features include staring eyes, lips, facial hair, eye markings, cheek markings, and slings wrapped around the head over the hair. Despite their facial similarities, some of the added details applied to one form are not present on the other. For example, “head pads” or hair tusks seen in some human-animal

⁵⁰¹ Blagg, “The Bizarre Innovation,” 19-20.

⁵⁰² Only one head jar in the present corpus has a modeled mouth or lips (cat. no. 146).

vessels are not found on head jars; conversely, the closed eyes and pinned lips found on one head jar (cat. no. 143) are not seen on any human-animal vessels.

Animal-human vessels showing bodies further along in the process of shamanic transformation occur in several variations in the present study. A majority of the animal traits shown are avian (cat. nos. 148 – 155), although the features of two vessels can be confidently related to marine animals (cat. nos. 156 and 157).⁵⁰³ By nature, these vessels showing transforming figures have a non-standardized form;⁵⁰⁴ their modeling depends on the particular animal that features the artist wished to emphasize.⁵⁰⁵ Such variability of shapes highlights Nasca creativity as well as the fluidity of the forms taken by a transforming shaman. Mirroring the expansive Nasca overall artistic corpus, the present Early Nasca sculptural ceramic corpus contains an abundance of bird imagery in both two and three dimensions, suggesting the importance of the aerial journey of a shaman in trance and the perspectival shift from an earthbound body to a soaring one.⁵⁰⁶

Continua of Transformation

Rarely on the Nasca continuum does a vessel depict what could be interpreted as a purely or essentially human or non-human animal or one entirely living or dead.⁵⁰⁷ Instead, it appears there is always some degree of each that manifests visually, albeit subtly, with what I will call “human-animal” effigy vessels falling toward the human end, and therianthropic bodies, what I will call more colloquially “animal-human” vessels,

⁵⁰³ Surely a more expansive study would enlarge the number of objects in these categories, but also add traits of more animals.

⁵⁰⁴ Proulx laments, “Effigy vessels are perhaps the most creative shape category, since there were few rules involved in the manner in which things could be depicted. For this reason comparisons are difficult to make” (*Local Differences and Time Differences*, 43).

⁵⁰⁵ Formal similarities amongst some groups are evident, for example bird-humans (cat. nos. 149-151).

⁵⁰⁶ Indeed, others have noted the overwhelming presence of bird imagery within the Nasca artistic record across media and in both two and three dimensions (see Yacovleff, “El vencejo,” 25-35, and “Las falconidas”).

⁵⁰⁷ Although a larger survey of sculptural vessels could show otherwise.

lying toward the animal end.⁵⁰⁸ Animal features of these human-animal and animal-human vessels will be considered in comparison to another category of effigies that appear fully animal (e.g., cat. nos. 159 – 215).⁵⁰⁹ Scholars consider these animal effigies, much like they do their two-dimensional counterparts, as part of an overarching Nasca concern with Nature. Often previous studies characterize effigies rather vaguely as generic human forms and supernatural figures, and even three-dimensional “supernaturals”—like the famous standing killer whale (cat. no. 156)—are given little consideration beyond description.⁵¹⁰ Scholars speak of effigies in the same terms as they do painted imagery, thereby ignoring the significance of the transformation of two-dimensional imagery into three-dimensional vessels. My analysis suggests a more complex relationship between form, imagery, meaning, and archaeological context.

The strong human and animal component of the corpus surely relates to how some human-animal interactions are understood to occur during visions.⁵¹¹ For example, among peoples living in the Amazon basin, birds “teach the shaman and lend him their wings so that he can come and dance with them... Upon return from his aerial excursions, the shaman gives the borrowed wings back...”⁵¹² Carib shamanic novitiates

⁵⁰⁸ At the risk of bolstering the Western idea of human supremacy over animals, which is decidedly not the case in the ancient Americas, I address effigies on the continuum in this order, based solely on the fact that the present catalog contains more human effigy vessels than any other category; however, in the analysis these categories become increasingly difficult to separate as the continuum shows bodies truly in physical and conceptual flux. The prevalence of human effigies in the catalog may also be attributed to the fact that humans are innately drawn to representations of the human figure; therefore museum collections may hold disproportionate numbers of these representations. Moreover, although not included as a separate analytical type, many plant-shaped vessels are found in the vast Nasca corpus. I have included a handful of examples that I examined in the present study for comparison (cat. nos. 216 – 227).

⁵⁰⁹ Some notable exceptions to the firmly animal designation are one toad effigy that grasps objects at the chest as seen in human-animal effigies (cat. no. 203), and monkey effigies that hold bowls with beans or seeds in them at the chest (cat. nos. 212 – 214).

⁵¹⁰ Kathleen Berrin, ed., *The Spirit of Ancient Peru: Treasures from the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), 170, fig. 112.

⁵¹¹ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 39-44.

⁵¹² Narby and Huxley eds. 2001: 100. [citing Métraux, 1944]

are described as entering a “relationship with spirit jaguars,” in which “[t]hey feel themselves turn into jaguars, walk on all fours, and roar.”⁵¹³ In this instance the trance state provokes both a perceptual and a physical change. Likewise another account describes “mov[ing] as a tiger in the jungle, joyously, feeling the ground under my feet, feeling my power,” and “then experienc[ing] what a tiger feels when looking at its prey.”⁵¹⁴ Such accounts of the mutual beneficence between humans and animals as well as reciprocal perspective exchanges between the two groups enhances the notion that human and animal transformations of many kinds are commonplace within a shamanic culture such as Nasca.

For instance, effigy vessels with spotted faces could be seen as on both the human-animal and the life and death continuum of transformation (cat. nos. 041 – 050). To be spotted is typically an animal, often a feline trait, although other animals certainly have spots, such as the snakes and fish. Regarding the spotted skin of a Chancay whale-shark shaman effigy (fig. 3.13), which also relates to the revelation of the shaman’s other identity, Stone notes, “the spots might not even represent her physical body’s appearance at all but rather her interior animal self.”⁵¹⁵ In terms of life and death, a spotted face may represent the scars of a disease that brought the human/shaman closer to the Other Side, thus imparting knowledge of another realm, while surviving within the earthly one. As a comparison for this effect, a Moche effigy vessel shows a sufferer of leishmaniasis, a parasitic “flesh-eating” disease from which a person rarely recovers and whose body is permanently marked if they do (fig. 5.1). Stone suggests that to take with you to the grave a depiction of powerful survival, presumably with shamanic assistance, “was a statement

⁵¹³ Ibid., 101 [citing Métraux, 1944].

⁵¹⁴ Stone-Miller, “Human-Animal Imagery,” 48 [citing Naranjo 1973].

⁵¹⁵ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 163.

of hope and power to be reborn.”⁵¹⁶ Moreover, these spotted-faced figures are modeled wearing conical caps, extending upward from the figure’s head and bolstering the cephalocentrism of the Nasca corpus generally (e.g., cat. nos. 041 – 049). The caps are often painted with a row of vertical stitches that can be seen in some two-dimensionally painted agricultural scenes. Fox-pelt wearers are another example of an object group with associations to agriculture and will be discussed below.

Concepts of transformation—the metamorphoses of the physical body and state of being, be it between human and animal or living and dead—can be seen in contrastingly overt and subtle ways within the present sample. Shamanic flux and multiplicity are also inherent to these visual depictions as Nasca artists grappled with the depiction of fluid states of being within a static medium; themes of suspension and flying, and rebirth and regeneration emerge.

Suspension and Flying

Human-animal effigy vessels frequently exhibit two traits that suggest suspension, the sensation of flying, or an aerial journey often experienced in visions. In contrast to the painted separation that indicates hair at the base of many head jars (chapter 4), the separation of the human-animal body from its “blank” base is configured somewhat differently. First, there may be a color change at the vessel’s lowermost area, also known in pottery terminology as the basal turn or inflection, implying a floating and weightless figure. Second, the artist may have added avian features to a human figure to indicate the transformation between human and bird. In fact, these two traits both convey a changed perspective and can be combined in a single composition. As previously noted, Viveiros

⁵¹⁶ Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 228.

de Castro reports, only “shamans... can make these [human and animal] perspectives communicate.”⁵¹⁷ In the case of Nasca sculptural vessels, the human body, as well as its reduction to a key part (the head) and addition of avian features, appear to be the essential mode for such an inter-species conversation. Moreover, Stone has noted myriad ways ancient Americans conveyed floating, including: “a general approach to the body as generic, focusing compositions ever upward to the head and beyond, creating less than solid bases, and throwing the effigy’s connection to the ground into shadow.”⁵¹⁸ These are all attributes of vessels in the present study of Nasca sculptural vessels.

Nasca human-animal effigies feature a frontally focused body, with a forward-looking head and painted limbs that consistently bend or curl inward toward the center of the body. In many cases, only the arms are painted (e.g., cat. nos. 004, 021, and 092); in one instance only one arm is shown (cat. no. 013). At the lower body some vessels show only painted feet at the lower body (e.g., cat nos. 036, 040, and 068), while in two others legless feet are modeled (e.g., cat. nos. 008 and 086). Entire limbs are sometimes modeled in low relief (e.g., cat. nos. 055 and 072), and still others vessels exhibit only modeled feet attached to two-dimensional legs (e.g., cat nos. 010, 054, and 057). Distinguishing features of each of the human-animal effigy sub-groups tend to be specific additions to the upper register of the vessel, such as facial markings and headdresses (e.g., fox pelts, conical caps, and shrouds). Certainly, objects within the present corpus show that while variations in the figure’s limbs, dress, and possessions occur, it remains true that “Nasca effigies are characteristically more vague about the lower body.”⁵¹⁹ The addition of three-dimensional specificity to the upper register focuses attention on this

⁵¹⁷ Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives,” 9.

⁵¹⁸ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 45.

⁵¹⁹ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 75.

area, not only lifting up the viewer's eyes, but also shifting the visual weight of the figure itself upward.

Often the lower portion of human-animal vessel-bodies appear bound by a line painted in a red or dark slip (e.g., cat. nos. 001, 083, and 101). At other times, the area of a white tunic that covers the torso contrasts clearly with an unslipped base, providing not only a color change from white to a shade of terracotta, but also a textural distinction from the sheen of slip to the matte of unslipped paste (e.g., cat. nos. 002, 007, and 018). Typically, a rounded vessel base makes these differences visible (e.g., cat. no. 096). Effigy vessels with flattened bottoms mask this visual shift, but the color and texture changes are still evident on the undersides (e.g., cat. no. 067). When legs are painted, they tend to curl upward from this line, and when feet or legs are modeled, they rest within the band or at its upper limits (e.g., cat. nos. 096, 008, and 054), rarely dropping below the line toward the base (e.g., cat. no. 104).

Visual separation of the painted body from the unslipped vessel gives the purposefully ambiguous impression of a body at once grounded *and* weightless.⁵²⁰ The dark color band serves as an end line for the body, establishing a frame for the space in which the body is typically displayed. The convention of a solid yet non-grounded or weightless figure equates to Early Nasca two-dimensionally painted images that do not rest on a ground line denying an earthly reliance on gravity, yet possess visual weight in strong, opaque color fields defined by bold lines (fig. 1.3). Moreover, the lower register of human-animal effigy jars and bottles is typically the larger of the two registers in physical dimensions, both height and width; therefore, the vessel is supported by a substantial base, giving it an overall bottom-heavy shape.

⁵²⁰ Stone calls this artistic phenomena "creative ambiguity" (*The Jaguar Within*, 67-72).

Sculptural human-animal effigy vessels depict an upright and centered figure; arms and legs are only rarely modeled in the round, so the body almost never projects beyond the contours of the container.⁵²¹ As the more human embodiments of the shaman, these effigy vessels contrast with Nasca ecstatic shaman figures that float with bent spine and legs, flying hair, and limbs akimbo, like their Paracas counterparts (fig. 3.15). Importantly, the static composition of human-animal effigy jars stands in sharp juxtaposition to bodies represented on polychrome ceramic drums (fig. 5.2). The bodies of human-animal effigy jars and bottles remain upright, whereas drum figures are re-oriented sideways to flying postures when in use. The posture of the vessel-body intimates a state of meditative calm most typically possible in the earthly realm, while simultaneously referencing the shamans “real” location on the Other Side, most likely in ecstatic flight.

Regarding embroidered Paracas shamans Paul argues that “more than any other attribute, the unbound hair conveys the impression of flight.”⁵²² Free-flowing hair behind the head suggests descent or movement as well as distinguishes the body as one unbound by “rules” within a visionary realm from a grounded body bound to the order of the earthly realm. Certainly the Nasca corpus shows many of the nuanced stages of a body in trance, from a meditative and grounded shaman to a visionary and flying one. However, the hair of Nasca human-animal vessels is typically controlled: often covered by a shroud, cowl, or cap (e.g., cat. nos. 004, 041, and 101); at other times visibly wrapped within textile strips or a sling (e.g., cat. nos. 033 and 065); and seen as solid masses of

⁵²¹ Exceptions include figures depicted with tumplines that stretch across the forehead carrying loads at the back (cat. nos. 240 – 242). These examples are not included in the present analysis because they do not clearly date to of Early Nasca. They are included in the catalog for comparison.

⁵²² Paul and Turpin, “The Ecstatic Shaman,” 24.

dark slip over the crown and down the back of the head (e.g., cat. nos. 029, 034, and 055). There are some exceptions that might indicate the beginning of a transformation from one's human self, as opposed to the fully transformed, ecstatic state of being. For example, one vessel shows strands of hair that fall around the face and down the back (cat. no. 051) and another shows wavy strands of hair, that although tied around the crown of the head, cascade unbound over the shoulders and down the back (cat. no. 039). In some effigies the strands of their hair are depicted as snakes, similar to that of the processing figures at Chavín de Huantar (fig. 3.6), showing yet a further stage of the trance state (e.g., cat. nos. 072, 074, 075, and 084).

In the present corpus animal-human effigies, a majority of which appear as bird-shamans, hair is shown much as it is on human-animal effigies, as a solid swath of dark slip paint over the crown and down the back of the head (e.g., cat. nos. 149 – 153); however, one example does have feathers falling over the head and down the back (cat. no. 148). In some cases the hair is wrapped in textile strips or slings as well, again showing equivalence between the treatment of hair among the effigies and head jars (e.g., cat. no. 149). Hair also can be distinguished from feathers in these instances; painted feathers on wings and tails contrast with the dark areas painted on the heads (e.g., cat. nos. 150 and 155). Moreover, there is an obvious similarity between representations of human hair as solid dark swaths and the same kind of hair shown on the heads of animal-humans. Aside from a few examples of serpent tresses, the hair depicted on sculptural vessels at all stages of transformation seems to retain a human aspect. In the case of head jars, the depiction of hair proved a key aspect for the interpretation of the vessel's shamanic imagery.

Besides the treatment of hair, the all-important eyes of visionaries are elaborated with eye markings to draw attention to them and allude to animal-selves. Myriad shapes and colors surround the eyes of human-animal figures, including: mouthmasks that curl up around the eyes (cat. nos. 077 and 079); semi-circular swaths of black and red (e.g., cat no. 089); fish figures that have human and fish sharing the same eye (cat. nos. 081 and 082); “keyhole” and “plus sign” shapes associated with figures wearing “head pads” (e.g., cat. nos. 023 and 034); and falcon or bird markings (cat. nos. 064, 065, and 083 – 087). Still other figures exhibit a horizontal line that bisects the face into two color fields (cat. nos. 066 and 073 – 076). In these instances, often the lower half of the face is bathed in a light slip, while the upper half takes on a darker hue, contrasting the white eyes against a dark ground (cat. nos. 066, 073, 074, and 076).

The eyes of animal-human figures are almost invariably accentuated by the presence of a mouthmask that wraps upward around the nose (cat. nos. 148, 149, 151, and 157), sometimes flanks the cheeks (cat. nos. 153 – 155), and in one instance wraps around the eyes (cat. no. 150). In animal-human effigies, some examples show eye markings in addition to the mouthmask (cat. nos. 148, 149, and 151) and the staring eyes of one example are embedded within the upper dark swath of its horizontally divided face (cat. no. 153). Concentric circles surround the eyes of the animal-human killer whale with an additional “eye line” above (cat. no. 156), similar to what are considered bird-like markings. Moreover, whiskered mouthmasks, a forehead diadem with a multiplication of faces, and large staring eyes with a central iris and pupil contribute to a focus on a transformed animal-self. They accentuate the various sensory organs, especially the eyes, enhanced during trance. Depiction of a gold whiskered mouthmask in general, and in

particular those with extensions that wrap around the eyes, also modeled in three-dimensions (e.g., cat. no. 077), highlight feline aspects of the transforming or transformed shaman's body. By wrapping the eyes in a reflective metal, the shaman possesses eyes like a feline that shine in darkness, and providing superior vision in almost complete darkness (i.e. the Otherworld).⁵²³ It is worth noting that jaguars' reflective membranes (tapetum lucidum) often shine gold in particular.⁵²⁴

A majority of animal-human effigies in the present corpus combine avian characteristics with those of a human on single-spout vessels with a handle spanning the spine and the back of the head (e.g., cat. nos. 148 and 149).⁵²⁵ Typically, the body of the vessel is shaped as a bird's body, with wings at each side and a tapered tail with colorful zigzag feathers (e.g., cat. nos. 150 and 151). Some vessels rest on sculpted legs and feet (e.g., cat. no. 148), while others have painted feet on the underside of the vessel (e.g., cat. no. 149). The proportions and modeling of the head indicate a wide-eyed human, yet some features, such as the nose, are less representative of the bulbous human feature and more indicative of a curving beak (e.g., cat. no. 151). Checkerboard patterned chests approximate the light and dark chest and under-wing feathers visible as birds common to the coast of South America fly overhead, including the Peregrine and Aplomado falcons and the American kestrel (fig. 5.3).⁵²⁶ In an inherently fixed and static medium the zigzag feathers and checkerboard pattern suggests the movement of flight and transformation, not only between the terrestrial and the celestial worlds, but also between human and bird

⁵²³ Saunders, "Chatoyer," 10-11.

⁵²⁴ William Henry Burt and Richard Philip Grossenheider, *A Field Guide to the Mammals: Field Marks of all North American Species Found North of Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976), 77.

⁵²⁵ All animal-human vessels in the present corpus are found in single-spout and handle form.

⁵²⁶ Thomas S. Schulenberg, Douglas R. Stotz, Daniel F. Lane, John P. O'Neill, and Theodore A. Parker III, eds., *Birds of Peru* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 114 and 116.

states of being. Furthermore, the geometric patterning seen on the chests of many bird-human effigies (e.g., cat. nos. 159 – 176) can also be found on one human-animal vessel (cat. no. 086), indicating a connection to the geometric patterns of visionary phosphenes.⁵²⁷

Indeed, a bird is a common animal-self for a shaman, not only for the phenomenological connections, but physiognomic ones as well.⁵²⁸ Foremost, birds have the ability to occupy multiple realms—earth, sky, and water—also a key capacity of a shaman. At first glance, birds look like substantially weighty animals, but as they take flight or float in water they change to appear weightless, defying all the earthly laws to which human bodies are typically bound and embodying corporeal transformation. Moreover, their sharp talons, and piercing beaks are essential traits for an effective hunter, whether terrestrial or spiritual. Indeed, according to Dobkin de Rios, “[i]n some Nasca pottery, we find trophy heads linked to the wing motif, which may indicate the end result of the flight as one in which the enemy is vanquished.”⁵²⁹ In the present corpus some of the more fully-bird effigy vessels exhibit this wings with heads motif (cat. nos. 161, 165, 169, 170, 176, and 189). Toward the animal-human, many grasp painted “trophy heads” that have various combinations of pinned lips and pendant eyes (e.g., 148, 149, 151, and 152). Two novel examples show other types of configurations: one has a row of heads encircling the transforming figure’s waist as well as feathers depicted with small heads at one end (cat. no. 155); and the other has a head painted on its chest (cat. no. 153). The position of the heads at the chests and belly of these figures visually

⁵²⁷ Siegel notes that Klüver included a “chessboard” as a form constant seen with eyes open or closed as an effect of mescaline (“Hallucinations”).

⁵²⁸ Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 82.

⁵²⁹ Dobkin de Rios and Cardenas, “Plant Hallucinogens, Shamanism, and Nazca Ceramics,” 243.

connects to the cultigens held by human-animal figures.⁵³⁰ In his examination of painted Nasca textiles, Sawyer notes the frequent association of birds with plants and seed crops.⁵³¹ Additionally, Blagg suggests that in Nasca, “agricultural products are associated with warfare much like disembodied heads.”⁵³² Still another Nasca scholar suggests that the heads on these bird bodies should be understood as heads that have been devoured, which on a literal level could mean carrion birds feeding on the dead.⁵³³ However, on a conceptual level, when a shaman enters trance he often senses that his “human ego is devoured by the animal consciousness.”⁵³⁴ Therefore, the animal-human bodies might instead show the slain human ego (head) during its transformation.

Considering the more animal traits along the continuum of bodies, many of the avian figures, both animal-human and whole body birds, have what I call a “nodule” projecting from the chest (e.g. cat. nos. 149 – 151, and 162 – 180), but will identify tentatively as a bird’s keel bone (fig. 5.4). Often, the nodule is a semi-circular vertical protrusion at the center or upper part of a round chest. The nodule is sometimes emphasized by a dark outline or a different slip color as compared to the background (e.g., cat. no. 180). Most examples are approximately the same size, with an average height of 32.7 mm, average width of 12.7 mm, and average depth of 7.5 mm. Anomalous examples include a painted nodule, a “Y”-shaped nodule, and a three-dimensional nodule surrounded by a painted rectangular border. There appears no obvious utilitarian function to the nodule itself and no clear correlation to visible bird anatomy. However, the largest

⁵³⁰ The equivalence of heads and cultigens or seeds connects to other Nasca motifs of rebirth and regeneration and will be explored in a subsequent section.

⁵³¹ Sawyer, “Painted Nasca Textiles,” 133-136.

⁵³² Blagg, “The Bizarre Innovation,” 14. For more on Nasca tongue iconography see Flood, “Nasca Tongue Iconography.”

⁵³³ Roark, “From Monumental to Proliferous.”

⁵³⁴ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 44.

bone in a bird is the keel bone to which the wing muscles attach; flightless birds lack a keel structure altogether.⁵³⁵ Indeed, Nasca sculptural vessels that depict penguins lack a chest nodule, just as their real world counterparts lack a keel bone (cat. nos. 193 and 194).⁵³⁶ In the strongest fliers, such as falcons and kestrels on the coast, and condors and harpy eagles that are native to the highland regions of the Andes, the keel bone is larger and more pronounced. In the present corpus soaring birds like falcons are the largest identifiable species represented (fig. 4.4). Indeed, many of the bird vessels that exhibit a chest nodule also have the falcon-like checkerboard pattern on the chest (cat. nos. 162 – 176). I argue that this unique modeled feature may be a visual emphasis on the capability to reach soaring heights, to traverse realms, and to achieve an alternate perspective.

Whereas in general the varied compositions of sculptural vessels suggest the weightlessness and suspension of the figures, specific avian features, such as eye markings, checkerboard patterned chests, and protruding keel bones, further convey a connection between shamans and their bird selves. Thus, the capability for ecstatic flight during trance is both literally and conceptually communicated through visually overt and subtle means. Inherent within these depictions is a fundamental shift to a weightless body and a celestial perspective undertaken by the shaman during visions. In her bird form a shaman can traverse multiple realms, see through another's eyes for a changed vantage point, and so resists "the proclivity of the underworld for sucking weight down into it."⁵³⁷

⁵³⁵ Ayhan Düzler, Özcan Özgel, and Nejdett Dursun, "Morphometric Analysis of the Sternum in Avian Species" *Turkish Journal of Veterinary and Animal Sciences* 30 (2006): 311-14.

⁵³⁶ Proulx labels a similar vessel a "Humboldt Penguin" (see Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 136, fig. 5.167; and "The Art Institute of Chicago: Collections," 1955.1965, http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/91201?search_no=10&index=91, accessed April 12, 2016.

⁵³⁷ Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 123.

Rebirth and Regeneration

Such a resistance and power to overcome the pull of the underworld, or the realm of the dead, is further emphasized in the Early Nasca sculptural corpus in motifs and forms that signal rebirth and regeneration. As many scholars have previously noted, Nasca art exhibits innumerable images of plants, which have been interpreted as a concern with fertility and natural abundance. Moreover, Staller and Currie note for funerary practices in South America that “[t]he timeless themes of birth, death and re-birth recut in a universe wherein death and burial anticipate re-birth and new life in the endless cosmic cycle.”⁵³⁸ This also appears to be the case in Nasca. In this vein, several scholars have connected motifs common in Nasca art and material culture to what Carmichael calls a “life from death continuum.”⁵³⁹ Yet, few examinations suggest how these interrelated themes relate to Nasca shamanism, particularly as expressed in sculptural vessel forms.

A key feature of human-animal effigies is the position of the two-dimensionally painted arms and legs that often frame the center of the body. This posture can be interpreted in multiple ways, all of which convey ideas related to rebirth and regeneration. First, toward the animal end of the continuum, the curling red arms and legs of human-animal effigies are depicted in the same manner as those of toad effigies (cat. nos. 202 – 204). One of the toad effigies shows explicitly the interchangeability of the poses and possessions of humans and animals as it grasps cultigens at the chest (cat. no. 203). Second, the torso provides a canvas on which to display the cultigens grasped in the hands, thereby positioning Nature’s growth at the place of human growth, the belly or

⁵³⁸ Staller and Currie, “Introduction,” in *Mortuary Practices and Ritual Associations*, 3.

⁵³⁹ Carmichael, “The Life from Death Continuum.”

womb area. The curling arms and legs frame this fertile area of a woman's body that swells upon pregnancy. As the culmination of the implied gestation, the position of the arms and legs also evokes a birthing pose in which a woman's legs are splayed, framing the belly and womb, and further exposing the genitals from which new life emerges.⁵⁴⁰ Stone cites several examples of what she calls "visionary emitting," including a woman in trance who "describes giving birth to herself in the form of millions of larvae, and another birthing the earth itself."⁵⁴¹ These new interpretations of Nasca vessels augment connections between the effigy figures and fecundity generally without relying upon a simplistic correlation between the figure's role in Nasca society and the objects it holds.

Although the innumerable images of plants have been interpreted as an overwhelming concern with agricultural abundance in these ways, human-animal effigies also show a visual link to human fecundity. This notion is complicated by the fact that most of these figures are interpreted as male based on clothing; however, the relationship between clothing and gender has not been extensively considered in the Nasca literature. Importantly, a shaman can shift gender or become an altogether third gender during visions.⁵⁴² Even if we accept for the moment that most Nasca shamanic effigies are gendered and dressed as males, a disjuncture between the figure's clothing (male) and pose (female) creates a purposefully ambiguous image indicating yet another level of shamanic ambiguity and potential transformation.

⁵⁴⁰ The effigy vessels are also posed like that of a small baby unable to walk, as if lying flat on the back with arms and legs raised up; however, the strong vertical orientation of the vessels diminishes the feasibility of this interpretation.

⁵⁴¹ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 44. [citing Metzner, *Sacred Vine of the Spirits: Ayahuasca* (Rochester, VT: Park Street Press, 2006), 121 and 227.]

⁵⁴² Sarah Victoria Parks, "'Dis'-Abilities as Divine: Bodily Anomalies and Shamanic Power in Ancient Costa Rican Ceramic Effigies" (Emory College, Honors Thesis, 2013).

Furthermore, the proportions of human-animal vessels suggest those of a human baby whose head typically measures over one quarter of the total body length.⁵⁴³

Although ancient American art features proportionately large heads generally, it may be germane that as a child grows the ratio of head size to body size diminishes. By showing the most infantile of body proportions, Nasca effigies may express the potential of the shaman for growth, much like a seed. I will explore the parallels between bodies and seeds below.

Bringing archaeological evidence to bear on the issue of the death-to-life continuum, the configuration of human-animal effigies could also be likened to the actual bodies interred in Nasca graves.⁵⁴⁴ This is perhaps the most convincing argument, given the burial contexts in which effigy vessels are typically found. In Nasca burials, bodies wrapped in textiles, or shrouds, are typically found seated in an upright and flexed position in which the knees are tucked up to the chest (fig. 5.5).⁵⁴⁵ Although painted in two dimensions on effigy jars and bottles, human arms emerge from beneath a tunic at the shoulder and bend at the elbow to wrap around the vessel-body. When legs are depicted they emerge from beneath the hem of the tunic curl or bend at the knee upward to rest against the body-vessel. In this way, the configuration of the effigy body visually anticipates a type of transformation to come: from life in the earthly realm to the afterlife in the Other world. Shamans typically mediate such transitions. They have knowledge of the Land of Death acquired during their trance journeys of rescuing lost souls and

⁵⁴³ Susan Rowen James, Kristine Ann Nelson, and Jean Weiler Ashwill, *Nursing Care of Children: Principles & Practice* (St. Louis, Mo.: Elsevier/Saunders, 2013).

⁵⁴⁴ John Howland Rowe, "Behavior and Belief in Ancient Peruvian Mortuary Practice," in *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 12th and 13th October 1991*, ed. Tom D. Dillehay, 27-41 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995), 28.

⁵⁴⁵ Carmichael, "Nasca Burial Patterns," 167 and 182.

consulting the ancestors and other spirits. They also experience multiple symbolic, little deaths undertaken to reach the trance state as modern shamans consistently report and scholars from Eliade on have discussed. For example, in an examination of festivals of the dead of the Laymi people of highland Bolivia, Olivia Harris notes the intersection of these festivals and agricultural cycles.⁵⁴⁶ Harris describes the parallels between the men who symbolically don yokes to open the earth for sowing, and those that carry the deceased to the tomb. She writes: “The way that the corpse is taken to be placed in the newly-opened earth is thus explicitly reminiscent of a ritual which embodies the critical act of cultivation.” In this example bodies and seeds are perceived to have similar regenerative powers that can be coordinated and controlled by shamans. This helps shed light on how Early Nasca human-animal effigies sit both in a meditative living pose and one of the dead, and are interred/planted in the earthly grave/hole.

Fox Pelt Wearers

Human effigy jars that wear fox-pelts are a group that spans multiple categories, but exemplify the variety of visionary exchanges and emphases depicted in the Nasca ceramic corpus generally (i.e. cephalocentrism), and a shaman’s role in agriculture specifically. These effigy vessels also appear to fall within the context of the typically later visionary stage that features human-animal interactions. There are some subtle indications of human-animal transformation, mainly that the human face has whiskers and the tip of the nose is black; however, other formal aspects make clear the close relationship between the two beings. As discussed in chapter 1, after initial color bursts and geometric shapes appear, the trance state becomes increasingly complex, including

⁵⁴⁶ Olivia Harris, “The Dead and the Devils among the Bolivian Laymi,” in *Death and the Regeneration of Life*, eds. Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982): 45-73

landscapes, people, animals, and extraordinary perspectives all often within the backdrop of the earlier imagery. It is during these mid-trance times shamans can learn from and borrow traits from animals. While puma and jaguar territories only barely include the Nasca region at the fringes, foxes are native to the area and constitute one of the largest land animals in Peru.⁵⁴⁷ Generally, previous analyses of effigy vessels wearing fox-pelts are limited, and in one case simply identify the figure as wearing a "ceremonial headdress."⁵⁴⁸ A closer examination of present examples reveals an intimate connection being made visually between the animal and its wearer, highlighting the connection of a shaman's identity with its animal-self.

Fox skins and images of foxes are found from the preceding Paracas culture and continue through Inka times to the present-day in the Central Andes. As we shall see for Nasca, the fox likely played a part in patrolling fields, aiding in the agricultural process. It may be germane to note a similar correlation between the pampas cat and beans in Paracas art, which is presumed to be illustrative of the role this feline may have played in protecting crops from vermin. In an archaeologically documented example, Anne Paul found a fox pelt resting at the top of a Paracas mummy bundle (fig. 5.6).⁵⁴⁹ The skin had been split down the back (from head to tail) so that a person might place it over the crown of the head.⁵⁵⁰

Moreover, two- and three-dimensional depictions of the fox as a solitary animal can direct the interpretation of the human-animal figures wearing their skins. Importantly, foxes are part of special scenes associated with dark, Otherworldly dimensions and

⁵⁴⁷ Blagg, "The Bizarre Innovation," 10.

⁵⁴⁸ Silverman and Proulx, *The Nasca*, 57.

⁵⁴⁹ Anne Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire: Symbols of Authority in Ancient Peru*, The Civilization of the American Indian Series (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 39.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

powerful entheogens. The description of a double-spout-and-bridge vessel painted with a black background highlights the presence of foxes within the visionary shamanic realm induced through ingestion of the San Pedro cactus (fig. 5.7).⁵⁵¹ The catalog explains:

In der peruanischen Wüste leben auch Füchse, die oftmals in der Paracas- und in der Nasca-Kunst abgebildet sind. Eine äusserst stimmungsvolle Darstellung findet sich auf diesem Gefäss. Zwischen Kakteen, Reptilien und schlangenartigen mythischen Wesen tummeln sich Füchse, die erstaunlich detailliert gemalt sind mit langen Schnauzen, Schnurrhaar, entblößten Zähnen, spitzen Ohren, weissem Bauchhaar sowie einem langen buschigen Schwanz. Offenbar ist eine geheimnisvolle nächtliche Stimmung wiedergegeben. Darauf weist nicht nur der dunkle Bildhintergrund, sondern auch der blühende Kaktus. Es handelt sich augenscheinlich um den San Pedro-Kaktus, der seine hellen Blüten nur in der Nacht öffnet. (Foxes live in the Peruvian desert and are often displayed in Paracas and Nasca art. An extremely evocative presentation can be found on this vessel. Foxes are painted with amazing detail with long snouts, whiskers, bared teeth, pointy ears, white belly hair, and a long bushy tail, between cacti, reptiles, and snake-like “mythical creatures.” It appears as though a mysterious nocturnal atmosphere is reproduced as indicated not only by the dark background, but also by the blooming San Pedro cactus, which opens its bright flowers only at night. In South America, the use of hallucinogenic plants was widespread. Shamans took these substances to achieve ecstasy within a trance state and thus experience another reality typically hidden from the normal state of consciousness.)⁵⁵²

It is important to note fox effigies also exist independently as fully animal-bodied effigies (cat. nos. 205 and 206). Unlike human effigies in which the vessel opening is located at or near the head of the human figure, emphasizing the top part of the head, or fontanel, from which visions are perceived to emanate, in fox effigies the vessel opening occurs at the center of the fox's back, the part of the fox skin that in human effigies drapes over the human head. The two examples in the present corpus stand on four legs, as do actual foxes. Moreover, the fox effigies are modeled with long horizontal bodies, painted in orange and gray with wisps of the brindle hairs across the top of the head and back. Each fox has a fully sculpted head with ears, snout and nostrils, and painted facial

⁵⁵¹ Rickenbach, *Nasca*, 279; cat. no. 112.

⁵⁵² Ibid., (my translation).

features including wide, staring eyes, teeth, and whiskers. Their characteristically bushy tails are modeled as bulbous and pointed appendages extending from the back of the bodies and are painted with dark tips, another telltale fox trait. All told, the overt fox features of these effigies place them firmly at the animal end of the continuum. Moreover, in both cases the foxes bear their teeth, signaling the aggressive role the animal played in keeping vermin from the fields.

Several scholars have noted Early Nasca effigies that show humans wearing animal-skin headdresses, almost exclusively identified as fox pelts.⁵⁵³ Certainly, the presence of a fox skin in a Paracas burial reinforces Proulx's attribution of this Nasca effigy type to the Early period (phases 2 and 3).⁵⁵⁴ Similar treatment of the animal skin is depicted in one example of a Nasca fox-pelt wearer effigy (fig. 5.8). The present corpus includes five jars that wear fox-pelts (cat. nos. 067 – 071) within which catalog numbers 070 and 071 form a pair.⁵⁵⁵ Consistently among all five examples, the head of a fox rests on the top of the human figure's head, yet does not obstruct the opening of the vessel, so the vessel maintains its function despite the fox-pelt. The fox is depicted with open, staring eyes, much like the human face below. The fox's snout protrudes from the center of the human figure's forehead, resembling a "hair tusk" in its placement (e.g., cat. no. 060). When viewed from the side, the fox's nose aligns above the human's. The pelt drapes down the back of the head, the shoulders and covers the figure's back like a hood

⁵⁵³ Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, tomo II, 31 (num. 344); Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Catálogo de la cerámica Nazca*, 96-97, Lamina XXVIII; Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 22; Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 107 and 129, figs. 126 and 173; and Sawyer, "Paracas and Nazca Iconography," 289-292, fig. 9e-j.

⁵⁵⁴ Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 122 (HUM-1); and Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, 39 and 43, figs. 4.7 and 7.5, Bundle 378.

⁵⁵⁵ Kroeber, et al. also note a pair of this vessel type found in Grave 18 at Majoro A. Along with the "much deteriorated skeleton," other grave goods included ceramic plates, bowls, a double-spout vessel, and a "water jar" (*The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 122-125, fig. 173).

or cape, implying the history of interaction between the animal and the individual has been anything but peaceful.⁵⁵⁶ The four fox legs and paws are sometimes represented splayed out so as to be completely recognizable as a dead animal's skin rather than a living animal being carried (e.g., cat. nos. 068, 070, and 071).

In the case of the human-animal fox-pelt wearers, there are corporeal connections between the figure and the animal, confirmed by the sharing of identical features on both human and animal bodies. Whiskers on the fox and human faces are shown as parallel lines moving diagonally upward from mouth to eyes (cat. nos. 067, and 068). These animal whiskers are distinct from human facial hair seen painted around the mouths of some human-animal effigies (e.g., cat. nos. 059 and 061) and frequently on head jars (e.g., cat. nos. 112 – 119). In some cases the human's and the animal's ears are stacked at the sides of the heads (e.g., cat. nos. 070 and 071). Still other instances show the human with a black nose, the same as the fox's nose (e.g., cat. nos. 067 and 068), an animal trait that can also be seen on some of the fully animal effigies (e.g., cat. no. 204). Therefore, not only does the human being don the animal, but it also has an altered physiognomy as if it *is* the animal. Having some transformed features at the same time the figure wears the pelt creates a purposefully ambiguous image, communicating flux: I wear the fox pelt and I become the fox.

One museum object description for an effigy wearing a fox skin links the animal to shamanic activity: “En lo que respecta al personaje, el tocado de zorro y su asociación a frutos, podría indicar que se trata de un chamán que realiza rituales relacionados con la fertilidad de las tierras” (Regarding the person [wearer], fox headdress and its association

⁵⁵⁶ John E. Staller and Brian Stross, *Lightning in the Andes and Mesoamerica: Pre-Columbian, Colonial, and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 109 [citing Urton, *At the Crossroads*, 70].

with fruit, it could indicate that it is a shaman who performs fertility rituals related to the land).⁵⁵⁷ Still others speculate about the nature of the human-fox relationship:

Der Mann trägt über seinem Kopf einen Tierbalg, möglicherweise von einem Fuchs. Sollte damit vielleicht angedeutet werden, dass dieses Tier eine andere Erscheinungsform, ein anderer Aspekt dieser Person ist? Haben wir demnach die Figur eines Schamanen vor uns? (The man is wearing an animal's hide above his head, perhaps of a fox. If so perhaps it indicates that this animal is another manifestation or another aspect of this person? Have we, therefore, the figure of a shaman in front of us?) (fig. 5.9).⁵⁵⁸

Whereas Rickenbach et al. poses this as “perhaps” and poses questions, I argue that the shaman and the animal he “wears” are united by their common role as cultivators maintaining productive fields.

In every example in the present corpus the fox pelt's eyes are shown open, indicating an alert and “alive” animal, as opposed to a dead one that might be inferred from its skinned state. This is similar to the interpretation of the eyes on head jars, which differentiates basic states of being by their openness, shape, and occurrence with other features. The two beings appear to look in the same direction, seeing as one, much like a shaman can see from the perspective of another self in trance. In this way, the artist makes clear that this fox is not necessarily dead. Rather it might be considered an active partner to the wearer, and capable of multiple perspectives itself.⁵⁵⁹ Indeed, Kroeber found one example that shows in two-dimensions the human grasping the fore-limbs of the fox that hang in front of the figure's body, making a visual comparison of between the foxes limbs and the agricultural tools typically held by other figures.⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁷ “Museo de América: Acceso al catálogo en línea,” <http://www.mecd.gob.es/museodeamerica/coleccion/acceso-a-catalogo2.html>, search for catalog number 8165, accessed March 12, 2016.

⁵⁵⁸ Rickenbach, *Nasca*, 305; cat no. 144, (my translation).

⁵⁵⁹ Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives.”

⁵⁶⁰ This configuration is also found on a vessel excavated by Kroeber (*The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 107, fig. 126).

The argument for an agriculturally based connotation for the fox-pelt wearers is bolstered in examples of similar figures on a Nasca painted textile. Sawyer reports figures wearing fox skins alongside figures wearing conical caps, and others in ecstatic poses with heads bent back that he calls “dancing figures” (fig. 5.10).⁵⁶¹ All of the figures on this textile hold cultigens and/or agricultural tools, perhaps as part of what Sawyer calls a “harvest festival” scene.⁵⁶² Additionally, Urton notes that in later Inka times, young men were sent to tend the fields outside of the community and could be seen wearing fox skin hats while performing their duties.⁵⁶³ Therefore, a Nasca shaman who dons a fox-pelt might also be considered particularly skilled in predicting and managing the agricultural issues. In this way, the pelt-wearing effigy could be a representational image that depicts a specific shamanic role in relation to the custodial role of the fox in keeping rodents and birds from destroying crops.

Two unique examples of fox-pelt wearers have an enigmatic feature for which we have little archaeological backing (cat. nos. 070 and 071). Each has a paddle-like protrusion at the back of the effigy figure’s heads. In each case, the orange fox pelt does not drape over the paddle protrusion, but rather the paddle pierces the animal skin at the back of its head. The base of the paddle, at the point where it joins with the vessel wall, is outlined in black (similar to a buttonhole), emphasizing its separation from the fox pelt.⁵⁶⁴ The paddles also appear to be wrapped at the base nearest the figure’s head.⁵⁶⁵

The base of the protrusion has a white slip ground with horizontal black lines: two lines

⁵⁶¹ Sawyer, “Painted Nasca Textiles,” 140, fig. 20m-p.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Gary Urton, “Animal Metaphors and the Life Cycle in an Andean Community,” in *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America*, ed. Gary Urton (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 251-84.

⁵⁶⁴ This black outlining of a protrusion is similar to the delineation of “chest nodules” on many bird effigy vessels (e.g., cat. no. 168).

⁵⁶⁵ The protrusion can be compared in formal terms to the “head pads” found on the vessels with “keyhole-shaped” eye markings and checkerboard shoulders caps, which also appear wrapped at the base.

are visible on catalog number 070, whereas one line is visible (despite much surface wear and loss) on catalog number 071. The upper portion is slipped in red; however, extensive wear at the tip obscures whether or not the tip was originally another color. There is no apparent utilitarian purpose for the protrusion on the ceramic vessel itself. The paddle and its attributes point up a visual distinction between objects or features of the body that come through or pierce the outer layers of the vessel-body, in this case, seemingly both human and animal skin. In this case, I would suggest this is a device for cranial modification. Perhaps the fox-pelt wearing shamans patrolled the fields as their fox selves and also played a role in shaping heads to inspire similar transformations. Surely, the Nasca obsession with cranial alterations (as also seen in the figures wearing “head pads” discussed below), in addition to the doubling of the human and animal heads seen on fox-pelts wearers and many other head-related attributes, points to a culture-wide focus on the head as possibly the most important part of the shaman’s body.

Cephalocentrism

As is the case with disembodied head jarss, the heads of human-animal and animal-human effigies have wide, staring eyes. Furthermore, most of the three-dimensionally sculpted features present in the entire figure are found in the head area and the vessel opening is located there. Thus, the head of the embodied figures appear visually dominant. Within the present corpus, polycephaly, or multiple heads represented on one vessel, as seen in the fox-pelt wearers, “twins,” and vessels pairs, also contributes to this focus. Moreover, the heads of shrouded figures garner visual attention because of what is absent, not added; the viewer’s eye is quickly drawn to the face and head of the figure whose facial features are partially withheld from view.

Importantly, in Nasca human-animal effigies the figures' heads are oversized, constituting an average of forty percent of the entire vessel height. This ratio stands in contrast to normative standing human body proportions in which the head is approximately 14% of the total body height; however, the Nasca effigy figures are depicted seated and flexed with knees drawn to the chest, a position in which the head appears to take up larger proportion of the total body height. Nevertheless, the Nasca effigy proportions give strong visual focus to the head and its features; concomitantly the visual weight of the body is diminished.

While there are naturalistic aspects to the rendering of the body in human effigy jars overall—parts of the body are easily recognizable—the proportions are not to the scale of a normative adult person. This is also the case for vessels with unique compositions that already accentuate the head. For instance, in shrouded figures the head register comprises over 40% of the total jar/body height. Thus, the head inevitably dominates the visual field. Cultigens grasped at the chest also appear exaggerated in scale; at times peppers appear as large as the figure's arms (cat. no. 028). When juxtaposed against a cream or white background created by the tunic front, peppers, beans, and other agricultural products appear brighter and certainly larger than they would be in reality. These disproportions highlight the perceptual shift during visions (especially those induced with mescaline) that “paradoxically allows percepts to recede in depth but stay the same size as opposed to shrinking.”⁵⁶⁶ In addition, the visual growth of the heads and the cultigens, equates to the power of the shaman's visions to make the plants grow.

⁵⁶⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 14 [citing Klüver, *Mescal*, 78].

Polycephaly

Concepts of cephalocentrism and multiplicity are further emphasized through polycephaly, or multi-headedness, prevalent in two object groups in the present corpus: double-necked jars and vessel pairs. Both object types double the human heads that are present and therefore speak to heightened available sensory input via four eyes, two noses, four ears, and two mouths. Multiplication of the senses equates to an expansion of the sensory experiences already present within shamanic visions; here the message becomes a shaman with double the sensory receptors can sense even more, which in shamanism means to know more in terms of healing, communicating with the spirits, and prognosticating. Moreover, the acquisition of different senses, such as those of an animal or special human, heighten the shaman's perceptions beyond the normal scope of a human to all those available within the visionary realm.

Double-Necked Vessels or "Twins"

While many human effigy vessel types included in the present corpus point up the concept of multiplicity, no where is the idea more visually evident than in the two heads of double-necked vessels and in pairs of matched vessels. Each instance of the double-necked jar shape depicts physically conjoined humans: two cylindrical necks with modeled human faces share one globular vessel body. Such physical conditions highlight the anomalous body as appropriate for shamans and they also embody the two-as-one nature of shamanic dual consciousness. In addition, the multiplicity of this form in particular dovetails with the pervasive visual attention given the human head through

polycephaly, another common theme in shamanic visions.⁵⁶⁷ There are a total of five examples of this shape and imagery in the present sample. Four are similar in size (cat. nos. 018 – 021), while one is miniature (cat. no. 022). Figures are oriented in opposite directions; when seen literally, the figures appear fused, connected at or sharing a back.

Catalog number 019 has painted details that establish slight distinctions between each figure; consequently, these joined figures are neither identical nor is the vessel imagery symmetrical. For reference, the “front” of this vessel exhibits a profile view of both modeled faces, in which the face with triangular orange cheek markings and the ends of four strands of hair is visible on the figure’s proper left shoulder. By contrast, the face looking to the right has a red “X” marked over the upper bridge of the nose: the two crossed lines extend upwards into the lower limits of the black hair band and diagonally downward to either corner of the painted mouth/lips. Another slight variance between the figures lies in the number of black hair strands that sweep from the back of the neck to the proper left shoulder—four on the left and five on the right—a difference best viewed from above. Elements modeled in a similar fashion equate the overall forms of the faces: ears bulge slightly at each side of the face and triangular noses protrude from the center of the face as the feature in highest relief. In addition, each figure shares the following painted features: single straight-line eyebrows above each eye; lenticular eyes with central circular pupils; orange tunic collars encircling the neck from arm to arm and combining under the chin in a vertical tab; red arms bending at the elbow; and hands each grasping the stems of three ají peppers, two yellow and one orange with striations, at the center of the chest.

⁵⁶⁷ It is important to note that in the ancient Americas, cephalocentrism is not limited to depictions of human forms, but animals are often depicted as multi-headed (see Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 81).

Neither Kroeber nor Proulx list the double-necked jar as a typical Nasca vessel shape.⁵⁶⁸ Rickenbach published one example of this vessel shape, simply calling its form “exceptional” (fig. 5.11).⁵⁶⁹ Likewise, Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez published a unique version of the double-necked jar in which two figures share a vessel-body and are joined from the shoulder to the base with faces oriented in the same direction (fig. 5.12).⁵⁷⁰ The authors offer little analysis of the rare form described in part as “Están unidas por el tronco, los brazos aparecen pegados al cuerpo y de las extremidades inferiores sólo son visibles los pies de frente. (The two figures are joined at the trunk, the arms are held close to the body and the lower extremities and feet are visible only at the front).⁵⁷¹

In the same catalog an example of what might be described as a double-chambered vessel shows a double effigy vessel in which the bodies are joined at the sides, not the back (fig. 5.13).⁵⁷² Damage to this vessel reveals that the two chambers, each presumed to present an effigy figure, were connected by a spout-like tube (as opposed to sharing one vessel body, as is the case with the double-necked examples). The Krannert Museum holds another example of this uncommon double figure vessel in which two shrouded figures are presented side-to-side and facing the same direction (fig. 5.14). Shrouded figures will be discussed below. Sawyer describes the figures as “joined

⁵⁶⁸ Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, 94, fig. 90; and Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, 15, fig. 2.2.

⁵⁶⁹ Rickenbach, *Nasca*, 340.

⁵⁷⁰ Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, tomo II, 42.

⁵⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 42, (my translation).

⁵⁷² Since the second vessel chamber is lost, it is impossible to know whether the two figures were exact replicas of each other. Blasco Boqued and Ramos Gómez describe the extant vessel as: “Reproduce una figura humana, a la que le faltan las extremidades inferiores y tiene los brazos replegados sobre el cuerpo; viste un uncu o camisa corta sin mangas con adornos en el cuello; lleva en las manos tres vainas de leguminosa no identificada” ([r]epresents a human figure, which lacks lower extremities and has arms folded on the body; it wears a tunic (uncu) or sleeveless shirt with ornaments at the neck; the hands carry three pods of unidentified legumes) (*Ibid.*, 41; my translation).

together like Siamese twins.”⁵⁷³ The more culturally sensitive term used today is “conjoined” twins.

In terms of these objects depicting actual bodies in a literal sense, conjoined twins and multiple births of any number occur naturally, albeit infrequently. As a small percentage of births overall, and pregnancies that are overtly dangerous for both babies and mother, successful twin births may have been awe-inspiring in the Nasca world.⁵⁷⁴ If they survive gestation and birth, multiples often face subsequent hardships. Often born pre-term, the babies may not have the ability to feed effectively and thus have nutrient deficiencies that cannot be corrected quickly. Therefore, if they survive infancy, multiples may suffer delayed growth or permanent physical and developmental effects. However, a surviving twin may have been considered extraordinary, potentially a “wounded healer” as discussed below.

Indeed, contemporaneously with the Nasca, the Moche culture represented twinning in an exceptional form: the parasitic twin. An unusual stirrup-spout vessel depicts a person with the remains of a parasitic twin emerging from its shoulder (fig. 5.15).⁵⁷⁵ Stone contends that such a representation of a still-conjoined individual and parasitic twin, in which the remnants of the one that did not fully develop remain attached to the second living body, would have been seen as “someone who is simultaneously

⁵⁷³ Sawyer, *Ancient Andean Arts*, 98-99.

⁵⁷⁴ Data regarding the archaeological excavation of human twin skeletons is complicated because in many cases burials with more than one body of similar size and age are often considered to be a multiple burial and not immediately investigated as a potential twin pair. Genetic testing could confirm this, but is expensive and depending on the age of the burial not always accurate. Only recently, as access to testing and affordability allow, have these possibilities been explored, yet not in the case of burials from the Nasca region. To my knowledge no ancient Nasca burials have been excavated with two juvenile skeletons; however, the all-too-common caveat regarding damage due to looting applies. For statistics regarding the frequency of twinning globally in modern times (Jeroen Smits and Christiaan Monden, "Twinning across the Developing World," *PLoS ONE* 6, no. 9 (2011): e25239).

⁵⁷⁵ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 186-88.

alive and dead, who is frankly dual (*huaca*), who crosses physical/cosmic borders all the time, a shaman times two.”⁵⁷⁶ This, she continues, aptly provides an image of and embodies the phenomena of a “dual visionary consciousness,” seeing this world and others simultaneously, to which shamans attest during trance.⁵⁷⁷ In addition, this particular configuration, instead of the doubling of the terrestrially based senses seen in other examples of twin vessels, juxtaposes active or earthly sight with inactive, internalized, or Otherworldly sight. Highlighting the Andean and shamanic tendency to honor atypical forms, she reiterates Cobo’s assessment of marked bodies in Inka culture: “It was said that priests were not selected by chance nor without some mystery that marked them... [such as being] born as twins or triplets from the same womb, [or]... given by nature something out of the ordinary.”⁵⁷⁸ Moreover, still today, many people in the Andes believe that thunder and lightning cause twin births, and therefore these meteorological phenomena “have a strong symbolic and mythological association to twins, the principles of rebirth and renewal cycles, and, particularly, eclipses of the moon.”⁵⁷⁹

Despite the potential for these innate characteristics to direct twins to a career as a shaman, such an extraordinary birth situation puts stress on the people necessary to support multiples. For prominent anthropologist, Victor Turner, in a consideration of twins among the Ndembu (or Lunda people of modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo, Angola, and Zambia), twins present a paradox for the community: despite placing a high premium on fertility, the birth of twins nevertheless results in “physiological and

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., 186.

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 173 [citing Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 159].

⁵⁷⁹ Staller and Stross, *Lightning in the Andes*, 52.

economic distress.”⁵⁸⁰ He also notes that for societal structures in which it is assumed that human beings bear only one child at a time, the birth of twins disrupts the usual categories by which society is structured.⁵⁸¹ By contrast, in a society like Nasca and those of other ancient Andean cultures whose structure is reliant upon imbalanced forces finding equilibrium, twins may instead have been seen as an important manifestation of balance and harmony.

For the Inka too, physiognomic abnormalities produced tension as “both a deviation from the sanctified order and a revelation of the transforming power of the divine.”⁵⁸² Indeed, in the Andes, as in much of the ancient Americas, physical differences, including the many varieties of twinning, were sometimes apparently often a manifestation of the divine.⁵⁸³ Classen notes, “[t]his was particularly true of duplicated or divided body parts or bodies; for example, *huaca virpa* (split lip), *huaca runa* (person with six fingers), or *huaca huacachasca* (twin).”⁵⁸⁴ We might envision a similar situation in ancient Nasca society where it appears fecundity in all spheres was paramount, yet the resources for two babies in one family at once scarce. Regardless of the societal disruption, Sawyer confirms “[t]wins are regarded with awe by many people of the world who view them as unnatural and therefore possessed with supernatural significance. There is a strong possibility that the Nasca held a similar belief. This would lend special significance to all twin figures.”⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁰ Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), 44.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., 45.

⁵⁸² Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 15.

⁵⁸³ Stone, “Disability as Divine.”

⁵⁸⁴ Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 15.

⁵⁸⁵ Sawyer, *Ancient Andean Arts*, 98-100.

In the case of Nasca, the twins and pairs in the present corpus are linked via their special bodies to agriculture through the consistent display of cultigens grasped in the figures' hands, as with the fox-shamans. Since twins are not necessarily "farmers" it seems necessary to move beyond the literal reading of these dual figures merely as a type of "twins," an entirely biologically determined interpretation. The juxtaposition of opposite-facing individuals resonates visually with the shamanic idea of a dualistic perspective marked by "an overlapping perceptual interaction of this realm and others."⁵⁸⁶ Double-necked vessels share one body with multiplied senses located on two separate heads directed away from each other, thereby magnifying their scope. Facing in opposing directions, due to the split nature of its senses the singular body or individual can see both forward and backward; however, more importantly, the person has the ability to see, hear, and speak in two places at one time. Instead of a simple secular illustration of conjoined twins, the double-necked vessels resemble a double-bodied Maya incensario that three-dimensionally embodies the *way* (animal-spirit) glyph (fig. 3.11).⁵⁸⁷ These similar compositions communicate clearly the sensation within visions in which sensory input expands, defying normal perception, and encompasses the paradox of being Here and Not Here at the same time.

Furthermore, the artistic choice of a back-to-back and doubled figure means that for a viewer facing either side of the vessel directly (i.e. looking at the face frontally), the opposite side is nearly invisible (cat. no. 019) and vice versa. These opposing points of view may suggest how a shaman is cognizant of the past, but, more significantly, future events. Inka metaphors of the body support this idea. According to Classen, Inka

⁵⁸⁶ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 16.

⁵⁸⁷ Stone-Miller, *Seeing with New Eyes*, 3-5.

concepts of time are also related to aspects of the human body; she explains “the front of the body is associated with the past and the back with the future in Andean thought. The reason for this is that the past is known and therefore visible (in front of one), and the future is unknown and therefore invisible (behind one).”⁵⁸⁸ Thus, like the Roman Janus, the Nasca body with multiplied senses as depicted on double-necked vessels may arguably exhibit the capabilities for prognostication of the future concurrent with a consideration of the past.

This interpretation is particularly relevant to a telling double-necked vessel in which the heads are represented differently; in catalog number 018, one neck shows an exposed face, painted in the typical fashion of a human-animal effigy, while the other neck displays a shrouded face. Each face includes: a wide, upturned, red mouth; and a modeled nose and ears. They both wear a gray and orange tunic collar and hold peppers at their chests. Looking down at the top of the vessel, the outline of the shroud is clearly delineated across one figure’s back, in contrast to the hair strands barely visible at the nape of the other’s neck. This vessel succinctly contrasts a person with normative sight, someone who sees with eyes wide open, with a person whose same ability to see has been purposefully obscured, as discussed below for single-bodied effigies. Indeed, in the case of the exposed face, curved, orange swaths above and below the eyes draw attention to the “seeing” visage. Although the viewer can infer what lies underneath the head cover, a distinction is being made between the two individuals, or perhaps between the two states in which the viewer alternately finds a single individual shaman.

A pair of “twin” vessels takes the concepts of multiplicity and polycephaly to the extreme through the doubling of an already double body (cat. nos. 020 and 021). Like the

⁵⁸⁸ Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 18.

other double-necked vessels, each figure holds cultigens to the chest. Arms and legs wrap around the vessel terminating at the front beneath a face with wide staring eyes. If these vessels were not considered together, the viewer might understand each vessel as a singular rendering of dual consciousness; however, when taken as a pair the figures are capable of expansive sight in all directions and the representation of dual consciousness that can exist not only within one body, but also can bridge two separate and doubled bodies.

Vessel Pairs

While double-necked vessels connect two beings in one body, the corpus also contains four sets of vessel pairs; in addition to the double-necked pair, three of the pairs are human effigy vessels (cat. nos. 070 and 071; 081 and 082; and 105 and 106) and one is head jars (cat. nos. 136 and 137). A pair is defined as two distinct vessels that are near-to-exact replicas of each other. Although the pairs in the present study lack documented context, they are assumed to be pairs because, in addition to near exact size, shape, and imagery, they reside in the same repository and therefore were likely collected together. In most cases the vessels also appear to have received the same treatment over time. More precisely, the condition of the exterior has deteriorated in the same manner. It is likely that the objects have been kept in the same conditions since being removed from their Nasca context. More importantly, the ceramic paste and slip paint were made from the same natural sources so that they have reacted to burial and subsequent museum conditions in the same way over the centuries.

Carmichael also describes vessel pairs as "identical in shape, size and decoration."⁵⁸⁹ His dissertation specifically notes the presence of numerous vessel pairs; likely this is because his sample compiled data from seven archaeological excavations conducted during the early twentieth century through which he could identify broad patterns. He reports vessel pairs (not all effigies) as occurring in thirty-four graves: twenty-three graves contained one pair; eight contained two pairs; one contained three pairs; one contained four pairs; and one contained seven pairs. Overall vessel pairs were found in 22% of the mid-high status burials.⁵⁹⁰ Carmichael suggests that the presence of matched vessel pairs in a burial indicates a relatively elevated social status of the interred person within the community.⁵⁹¹ Furthermore, he also surmises that vessel pairs were not only placed in the same burial together, but that they are also found in separate graves. This configuration, he concludes, points up a relationship between the individuals in life and/or death, be it related to social status in the community, family, or an established social role.⁵⁹²

Giuseppe Orefici excavated an Early Nasca vessel pair in a burial at Pueblo Viejo, a site located near the ceremonial center of Cahuachi, near the Ocongalla and Agua Santa puquios.⁵⁹³ Orefici describes the vessels as:

[p]areja de jarras antropomorfas que representan a personajes vestidos con una túnica blanca con flecos. Tienen pintura epitelial alrededor de los ojos y llevan ajíes en sus manos. Probablemente se trata de sacerdotes o seres divinizados relacionados con la agricultura. (a [p]air of anthropomorphic jars that represent people dressed in a white tunic with fringe. They have painted membranes around

⁵⁸⁹ Carmichael, "Nasca Mortuary Customs," 213.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid., 213 and plates 16D-E and 21A. Carmichael notes "a variety of shape and motif categories" in the paired vessels he encountered. His plates show two pair of Late Nasca flaring bowls.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., 309.

⁵⁹² Ibid., 314.

⁵⁹³ Orefici, Cahuachi: capital teocrática, 53.

the eyes and hold peppers in their hands. Probably were priests or were deities related to agriculture.)⁵⁹⁴

Importantly, this pair has a unique combination of several novel features: painted “keyhole” eye markings; painted square, checkerboard-patterned cap sleeves with fringe; and two head pads bound within wrappings on either side of the head above the ears (fig. 5.16). Similar sculptural effigy figures are also found in eighteen vessels, a substantive portion of the present corpus (cat. nos. 023 – 040). Although not related to polycephaly, but rather to cephalocentrism more broadly, the occurrence of this vessel type as a pair in combination with its overall frequency in this sample, points up the importance of this particular figure type.

Orefici interprets rather vaguely the figure pair to be “the liturgical manifestation of a divine function.”⁵⁹⁵ As previously noted, similar to terms like “ritual performer,” and “deity impersonator,” a term such as “liturgical” denies the shamanic connotations of the images. However, contextual evidence can aid in a more meaningful interpretation. Figures who have wrapped “head pads” at the sides of their heads above the ears are embroidered on a Nasca tunic (fig. 5.17). Within the embroidered scene, the figures with head pads mingle with those wearing conical caps or cowls, another substantive portion of the present corpus (cat. nos. 041 – 049 and 101 – 110). Certainly, the distinctive headgear is common to Nasca images of cultivation and farming, so much so as to have garnered the name “Harvester.” In the current study it is sufficient to note the links between the conical cap and other shamanic themes, such as foxes, animal-like spotted faces, and the substitution of those spotted faces with treated heads (fig. 4.9).

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid., 276, (my translation).

⁵⁹⁵ Orefici, *Cahuachi: capital teocrática*, 276, (my translation). “Los individuos que cumplen una acción no se pueden interpretar simplemente como figuras simbólicas en el acto de ejercer una actividad, más bien hay que considerarlos como la manifestación litúrgica de una función divina.”

Because it is impossible to know how many Nasca vessels were originally created as pairs or multiple sets, it is serendipitous that those included in the present corpus were presumably collected, sold, and stored together. Regardless of their original context, the variety of vessel pair imagery shows that there is no standard form for the multiplication of effigies. In fact, several differences between the vessels within a pair blur the definition of exact replication implicit in the “pair” designation. Catalog 081 depicts two nostrils, armbands on the upper arms, and a trophy head with two spines sealing the lips and open eyes with pendant irises held at the center of the chest. Evidence from the present catalog suggests nostrils are more commonly found on animal effigies (e.g., cat. nos. 203, 205, and 207); therefore, the indication of nostrils on one vessel in the pair and not the other may be a subtle cue of a transformational stage, where the figure lies on the continuum between human and animal. Thus pairing of vessels reiterates concepts of transformation and flux. In other words, each rendition of the figure marks a point of subtle change over time, the figure becomes more or less animal-like and less or more human-like from one instantiation of the figure to the next.⁵⁹⁶ On the other hand, the repeated body with subtle changes may also signal the simultaneous existence of a body in multiple phases of transformation.

Shrouded Figures

A visual focus on the head is nowhere more apparent than in a substantial group of seventeen Nasca human effigy jars with coverings obscuring the head, what I am calling “shrouded” figures (cat. nos. 001 – 017). Generally, shrouded effigies take the

⁵⁹⁶ For use of the term “instantiation” as applied to effigy figures found in ancient West Mexican tomb contexts, see Rebecca R. Stone, “Keeping the Souls Contained: Instantiation and the Artist's Hand in 'Mexpan' Sculptures of Ancient Nayarit, West Mexico,” in *Shaft Tombs and Figures in West Mexican Society: A Reassessment*, ed. Robert Ricketing (Tulsa: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming).

same form as the typical human-animal effigy jar, yet facial features above the mouth remain unpainted. Proulx has described these vessels as portraying “a hood over most of the face.”⁵⁹⁷ To differentiate cloth from skin, Nasca artists painted the upper face cream or white slip, while leaving the lower portion of the face in a clearly contrasting slip color, often dark orange or beige. A mouth or lips are also defined (e.g., cat. no. 009). While all of the shrouded figures exhibit faces that are obscured by a cloth, only three examples explicitly use a black outline to differentiate the separate garment itself (cat. nos. 003, 004, and 009). A majority of the head coverings appear as unified with the tunic, enveloping the entire figure in a cream or ivory slip to presumably represent not only a head shroud but also an entire body covering. However, in all cases the shroud at least covers the upper face and head and drapes over the shoulders, down the back of the person and the vessel.

It is important to note that in some cases the ceramicist has still modeled three-dimensional facial features that are then “covered” by the shroud, indicating the physical presence of the body underneath a garment (e.g., cat. no. 001). Just as in their unshrouded human-animal effigy counterparts, the nose, ears, jaw and brows of shrouded figures are modeled, although by definition not outlined in characteristic fashion by dark lines. Facial features, aside from the mouth, are explicitly covered and do not “show through” to any extent. In some cases the artist sculpted bulging eyeballs. Likewise, the lower body is painted in the typical human-animal effigy manner, with arms that bend at the

⁵⁹⁷ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*, 53.

elbows and grasp plants or fruits, and, in most cases, two-dimensional legs curl upward from the hem of the cream or white tunic.⁵⁹⁸

Shrouds are rendered as simple undecorated cloths; importantly, similar textiles have been excavated archaeologically. Both Carmichael and Silverman attest to the Nasca practice of shrouding bodies in burials by wrapping them to varying degrees in layers of textiles.⁵⁹⁹ By definition a shroud is first a burial wrapping, and second, a thing that envelops or obscures something. Mummy bundling and the wrapping of important objects with fiber had been practiced across the Andes from the pre-ceramic through the Inka periods (see chapter 2). Each cultural style varied and Nasca burials do not appear to have been as elaborate as some, such as those found from the earlier Paracas culture (fig. 5.6).⁶⁰⁰ Phipps describes Nasca shrouds found during Strong's investigations at Cahuachi as an identifiable type of "undecorated plainweave textiles" made from natural cotton, most often in white or cream.⁶⁰¹ Similarly, a textile cache at Cahuachi contained a group of five natural cotton-colored plainweave cloths found bundled together as one. Frame describes them having crepe-like texture and as "delicate, light-weight cloths that could not have withstood hard use."⁶⁰² The cloths are unlike the garments buried in the larger deposit at the site, yet little analysis or speculation as to their purpose has thus far been offered.⁶⁰³ It is understandable that without recognizing the ceramic shrouded figures, these plain cloths would seem unremarkable. Certainly, such crepe-like textiles would

⁵⁹⁸ Sawyer notes, "The Nasca people's preoccupation with agriculture is manifested in their art by a dominance of subjects dealing with religious beliefs and mythology having to do with its productivity. An interesting motif related to this concern involves figures wearing hoods over their eye and holding fruits and vegetables in their hands" (*Ancient Andean Arts*, 98).

⁵⁹⁹ Carmichael, *Nasca Mortuary Customs*, 303-304; and Silverman, *Cahuachi*, 197-199, and 216.

⁶⁰⁰ Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, 35-46.

⁶⁰¹ Phipps, "Cahuachi Textiles in the W. D. Strong Collection," 212.

⁶⁰² Frame, "What the Women Were Wearing," 33.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*,

drape effectively over the smallest contour of the face, settling in and around eye sockets and pooling over the ears. Thus, the Nasca ceramic artist has naturalistically rendered the qualities of this lightweight and light-colored textile as well as the facial features or complete body it simultaneously covers and reveals. The Quechua term *uhku* is once again applicable in that the cloth at once hides and reveals (see chapter 1).

In this vein, the Nasca shrouded figures convey a direct connection to the realm of the Dead, to which we have seen that shamans often travel to gain knowledge from the Other Side. Yet, the individuals depicted in shrouded human effigy jars do not appear to be those of the dead. As mentioned earlier, the usual Nasca conventions indicating death mimic the traits of a ritually treated head: closed eyes, sealed lips (with two spines), and a hole in the forehead.⁶⁰⁴ By contrast, shrouded figures emphasize exposed, unpinned mouths visible below the bottom edge of the shroud. The shaman's eyes may be obviously covered, but the message seems to be that the mouth can still sing, chant, and communicate the shamanic vision. Indeed, an essential component of shamanic practice and efficacy relates to being able to communicate what is happening while conscious in one realm and Seeing in another.⁶⁰⁵

Contemporaneous EIP Moche ceramics depict figures wearing cowls and hoods often depicted as the main character in scenes of ritual healing, and may provide some insight into how to approach Nasca shrouded effigies.⁶⁰⁶ The Moche shrouded figures have been labeled *achumeras* due to a consistent association with the San Pedro cactus, known as *achuma* in contemporary folk terminology.⁶⁰⁷ Achumeras are typically seen

⁶⁰⁴ Proulx, "A Thematic Approach."

⁶⁰⁵ For more on the concept of dual consciousness, see Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 16-18.

⁶⁰⁶ For many examples of Moche owl-shaman healers, see Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*.

⁶⁰⁷ Sarahh Scher, "Clothing Power: Hierarchies of Gender Difference and Ambiguity in

kneeling and holding sections of the entheogenic plant (fig. 5.18). Most notably, achumeras are often depicted as blind or have a plain, cream-colored cloth covering the upper part of the face, revealing the mouth, much as in Nasca shrouded figures. Achumeras consistent association with the mescaline-containing cactus points up a connection between a hooded face and ritual activities related to the practice of shamanism.

A deliberate obfuscation of natural human sight favors an otherworldly visual sense, or the ability to have visions. In fact, the deprivation of light is a method by which some shamans induce the trance states during which they enter another realm; sensory deprivation triggers the brain in much the same way as other methods of trance induction. It is during visions that shamans predict, understand, and act upon spiritual forces to aid their communities and patients. Due to such a highly visual nature of shamanic practice generally, the senses and the eyes especially, play a vital role in a shaman's efficacy; seeing in visions is essential to one's ability to direct a community toward success in planting, the harvest, hunting, and conflict resolution. The "sightless" body, one whose senses are obscured to this world, but who can see within another realm, may have been a way of depicting and thereby naturalizing the visual discourse regarding a potentially shamanic state of being.⁶⁰⁸ In fact, in testing the percepts of blind and partially blind subjects under mescaline, Klüver discovered that the affects of mescaline were often more intense in the non-functioning eye than in the functioning one.⁶⁰⁹ These results led

Moche Ceramic Representations of Human Dress, C.E. 1-850" (PhD, Emory University, Art History, 2010).

⁶⁰⁸ Rosemary A. Joyce, "Performing the Body in Pre-Hispanic Central America," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 33 (1998), 161.

⁶⁰⁹ Klüver, *Mescal*, 69-70.

Stone to conclude, “such visionary seeing that completely bypasses usual seeing represents merely a more extreme example of how trance vision is enhanced in mysterious and powerful ways.”⁶¹⁰

Nasca shrouded effigy vessels also represent a human figure wearing a unique garment, while at the same time the hidden upper face implies a state of being during which sight, or more accurately stated, the normative human perspective, is deemphasized. Indeed, Sawyer notes “[t]he hooded aspect of these personages is another factor involving an unnatural state of being. It is possible that the Nasca felt that individuals who could not see were somehow closer to the mysterious invisible forces that controlled the bounty of Nature.”⁶¹¹ Stone grounded this observation by noting that closed eyes (or, by extension, covered ones) allow the terrestrial world to fade out and the Other Side to predominate during visions.⁶¹² Shrouded figures, by all other indications appear capable of action—grasping objects in their hands, vocalizing via an unfettered mouth—yet remain intentionally blinded by a cloth. Therefore, depictions of shrouded individuals should be considered on several levels: first, the implied deprivation of light caused by the covering illustrates one method used to induce otherworldly sight; second, to shroud oneself or allow oneself to be shrouded is to be purposefully blinded in favor of Seeing in a different way; and finally, the image of the shrouded individual serves as the human embodiment of supernatural sight and dual consciousness. It is also worth reiterating here Stone’s assertion that the depiction of a special body, such as an individual exhibiting a congenital condition or one altered by disease, represents the

⁶¹⁰ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 35.

⁶¹¹ Sawyer, *Ancient Andean Arts*, 98-100.

⁶¹² Rebecca Stone, “Disability as Divine: Special Bodies in Ancient American Art” (paper presented at the College Art Association (CAA) Annual Meeting, New York, New York, February 14-17, 2007).

potential for super-human actions.⁶¹³ She contends that in the ancient Americas, a person with what we now refer to as a disability (i.e., blindness) might have been recognized as instead having extraordinary capabilities. Therefore, vision impairment, like being a conjoined twin, might have been understood not as a loss, but rather as the ability or potential for alternative modes of seeing.

Although tempting to hold up a single vessel (or vessel group) as representative of one idea, shamanic motifs often intersect to create layered meanings, making taxonomic categorization difficult. A single vessel cannot represent one idea since the shamanic system holds up flux and multiplicity as paramount. Such multivalency is clear within the present corpus of effigy vessels and head jars, each group and subgroup of which convey transformation between human and animal selves as well as living and dead, and in-between states of being. Suspension and flying appear as overarching themes seen in the effigy bodies shown frequently with avian traits. It may be argued that vessel pairs and double-necked vessels, whether representing twins, special bodies, divining shamans, or all of these, best embody multiplicity. The paradox of shamanic dual consciousness emerges as paramount in all these configurations. Shrouded effigy figures, too, solve the existential contradiction of seeing and “Seeing” in a novel way. All emphasize a focus on the head, or cephalocentrism, a feature that pervades the Nasca ceramic corpus. In sum, the myriad visual traits of human effigy vessel groups reflect a Nasca visual focus on transformation and cephalocentrism, and feature the fundamental capacity of a shaman for dual consciousness by which she negotiates the simultaneous overlapping of perceptions of the visionary and everyday realms while maintaining consciousness.

⁶¹³ Ibid.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Future Research

As we have seen in previous chapters, Nasca sculptural vessels tend to take the form of body parts and bodies, be they human, animal, plant, or combinations thereof, in both two and three dimensions. In drawing larger conclusions based on the particularities of the present corpus of 243 disembodied and fully embodied sculptural Early Nasca vessels, it is important to step back and consider the implications of basic Nasca artistic choices in this period. Adopting three-dimensional, figural containment is highly significant in relation to shamanic art in general, which must confront the paradoxes involved in visionary experience, curing practice, and a transformative worldview. Shamanic trance consciousness, which is dual, and so Here and Not Here simultaneously, was evidently embraced by the makers of Nasca clay beings.

First, the fact that so many of these objects take the form of vessels or containers, opens them up to analogies with human shamans who act as intermediaries with the divine, conduits, themselves vehicles for spirit. Thus, the Western assumption that a work *represents* its subject rather than embodies a subject itself obfuscates the ability to understand these objects from an emic perspective. Since a shaman is paradoxically Here and Not Here simultaneously while in the trance state, his or her body actually taking on the form of a vessel and/or effigy seems apt. Shamans hold spiritual energy, transfer disease from patients' bodies to their own, and travel back and forth between the realms of the living and the dead to garner relevant knowledge and information.

Adopting the three-dimensional yet generic body with little detailing allows the embodiment to be similarly paradoxical, a being that is both given clay form but also not

completely materialized. Robert Plant Armstrong argues, in regard to African objects, in general when artists choose to move from two into three dimensions, its material, specifically embodied, presence is emphasized.⁶¹⁴ Indeed, Early Nasca effigy vessels are the most highly sculpted type in the entire corpus; however, there is a range of modeling for which terms like high- and low-relief may not suffice. Early Nasca transformational, animal, and plant bodies tend to be fully three-dimensional (cat. nos. 156, 205, and 216), whereas bodies at the human end of the continuum incorporate contours of the vessel shape with only slight projections from the surface (cat. no. 089; see chapter 4). Significantly, the biological detail given to the human body is minimal in comparison to that assigned to other species, such as llamas and toads (e.g., cat. nos. 208 and 203). It is as if Nasca artists aimed to show that a shaman was out of her body in a physical sense (i.e. on another plane of existence), so non-specific rendering of earthly details suffices and augments the Otherworldly message.⁶¹⁵

While definitions of “portraiture” and “likeness” can be culturally and contextually determined, art-historical discourse can help us understand the applicability of the terms in regard to Nasca. Georges Didi-Huberman draws attention to the distinction between particularity, a quality of the object or “everything that goes to make up the singularity of its realism,” and individuality or that which “characterizes the qualities of the referent.”⁶¹⁶ Recently, too, Stone considered the artist’s hand in West Mexican tomb sculpture, noting the difference between a depiction of the distinct features of an individual’s physiognomy (e.g., inset eyeballs) versus the stylistic choices made by

⁶¹⁴ Robert Plant Armstrong, *The Affecting Presence* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

⁶¹⁵ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 5.

⁶¹⁶ Georges Didi-Huberman, “The Portrait, the Individual and the Singular: Remarks on the Legacy of Aby Warburg,” in *The Image of the Individual: Portraits in the Renaissance*, ed. Luke Syson and Nicholas Mann (London: British Museum Press, 1998), 165.

an artist or perhaps dictated by artistic trends.⁶¹⁷ Likewise, examination of the ceramic corpus makes clear that Nasca artists were not concerned with individualism through portraits, sculpted or painted.⁶¹⁸ More likely, the human form serves as a canvas. Nasca effigies present, as Joyce avers, a type of social construction of the body, akin to depicting the roles and parts played within broad societal structures, with shamanic intermediary being a prime one.⁶¹⁹

Overall, I have argued that the imagery and forms of these sculptural disembodied heads and embodied beings are based on the phenomenology of shamanism and the visions essential to its practice. A further element of trance experience is necessary to place the present study into context: when describing aspects of the quotidian seen during visions, Stone remarks, “familiar things tend to appear *hyperplastic*, more intensely colorful, and their contours more sharply defined than usual. The Other Side charges everything with more energy; it magnifies, shifts, and expands all aspects as part of its extra-real character.”⁶²⁰ The present study has found that sculptural or three-dimensional versions of more commonly encountered Nasca two-dimensional images and subject matter—venturing into such subjects as humans with animal markings, bodies transforming between bird and human, and differentially shrouded faces—highlight how Nasca artists sought to depict the “hyperplastic,” even hyperreal, character of visions. I have argued that by bringing painted images into three dimensions, or in the case of Early Nasca human-animal effigies only depicting this combination of beings in sculptural form, the hyperplasticity of visions imbues each sculptural vessel with potential visionary

⁶¹⁷ Stone, “Keeping the Souls Contained,” forthcoming.

⁶¹⁸ Kubler assessed, “[i]ndividual beings and individual events are never represented” (*The Art and Architecture of Ancient America*, 428).

⁶¹⁹ Joyce, “Performing the Body,” 147 and 161; and Stone, “Keeping the Souls Contained.”

⁶²⁰ Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, 15.

quality; transformation in being states is overtly embodied in a mode like that of actual human bodies in space. Yet, from a shamanic perspective, the power of the dual bodily presence supersedes a simple human form, just as in trance a shaman's dual consciousness resolves the distinction between a physical presence and a visionary one.

Indeed, overall, the sculptural Nasca corpus addresses the paradox of shamanic dual consciousness, or the simultaneous overlapping of perceptions of the visionary and everyday realms. Calling attention to this simultaneity, I have fundamentally called into question the prevailing scholarly sacred-secular dichotomy. Nasca artists elided a strict distinction between the Here and Not Here, placing human-animal, animal-human, and all animal bodies along a dynamic continuum; equally, at no time is a shaman's consciousness equally and clearly split between the two realms. Rather, shamanic consciousness is and is shown as perpetually in flux, undulating back and forth, always somewhere in between the poles of states of consciousness. Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics epitomize the creative and purposeful ambiguity necessary for an artistic rendering of such nuanced phenomena.

Yet, it is essential to their shamanic meaning that Nasca sculptural vessels be understood to depict bodies at some level. Further, the impulse to sculpt bodies and body parts as spaces in which a spirit (i.e. consciousness) resides, establishes the Nasca shaman's body and sculptural representations of it, both as loci for all perspectives to combine, and as a space in which dichotomous relationships dissolve. Viveiros de Castro's explanation of the specificity of bodies is worth noting in full:

A perspective is not a representation because representations are a property of the mind or spirit, whereas the point of view is located in the body. The ability to adopt a point of view is undoubtedly a power of the soul, and nonhumans are subjects in so far as they have (or are) spirit; but the differences between viewpoints (and a

viewpoint is nothing if not a difference) lies not in the soul. Since the soul is formally identical in all species, it can only perceive the same things everywhere. The difference is given in the specificity of bodies.

Animals see in the same way as we do different things because their bodies differ from ours. I am not referring to physiological differences—Amerindians recognize a basic uniformity of bodies—but rather to affects, in the old sense of dispositions or capacities that render the body of each species unique: what it eats, how it moves, how it communicates, where it lives, whether it is gregarious or solitary. The visible shape of the body is a powerful sign of these affectual differences, although the shape can be deceptive, since a human appearance could, for example, be concealing a jaguar affect. Thus, what I call “body” is not a synonym for distinctive substance or fixed shape; body is in this sense an assemblage of affects or ways of being that constitute a *habitus*. Between the formal subjectivity of souls and the substantial materiality of organisms, there is thus an intermediate plane occupied by the body as a bundle of affects and capacities. And the body is the origin of perspectives.⁶²¹

In addition, some new terms are needed to convey the life considered inherent in phenomena that to Western eyes might be considered inanimate. I argue that we must see Early Nasca sculptural vessels as imbued with spirit and, more importantly, as possessing a consciousness, one with the abilities to shift loci in the visionary realm and be assumed by another being. In a recent examination of West Mexican tomb sculpture, Stone offers the term “instantiation” as a more cultural applicable term for “specific material housings for the spiritual essences of important living roles transposed to the underworld tomb setting.”⁶²² She argues that the sculpted “clay people” contained a spirit that could be affected, much as a human is affected by intentional harm done to the body, such as dismemberment and decapitation. Her use of the term “instantiation” parallels my reconfigured use of the terms “effigy” and “vessel-body” (see chapter 3). Similarly, evidence for the ritual killing of Nasca effigies, or the effectual destruction of the life force embodied in the ceramic figures, continues to come to light from the numerous

⁶²¹ Viveiros de Castro, “Exchanging Perspectives,” 474-475.

⁶²² Stone, “Keeping the Souls Contained.”

archaeological investigations underway in the Río Grande de Nazca region, as seen surrounding the Nasca Lines (see chapter 2).

Using the Inka, more closely allied culturally to the Nasca than is West Mexico, linguists Bruce Mannheim and Guillermo Salas Carreño explore Andean ontology through the material realm. The authors present the term “entification” to describe the personhood implicit to *huaca*, the portal for transfer of energy from this plane to another, both as a human being or an object. In the context of an Andean (specifically Quechua) social system that considers personhood more broadly than do Western structures, ceramic effigies may be seen as huacas that are ascribed personhood. The authors examine a specific class of huacas within the landscape, describing them as “place-persons.”⁶²³ Here, I reiterate my choice to use the term “vessel-bodies” to refer to the objects examined in the present corpus. In the future sculptural effigies might also be considered “vessel-persons,” not only as a description of what they outwardly depict, but also to indicate as a name for what they *are*, living entities, intermediaries, liminal spaces, loci for energy transfer, and perhaps many other things yet to be understood by Westerners. Moreover, the aforementioned studies place my work within a scholarly milieu that seeks a more relevant framework for the understanding of ancient American art. If we can understand Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics as one aspect of a shamanic way of knowing, then perhaps, as Allen recently proposed, we can also “‘reset’ our thinking so as to better apprehend another human way of being.”⁶²⁴ I hope to have started a similar conversation in relation to the ancient Nasca in the present study.

⁶²³ Bruce Mannheim and Guillermo Salas Carreño, “Wak’as Entification of the Andean Sacred,” in *The Archaeology of Wak’as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, ed. Tamara L. Bray (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2015).

⁶²⁴ Allen, “The Whole World is Watching,” 38.

In sum, chapter 1 demonstrated the necessity for an art-historical examination of Early Nasca polychrome ceramic vessels. While some scholars admit that shamanism had a place in Nasca social hierarchies, few have offered interpretations of Nasca material culture based on its practice and phenomenological experience. In fact, several aspects of a core shamanic experience are prevalent in Nasca art, including: various methods used to achieve trance; shamans themselves enacting the functions of the profession; objects that evince shamanic activity; and images consistent with those common during shamanic visions. Moreover, the innovation for polychromy in ceramic and the process by which it is achieved shows an interest in the brilliant colors and sheen akin to the bright light of the visionary realm; theoretical approaches such as ethnographic analogy and the use of modern Quechua language terms aid in our understanding of these processes. The chapter concludes with a brief description of the research conducted in museums in the United States and Peru to establish the present corpus of vessels.

Chapter 2 presented the various contexts in which the tradition of Nasca sculptural polychrome vessel production and use emerged. The Early Intermediate Period on the South Coast of Peru was marked, as it is today, by an unpredictable yet overall dry desert environment. Nasca, with its main ceremonial center of Cahuachi, did not exist in complete temporal and cultural isolation, but shares the distinction of a virtuosic ceramic making tradition with its North Coast contemporary, the Moche culture. In addition, these traditions did not spring from nothing, but were preceded by the foundational highland culture of Chavín and Nasca, in particular, gained immense inspiration from the art of its South Coast predecessor, Paracas. Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics form one part of an excitingly varied artistic tradition that also includes utilitarian ceramics, textiles,

metallurgy, pyro-engraved gourds, and geoglyphs. Importantly, the Nasca culture is archaeologically defined by its brilliant and shiny ceramic styles made possible by several innovative techniques of manufacture, most notably the application of slip paints before firing.

Chapter 3 provided background for the application of a shamanic lens in the analysis of sculptural ceramic vessels, specifically disembodied heads and embodied beings. Here, previous Nasca scholarship addressing Nasca painted iconography as well two cultural precedents (Chavín and Paracas) for the presence of shamans in Nasca culture were examined. In addition, the previous literature on Nasca disembodied heads, or head jars, human-animal and animal-human effigies were explored. Within these sections, some superlative examples of Nasca art from various periods and sub-styles were employed as comparanda to demonstrate how shamanism might be inserted in Nasca studies for more productive interpretations. Finally, in keeping with a shamanic worldview in which all entities are experienced as alive, I consider the term “effigy” in relation to Nasca sculptural ceramics, and explore how disembodied and embodied ceramic vessels are more than simple illustrations of material presence. Instead, in terms of Nasca sculptural polychrome ceramics, shamanic experience and ways of knowing can be considered to dissolve physicality and then reunite spirituality and materiality in new ways.

Chapter 4 considered the vessels in the present corpus that show disembodied beings to interrogate what visual and iconographic subsets might reveal a more particularly Nasca shamanism. My analysis of head jars identified continua of transformation and cephalocentrism as the dominant visual and compositional priorities

for Nasca artists. Themes of transformation were prominent in objects that combine bird and human aspects, often conveying the visionary phenomena of the suspension or flying in an aerial journey. A second continuum encompasses life to death to afterlife to rebirth, the lines that shamans regularly cross in trance, traversing from the earthly to the Otherworld, often visiting and returning from the Land of Death.

Chapter 5 considered human-animal and animal-human effigy vessels along continua of transformation on which themes of suspension and flying, and rebirth and regeneration emerge. In some novel Nasca three-dimensional forms encountered in the present corpus, further highlight the pervasive cephalocentrism of the overall Nasca artistic oeuvre, including polycephalic vessels (or “twins), vessel pairs, and effigies of shrouded individuals. Through these examples, embodying earthly and visionary sight in flux, the head becomes a clear emphasis as a locus for the senses, both necessary for and heightened during shamanic visions.

To avoid reinforcing another duality, such as the physical versus the spiritual, traits that might appear to relate to each should instead be considered as synchronized states-of-being that resolve the paradox of being Here and Not Here, the crux of shamanic dual consciousness. In this way Nasca sculptural effigies manifest the Inka concept of *ayni* as a singular resolution of the human and earthly with the animal and Otherworldly perspectives by depicting them at once and to varying degrees in the most real way possible within the ceramic medium. However, as a large group of compositions, sculptural Early Nasca ceramics show how the balance between human and animal or life and death may alternate. This variability effectually dissolves the sacred-secular dichotomy that would place a vessel-body in one category or another; both

or a multitude of possibilities better represent the Nasca worldview and artistic choices. In fact, Western taxonomic modes of interpretation fail mightily when faced with a corpus as vast and varied as Nasca ceramics. During trance the physical (i.e. earthly) and the spiritual (i.e. Otherworldly) are one; the states-of-being are understood as *ayni*, simultaneous and imbalanced, and are depicted as such. Therefore, to categorize Nasca imagery as either sacred or secular truly establishes a false dichotomy that falls away under shamanic scrutiny, in concert with art historical insights.

Future Research

The vast expanse of the Nasca ceramic corpus, spanning seven centuries and found in collections worldwide, provides ample avenues for future research. Moving from other topics within the Early period, through the Middle and Late ones, I will suggest possible future research projects as follows: expanding the corpus of and methods of study for Early Nasca sculptural vessels, including some object groups only briefly mentioned here; and building upon and applying the shamanic approach used here to Middle and Late Nasca imagery and objects. Then I will propose that studying the Nasca in relation to their EIP neighbors, the Moche, forms a logical next step in expanding the discourse around stylistic and content choice, two- versus three-dimensional embodiment, and shamanic content.

First, not all the existing presumed Early Nasca sculptural beings have been considered. A number of sculptural vessel types, such as “fishermen” and female vessels, were not included in the present study because their attribution to the Early Nasca period remains in question. These figures should be carefully and perhaps scientifically examined, to settle the matter of authenticity and for those works that are ancient, revisit

their relative dating. Study is needed on one such group of Early-to-Middle sculptural vessels is associated with the paraphernalia of maritime practices and marine life (e.g., cat. nos. 236 – 240). The shape of these “fishermen” vessels can be linked to the Paracas tradition through the presence of a blind spout modeled as a head. Often these vessels are dated to the late-Early Nasca and Middle Nasca periods. While I could not consider these objects fully in the current study, I foresee that they may bolster an understanding of Nasca shamanism through depictions in which dual consciousness is paramount. In the future, an in-depth examination of “fishermen” vessels might illuminate yet another realm of the Nasca shaman’s visionary journey, as well as provide more information about the nature of the Nasca cultural connection to the sea in light of the idea proposed by Carmichael that fishing was not a dietary staple and so perhaps not as terrestrial a subject as expected by those maintaining the sacred-secular dichotomy.

Following Allen’s logical suggestion to understand early images before attempting to decode late ones, the shamanic lens employed here might also be applied to objects and imagery from the Middle and Late Nasca periods. A diachronic consideration of how bodies are portrayed in Nasca could include Middle Nasca figurines and female vessels (figs. 3.23 and 3.24, and cat. no. 224). Similarly, the increase in two-dimensional renderings of the human form in polychrome ceramics deserves study. In addition, other Middle Nasca material needs exploration. For example, Roark describes “Scrambled Figures,” a Middle Nasca feature of the “Bizarre innovation,” as “characterized by various bizarre anatomical details, such as legs growing from the top of the head, missing body parts, or mixed human and animal characteristics.” Despite his still-unfortunate

terminology, these descriptions surely extend to visionary imagery.⁶²⁵ Similar hard-to-describe Middle and Late Nasca images are abundant and could be examined in light of the present study of Early Nasca imagery to reveal additional overarching and persistent Nasca shamanic themes.

The analysis of shamanic content and assumptions undertaken here on the early material clearly can and must be extended to include the later two-dimensional imagery, especially focusing on the ubiquitous Nasca Ecstatic Being figure. How the sculpted elements in the Early Nasca vessels become or inform the painted ones of the Late Nasca period has not been fully explored to date. The centrality of this being, its ties back to Paracas, and its increasing complexity over time in the Nasca oeuvre deserves in-depth treatment that has been lacking heretofore, especially from an art-historical point of view.

While the Nasca in and of themselves are obviously of interest, so are its relationships with the contemporaneous EIP art-producing cultures. The results of this examination might serve to elevate the Nasca artistic tradition on par especially with its North coast contemporaries, the Moche culture, that is held up as a pinnacle in ancient Andean art-making, due mostly to the naturalistic portrait head vessel tradition and fineline ceramic painting of its later periods. In focusing on the Nasca sculptural tradition as a key element of south coastal antiquity, it appears logical to examine the parallels between the figural trajectories of the two coastal traditions. Both EIP styles move between depictions of the human-animal/shaman's body in two and three dimensions, showing whole bodies, body parts, especially the head, and visionary in-between bodies. However, the lack of full three-dimensionality in Nasca human effigies stands in sharp contrast to Moche "portrait" vessels. These Moche vessels are aptly labeled: they show

⁶²⁵ Roark, "From Monumental to Proliferous," 26.

the detailed features of identifiable individuals; some chronicled in all the life stages from childhood to old age, as Donnan has found.⁶²⁶ Like the Nasca, the Moche style, despite its narrative emphasis and approachable style, does not “comprise an encyclopedia of daily life, since cooking, childrearing, farming, and so on, were not illustrated.”⁶²⁷ Thus, many of the same issues of interpretation exist for both major EIP cultures and their art, despite strong stylistic differences. By using compare and contrast, a fundamental art historical method, both Nasca and Moche art stand to become clarified and stand on equal footing artistically. This would help redress another prejudice, seemingly of Westerners, toward physiognomic portraiture as the paramount artistic expression. It would also balance out Andean studies that are dominated by Moche and Inka studies.

Final Considerations

In conclusion, scholars have struggled to understand the various, seemingly paradoxical characteristics of Early Nasca polychrome vessels.⁶²⁸ Today, archaeological investigations of the local and household levels are on the increase, as is the application of digital technologies. Therefore, we might hope that the nine-phase chronology may finally be clarified and even given geographical specificity. Although established chronologies aided my selection of objects for examination, it was not the goal of this dissertation to clarify the ceramic seriation. Furthermore, a purely chronological or iconographic understanding of Nasca imagery obfuscates the role of the artist in the making of the object and its meaning, and here the premise of material culture studies can help: “objects made or modified by man reflect, consciously or unconsciously, directly or

⁶²⁶ Donnan, *Moche Portraits of Ancient Peru*, 141-159.

⁶²⁷ Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., 92.

⁶²⁸ Proulx, *Local Differences and Time Differences*.

indirectly, the beliefs of individuals who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them, and by extension the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged.”⁶²⁹ Prown continues to explain that artifacts, such as the sculptural polychromes that are the focus of this study, “are primary data for the study of material culture, and, therefore, they can be used actively as evidence rather than passively as illustration.”⁶³⁰ Therefore, the artists creating Nasca vessels cannot help but to impart cultural information in a made objects, while they may certainly be following cultural norms such as the shared shamanic worldview. Clearly, the simple illustrative interpretation of Nasca imagery in the past fails to uplift the import of the Nasca artistic endeavor as the embodiment of a shamanic way of viewing the world, with all its formidable creative challenges.

I have attempted to show that, perhaps more so than a two-dimensionally painted image, a modeled effigy vessel possesses a substantive, multidimensional presence of its own. Its contoured surfaces, fleshed-out bodies, and protruding sensory organs provide a physical body in which a shaman’s spirit might dwell, in either the earthly or Otherworldly realms or more likely both. Not simply passive images, illustrations, or superficial renditions, these vessels may have been understood to actively embody and contain spiritual essence. Thus, Nasca effigies provide a space for a shamanic presence as well as serving as a medium that expresses fundamentally shamanic ideas.

⁶²⁹ Prown, “Mind in Matter,” 1-2.

⁶³⁰ Ibid., 1.

Table 1Nasca Chronology⁶³¹

Horizon / Period	Culture	Phase	Style	Date
Early Horizon / Formative	Early Paracas	Ocucaje 3-7		800 – 300 BCE
	Late Paracas	Ocucaje 8-9		300 – 100 BCE
	Proto-Nasca	Ocucaje 10 / Nasca 1		100 BCE – 1 CE
Early Intermediate Period	Early Nasca	Nasca 2-4	Monumental	1 – 450 CE
	Middle Nasca	Nasca 5	Transitional	450 – 550 CE
	Late Nasca	Nasca 6-7	Proliferous	550 – 750 CE
Middle Horizon	Wari / Loro	Nasca 8-9		750 – 1000 CE

⁶³¹ After Whalen, “Re-becoming Nasca,” 10, table 2.1; Vaughn, *Marcaya*, 50, table 3.1; Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Iconography*, 26, fig. 3.1; Sawyer, *Early Nasca Needlework*, 30; and Strong, *Paracas, Nazca, and Tiahuanacoid Cultural Relationships*. For more detailed publications of the Dawson seriation, see Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Iconography*; and Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*. For more on the Paracas/Ocucaje seriation, see Menzel, Rowe, and Dawson, *The Paracas Pottery of Ica*.

Figures

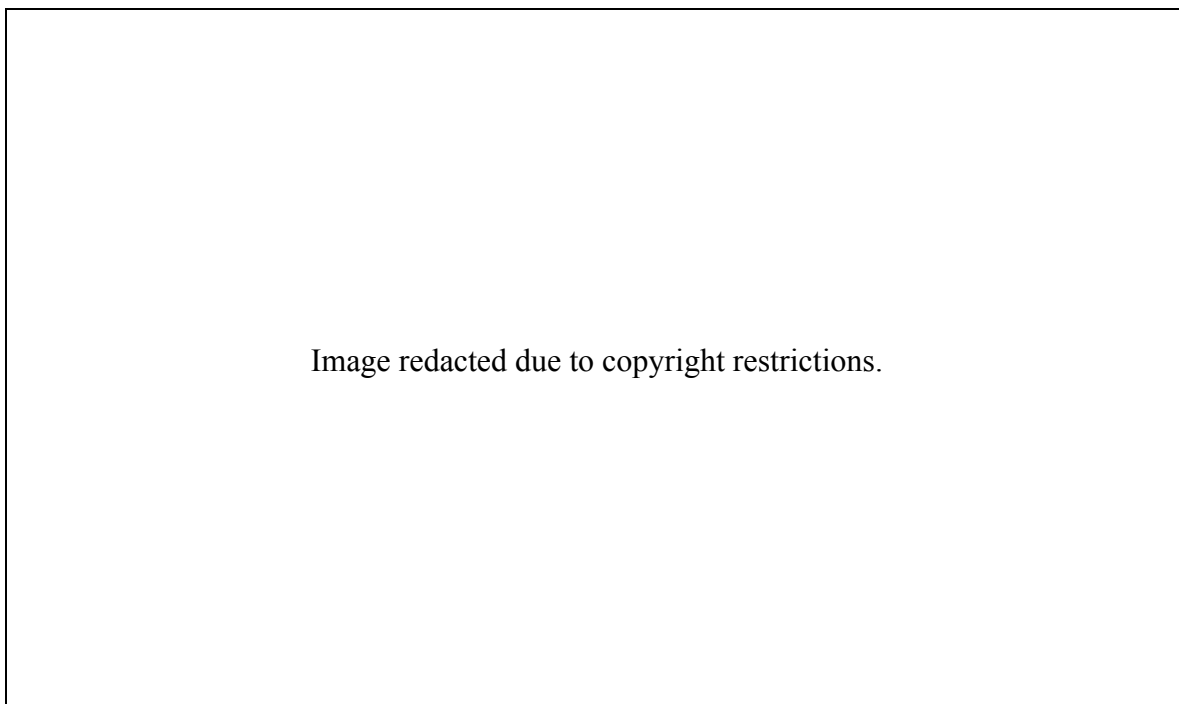


Figure 1.1 Variety of Nasca polychrome slip colors (Late Nasca)
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, pl. 10

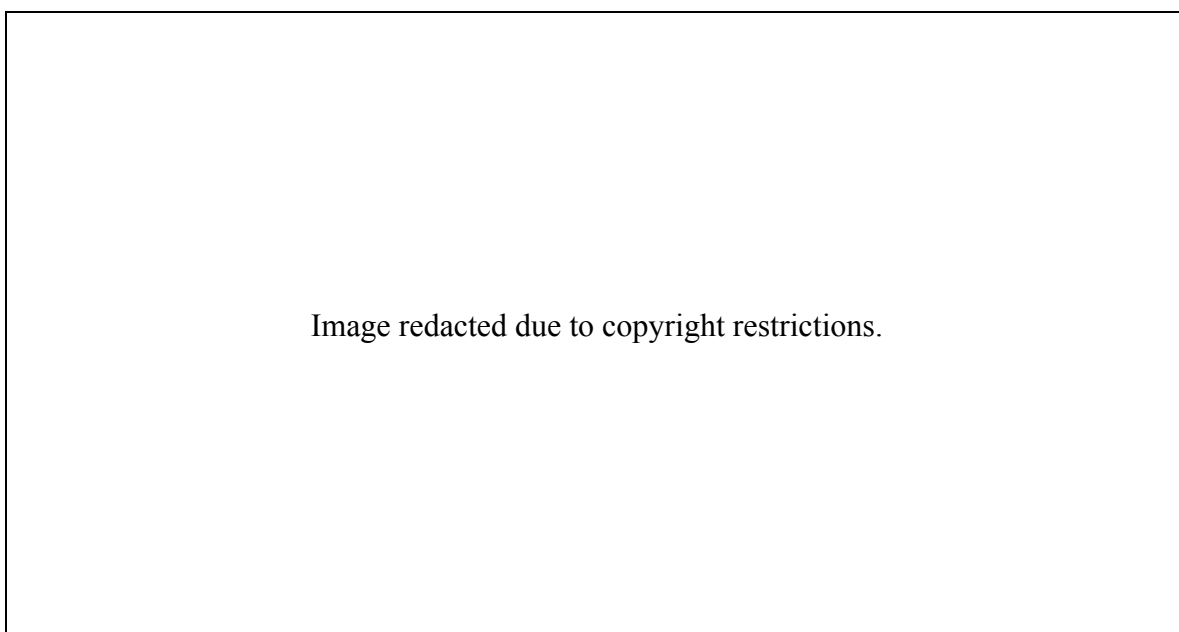
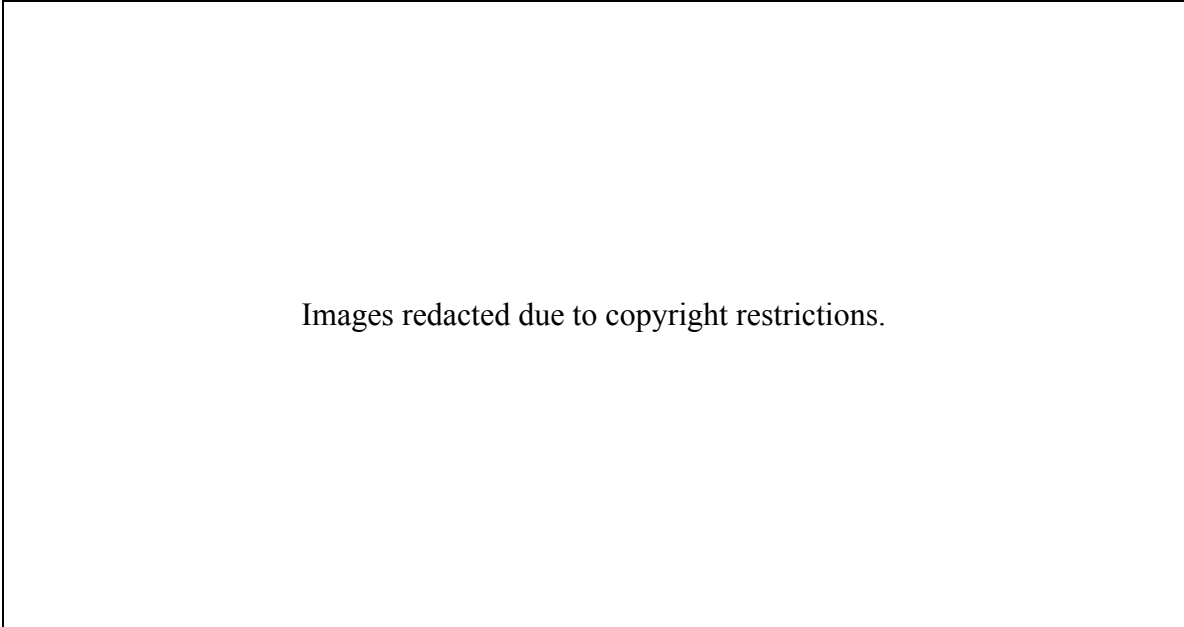


Figure 1.2 Double-spout-and-bridge vessel
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, Gift of Emilio Sanchez, 1962, Acc. #1978.412.91



Images redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 1.3 Nasca bowls with birds and half-beans
Source: Paul A. Clifford et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, cat. no. 111 (acc. # N-431 (right), and cat. no. 120 (acc. # N-317) (left)

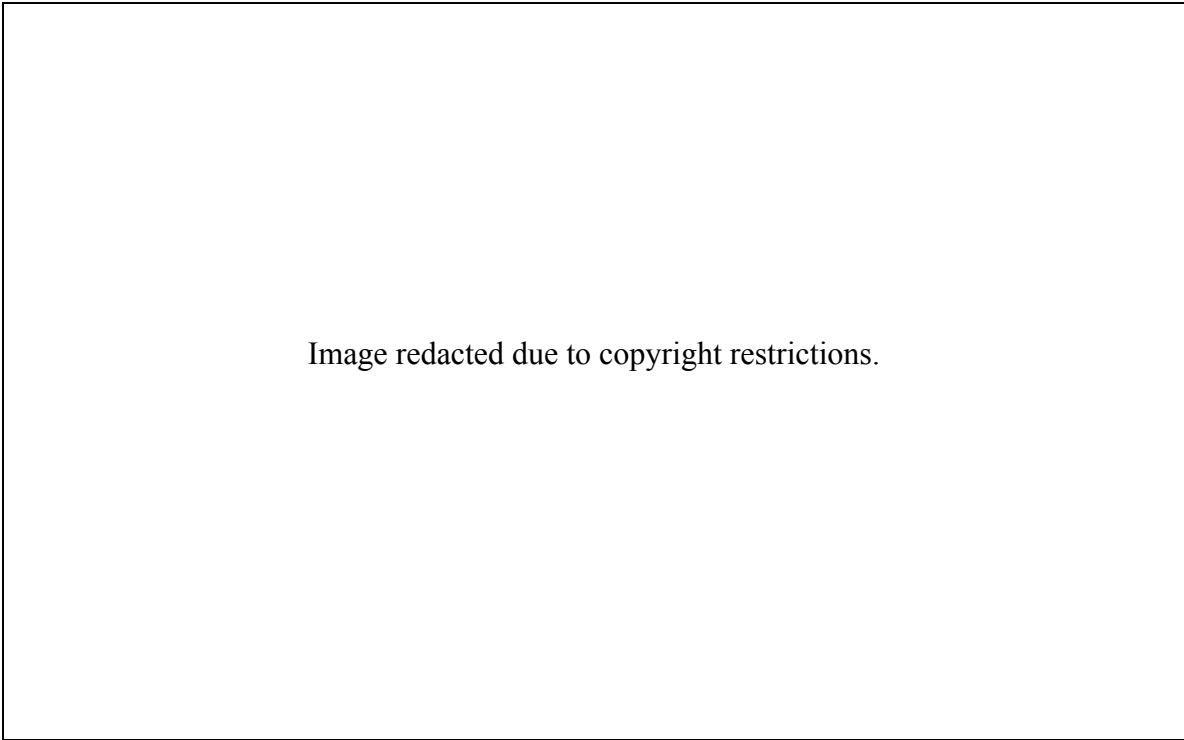


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Figure 1.4 Nasca polychrome sculpted corn stalk
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Purchase, Judith S. Randal Foundation Gift, 1989.62.1

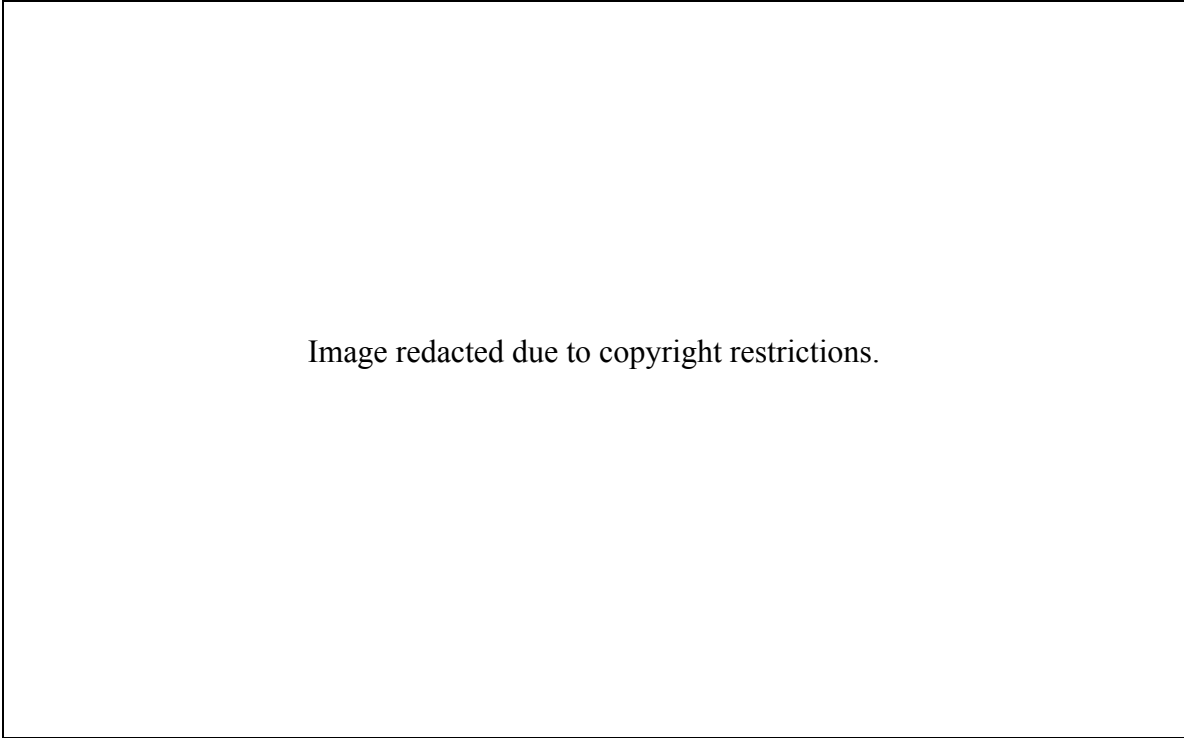
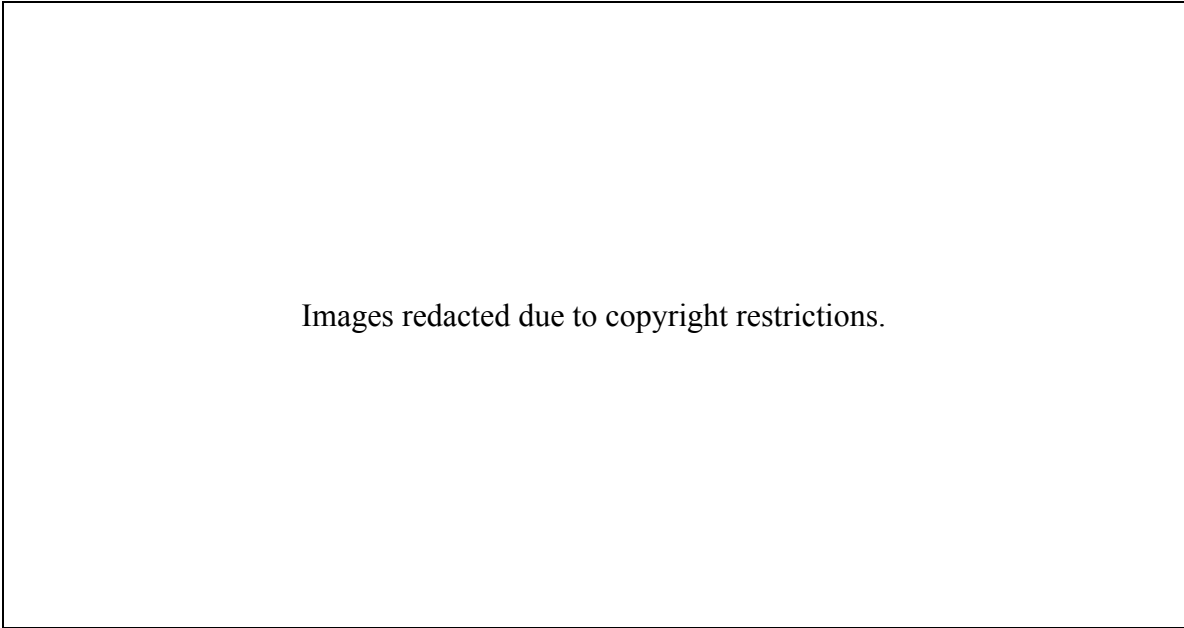


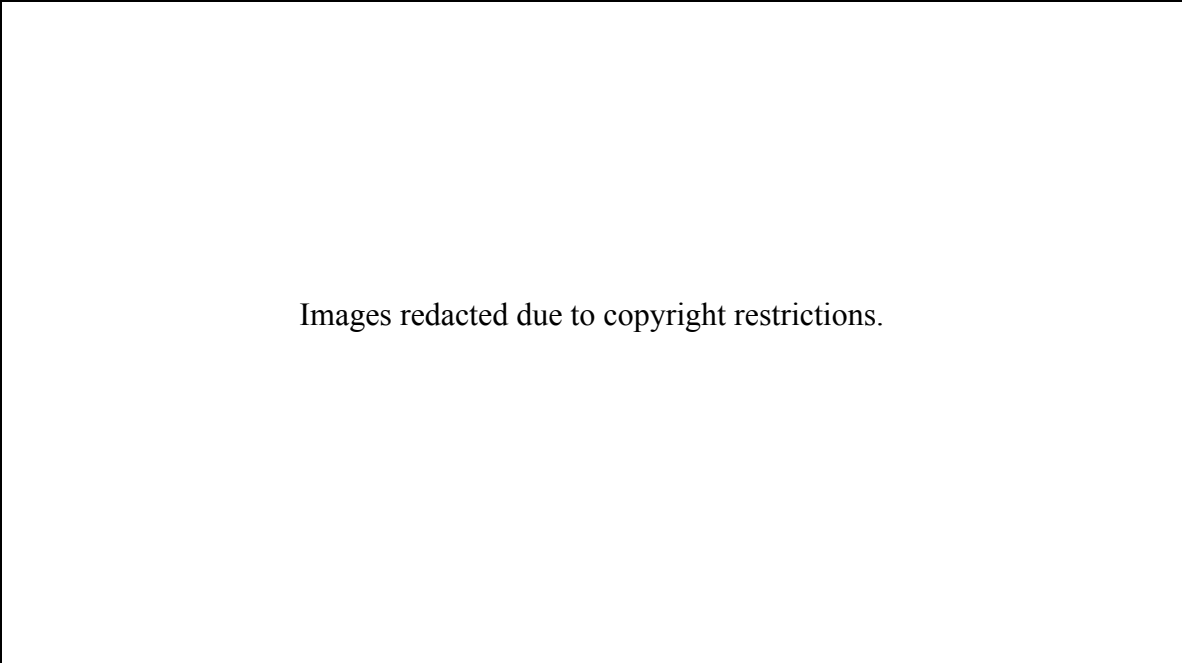
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Figure 1.5 Late Nasca “Proliferous style” bowl
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Cummings, 64.228.77



Images redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 1.6 Late Nasca vessel with figures and San Pedro cactus
Source: Left: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, pl. 8;
Right: Ibid., fig. 1.6



Images redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 1.7 Nasca vessels depicting a bird perched on a cactus
Sources: Left: Collection Museo de America, Madrid, Inv. # 08230
Right: Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*, pl. 108E

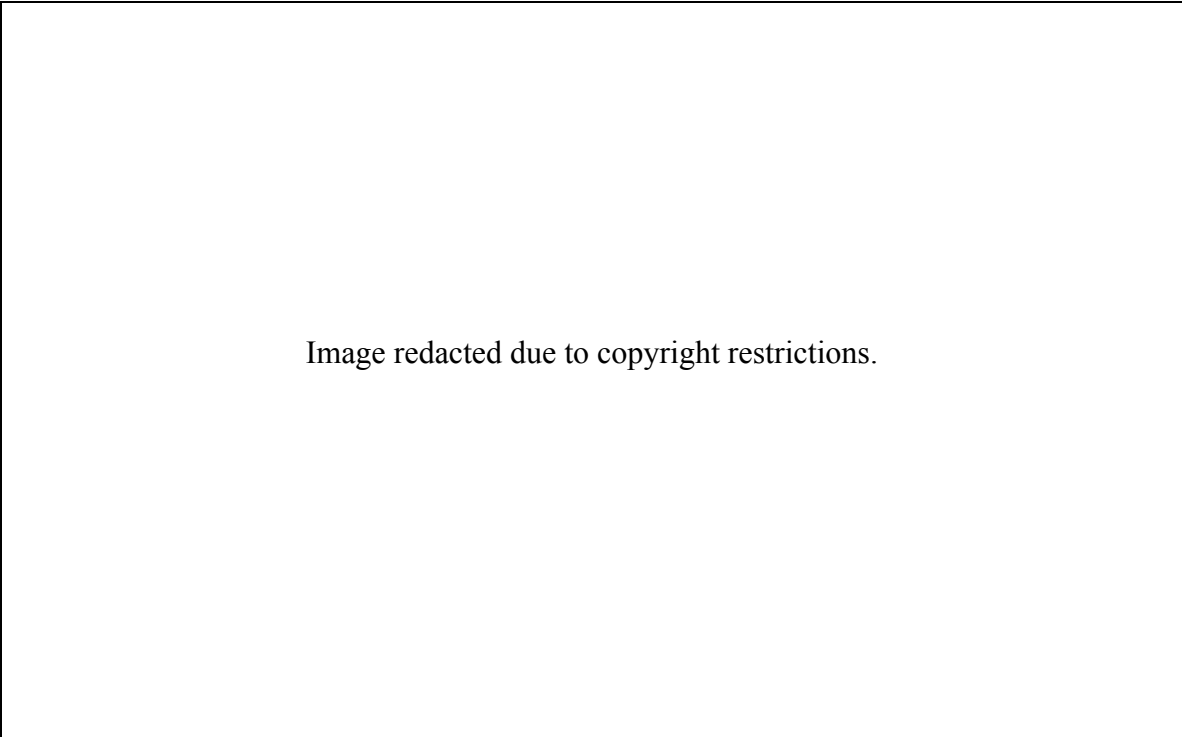
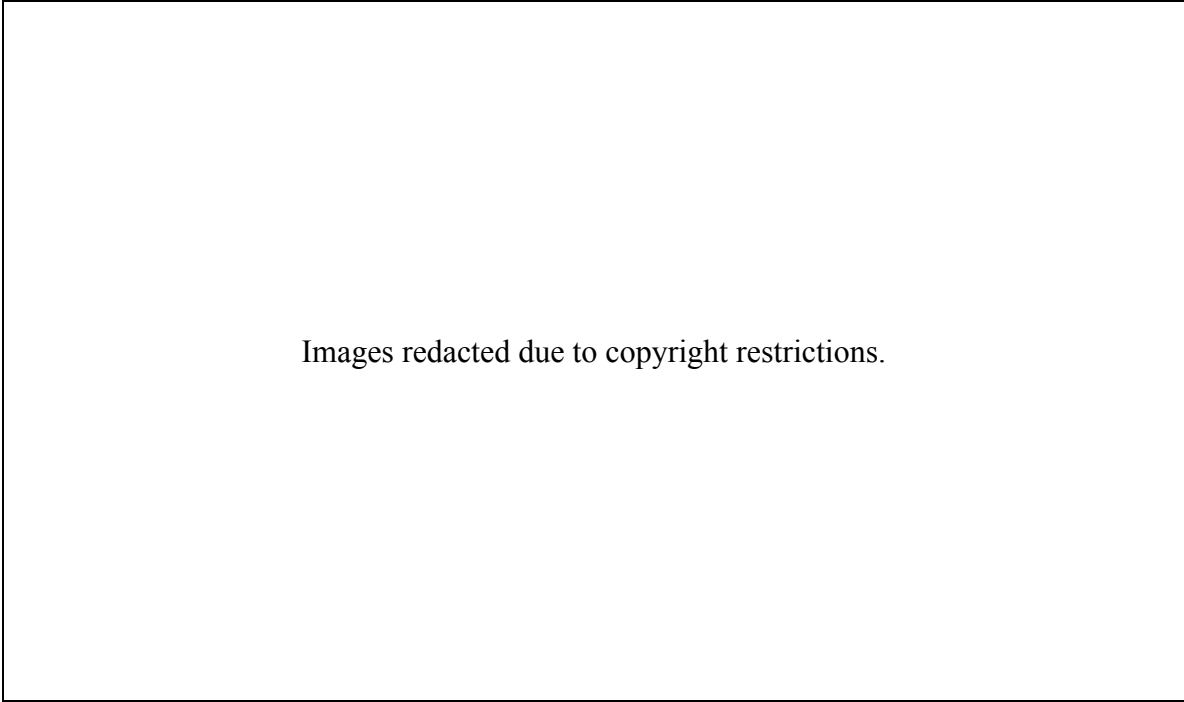


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Figure 1.8 Nasca polychrome “night” scene with San Pedro cactus
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, fig. 5.213



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Figure 1.9 Nasca polychrome ceramic drum
Source: Museo Larco, ML013683

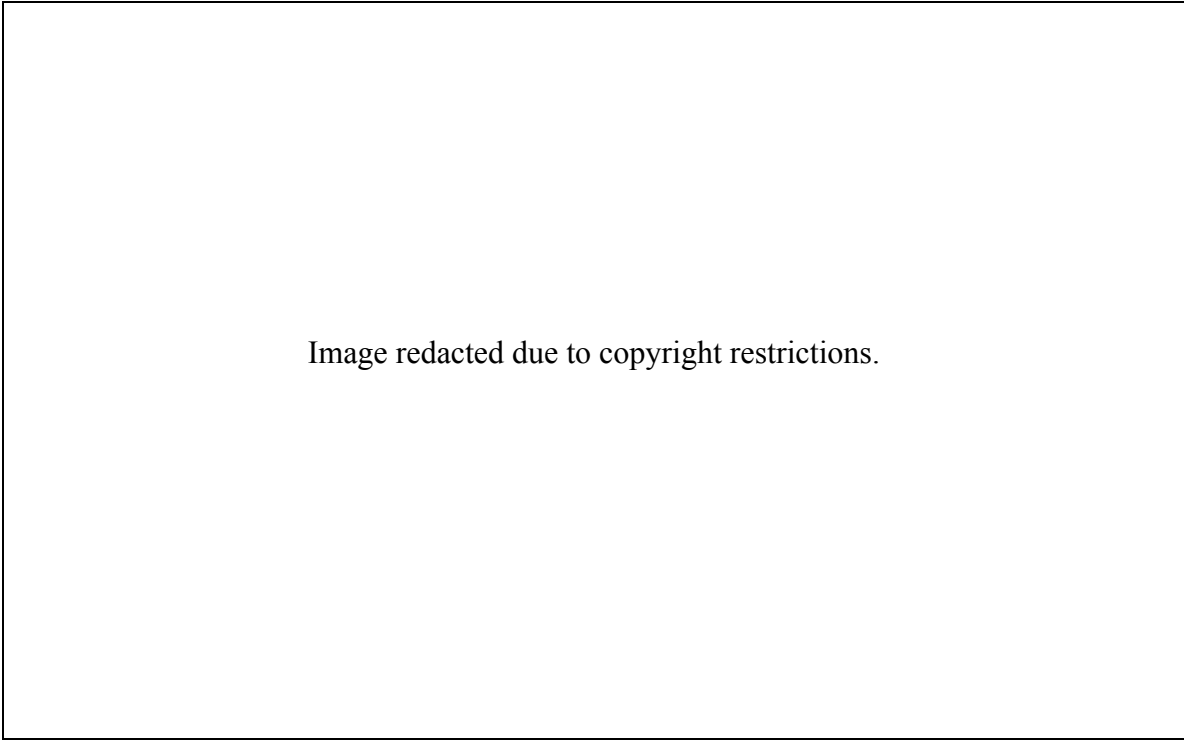


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Figure 1.10 Anthropomorphic Mythical Being (AMB)
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, fig. 5.1

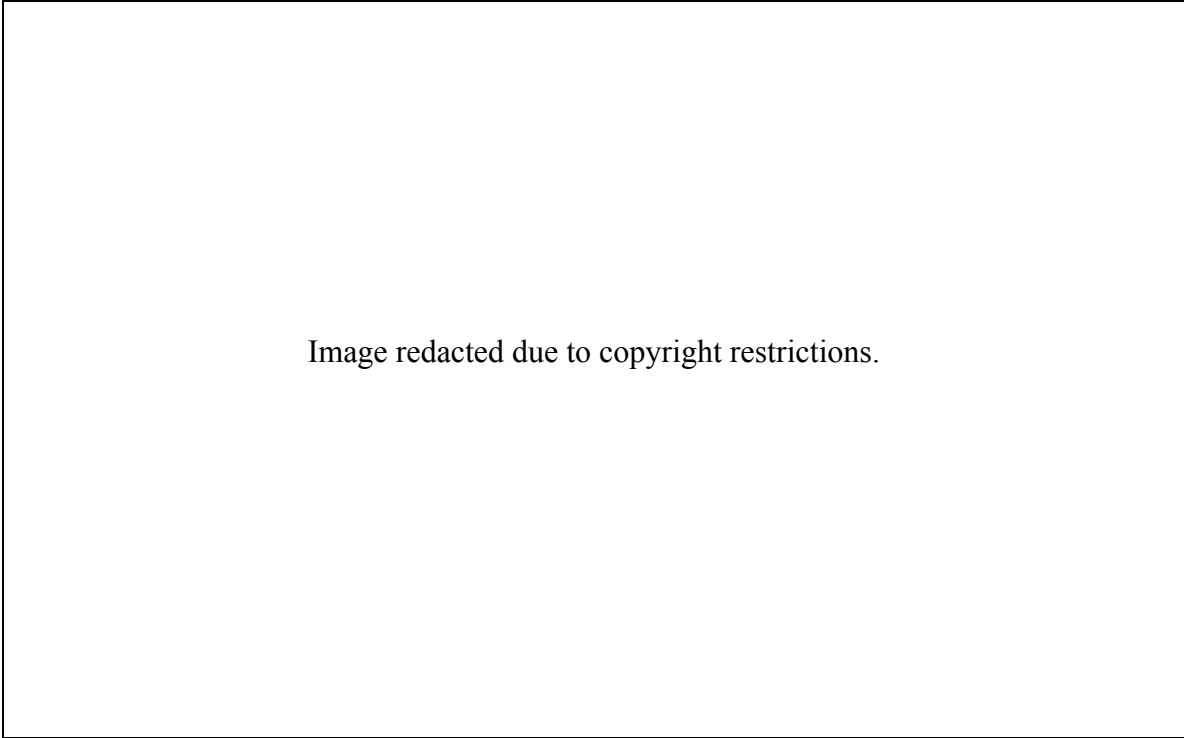
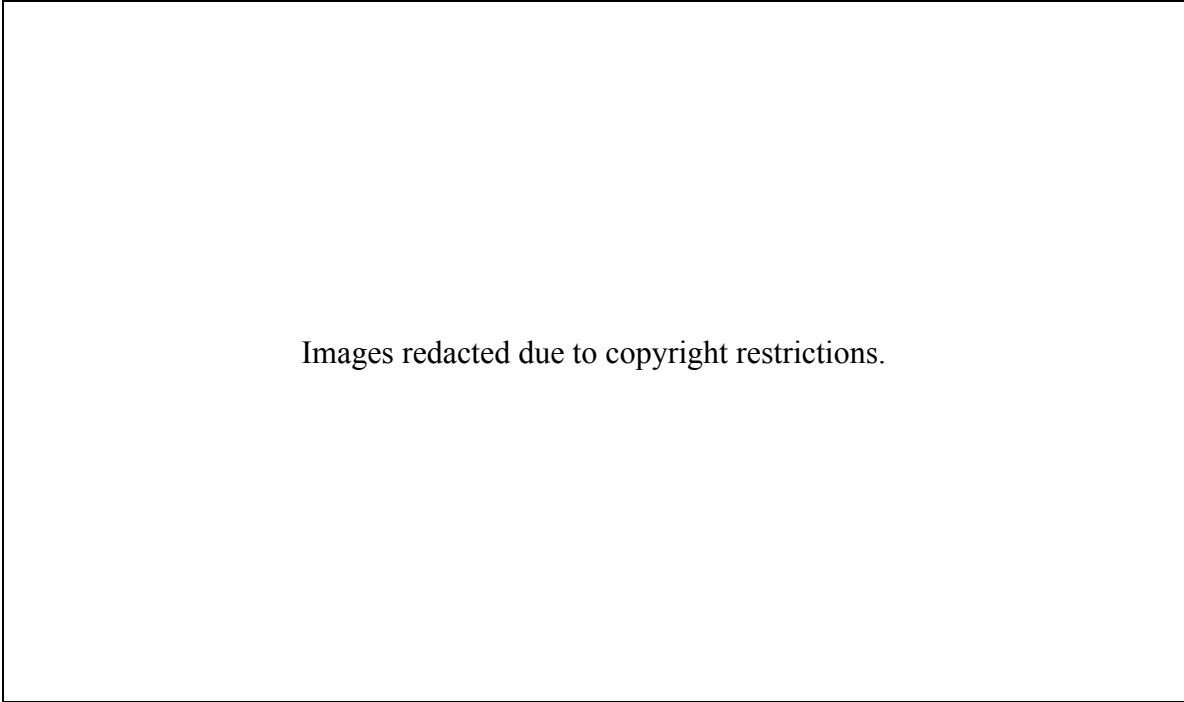


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Figure 1.11 “Proliferous style” Anthropomorphic Mythical Being
Source: Roark, “From Monumental to Proliferous,” Plate VI, fig. 37



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Figure 1.12 Painted Nasca figure wrapping around vessel
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.8.114, photographs and line drawing by M. Tierney

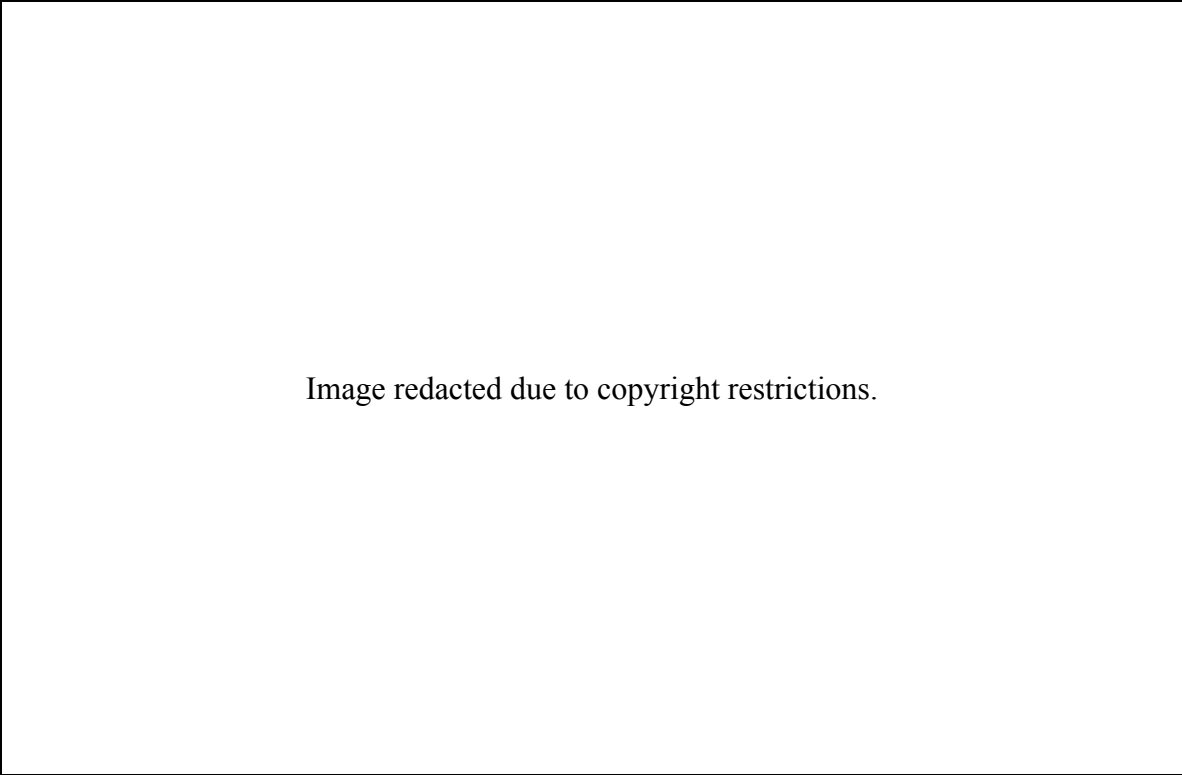


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Figure 1.13 Nasca modeled musician
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, plate 13

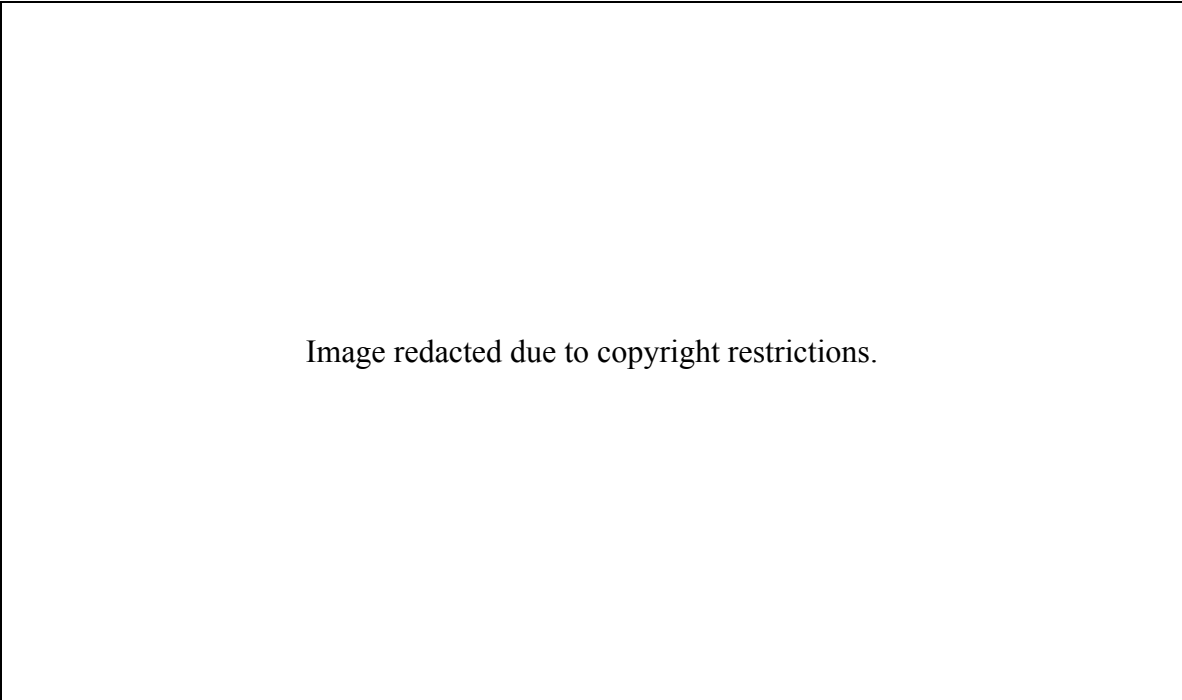


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Figure 1.14 “Shaman’s kit”
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, plate 14

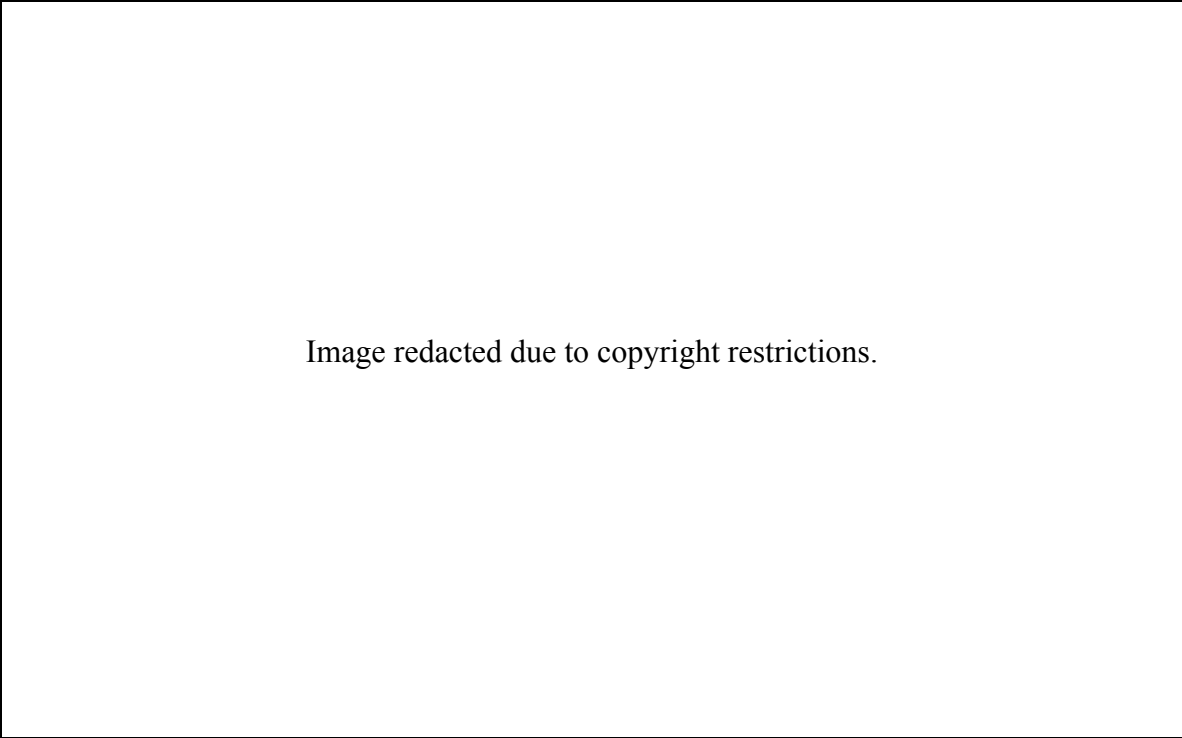


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Figure 1.15 Nasca polychrome ceramic bowl with nested or telescoping squares
Source: Clifford, et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, pl. 118

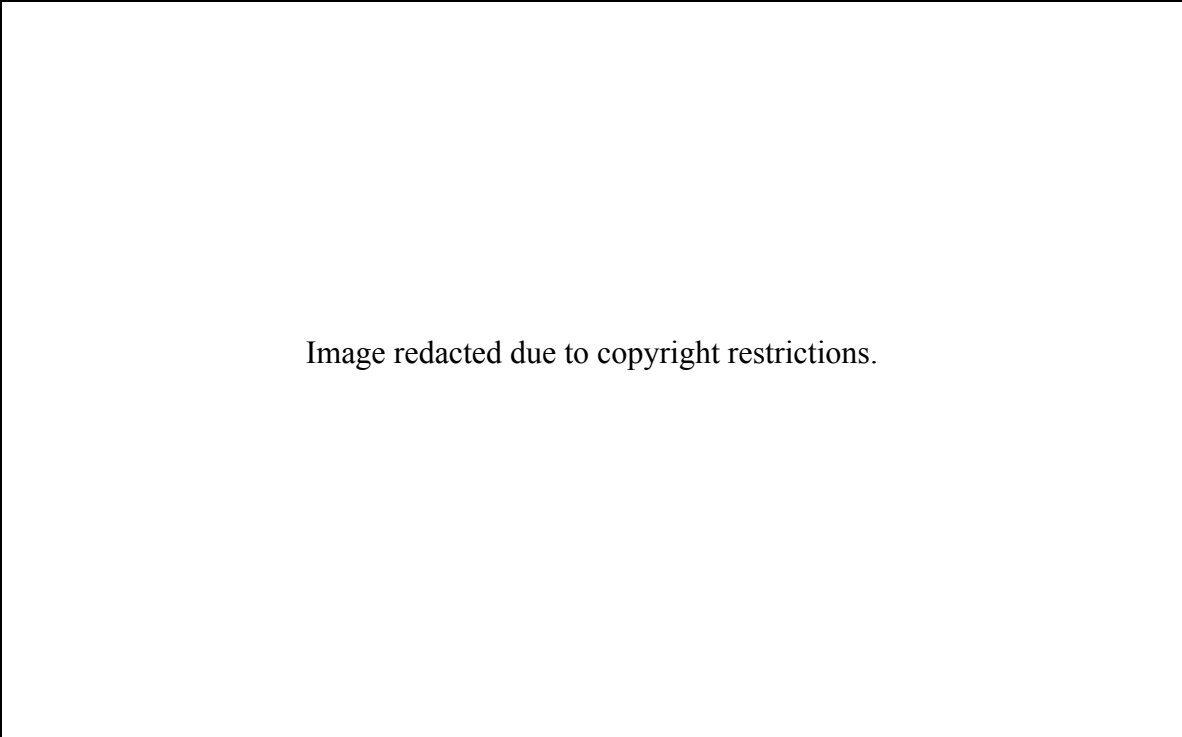


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Figure 1.16 Nasca polychrome ceramic bowl with brightly colorful zig-zags
Source: Clifford, et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, pl. 119

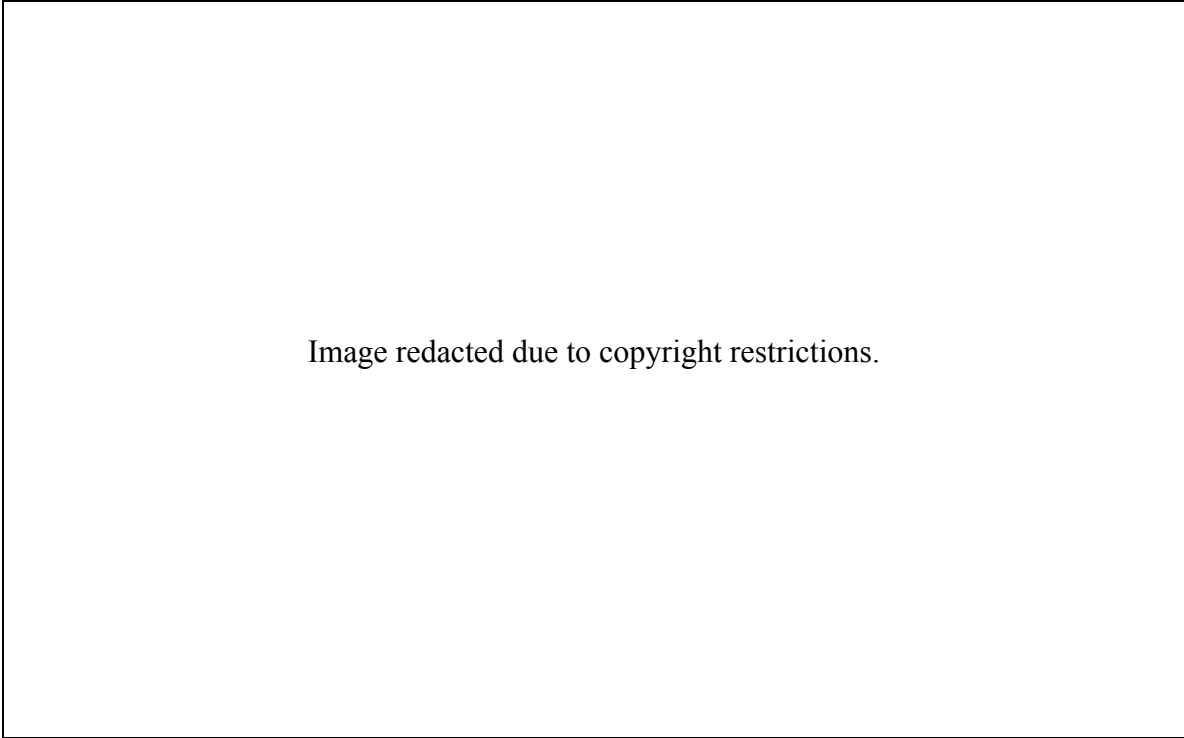


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Figure 1.17 Cupisnique blackware (Chavín substyle)
Source: Museo Larco, ML010863

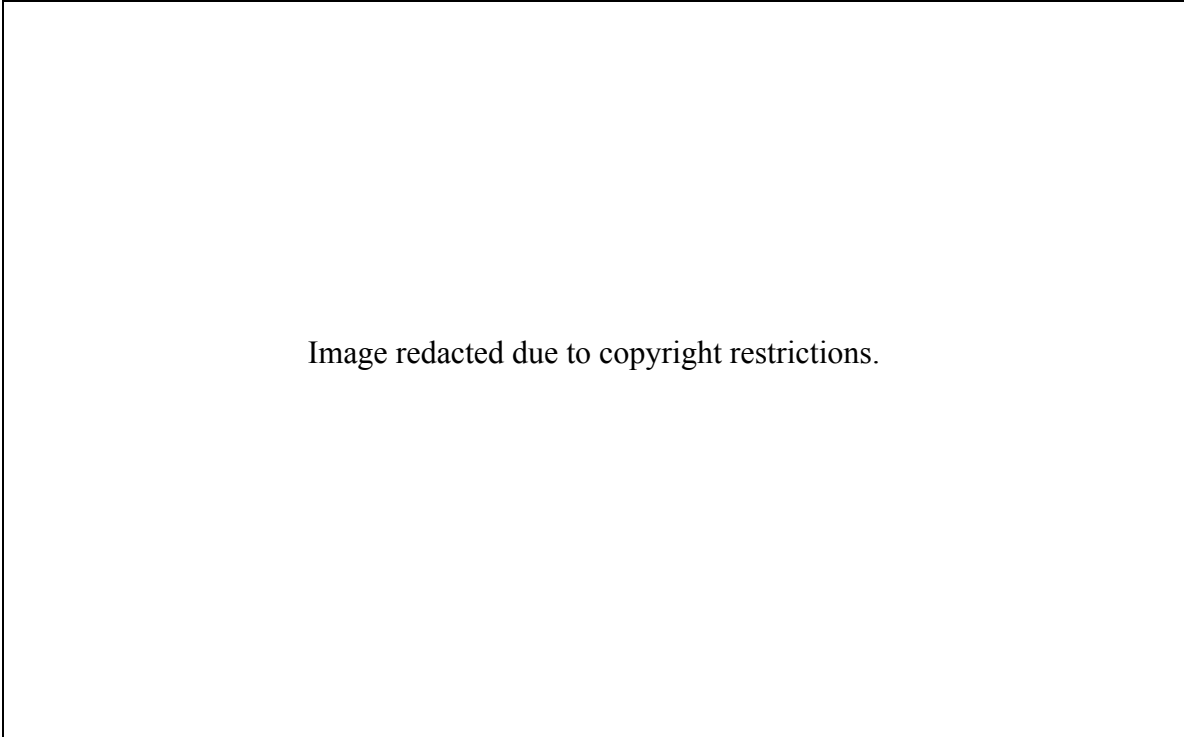


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Figure 1.18 Moche portrait vessel
Source: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, VA 32567

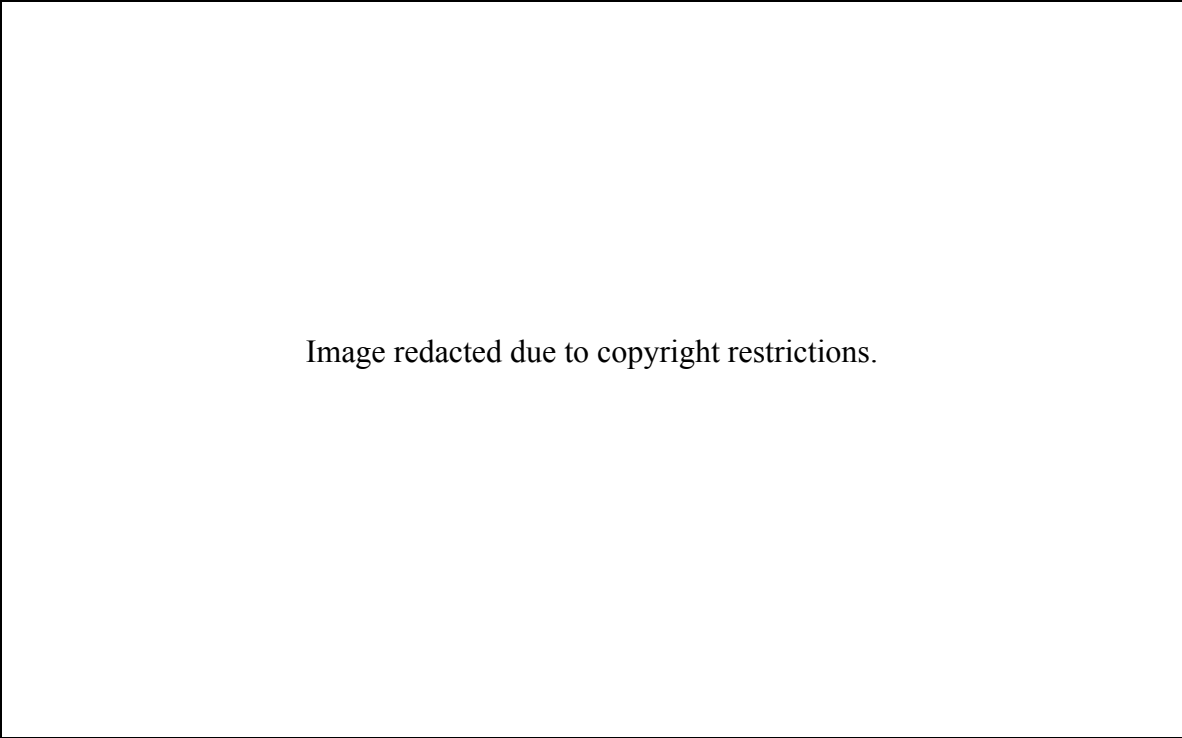


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Figure 1.19 Paracas ceramic vessel with incised lines
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 62.266.68

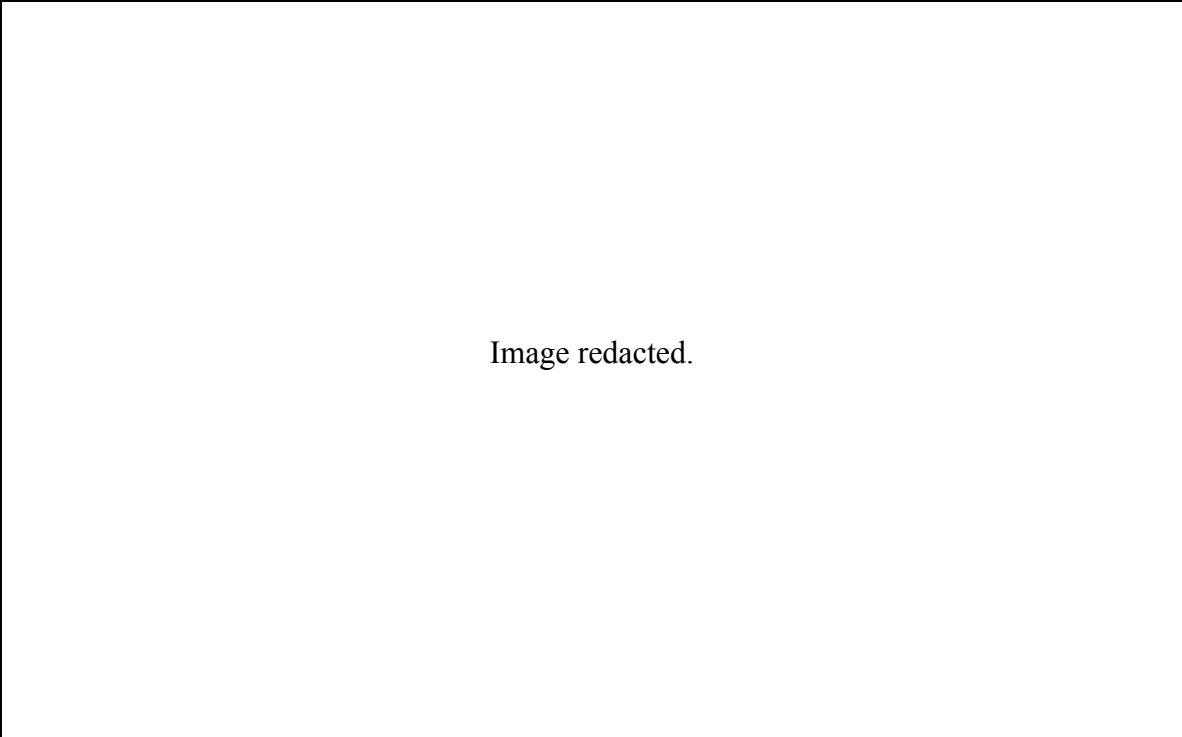


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Figure 1.20 Painting implements found at Cahuachi
Source: Museo Antonini, photograph by M. Tierney

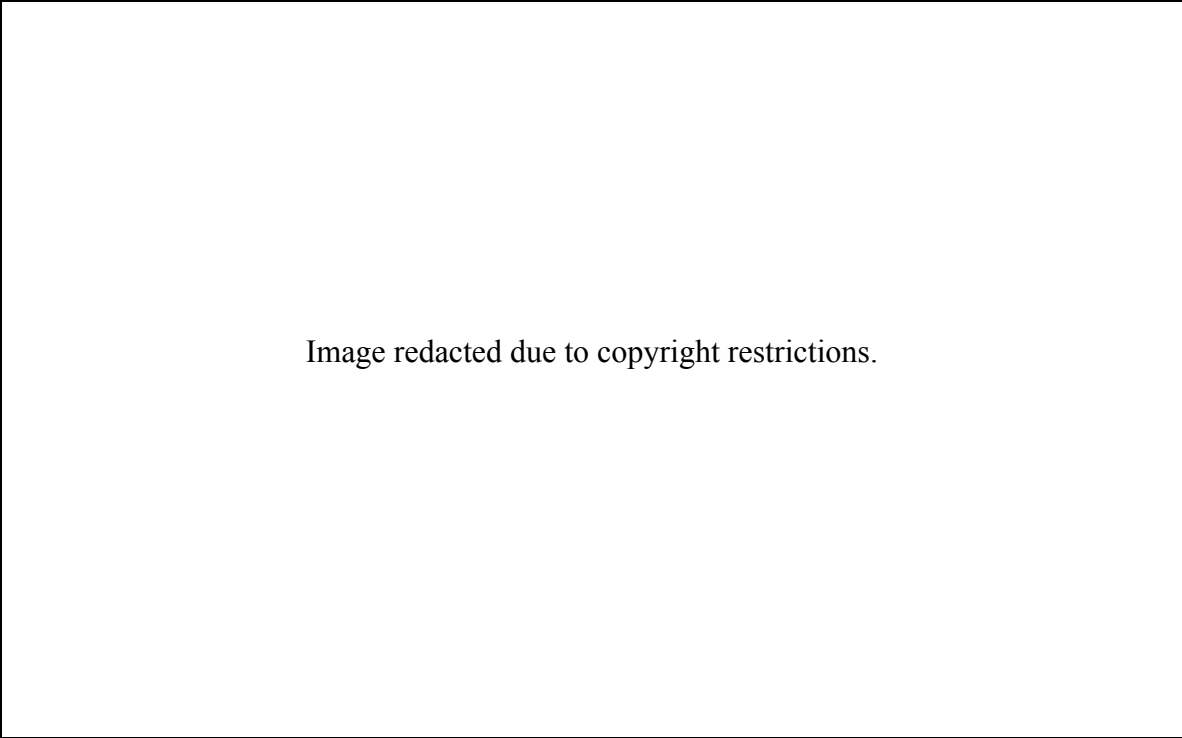


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Figure 1.21 Nasca bowl depicting pigment pouches
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 79.206.1106

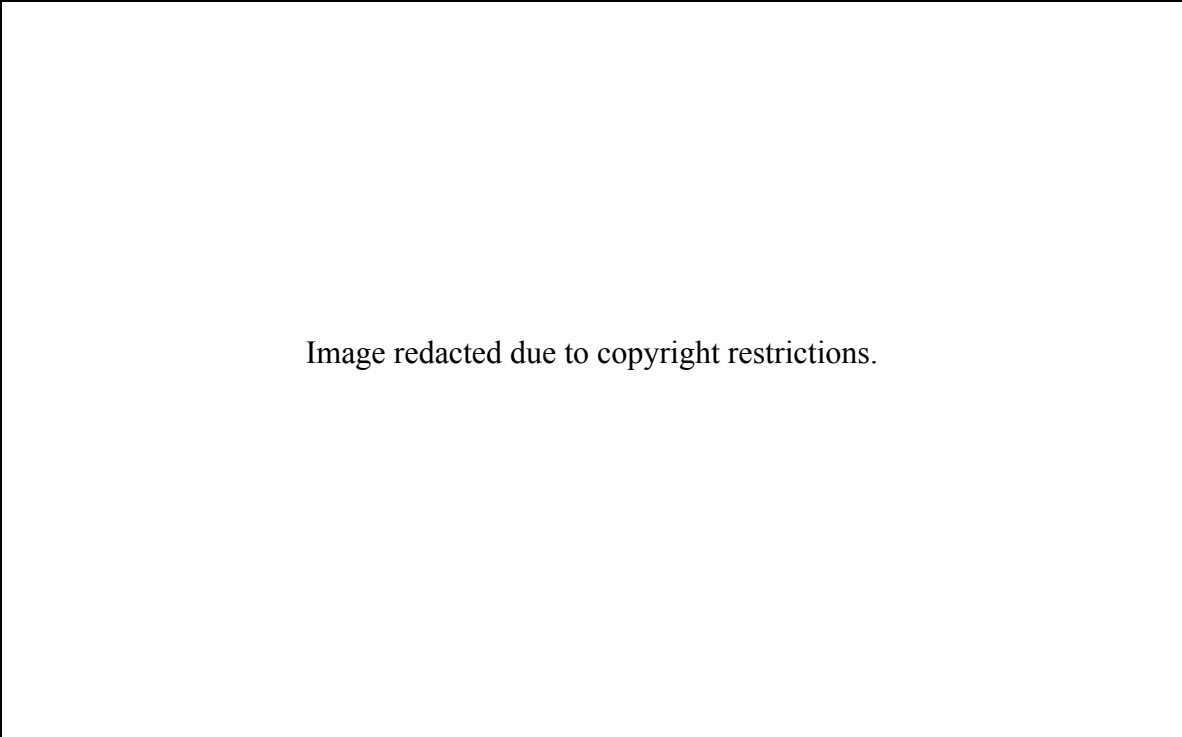


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Figure 1.22 High relief step fret vessel
Source: Museo Amano, MAR-037

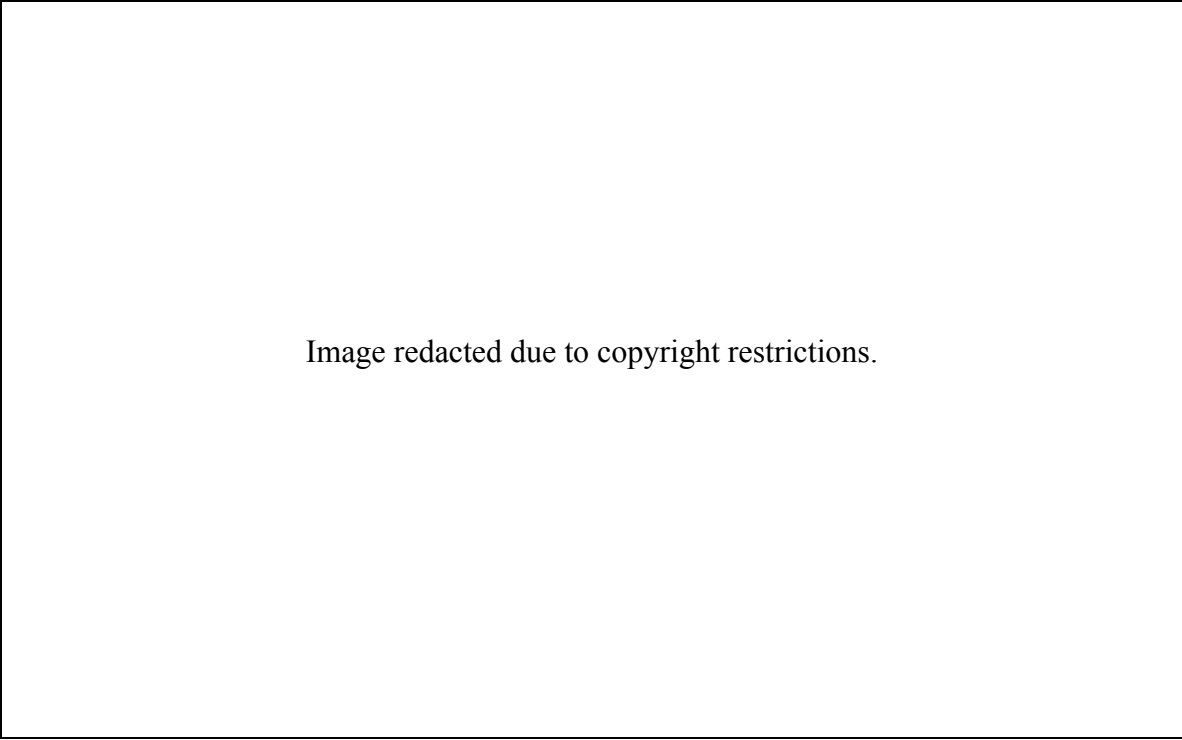


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Figure 1.23 Plaque with humans and animals processing
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, pl. 9

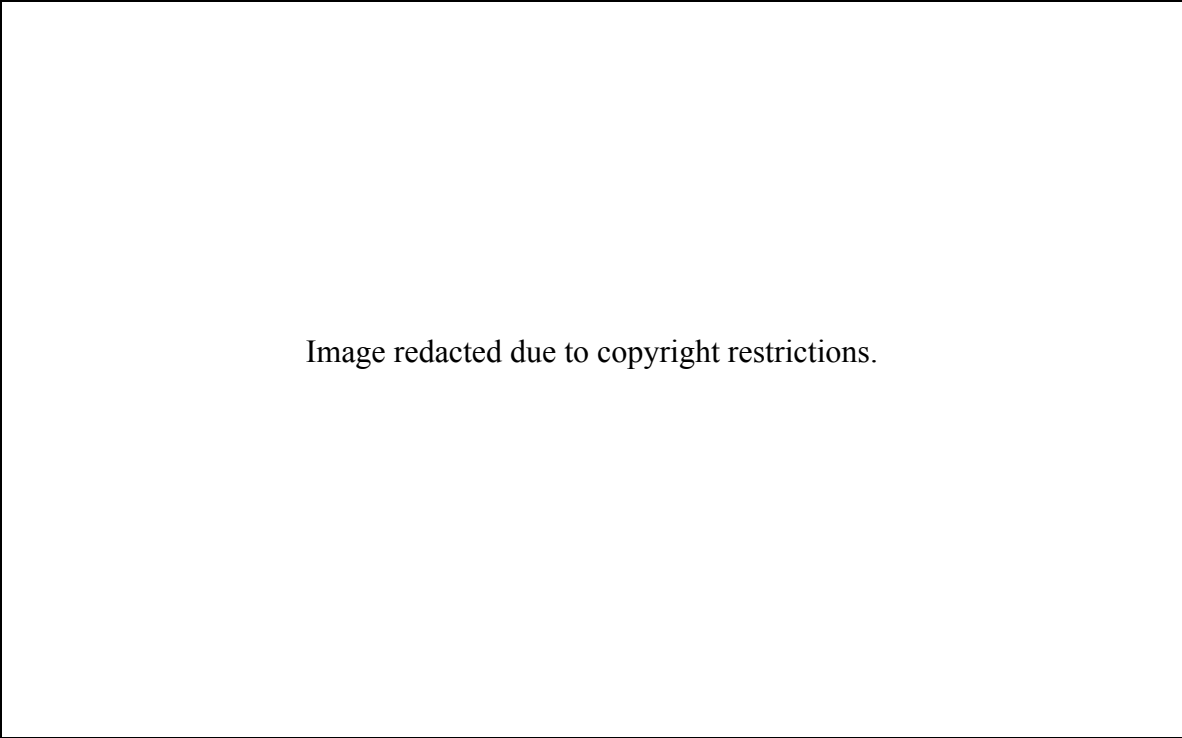
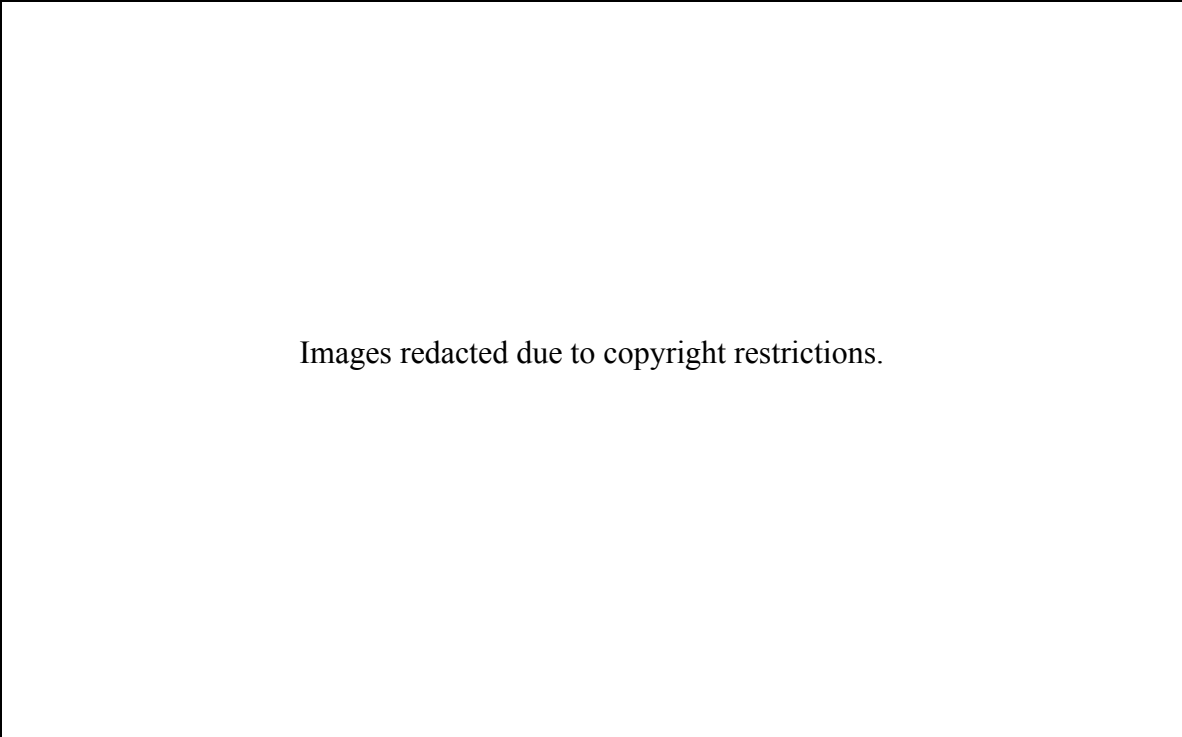


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Figure 2.1 Nasca Lines
Source: Photograph by Meghan Tierney



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Figure 2.2 Moche fineline painting of sacrifice ceremony
Source: Museo Larco, ML010847

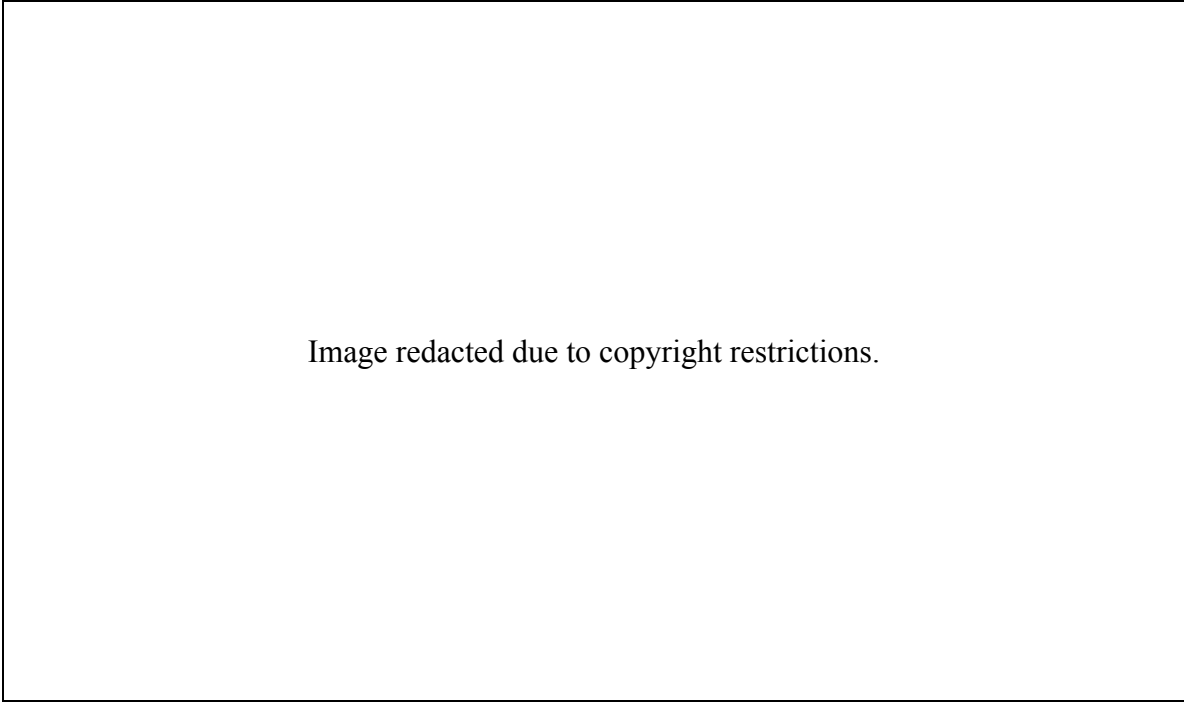


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Figure 2.3 Recuay vessel with modeling and resist painting techniques
Source: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology – Harvard University, 42-12-30/3164

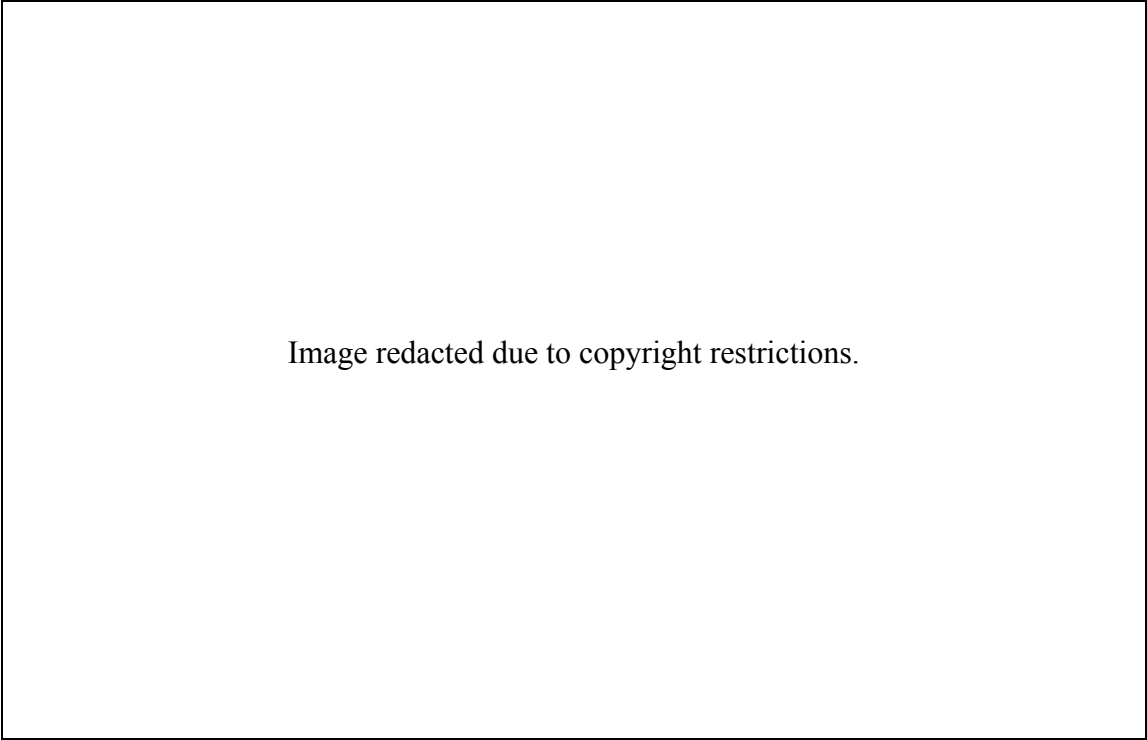


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Figure 2.4 Lima Culture, Interlocking style ceramic vessel
Source: Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú

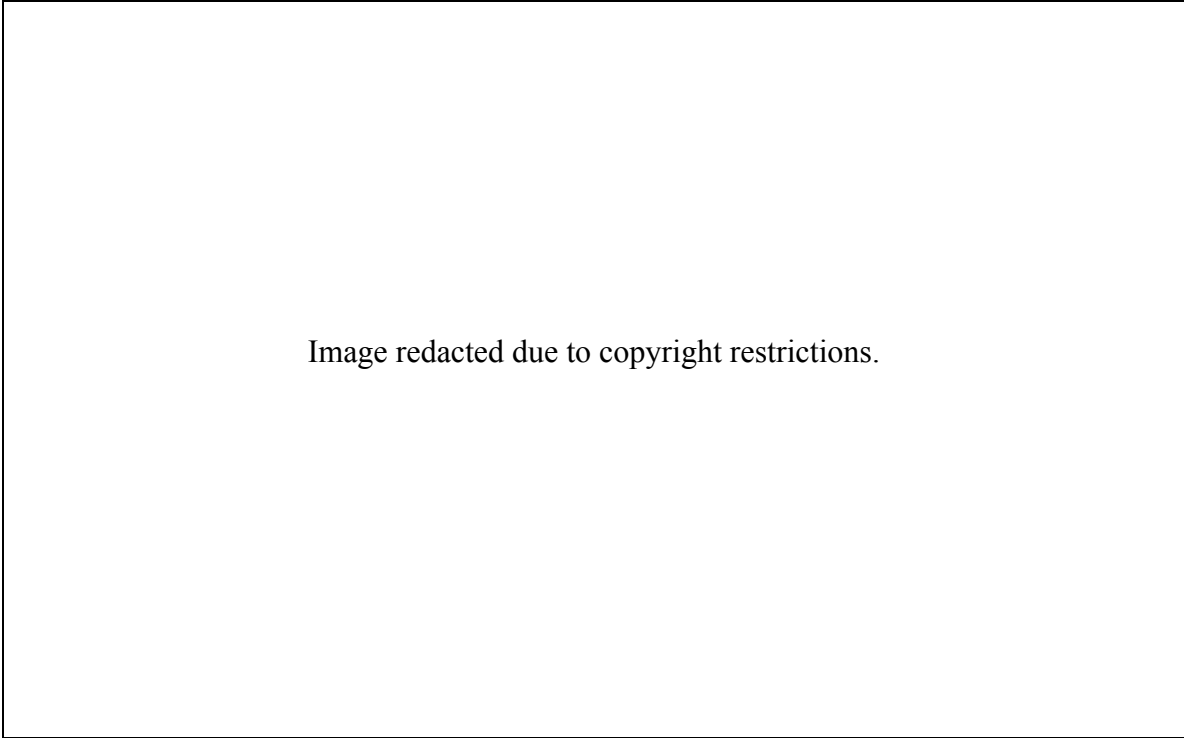


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Figure 2.5 Tiwanaku ceramic effigy vessel
Source: Paul A. Clifford et al., eds., *Art of the Andes*, cat. no. 151

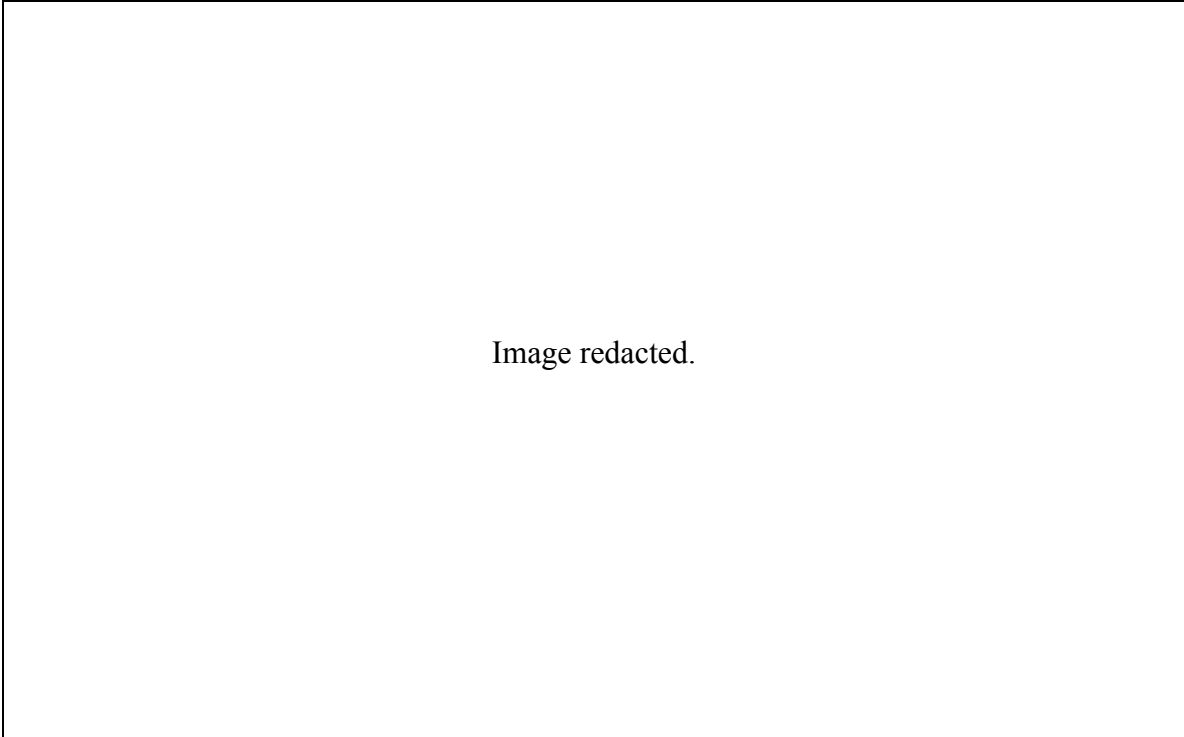


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Figure 2.6 Desert pampas in Nazca region (with Pan-American highway bisecting)
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

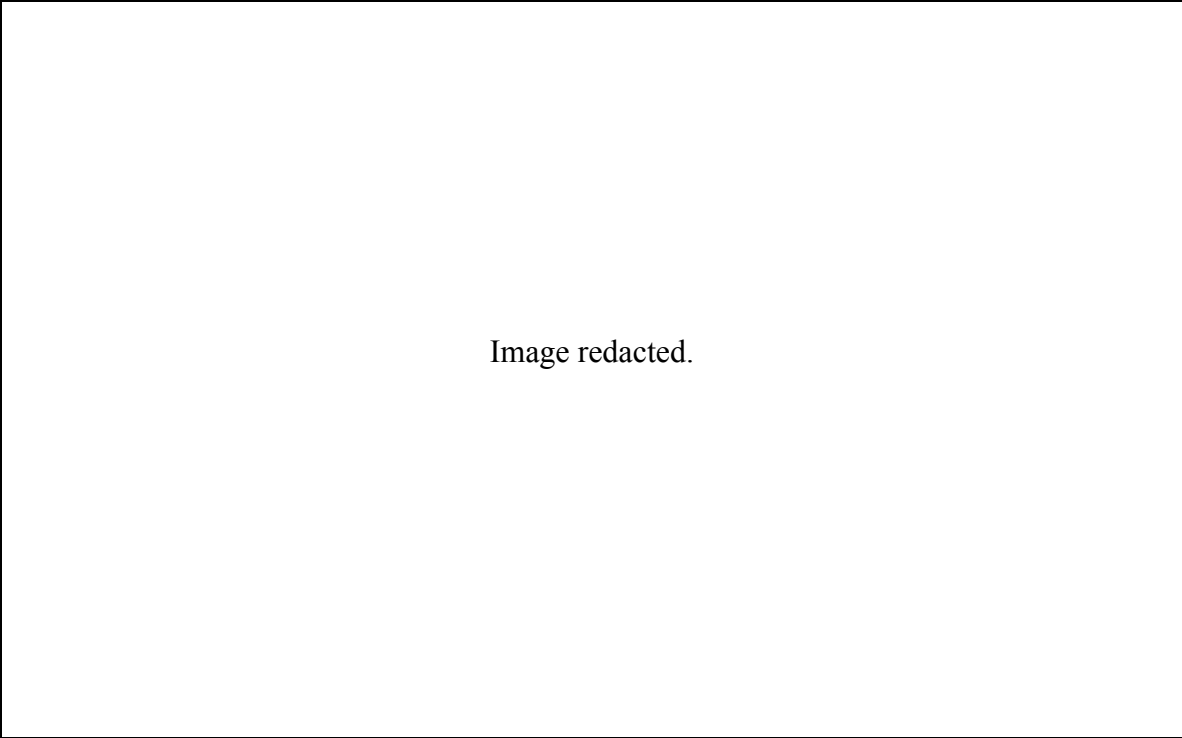


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Figure 2.7 Tierras Blancas River valley
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

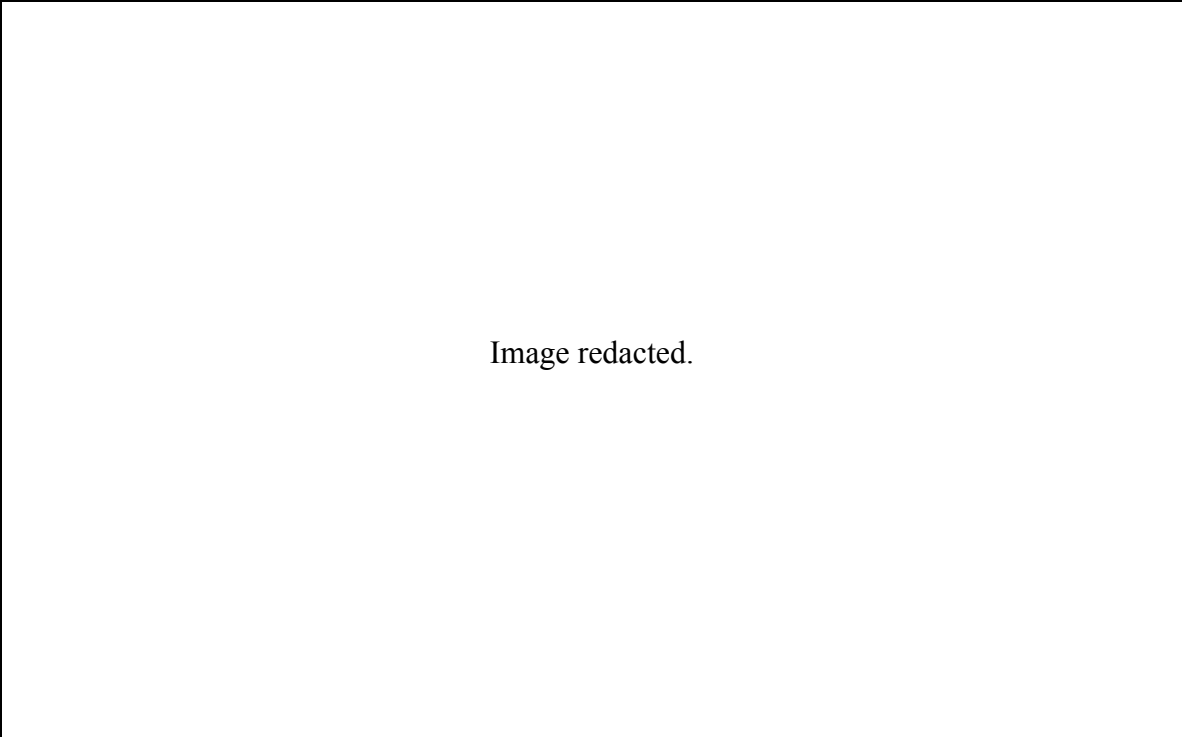


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Figure 2.8 Cerro Blanco
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

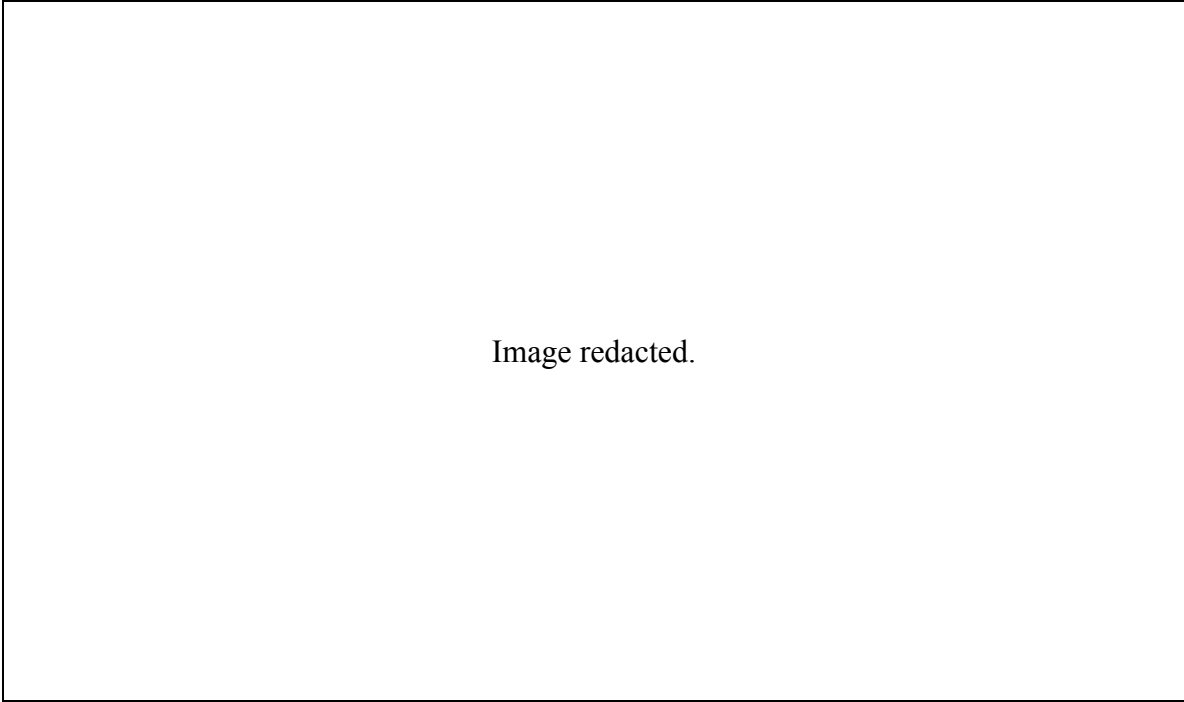


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Figure 2.9 Huarango tree near Cahuachi
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

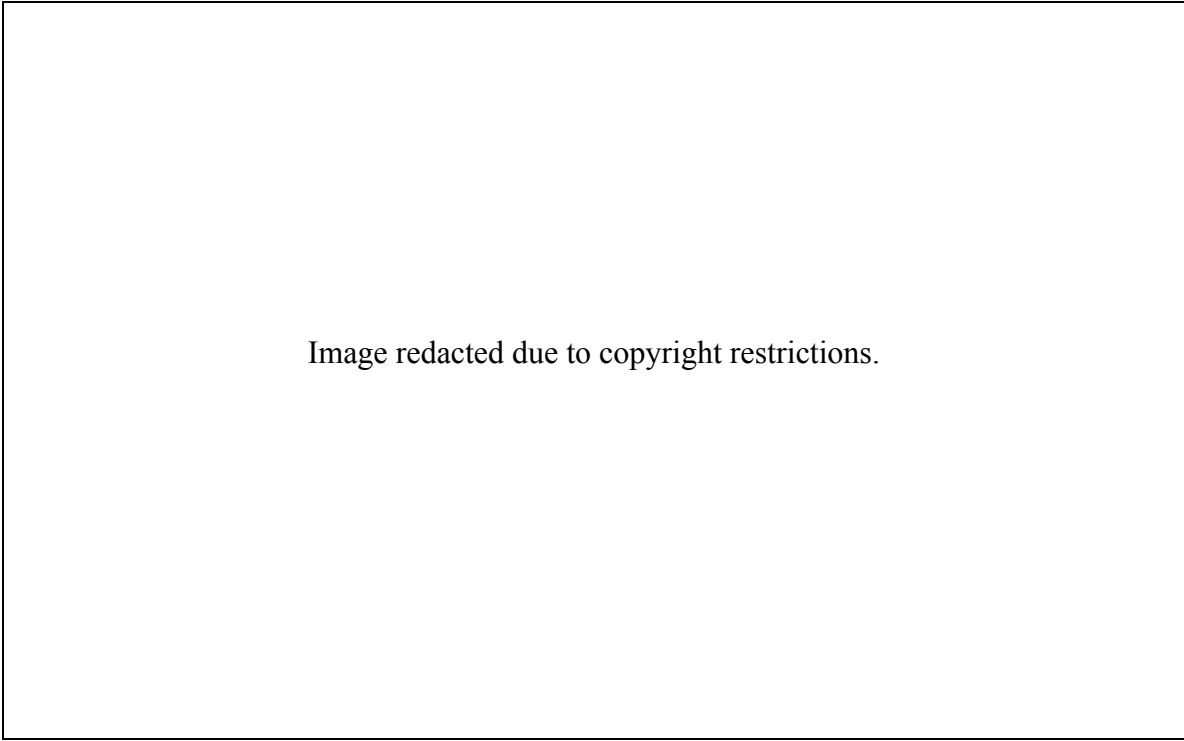


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Figure 2.10 Guaman Poma de Ayala drawing of Nazca
Source: "The Guaman Poma Website," <http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1051/en/text/?open=id2978109>

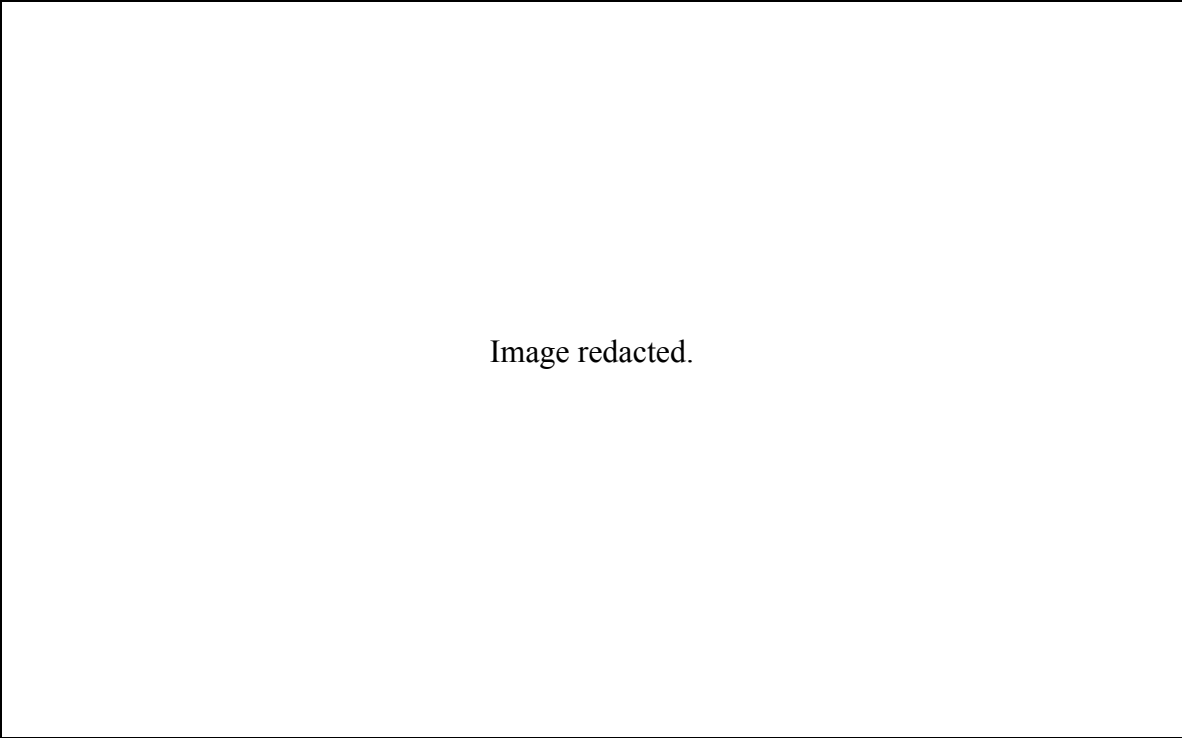


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Figure 2.11 Nasca puquio ojo with Cerro Blanco in the distance
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

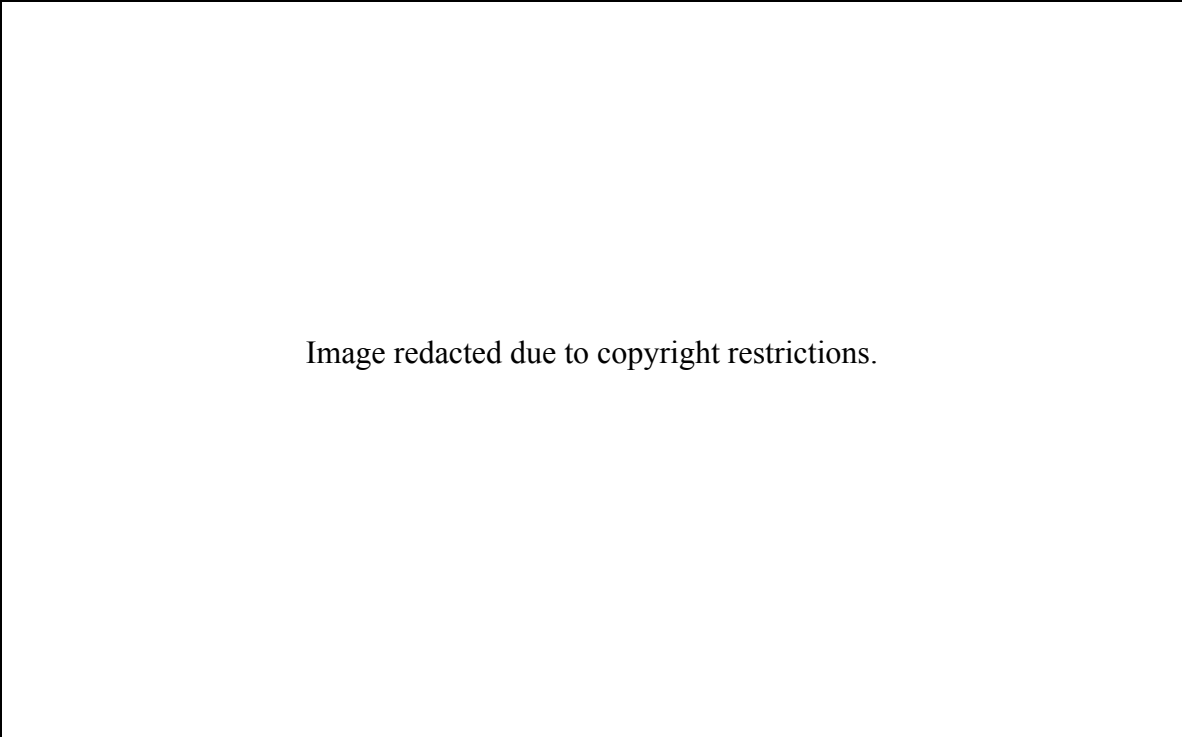


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Figure 2.12 Textile embroidered with beans and a bean border
Source: The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., no. 1965.40.23

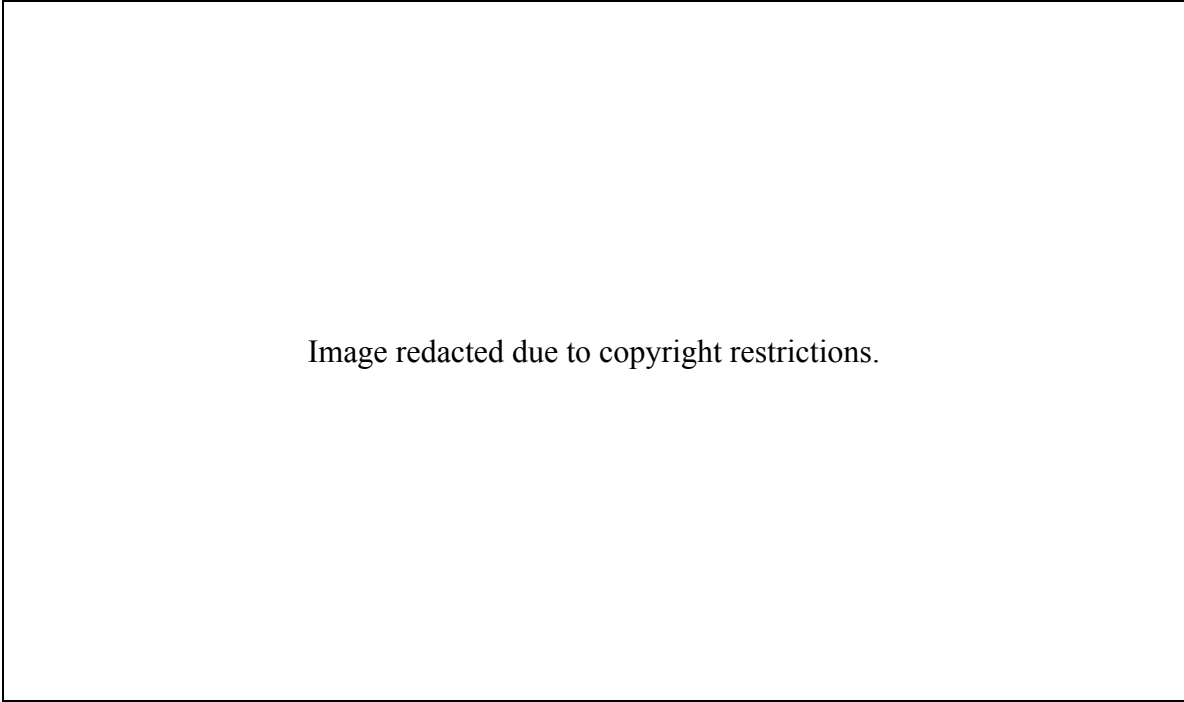


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Figure 2.13 Late Nasca coca chewer effigy
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, pl. 3

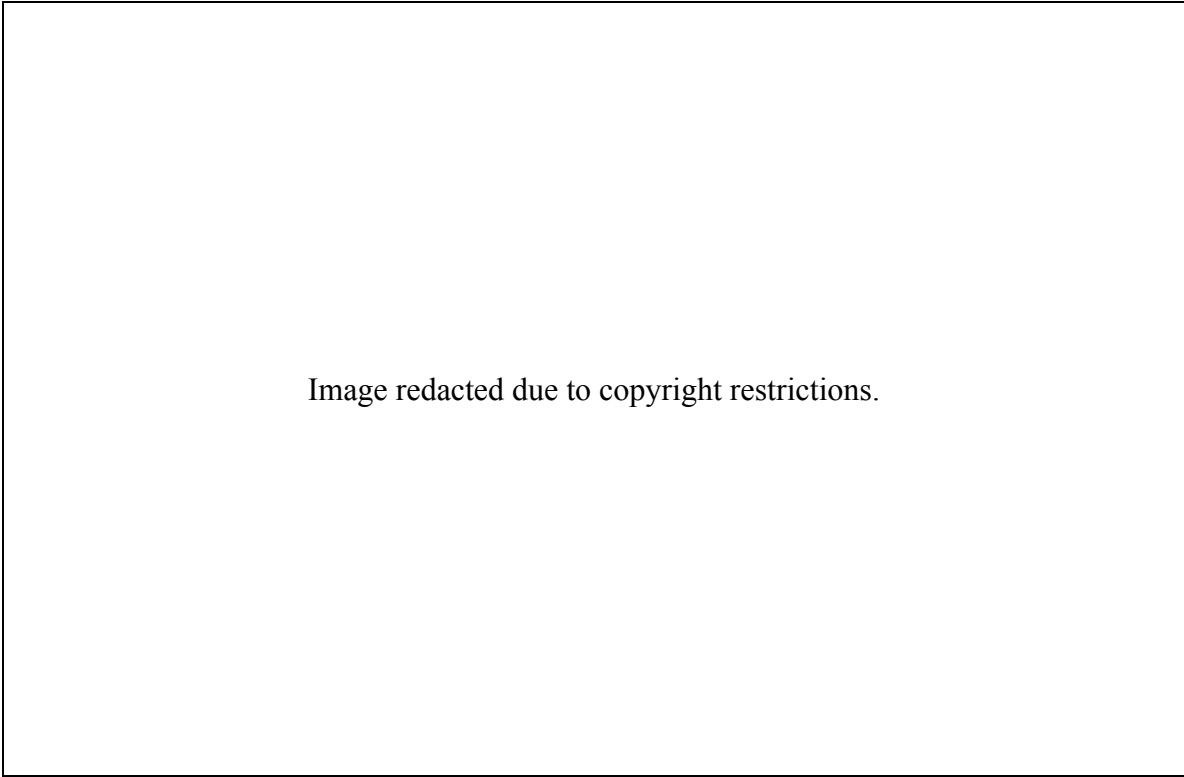
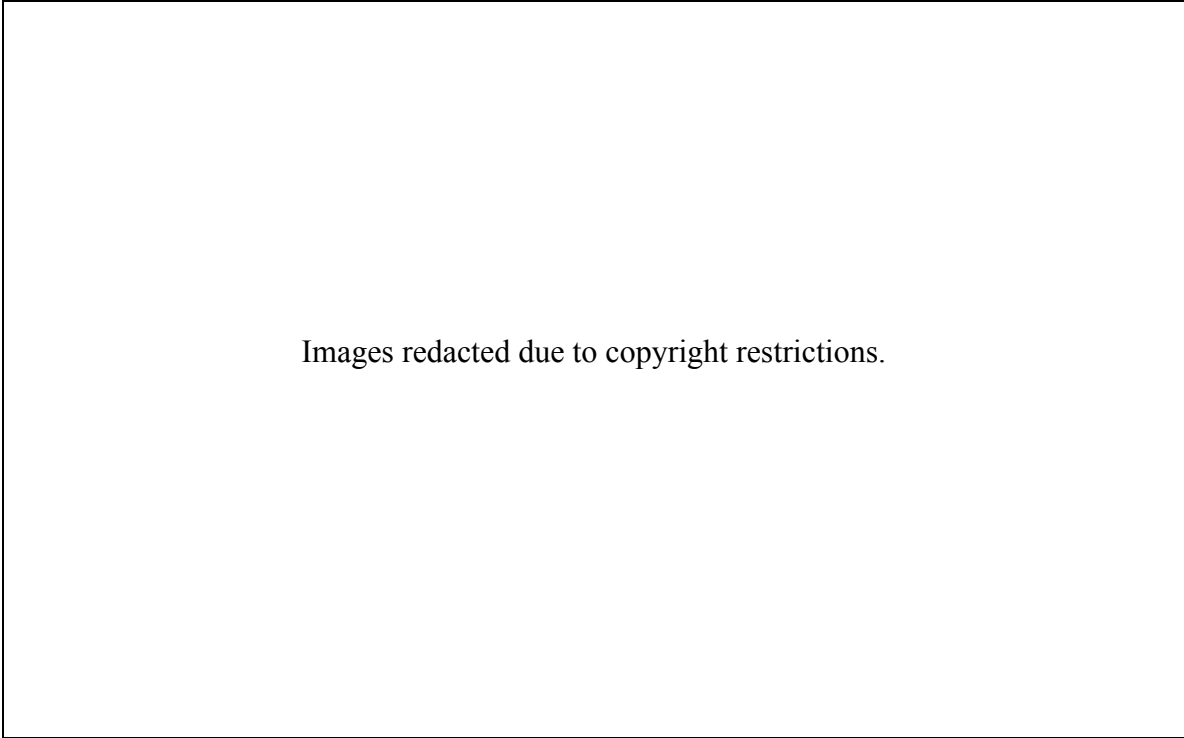


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Figure 2.14 Vessel with tethered llamas (drawing)
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, fig. 5.184



Images redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.15 Karwa textile depicting vivified cotton plant
Source: Cordy-Collins, "The Cotton and the Staff God," fig. 3

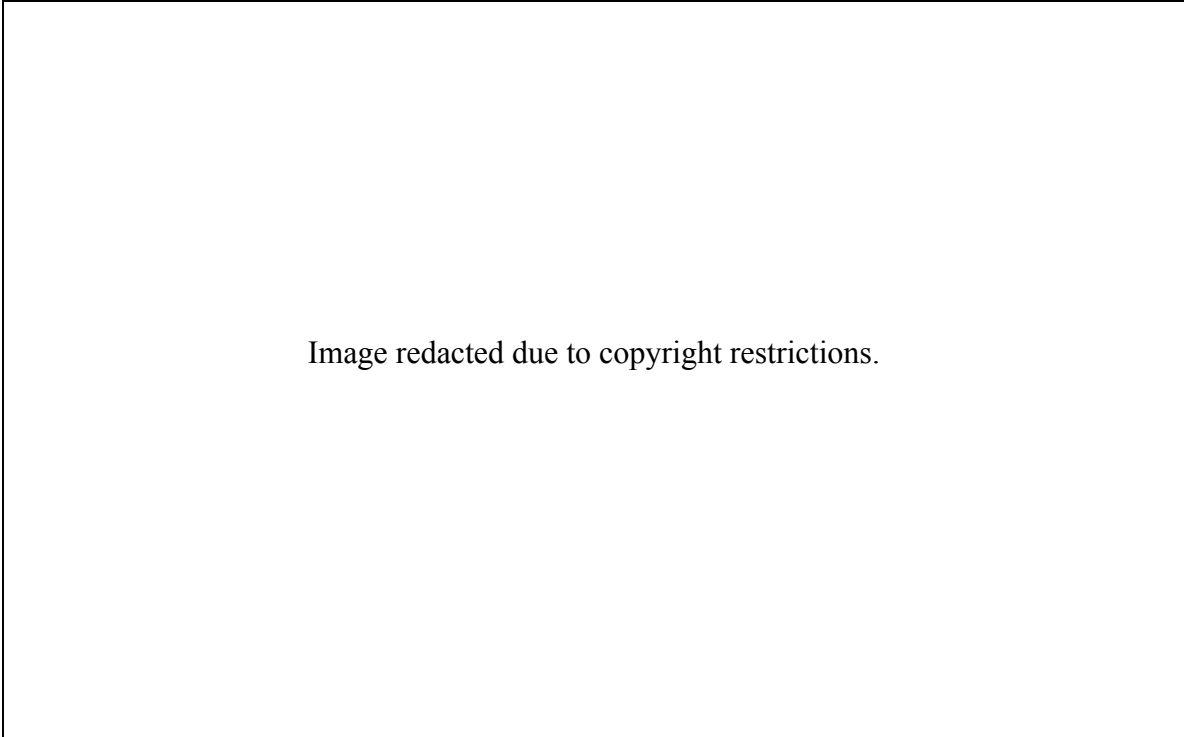


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Figure 2.16 Pyro-engraved gourd with AMB
Source: Museo Antonini, Nazca, photograph by M. Tierney

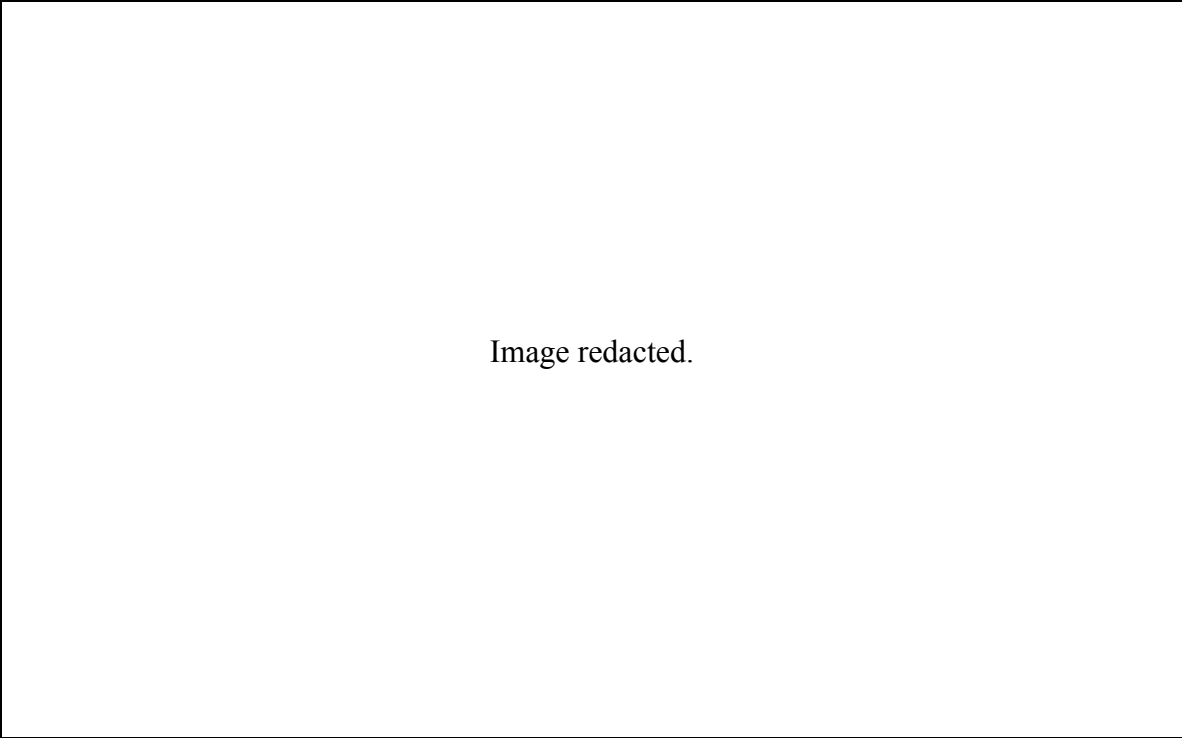


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Figure 2.17 Cahuachi ceremonial center (with modern reconstruction)
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

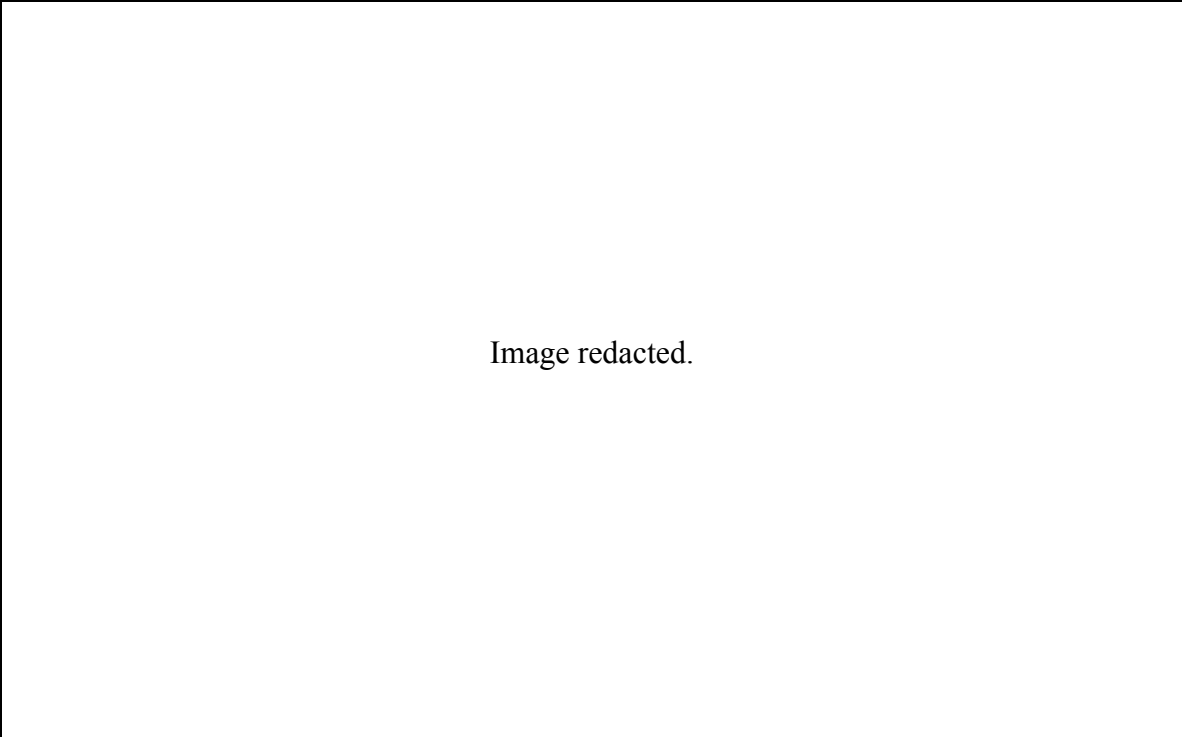


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Figure 2.18 Disrupted graves at Cahuachi cemetery
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

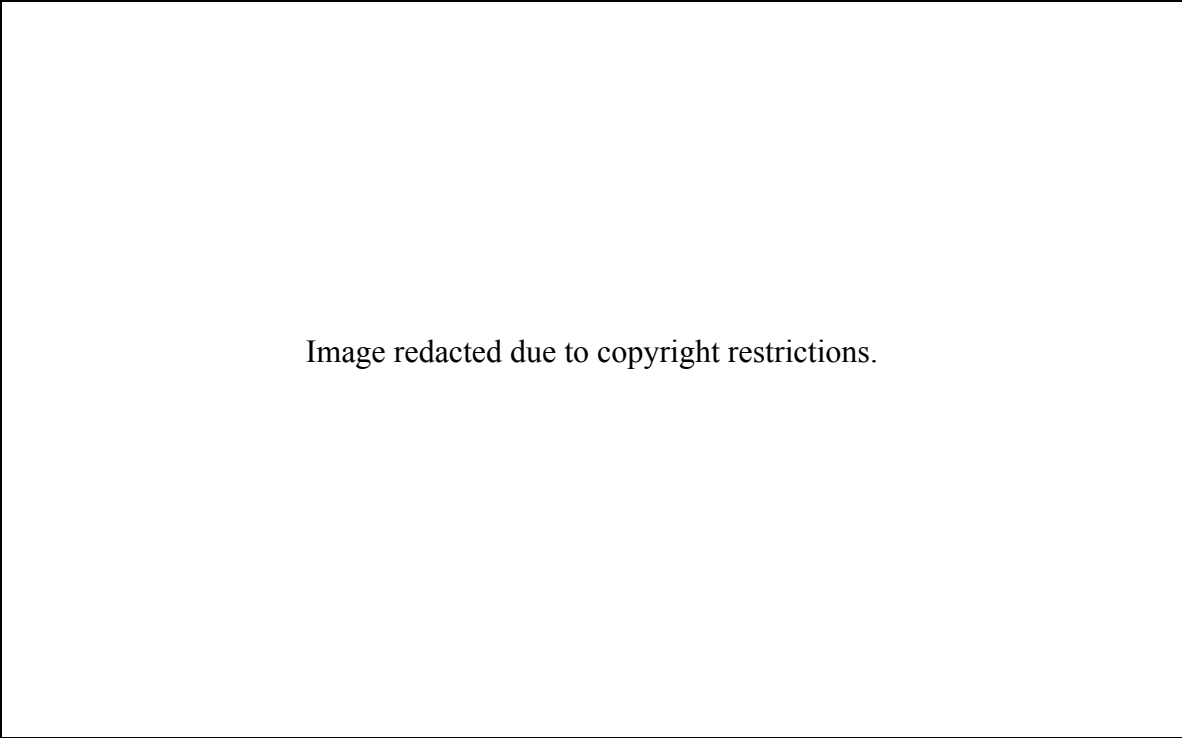


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Figure 2.19 Nasca plainware vessel with incised exterior surface
Source: Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 130

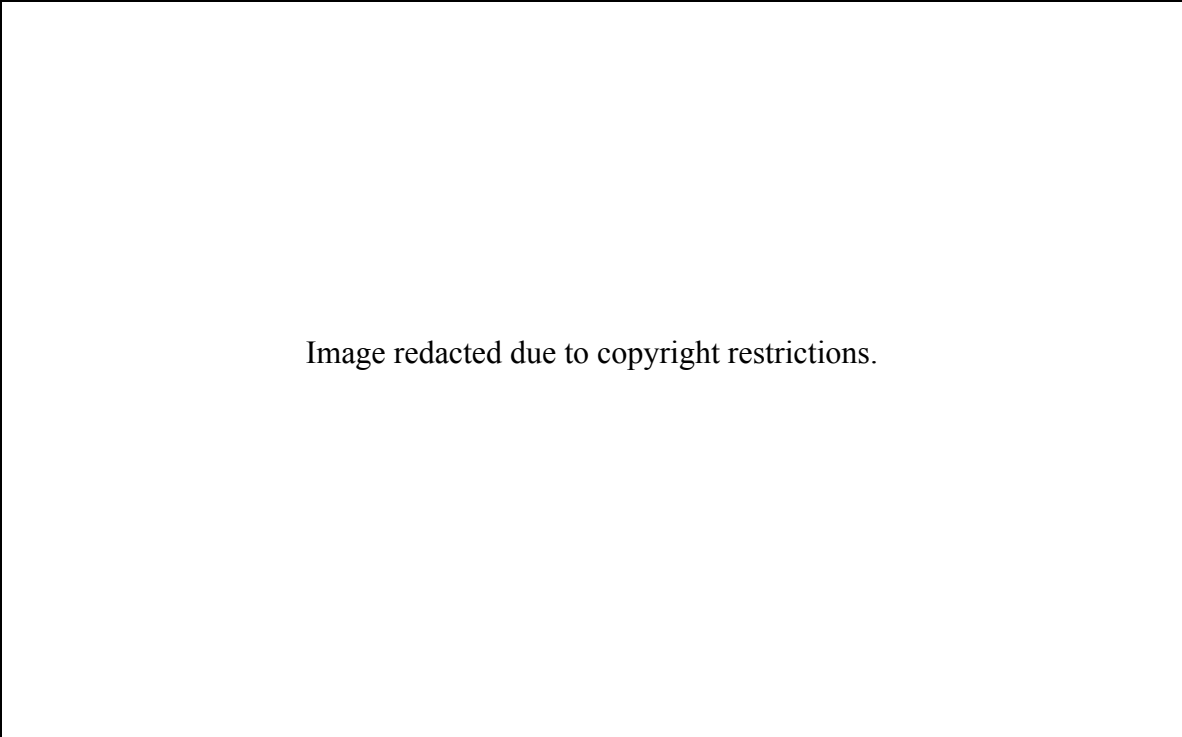


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Figure 2.20 Hide-wrapped and tied stone scraper from Guitarrero Cave
Source: Lynch, *Guitarrero Cave: Early Man in the Andes*, fig. 10.8

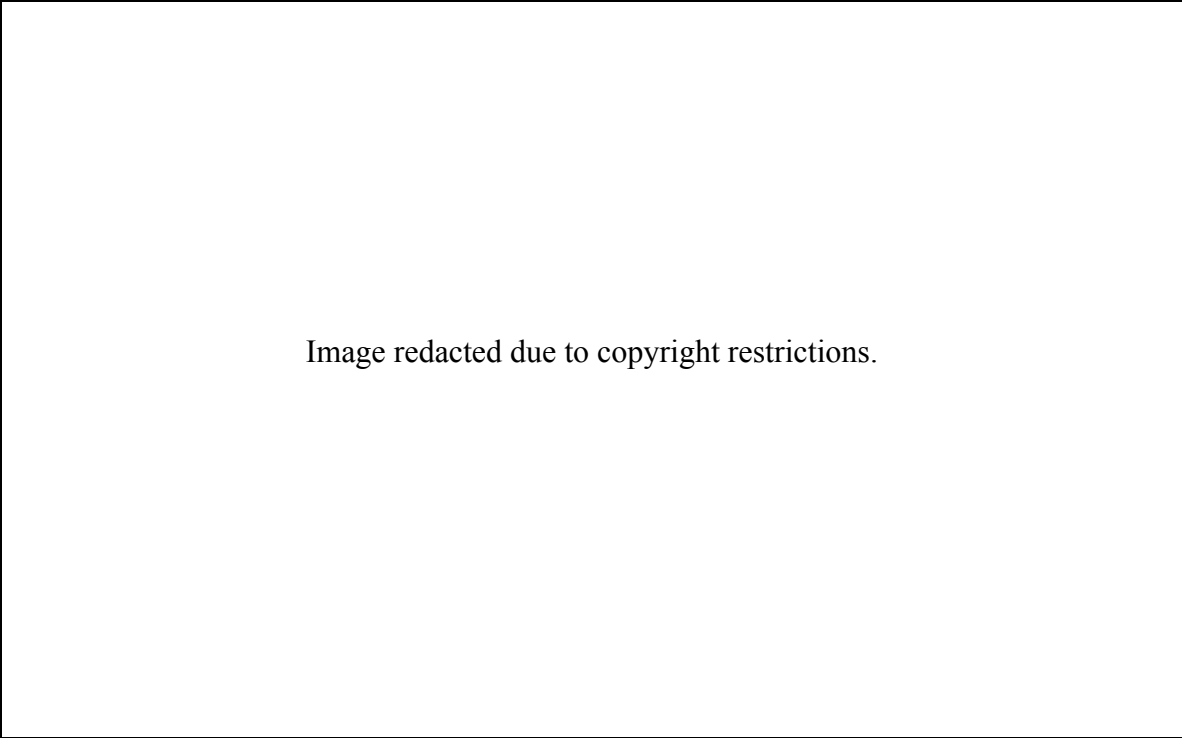
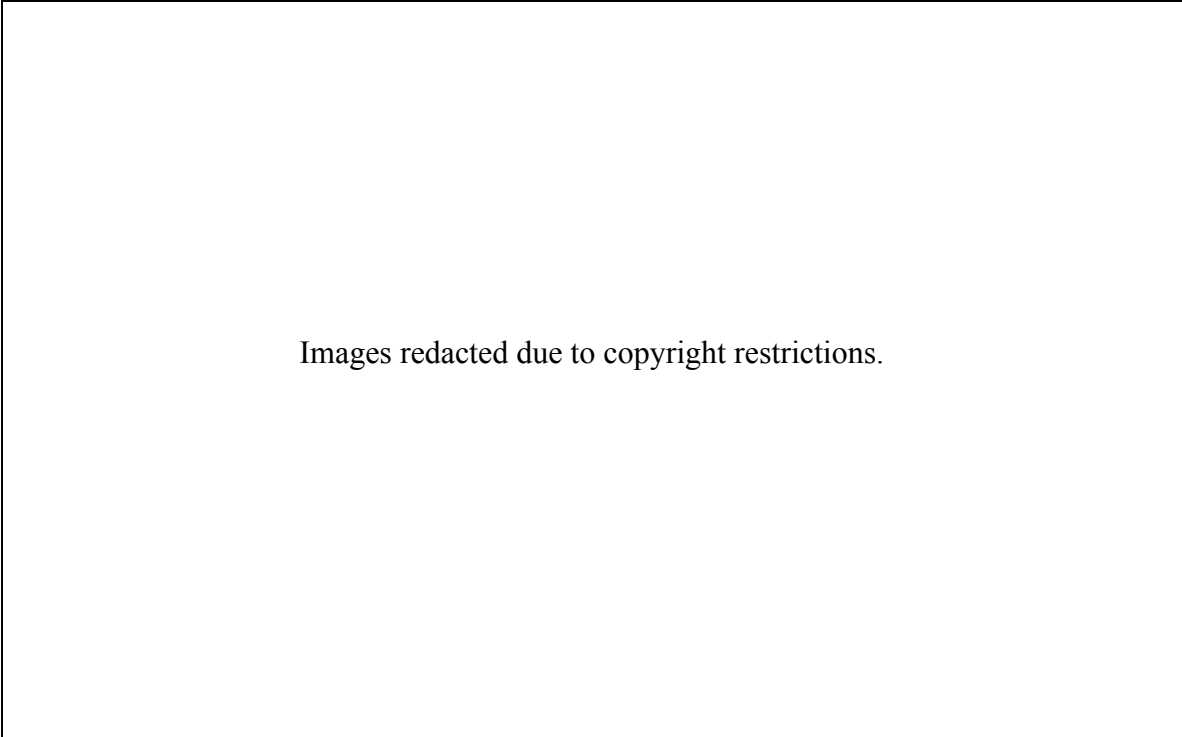


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Figure 2.21 Paracas shaman textile

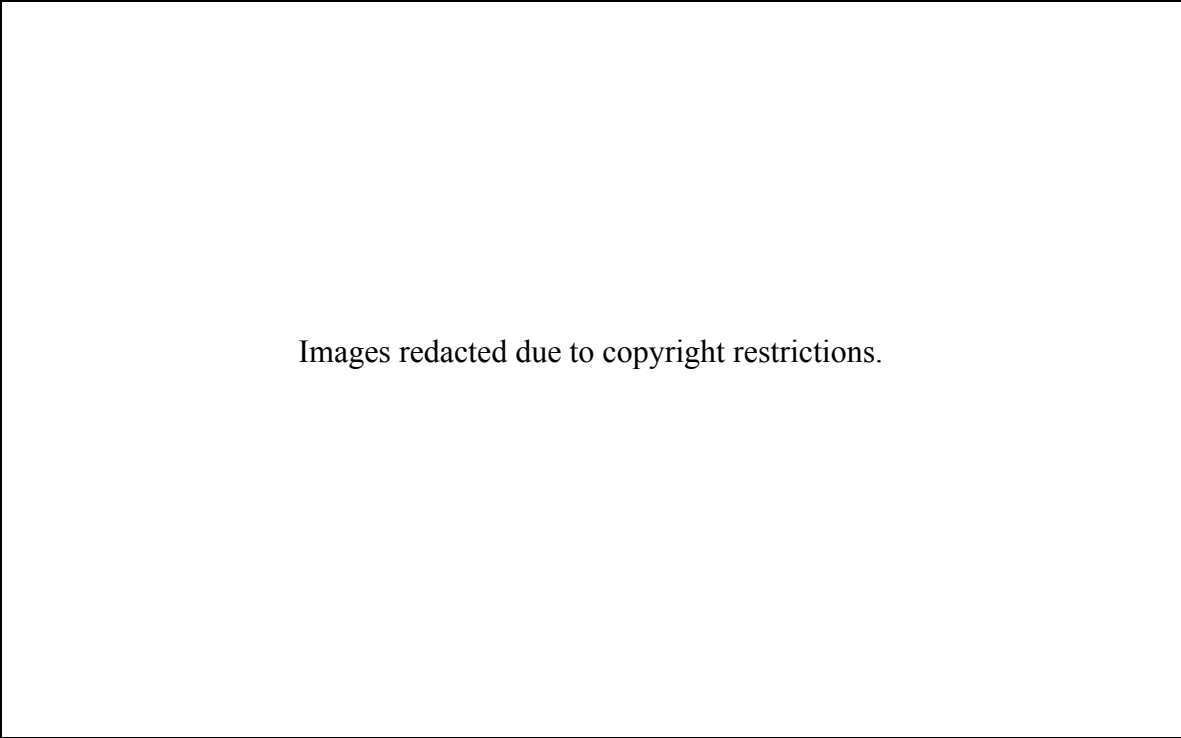
Source: Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Antropología e Historia del Perú



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Figure 2.22 “Paracas Mantle”

Source: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 38.121



Images redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.23 “Göteborg Mantle”
Source: Museum of World Culture, Göteborg, Sweden, 1935.32.179

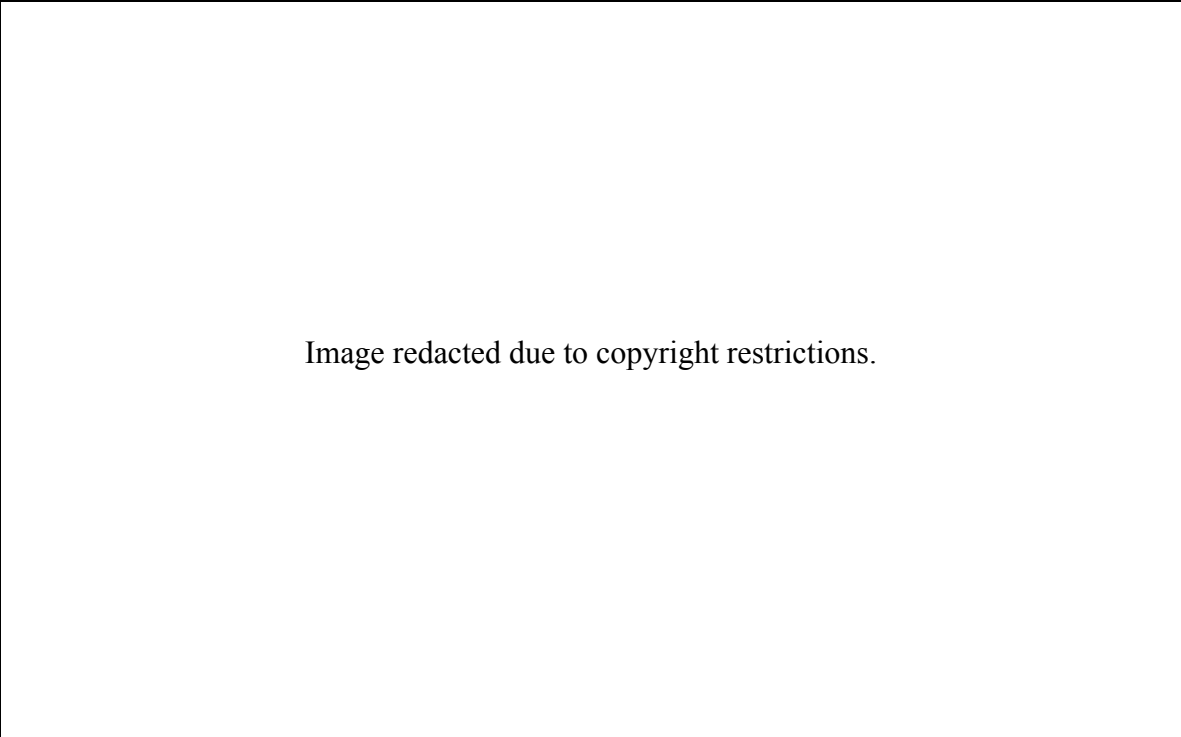


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Figure 2.24 Processional on a painted Nasca textile
Source: The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Norweb Collection, 40.530

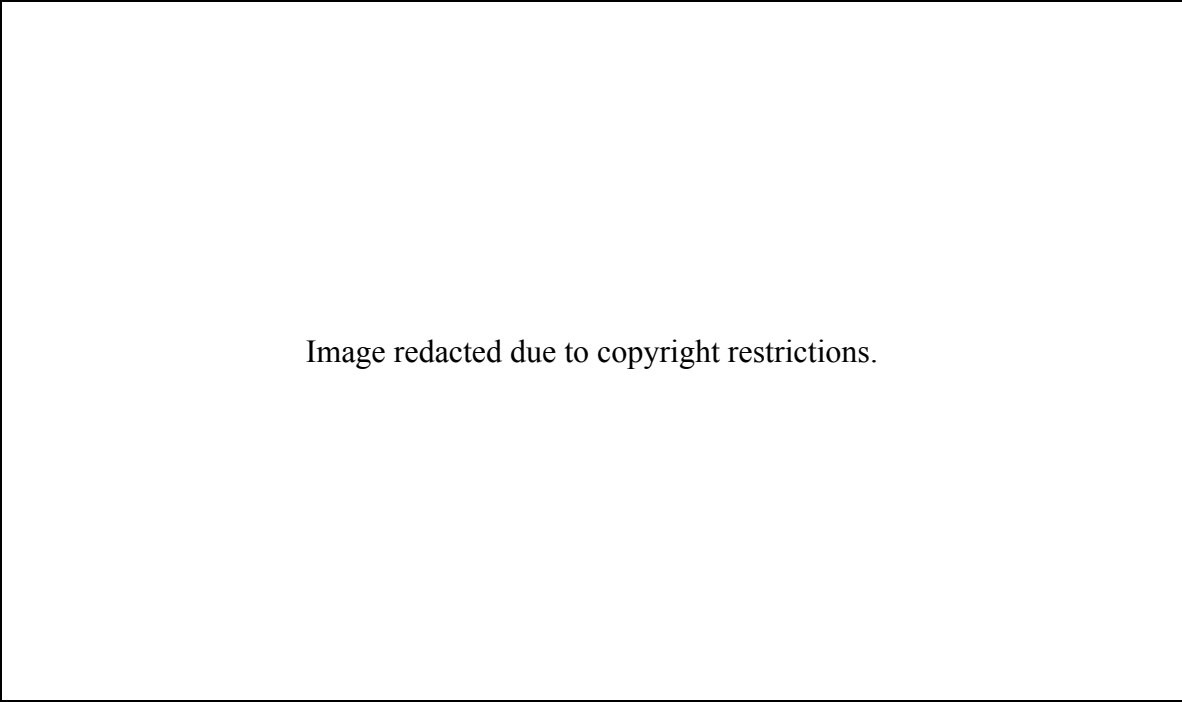


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Figure 2.25 Hammered gold alloy mouthmask
Source: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1945.37

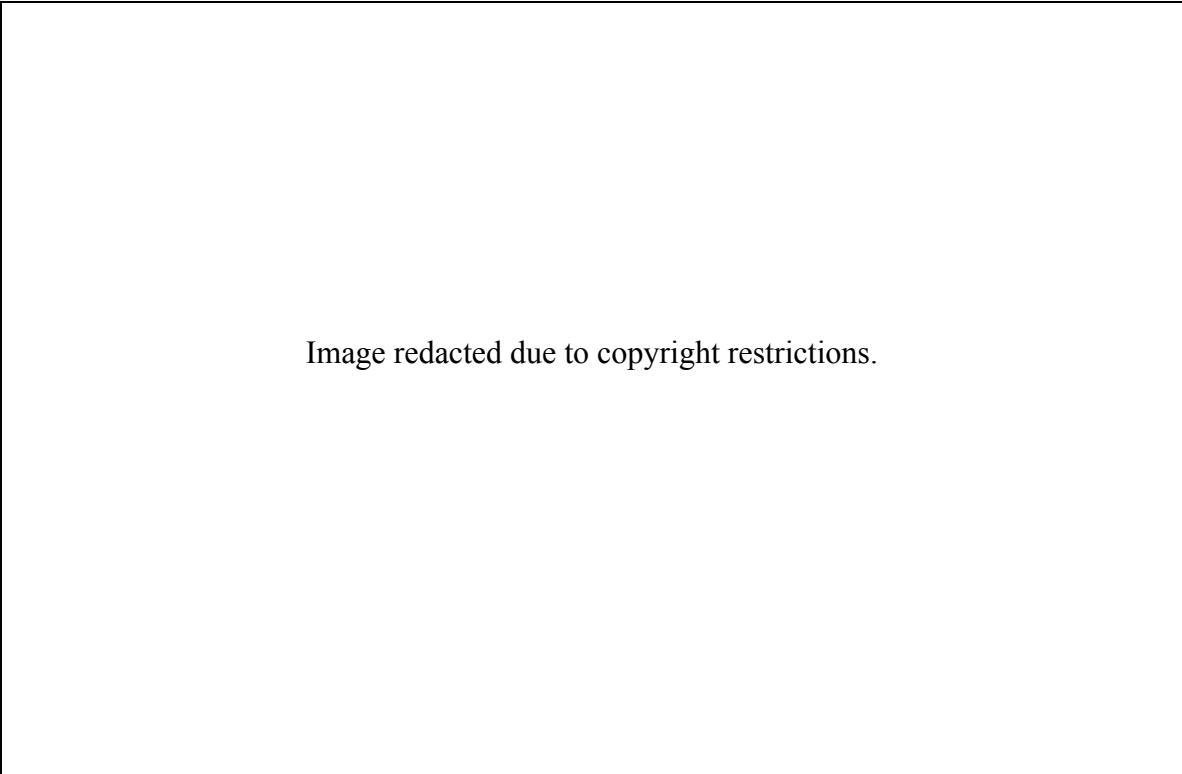


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Figure 2.26 Gold sheet forehead diadem
Source: The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.

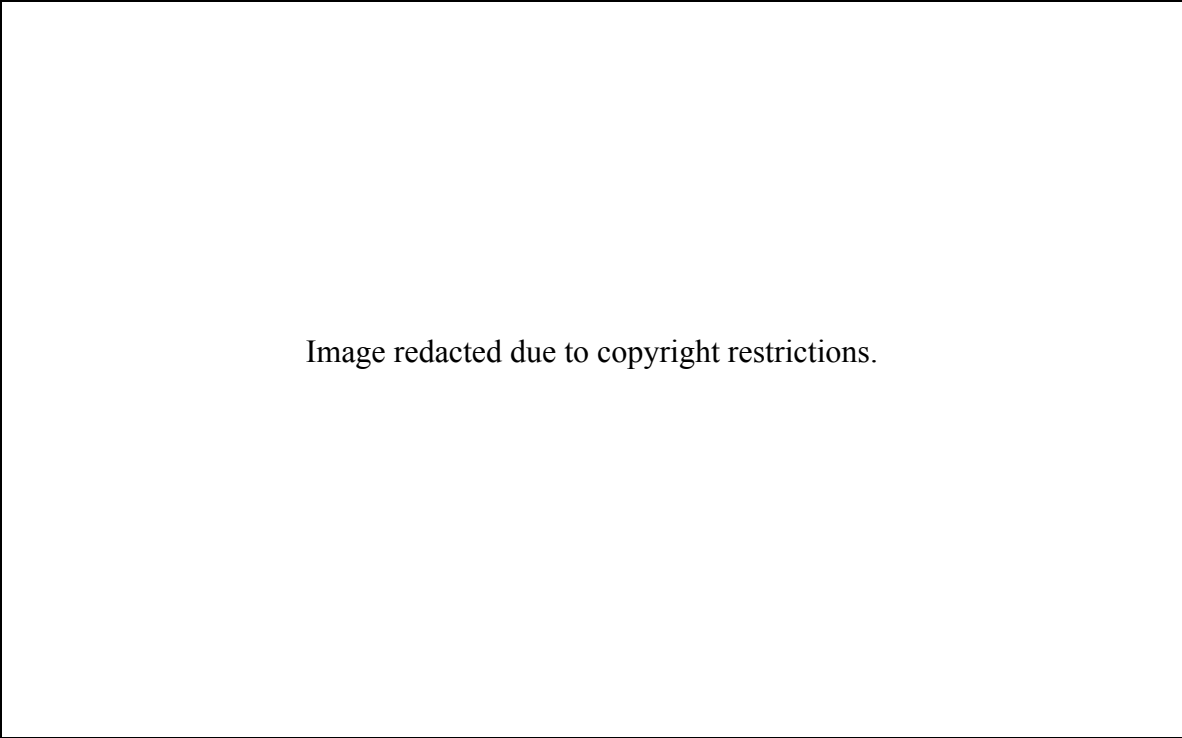


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Figure 2.27 Chavín goldwork
Source: Dallas Museum of Art, The Eugene and Margaret McDermott Art Fund, Inc., 2005.35.McD

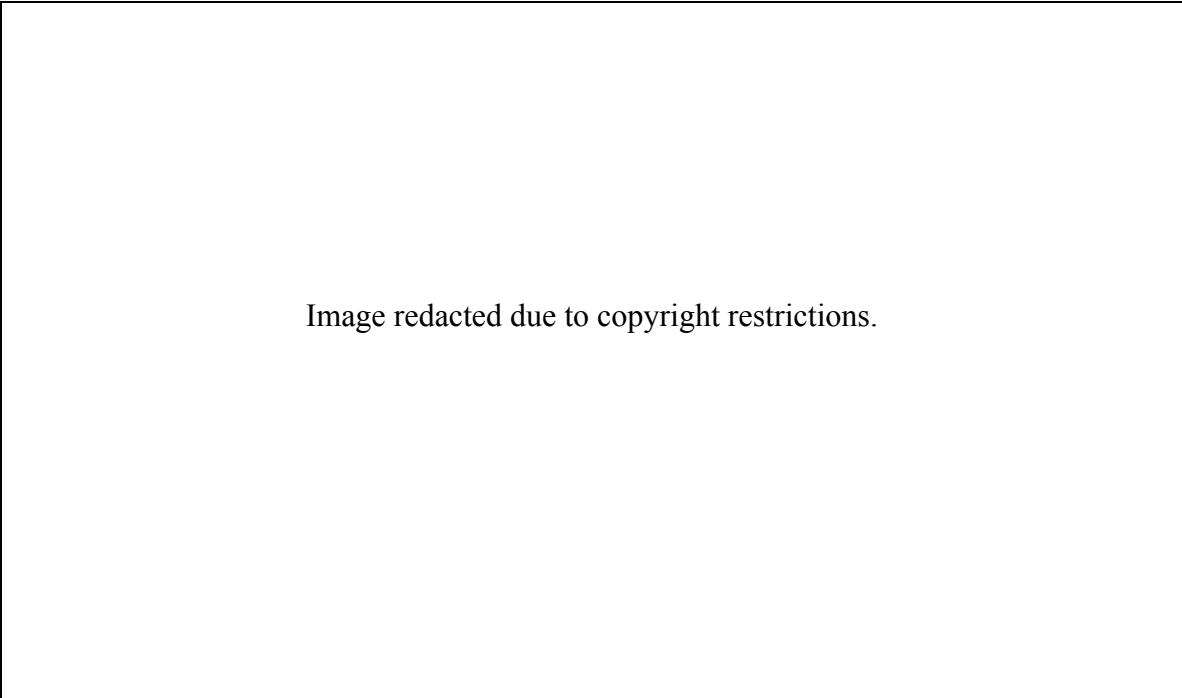


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Figure 2.28 Nasca gold trophy heads
Source: Lechtman, "Tradition and Styles," fig. 9

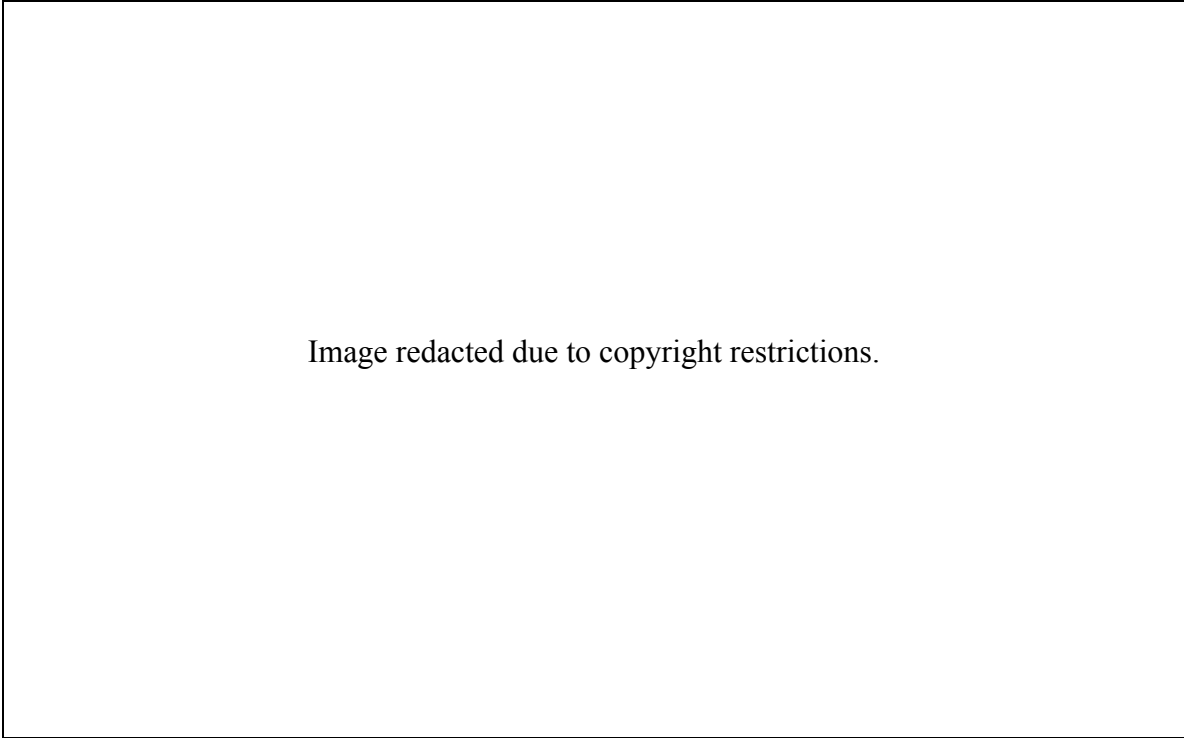


Image redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 2.29 Man carving gourds
Source: <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/peruvian-art-gourd-carving-180955656/?no-ist>

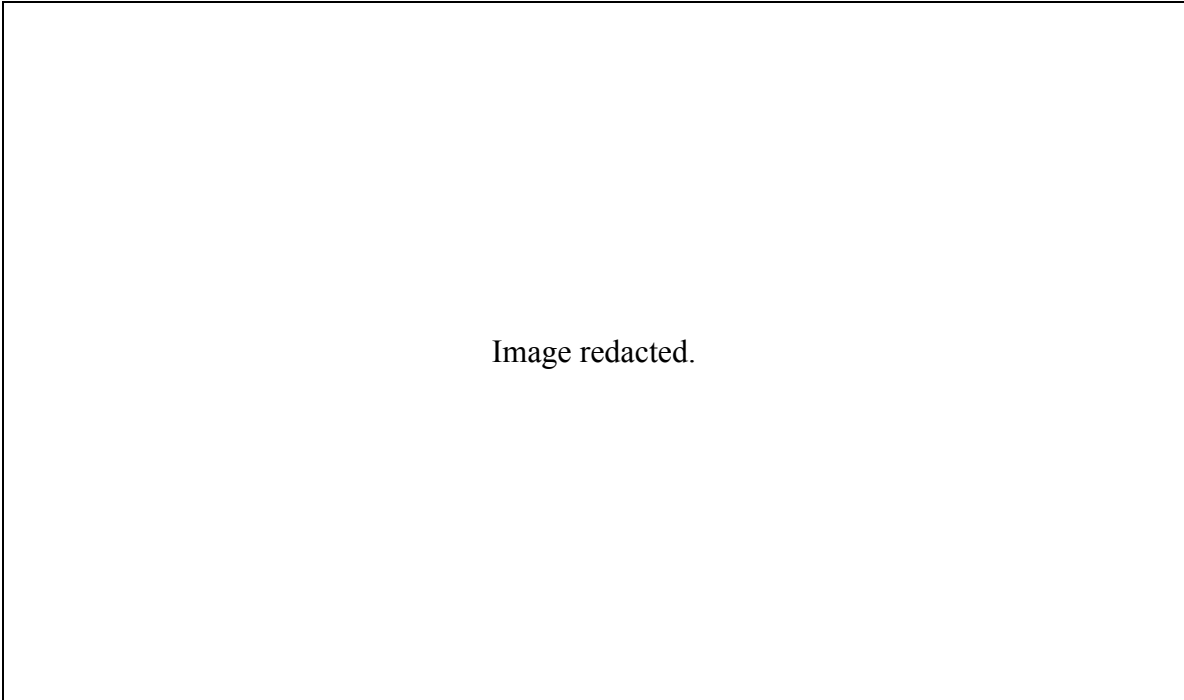


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Figure 2.30 Engraved gourd with resin found at Cahuachi
Source: Museo Antonini, Nazca, Peru, photograph by M. Terney

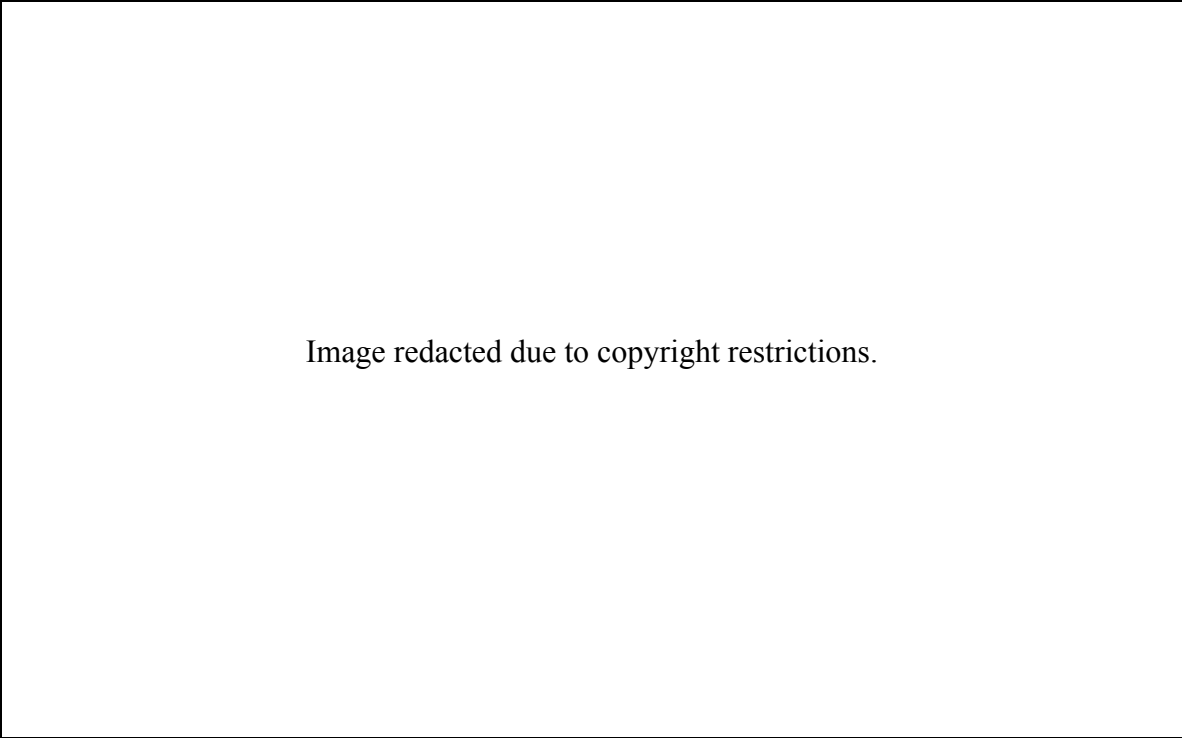


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Figure 2.31 Paracas geoglyph (“The Candelabra”)
Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/davidstanleytravel/7521861232/>

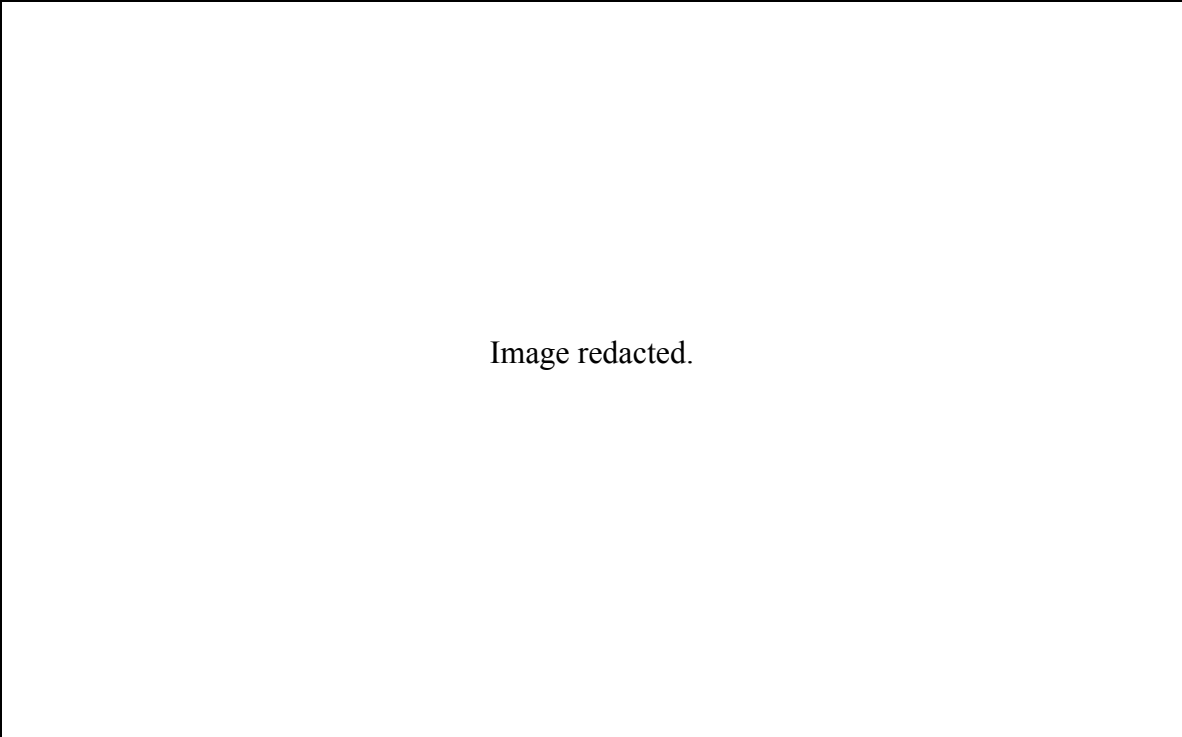


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Figure 2.32 Nasca geoglyph in the shape of a spider
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

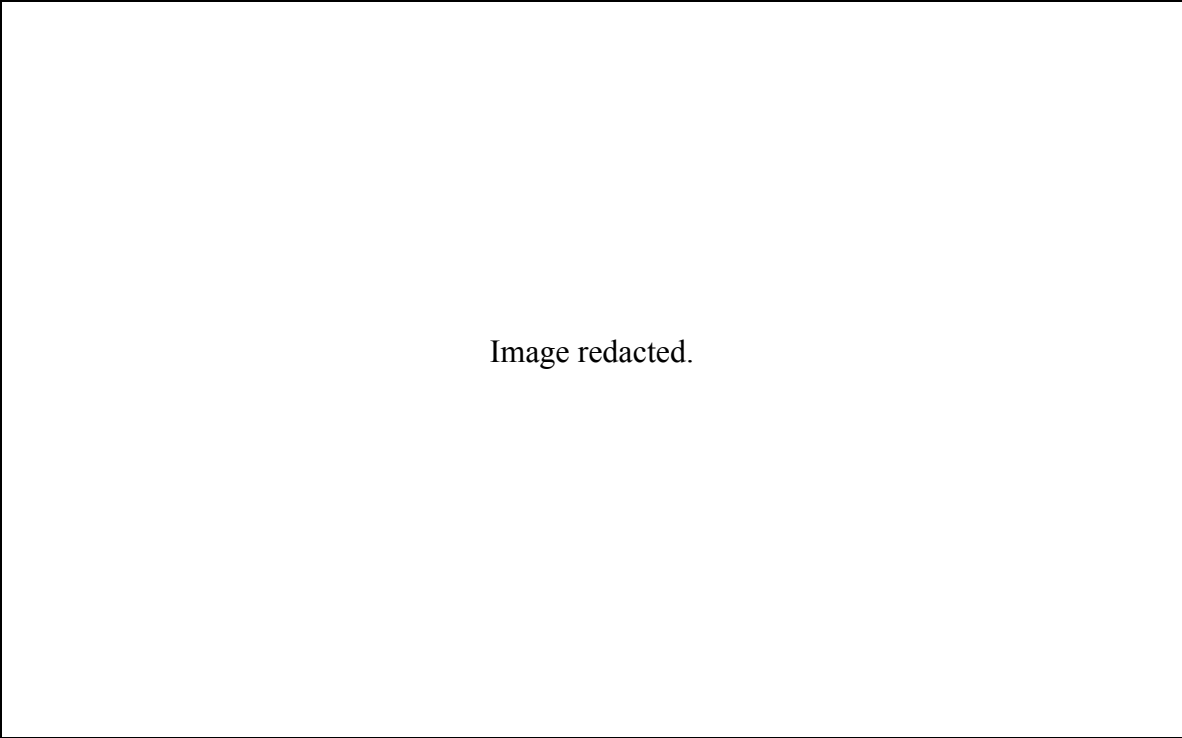


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Figure 2.33 Nasca geoglyph in the shape of a fox
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

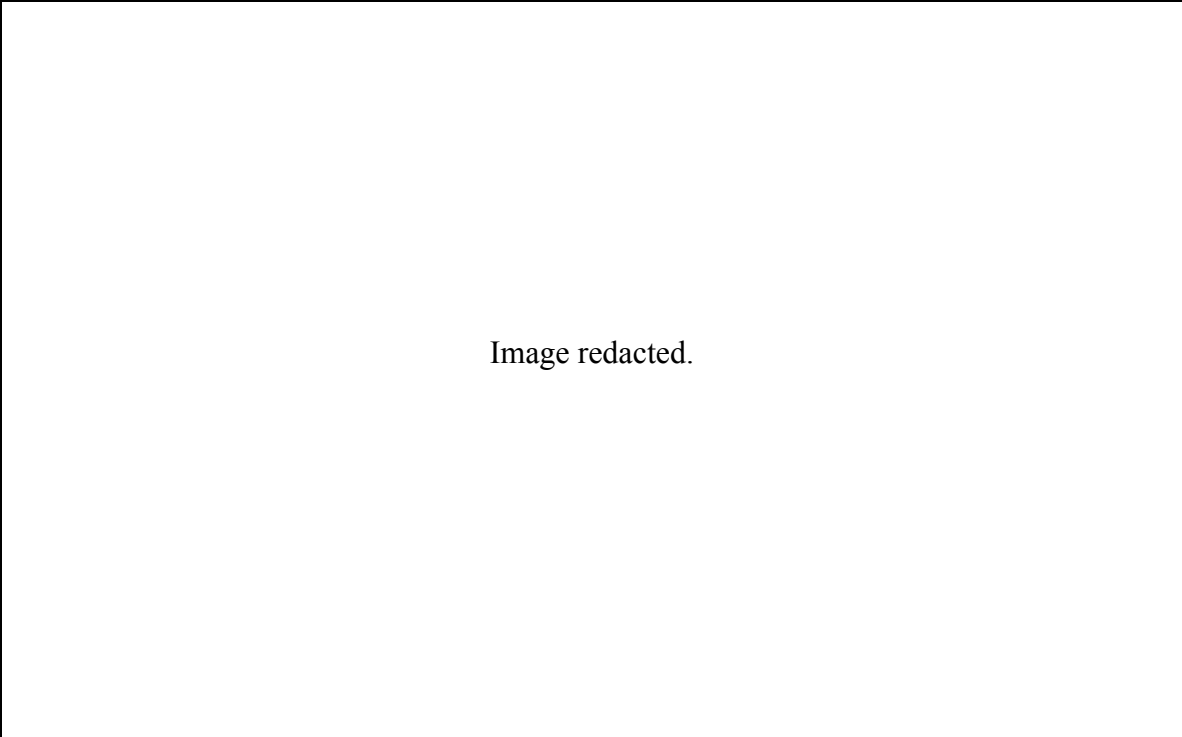


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Figure 2.34 Nasca geoglyph in the shape of a hummingbird
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

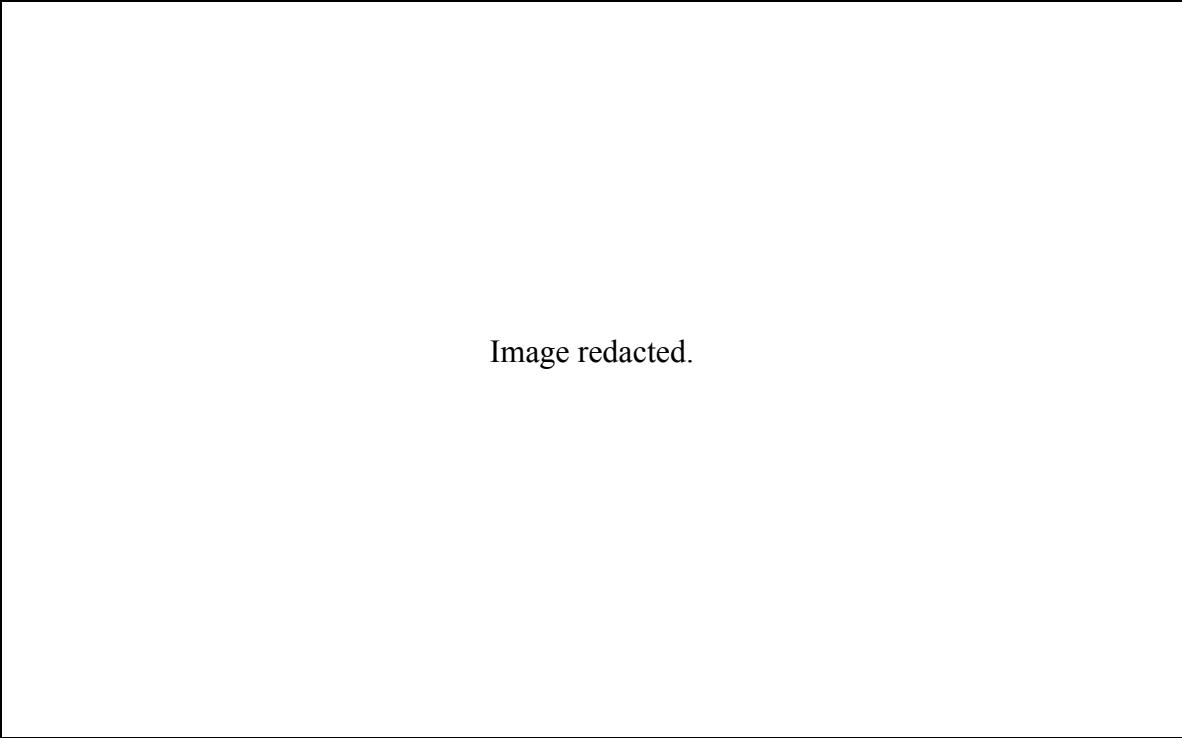


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Figure 2.35 Nasca geoglyphs, overlapping straight and geometric lines
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

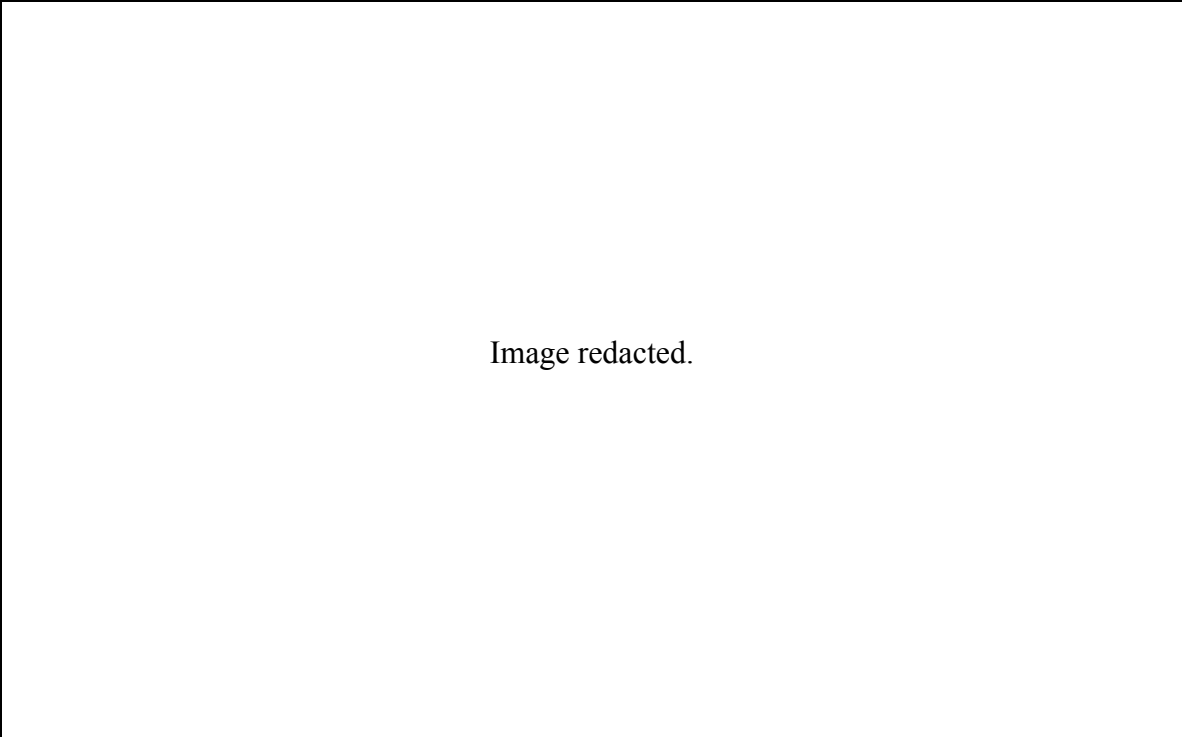


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Figure 2.36 Nasca geoglyphs in the shape of a killer whale
Source: Photograph by M. Tierney

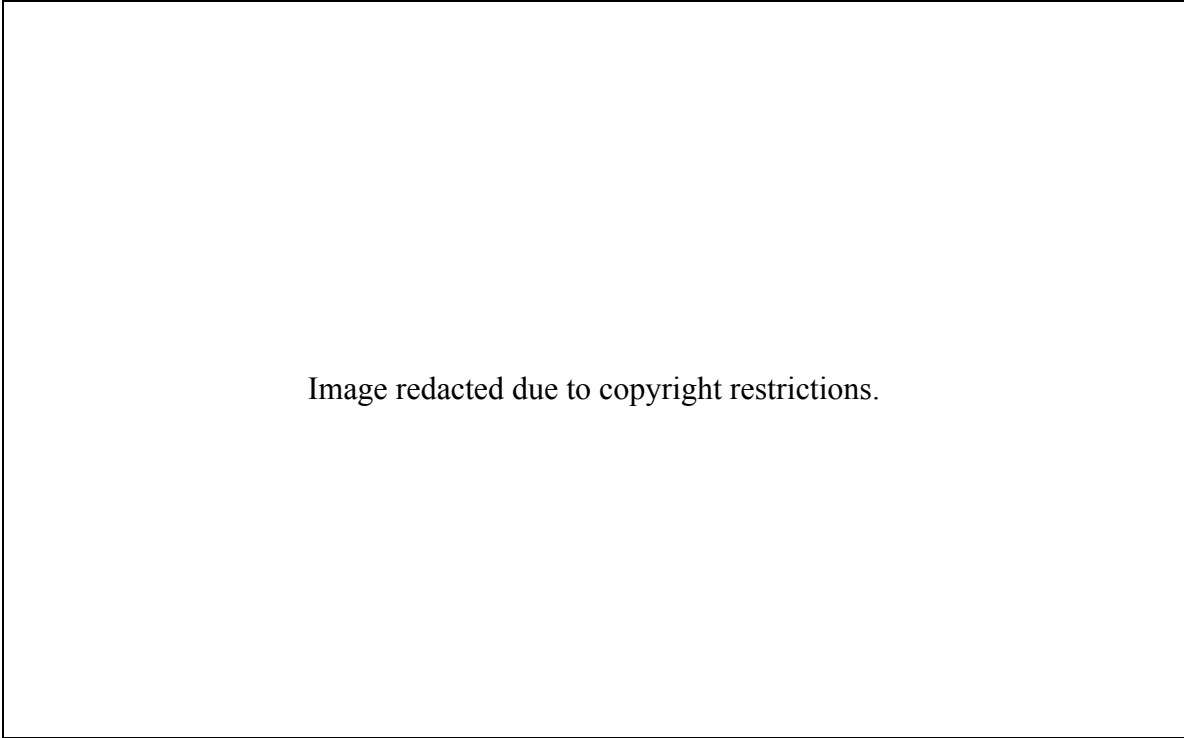


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Figure 3.1 Crossed hands in the “Temple of the Crossed Hands” at Kotosh
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, fig. 30

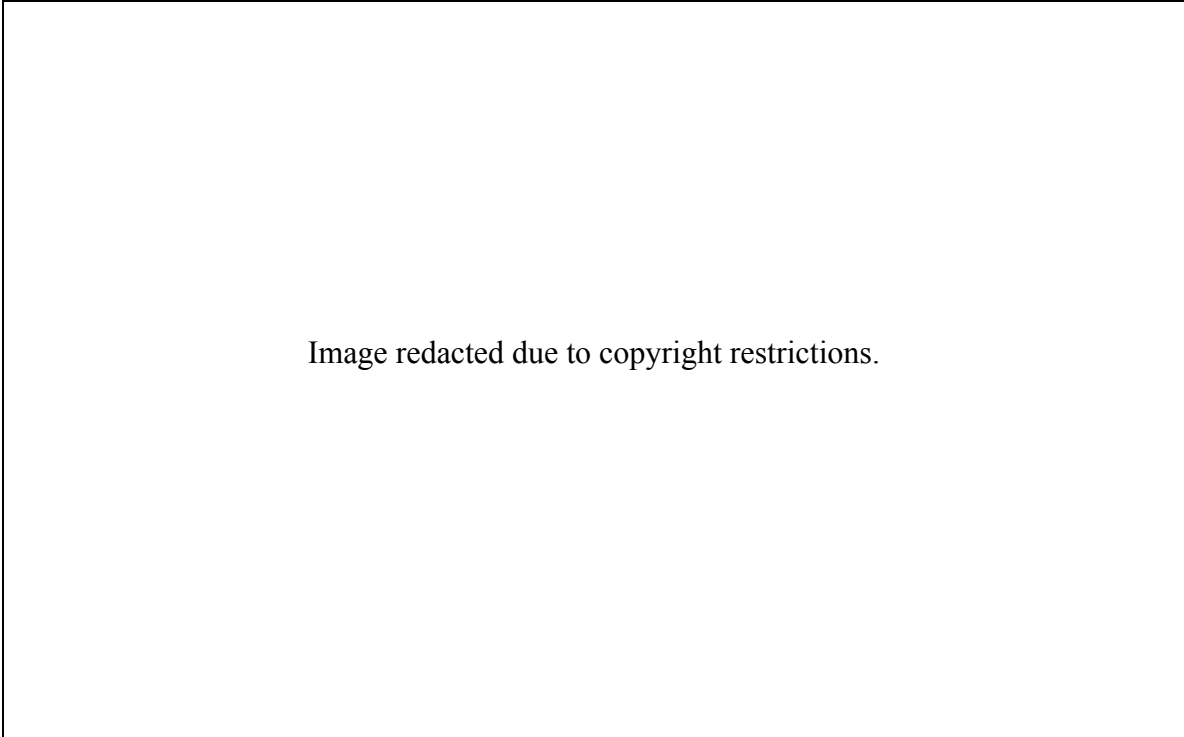


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Figure 3.2 “Black and White” portal at Chavín de Huantar.
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, fig. 173

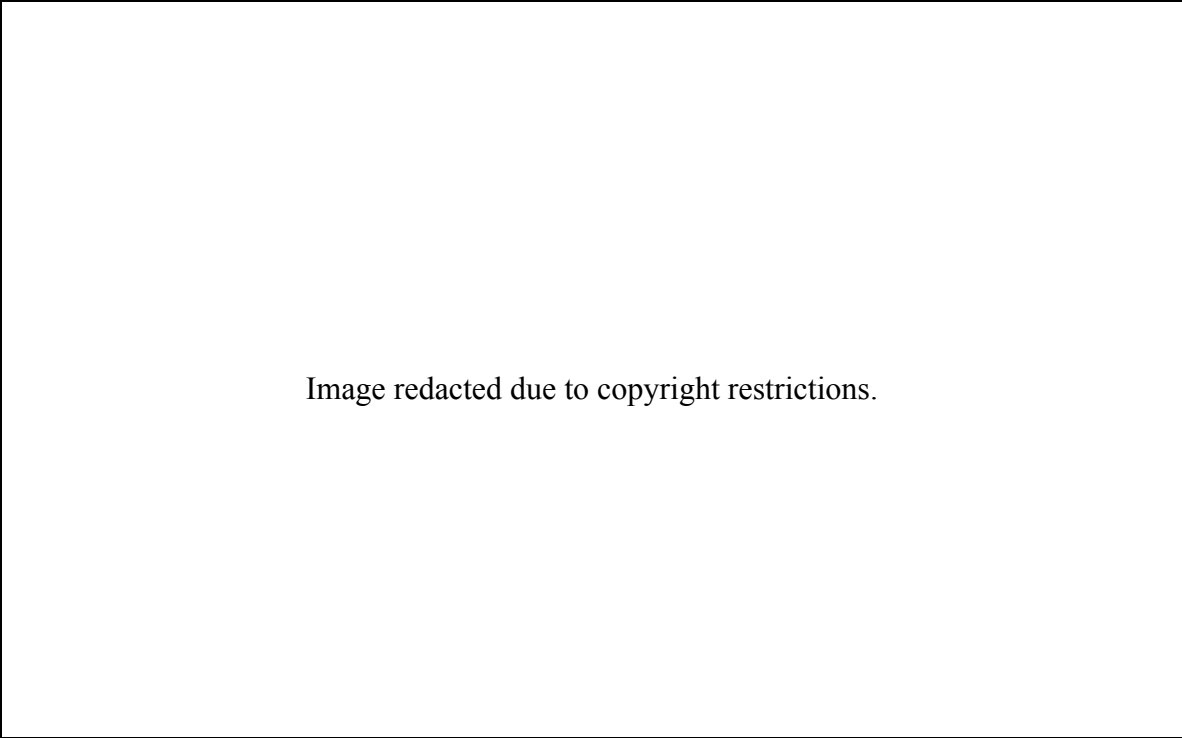


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Figure 3.3 Map of Inca Cuzco.
Source: Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, map 10.1

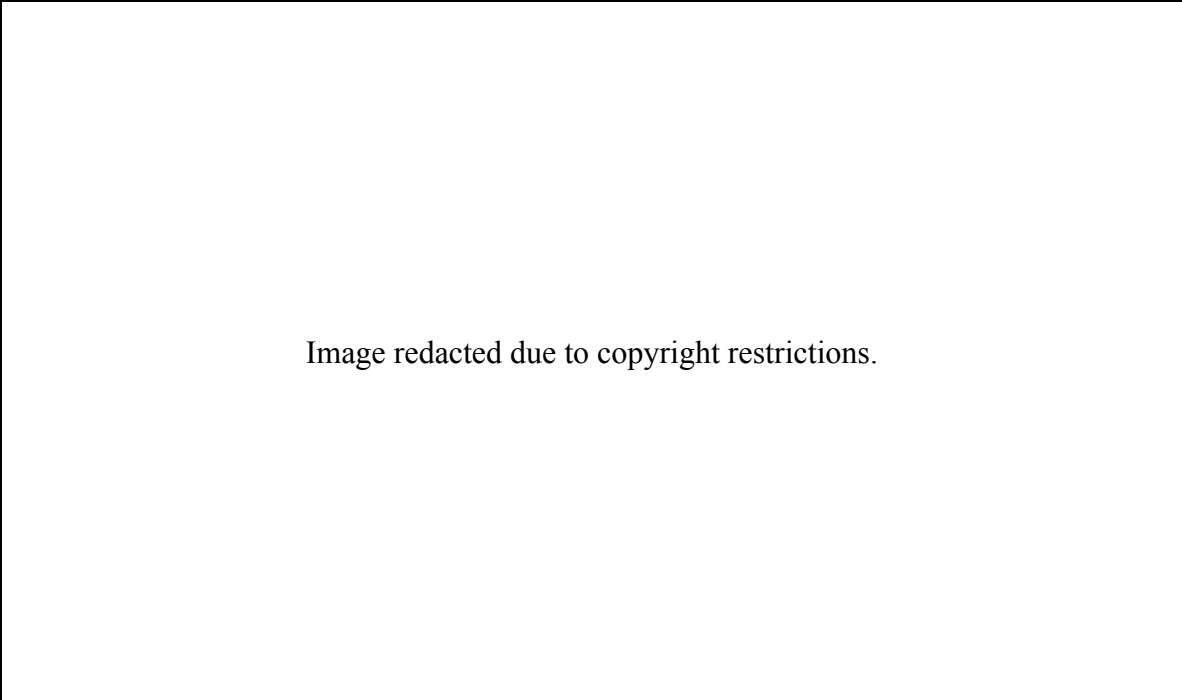


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Figure 3.4 Nasca bowl with pair of fish
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.008.088

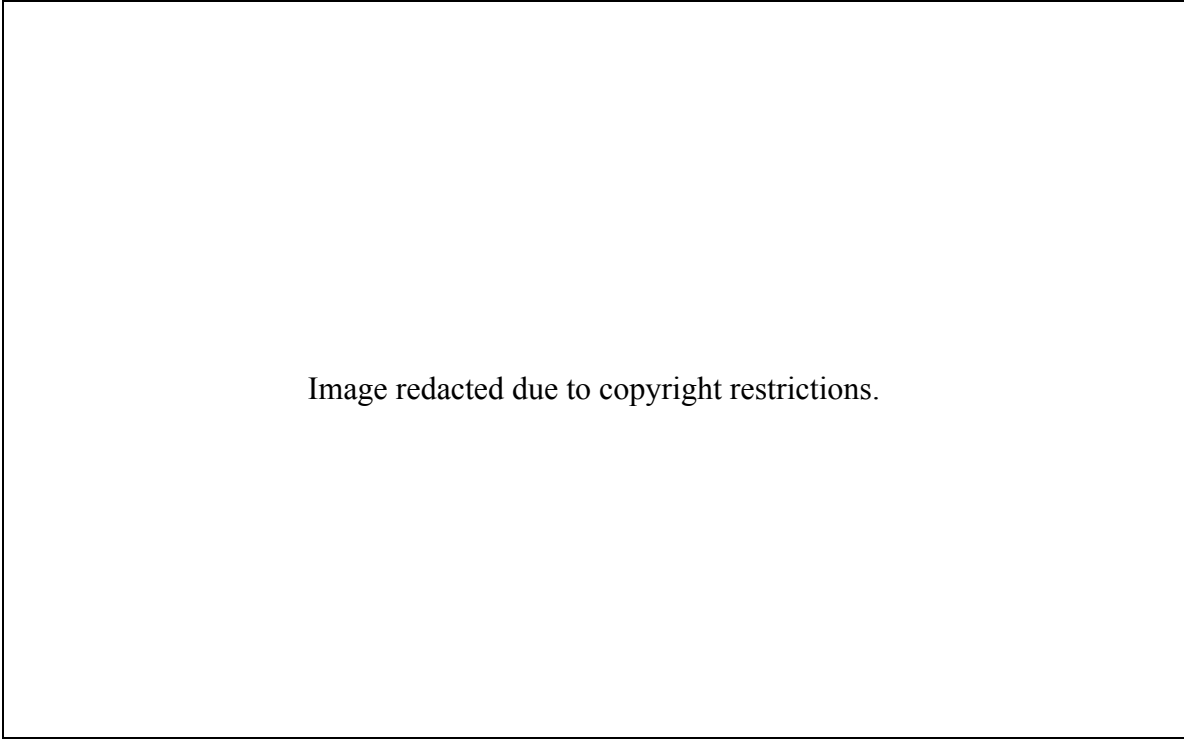


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Figure 3.5 Tenoned heads at the Old Temple at Chavín de Huantar
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, figs. 147-155

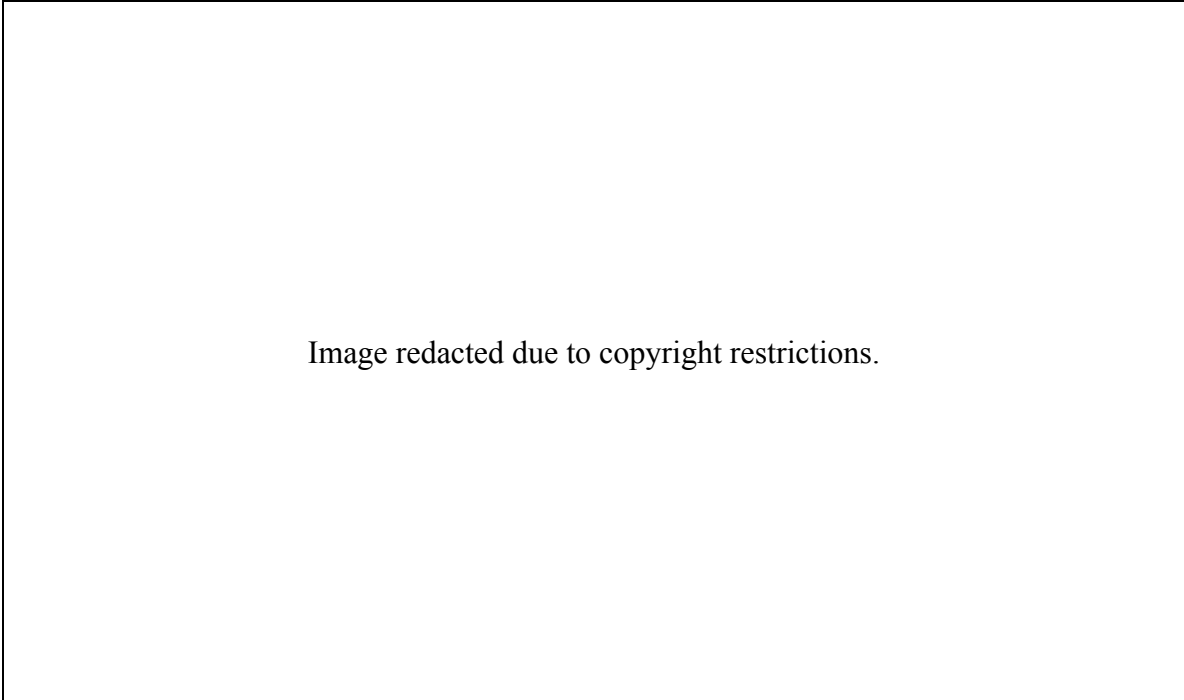


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Figure 3.6 Processing jaguar/humans at Chavín de Huantar, Sunken Circular courtyard. Left: *in situ*; Right: line drawing of upper panel
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, figs. 123 & 125

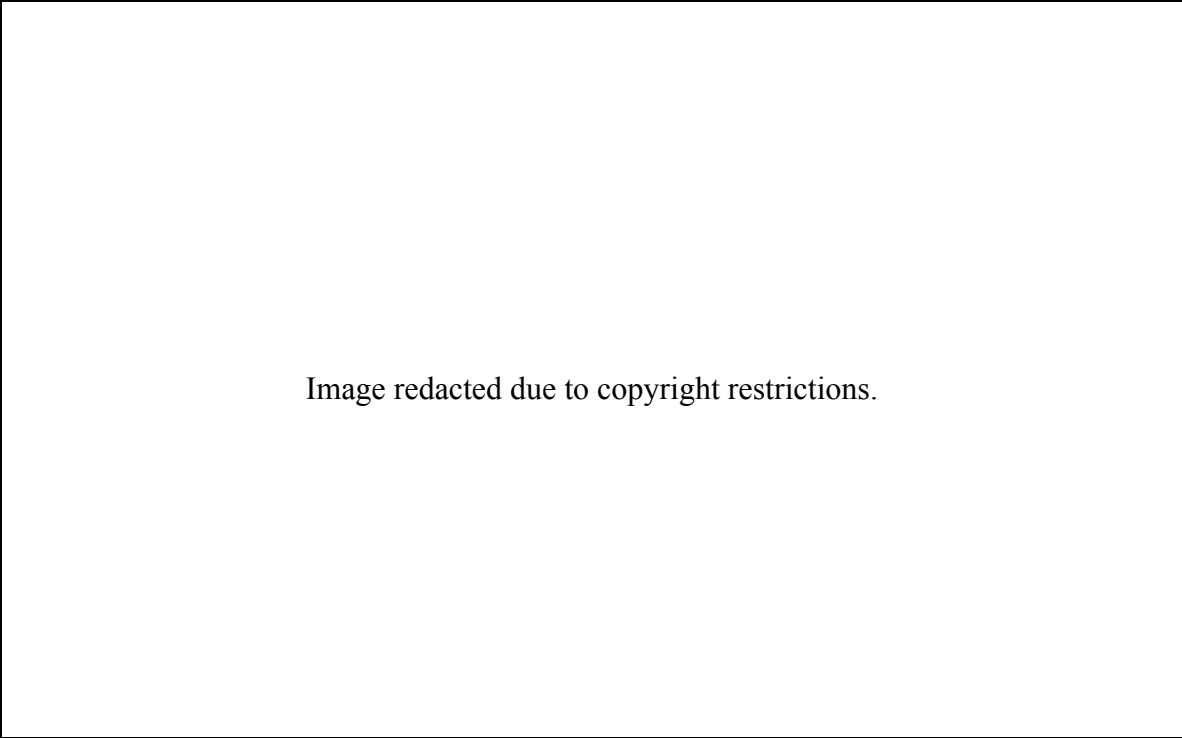


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Figure 3.7 Fragment of processing figure panel showing roots of San Pedro cactus
Source: Rick, “Chavín: Art, Architecture, and Culture,” fig. 1.16

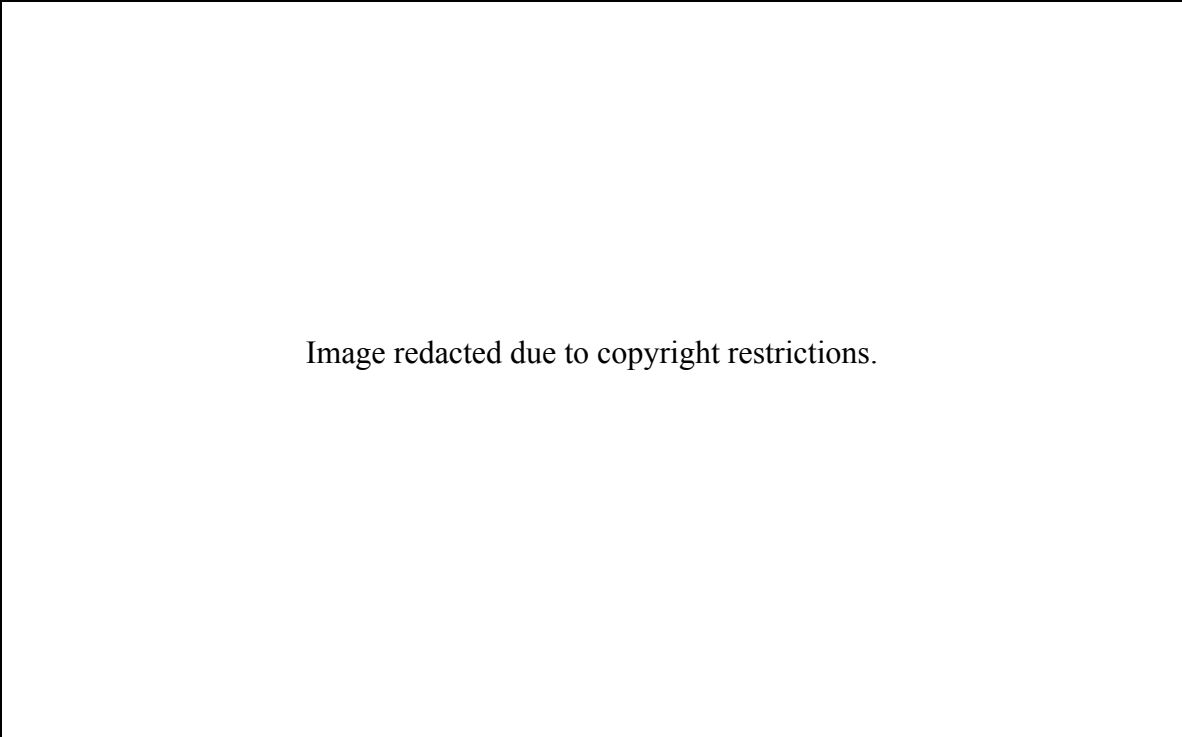


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Figure 3.8 Miniature tenoned head with San Pedro cactus lobes sprouting from eyes
Source: Burger, *Chavín*, fig 181

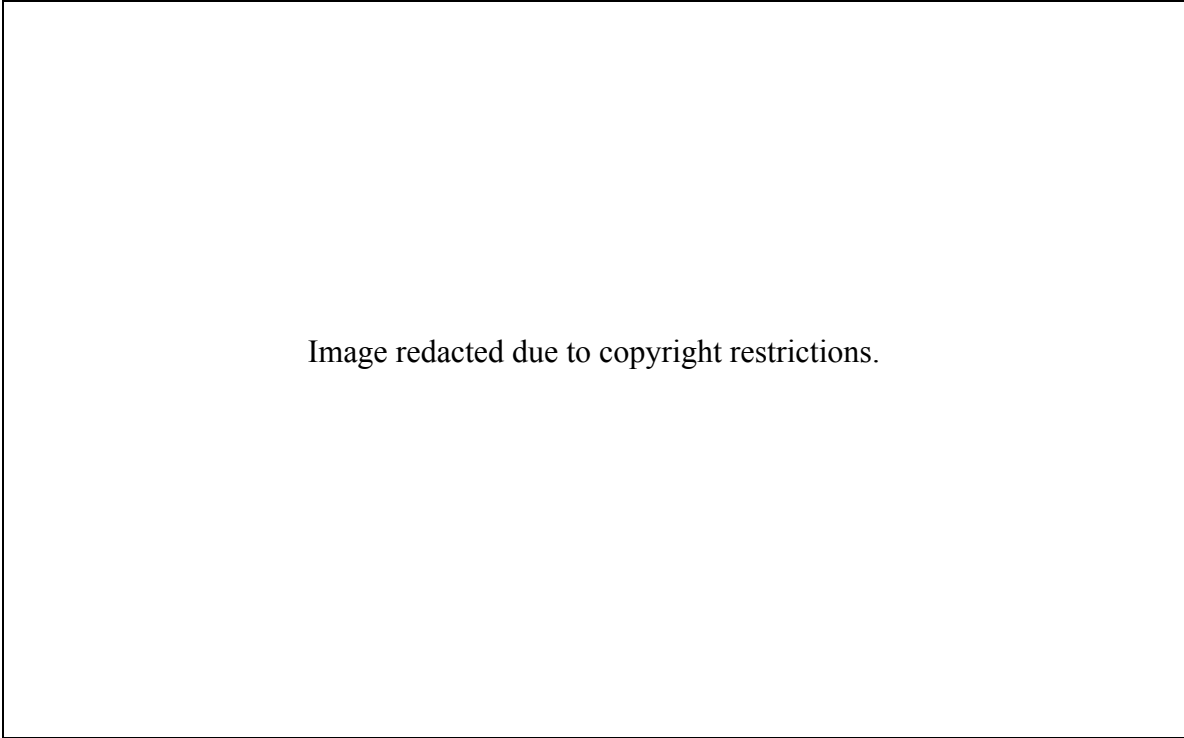


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Figure 3.9 Cupisnique stirrup-spout vessel depicting a jaguar-human
Source: Museo Larco, ML040218

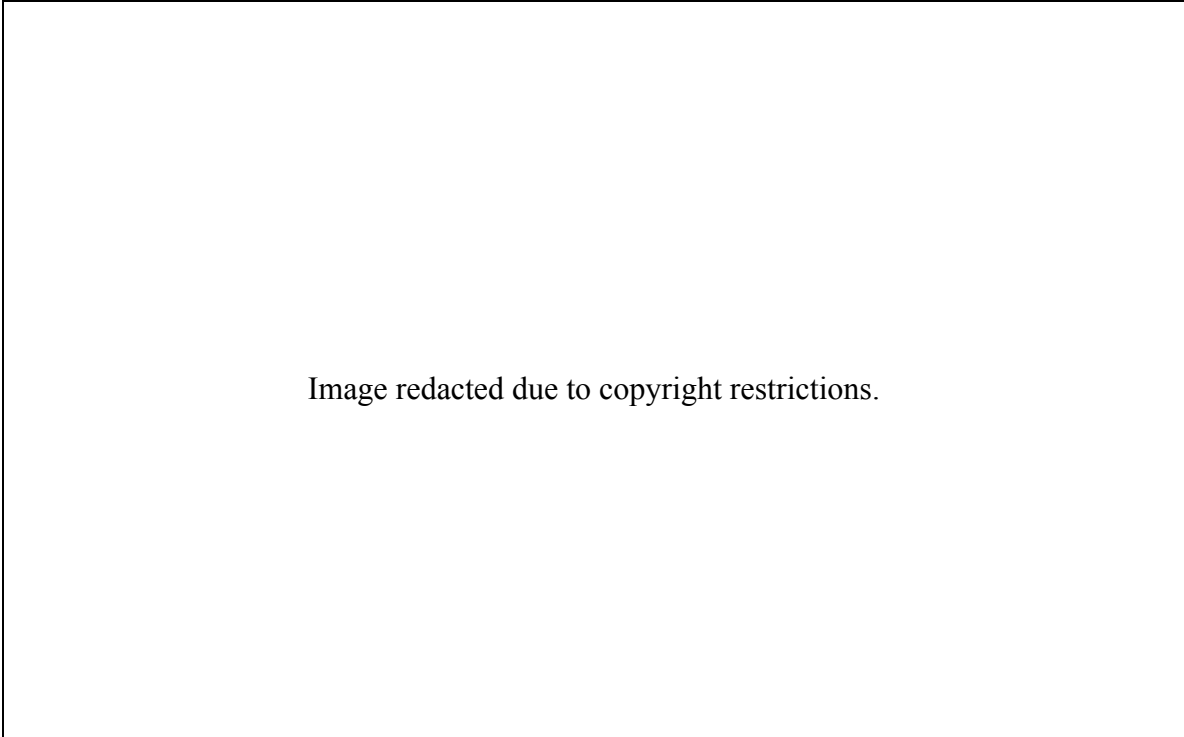


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Figure 3.10 Drawing of a painted Karwa textile figure
Source: Stone, *Art of the Andes*, 3rd ed., fig. 39

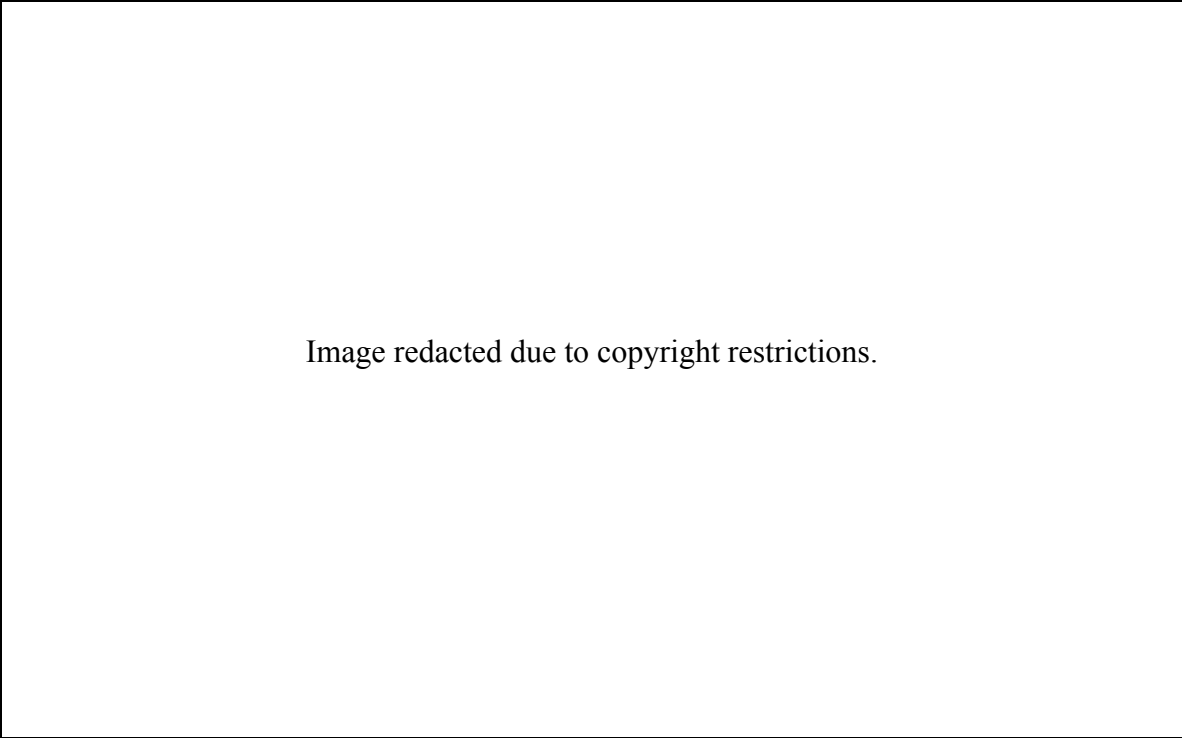


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Figure 3.11 Early Classic Maya Shaman/Jaguar *incensario*
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1992.15.176

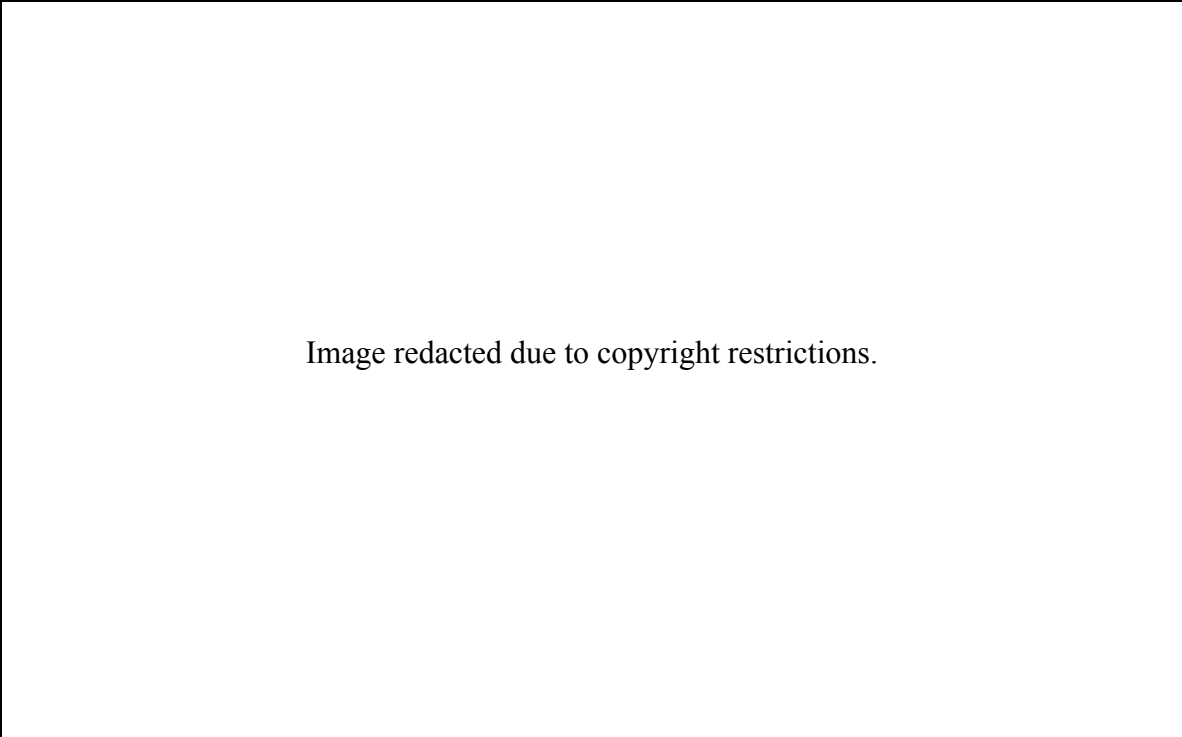


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Figure 3.12 Maya glyph for “way” or “animal self”
Source: Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, fig. 3.4. Drawing by Nina West.

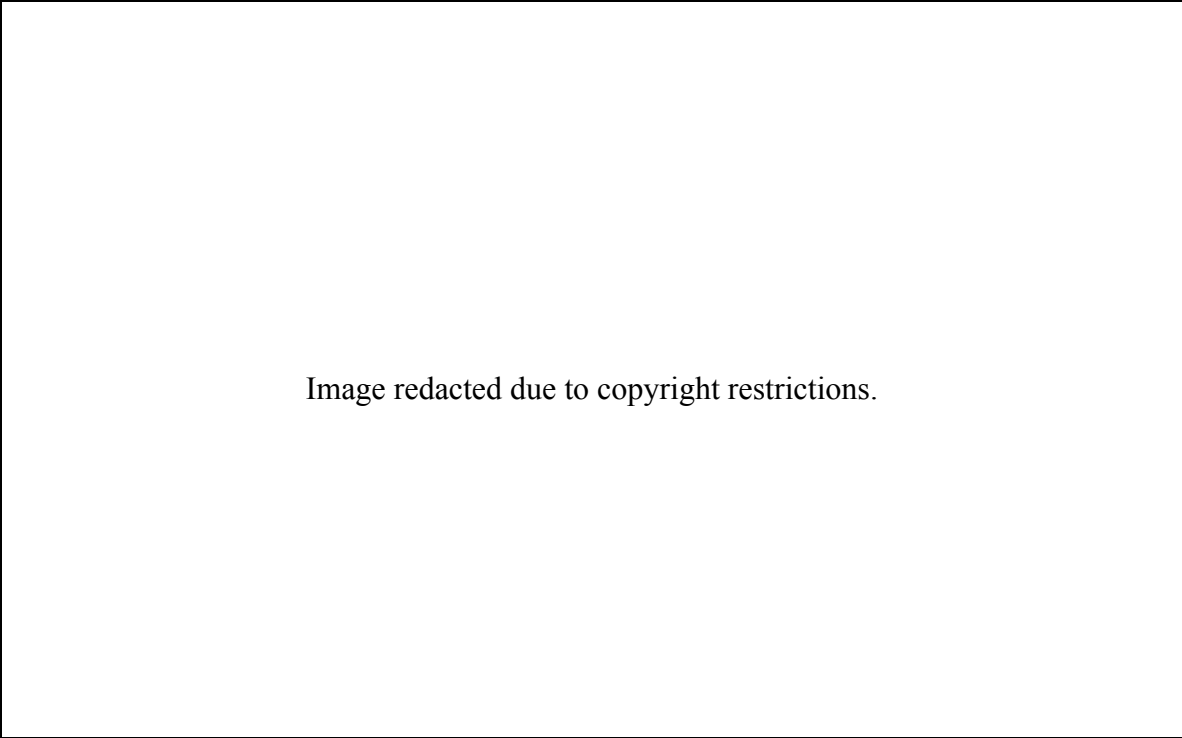


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Figure 3.13 Chancay standing whale-shark shaman
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1988.012.012

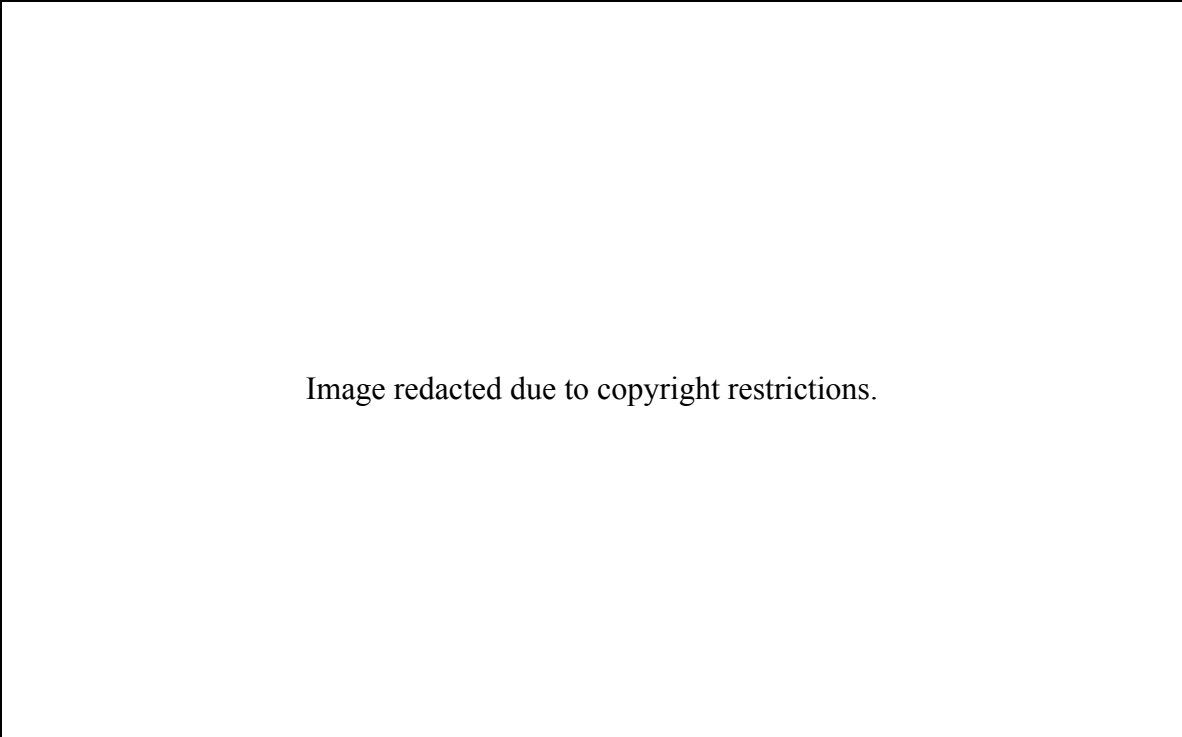


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Figure 3.14 Whale shark. Photograph by Andy Murch (<http://elasmodiver.com>)
Source: Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, fig. 7.13

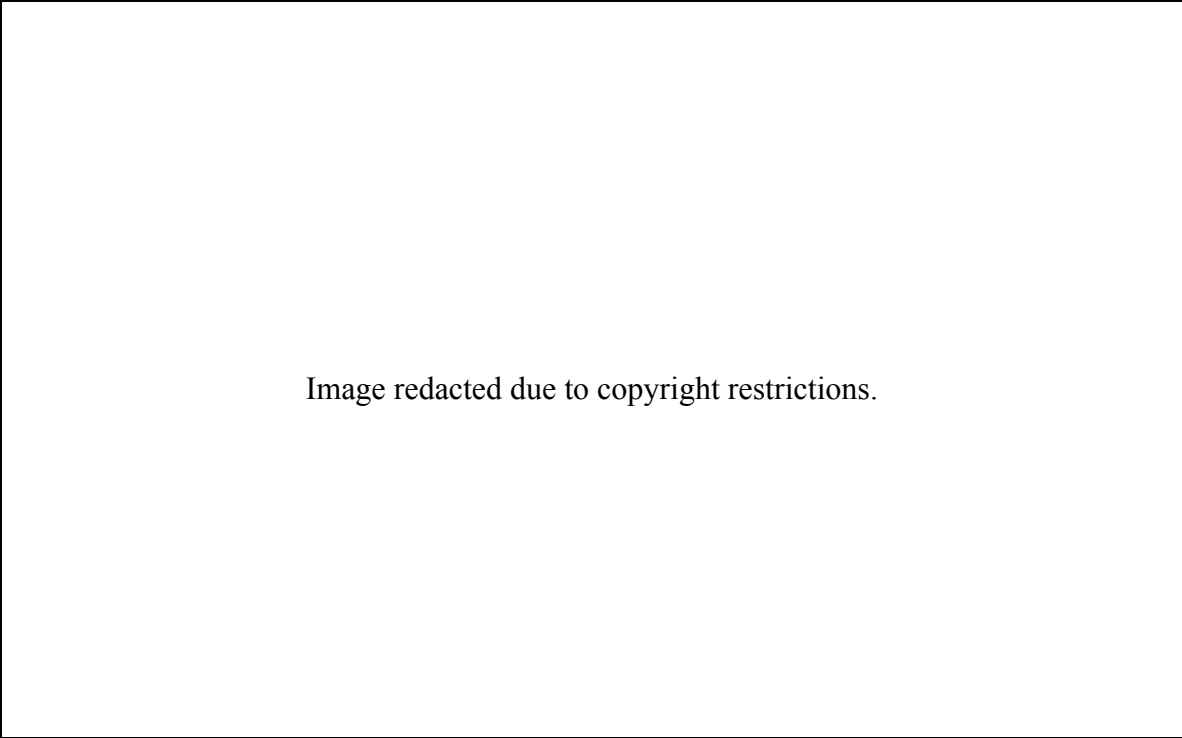


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Figure 3.15 Paracas ecstatic shaman mantle.
Source: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 205788

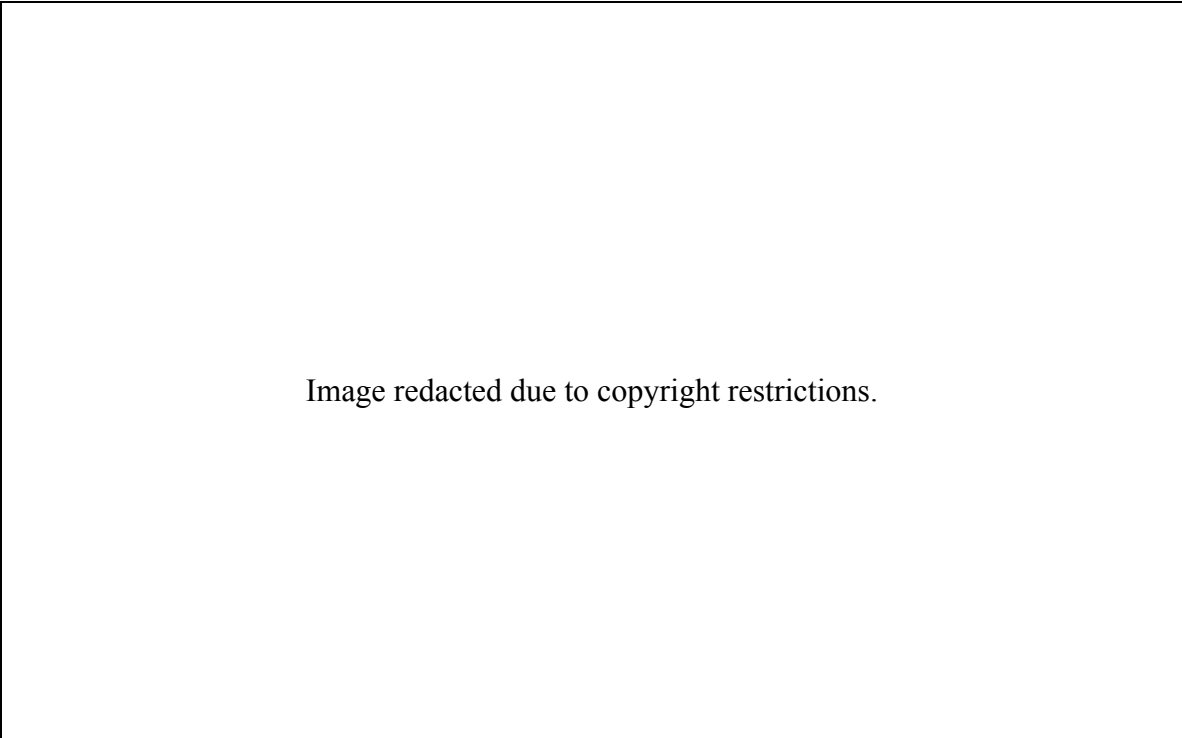


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Figure 3.16 Paracas shamans with disembodied heads
Source: Memorial Art Gallery, MAG 44.63

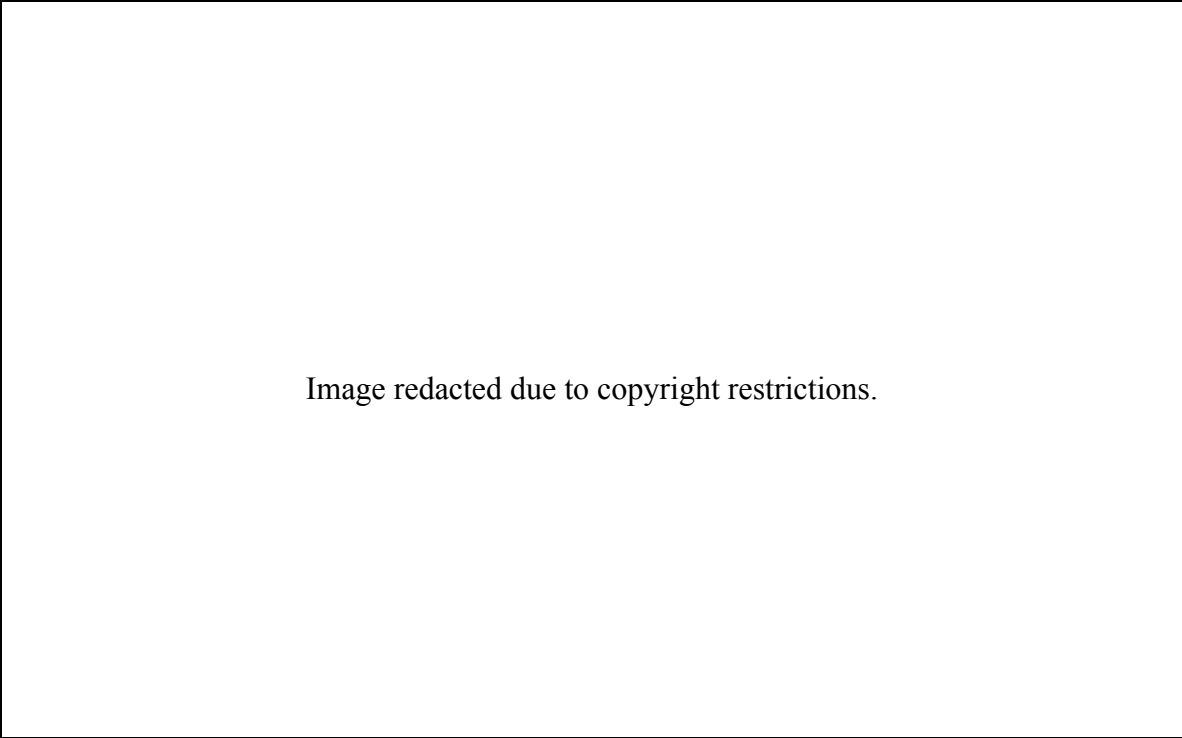


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Figure 3.17 Moche fineline drawing with owl shamans
Source: Linden-Museum, Stuttgart

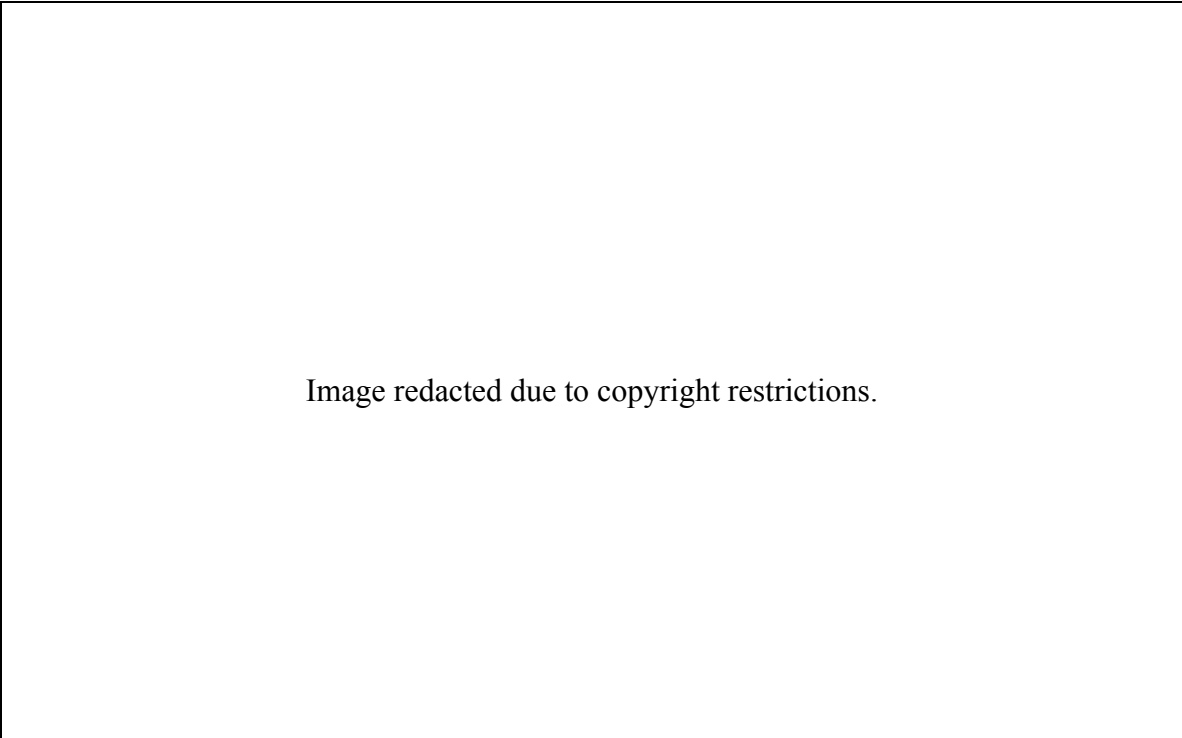


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Figure 3.18 Nasca treated head from Cahuachi
Source: Museo Antonini, Nazca, photograph M. Tierney

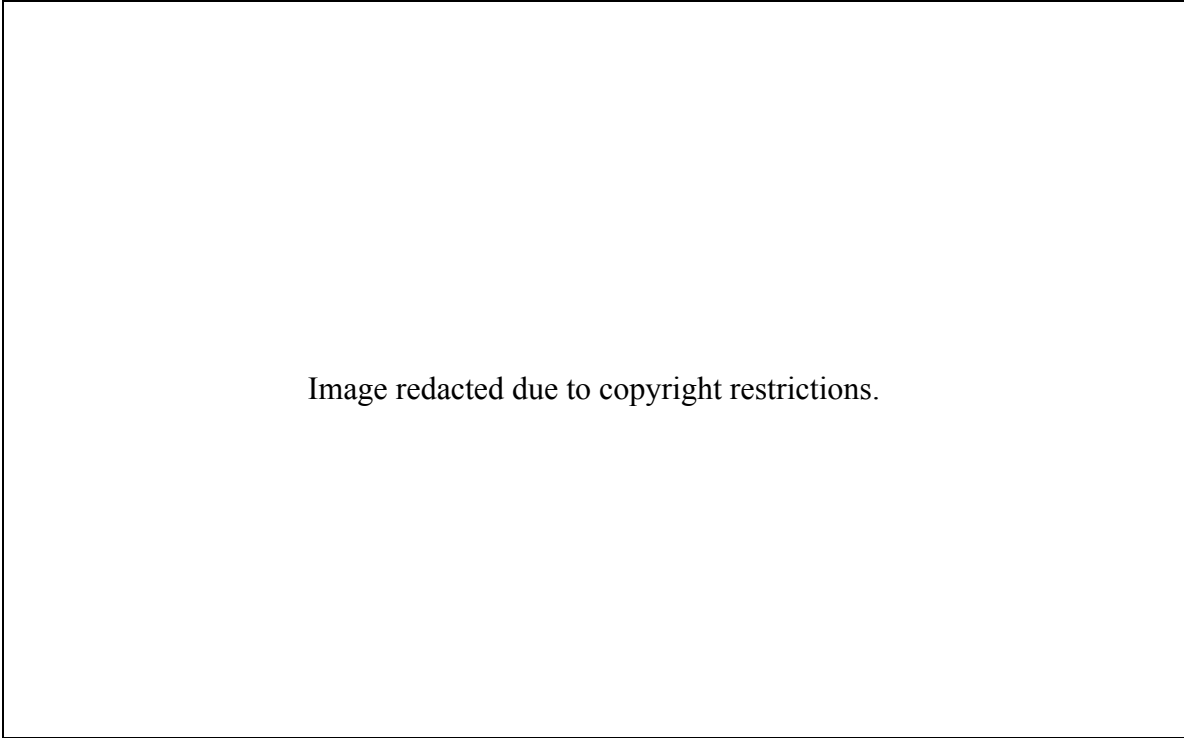
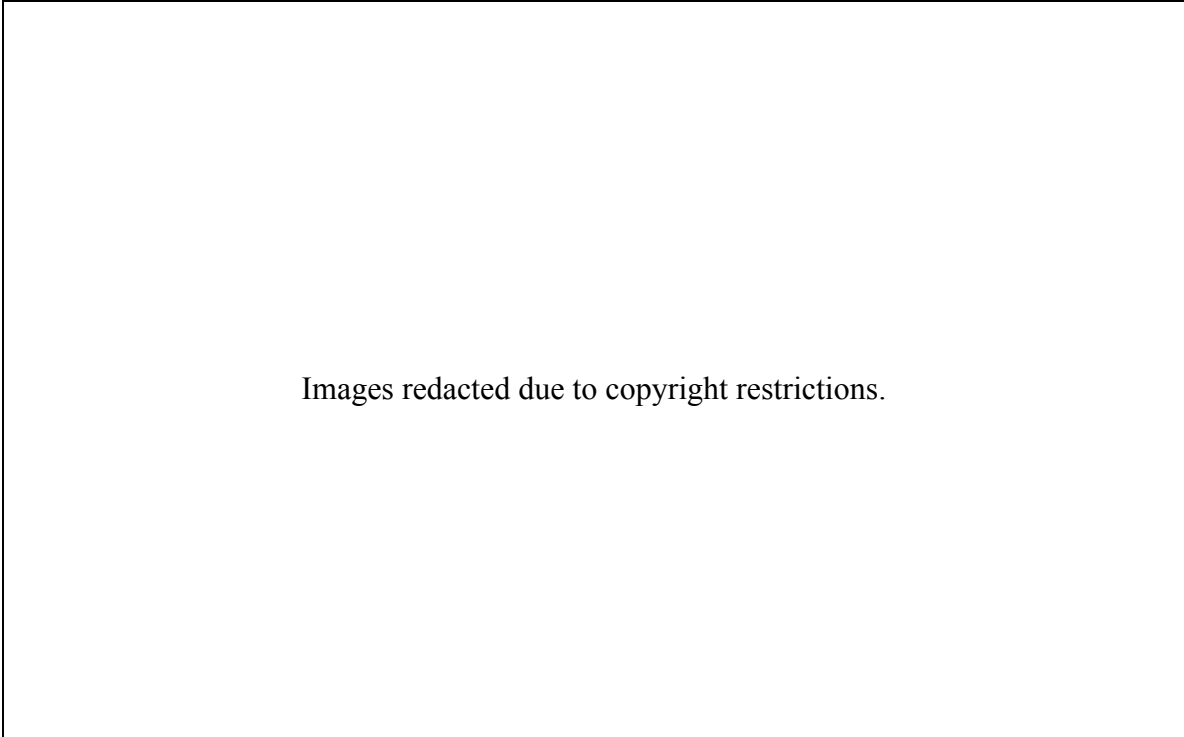


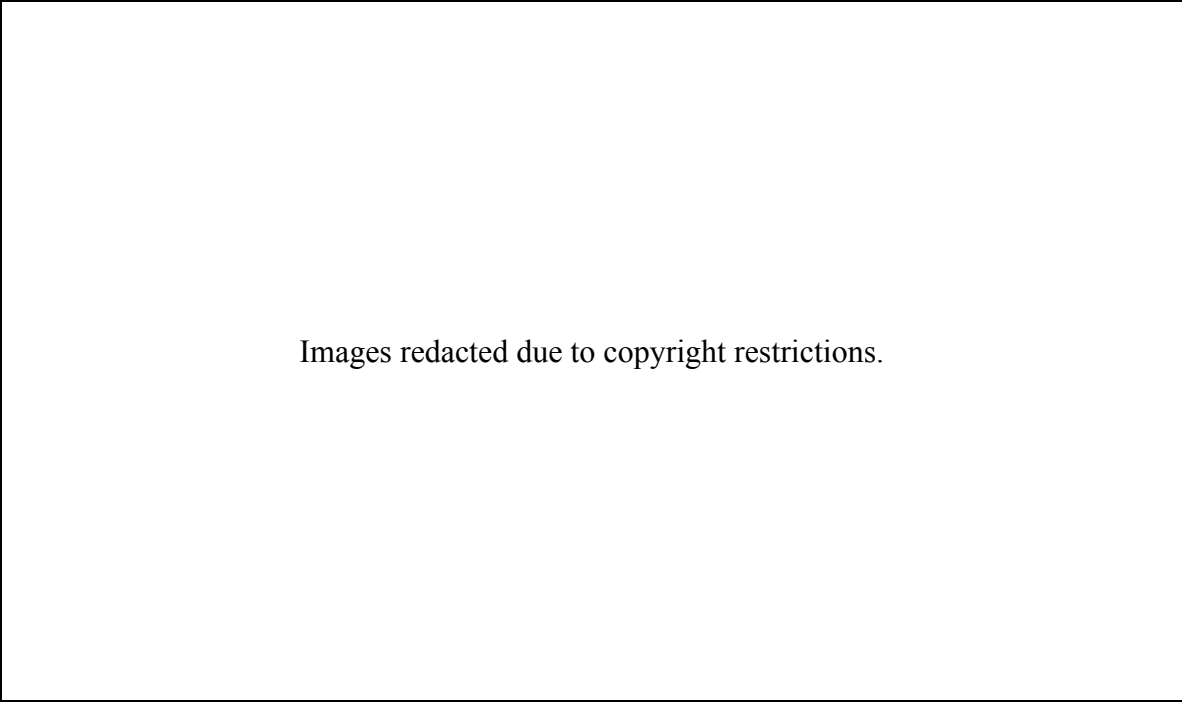
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Figure 3.19 Head jar found in passageway at Cahuachi
Source: Silverman, *Cahuachi*, fig. 16.19.



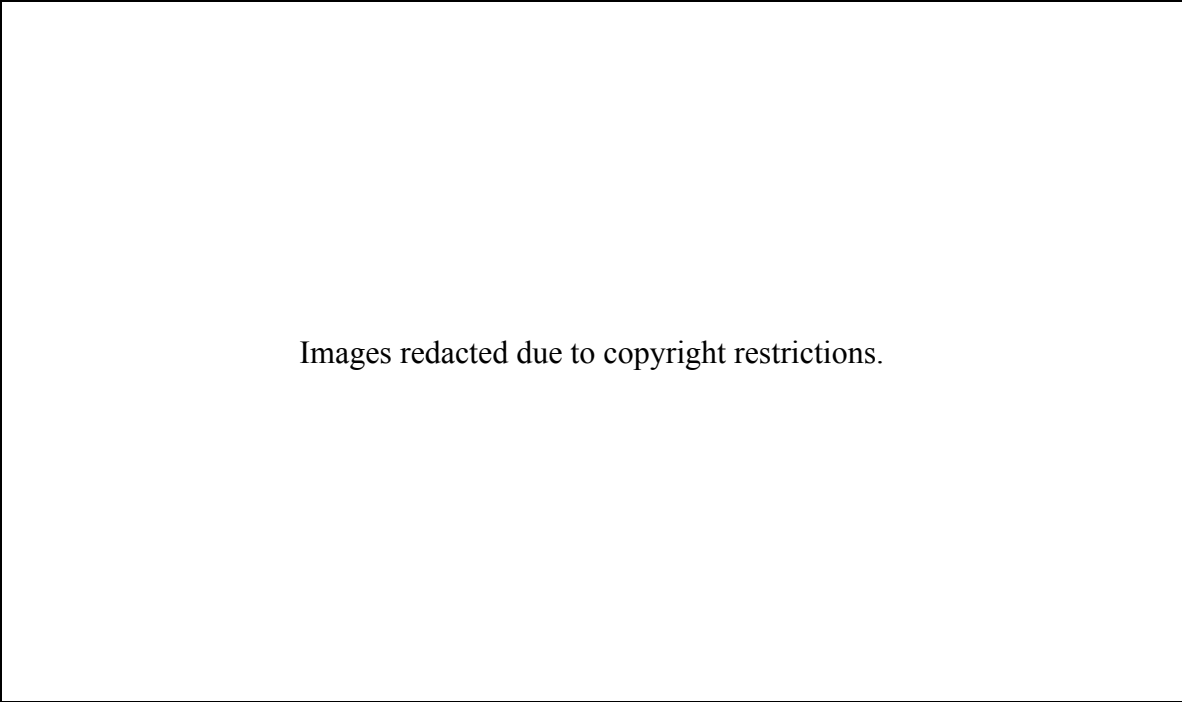
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Figure 3.20 Head jars from Marcaya
Source: Vaughn, *Marcaya*, figs. 1.1 (left) and 8.3 (right)



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Figure 3.21 Pair of head jars with birds sucking at the head wrappings
Source: Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca, Peru*, fig. 252, and plate 18, no. 170710 (left) and fig. 252, no. 170716 (right)



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Figure 3.22 The “Tello Obelisk” and rollout drawing
Source: Urton, "The Body of Meaning in Chavín Art," figs. 8.2 (top) and 8.3 (bottom)

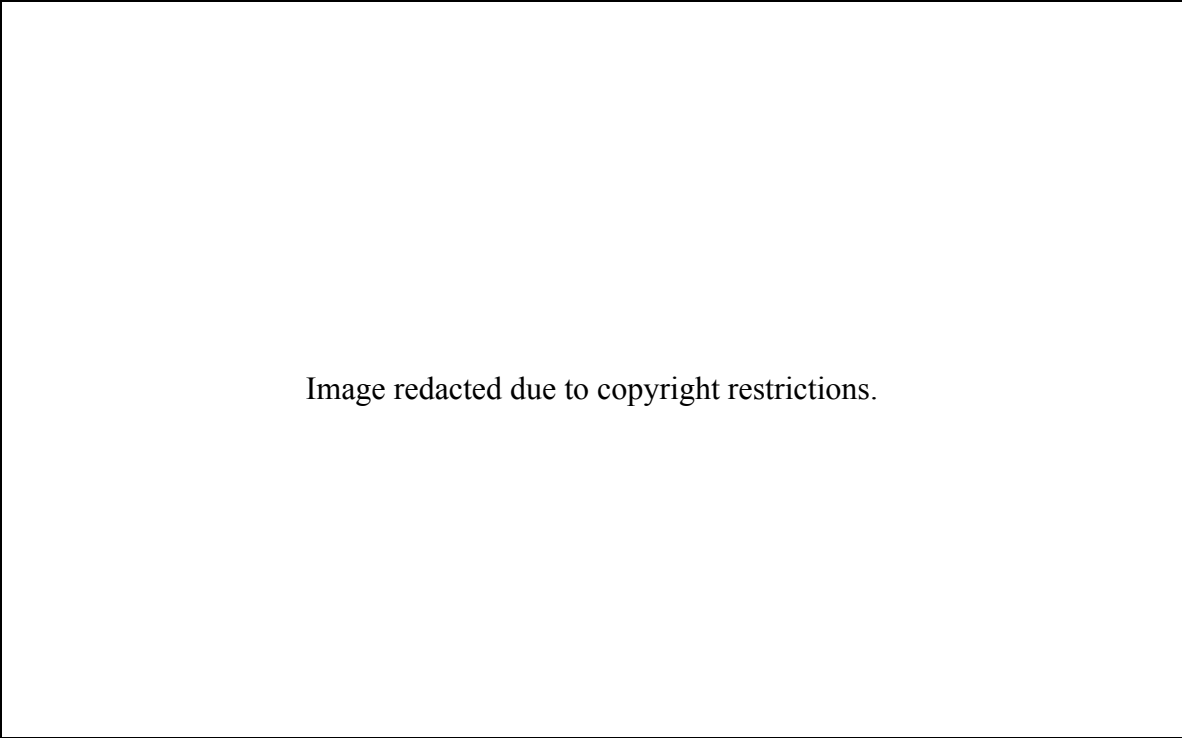


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Figure 3.23 Nasca female figurine
Source: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 79.116.1, photograph by M. Tierney

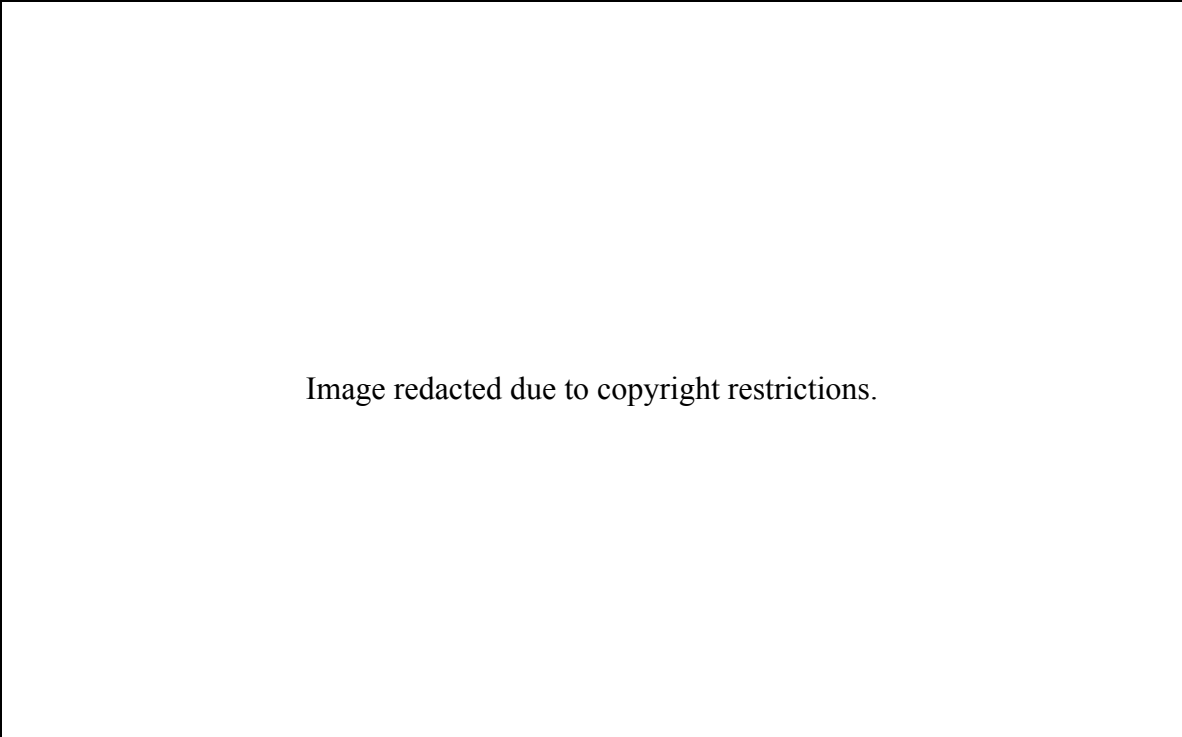


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Figure 3.24 Nasca male figurine
Source: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 86.224.58, photograph by M. Tierney

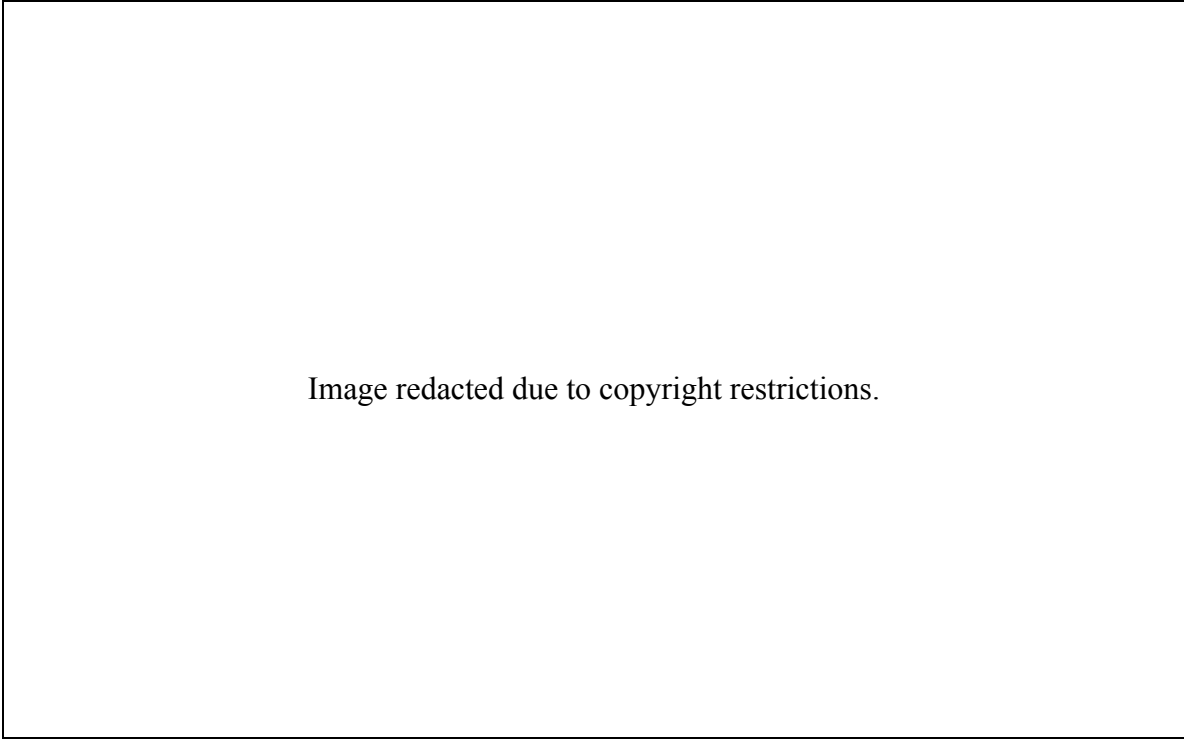


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Figure 3.25 Nasca Vessel Shapes

Source: Kroeber, et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 90

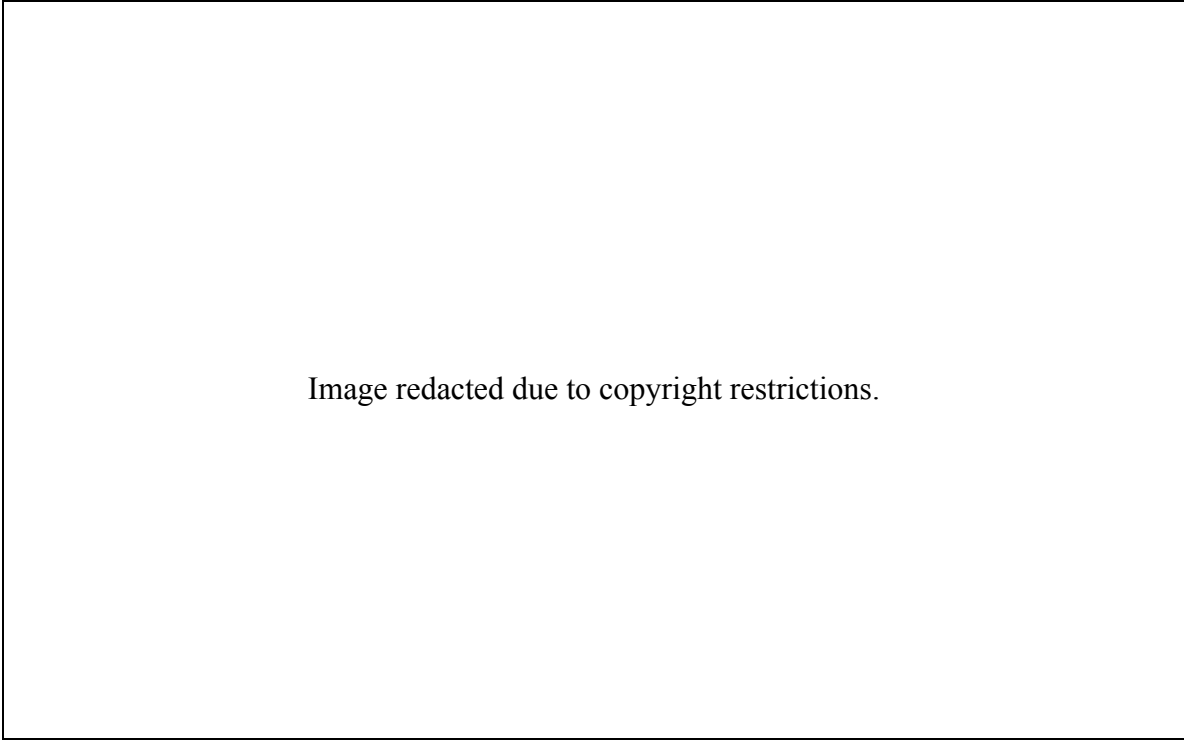
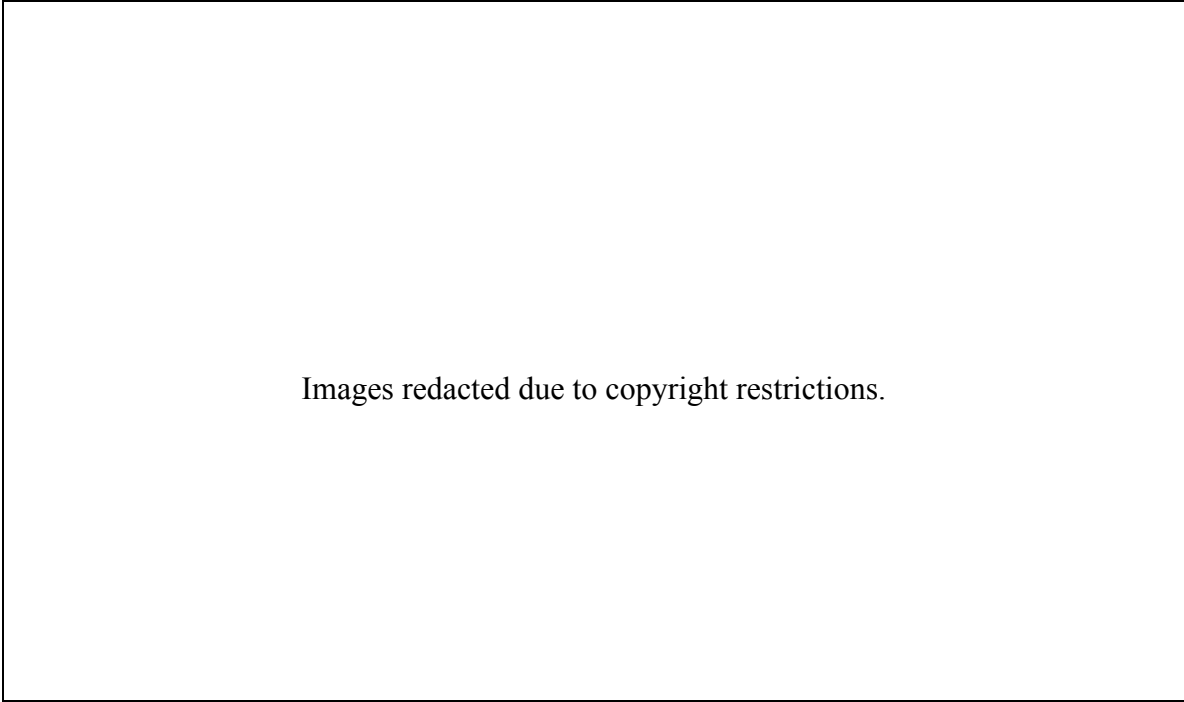


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Figure 3.26 Effigy jar missing head

Source: Kroeber et al., *The Archaeology and Pottery of Nazca*, fig. 127



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Figure 3.27 Nasca ecstatic shaman ceramic jar
Source: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 4-8705

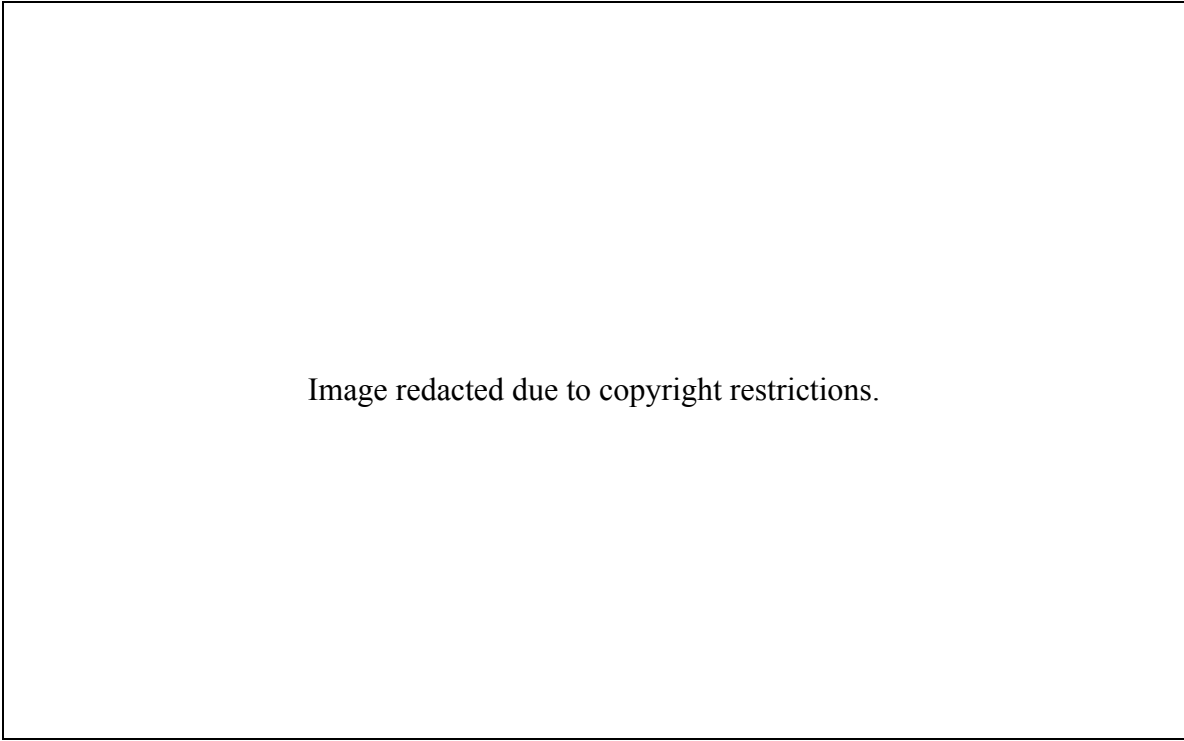


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Figure 3.28 Four transforming San Pedro Cactus shaman vessels
Source: Sharon, *Shamanism and the Sacred Cactus*, plate 109A – D (after Tello, *Paracas, Primera Parte*, 291-294, figs. 84-87)

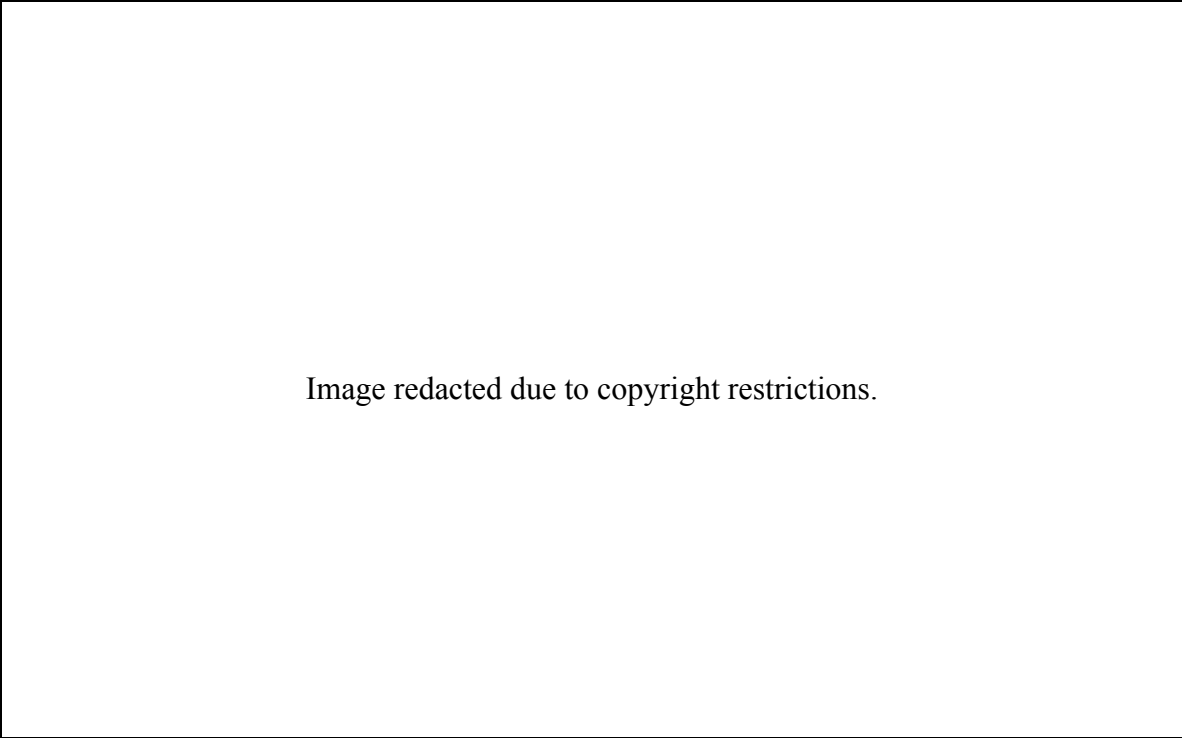


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Figure 3.29 “San Pedro Deity”

Source: Furst, “Shamanic Symbolism, Transformation, and Deities in West Mexican Funerary Art,” fig. 15

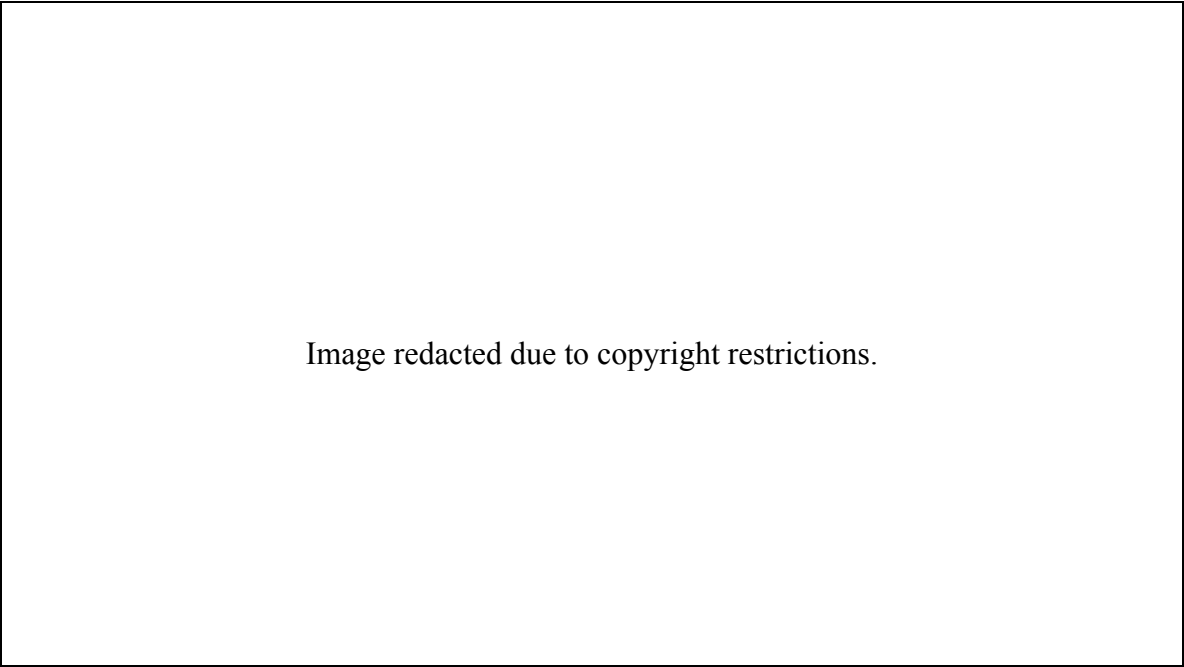


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Figure 4.1 Painted treated heads
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, catalog number 135

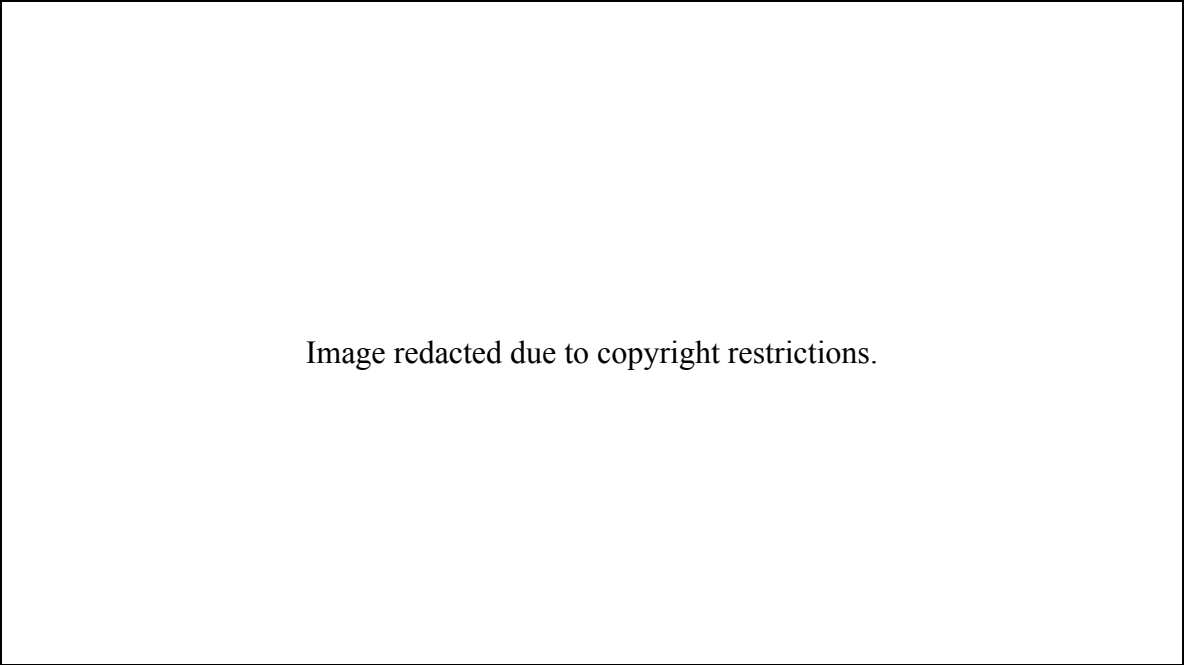


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Figure 4.2 Head reduced to eye and lock of hair
Source: Museo Larco, ML032327

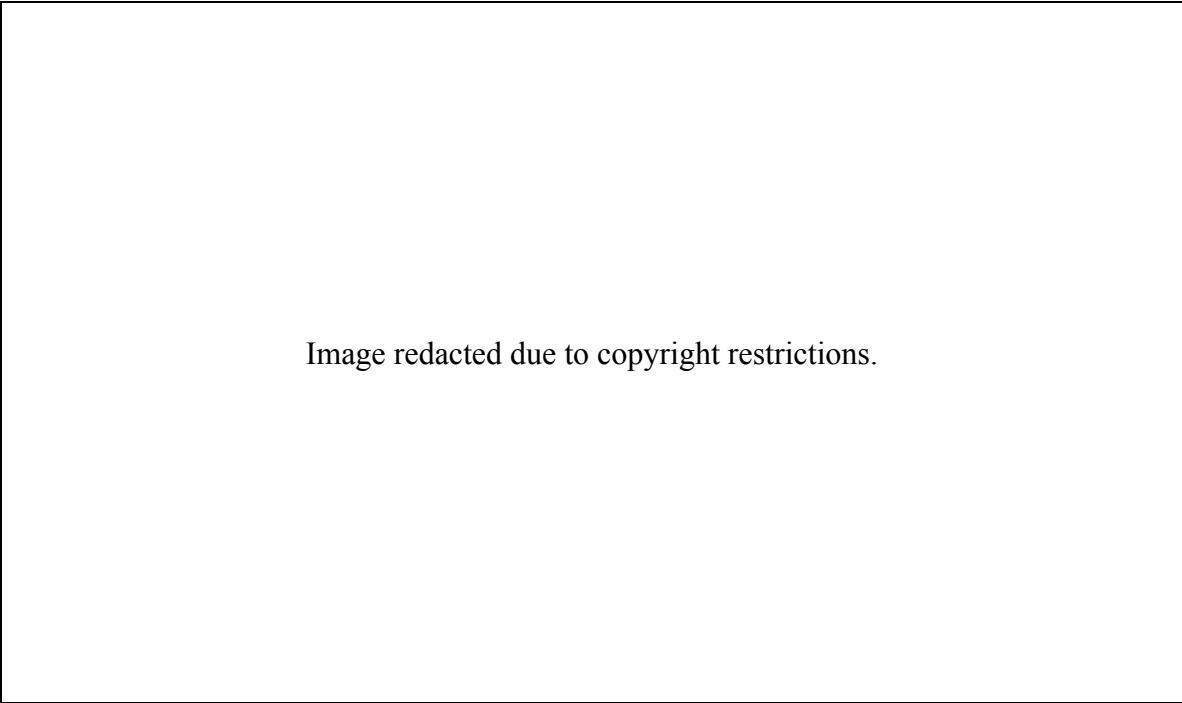


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Figure 4.3 Late Nasca spout-and-handle vessel with ritual scene
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, plate 21

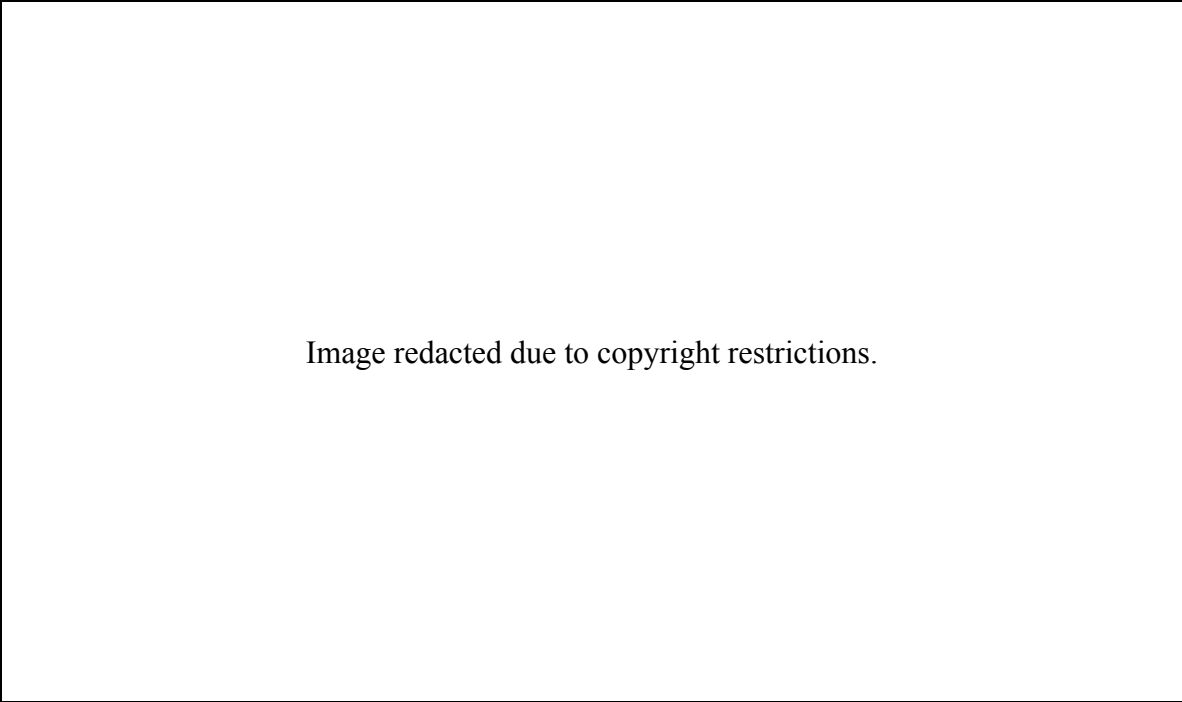


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Figure 4.4 Aplomado falcon eye markings
Source: <http://www.earthshare.org/2011/09/1-per-pay-period.html>

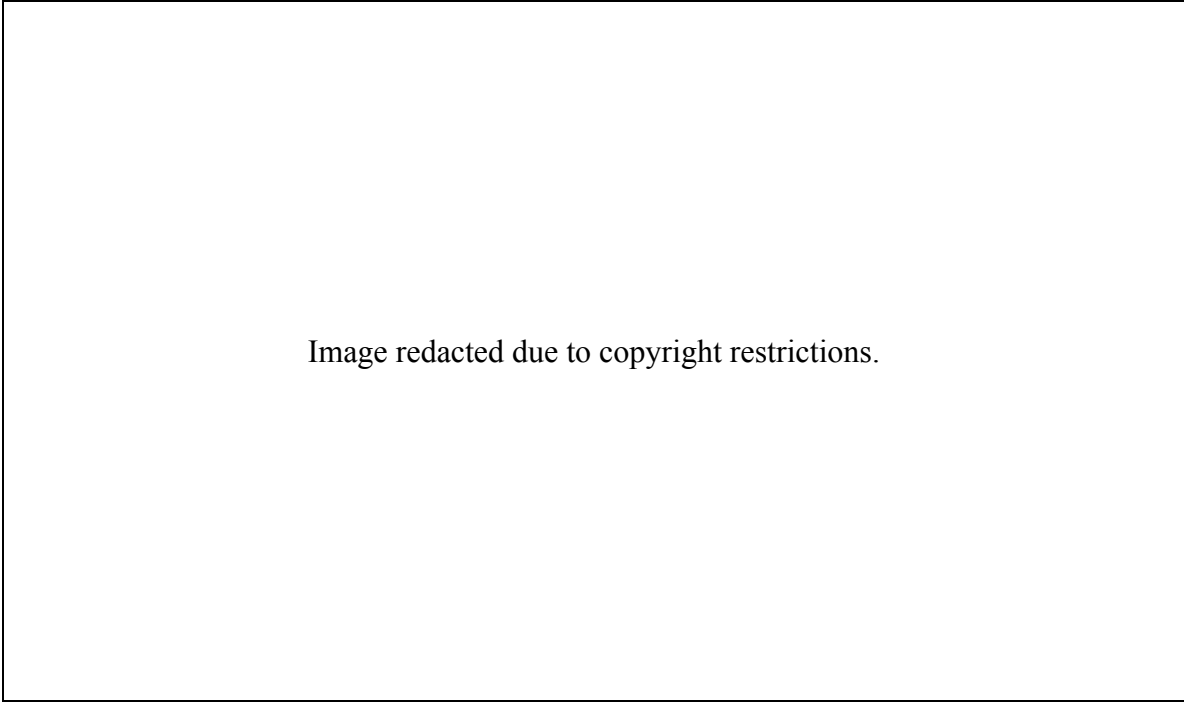


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Figure 4.5 Pampas cat markings
Source: Peters, "Ecology & Society," fig. 7.44

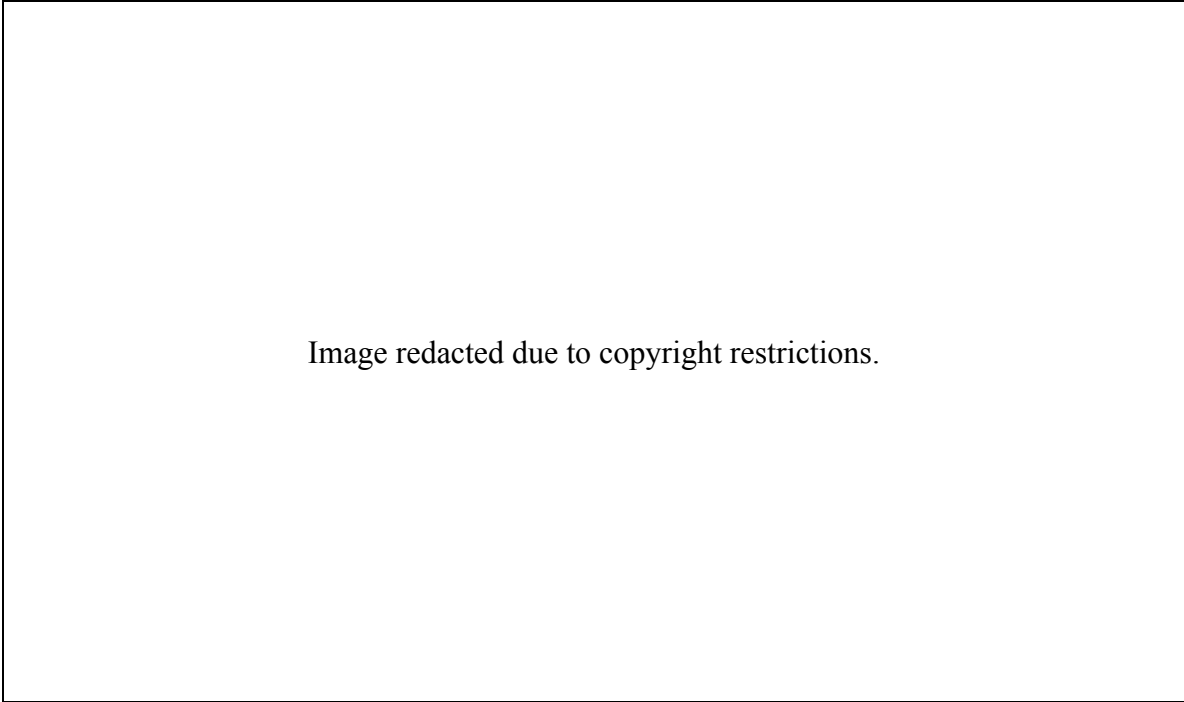


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Figure 4.6 Embroidered birds from Nasca textile border
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 2002.001.003

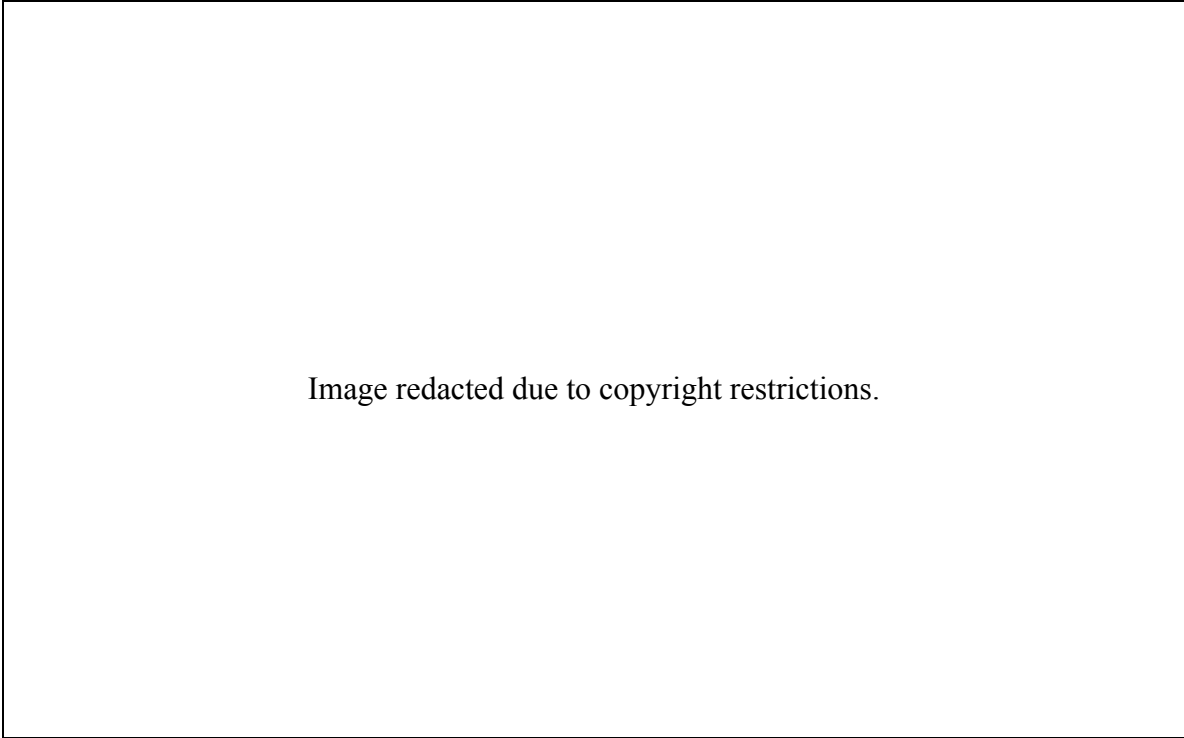


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Figure 4.7 Cross-section of the San Pedro cactus as compared to a Nasca bowl
Source: Artstor.org/56787, Emory University Art History Dept. Collection

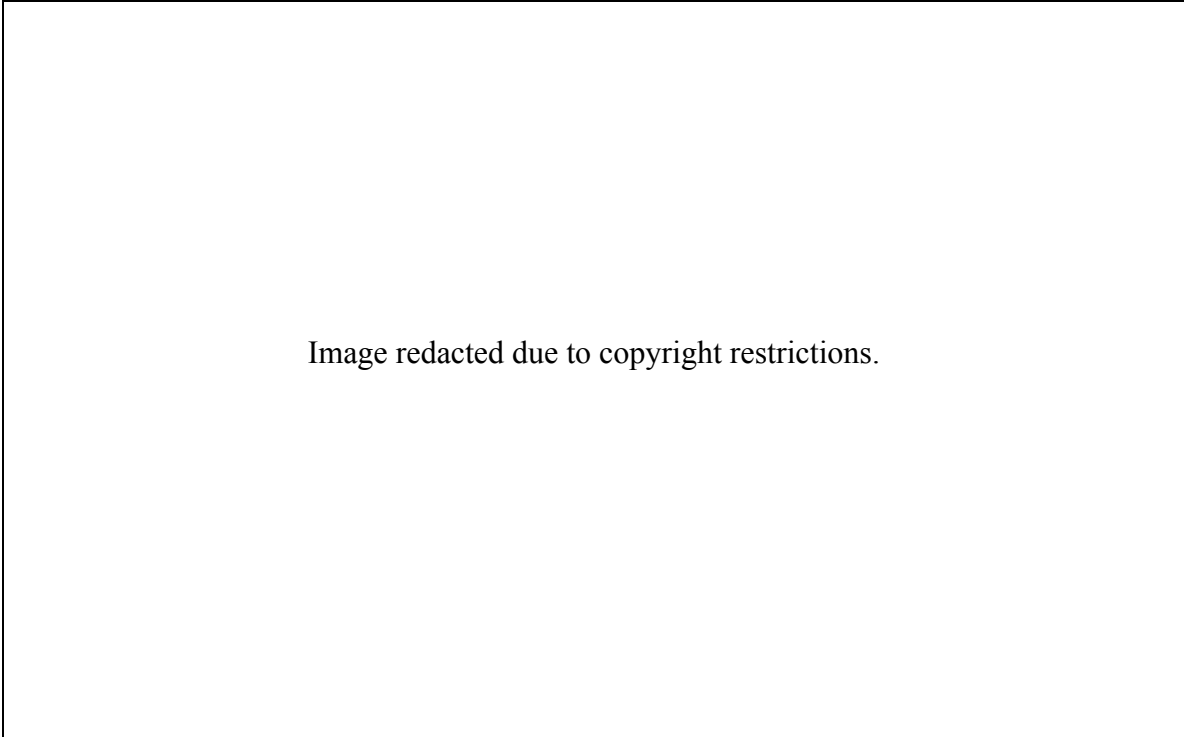


Image redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.8 Jaguar eye
Source: Stone, *The Jaguar Within*, fig. 4.19

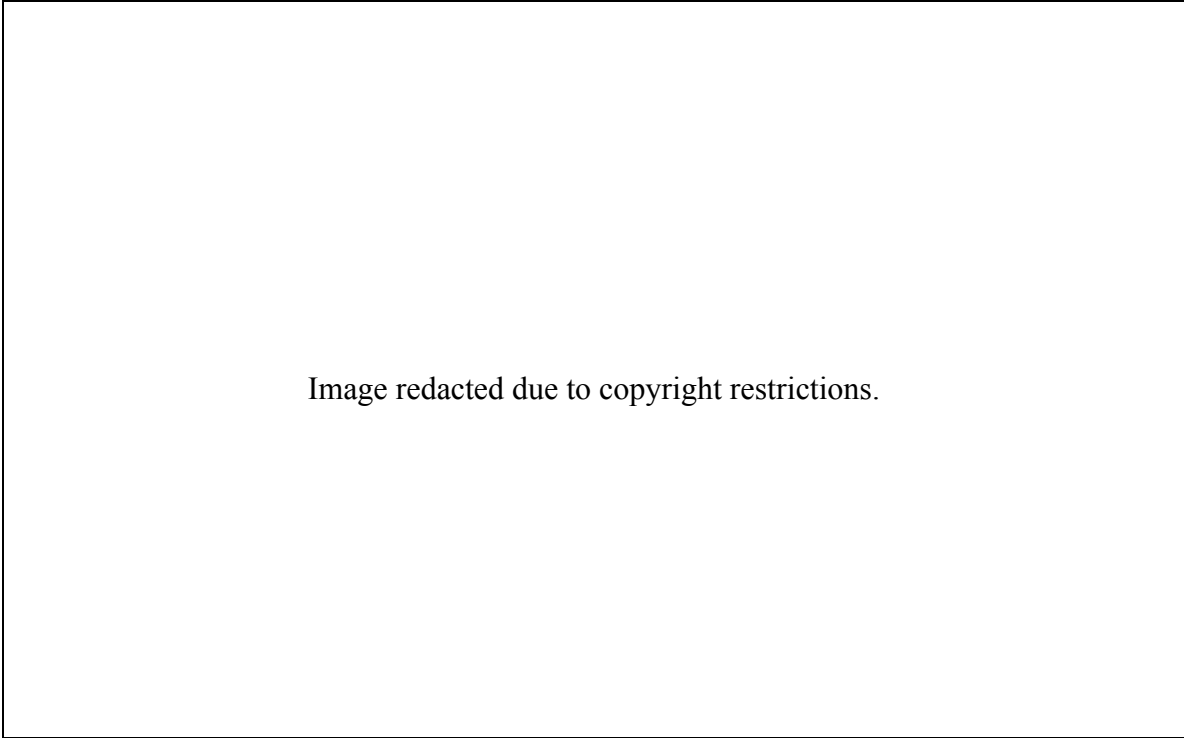


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Figure 4.9 Drawing of painted “farmers” on a Nasca bowl
Source: Townsend, “Deciphering the Nazca World,” fig. 6

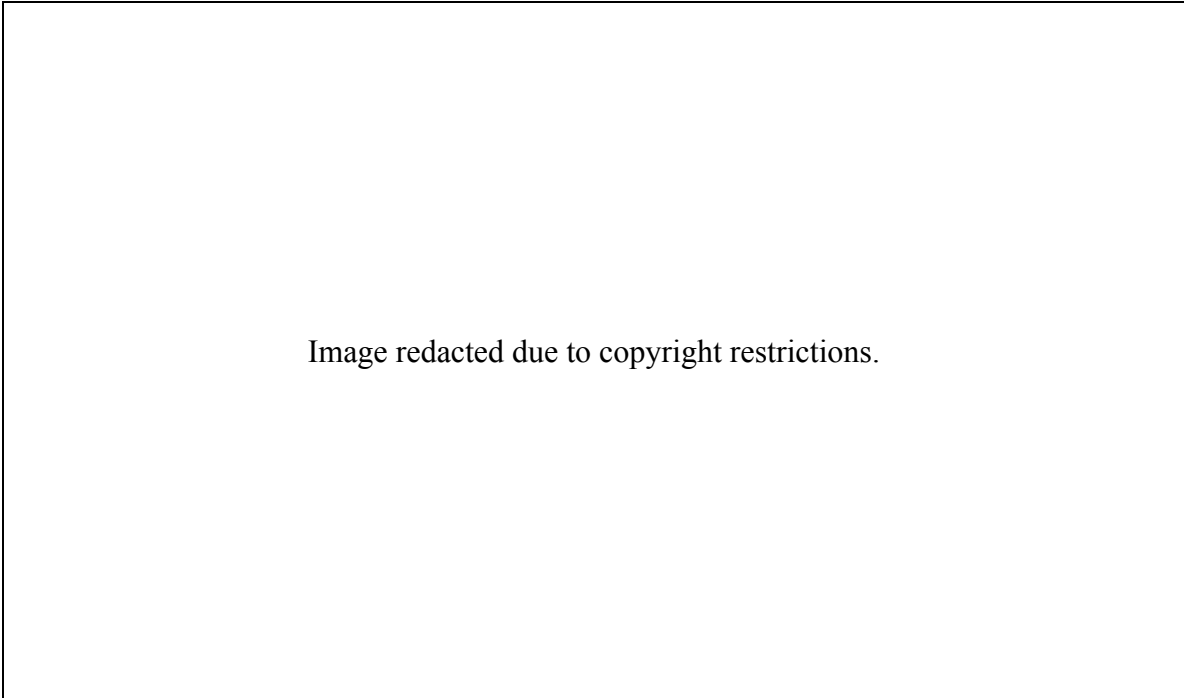


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Figure 4.10 Treated head with eye sockets stuffed with textile
Source: Verano, “Where Do They Rest?” fig. 10

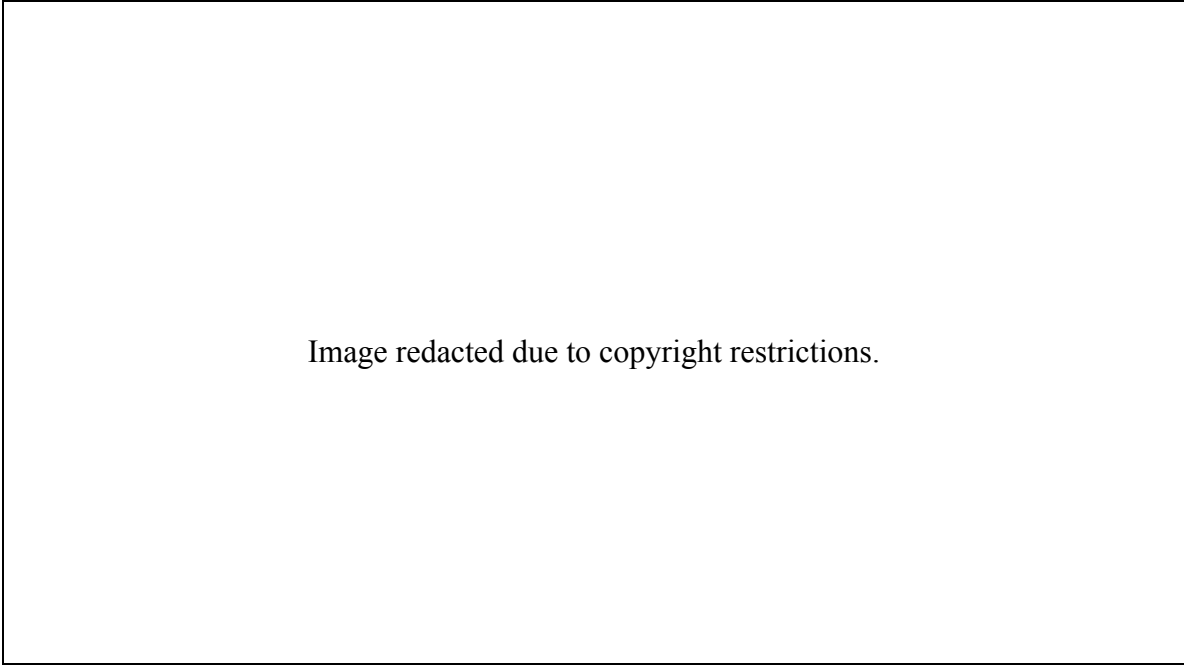


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Figure 4.11 Nasca cranial deformation (left) and trepanning (right)
Source: Proulx, *A Sourcebook of Nasca Ceramic Iconography*, fig. 1.1

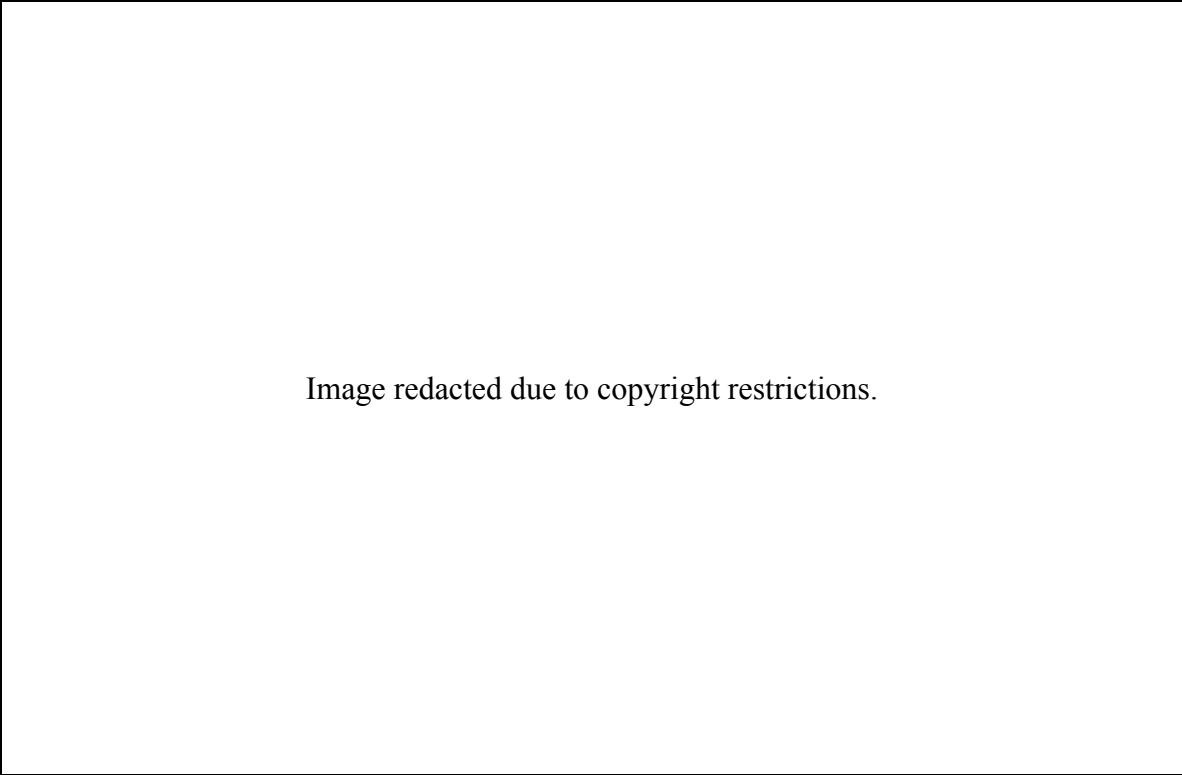


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Figure 5.1 Moche vessel depicting a leishmaniasis survivor
Source: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.8.72

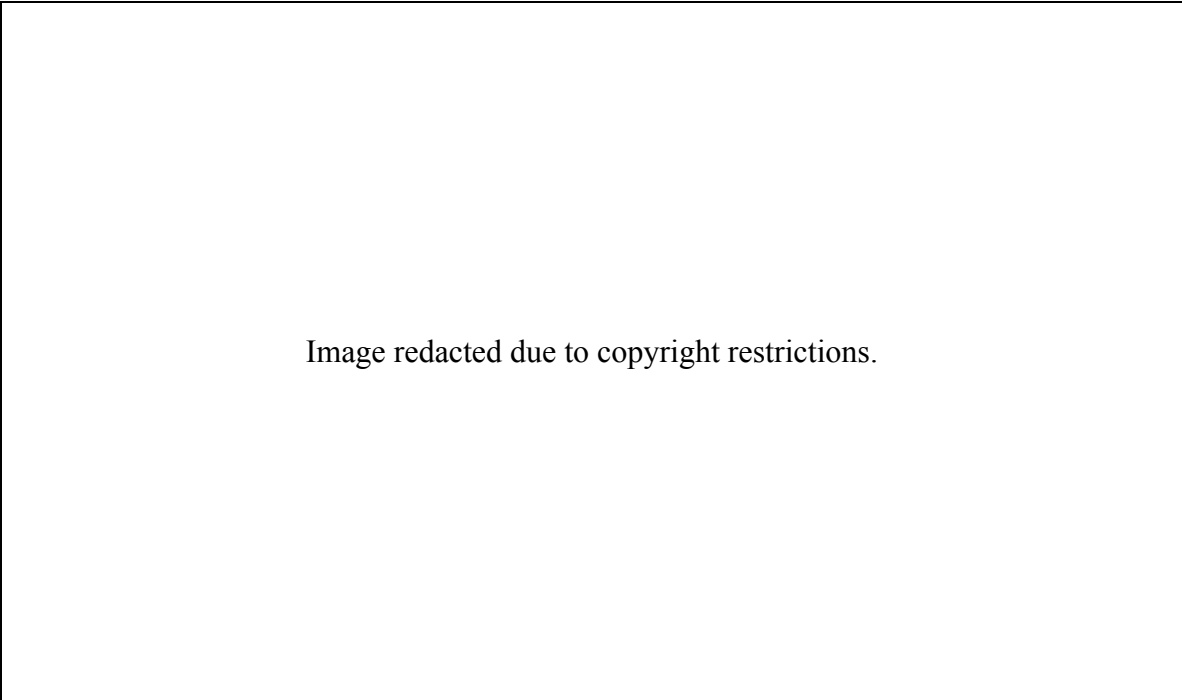


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Figure 5.2 Polychrome ceramic drum
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978.412.111

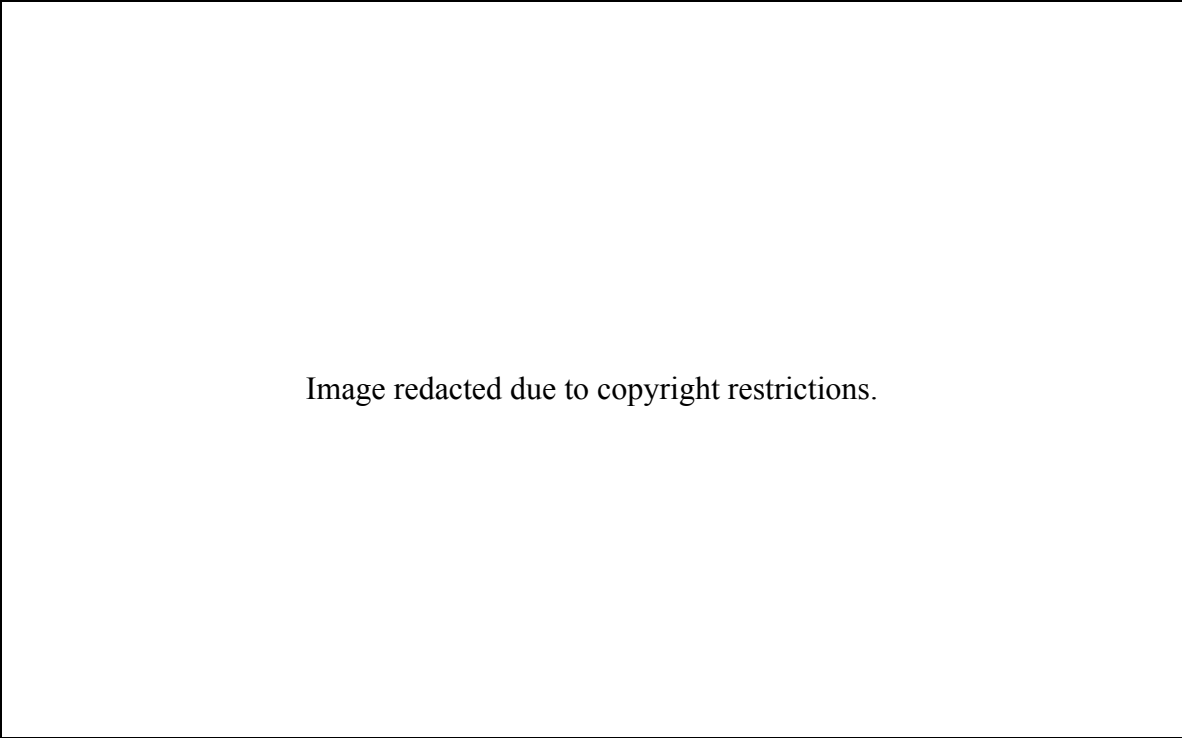


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Figure 5.3 Peregrine falcon
Source: <http://www.avianphotography.com/Gallery.htm>

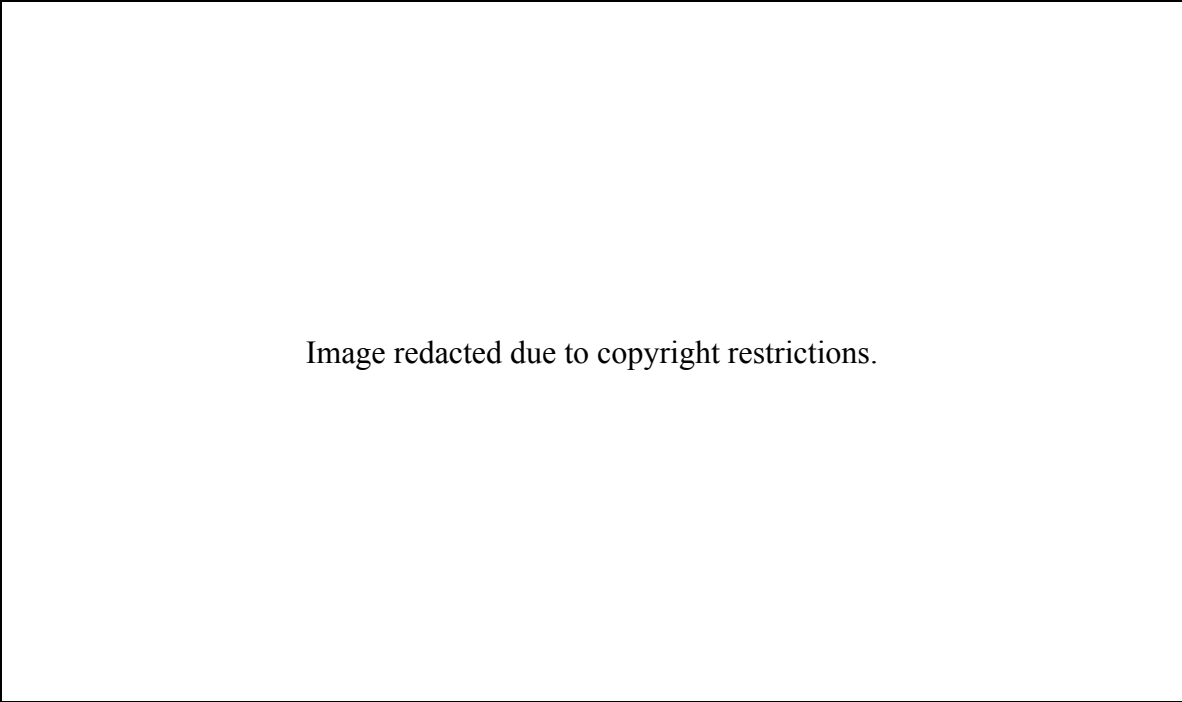


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Figure 5.4 Bird skeleton with sternum (and protruding keel) highlighted
Source: <http://bilingualbiology10.blogspot.com/2013/08/topic-12d-class-aves-birds.html>

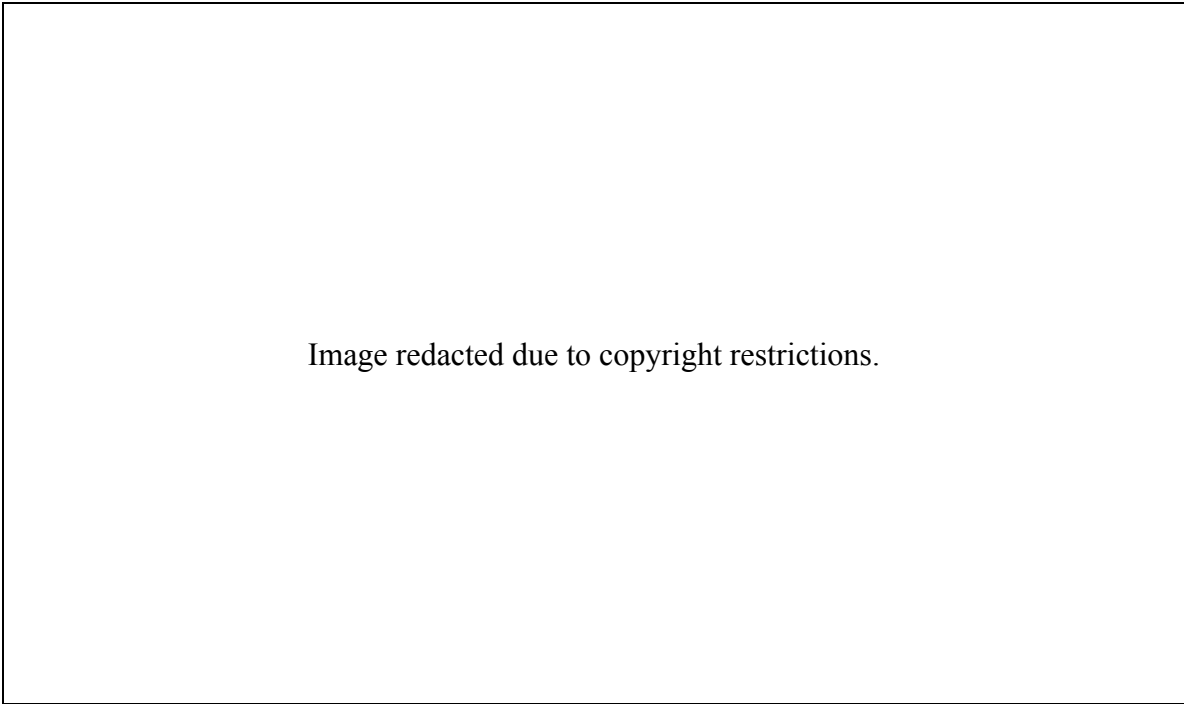


Image redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.5 Nasca body interment positions and grave forms
Source: Carmichael, "Nasca Burial Patterns," 167, fig. 2

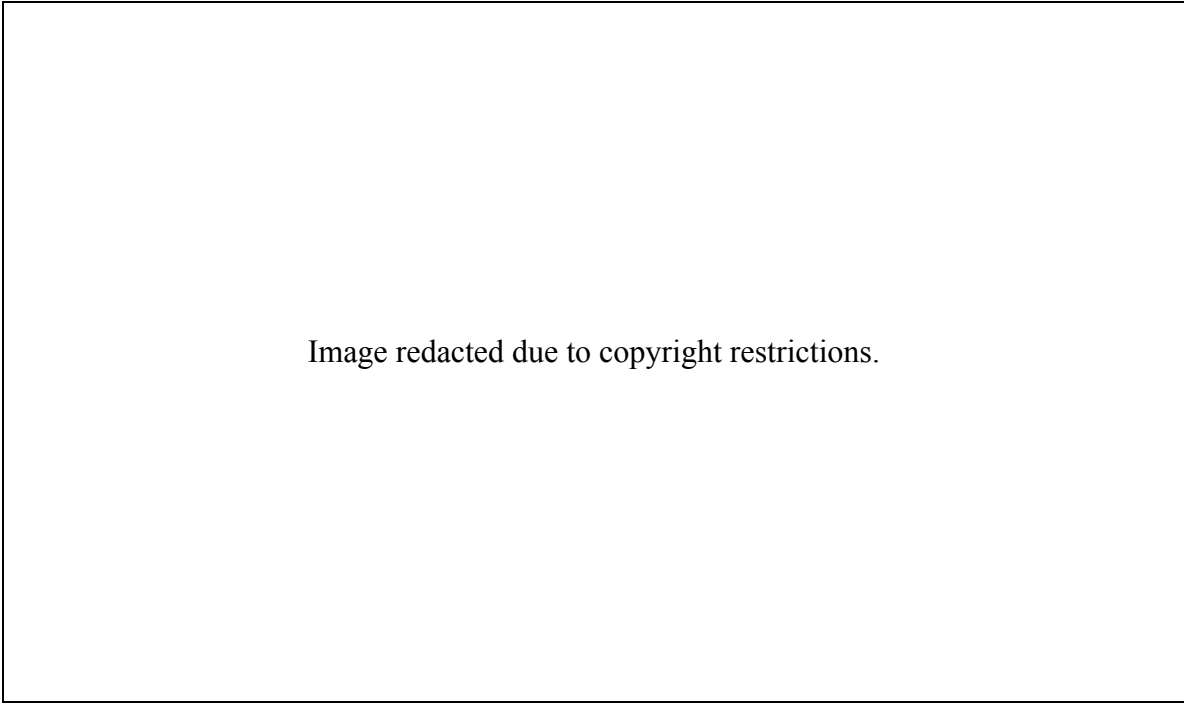


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Figure 5.6 Paracas mummy bundle (left) with fox skin (right)
Source: Paul, *Paracas Ritual Attire*, figs. 4.7 (left) and 7.5 (right)

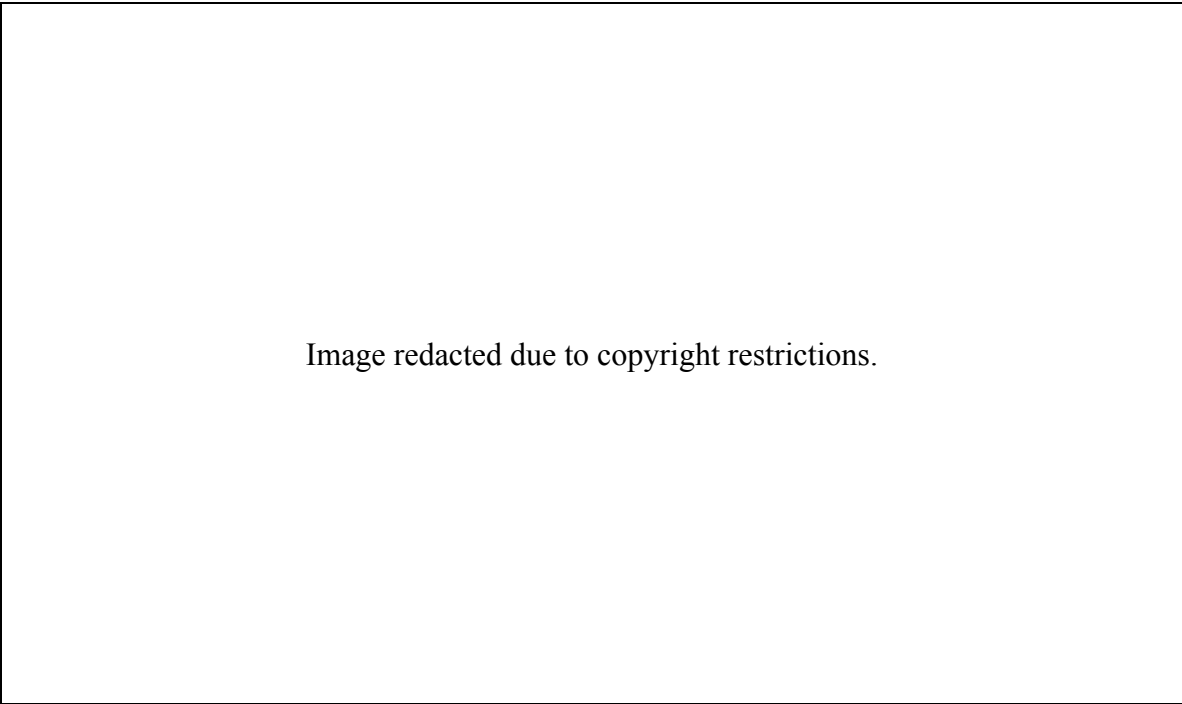


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Figure 5.7 Night scene with San Pedro cactus and foxes
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, cat. no. 144

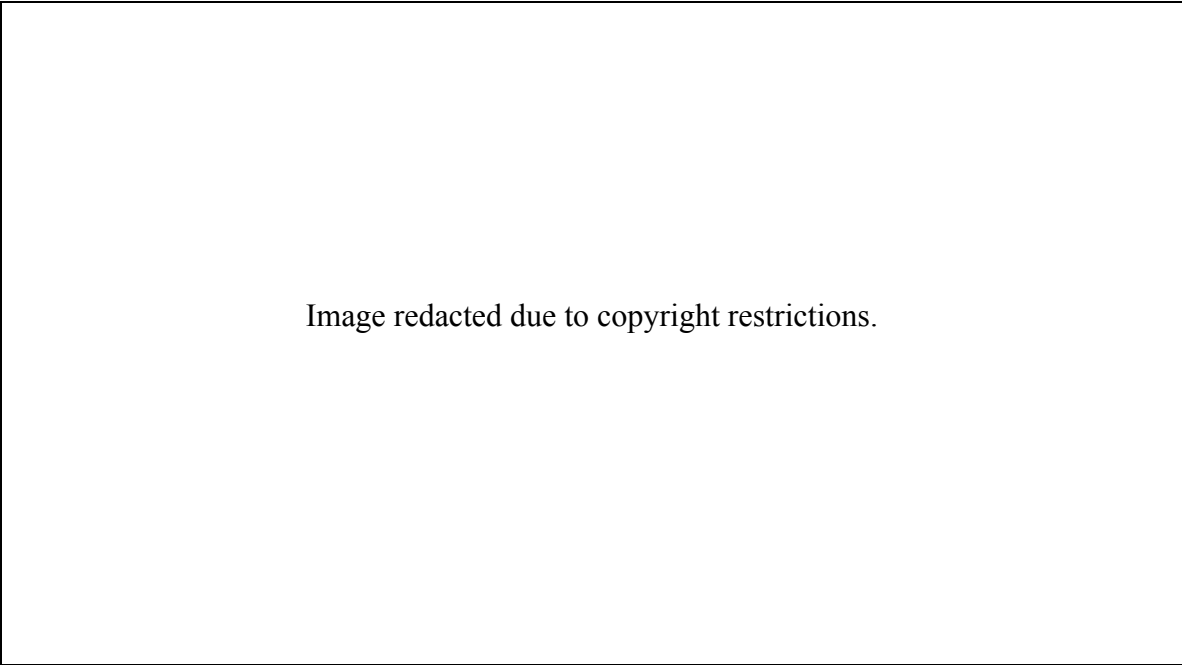


Image redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.8 Human-animal effigy, fox-pelt wearer (multiple views
Source: Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca, tomo II*,
Numero 344, Museo de América, Madrid

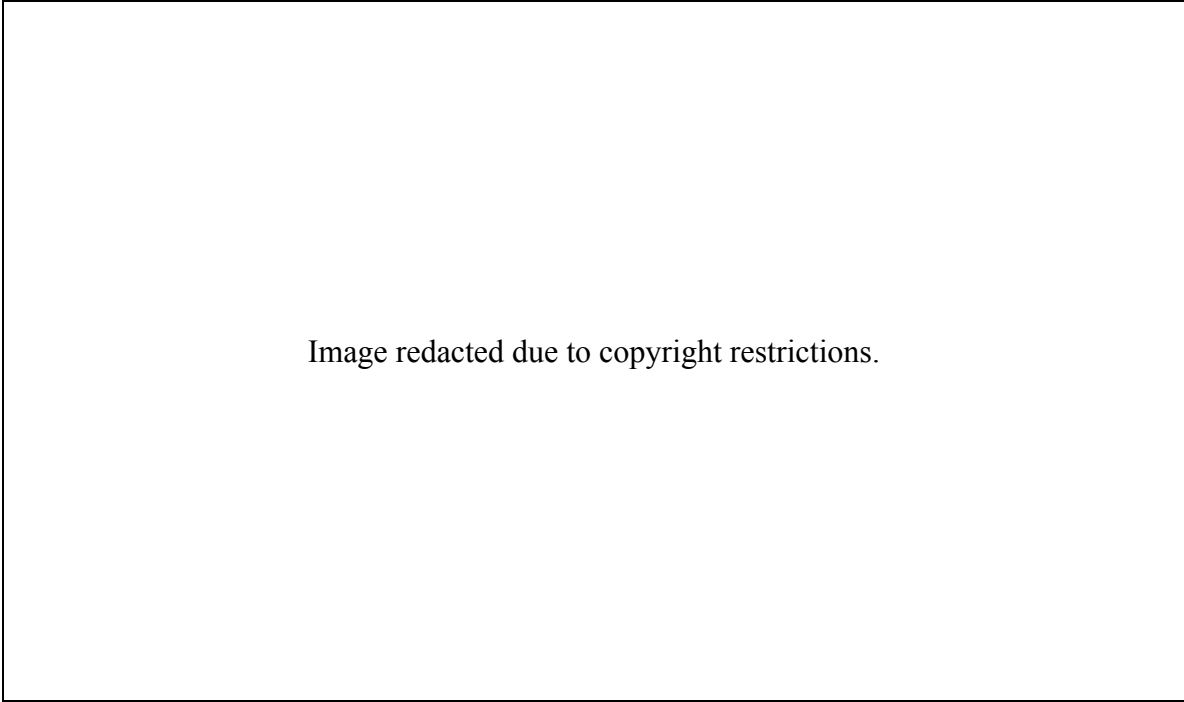


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Figure 5.9 Human-animal effigy, fox-pelt wearer
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, cat. no. 112

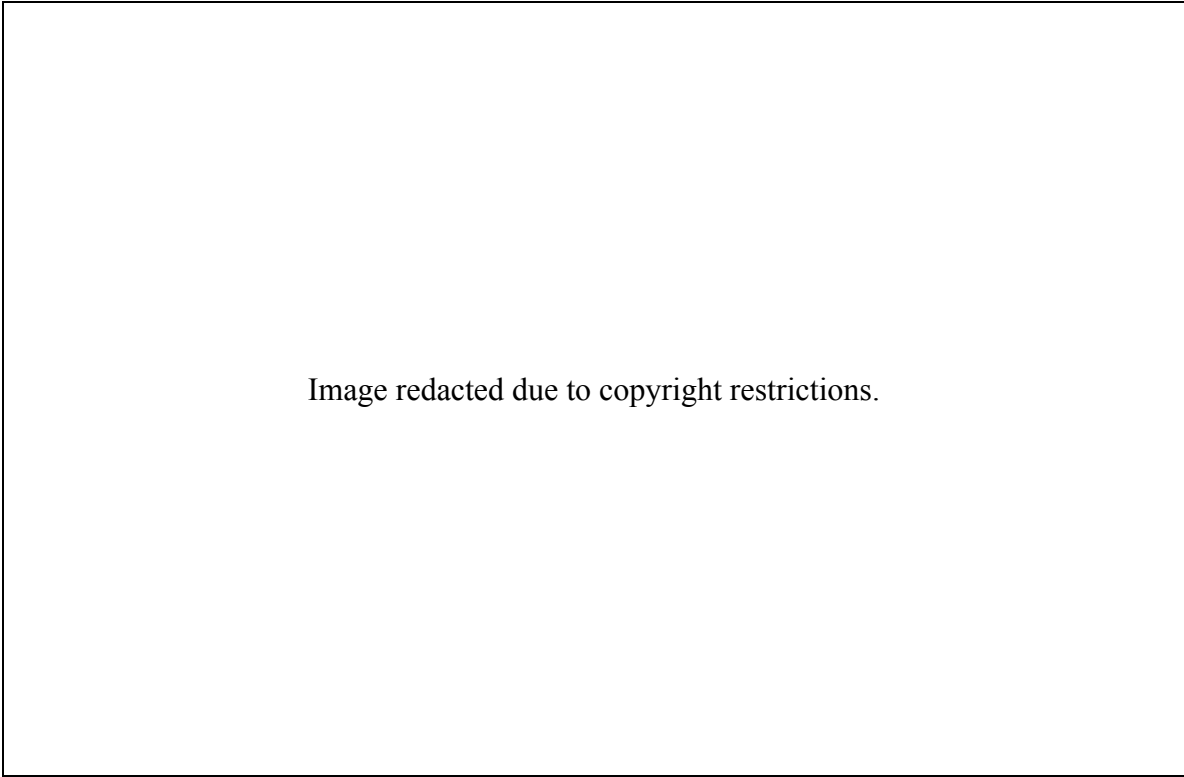


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Figure 5.10 Drawings of fox/shaman figures from a Nasca painted textile
Source: Sawyer, "Painted Nasca Textiles," fig. 20m-p

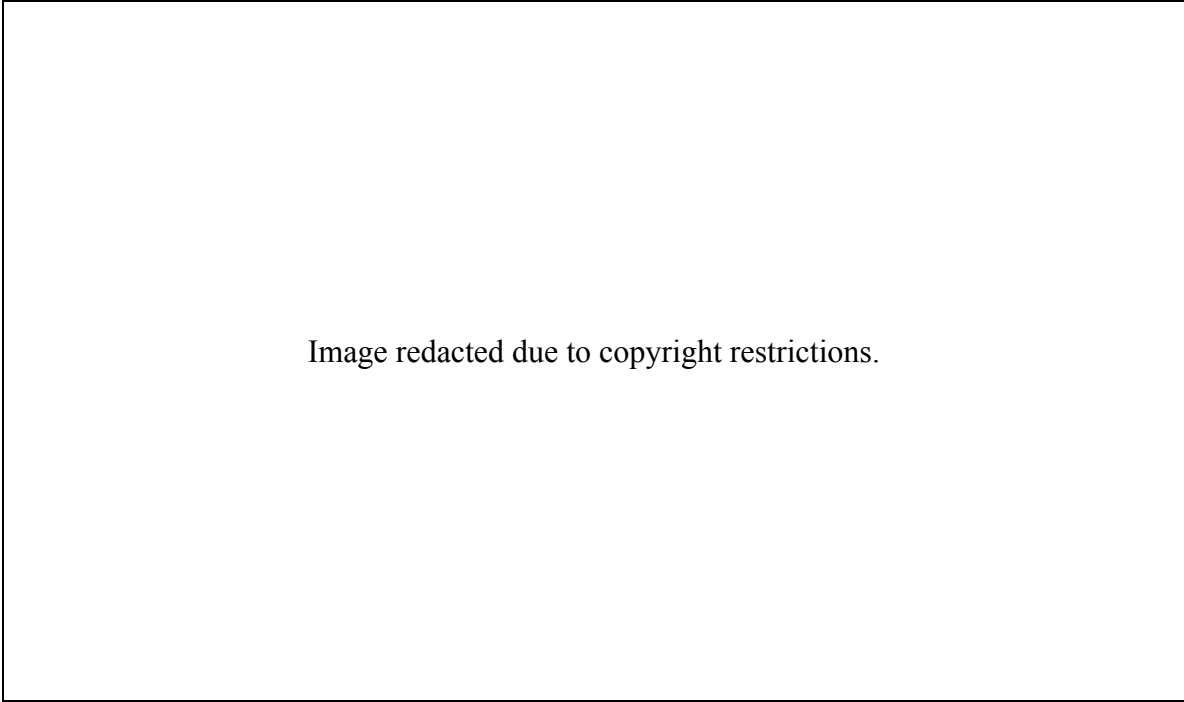


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Figure 5.11 Nasca double-necked vessel
Source: Rickenbach, *Nasca*, catalog number 191

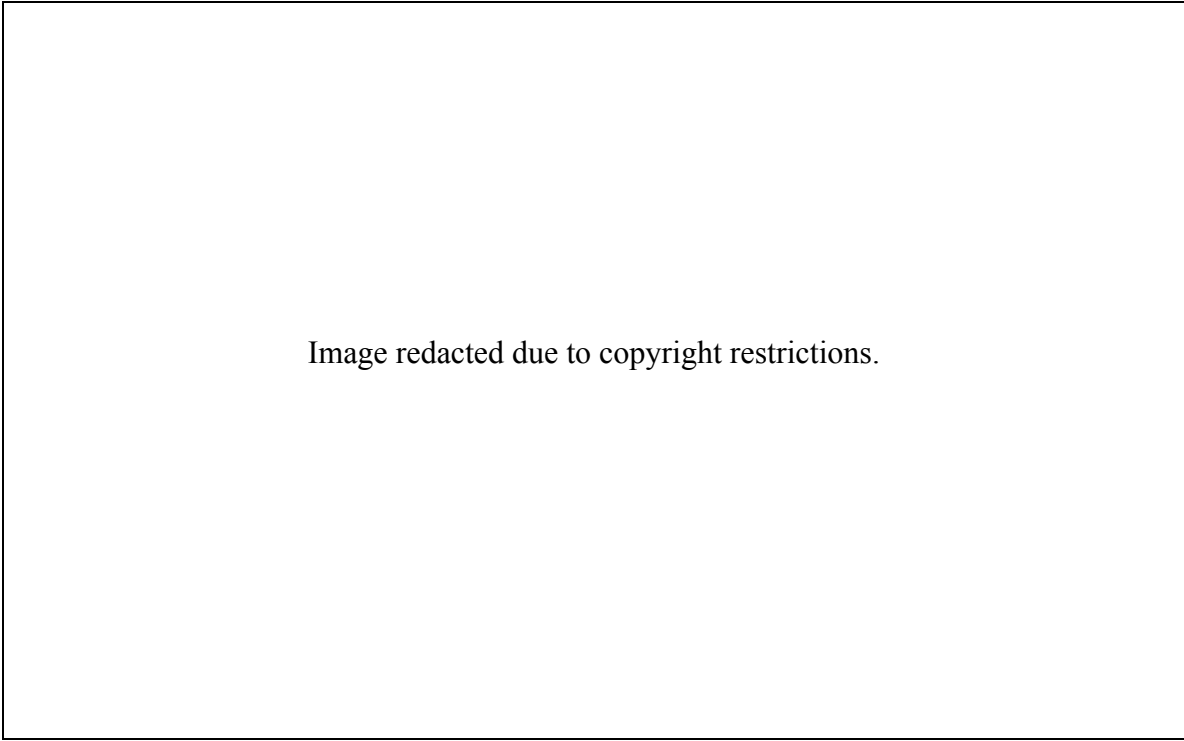


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Figure 5.12 Nasca double-necked vessel
Source: Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, tomo II, Numero 352, Museo de América, Madrid

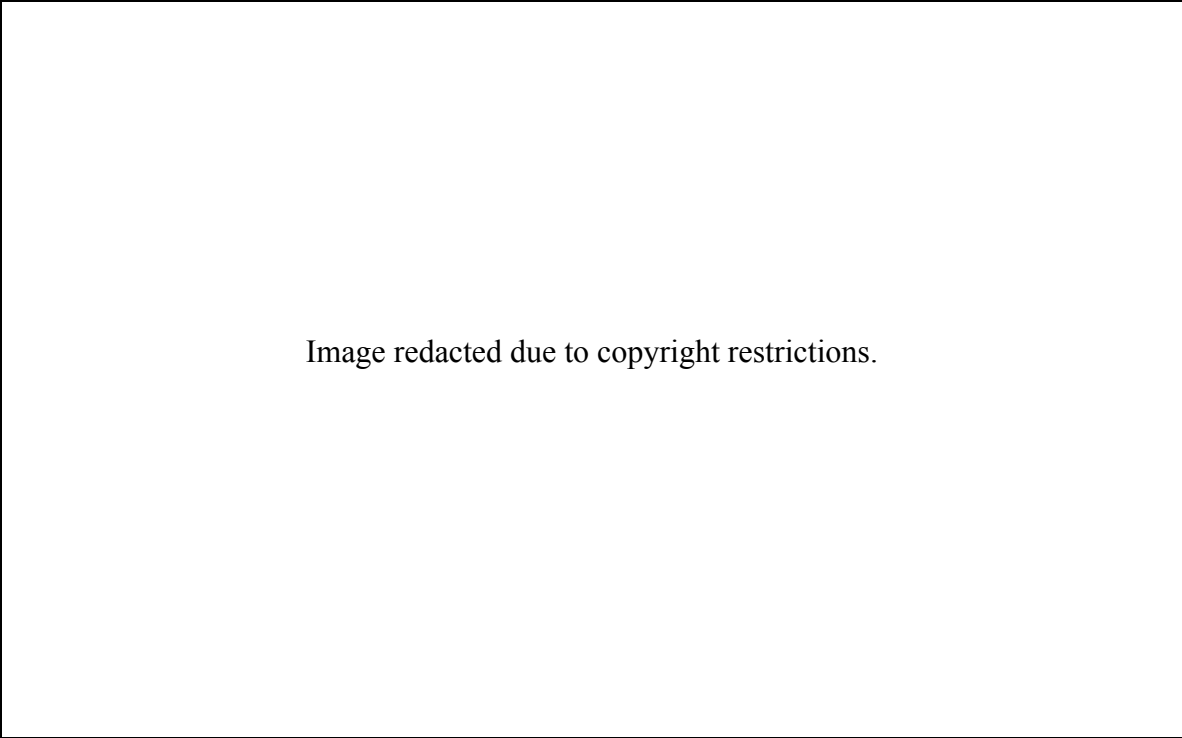


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Figure 5.13 Nasca double-chambered/bodied effigy vessel (side and front views)
Source: Blasco Bosqued and Ramos Gómez, *Cerámica Nazca*, tomo II, Numero 351, Museo de América, Madrid

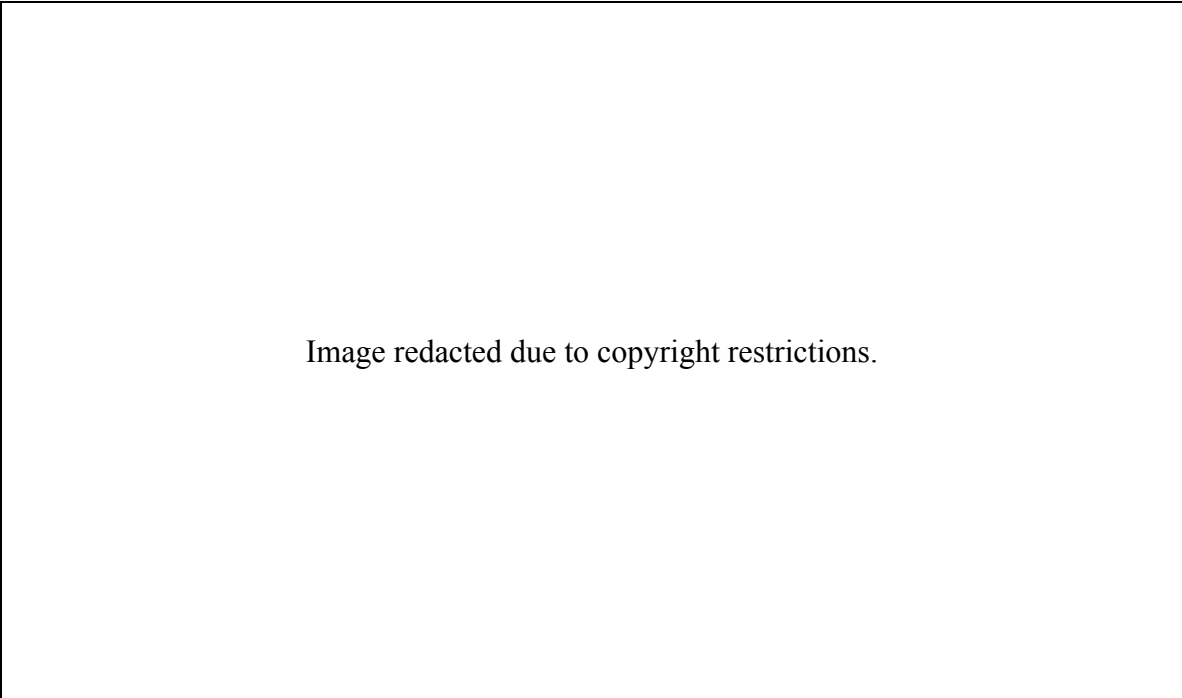


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Figure 5.14 Nasca double-bodied vessel depicting two shrouded figures
Source: Sawyer, *Ancient Andean Arts*, fig. 35

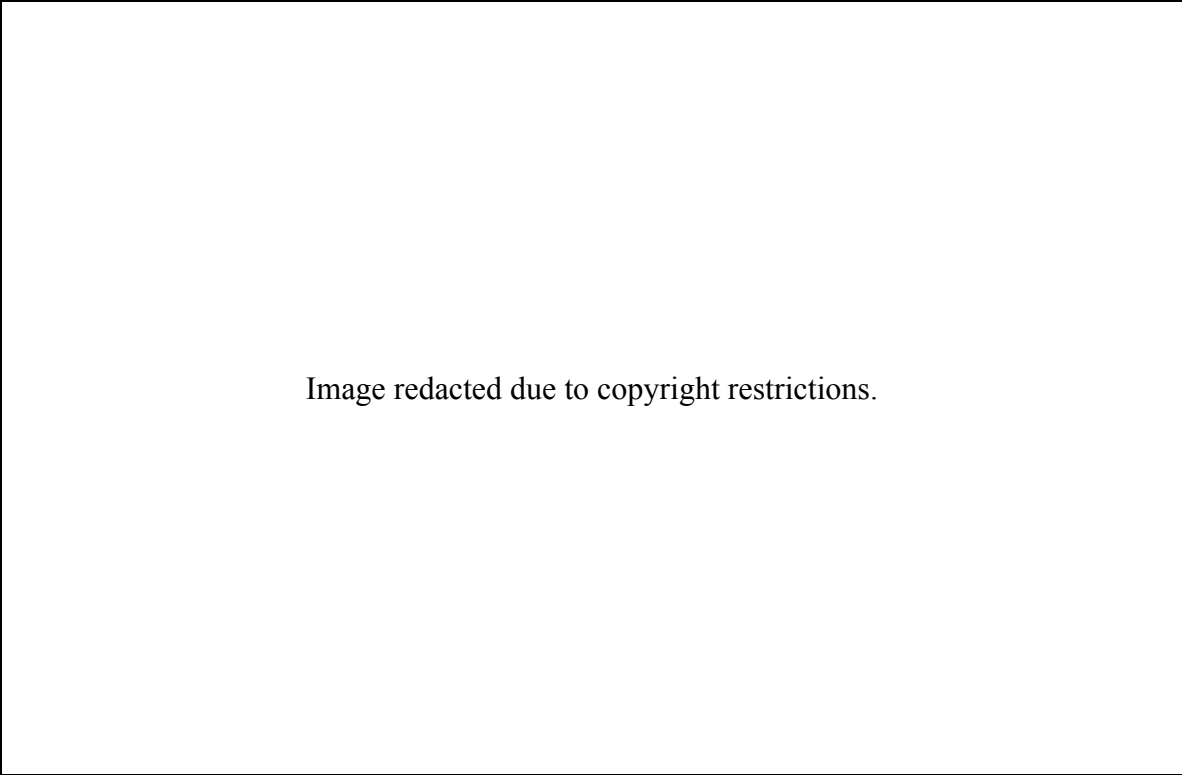


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Figure 5.15 Moche parasitic twin vessel
Source: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, 4-2974

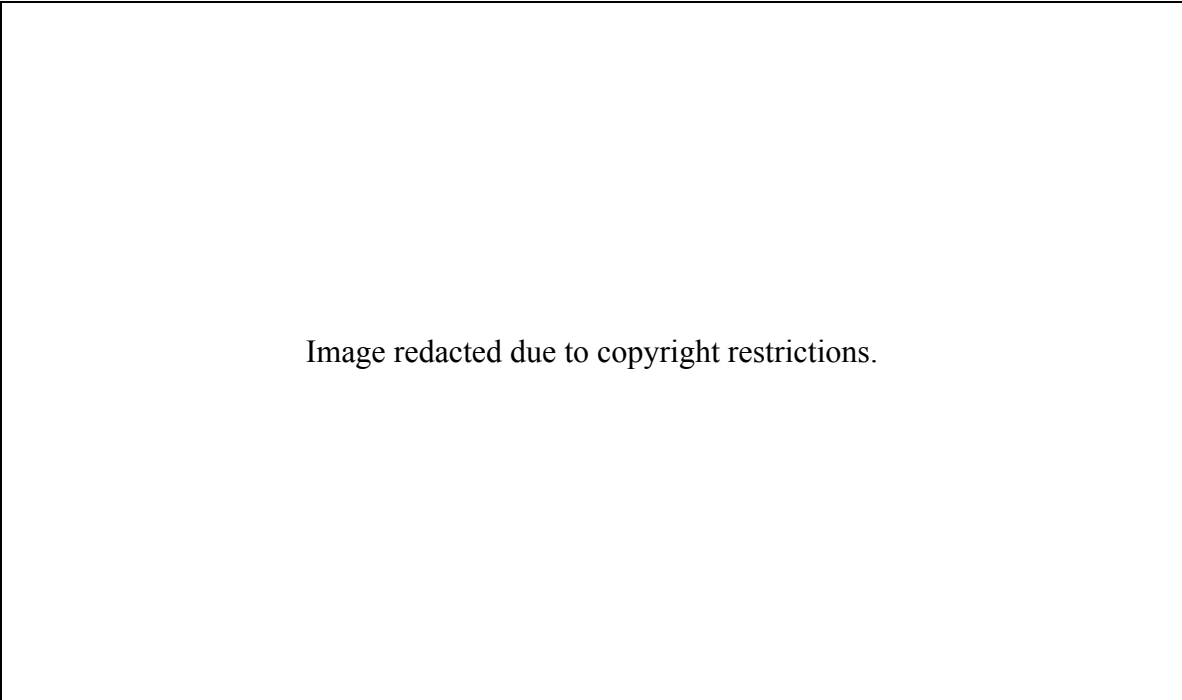


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Figure 5.16 Effigy vessel pair with “head pads”
Source: Orefici, *Cahuachi*, fig. 6

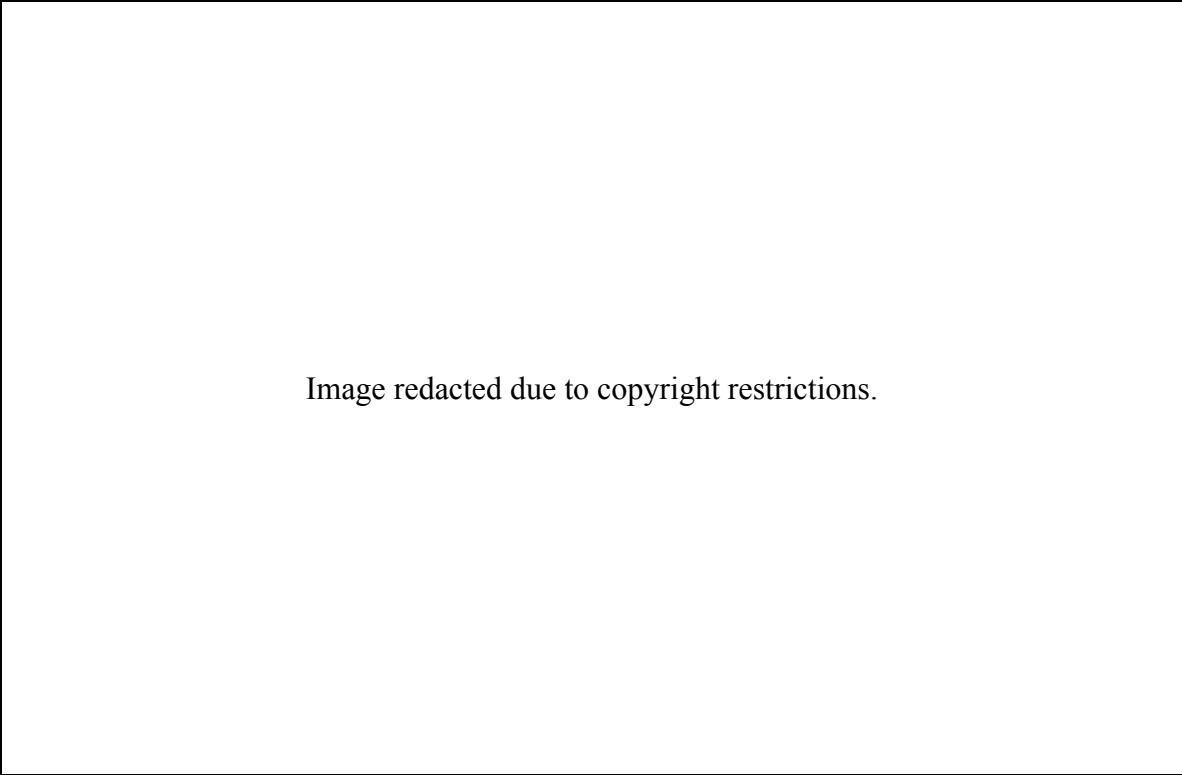


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Figure 5.17 Nasca tunic with embroidered figures
Source: Sawyer, "Painted Nasca Textiles," fig. 22

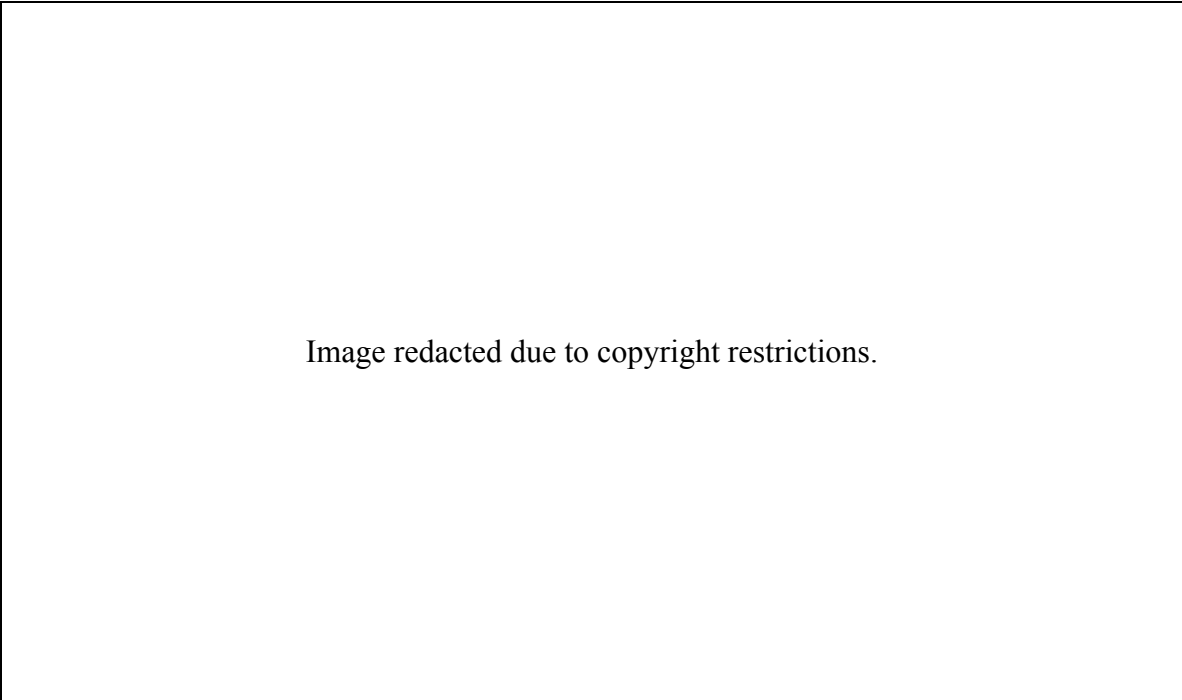


Image redacted due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 5.18 Moche *achumeras*
Source: Scher, "Clothing Power."

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Appendix: Object Corpus

A major contribution of this dissertation is a catalog of 243 Nasca sculptural polychrome vessels, many of which are previously unpublished. The catalog includes only objects examined in detail; additional objects are noted in the text for comparison and cross-reference. All of the objects are believed to have originated from the Nasca culture, unless otherwise indicated.

Object Information

Although many vantage points and details were photographed, in order to keep to one page per object I have made only four views available here—for most objects this includes the front, back, right side, and left side views. Catalog numbers were assigned sequentially by broad categories determined by vessel shape and subject matter (i.e. human effigy, head jar, animal effigy, etc.). Information for each object is listed beneath the images and includes:

- **Catalog number. Object Title**
- Collection, Accession number
- Measurements (cm) (H x W x D)
- Other numbers associated with the object (if any)

Measurements

Each object was measured (metric) for overall height, width and depth, and then each modeled/sculptural element was measured, as well. Because corporeal features are important to this study, characteristics like pupil size and any unique features, such as "head pads" were also recorded. Measurements are listed Height x Width x Depth in centimeters or millimeters unless otherwise indicated. The metric system is the standard

and all other measurements have been converted to maintain consistency.

Photography

Photographs of each object were taken with a digital single-lens reflex camera (DSLR) (Canon EOS Rebel T1i). When possible each image includes a metric (centimeter) scale and a color balance card. Research was conducted in storage spaces and therefore lighting conditions frequently were not ideal and inconsistent from museum to museum. Digital photos in raw format (CR2 file type) allowed for light balancing and color adjustments if necessary. The author took all photographs unless otherwise indicated by source information.

Museum Collections

Museo Larco

Research was conducted at the Museo Larco (ML), also known as the Museo Arqueológico Rafael Larco Herrera, from May 29 through June 1, 2012 and on June 4, 2012 and June 22, 2012. I examined a total of 51 objects, 45 of which are included in the catalog. The Museo Larco has a comprehensive online catalog available via the museum's website (<http://www.museolargo.org>). Catalog entries include photographs of each object. Views include: front, reverse, and left and right sides (4 views at each 90 degrees in the round). Therefore, this catalog includes images of other views of the object that might be helpful, so as not to repeat information and provide a more comprehensive view of each vessel.

Museo de Arte de Lima

Research was conducted at the Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI) from June 12 through June 15, 2012. I examined 36 objects, 16 of which are included in the catalog. Some objects were later determined to be of doubtful authenticity [IV_2.0_01369; IV_2.0_0100; IV_2.0_2087; IV_2.0_1022; IV_2.0_01390] or were not from the Early Nasca period addressed in this dissertation [IV_2.0_0581; IV_2.0_01385; IV_2.0_0298; IV_2.0_1955]. In addition, the museum staff could not locate two vessels listed in the museum's database as sculptural (escultórico) [IV_2.0_2089 and IV_2.0_1043]).

Museo Regional de Ica

Research was conducted at the Museo Regional de Ica (MRI) from June 25 through June 28, 2012. I consulted the museum's card catalog system to choose objects for examination. I inspected 45 objects, 33 of which are included in the present catalog. Seven vessels in the shape of beans, seeds, fruits and vegetables were examined [Inv. 01742-01; Inv. 01748-01; Inv. 01749-01; Inv. 02727-01; Inv. 02958-01; Inv. 05698-01; and Inv. 05743-01]. Those three-dimensional forms have been excised from this catalog for space and are not directly addressed in the text. One object has been left out because of questionable authenticity [Inv. 02963-01]. Two objects of interest were on loan to other museums at the time of my research--a drum [Inv. 00142-01] in the shape of a standing human (similar to the drum on display at the Museo Larco) and a double spout and bridge effigy vessel in the shape of a killer whale [Inv. 00134-01].

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos

Research was conducted at the Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos (MAA-UNMSM) on June 22, 2012 and from July 2 through July 4, 2012. I examined 26 objects, 7 of which are included here. The Nasca objects in the holdings of the MAA-UNMSM originate from three major collections: Julio C. Tello (the accompanying archaeological archive is also housed at the museum), Fracchia, and Jiménez Borja. Although the author has a professional relationship with the staff, financial requirement restricted the number of objects that could be examined, photographed, and ultimately included in this study.

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú

Research was conducted at the Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú (MNAAHP) from July 9 through July 16, 2012. I examined 57 objects, 48 of which are included here. Collections at the MNAAHP are not cataloged electronically with images, and investigators were, at the time of my research visit, not allowed into the storage facilities. Therefore, I was not able to select the objects for examination in person.

American Museum of Natural History

Research was conducted at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) on July 5, July 8, and July 11, 2011, and July 25 through July 29, 2011 (a total of 8 days for examinations and photographs). I examined 41 objects, 26 of which are included here.

National Museum of the American Indian

Research was conducted at the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) from August 1 through August 5, 2011. I examined 42 objects, 29 of which are included here.

Brooklyn Museum of Art

Research was conducted at the Brooklyn Museum of Art (BMA) on July 6 and 7, 2011. I examined 19 objects, 11 of which are included here. A group of six figurines were examined: 41.432; 41.431; 79.116.2; 79.116.3; 79.116.1; and 86.224.58. However, due to questionable authenticity figurines as a whole are not included in this study, although two examples are used for comparative purposes.

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History

Research was conducted at the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History (YPM) on July 27, 2011. I examined 12 objects, 9 of which are included here.

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology – Harvard University

Research was conducted at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology – Harvard University (PMHU) from July 13 through July 15, 2011 and July 18 and July 19, 2011. I examined 29 objects, 18 of which are included here.

Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University

Research was conducted at the Michael C. Carlos Museum (MCCM) on January 23, 2012. I examined one object that is included here (cat. no. 180).

001. Effigy jar with shrouded face

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2549.000

14.1 x 9.4 x 9.4cm

002. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Larco, ML032468

22.6 x 13.3 x 13.3cm

Other numbers: 45 (marked on interior in blue chalk)

003. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Larco, ML032465

17.8 x 11.5 x 11.5cm

004. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Larco, ML032487

14.4 x 9.4 x 9.6cm

Other numbers: "518" (written in blue chalk interior of neck)

005. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.06959-01

16.5 x 11.4 x 11.5cm

006. Small effigy jar (unfinished)

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.05916-01

13 x 7.5 x 7.3cm

Other numbers: 320

007. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02560-01

24.7 x 13.9 x 13.2cm

Other numbers: INC-52.077; MRI-DA 541

008. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0451_IV

14.4 x 9.9 x 9.8cm

Other numbers: 2.0_0451_IV(1987); A.60.5.619; MA-2304/INC-76

009. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0466_IV

20.5 x 12.9 x 12.9cm

Other numbers: 87; A.60.5.639; MA-2321/INC-76

010. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0246_IV

17.1 x 10.5 x 10.5cm

Other numbers: (1987); A.60.5.555; MA-2223/INC-76

011. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04738

15.0 x 9.1 x 9.2cm

Other numbers: IBM217; 3/3927; 04738/A2-I

012. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04839

14.7 x 9.5 x 9.6cm

Other numbers: 3/3921; IBM305

013. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-35922

18.1 x 12.2 x 12.1cm

Other numbers: 63079; CCP/474A

014. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59512

16.3 x 10.2 x 10.0cm

015. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59498

17.1 x 11.3 x 11.6cm

Other numbers: 102,252; C.C.P./980

016. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59500

16.5 x 12.0 x 11.7cm

Other numbers: 102,273; C.C.P./150; C-94539

017. Effigy jar with shrouded face

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1678

13.8 x N/A x N/A cm

Other numbers: F/1565; XXXXIV.2; "U"; 1907; 363.01.2856; 58016-MAA-UNMSM-1678-INC

018. "Twins," double-necked vessel

Museo Larco, ML032478

15.9 x 12.0 x 12.5cm

Other numbers: 80 in blue chalk inside "shrouded" head

019. "Twins," double-necked vessel

Museo Larco, ML032477

15.9 x 11.2 x 12.0cm

020. "Twins," double-necked vessel

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02558-01

14.8 x 10.5 x 10.7cm

Other numbers: INC-52.075; MRI-DA 815

021. "Twins," double-necked vessel

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02557-01

15.0 x 10.8 x 10.5cm

Other numbers: INC-52.074; MRI-DA 814

022. "Twins," small double-necked vessel

Museo Larco, ML037979

7.0 x 5.8 x 9.8cm

023. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1647

12.9 x 8.0 x 7.8 cm

024. Human effigy jar with "ear paddles"

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1682

14.1 x 8.6 x 8.1cm

Other numbers: 1912; 363.01.2861; F/1563; XV.9; 58110/MAA-UNMSM-1682/INC-03

025. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02565-01

16.6 x 9.1 x 9.0cm

Other numbers: INC-52.082; MRI-DA 58

026. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1665

19.5 x 10.8 x 10.7cm

Other numbers: 1919; 363.01.2868; F/1559; "U"; 58093/MAA-UNMSM-1665/INC-03

027. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Larco, ML032485

21.0 x 11.6 x 11.2cm

028. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Larco, ML032479

12.3 x 9.2 x 9.0cm

029. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04656

18.8 x 11.4 x 11.4cm

Other numbers: 3/3884

030. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Larco, ML032486

15.9 x 8.9 x 8.9cm

031. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Larco, ML032481

16.7 x 11.7 x 11.9cm

032. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04654

17.7 x 11.2 x 11.1cm

Other numbers: 3/3891

033. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04817

19.2 x 11.4 x 11.4cm

Other numbers: M.N-/GC8-; 396/8; 8/

034. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Larco, ML031875 21.1 x 11.7 x 11.6cm

035. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59532

19.5 x 11.0 x 11.2cm

Other numbers: 66410; CCP/1386; INC74

036. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT16802

17.5 x 12.1 x 11.9cm

037. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT235174

14.4 x 10.0 x 10.1cm

038. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.05765-01

12.3 x 7.6 x 7.1cm

Other numbers: 327

039. Effigy jar with "head pads"

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.00049-01

22.6 x 14 x 13.6cm

Other numbers: 0000091393; MRI-DA-29; INC-49.725

040. Effigy jar with "head pads" and striped face

Museo Larco, ML032466

13.9 x 9.8 x 9.0cm

041. Effigy jar with spotted face

Museo Larco, ML032504

18.3 x 10.3 x 10.2cm

042. Effigy jar with spotted face wearing stitched cowl

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1659

21.4 x 12.3 x 11.0cm

Other numbers: F/1559; 1903; 363.01.2852; D.A.; "U"; 58087/MAA-UNMSM-1659-INC-03

043. Effigy jar with spotted face and stitched cap

Museo Larco, ML032491

15.1 x 10.0 x 9.5cm

044. Effigy jar with spotted face and stitched cowl

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59517

22.7 x 13.4 x 13.2cm

Other numbers: 66,662; CCP/2533

045. Effigy jar with spotted face and stitched cowl

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04712

19.5 x 13.4 x 13.2cm

Other numbers: 3/3869; 08

046. Effigy jar with spotted face and stitched cowl

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04700

15.1 x 10.3 x 10.3cm

Other numbers: RNI-98573; 3/6239

047. Effigy jar with spotted face and stitched cowl

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04705

14.2 x 9.7 x 9.6cm

Other numbers: IBM175; 40088

048. Effigy bottle with spotted face and stitched cowl

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 973-24-30/8893

19.4 x 11.2 x 12.1cm

049. Effigy jar with spotted face and cowl

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04702

15.4 x 9.2 x 9.0cm

Other numbers: IBM370; 3/3933

050. Effigy jar with spotted face

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-63192

13.2 x 8.8 x 8.9cm

Other numbers: CCP/2412-A

051. Effigy jar

Museo Larco, ML032492

17.6 x 11.9 x 11.7cm

052. Small effigy bottle with forehead protrusion (slip paint and incising)

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.00040-01

8.9 x 4.3 x 4.1cm

Other numbers: INC-49.716; MRI-DA-597

053. Effigy jar (playing antara) with forehead protrusion

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04054-01

17.3 x 9.7 x 9.8cm

Other numbers: INC-53.558; MRI-DA-1044

054. Effigy jar (playing antara), with forehead protrusion

Museo Larco, ML032454

21.7 x 15.3 x 15.5cm

055. Effigy jar with forehead protrusion

Museo Larco, ML032471

14.2 x 9.1 x 9.5cm

056. Effigy jar with forehead protrusion

Museo Larco, ML032480

15.7 x 11.2 x 11.3cm

057. Effigy bottle with forehead protrusion

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_01406_IV

13.0 x 9.7 x 9.5cm

Other numbers: (1987); A.60.5.3066

058. Small effigy jar with cheek bulge and forehead protrusion

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 968-14-30/8488

10.2 x 7.8 x 7.9cm

Other numbers: N / 19

059. Effigy vessel with forehead protrusion

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2716.000

24.7 x 13.7 x 12.5cm

060. Effigy jar with forehead protrusion

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT235170

21.8 x 12.1 x 14.6cm

061. Effigy jar with forehead protrusion

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 41.422

28.6 x 17.8 x 18.4cm

Other numbers: 284

062. Large effigy jar with sling wrapped in hair

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_1035

29.1 x 15.6 x 15.7cm

Other numbers: Acc.#1914-19

063. Effigy jar with sling wrapped in hair

Museo Larco, ML032494

28.2 x 18.5 x 18.0cm

064. Effigy jar with sling wrapped in hair

Museo Larco, ML040367

21.5 x 14.5 x 13.8cm

065. Large effigy jar with pendant pupils and sling wrapped in hair

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02561-01

38.5 x 21.5 x N/A cm

Other numbers: INC-52.078; MRI-DA 887

066. Effigy jar with sling wrapped in hair

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04055-01

17.3 x 10.6 x 10.2cm

Other numbers: INC 53.559; MRI-DA-1047

067. Effigy jar wearing fox pelt (orange)

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04800

16.5 x 12.8 x 12.9cm

Other numbers: 3/3867; IBM267

068. Effigy jar wearing fox pelt (gray)

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-54227

14.2 x 8.5 x 8.3cm

Other numbers: 3/6079

069. Effigy jar wearing fox pelt (orange)

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02564-01

18.9 x 10.5 x 10.3cm

Other numbers: INC-52.081

070. Effigy jar wearing fox pelt (part of pair with cat. no. 071)

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2715.000

14.9 x 9.2 x 9.4cm

071. Effigy jar wearing fox pelt (part of pair with cat. no. 070)

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2812.000

15.1 x 9.4 x 9.4cm

072. Effigy vessel with single spout wearing mouthmask

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1680

17.5 x 11.7 x 11.4cm

Other numbers: 1906; 363.01.2855; F/1560; XVII.00; D.A.; 58108/MAA-UNMSM-1680/INC-03

073. Effigy bottle of standing, whistling figure

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2597.000

24.5 x 14.3 x 15.7cm

074. Effigy bottle with snakes as hair

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-35959

N/A

Other numbers: 63113; CCP/2,617-A

075. Effigy bottle single spout with snakes for hair

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04734

20.5 x 11.9 x 11.9cm

Other numbers: 3/6718

076. Effigy bottle with incised lines

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-64137

23.0 x 14.6 x 14.5cm

Other numbers: 44495

077. Effigy bottle wearing mouthmask and forehead ornament

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59510

19.7 x 9.5 x 9.4cm

Other numbers: 88,440; C.C.P/06-S.C.

078. Effigy bottle wearing rayed headdress

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04807

N/A

Other numbers: 3/3909

079. Effigy bottle wearing mouthmask and forehead ornament

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04668

18.0 x 13.8 x 13.4cm

Other numbers: 3/3876

080. Effigy bottle (globular vessel with modeled head)

National Museum of the American Indian, 17/8892.000

19.3 x 15.1 x 16.0cm

081. Effigy bottle with whale eye markings, holding disembodied head (part of pair with cat. no. 082)

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2625.000

16.8 x 11.4 x 11.2cm

082. Effigy bottle with whale eye markings (part of pair with cat. no. 081)

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2596.000

15.3 x 10.6 x 11.7cm

083. Effigy bottle with snake hair

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0450_IV

16.9 x 11.1 x 11.4cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.620; MA-2383/INC-76

084. Effigy bottle with object at chest

Museo Larco, ML004418

23.6 x 15.6 x 18.9cm

Other numbers: MRIH-861 / INC - 96; 33855; XSE-028-008

085. Effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú ,C-04657

24.9 x 13.0 x 12.9cm

Other numbers: 3/3908; RNI-99367

086. Large effigy jar with checkerboard tunic

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 09-3-30/75658

35.8 x 19.8 x N/D cm

087. Effigy jar

Museo Larco, ML032470

23.6 x 15.5 x 15.4cm

088. Effigy jar with concentric circular eye markings

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0248_IV

20.8 x 12.4 x 12.5cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.553; MA-2225/INC-76

089. Effigy jar

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04659

19.6 x 14.0 x 13.8cm

Other numbers: 315

090. Effigy jar

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 30.1007

16.5 x 13.3 x N/A cm

091. Effigy jar with llama-shaped face markings

Museo Larco, ML032483

21.2 x 14.2 x 14.2cm

Other numbers: -06- (?) (written in blue chalk on interior of neck)

092. Effigy jar

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_01386_IV (1987)

15.4 x 11.3 x 11.3cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.618; MA-2305/INC-76

093. Effigy bottle

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.05650-01

22 x 13.6 x 13.6cm

Other numbers: #320

094. Drum effigy, double-spout-and-bridge vessel

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2595.000

15.8 x 14.2 x 11.7cm

095. Drum effigy, double-spout-and-bridge vessel

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_5328

14.2 x 15.6 x 11.5cm

Other numbers: Acc. #1962-9

096. Effigy jar with "X" over bridge of nose

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-59499

18.9 x 12.0 x 12.0cm

Other numbers: 66,655; CCP/2128

097. Effigy jar with "X" over bridge of nose

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0468_IV

16.5 x 12.1 x 12.1cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.631; MA-2323/INC-76

098. Effigy jar with "X" over bridge of nose

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 46-77-30/5009

12.5 x 10.5 x 10.6cm

099. Effigy jar with "X" over bridge of nose

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 968-14-30/8486
19.7 x 13.5 x 13.4cm

100. Effigy jar with "X" over face

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 968-14-30/8487
17.4 x 11.5 x 11.0cm
Other numbers: N 18 [green sticker]

101. Effigy jar wearing cowl

Museo de Arqueología y Antropología de San Marcos, 3001-1645
13.2 x 9.5 x 9.5cm
Other numbers: F/1566; xxx111.3; "u"; 1889; 363.01.2838; 58073 MAA-UNMSM-1645-INC-03

102. Effigy jar wearing cowl

Museo Larco, ML032505
14.8 x 9.7 x 10.0cm

103. Effigy jar wearing cowl

Museo Larco, ML032484
14.4 x 9.4 x 10.0cm

104. Effigy jar wearing cowl

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2568.000
23.6 x 11.2 x 11.2cm

105. Effigy jar (part of pair with cat. no. 106)

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT18599
16.8 x 9.9 x 10.0cm

106. Effigy jar (part of pair with cat. no. 105)

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT16799
17.6 x 9.9 x 9.8cm

107. Effigy jar

Museo Larco, ML032686
11.7 x 8.0 x 7.7cm

108. Small effigy jar with protrusion at back of head

Museo Larco, ML032482
14.2 x 7.9 x 7.9cm

109. Effigy jar

Museo Larco, ML032569
17.4 x 9.4 x 9.4cm

110. Effigy jar wearing owl

Museo Larco, ML032489

12.3 x 8.3 x 8.3cm

111. Effigy jar

Museo Larco, ML032467

18.1 x 11.8 x 11.8cm

112. Head jar

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 86.224.115

13.7 x 12.1 x 11.4cm

Other numbers: SP 603 (inside rim); L50.24-3 (on base)

113. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2686.000

11.3 x 10.5 x 10.9cm

114. Head jar with red face

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2692.000

9.6 x 12.3 x 12.6cm

115. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2767.000

17.4 x 14.1 x 13.9cm

116. Head jar with orange eyes and textile band with birds above

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 41.1275.59

13.3 x 12.1 x 11.7cm

117. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2502.000

10.8 x 9.8 x 9.7cm

118. Head jar with high flaring rim

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 986-26-30/11515

14.9 x 11.2 x 11.5cm

Other numbers: 242; 15

119. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2839.000

18.3 x 15.8 x 15.1cm

120. Small head jar

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 30-63-30/F794

6.7 x 7.2 x 7.0cm

121. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_841

14.1 x 12.2 x 12.6cm

Other numbers: acc. #1914-19

122. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_5384

15.1 x 14.8 x 14.0cm

Other numbers: acc. #1930-34

123. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_5383

15.0 x 12.6 x 12.8cm

Other numbers: acc. #1930-34

124. Head jar

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT16801 (or 10891?)

12.5 x 10.9 x 10.7cm

125. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2738.000

15.8 x 13.4 x 13.6cm

126. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2689.000

13.3 x 12.9 x 12.3cm

127. Head Jar with pointed teeth

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0/706

17.2 x 14.2 x 13.8cm

Other numbers: Acc. #1914-19

128. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_731

15.8 x 13.1 x 12.4cm

Other numbers: acc.# 1914-19

129. Hear Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_828

15.8 x 12.8 x 13.6cm

Other numbers: acc.# 1914-19

130. Head jar with facial hair and flaring rim

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0/742

18.6 x 15.3 x 15.8cm

Other numbers: Acc. #1914-19

131. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2688.000
12.9 x 12.0 x 11.1cm

132. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 11/2525.000
9.1 x 10.0 x 10.0cm

133. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 16/8940.000
14.7 x 12.5 x 12.2cm

134. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_965
14.1 x 12.6 x 12.4cm
Other numbers: acc. #1914-19

135. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_895
16.7 x 13.4 x 13.2cm
Other numbers: acc. #1956-26

136. Flaring rim head jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_7997A
12.6 x 11.8 x 13.0cm
Other numbers: acc.# 1985-2

137. Flared rim head jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_7997B
12.6 x 11.8 x 13.1cm
Other numbers: acc.# 1985-2

138. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_857
7.4 x 10.6 x 10.7cm

139. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_5345
9.6 x 11.7 x 12.1cm
Other numbers: acc. #1930-34

140. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.1_652
10.6 x 12.1 x 13.1cm
Other numbers: acc. #1936-72

141. Head jar

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 09-3-30/75664
10.9 x 13.8 x 14.3cm

142. Head Jar

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_1014
10.1 x 13.2 x 14.2cm
Other numbers: acc. #1914-19

143. Head jar

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2556.000
12.5 x 12.7 x 12.3cm

144. Oversized head jar

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 46.77.30.5401
21.5 x 19.5 x 20.5cm

145. Oversized head jar

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 46-77-30/5400
23.3 x 23.6 x 22.5cm

146. Oversized head jar

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 41.1275.42
20.3 x 21.0 x 22.2cm

147. Oversized head jar

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 09-3-30/75668
18.0 x 16.6 x 17.1cm

148. Standing figure effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-54332
23.1 x 9.9 x 9.9cm
Other numbers: 32/1015; M.N /J.F.4-

149. Human/Bird effigy bottle

National Museum of the American Indian, 21/6914.000
18.4 x 12.2 x 17.2cm

150. Human/Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.01766-01
18.3 x 11.0 x 17.4cm
Other numbers: INC-51.285; MRI-DA-57

151. Human/Bird effigy vessel

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 41.1275.55
20.3 x 12.0 x 15.2cm

152. Bird/Human effigy vessel

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv. 05674-01

17x 10.6 x 19.6cm

153. Single spout bird/human effigy bottle

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_5335

17.6 x 11.1 x 16.5cm

Other numbers: acc. # 1962-9

154. Standing effigy figure

Museo Larco, ML039930

15.7 x 9.2 x 14.8cm

155. Human/Animal effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-54333

17.1 x 17.1 x 17.3cm

Other numbers: 3/6525; RN:75986

156. Standing killer whale effigy bottle

Museo Larco, ML013684

29.4 x 7.3 x 25.4cm

157. Human/Crustacean single spout bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12664

18.4 x 10.2 x 17.1cm

Other numbers: 3/5958

158. Bowl with sculpted bird features

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_01255_IV (1987)

10.4 x 16.0 x 21.1cm

159. Bird effigy with single spout and handle

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.00042-01 13.2 x 13.3 x 22.2cm

Other numbers: MRI-158-1/96

160. Bird effigy

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12610

18.7 x 7.9 x 17.7cm

Other numbers: RN 96280; 3/6655

161. Bird effigy with checkerboard chest

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12615

15.4 x 10.8 x 13.6cm

Other numbers: 3/6000

162. Bird effigy

National Museum of the American Indian, 14/9685.000

18.8 x 11.2 x 15.5cm

163. Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.01768-01

13.8 x 7.4 x 9.8cm

Other numbers: MRI-DA-105

164. Bird effigy vessel

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT235158

16.3 x 10.6 x 17.1cm

165. Bird effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12652

15.8 x 11.2 x 16.7cm

Other numbers: 212; Colec. Granade

166. Bird effigy vessel

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2009.65.4

17.5 x 10.8 x 14.0cm

167. Bird effigy bottle

National Museum of the American Indian, 21/4158.000

17.3 x 11.3 x 18.5cm

168. Bird effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12646

17.7 x 11.0 x 13.8cm

Other numbers: 3/6028

169. Bird effigy

National Museum of the American Indian, 17/8901.000

13.2 x 10.0 x 14.2cm

170. Bird effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12612

13.0 x 8.0 x 13.8cm

Other numbers: 3/6849

171. Bird effigy with chest nodule in checkerboard field

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12639

15.7 x 11.5 x 16.2cm

Other numbers: 3/6030; 8519

172. Bird effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12643

17.8 x 12.7 x 20.1cm

Other numbers: 1/1226

173. Bird effigy single spout bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12609

13.6 x 10.0 x 11.5cm

Other numbers: 3/6033

174. Bird effigy

Museo Larco, ML013673

18.0 x 11.7 x 18.1cm

175. Bird effigy vessel

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT235171

14.6 x 8.8 x 16.3cm

176. Vertical Double-Chambered bird effigy bottle

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_1037

21.0 x 11.8 x 14.7cm

Other numbers: acc. # 1914-19

177. Bird effigy

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-35866

21.5 x 11.2 x 13.6cm

Other numbers: 63162

178. Bird effigy

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-35817

19.0 x 11.8 x 17.2cm

Other numbers: CCP/1672; 60517

179. Bird effigy

Museo Larco, ML032706

12.7 x 9.9 x 15.0cm

180. Double-spout-and-bridge vessel in the form of a bird

Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1989.8.96

17.2 x 11.4 x 18.4cm

181. Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04081-01

16.8 x 12.4 x 16.5cm

Other numbers: INC-53.585; MRI-DA-1057

182. Bird effigy vessel

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 86.224.54

13.3 x 8.9 x 15.9cm

183. Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.05727-01

6.8 x 8.4 x 8.5cm

184. Small bird vessel

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 968-14-30/8491

8.2 x 5.1 x 14.2cm

Other numbers: N 44

185. Small bird effigy

National Museum of the American Indian, 21/6912.000

8.6 x 4.3 x 10.1cm

186. Bird effigy (single spout vessel)

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_01368_IV (1987)

15.6 x 11.6 x 22.8cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.1962; MA-0333 INC-16

187. Bird effigy vessel

National Museum of the American Indian, 17/8887.000

14.4 x 8.4 x 15.7cm

188. Bird effigy

Museo Larco, ML032710

16.2 x 12.0 x 17.5cm

189. Single spout bird effigy bottle

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0578_IV (1987)

15.9 x 9.7 x 14.5cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.1178; MA-3335/INC-76

190. Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.05749-01

16.5 x 12.3 x 18.2cm

191. Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04677-01

12 x 8.0 x 15.5cm

Other numbers: INC/54134; MRI-DA-1060

192. Bird effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.02957-01

14.1 x 12.6 x 13.0cm

Other numbers: INC-52.473 / MRI-DA-1055

193. Bird effigy vessel

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0/7280

14.3 x 10.9 x 12.1cm

Other numbers: 49/Y3 (on attached label)

194. Standing bird effigy

Museo Larco, ML032783

11.7 x 9.0 x 7.2cm

195. Bird effigy

Museo Larco, ML032707

15.4 x 12.3 x 12.3cm

196. Double chambered, double-spout-and-bridge fish effigy

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_1033_IV (87)

7.4 x 18.9 x 13.0cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.1473

197. Fish effigy vessel

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 86.224.5

11.4 x 13.3 x 22.8cm

198. Whale/Fish effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04083-01

8.4 x 11.5 x 19.1cm

Other numbers: INC-53,587; MRI-DA-601 Ica (21)

199. Fish effigy vessel

National Museum of the American Indian, 15/2815.000

13.6 x 15.1 x 23.2cm

200. Single spout bottle with crustacean

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-54254

13.8 x 10.7 x 11.2cm

Other numbers: 35/1198; ae II 1014

201. Double-spout-and-bridge crustacean effigy vessel

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_7982

10.4 (repair) x 15.3 x 15.8cm

Other numbers: acc. # 1985-2

202. Toad effigy bottle

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_004_IV(87)

14.2 x 11.1 x 10.8cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.250; MA-0024/INC-76

203. Toad effigy bottle

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 973-24-30/8891

17.5 x 11.6 x 11.4cm

204. Toad effigy bottle

Museo Larco, ML031687

15.7 x 10.8 x 11.3cm

205. Animal effigy vessel

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-54289

~11.5 x 5.4 x ~18.0cm

Other numbers: 3/6824

206. Fox effigy vessel

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04086-01

16.3 x 9.1 x 26cm

Other numbers: INC-53.590; MRI-DA-583

207. Small effigy jar

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-35947

10.0 x 10.0 x 14.2cm

Other numbers: INC-79; 63168; C.C.P./2,575-A

208. Llama effigy

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04085-01

17.2 x N/A x 16.2cm

Other numbers: MRI-DA-579; INC-53.589

209. Single spout camelid effigy bottle

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 46.77.30.5384

18.3 x 10.2 x 18.4cm

210. Llama effigy vessel

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_1054_IV (1987)

12.3 x 10.0 x 18.1cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.1373; MA 1968/INC-76

211. Single spout camelid effigy bottle

Museo Larco, ML035230

15.4 x 11.6 x 15.8cm

212. Single spout monkey effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04801

16.8 (to top of head) x 10.7 x 10.7cm

Other numbers: 3/6651; RNI-98370

213. Single spout monkey effigy bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-04808

19.3 (to top of head) x 14.4 x 14.5cm

Other numbers: 3/6219

214. Animal effigy vessel (monkey?)

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.00140-01

21.3 x 13.3 x 130.5 cm

Other numbers: 0000092773; INC-49.816; MRI-CE-96 CE-16

215. Globular vessel with Monkey figure in 3D and 2D

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_7014

17.7 x 15.1 x 15.8cm

Other numbers: Acc. #1970-50

216. Globular bowl with knobbed surface

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), IV_2.0_0464

14.4 x 18.4 x 18.8cm

Other numbers: A.60.5.641; MA-2320/INC-76

217. Small pepper effigy (aji)

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.05743-01

4.8 x 5.4 x 13cm

218. Double-spout-and-bridge peppers

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12458

15.1 x 13.6 x 7.1cm

Other numbers: 14

219. Bean vessel

Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, ANT235152

13.85 x 6.75 x 5.73cm

220. Bean effigy bottle

Museo de Arte de Lima (MALI), 2.0_0235_IV

14.0 x 9.6 x 10.1cm

221. Double-spout-and-bridge plant effigy

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-12470

10.7 x 16.7 x 10.4cm

222. Plant effigy (achira)

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.01742-01

13.4 x 10.2 x 9.7cm

Other numbers: 0000094357; INC 51.262; MRI-DA-577

223. Small human effigy cup

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04714-01

7.6 x 4.9 x 3.6cm

Other numbers: INC 54.171; MRI-DA-617

224. Female effigy

American Museum of Natural History, 41.0_1054

21.9 x 16.8 x 19.6cm

Other numbers: Acc. # 1914-19

225. Trumpet

National Museum of the American Indian, 15914.000

31.1 x 8.8 x 8.7cm

226. Whistle: Human Figure with Stitched Cap

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 41.52.30.3077

6.5 x 2.2 x 2.1cm

227. Human whistle

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.04688-01 6.0 x 1.7 x 1.9cm

Other numbers: INC 54.145; MRI-DA-02

228. Human whistle

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.01765-01

6.0 x 1.8 x 1.8cm

Other numbers: INC-51.284; MRI-DA-03

229. Whistle "Supernatural being"

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 41-52-30/3078

7.4 x 3.6 x 3.1cm

230. Bird whistle

Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology - Harvard University, 46-77-30/6766

9.2 x 2.4 x 3.6cm

231. Bird Whistle

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 41.435

2.4 x 1.9 x 5.1cm

232. Bird whistle

Museo Regional de Ica, Inv.06044-01

3.2 x 2.7 x 5.6cm

233. Bird head whistle (silbato)

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_8064

2.4 x 1.5 x 5.8cm

Other numbers: acc. # 1983-39

234. Bird effigy whistle (silbato)

American Museum of Natural History, 41.1_8183

3.5 x 2.6 x 6.6cm

Other numbers: acc. # 1944-50

235. Whistle

Brooklyn Museum of Art, 41.436

3.8 x 7.3 x 9.5cm

Other numbers: '39-706' AND '636'

236. Fisherman vessel (single spout and head)

Museo Larco, ML031876

18.3 x 16.9 x 16.5cm

Other numbers: 34,339; MoLH - 308/INC-97; XSC-034-002

237. Fisherman effigy globular vessel

Museo Larco, ML032476

17.4 x 14.5 x 14.5cm

238. Fisherman single spout globular vessel

Museo Larco, ML032475

14.7 x 12.5 x 12.5cm

239. Fisherman effigy vessel

Museo Larco, ML040360

18.5 x 17.3 x 17.0cm

240. Whistling Fisherman bottle

Museo Nacional de Arqueología Antropología e Historia del Perú, C-54266

19.1 x 14.6 x 14.9cm

Other numbers: 21/82; Col Rovas 82

241. Human effigy vessel

Museo Larco, ML035257

15.3 x 14.5 x 18.3cm

242. Human effigy vessel

Museo Larco, ML031888

18.9 x 15.9 x 13.6cm

243. Human effigy bottle

American Museum of Natural History, 41.2_7246

15.3 x 12.8 x 14.6cm

Other numbers: Accession # 1971-70