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# THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE PREHISPANIC SNUFF TRAYS FROM SAN PEDRO DE ATACAMA, NORTHERN CHILE

Constantino Manuel Torres

## Introduction

In the most diverse areas of the South American continent a considerable number of small rectangular trays have been found. These objects, usually made out of wood or stone, are characterized by a rectangular shallow cavity that often has appendages or extensions carved with human or animal motifs. Their size is relatively small, ranging from ten to thirty centimeters in length.

The prehispanic trays are usually found in association with tubes and spatulas, carved with motifs similar in style and iconography to those depicted on the trays. It is known, through archaeological evidence and observation of the use of similar trays and tubes by contemporary native groups of the Amazon Basin (Boman 1908, vol. II, 653; Frikel 1961: 3-4; Uhle 1912: 533), that these objects were used in the snuffing of psychoactive powders.

The use of a tray as part of the snuffing paraphernalia is widely distributed throughout South America. Snuff trays are present as far north as the Sierra de Perijá in Colombia (Reichel-Dolmatoff, personal communication), and as far south as Calingasta, San Juan, Argentina (Ambrosetti 1902: figures 17a, 17b), and Coquimbo, IV Región, Chile (Castillo 1984: 269). The temporal distribution of these objects is also of great amplitude. The oldest trays known from all of South America are those excavated by Junius Bird (1948: 27) and Frederic Engel (1963: 12) on the north and central coast of Peru, dated c. 1200 B.C.. Twentieth century use of snuff trays has been documented among several groups of the Amazon Basin (e.g., Frikel 1961; Polykrates 1960). However, it is in the area of San Pedro de Atacama, northern Chile, where the highest concentration of snuff trays has been found.

The objectives of this work are, (1) to place the snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama within their proper cultural context; (2) to determine the basic iconographic themes represented on the trays; and 3) to place the imagery depicted on the trays in the wider framework of hallucinogenic use in South America. The present study provides a more detailed consideration of Tiahuanaco iconography, and of the cultural context of snuff usage in South America, than two articles I previously published (see Torres 1984, 1985).

## History of Investigations

The use of psychoactive substances by the indigenous population of the Americas was observed by the Europeans from the very beginnings of colonization. The first description of snuffing practices was written by Christopher Columbus from observations made during his second voyage (1493-1496). At the time of his brief period of residence in the island of Hispaniola, Columbus observed that the natives engaged in a religious ceremony in which the snuffing of a psychoactive powder was an integral part:

"I was able to discover neither idolatry nor any other sect among them, although their kings, who are many, not only in Hispaniola but also in all the other islands and on the main land, each have a house apart from the village, in which there is nothing except some wooden images carved in relief which are called *cemís*. . . In this house they have a finely wrought board, round like a wooden dish in which is some powder and is placed by them on the heads of these *cemís* in performing a certain ceremony; then with a cane that has two branches which they place in their nostrils they snuff up this dust. The words that they say none of our people understand. With this powder they become like drunken men" (Pané 1974: 88).

Columbus commissioned a friar, Ramón Pané, to collect information on all the ceremonies and antiquities of the islanders (Pané 1974: 3). Friar Pané, a member of the order of St. Jerome, arrived on the island of Hispaniola on January 2, 1494, and stayed until the end of 1498 (ibid.: 8-9). He recorded creation myths of the native Taíno, their beliefs about the supernatural, and the names and attributes of their deities. He is the first author that refers to the snuff powder by a specific native name, *cohoba*. He also describes the act of snuffing, its association with healing practices, and the ability it offers the participants of communicating with their gods:

"The *cohoba* is a certain powder which they take sometimes to purge themselves, and for other effects you will hear of later. They take it with a cane about a foot long and put one end in the nose and the other in the powder, and in this manner they draw it into themselves through the nose.

"When one is ill they bring the *behique* to him like a physician. The physician is obliged to observe a diet like the sick man himself and to play the part of a sick man. This is done in the way which you will now hear. He must purge himself like the sick man and to purge himself he takes a certain powder called *cohoba* snuffing it up his nose which intoxicated them so that they do not know what they do and in this condition they speak many things incoherently, in which they say they are talking with the *cemís* and that by them they are informed how the sickness came upon him" (Pané 1974: 30, 35).

Friar Bartolomé de las Casas also makes reference to the inhalation of a psychoactive powder by the Taíno of the Greater Antilles. Las Casas, who resided in the Antilles from 1502-1514, provides a brief description of the nature of the powder, as well as a detailed discussion of the use of a tray and a tube:

"They had some powders made of certain herbs very dry and well ground, the color of cinnamon. . . ; these they placed on a wooden dish, not flat but somewhat deep and with a slight curvature, very beautiful, so smooth and pretty that it would not be any more beautiful if it were made of gold or silver; it was almost black and polished like Jet. They had an instrument made of the same wood and material, and of the same polish and beauty; said instrument was the size of a small flute, after two thirds of its length it divides into two hollow tubes. . . These two tubes are

placed on the two nostrils, and the beginning of the flute, so to say, on the powders that were on the dish, they would inhale to the inside with their breath. . . These powders and these ceremonies or acts were known as *cohoba*. The middle syllable elongated in their language; then they speak like Arabs, or like Germans, I do not know what" (Las Casas 1909: 445).

In the accounts of Columbus, Pané, and Las Casas, the use of a receptacle for the powder and a tube for its inhalation were accurately described. According to these early chronicles, the snuff served as an intermediary in establishing contacts with the supernatural, and in healing practices. The three writers agree on the intensity of the intoxication, and how under the influence of the snuff the shaman spoke words unintelligible to the Spaniards.

The earliest documentation of the use of a snuff tray in South America is, probably, that made by the Brazilian naturalist Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira in February of 1786 (included in Wassén 1970: 47-48). In this document, entitled *Memória sobre os instrumentos de que usa o Gentio p. tomar o tabaco-Paricá*, Rodrigues Ferreira offers a description of the implements of this type used in the 18th century by the Maué of the Madeira river, northern Brazil. Another of his works includes the drawing of a snuff tray (present location unknown) ornamented with a human figure flanked by two snake representations (Wassén 1970: figure 1).

Studies of the use of snuff by native groups of the Amazon Basin are numerous but, among these, the work of Johann B. von Spix and Carl F. von Martius (1823-1831; see also Zerries 1964) is of direct importance to this investigation. These two German explorers, who traveled in Brazil from 1817 to 1820, observed the use of a psychoactive powder among the Mura and the Maué (Spix and von Martius 1823-1831: 1075). They included in their work an illustration of a snuff tray collected along the Madeira river (*ibid.*: plate 36, 6; Zerries 1964: 356, plate 1). The Spix and von Martius publication was available to many scholars; because it described snuffing practices and illustrated one of the trays, it facilitated the identification of similar objects found in archaeological contexts (e.g., Boman 1908, vol. 2: 653).

Probably, the first description of a prehispanic snuff tray is that of the Colombian scholar Liborio Zerda (1972), first published in 1883. In this work Zerda deals with Muisca artifacts and illustrates one gold snuff tray (present whereabouts unknown). He did not attribute any specific function to this receptacle and refers to it as a "rectangular object" (Zerda 1972: 74, figure 22).

Subsequent to the work of Zerda, the Argentine archaeologists Juan Bautista Ambrosetti (1899, 1902) and Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (1902) discuss the probable function of the prehispanic trays. However, these two scholars did not consider the possibility of their use as part of the snuffing equipment. It was with the works of Eric Boman (1908) and Max Uhle (1912, 1915) that the function of the trays as snuff powder receptacles was definitively established.

More recently, several scholars have proposed typologies and have studied the geographical distribution of the snuff trays. Pedro Krapovickas (1958-1959), in an archaeological survey of the Argentine Puna, discusses in detail the

iconography of the trays, based on an examination of 190 objects. The Argentine scholar Alberto Mario Salas (1945) considers the overall geographical distribution of the trays and the tubes. Lautaro Núñez, a specialist in the cultures of the north Chilean desert, has written a study on the subject of snuffing paraphernalia (Núñez 1963).

The most important and extensive work on snuffing practices in South America has been conducted by S. Henry Wassén (1965, 1967, 1972; Wassén and Holmstedt 1963). Wassén's first significant work on hallucinogenic drugs (Wassén and Holmstedt 1963) surveys the use of *parica*, a generic name for various types of snuff powders, in different areas of the South American continent. In 1965 this Swedish scholar published an article in which the importance of bird and feline iconography in connection with the snuffing paraphernalia is given a thorough analysis. In Wassén's (1967) next work, linguistic and botanical evidence is presented to support the possibility of an Amazonian origin for the practice of snuffing. Wassén's investigations concerning the inhalation of hallucinogenic powders have clarified many important points and have made what was a chaotic field of studies somewhat more manageable.

### Sources of South American Snuff Powders

The snuffing of psychoactive powders apparently originated in the Americas. This practice was introduced into Europe from the Americas together with the use of tobacco (Schultes 1967: 291-292), which was probably the most widely used source of snuffing material in pre-Columbian South America. Tobacco was also chewed and smoked, but snuffing was the most widespread method of use, particularly in the tropical forest area. *Nicotiana tabacum* was the species employed in South America; while *Nicotiana rustica* is native to North America and most likely was the species used by the ancient Mexicans (ibid.: 292).

The snuff powder from the Greater Antilles called *cohoba* by Pané (1974) and Las Casas (1909), as well as those known in South America as *yopo*, *vilca*, and *cebil*, are obtained from trees of the leguminous genus *Anadenanthera*. The snuff from *Anadenanthera* species is obtained from the seeds, which grow in foot-long pods each of which contains from eight to sixteen seeds 10-20 mm. in diameter (Reis Altschul 1964: 30).

Several species of this genus are used as sources of the snuff powder depending on regional availability. The powder used in the Antilles and in the area of the Orinoco Basin of Colombia and Venezuela, referred to by the names of *cohoba* and *yono* respectively, is obtained from *Anadenanthera peregrina* (Reis Altschul 1964: 8, 32). The psychoactive powder known in Peru as *vilca* or *huilca* and in northwestern Argentina as *cebil* is obtained from *Anadenanthera colubrina*, var. *cebil* (ibid.: 6).

In the northwest Amazon area of Colombia and Brazil a different snuff preparation is used. It is variously known as *epena*, *yá-kee*, and *yá-to*. This snuff is made from the exudate of various *Virola* species, a tree not identified as its source until 1954 (Schultes 1954). This type of snuff escaped notice until the fieldwork of the German ethnologist Theodor Koch-Grünberg in the early twentieth century. Koch-Grünberg did not identify the plant, but he observed

the preparation of the snuff during his stay among the Yekwana of the upper Orinoco in 1911-1913 (Schultes 1979: 212). The most widely used *Viola* species are *Viola theiodora*, *V. calophylla*, and *V. calophylloidea*. Several plants are used as admixtures to *Viola* snuff, including *Theobroma subincanum* and *Justicia pectoralis*, var. *stenophylla* (Schultes 1967: 300).

The basic hallucinogenic alkaloids found in *Anadenanthera* and *Viola* species are several tryptamine derivatives and Betacarbolines (Schultes and Hofmann 1980: 147). The snuff powders prepared from these plants rapidly produce powerful alterations in mood and perception. The effects are of relatively short duration (20 to 30 minutes), requiring repeated inhalations of snuff during ceremonial or ritual use (see also Furst 1976: 152; Wassén 1965: 36-38).

In summary, tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) is the source of snuff with the widest geographical distribution. The snuff known as *cohoba* in the Antilles and as *yopo* or *niopo* in northeastern South America is obtained from the seeds of *Anadenanthera peregrina*. The *vilca*, or *huilca*, of southern Peru and Bolivia, and the *cebil* of northwestern Argentina is obtained from *Anadenanthera colubrina*, var. *cebil*. The snuff known as *epená*, *yá-kee*, or *yá-to*, is obtained from the resin of several *Viola* species. The plants most widely used in the prehispanic period, as far as can be determined by the accounts in the early documents, are *Nicotiana tabacum* and *Anadenanthera* species. *Viola*, as previously mentioned, was not observed in use until 1911 by Koch-Grünberg. *Anadenanthera colubrina*, var. *cebil*, is the only one of these plants presently growing in the San Pedro de Atacama area (voucher specimen identified by Richard Evans Schultes, Harvard Botanical Museum).

### The Cultural Context of San Pedro de Atacama Snuff Trays

The archaeological zone of San Pedro de Atacama is located on the northern edge of the Salar de Atacama, II Región, Chile, at an altitude of 2450 meters above sea level. San Pedro de Atacama, one of the largest oases in the Atacama Desert, is composed of small settlements clustered around the San Pedro river. The excavated prehispanic cemeteries and habitation sites are referred to by the names of the settlements in which they are located. The most important among these are Coyo Oriente, Quitor 5, Quitor 6, Solor, Sequitor, and Catarpe (see Maps 1 and 2).<sup>\*1</sup>

One notable feature of the San Pedro culture, as previously mentioned, is the high incidence of snuffing implements. Approximately 560 snuff trays are recorded in the literature (Latham 1938: 131; Le Paige 1964: 61; Le Paige 1965: 23; Núñez 1963: 149); precautions have been taken to insure that there are no overlaps in the count. Of these trays, about 465 are currently in the collection of the Museo Arqueológico R. P. Le Paige, Universidad del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama; twelve additional trays are found in museums in Santiago and the United States. All of the trays from this area have been found in funerary contexts, although it should be noted that very few habitation sites have been

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<sup>\*1</sup>Maps begin on page 215, after the references. The Maps are followed by the Figures and finally by the Plates.

excavated. In other areas of South America, notably in Colombia and Peru, snuff trays have been found in non-funerary contexts (see Engel 1963: 116-117; Pérez de Barradas 1958, vol. I: 146-147). Snuff trays and tubes are present in 39 sites in this region. Those with the largest number of snuff trays are: Quito 6 with 127, Coyo Oriente with 73, and Quito 5 with 67.

The components of the snuffing equipment vary, although it is generally limited to trays, tubes, spatulas, small mortars and pestles, and snuff powder containers. All of these objects could be present in any particular set, although frequently only snuff trays and tubes are found: there are also numerous tubes without a corresponding tray. The most common association is that of trays and tubes: in the cemeteries of Coyo Oriente, Quito 2, and Quito 5, it occurs in over 80% of the graves with trays.

Snuff trays are not used in every area where the inhalation of hallucinogenic powders is practiced. For example, the snuff can be inhaled directly from its container through a tube (e.g., Schultes 1967: figure 3). Several types of tubes are known. Those most frequently found in archaeological contexts are single hollow cylinders, made out of wood or bird bone. In addition, double parallel bird bone tubes, as well as V- and Y-shaped ones have been documented (see Las Casas 1909: 445; Pané 1974: 88-89; Wassén 1965: 190-191). Self-administration of the snuff powder is not the only method used: among several Amazonian groups one individual blows the powder into the nostrils of another through a long tube (Wassén 1965: 90).

The cultural development of the San Pedro area has been divided into three phases--San Pedro I, II, and III--based on a seriation of ceramic types (Llagostera and Costa 1984: 13-15). The ceramic sequence detailed below was initially proposed by Mario Orellana (1963), and was subsequently ratified at an archaeological meeting in San Pedro de Atacama in the same year. Recently, a new, more detailed chronology has been proposed (Berenguer et al. 1986). I have decided to retain the older sequence of only three chronological divisions because of several factors. Most of the excavations at San Pedro de Atacama were conducted by Gustave Le Paige, who was the local Jesuit priest for many years, until his death in 1980 (see below). His methods and field notes are of an unscientific character. For example, no attention is paid to stratigraphy, individual burials were frequently not fully excavated, and a large proportion of the ceramics extant in the museum is not properly identified as to provenience, specific burials, or associations. Furthermore, the available ceramics may not represent an accurate picture of the actual prehistoric distribution. Le Paige evidently preferred to excavate those burial sites which offered a high incidence of San Pedro Negra Pulida pottery. Consequently, this type comprises a large portion of the collection, a fact which precludes any valid statistical tables. The seriation proposed by Berenguer (Berenguer et al. 1986) provides a good tentative theoretical framework for the development of San Pedro de Atacama ceramics but, because of the factors mentioned above, it would be difficult to apply this scheme to the snuff trays in my sample; it would therefore be premature to base conclusive arguments on this new ceramic chronology.

The earliest stage of the ceramic period is labeled San Pedro I (ca. 500 B.C. to 300 A.D.). San Pedro I is defined by the presence of a ceramic type known as San Pedro Roja Pulida. This pottery is characterized by globular vessels with

a flat base and short neck (Llagostera and Costa 1984: 30, figure 22). Only seven snuff trays are associated with this ceramic type (tomb 1947, Quito 5; tombs 3156, 3187, 3223-24, 3229-30, 3231, Quito 8; tomb 4229-30, Toconao Oriental).

San Pedro II (ca. 300-900 A.D.) is typified by the gradual disappearance of the Roja Pulida ceramic type and the increased incidence of San Pedro Negra Pulida. The most common shapes are bottles with anthropomorphic representations on the neck, and cylindrical and ovoid vases (Llagostera and Costa 1984: 26, figure 20). This phase is associated with Tiahuanaco influences seen in the snuff trays, ceramics, textiles, wooden and gold *keros*, and engraved bones (Núñez 1965: 61-65). In the early stages of Phase II a ceramic type known as San Pedro Negra Casi Pulida begins to appear. This is a coarse grayish-black pottery characterized by thick-walled cups and bowls (Llagostera and Costa 1984: 29, figures 21, 23). Snuffing paraphernalia is most frequently associated with these two ceramic types.

San Pedro III (ca. 900-1536 A.D.) is basically defined by a ceramic termed San Pedro Roja-violácea, an unpolished ceramic with a thick coat of red violet paint (Llagostera and Costa 1984: 35, figure 37). The most popular shapes of this period were simple plates and vessels with double body; Tiahuanaco influences are virtually absent. The use of snuff trays seems to diminish considerably during this phase, since only three have been found in association with Roja-violácea ceramics (tomb 2259, Quito 5; tomb 3236, Quito 9; tomb 3942, Coyo Oriente).

Besides ceramics and other components of the snuffing equipment, the snuff trays are most frequently found with bows and arrows. This type of association occurs in over 56% of the burials where snuff trays are present. The occurrence of smoking pipes with the snuff trays is extremely rare, and only four pipes are known to have been associated with trays in this area. However, this association is noted because in tomb 1947, Quito 5, a pipe was found with the snuffing kit (see photo of the *in situ* tray and pipe in the files of the museum in San Pedro de Atacama).

Most of the excavations in San Pedro de Atacama have been conducted, as mentioned above, by Gustave Le Paige, a Belgian Jesuit priest who resided in this area from 1955 until his death in 1980. Le Paige, an amateur archaeologist, excavated close to 5000 tombs in the environs of San Pedro. He kept "field notes" of his diggings, but these are, basically, grave goods inventories. Le Paige numbered each burial consecutively by the order of his excavations, regardless of specific site. Each grave received numbers corresponding to the total amount of corpses it contained (e.g., tomb 3229-3230 from the cemetery of Quito 8 had two bodies). All of the objects discovered by Le Paige are in the Museo Arqueológico R. P. Le Paige, Universidad del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama. It should be noted that many objects in the Museum are not specifically identified as to provenience or individual burial.



## The Iconography

The iconography of the snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama comprises a large variety of themes and motifs. For the purposes of this study, a theme is a conglomerate of motifs, or design units, which expresses an underlying action or concept. Most of the themes represented on San Pedro de Atacama snuff trays consist of principal figures with no subsidiary attendants. Two general categories of representational conventions can be discerned in these objects: those bearing Tiahuanaco traits, and those carved with local motifs or regional variations on a pan-Andean theme. The basic iconographic themes which comprise these two categories could be classified into sixteen conglomerates of motifs with their respective variables. For the purposes of this study the Tiahuanaco themes are presented first. This order of presentation does not imply a chronological succession.

### *Tiahuanaco iconography*

1. Frontal staff-bearing figure (Figures 1, 2; Plate 1).
2. Frontal figure with cephalic projections (Figures 3, 4).
3. Profile staff-bearing figure (Figures 5-7; Plate 2).
4. Avian figure (Figures 8, 9; Plate 3).
5. Figure with zoomorphic attributes (Figures 10-12).
6. Reclined figure (Plate 4).
7. Figure with arms over chest (Figure 13).
8. The Decapitator or Sacrificer (Plates 5-7).

### *Local iconography, regional variations on pan-Andean themes*

9. Felines
  - a. Zoomorphs (Plate 8).
  - b. Human with feline characteristics (Plate 9).
  - c. Double or alter-ego (Plate 10).
10. Birds
  - a. Condors (Plate 11).
  - b. Other birds (Plate 12).
11. Camelids (e.g., tomb 2047-76, Quitor 5).
12. Snakes (e.g., tomb 2639-40, Quitor 6).
13. Fish? (Plate 13).
14. Anthropomorphs
  - a. Figure with elongated ears (e.g., tomb 2741, Quitor 6).
  - b. Female figure (Plate 14).
  - c. Prone or supine human (e.g., tomb 2477-81, Quitor 6).
  - d. Human heads in relief (e.g., tomb 2811-14, Quitor 6).
  - e. "Half-fist" (Plate 15).
15. Non-objective or geometric motifs (Plate 16).
16. Undecorated panels (Figures 17-25).

## Tiahuanaco Iconography

Those snuff trays that exhibit Tiahuanaco traits are more complex. Tiahuanaco style trays are only those with themes and motifs which have a direct equivalent in other expressions of the Lake Titicaca Basin formal tradition. With this criterion, forty-six trays from San Pedro de Atacama could be considered

to be Tiahuanaco in style. On these objects seven themes or clusters of motifs are expressed (themes nos. 1-8 above).

The frontal staff-bearing figure (theme no. 1: Figures 1, 2, Plate 1) appears in five trays. It consists of a frontal human figure with outstretched arms, holding staffs. This theme is directly related to another theme (no. 2: Figures 3, 4), a frontal figure with cephalic projections represented in four trays. Two variations on this theme can be identified. In some instances the frontal rayed figure bears staffs (Figure 3), in others it does not (Figure 4).

This type of rayed representation is seen, for example, in the central figure of the Sun Gate at Tiahuanaco, Bolivia (Posnansky 1945, vol. I: plate XLVII). However, these themes (nos. 1, 2) are present since Pucará and Early Tiahuanaco times. Frontal staff-bearing figures, with and without cephalic projections, are seen in Pucará ceramics (Rowe 1971: figure 24). Although it should be noted that when this frontal personage is depicted in the Pucará style, it is holding a llama with one hand and a staff with the other. This theme is also seen in the Early Tiahuanaco style lintel formerly in the Calle Linares, La Paz, Bolivia (ibid.: figure 23; see also Posnansky 1945, vol. II: figure 140a). An Early Tiahuanaco style vessel with a rayed head in relief (Rowe 1971: figure 27) is similar to an additional snuff tray from San Pedro de Atacama (Le Paige 1965: lámina 59). This tray is carved with a human head in relief and an incised band of cephalic appendages. Frontal personages in the snuff trays are always represented without profile attendant figures. A similar situation occurs in Pucará, where figures in the frontal staff-bearing pose are represented without subsidiary attendants (Rowe 1971: 120).

A profile, genuflect, staff-bearing figure is represented on eleven trays (theme no. 3: Figures 5-7, Plate 2). This is the Tiahuanaco theme most frequently depicted on the snuff trays. The profile staff-bearing pose appears to be applied to a variety of beings. Three distinct personages can be identified, but they all share the genuflect stance, the upward-looking crowned head, the presence of an object protruding from the mouth, and a staff held in the right hand. The three types of beings represented differ in the head configuration and in the nature of the held objects.

A profile staff-bearing figure, holding an axe and a trophy head is represented on five of the eleven snuff trays exhibiting this theme (Figure 5, Plate 2). This "Sacrificer" personage is further distinguished by the snout-like appendage replacing the nose, and by the rectangular band enclosing a broken line situated below the chin. All five beings have a prominent fanged mouth. This type of profile figure could be the oldest Tiahuanaco iconographic cluster in the area, since on two occasions it is associated with "Rocha Pulida" ceramics. These figures are rare in later Tiahuanaco style artifacts; however, similar figures are prominently displayed on the earlier Calle Linares lintel previously mentioned (see also Cook 1983: 169-170).

A second type of profile staff-bearing figure is exemplified by the representation on snuff tray 4008, Coyo Oriente (Figure 6). This individual does not have a fanged mouth or carry an axe or trophy head, although it should be noted that the crown consists of a headless human body. This situation is reminiscent of the beheaded human bodies on a Pucará bowl with similar

representations (Rowe 1971: figure 25). The third type has a fanged mouth and a nose composed of two concentric circles (Figure 7). Apparently this was a winged figure, but the right side of the carved area is highly deteriorated, making identification difficult.

This theme seems to be of greater antiquity than its Tiahuanaco representations, since it appears on Pucará pottery (e.g. Posnansky 1957: plate LVI-b; Rowe 1971: figure 25). A snuff tray from Niño Korin, Bolivia (Wassén 1972: figure 5), is carved with a similar representation. However, the Niño Korin personage is not genuflect and faces to its left, not to its right like the ones from San Pedro just discussed. In the snuff trays the profile staff-bearing figures are always represented in isolation.

The fourth Tiahuanaco theme consists of the representation of a bird of prey (Figures 8, 9, Plate 3), which can be identified as a condor by the crest, hooked beak, and distinctive collar. Four Tiahuanaco style snuff trays are carved with condor representations (see also Serracino 1980: figure 4). One of these (Figure 8) shows similarities to the profile genuflect figures previously discussed. On this tray a profile, upward-looking bird figure with an object protruding from its mouth is carved in low relief over a stepped platform. Two other trays have low relief profile condor representations, but these do not have the head turned upwards or an object emanating from the mouth. A fourth tray (Plate 3) is notable because of its realistic representation of a condor. The figure is carved in the round over a U-shaped panel with linear incisions.

Three trays are carved with the representation of a zoomorphic figure (theme no. 5; Figures 10-12). They all share the depiction of a two-legged profile personage with a bundle on its back and a noose around the neck. The three figures stand over a stepped platform flanked either by bird or feline heads. The being represented is, apparently, a human wearing a costume with animal characteristics. This is suggested by the textile-like nature of the designs covering the body and the band that flows down its back. This band is similar to a Pucará textile sash illustrated by William Conklin (1983: 8, plate I) in a study of Pucará and Tiahuanaco tapestry. The zoomorphic traits present seem to be those of a camelid as indicated by the hoof-like feet, the slightly undulating mouth, the prominent ears, and the bulging forehead. The three personages carry a load on the back. These bundles (see Figures 10-12) are basically composed of a crowned human face. The carried object on one of these trays (Figure 11) consists of a human face surrounded by a band and flanked by two bird heads. From the top of this face merges an undulating element of vegetable quality. A similar motif has been tentatively identified by Alana Cordy-Collins (1979: 51, figures 21, 22) as Peruvian cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*) in a study of a Chavín textile. This probable plant motif is also seen on another tray bearing the zoomorphic figure theme (Figure 12). On this tray, an additional plant representation is seen on the lower right corner of the carved area. A similar motif had previously been identified as corn by Yacovleff and Herrera (1934-1935: 258, figure 4). Plants are rarely represented on the trays, and so far no psychoactive plant motifs have been identified on the snuff trays.

The combination of motifs seen on the carried bundles on two of these trays (Figures 11, 12) acquire importance on the Robles Moqo ceramic vessels found

at the site of Pacheco, in the vicinity of Nazca, Peru (Menzel 1964: 3, 4); these vessels belong to the earliest Huari intrusion (ca. 600-800 A.D. into the Nazca tradition (ibid.: 3). These ceramic containers exhibit a fusion of the rigid and geometric Tiahuanaco style with another more organic and descriptive style, a fusion which is also seen on the trays. It is necessary to note the two wide and crude incisions that were executed over the fine and controlled line of the original design of the tray illustrated in Figure 12. Careful observation confirms that the two grooves were made after the carving of the zoomorphic figure, and that its trajectory is deliberate. The lower vertical incision begins to the left of the cavity area, extends to the figure's neck pendant, and continues with a slight curve effectively beheading the camelid impersonator. Similar incisions are seen on several trays from San Pedro de Atacama obliterating part of the original design (e.g., Plate 16b).

A reclined figure with raised knees and torso (theme no. 6) is represented on four trays (Plate 4). These trays exhibit a rare theme in Tiahuanaco iconography and seem to be present only in this area (see also Llagostera and Costa 1984: 79, figure 95). However, the component motifs are frequent on Tiahuanaco representations.

The seventh Tiahuanaco theme consists of a frontal figure with arms over the chest. It is represented on three snuff trays from this area (Figure 13). On these trays is depicted a human wearing a headdress with tassels descending on both sides of the face. The head is central to the composition and its size is disproportionate to the body parts represented.

There are also five snuff trays that represent unique instances of Tiahuanaco themes. Notable among these is a tray with a condor devouring a human head (Figure 14). A tray with two rampant felines (Figure 15), and one with a rattlesnake representation should also be noted (Figure 16).

The Sacrificer (theme no. 8) is frequently represented on the trays, and its depiction is not restricted to those with Tiahuanaco elements. It consists, basically, of a human being with zoomorphic characteristics who holds an axe and a trophy head (Plates 5-7). The Decapitator is represented on eleven trays from the San Pedro area, where it also occurs on tubes and spatulas. This category also includes five of the profile genuflect figures previously discussed (theme no. 3: Figure 5).

One snuff tray bearing a Sacrificer depiction should be discussed in detail (Plate 5). This tray came from a burial of three individuals which included pottery types San Pedro Negra Pulida and Negra Casi Pulida. Two snuff trays were found in this grave, although it is not clear to whom each belonged. One tray is a simple rectangular receptacle with no decoration. The tray of interest to this discussion has an anthropomorphic figure standing, with the left leg forward, on a U-shaped panel. Within this panel is incised a stepped platform flanked by upward-looking crowned felines. The only animal characteristic indicated in the figure is a prominent tail-like appendage which curls above his head. The personage holds a head with the left hand and an axe with the right. The eyes are inlaid with malachite, which could be part of a mask as suggested by the raised outline around the mouth. In a paper (Chávez and Torres 1986: 1-3) on Pucará style elements in San Pedro de Atacama, Sergio Chávez points out

definite similarities between this snuff tray and two lithic sculptures from the Pucará area. Sacrificer figures are also present in early Tiahuanaco times as indicated by a group of eight statues carved in the round, the so-called "Chachapuma" figures described by Ponce Sanginés (Sanginés et al. 1971: 81-88; see also Posnansky 1945, vol. II: figures 123-125). A bone spatula with a "Chachapuma" representation on its handle was found at the site of Tiahuanaco in direct association with a stone snuff tray (Posnansky 1957: 120-121, plate LXXI). But, otherwise, Sacrificer representations are rarer in Tiahuanaco than in the Pucará area (Chávez and Torres 1986: 3-4). Another highly elaborate Sacrificer is carved on a tray from the site of Quitor 5 (Plate 6).

Apart from the direct representation in the trays and the tubes, the relationship of the snuffing equipment with human decapitation is also present in an archaeological context. In tomb 2512-17, Quitor 6, Le Paige (1964: 66-68) found four beheaded bodies with the heads placed at their feet in one single bundle. One tray with four anthropomorphic figures (Plate 17) was directly associated with the four bodies. These factors suggest a relation between the decapitation of human beings and certain aspects of the inhalation of psychoactive substances. In the San Pedro area, figures holding trophy heads are also seen in the petroglyphs of the Chuschul or Salado river, a tributary of the San Pedro river. This theme is frequently represented in the snuffing equipment and in the rock art of the Upper Loa river valley (Mostny and Niemeyer 1983: figures 29, 122; Oyarzún 1931: figure 10).

The presence of the Decapitator in trays with or without Tiahuanaco motifs, in San Pedro or in the Loa river valley, attests to its importance and temporal amplitude. It should be added that this is a pan-Andean theme that finds expression in all kinds of artifacts and styles. The Decapitator is frequently represented, for example, in Pucará stone sculpture and ceramics (e.g., Chávez 1975: plate X, figure 14; Rowe 1971: figure 25), the monumental sculpture of San Agustín, Colombia (Preuss 1974: plate 29-2), and in Huari metallurgy (Lapiner 1976: plates 580, 581).

Before concluding this discussion of the beheading theme, attention should be called to a series of anthrozoomorphic images represented on three trays (Plate 7) and several snuffing tubes (Llagostera and Costa 1984: figure 115). These representations consist of a figure with a prominent fanged snout and pointed ears holding an axe and a trophy head. However, these trays and tubes do not carry Tiahuanaco motifs. The figures on these trays have been identified as bat-like humans (Le Paige 1964) and even vampires (Lehmann-Nitsche 1902). It could also be argued that feline characteristics are depicted on these trays. If these beings are compared with other feline representations from San Pedro de Atacama (e.g., Plate 8), several differences become apparent. The snouts of the felines are not so prominent, nor the ears so large and pointed as they are in the trays and tubes with this kind of decapitating personage. When these images are compared to those of camelids, it can be seen that the snout, the nose, and the slightly curved and pointed ears are closer to those of a llama than to felines or bats. Representations such as these are frequently seen on snuff trays and tubes from Northwest Argentina (see Lehmann-Nitsche 1902: lámina 2, figures 25, 26).

### Local Iconography and Variations on Pan-Andean Themes

In addition to the camelid sacrificers just discussed (see Plate 7), numerous other snuff trays do not display Tiahuanaco traits. Most of these trays are ornamented with regional variations of widely distributed themes, such as the alter-ego representations (Plate 10), and the Heraldic Woman (Plate 14). Frequently, motifs of a more local or regional nature, such as the human figures with cylindrical headdress are depicted on the trays (themes nos. 9-16).

#### *Felines*

Feline iconography on the snuff trays can be divided into three categories, a) zoomorphs, b) feline transformation, and c) double or alter-ego. Zoomorphic representations can be subdivided into two types. The first one includes figures in high relief over flat irregular panels (Plate 8). This type is frequently seen in the Muisca gold snuff trays from central Colombia (see Pérez de Barradas 1958, vol. II: figures 141, 156). The second type includes trays with one or more feline heads (e.g., Llagostera and Costa 1984: figure 99). Trays with this kind of ornamentation are present in other areas, most notably in the Middle Loa river valley (Spahni 1964: figure 5) and in Northwest Argentina (Krapovickas 1958-1959: figure 13).

The individual transformed into a feline, or wearing a mask with these characteristics, is seen on six trays (Plate 9). The basic definition of the transformation theme is the representation of a human who exhibits feline features. Masks with cat-like traits have been found in northern Chile. Grete Mostny (1958: figures 2, 3) discusses two wooden feline masks. One of these masks was found in the valley of Lluta, near Arica, and the other in a cemetery in the vicinity of Calama. A feline headdress made out of jaguar hide was unearthed at the site of Cabuza (Núñez 1961: figure 4). In addition, a feline headdress was recently found in San Pedro de Atacama (Llagostera and Costa 1984: figure 66).

The third type, double or alter-ego representations, appears on six trays (Plate 10). In most double representations, a human figure is surmounted by a feline. This configuration of motifs, in an ethnographic context, refers to the shaman's ability to acquire feline characteristics, most often while under the influence of psychoactive substances. This is a frequent theme in the snuffing paraphernalia, and it is common in the Amazon (Wassén 1967: figure 13) and in the trays and the tubes from Northwest Argentina (Ambrosetti 1902: figure 13; Salas 1945: figure 89). In northern Chile, "doubles" are seen in tubes from Calama, Caspana, Toconce, and Chiu-Chiu (see Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, collection no. 14.989). The alter-ego theme is also present in other prehispanic objects throughout the Andes, most notably in the sculpture of San Agustín, Colombia (Preuss 1974: plates 49, 73).

The feline motif is probably the most important element in the snuff tablets, and it is generally associated with the use of psychoactive substances among many contemporary Indian groups. Snuff powders are kept in jaguar bones, and Guahibo shamans from the Colombian lowlands paint their faces with marks simulating a jaguar's pelt, wear necklaces of jaguar teeth, and carry their snuffing paraphernalia in bags of jaguar fur (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: 54-55).

Modern Kogi priests from the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Colombia, wear masks in the form of jaguar heads (Preuss 1920: plates 30, 31) and refer to hallucinogenic substances as "jaguar's sperm" (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1972: 62). Among the Kaxúyana of Brazil the snuff tray is called *yará-kukúru*, or image (*kukúru*) of the mythological water jaguar (*yará*), directly equating the jaguar with a snuffing utensil (Friel 1961: 31).

Among the different Tukanoan groups of the Vaupés region, the word for "shaman" and "jaguar" is the same (Furst 1968: 156). The Tukano myths are specific concerning the purpose of snuffing *vihó*, an *Anadenanthera* or *Virola* powder, to transform themselves into jaguars: "Tenían *vihó* para volverse jaguares y personas. Tenían *vihó* para volverse dobles" (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1978: 114). The Muisca shamans of Colombia could also transform into jaguars. The sixteenth-century Spanish chronicler Pedro Simón (1882-1892, vol. II: 268) states, "Son grandes hechiceros, algunos de ellos pueden volverse pumas y jaguares cuando quieren, para conducirse como aquellos".

Peter Furst (1968: 153) quotes an account of a mythical jaguar as teacher of shamanistic practices from the Bolivian Tacana. In this tale, a twelve year old boy was climbing a *sayal* palm to collect its fruits, when he was abducted by the great winged jaguar Iba Bana. The jaguar took the boy away for a year, during which period he received training to become a shaman. When the boy returned to his village, he walked into the temple house, where he collapsed as if dead. He was revived by the other shamans who rubbed his body with a psychoactive powder.

Among the many examples of jaguar imagery associated with shamanism and hallucinogens, only a few have been discussed. The studies of feline representations in the prehispanic world are numerous, and an extensive investigation of this subject is outside the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that feline iconography is intimately related to the vision quest and to the ecstatic experiences facilitated by the use of hallucinogenic drugs.

### *Bird representations*

Avian representations are seen in sixteen trays, of which thirteen are condors (Plate 11), and the rest are apparently hawks (Plate 12), since they lack the collar and crest characteristic of the condor. Birds are most frequently represented perched on a U-shaped panel (Plate 11; see also Plate 3). One notable exception is a large tray from tomb 2021-34, Quitor 5, depicting a condor with outstretched wings. A variation of the double concept is seen on a snuff tray showing two human beings with birds above their heads (Plate 12). Attention should be called to four indentations on this tray similar to those caused on a hearth stick by a fire drill. This is an important fact since twenty snuff trays from this area show evidence of having been used for making fire, including a Tiahuanaco style tray with a bird representation (Figure 8).

Bird representations are common on pre-Conquest Muisca gold snuff trays from Colombia. At least six of the known Muisca trays are ornamented with birds (Pérez de Barradas 1958, vol. I: figure 24). In all cases the bird representation is cast in high relief with its head towards the cavity; similar instances are seen on wooden tablets from San Pedro de Atacama (Llagostera and Costa

1984: figure 111). The association of birds with the snuffing equipment is also evident in the innumerable tubes made out of birdbone. This type of tube has been found together with the earliest known trays, as evidenced by the material excavated at Huaca Prieta, Peru, by Junius Bird (1948). In addition, bird feathers and wings are used to facilitate the onset of the visions (Califano 1975: 47; Friel 1961: 3-4). The acquisition of certain bird qualities during the ecstatic trance represents another level of the symbolism attached to birds. The elements that seem to be important here are the ability to fly and the reputedly excellent sight of birds. The following examples may help to clarify the use of bird imagery in the snuff trays and tubes.

S. Henry Wassén (1965: 28) cites an observation made among the Chimane of eastern Bolivia. He states that the Chimane used to rub themselves around the eyes with pulverized eagle eyes in order to see better during the hunt. Lévi-Strauss (1948: 38) tells of a curing ritual that he observed during his stay with a tribe of the Guaporé river. For healing purposes the curer blew a psychoactive powder into the nose of the patient. The long tube used to blow the snuff terminated in a hollow nut, shaped like a bird head with large eyes. During a visit to the Tama (a Tukanoan group), Karl Theodor Preuss observed a medicine-man who was drinking *yagé*, a hallucinogenic potion made out of a *Banisteriopsis* species. The medicine-man was wearing a feather headdress so that he could see better during the trance (quoted in Wassén 1965: 28).

The ecstatic trance of a Muisca shaman is related by Pedro Simón (1882-1892, vol. 3: 150): ". . . en una ocasión el diablo lo llevó por el aire. . . y una noche lo llevó a Santa Marta, que está a casi doscientas leguas de allí. . . y lo volvió a su casa de Ubaque aquella misma noche. . . nada le espantó tanto como ver la luna tan grande que se le apareció cinco veces mayor que vista de la tierra."

A study on Mataco shamanism conducted by Mario Califano (1975) is important to this investigation because of its detailed description of avian symbolism. Mataco is the name given to several groups occupying the area of the Bermejo and Pilcomayo rivers, to the east of Salta province, Argentina (Métraux 1946: 233). The Mataco use a snuff powder made from the seeds of the *cebil* (*Anadenanthera colubrina*, var. *cebil*). The powder is inhaled to facilitate the travels of the shaman's soul (*o'nusek*) in the form of a bird (Califano 1975: 33). The transformation into a bird is aided by playing a flute made from the femur of a *yulo* bird. The shaman (*jáyáwu*) under the influence of the snuff plays the flute vigorously. His "soul" exits through the flute's shaft and then, transformed into a bird, abandons his body to fulfill his purpose. If the travels of the shaman are not effected with the bird bone flute, the shaman beats his chest with the wings of a hawk. The wings extract the "soul" from the body and fling it into the air to initiate its travels (ibid.: 47).

The juxtaposition of avian, feline, and human characteristics is relatively frequent in the iconography of the snuffing paraphernalia. An avian-feline combination is related in a Desana myth recorded by Reichel-Dolmatoff (1978: 115). The men have a macaw that is taking *vihó* snuff with them so that it could also turn into a jaguar. This combination of jaguar and bird is often seen in Amazonian snuffing equipment. For example, a Kaxúyana tray (Wassén 1967: figure 28) from Brazil has two carved felines in the appendage and a bird in



the panel above the cavity. A Tiahuanaco style tray from San Pedro de Atacama is ornamented by a human who wears a feline costume (Plate 6).

Combinations of birds and humans are seen in trays and tubes from San Pedro de Atacama. A good example of this type of association is seen on the tray illustrated on Plate 12. A snuffing tube, also from San Pedro, in the collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York (collection no. 17/7553) is carved with a human representation and a bird with its beak placed in the man's mouth. This bird-human association is also seen on trays from other areas. A tray from Calilegua, Northwest Argentina, is carved with a bird representation flanked by two human figures holding bifurcated snuff tubes (Wassén 1967: figure 7).

Avian imagery, as we have seen, is associated with the use of hallucinogens all over South America. This association is observed in the direct representation of birds on the trays and the tubes, and in the use of bird bone snuffing tubes. The frequent use of bird motifs on the snuffing paraphernalia is based on the acquisition of bird qualities during the ecstatic trance. Birds are sometimes combined with human and feline representations.

#### *Various Zoomorphic Representations*

Several other animals are represented on the trays. Camelids ornament only fourteen trays, in contrast with their importance in the rupestrian art of northern Chile (e.g., Mostny and Niemeyer 1983: figures 61, 62). Ophidians, reptiles related to hallucinogen use in the Amazon Basin, are represented in only two trays. On one occasion, an armadillo is represented. One snuff tray has a bifurcated lateral extension carved in low-relief with two zoomorphic representations (Plate 13). These two beings have a serpentine body and a triangular head with projecting scrolls, and could be tentatively identified as the so-called *suche* fish from Lake Titicaca. Depictions of these beings are frequent in Pucará style lithic sculpture. In the Arapa stela, for example, these creatures are represented in pairs as on the San Pedro de Atacama snuff tray (Chávez 1975: plate II). Similar representations can be seen in the Pucará Plaza stela, and in a Pucará style statuette now in the Pennsylvania University Museum (ibid.: plates V, VII). Images of this type are also seen in Paracas turbans (see Paul 1982: 43-44, figure 18b).

#### *Anthropomorphic Representations*

Forty-one snuff trays are exclusively ornamented with human figures. The individuals on these trays do not exhibit any zoomorphic traits, nor are they associated with animals. Among these, several categories can be elaborated: principally those with cylindrical headdress, female figures, and human beings in prone or supine position over a flat surface.

Humans with cylindrical headdress and ear pendants are seen on nine trays. The invariable representation of this figure on the nine trays seems to refer to a specific individual. A similar situation is apparent on the six snuff trays ornamented by a female with spread arms and legs (Plate 14). The sex of the figures is not clearly defined on all of these trays. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify them as females through the specimen from tomb 3236, Quitor 9

(Plate 14), as implied by the three rhomboid shapes that occupy the chest and the lower abdomen. Therefore, it could be suggested that the similar figures on the other five trays are also women (see also Llagostera and Costa 1984: figure 100c). A radiocarbon date of  $1050 \pm 80$  A.D. was obtained from tomb 3236, in a context which included a Bolivian highland ceramic type known as Huruquilla (Núñez 1976: 107). A female representation of this type is also seen on a tray from the vicinity of Calilegua, Jujuy, Argentina (Museum of the American Indian, New York, collection no. 13/3657).

This series of symmetrically flanked, displayed female representations is an expression of a motif known as "The Heraldic Woman". It has been the object of a study that propounds diffusionist theories, since it is a widely distributed iconographic theme (Fraser 1966). Figures with these characteristics have been found in areas separated by great distances, such as Luristan, Etruria, and New Zealand (*ibid.*: 36). In the Americas its most significant expression occurs in the stone sculpture of the Manteño culture, Ecuador (after 500 A.D.: Fraser 1966: figures 26, 27); although it is also seen in Recuay stone sculpture, Aija style, of the Callejón de Huaylas, Peru (*ibid.*: figures 24, 25). At the pre-Chavín site of Shillacoto, Chiaki Kano (1979: 22-23, plate XIVd) found a bone spatula incised with a similar representation. The evidence indicates that this motif appeared in the San Pedro de Atacama area around 1000 A.D., as demonstrated by the radiocarbon date and ceramic associations of tomb 3236 (see above). The contexts of the other burials containing this type of snuff tray do not offer any diagnostic elements that would support an earlier date for the entry of this motif into the San Pedro de Atacama iconographic sequence.

Three trays exhibit a human figure lying fully extended over a flat panel. On two of these the figure is depicted in a prone position, holding an axe with the right hand. Another is decorated with a supine human carved in relief over a flat surface. Six other trays have flat panels carved with a pair of frontal human faces.

One tray (Plate 15) is carved to represent a motif known as a "Half Fist". This term defines a hand position with the four fingers bent so that the nails are visible, and the thumb erect on the side (see Sharon and Donnan 1974: 58-59). This tray is part of tomb 3974, Coyo Oriente; it was found with a Tiahuanaco style snuffing tube. The only other tray with this motif was found at the site of Niño Korin, Bolivia (Wassén 1972: figure 12), where it is also associated with Tiahuanaco style objects (*ibid.*: 32-39). The tray from San Pedro de Atacama represents a left hand, while the one from Niño Korin is a right hand. A similar tray in the shape of a claw was found at the site of Azapa 71, Arica (Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino 1985: 74, figure 027). A probable variation of the Half Fist is seen on one of the Tiahuanaco trays previously discussed (theme no. 7, Figure 13). It should be noted that hands and clenched fists are commonly used as amulets and fetishes in the Bolivian highlands (e.g., Wassén 1972: 38).

Other kinds of motifs are the non-objective designs, sometimes of a geometric character, incised on twelve trays (Plate 16). Several elements of a similar nature ornament the body of zoo-anthropomorphic figures. Notable among these are two trays with four personages each (tomb 1227, Quitor 2; tomb 2512, Quitor 6).

One hundred fourteen of the 477 extant snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama are almost devoid of decoration. The trays included in this group consist of a rectangular, sometimes ovoid, cavity area and a flat lateral extension. These undecorated snuff trays can be divided into nine types, according to the shape or contour of the lateral extension and the nature of the conjunction between the cavity and the panel area (see Figures 17-25).

### Conclusions

In conclusion, the most significant number of trays in San Pedro de Atacama are the 114 without any decoration. These represent approximately 25% of the extant snuff trays from this area. The apparent absence of information in this group of trays contrasts with its abundance in those decorated in the Tiahuanaco style. Several of the latter (e.g., Figure 12, Plate 1), are covered with designs.

Sixteen basic themes and their respective variables are expressed in the San Pedro trays. Seven of these depict iconographic clusters present in Tiahuanaco and, to a limited extent, in the Pucará culture of the northern Lake Titicaca Basin. Stylistic and iconographic elements on this group of trays clearly indicate contact with the Bolivian highlands. Tiahuanaco traits are seen in at least forty-six trays and numerous snuffing tubes (e.g., Llagostera and Costa 1984: figures 114, 116). However, the connection with the Lake Titicaca Basin seems to have started before the era of Tiahuanaco influences. This early contact is suggested by the presence of probable Pucará and Early Tiahuanaco elements on the snuff trays from San Pedro (e.g., Figures 5, 6, Plate 13).

Among the Tiahuanaco themes, the most frequently represented are the frontal staff-bearing personage (Plate 1) and the profile staff-bearing figure (Figures 5-7). Certain iconographic traits in the representation of these two themes on San Pedro de Atacama snuff trays clearly suggest a pre-Tiahuanaco connection with the Lake Titicaca area. The frontal and profile figures are always represented in isolation, in contrast with other Tiahuanaco-like manifestations where the two figures are directly associated. For example, in the Calle Linares lintel (Rowe 1971: figure 23) and in the Tiahuanaco Sun Gate (Posnansky 1945, vol. I: plate XLVII), the relationship implies a hierarchy of central or principal personages and flanking profile attendants. In Pucará, the frontal personages are represented without subsidiary figures (see Rowe 1971: 120). In addition, the San Pedro de Atacama profile figures are in a genuflect vertical position, not in a floating or horizontal position, as in the Early Tiahuanaco Calle Linares lintel. In Pucará representations, the profile beings are depicted vertically looking upwards as in the San Pedro de Atacama snuff trays (e.g., Rowe 1971: figure 25).

Five of the eleven profile figures from San Pedro de Atacama carry an axe and/or a trophy head. This feature is lacking in the profile attendants of the Sun Gate or the Calle Linares lintel, but sacrificer characteristics are seen on Pucará ceramic representations of profile attendants. Anita Cook (1983: 175) has suggested that the sacrificer attributes of the profile figures are an early characteristic of their representation. Further Pucará comparisons can be made between a San Pedro snuff tray with two serpentine creatures and similar

representations in Pucará lithic sculpture (see Chávez 1975: plate II; Plate 13 of this study). An intermediate position between Pucará and Tiahuanaco is indicated by the previous observations for these aspects of San Pedro de Atacama iconography.

Two snuff trays from San Pedro de Atacama show striking similarities to two trays from the site of Niño Korin, Bolivia (Wassén 1972: figures 5, 12). Five snuff trays were found in a multiple tomb together with snuff tubes, enema syringes, baskets, leaves of *Ilex guayusa*, and a trepanned cranium (ibid.: 13). One of the trays (ibid.: figure 5) is carved with a standing profile figure holding an axe and a trophy head (cf. Figures 5-7). Another tray from Niño Korin (ibid.: figure 12) is carved with a right hand in the half fist position. A similar tray from San Pedro de Atacama depicts a left hand with the same gesture (Plate 15). In addition to the profile sacrificer and the half fist representations, Niño Korin and San Pedro de Atacama share the depiction of frontal staff-bearing figures (cf. Figures 1, 2; Wassén 1972: plate 1, figure 41). This shared iconography suggests a contemporaneity between these two sites that is reinforced by the presence of sacrificer characteristics in wingless profile figures, features rare in later Tiahuanaco representations.

In San Pedro de Atacama, Titicaca Basin iconography apparently coexisted with local expressions. Several burials contained snuff trays bearing Tiahuanaco motifs directly associated with other trays lacking these type of representations (e.g., tombs 2183-84, 2189-92, 2196-98, Quitor 5; tombs 3944, 4049-50, Coyo Oriente). However, according to Myriam Tarragó (1977: 54-55), tomb 1930 from the cemetery of Quitor 5 demonstrates a pre-Tiahuanaco context. This find would indicate a probable early acceptance of snuffing practices in the San Pedro area (before 200 A.D.?).

The use of snuff trays in San Pedro diminishes considerably during Phase III, as only three trays are known to have been associated with Rojo-violácea ceramics. The only burial from this period dated with any certainty is tomb 3236, Quitor 9. In this grave, a snuff tray bearing the heraldic woman motif was found associated with Rojo-violácea ceramics and with a ceramic vessel classified as Huruquilla, a late period ceramic type from the Bolivian highlands. This tomb has been carbon-dated to ca. 1050 ± 80 A.D., in the early stages of Phase III (Núñez 1976: 107, 112).

San Pedro de Atacama is the archaeological culture with the largest concentration of snuffing implements. But, as we have seen, they are part of a complex iconographic system related to the use of hallucinogens throughout South America. This spatial and temporal amplitude is indicated by the presence of similar themes and motifs in different epochs and geographical areas, and by the homogeneity in form and structure of the snuff trays.

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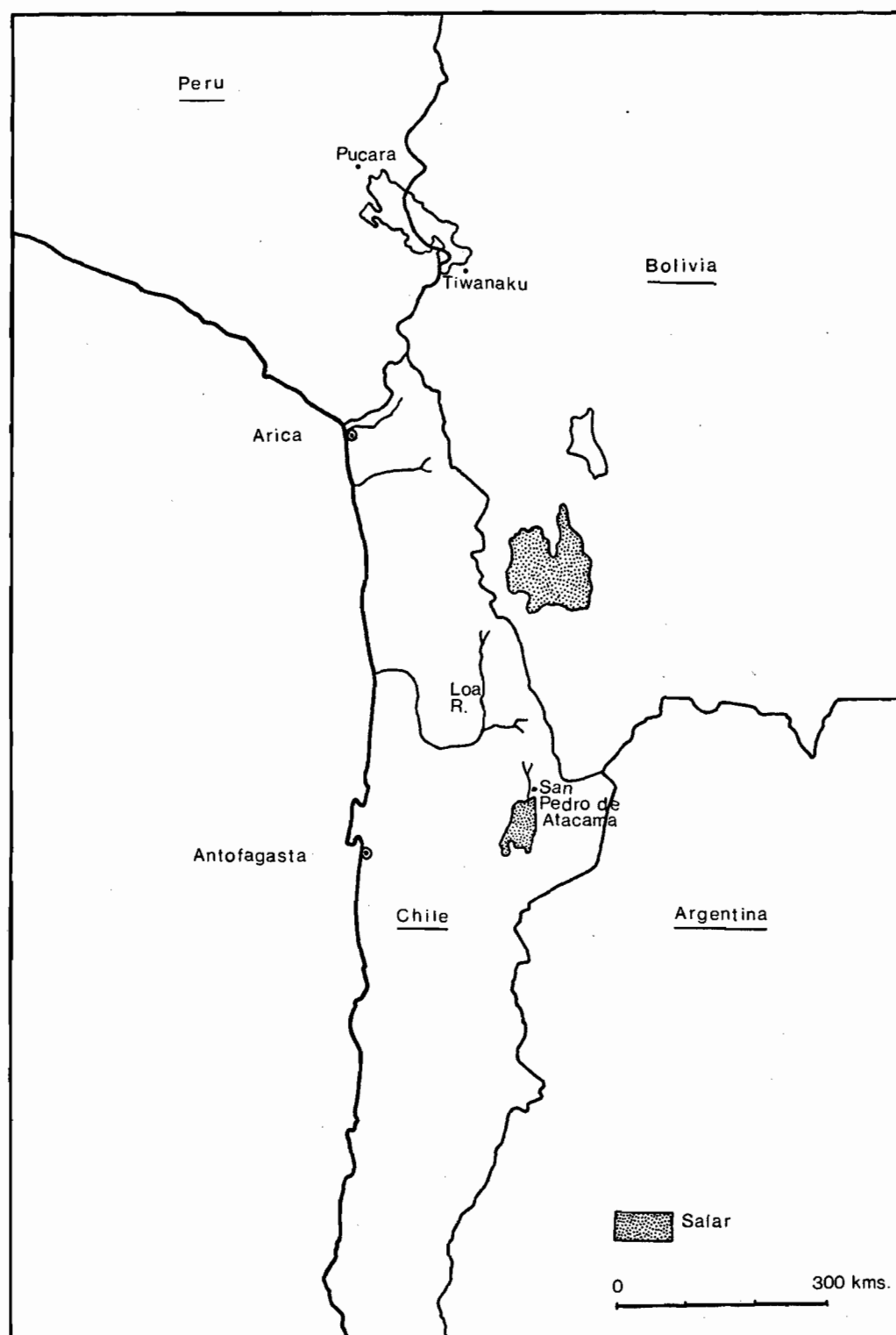
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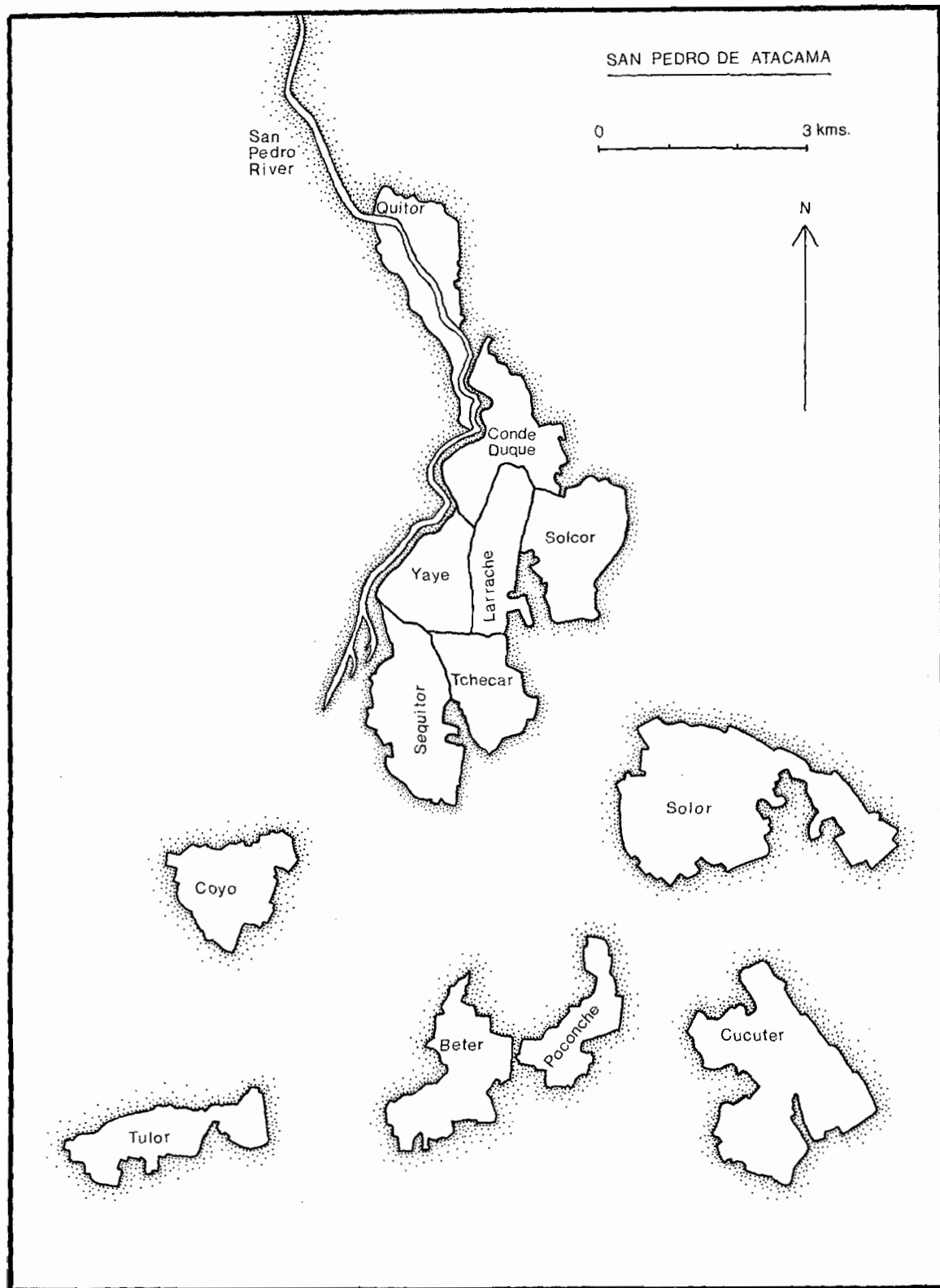
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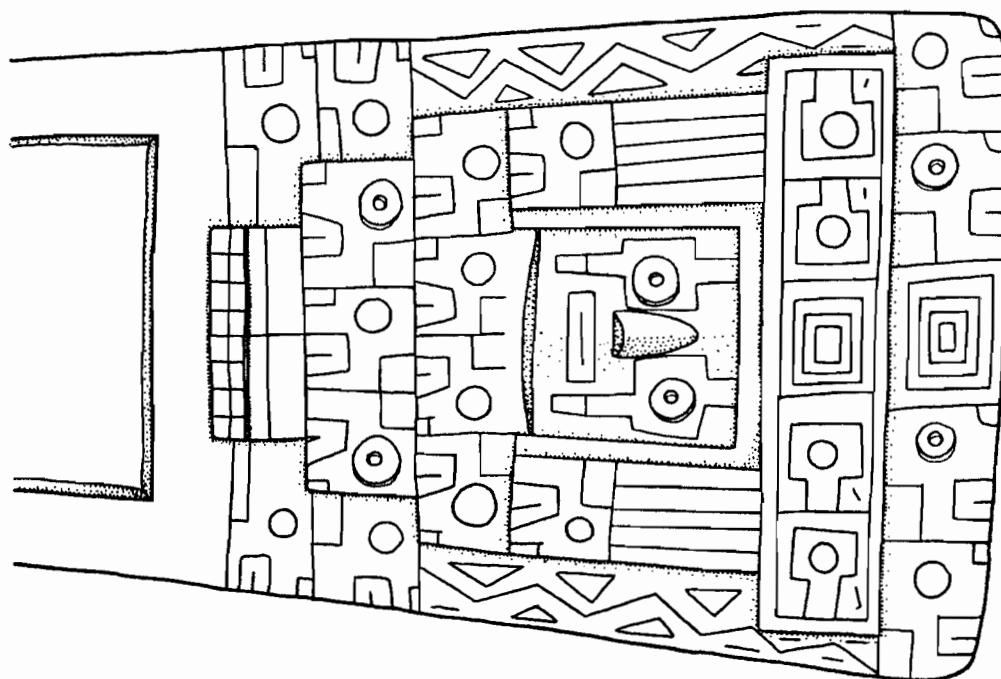
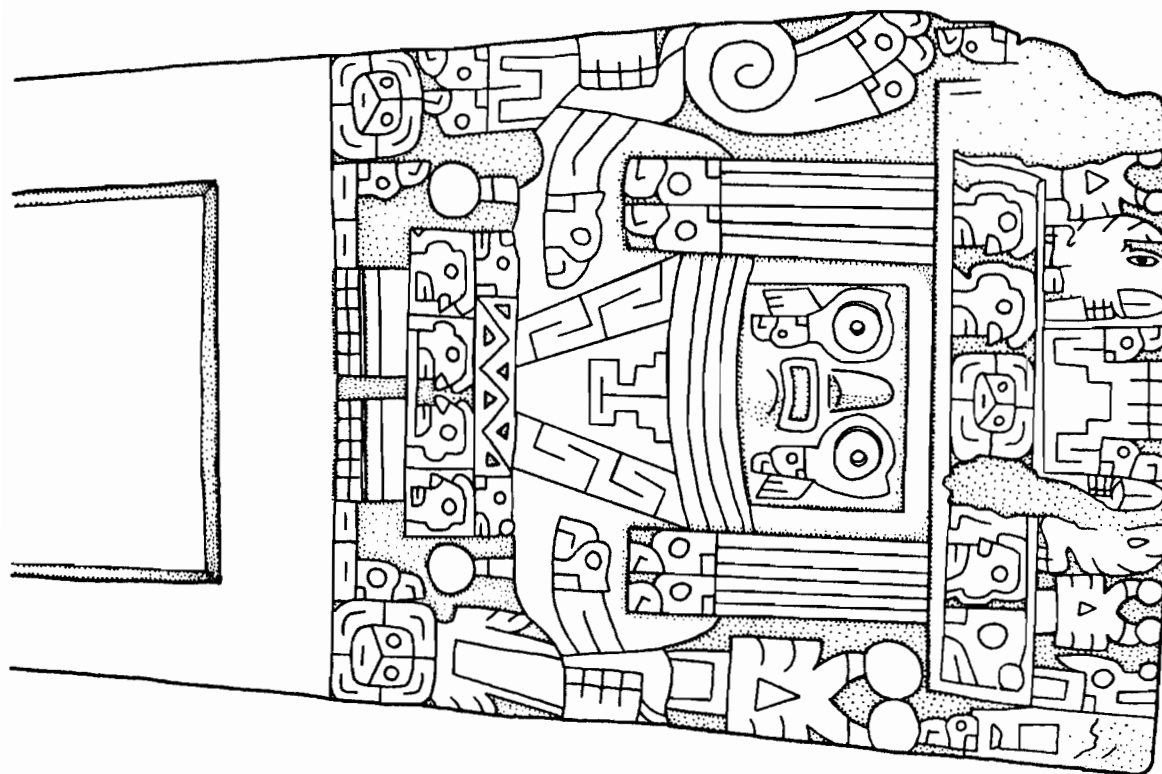
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Map 1. Northern Chile.

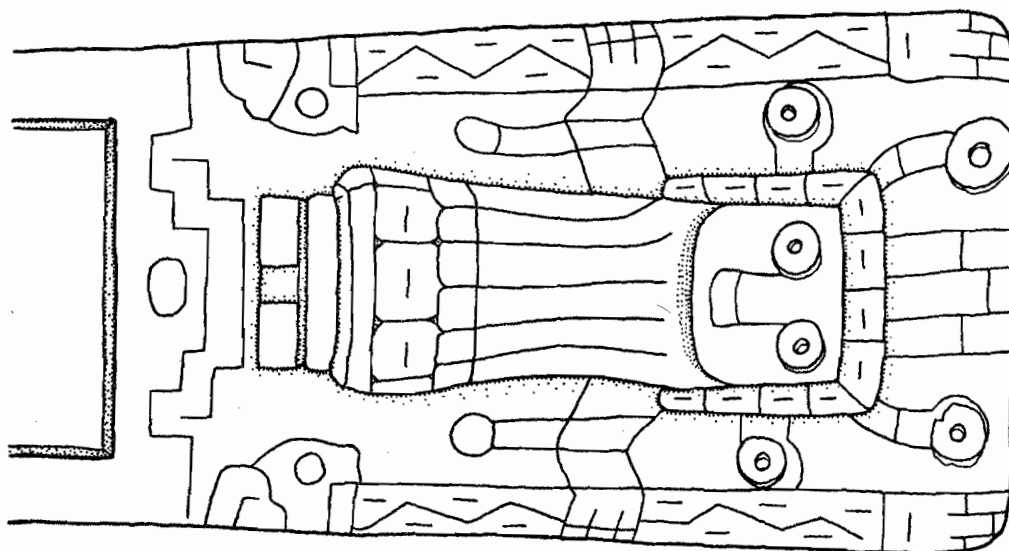
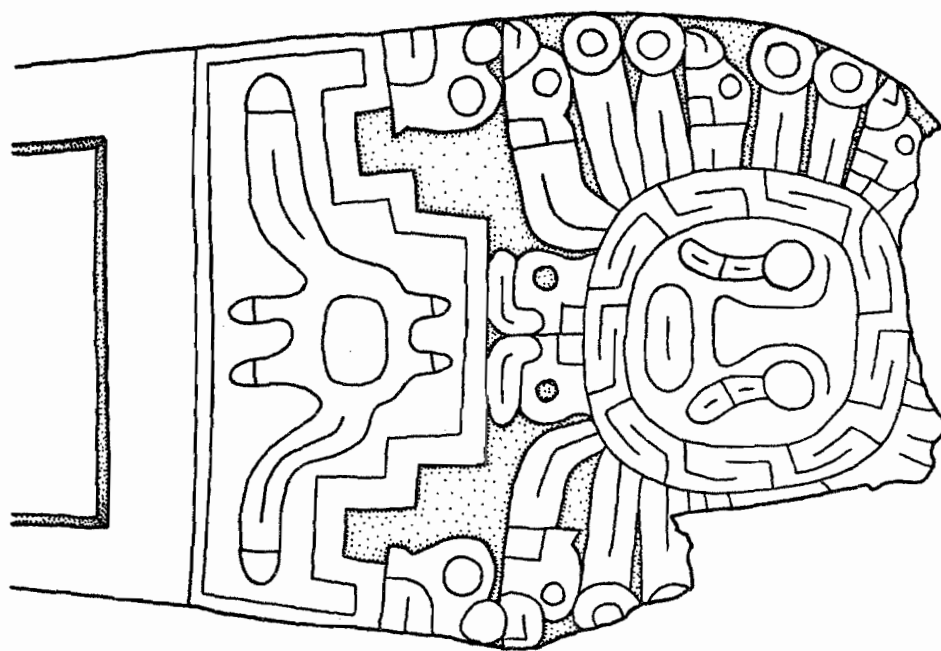


Map 2. San Pedro de Atacama.



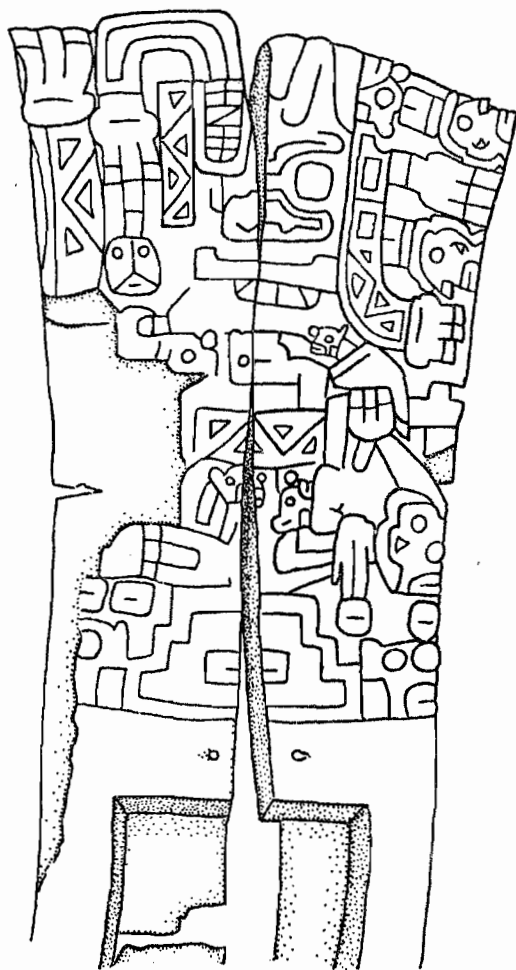
**Figure 1** (above). Coyo Oriente, tomb 4093-95, 18.8 x 7 cm. (see Plate 1). *Note:* All snuff trays depicted in the drawings are from the collection of the Museo Arqueológico R. P. Le Paige, Universidad del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.

**Figure 2** (below). Quitur 5, tomb 2183-84, 17.8 x 7.4 cm., associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.



**Figure 3** (above). Quitor 5, tomb 1994-96, 13.3 x 5 cm., associated with Negra Pulida ceramics.

**Figure 4** (below). Coyo Oriente, tomb 4010, 13.5 x 4.5 cm., associated with Negra Pulida ceramics.



**Figure 5.** Quitar 6, tomb 3613, 17.8 cm., associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.

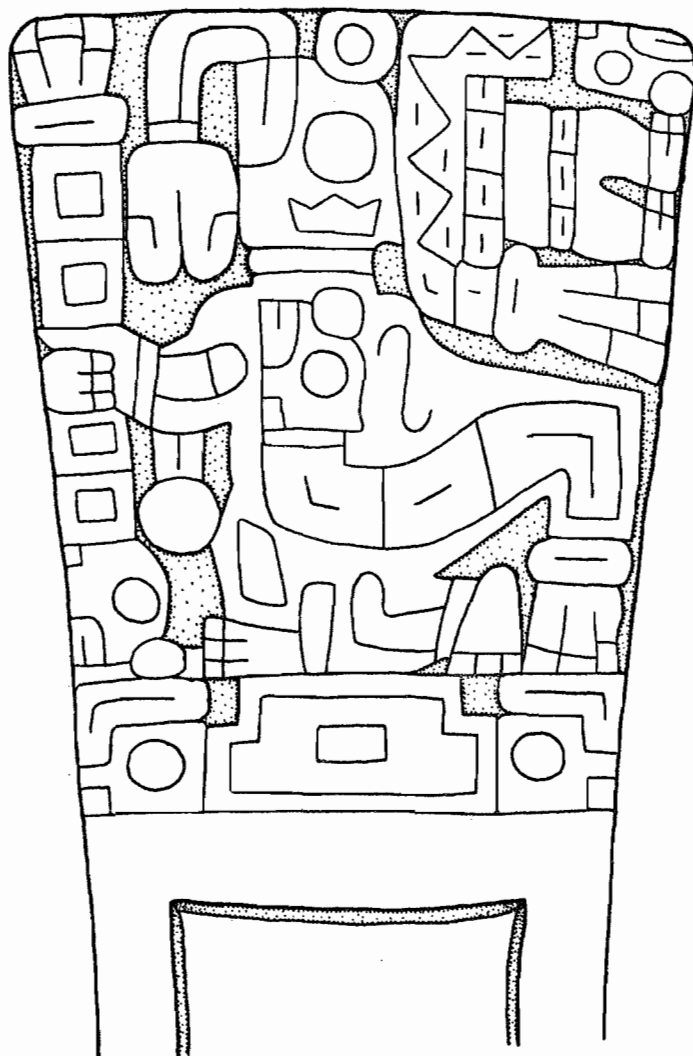


Figure 6. Coyo Oriente, tomb 4008, 17 x 7 cm.

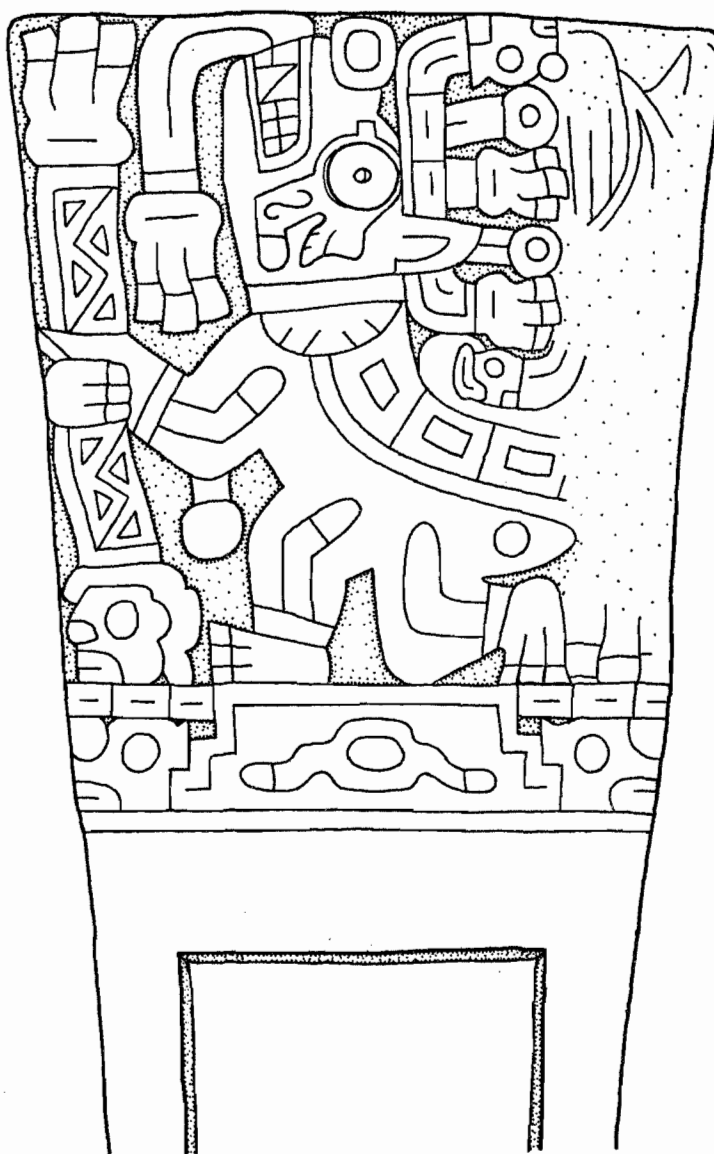
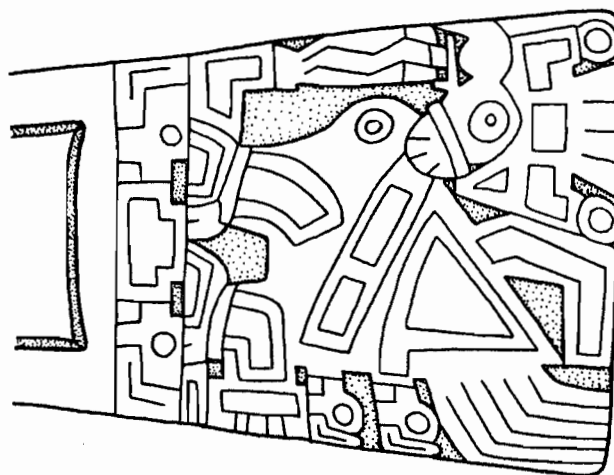
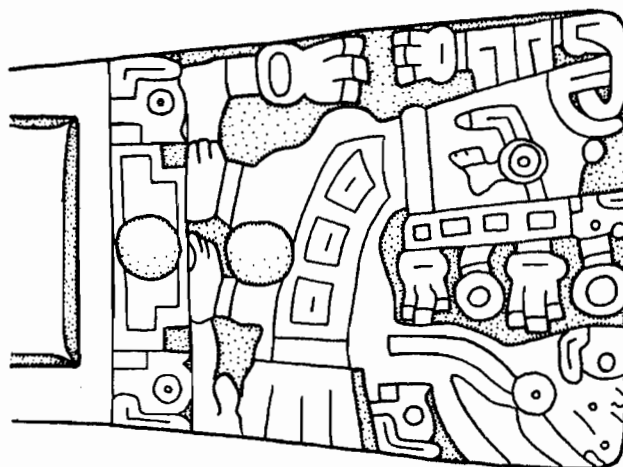


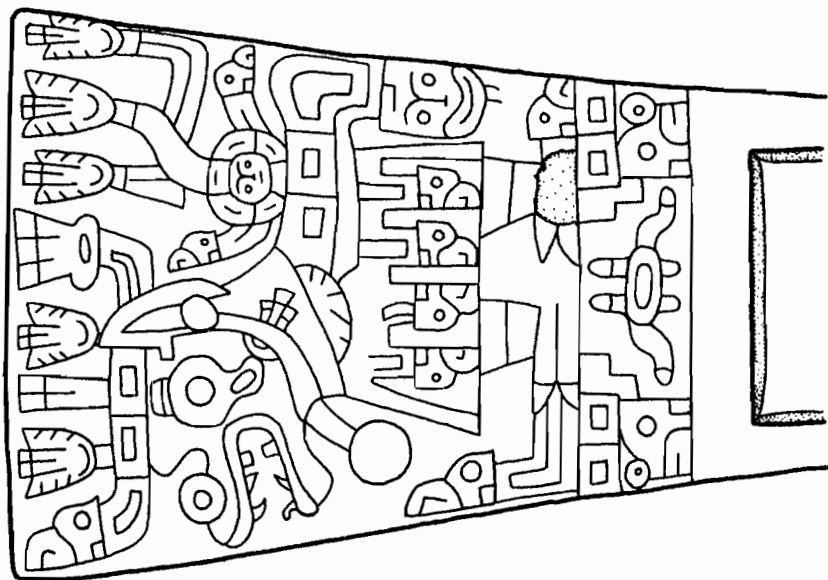
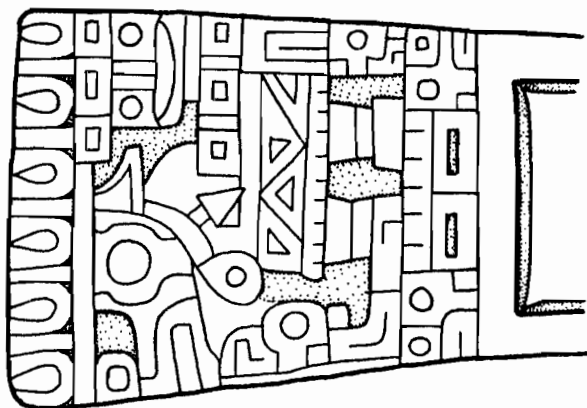
Figure 7. Coyo Oriente, tomb 4141, 18.2 x 7 cm.





**Figure 8** (above). Coyo Oriente, tomb 3944, 13.9 x 5.4 cm., associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.

**Figure 9** (below). Quitor 6, tomb 2742, 16.5 x 6.8 cm., associated with Negra Pulida ceramics.



**Figure 10** (above). Quito 5, tomb 2235, 15.6 x 5.8 cm.

**Figure 11** (below). Solcor 3, 18 cm.

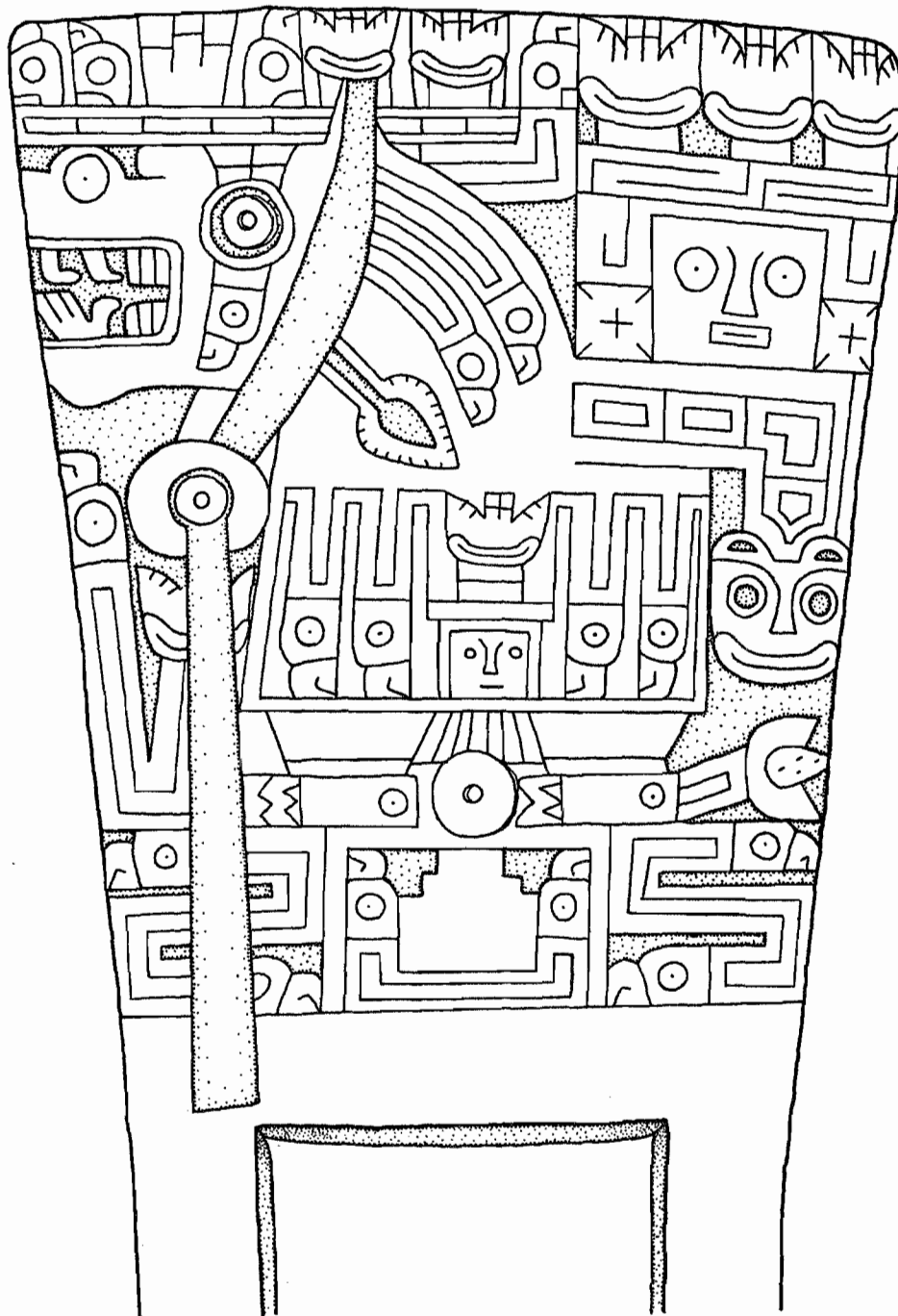
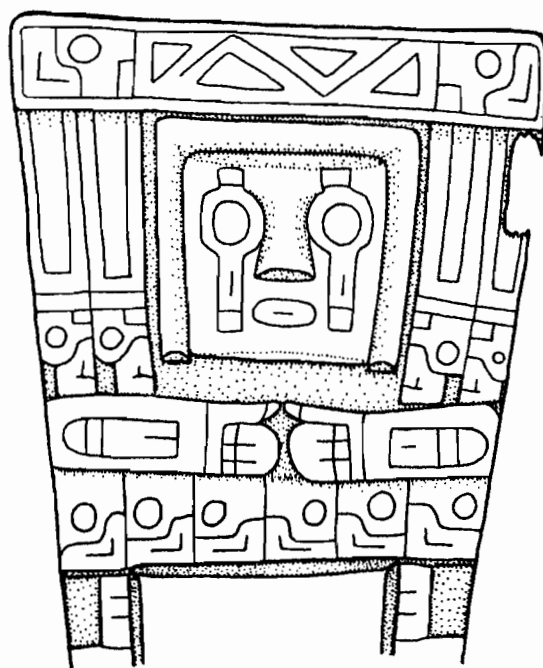
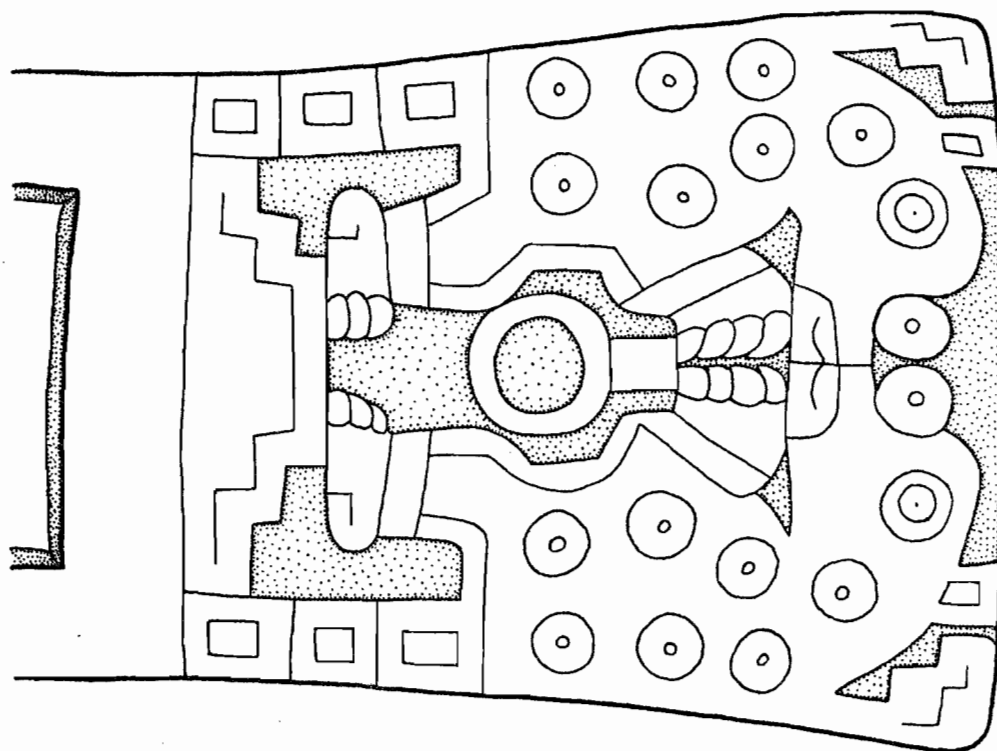
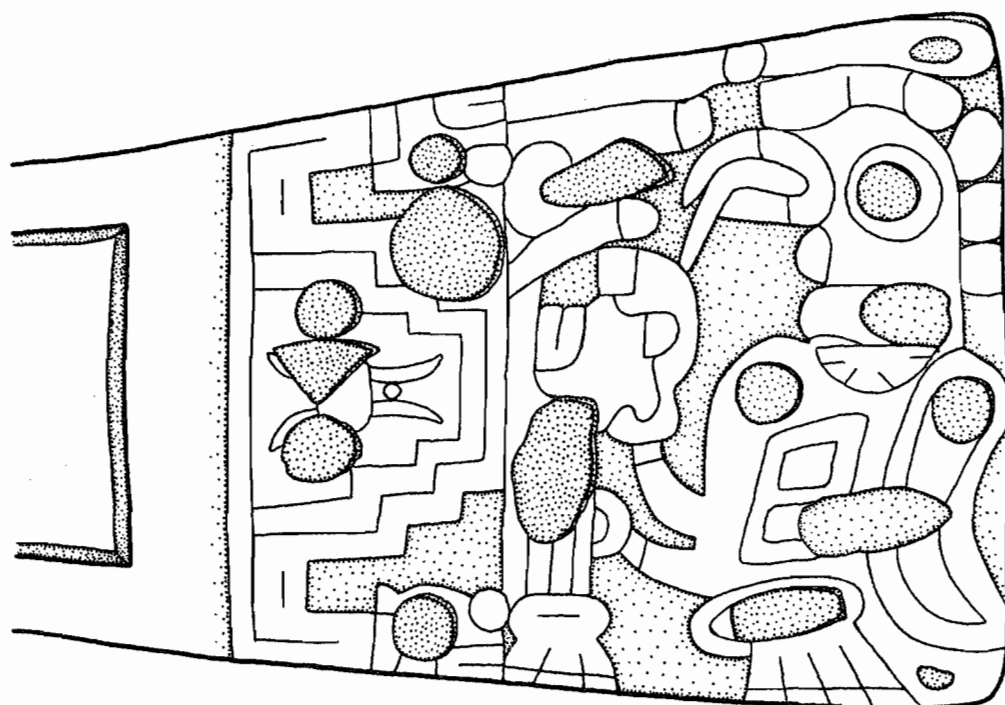


Figure 12. Coyo Oriente, tomb 4049-50, 18.9 x 8 cm.

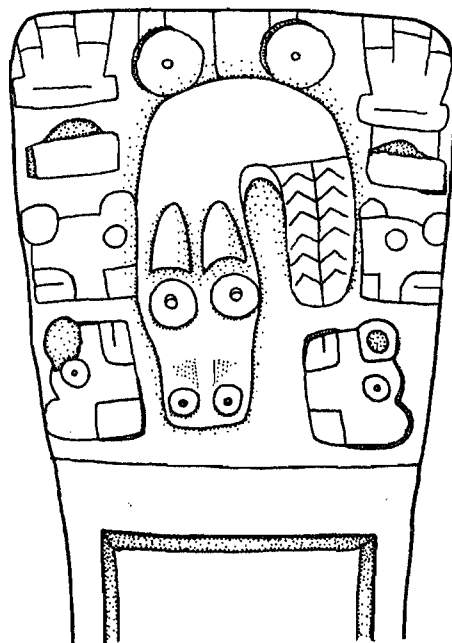


**Figure 13.** Unknown provenience, 14.9 x 6.6 cm.

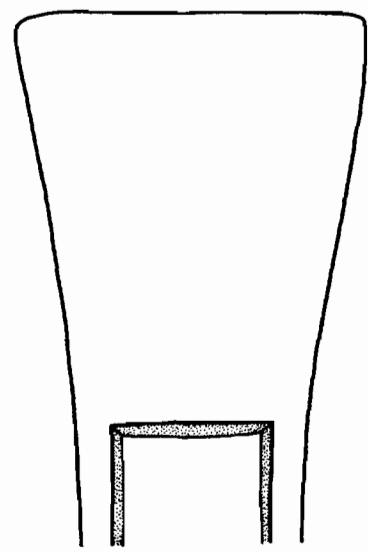
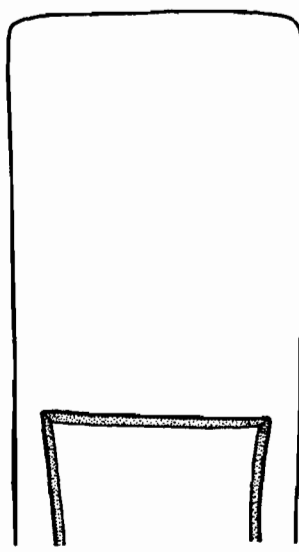
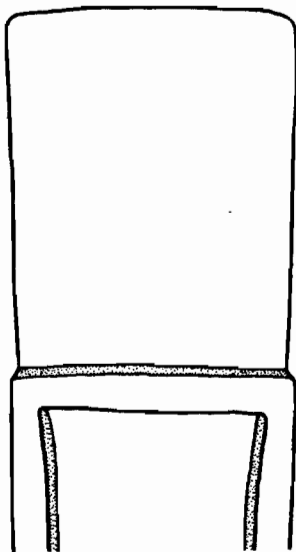
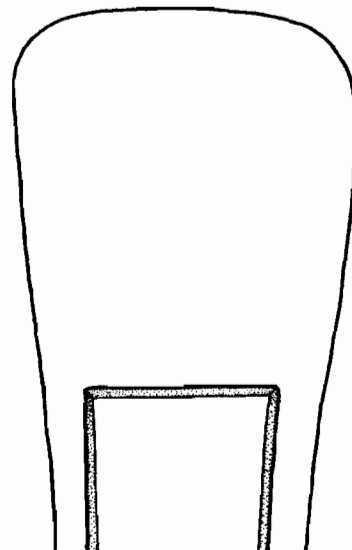
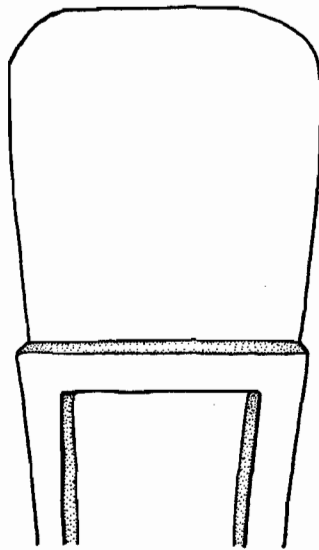


**Figure 14** (above). Coyo Oriente, tomb 5381, 15.7 x 6.8 cm., associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.

**Figure 15** (below). Unknown provenience, 12 cm.



**Figure 16.** Quitor 6, tomb 3662, 14 x 5.5 cm., associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.



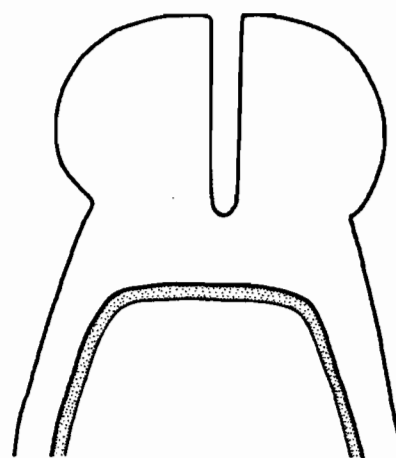
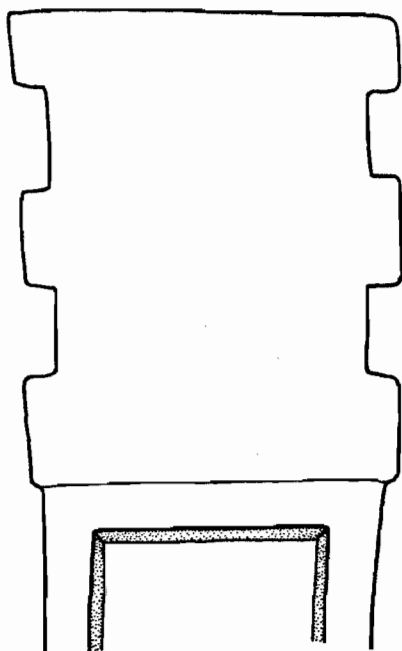
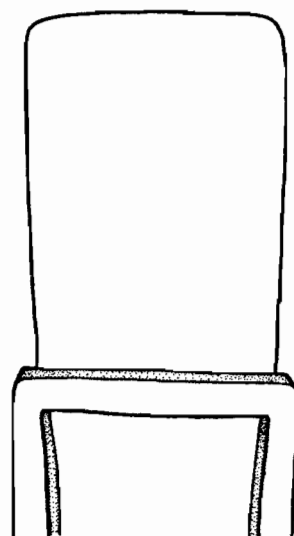
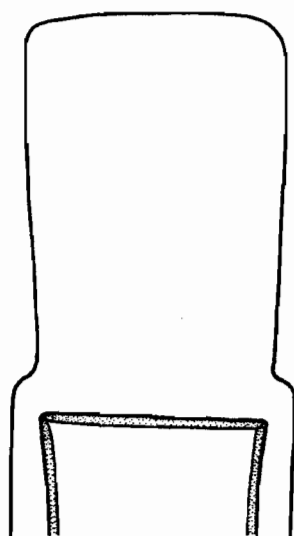
**Figure 17** (above left). Tchecar, tomb 697, 13.4 x 4.5 cm.

**Figure 18** (above right). Solcor, tomb 1393, 14.5 cm.

**Figure 19** (below left). Quito 5, Tomb 2241, 14.9 x 4.3 cm., associated with Isla Polychrome ceramics (see Tarragó 1977: 57-59)

**Figure 20** (below middle). Quito 5, tomb 2264-67, 16.8 x 6.5 cm., associated with Negra Pulida ceramics.

**Figure 21** (below right). Quito 5, tomb 2171, 14.7 x 6 cm.



**Figure 22** (above left). Quito 6, tomb 3666, 13 x 5.8 cm.

**Figure 23** (above right). Quito 6, tomb 2482-90, 15 x 4.3 cm.

**Figure 24** (below left). Quito 6, tomb 3618, 15 cm.

**Figure 25** (below right). Catarpe Norte, tomb 2409, 16 cm.





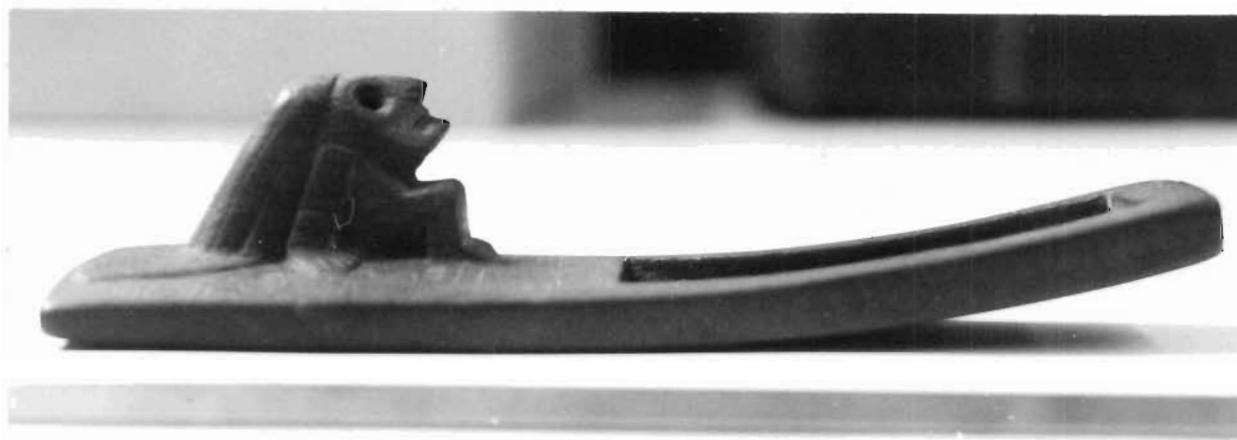
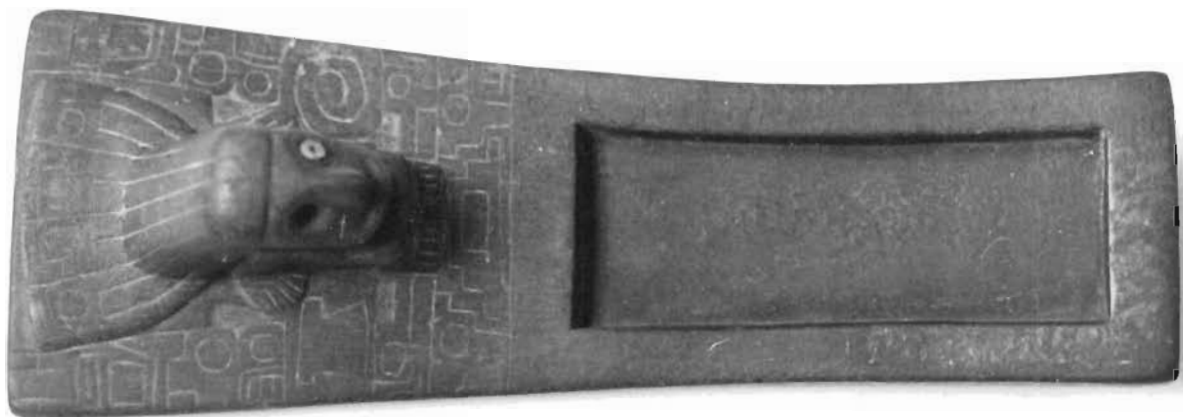
**Plate 1.** Wooden snuff tray with staff-bearing personages, 18.8 x 7 cm., Coyo Oriente, tomb 4093-95, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. *Note:* Unless otherwise noted, trays shown in the plates are from the collection of the Museo Arqueológico R.P. LePaige, Universidad del Norte, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.



**Plate 2.** Wooden snuff tray, 15.7 x 6.2 cm., Quitor 8, tomb 3223-24, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Roja Pulida and Negra Pulida ceramics.



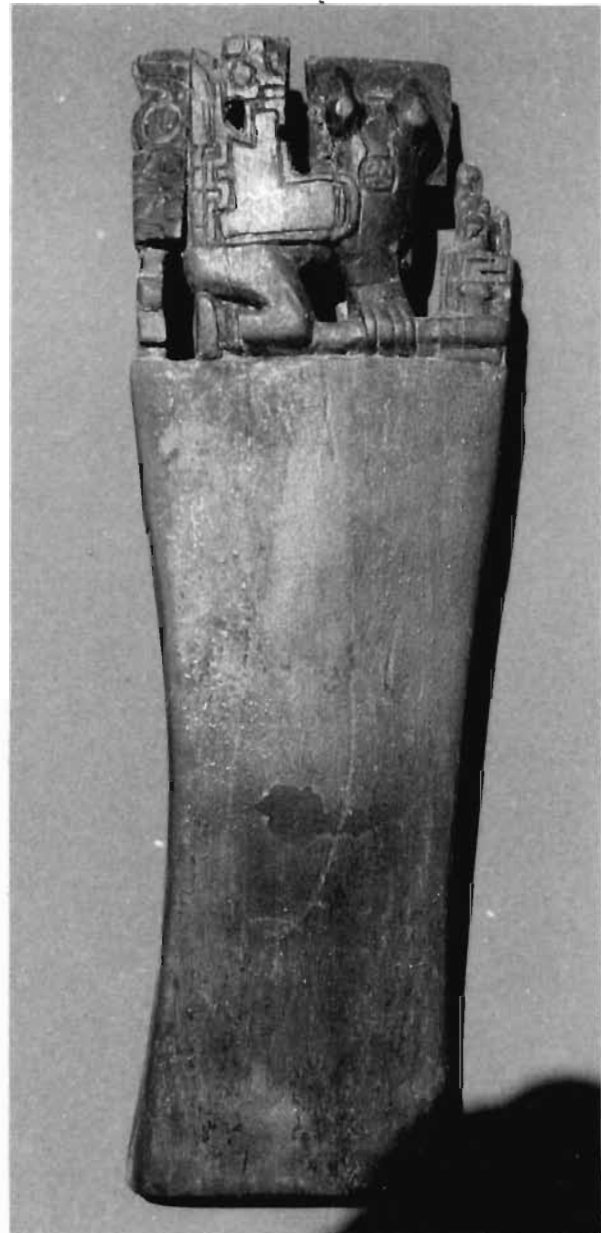
**Plate 3.** Wooden snuff tray with condor representation, 17.8 x 5.5 cm., Coyo Oriente, tomb 5334-41, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.



**Plate 4.** Wooden snuff tray with reclined figure, 15 cm., San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. American Museum of Natural History, New York, collection no. 41.0.8911.

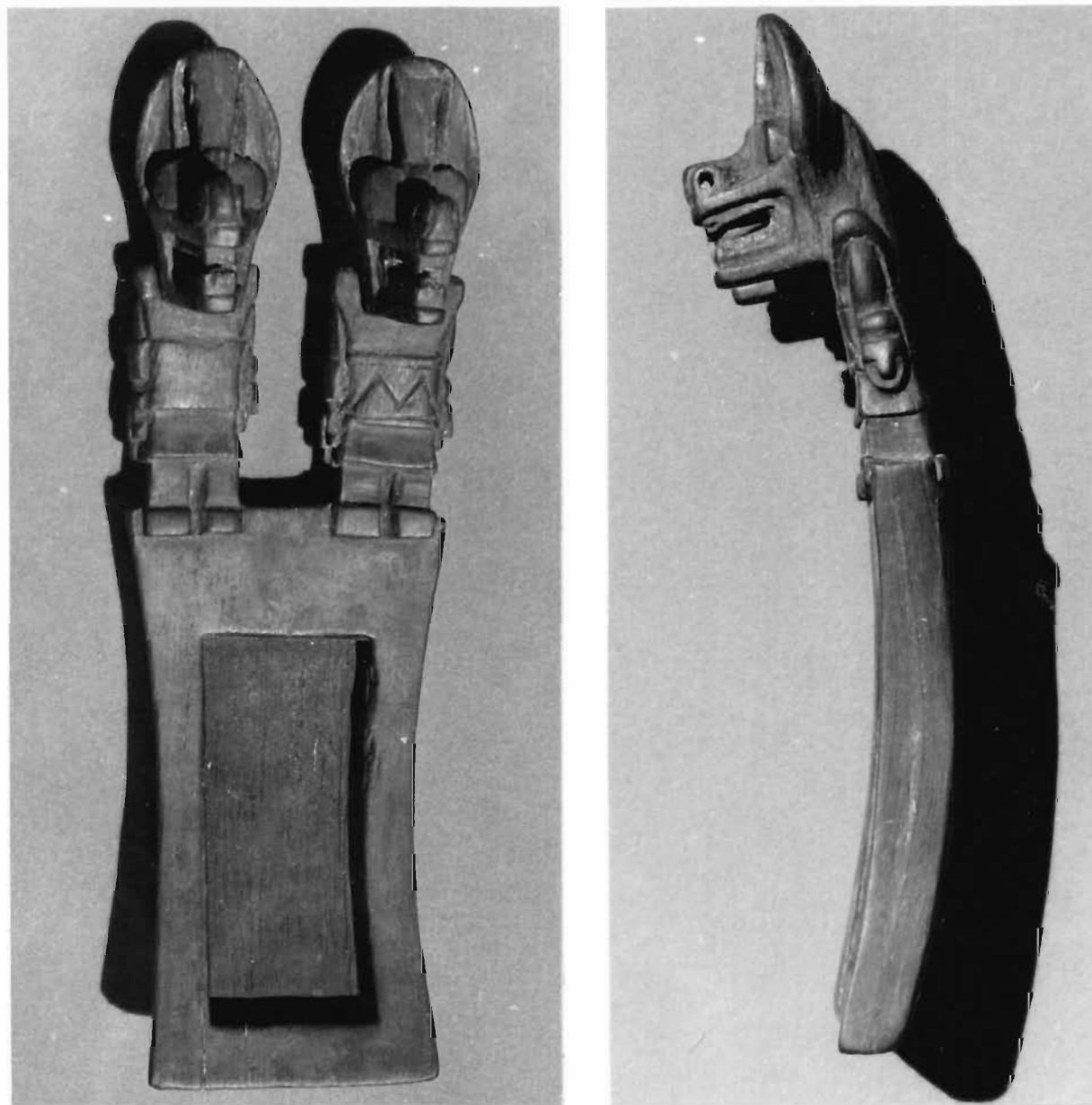


**Plate 5.** Wooden snuff tray with Sacrificer personage, malachite inlaid eyes, 18.1 x 4.9 cm., Quitor 5, tomb 2196-98, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Negra Pulida and Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.

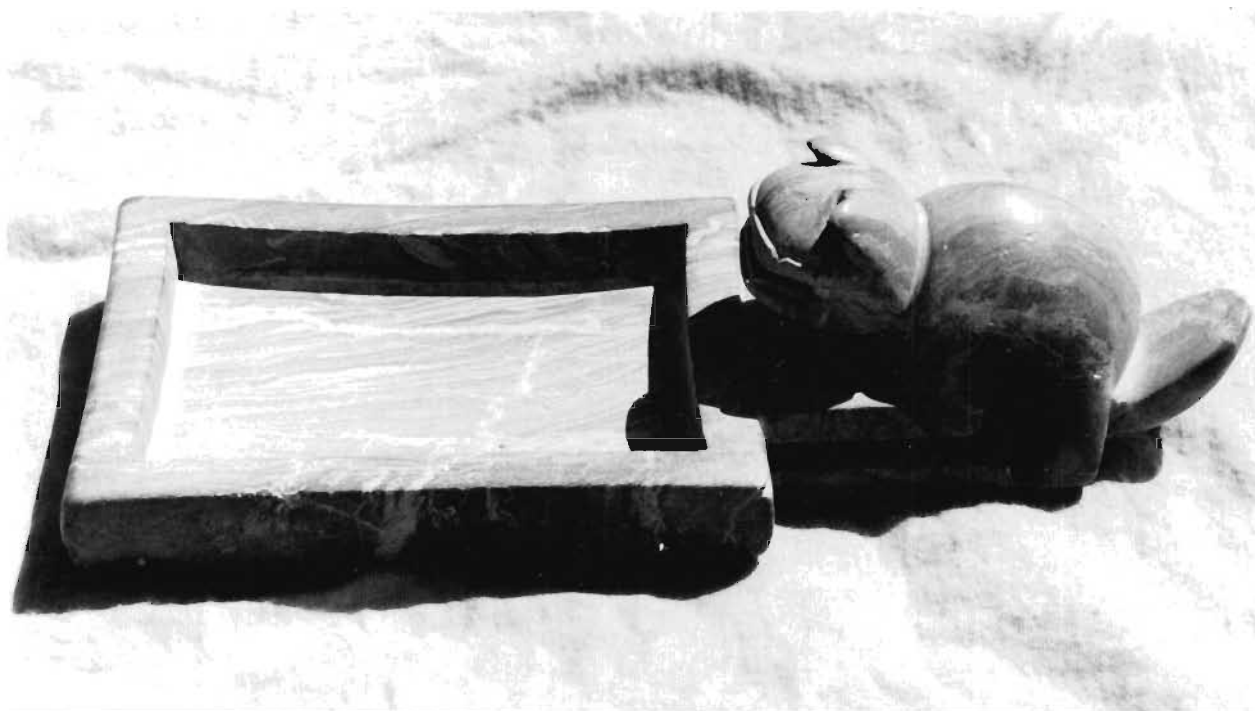


**Plate 6.** Wooden snuff tray, 16.7 x 5.4 cm., Quitar 5, tomb 2189-92, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Negra Pulida and Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.





**Plate 7.** Wooden snuff tray, 16 x 5.1 cm., Solcor Nueva Población, tomb 4779, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.



**Plate 8.** Stone snuff tray with zoomorphic representation, 21.5 x 8.6 cm., Quitar 6, tomb 3531-34, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.





**Plate 9.** Wooden snuff tray, 14.9 x 3.6 cm., Quitor 5, tomb 2094-2108.



**Plate 10.** Wooden snuff tray with alter-ego representation, 16.5 x 3.5 cm., Quito 5, tomb 2094-2108, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Negra Pulida ceramics.



**Plate 11.** Wooden snuff tray with condor representation, 14 x 4.5 cm., Tchecar, tomb 1108, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.



**Plate 12.** Wooden snuff tray with human and bird representations, 15.3 x 4.5 cm., Coyo Oriente, tomb 4027-30, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.



**Plate 13.** Wooden snuff tray, 16.7 x 5.9 cm., Sequitor Alambrado Oriental, tomb 1647-50, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Negra Pulida ceramics.



**Plate 14.** Wooden snuff tray with "Heraldic Woman" motif, 15.8 x 6 cm., Quitar 9, tomb 3236, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Rojo-violácea ceramics.



**Plate 15.** Wooden snuff tray with "half-fist" representation, 15.7 x 4.8 cm., Coyo Oriente, tomb 3974, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile. Associated with Negra Casi Pulida ceramics.



**Plate 16.** Wooden snuff trays, (a) Quito 5, tomb 1946, 13.3 x 4.6 cm., associated with Negra Pulida ceramics; (b) Quito 5, tomb 2254, 14.8 x 5.1 cm.; (c) Quito 2, tomb 1230, 13.9 x 4.6 cm., associated with Negra Pulida ceramics. San Pedro de Atacama, Chile.