

Mesas de Brujo of Northern Coastal Peru;
Modern Forms, Ancient Precedents

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Introduction

The *Mesa de Brujo* of northern coastal valleys of Peru is the surface upon which a curandero, or healer, sets his/her equipment during healing rituals (Figure 1). The knowledge of the curandero comes from indigenous folk healing traditions that extend back to well before colonial times. Curanderismo may be viewed as healing oriented shamanism. Shamanism exists in many forms in South America and has been found to be a trait held in common by all indigenous New World cultures (Eliade 1964). Over millennia of separation, culture groups developed their own versions of shamanism, utilizing their environment and ethnicity to form their own ceremonies and customs. The shamans of the tribes in the Upper Mid-west United States went on vision quests which involved journeys to mountain tops without food or sleep. The resultant exhaustion caused hallucinations interpreted as visions. The Indians of the American Southwest ingest Peyote in their religious rituals. In their case, the hallucinations experienced are due to the poison of the Peyote. The Classic Maya practiced a rare method of inducing hallucination; bloodletting. There are many examples from carvings and vase paintings that depict Maya individuals letting blood during shamanistic rituals intended to contact ancestor spirits. In the study of New World cultures, shamanic customs are a part of the group's ethnicity, much as choice of diet, language, and vestments.

Shamanism in the Ancient Moche culture of the northern coastal valleys of Peru is well illustrated in the large corpus of art they left behind. In modern times, the *Mesa de Brujo* is the center of shamanic ritual which take place in the valleys once occupied by the Mochica. Cultural continuity, through the persistence of ethnic traits of the ancient Moche into modern peoples of the coast, has been demonstrated by numerous authors through the help of archaeological, art historical, and ethnohistorical research (Gillin 1947, Benson 1972, Donnan 1976, Sharon 1978, Schaedel 1987). The *Mesa de*

Brujo, however, has been more difficult to tie back to ancient customs. This paper will attempt to establish a relationship between the modern *Mesas* of the once Moche Valleys and the more permanent structures depicted in ancient Moche art. Connections between the participants, associated paraphernalia, and methods of protection will be drawn on to support the argument. First, the nature of the modern rituals will be discussed, followed by a comparison to the images of shamanistic ritual in the ancient art. Finally, an explanation for the creation of the *Mesa* will be offered.

The Ritual of the Mesa de Brujo

The information used here to describe the ritual of the *Mesa de Brujo* comes from three separate reports from individuals who studied Curanderismo of northern coastal Peru; John Gillin in 1947, Marlene Dobkin de Rios in 1967 and Douglas Sharon in 1978. Gillin's discussion of Curanderismo and *Mesas* is part of a larger study of the coastal community in the town of Moche. He does not reveal the name of his informant but says the man was about sixty years old and received his training from the great masters in the town of Salas when he was a young man. Gillin's informant had gone to Salas to be cured of an infection on his leg and, because he had no money, worked his debt off by serving as an assistant to the master who cured him. The master decided he had the gift and kept him on to be fully trained as a Curandero (1947;118). Gillin was allowed to participate in night healing sessions. His informant also agreed to set the *Mesa* up in daylight so it could be photographed (Figure 2). Gillin's study was the first to describe the rituals of the *Mesa* in more than a passing reference.

In the summer of 1967, Dobkin de Rios interviewed the people of a coastal valley village about folk healing practices. She also witnessed a number of *Mesa* sessions. The focus of her study was to define the use of hallucinogens in healing

rituals and its connection to the larger concept of shamanism. She identified San Pedro Cactus (*Trichocereus pachanoi*) and Misha (*Datura arborea*) as hallucinogenic plants commonly used in the rituals of the *Mesa de Brujo*. A number of other less commonly used plants were also identified. In the years after her field study, Dobkin de Rios wrote a number of articles comparing her research on modern healing practices to the images of shamanism found in the art of the ancient Moche (1977, 1982). Her conclusions are intriguing and will be drawn on heavily in this paper.

The work of Douglas Sharon, who became an apprentice to a master in the town of Trujillo, is the most complete study of northern coastal Curanderismo written to date. Sharon's informant and master was named Eduardo Calderon (Figure 3). The two met in July of 1965 on the Chan-Chan project. Calderon was one of the artists helping to reconstruct the building facades. Sharon and Calderon became good friends and they had many in depth conversations about the role of the healer and the power of the *Mesa*. In 1951, when Calderon was twenty one, he was cured of a serious illness by a curandero. He had been a jack-of-all-trades most of his life and decided after this experience to try folk healing. Both of his grandfathers had been curanderos and many of his other relatives had followed that tradition. The power to heal was strong in his family. He first became an apprentice to a relative but later moved north to the towns of Chiclayo, Mocupe and Ferrenafe to learn from the famous masters known to live there. His training took a total of seven years (Sharon 1978;13-15). Calderon's deep family roots in healing combined with travels and intelligence make his testimony a very illuminating source. Sharon's book, Wizard of the Four Winds, covers a number of topics related to the rituals of the *Mesa* and much of the book is English translations of Calderon's own words. That book, as well as the works of Gillin and Dobkin de Rios, have been utilized to create the following description of the *Mesa* ceremony.

The ultimate goal of the ceremony is to divine the cause of illness. The cause is always a spirit or evil brujo psychically attacking the patient. Often times the perpetrator is divined to be a member of the family or community who has hired an evil brujo to bewitch them. In the coastal valleys of northern Peru, as in many areas of the New World, brujos, or shamans, are separated into good and evil. Calderon calls good shamans curanderos and evil shamans brujos. To Gillin, they were simply good and bad brujos. Though no scholar has been allowed to study it in depth, all agree that evil bruja uses the same techniques as curanderismo. Gillin reported that they also have a *Mesa*, with a black cloth, which they use to control evil spirits called *shapingos*. These spirits are sent out to cause illness and to disrupt the ceremonies of healers. They are also said to be sent out to have sex with women. If the women submit they are then servants to the evil brujo. If they resist, they fall ill (1947: 128). As a final note on evil bruja, Gillin reported that evil brujos have the power to transform into birds and animals, a power closely linked to the concept of shamanism. In a later section of this paper, animal transformation as seen in Moche art will be discussed.

Returning to the ceremony of the good *Mesa de Brujo*, we see its purpose to be the repelling of evil shapingos and the identification of the evil brujo responsible for their attack. This information is given to the master by his spirit companions who allow him to "see" the attacker. The spirits are called to the ceremony by the chants and whistles performed by the master. The master has different chants and whistles to call different spirits. The objects on the *Mesa* become the portals through which they make contact. The vehicle that allows the master and others present to communicate with the spirits is the ingestion of hallucinogens through imbibing of a brew of San Pedro, sometimes mixed with Misha. Calderon preferred not to use Mishas in his ceremonies while Gillin's informant chewed Misha throughout his version of the ceremony. All ceremonies

appear to involve the drinking and snuffing of liquids.

The ceremony always takes place at night, beginning at 9 or 10pm. The participants typically include the master, one or two assistants called "alzadores" or raisers, the patient, and any family members or friends who wish to attend. The first section of the ceremony lasts until midnight and is meant to activate the *Mesa* or open the portal. Calderon refers to it as "opening the account". It is opened by chants, whistling and the "raising" of the table and the participants. Raising is done by snuffing liquid from a flat shell, first kneeling, then on one knee and so on until the person is standing straight up. This process is done by the assistants around the master and the patient. The master and sometimes the patient also snuff liquid from shells during the ceremony. The liquid varies from ceremony to ceremony and can contain combinations of perfumes, tobacco, hallucinogens and water. During this first phase of the ceremony *shapingos* may attack to disrupt the ceremony and must be repelled by chants and the flashing of swords or knives in the air. The impression is that the spirits are visible, physical beings attacking.

At midnight, the healing session begins. All participants are asked to drink the San Pedro brew at this time. An interesting connection to report here is the fact that the flower of the San Pedro Cactus blooms at midnight. The master goes into a trance during which he makes contact with his spirit companions and learns the identity of the attackers. The ceremony ends around sunrise, typically 6am, and soon after the master reveals the identity of the attacker to the patient and gives them some herbs to be ingested after returning home.

The Objects of the Mesa

The *Mesa* itself is a white piece of cloth, approximately one meter square, upon

which a number of objects are placed. The objects are a collection of power objects. The objects are artifacts from ancient ruins, pictures of saints, staffs, swords, knives, stones, shells and many bottles containing liquids and herbs. Depending on the nature of the illness the patient faces, the master calls on the power of different objects on the *Mesa* through his chants and whistles. They aid him to evoke spirits and enter the otherworld. A large container of San Pedro brew, boiled for seven hours before the ceremony, sits near by. At the head of the *Mesa* stand knives, swords and staffs, meant to protect the ceremony from evil *shapingos* and also to act as power objects to call protector spirits through.

Edwardo Calderon explained the metaphysical level of his *Mesa* at some length (Sharon 1978;70). He sees his *Mesa* as a microcosm of the world and a symbol balance between good and evil (Figure 4). The *Mesa* is divided into four sections by a cross connecting to the four corners. Calderon connects the cross to the four roads leading to the Four Winds. A christian cross sits at the center, symbolizing the Axis Mundi. On another level, the *Mesa* is divided into three sections; the "Campo Ganadero, Campo Medio, and Campo Justiciero". These three sections represent good, evil and the middle ground between the two. Gillin's informant does not discuss his *Mesa* at this level but the photos taken by Gillin suggest that it was also divided into three "campos", meant to represent a balance between the powers of good and evil (Figure 5).

The most numerous objects on the *Mesa* are the bottles. They contain herbs and liquids combined to snuff from the shells during the ceremony in the "raising" ritual. They also contain white corn meal and perfumes to be sprayed from the mouth of the master at moments in the ceremony. The San Pedro brew is kept in a container near the *Mesa* as well. Some of the objects on the *Mesa* are rarely used but the contents of

the bottles, liquids and herbs, seem to be central to all *Mesa* ceremonies. The exotic herbs and hallucinogenic plants used in the ceremonies are obtained through pilgrimages to mountain locations. In Calderon's area, being the Moche and Chicama Valeys, curanderos go to a pair of mountains called Chaparri and Yanahuanga to collect herbs. White herb are found on Yanahuanga and black herbs are found on Chaparri. The herbs call the curanderos to their locations. The process of the pilgrimage is highly ritualized and curanderos of the area have a pact to adhere to tradition (Sharon 1978;35-36).

Pilgrimages to Las Huaringas

Las Huaringas are sacred lagoons near the highland town of Huancabamba, close to the Peru-Ecuador border. The altitude is 13,000 feet. The area is famous throughout the northern coastal valleys for its power and for the great curanderos who live there. Calderon had never been there but said he travelled there sometimes during trance. Some of the masters he learned from had made the pilgrimage to Las Huaringas to train with masters there. In the summer of 1970, Sharon and Calderon took a trip to the sacred lagoons. Through his discussion of the trip, Sharon speaks of pilgrimages made to the lagoons to collect herbs and visit the curanderos. Calderon explained the pilgrimage as a spiritual metamorphosis.

Sharon also outlined the history of the area (1978;126). In ancient Moche and Chimu times, a road ran through Huancabamba, connecting the valleys with the jungles of the interior. Trade items like bird feathers, animal skins, hard woods and exotic plants were transported through the area. Herbs and hallucinogens used in shamanic rituals were also obtained through this trade route. After 1475 the Inca built a fortress, a temple of the sun, and a convent for virgins involved in state sun cult rites in the town.

Sharon and Calderon met a master named Don Florentino in the area and were allowed to participate in his ceremonies. Don Florentino conducted sessions involving many patients at once, sometimes as many as twenty (Sharon 1978;129). When the men arrived at the house of the master a number of people were waiting in his front yard, having made the pilgrimage from their homes to be cured or blessed. One of the patients was a young boy who had gone insane. He ran around the group acting wild and unpredictable. Don Florentino arrived in the afternoon and lead the group up to the lagoons, through a marshy bog. The participants dipped their personal charms in the waters of the lagoon while the master chanted and sprayed mixtures of perfume and white corn meal from his mouth. The process was meant to bring good luck and empower the charms. The group then returned to Don Florentino's home for a night session with the *Mesa* (Sharon 197

n the introduction of this paper, shamanism comes in a number of different forms in the New World. A culture's form of shamanism is a deeply rooted part of their ethnicity and helps them to define themselves as a people. One of the primary factors that are used to differentiate between forms of shamanism is the method chosen to induce hallucinations. A wide variety of methods exist and are partially a product of the flora in their places of origin. In the modern northern coastal valleys of Peru, San Pedro and Misha are the hallucinogenic plants used by curanderos and brujos to visit the spirit world. Both of those plants have been identified in the art of the ancient Moche (Dobkin de Rios 1977;191) and show up in a number of different contexts, all of which can be linked to shamanism (Figure 6). Figure 7 displays a famous Moche vessel that has long been interpreted as a healer treating a patient. The healer has transformed into an owl and holds a piece of San Pedro in her hand. At her left is a figure lying in a bed with the face of a being Benson terms the "Fanged Deity" (Figure 8). Shamans in Moche art are

often shown impersonating or transforming into this being. At her right lies an open box with multiple small objects inside it (Figure 9). She looks down into an open mouthed vessel appearing to be placing the San Pedro into it. In front of that vessel a number of odd objects are painted in as if they were lying on the ground in front of the healer. Below the healer, painted around the sides of the vessel, is another individual, seated in a prayer position, sitting in front of a table holding four jars. The jars have plant twigs extending off their sides. A llama is tied up just beyond the table (Figure 10). The combination of elements in this particular piece of Moche art speaks strongly in favor of continuity in the form of healing rituals between ancient and modern times. The image clearly links the treatment of patients with the use of San Pedro and displays various other objects involved in the ritual. The objects displayed may be related to the objects found on the modern *Mesas*. In another frequently cited image from the side of a stirrup handled vessel, a man looks up towards an arc in the sky (Figure 11). His hands are held together above him and his mouth is open as if he is making some sort of utterance, likely chanting or singing. In the background float images of uprooted San Pedro and Misha. Three seated figures in the scene watch the actions of the chanting figure, reminiscent of the participants in modern *Mesa* ceremonies. The entire scene is covered in black dots floating above the heads of the people. They may represent the stars (with the arc as the Milky Way) or visual impairment caused by hallucinations.

Images of San Pedro cactus, Misha and other hallucinogenic plants are also found in association with a common theme in Moche vessel painting. The theme involves a procession of individuals running through varying landscapes, though commonly in an upward direction. The members of the procession wear ritual headdresses and carry what appear to be small bags. These images have been interpreted as depictions of runners who relayed messages along the roadway to distant

parts of the Inca empire with great speed. Many of the paintings displaying this theme, however, show various hallucinogenic plants floating in the background, clearly connecting the scene to visions and communication with the spirit world (Figure 12). Dobkin de Rios suggested that the runner theme actually represents shamans in the process of transformation (1977;200). The evidence supports her hypothesis. Some scenes portray the runners as human (Figures 12 and 13) and other as anthropomorphized animals (Figure 14). Yet others show a combination of the two (Figures 15 and 16). Building on the Dobkin de Rios identification of animal transformation in the runners theme, a new theory is put forth here. The runner scenes may depict shamans on a sacred pilgrimage to collect herbs and hallucinogenic plants in the bags they carry. As with modern curanderos, the destinations of pilgrimages appear to have been mountain locations. Calderon explained the pilgrimage to Las Huaringas as a spiritual metamorphosis (Sharon 1978;134), a process clearly taking place in the ancient "runner" images. This paper suggests a more appropriate name for the theme would be pilgrimage scene.

Possibly the single most important essential part of the modern *Mesa* ceremony is the drinking of the San Pedro brew. Cups being passed and drank from are common in ancient images interpreted as being portrayals of ritual. Dobkin de Rios notes the use of cups and suggests a connection to the modern San Pedro drinking (1977;195). A mural uncovered during excavations at Panamarca shows individuals in shamanic dress presenting cups (Figure 17). One individual is larger than the others and is presumably the master of the ceremony. The others appear to be assistants and either captives or patients. Dobkin de Rios has suggested that depictions nude individuals with ropes around their necks are insane people in need of healing, not captives as they are commonly interpreted (1977;197). The logic behind her theory will be discussed in

more detail later. Next, a theme in Moche art Christopher Donnan calls the Presentation Ceremony will be discussed.

In his 1976 book Moche Art and Iconography, Christopher Donnan identified a theme in Moche art he named the Presentation Ceremony. Using a particularly elaborate depiction of the ceremony (Figure 18), Donnan separates major actors and elements in the scene alphabetically in descending order by importance to the ceremony. Donnan suggests the ceremony involves the sacrifice of prisoners and identifies the contents of the cups being presented to Figure A as human blood. In a series of exciting excavations at the sites of Sipan and Huaca del Brujo in the late 1980's, tombs of Moche individuals wearing costumes similar to those worn by Donnan's Figures A, B and C were discovered. In the image, Figure D is separated from the activities of Figures A, B and C. Figure D holds no cup, appears to be singing or chanting and wears the jaguar headdress typically worn by shamans in Moche art. He is also the largest of the individuals represented in the scene. The importance of chanting to the calling out of spirits in modern *Mesa* ceremonies has already been discussed in a previous section of this paper. Figure D has a smaller figure floating just behind him which Donnan explains as personified a spear and shield. Upon closer analysis, however, it is actually a fully human figure about to drink from a cup. It is the hypothesis of this paper that Figure D is a shaman and the floating figure behind Figure D is a spirit being called out by his chanting. The cups being passed around likely contain not blood but rather San Pedro brew. Other images also show combination of the passing of cups and floating spirits (Figures 19 and 20).

Another common scene in Moche art depicts individuals approaching structures in which shamanic figures sit (Figure 21). The structures typically have spears protruding from the roof (Figures 21,22 and 23). Within the structure, the shaman sits

with either vessels or jars around him (Figures 21 and 22) or holding a cup (Figure 23). In yet others, the shaman is shown chanting within the structure (Figure 24). Dobkin de Rios identifies these structures as temporary structures called *tambos*. She reports having witnessed the construction of these temporary structures to conduct "drug sessions" under them (1977;197).

The scene in Figure 23 shows a procession of nude figures, some carried in k the image to the ancient Moche shamanic complex. It is important to note that the nude figures precede the warriors that hold the end of their ropes. A typical prisoner image shows captives being lead, not followed. Dobkin de Rios interprets the haircuts and deranged expressions of the nude figures as marking them as insane (1977;197).

An element of the modern *Mesa* that was noted in all examples discussed in this paper is the presence of swords, knives and staffs standing up in front of it. Calderon explained these weapons as both defenses against *shapingos* and antenna to attract spirit companions. Sharon draws a comparison between the figures carved into the tops of Calderon's staffs and staffs found in excavations of Moche ruins (1978;63). This paper suggests that there is a connection between the staffs and swords of the modern *Mesas* and the staffs that protrude off of the structures Dobkin de Rios terms *tambos* in the ancient art (Figures 21, 22 and 23). A beautiful staff recently excavated at the Moche ceremonial center of Sipan lends further support to this hypothesis (Figure 26). Atop the staff sits the image of a *tambo* completely surrounded by upright staffs. Within the *tambo*, an image of the Fanged Deity has sex with a woman. Donnan, Benson and Dobkin de Rios all agree that erotic images in Moche art are of a magico-religious nature. It is the interpretation of your author that the staffs in Figure 26 are serving the same purpose as the staffs of the modern *Mesa*, antennae to channel the spirits. Further, even scenes of shamanic content without structures often include an upright

staff as part of the image (Figures 11,17,18 and 19).

The image of the Fanged Deity having sex with a woman is another repeated scene in Moche art. In Figure 27, three very similar scenes involving this motif are compared. The center image appears to be the Fanged Deity but the upper and lower images feature mortal men. Many elements of Moche shamanism discussed in this paper are present in these images. The scene is also reminiscent of Gillin's description of the powers of evil brujos in the village of Moche. He reported that evil brujos sent *shapingos* to have sex with women and often transformed into birds (1947;128). It is possible that the scenes of Figure 27 are showing evil spirits attacking a female patient and the healer is an anthropomorphized bird dowsing the couple with liquid from a jar.

The final element of the *Mesa* ceremony that will be discussed here are the sea shells. Again, all accounts of *Mesa* ceremonies report the use of shells to snuff liquid through the nose during the "raising" ritual. Conch shells are part of the ancient Moche shamanic complex, clearly demonstrated in the images (Figure 21), but appear to have been used to whistle through. The shells used for snuffing are flat shells and are rare in Moche art. In the recent Sipan excavations, however, elite individuals were found interred with many flat spondylous shells, among other objects (Figure 28).

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that many of the elements of the modern *Mesa de Brujo* ceremony are present in ancient Moche art depicting shamanic activities. The *Mesa* itself, however, is absent from the ancient imagery. This paper proposes that the *Mesa* was developed at the time of conquest in response to Spanish colonial attempts to wipe out "witch craft" in Peru. Curanderismo and brujeria alike have been against the law since the time of conquest and have had to adapt to this

persecution in order to survive.

In 1638, in his Cronica Moralizada, Father Antonio de la Calancha makes mention of a detention camps for shamans who were being punished for idolatry. Calancha's report was from another priest who wrote of a shaman who said he had visited the detention camp during trance from over two miles away (1638:631-33).

Sharon cites a legal case against a curer in 1782 accused of curing with a brew. The curer escaped but his amulets and talismans were found and confiscated. Sharon suggests the objects were similar to those found on the modern *Mesa* (1978;43).

As a final example, in 1947 a group of informants from the village of Moche related to Gillin a story of a *Mesa* ceremony that was raided by the police. The wife of an influential man in time fell very ill and a *Mesa* ceremony was done to heal her. The ceremony took place in a secluded part of the campo and the patient was carried there. On the second night, the ceremony was raided by the police. As luck would have it, the husband was friends with the police chief and was able to bribe him to allow the ceremony to continue. The wife was cured during that second night and, in a third night session, the curandero told her the identity of the attacker; a jealous niece (1947;123).

Many of the elements of the *Mesa* ceremony are present in the ancient art; the hallucinogens used, the pilgrimages to collect them, the drinking of San Pedro, the healing of patients, the chanting, the shells, the assistants, the onlooking participants and the staffs and swords to protect the ceremonies. The *Mesa* in the northern coastal valleys of Peru was created as a mobile setting used to created sacred space for a folk healing tradition practiced since ancient Moche times. What once was practiced in permanent, public structures was forced into hiding by the conquest. Healers needed a space that could be easily moved to avoid authorities, hence the birth of the *Mesa de Brujo*.

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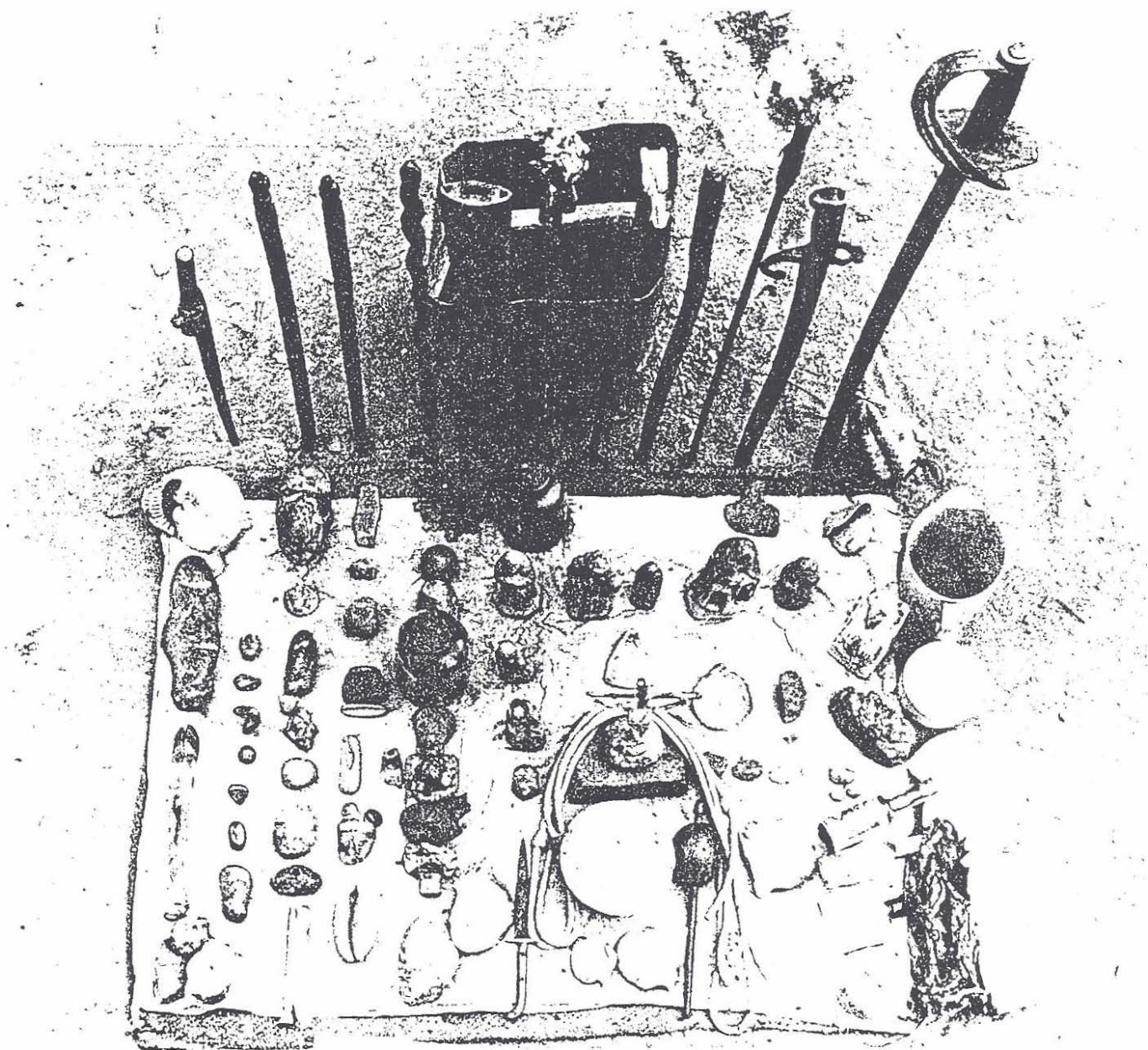


Figure 1. Mesa de Brujo (from Sharon 1978)

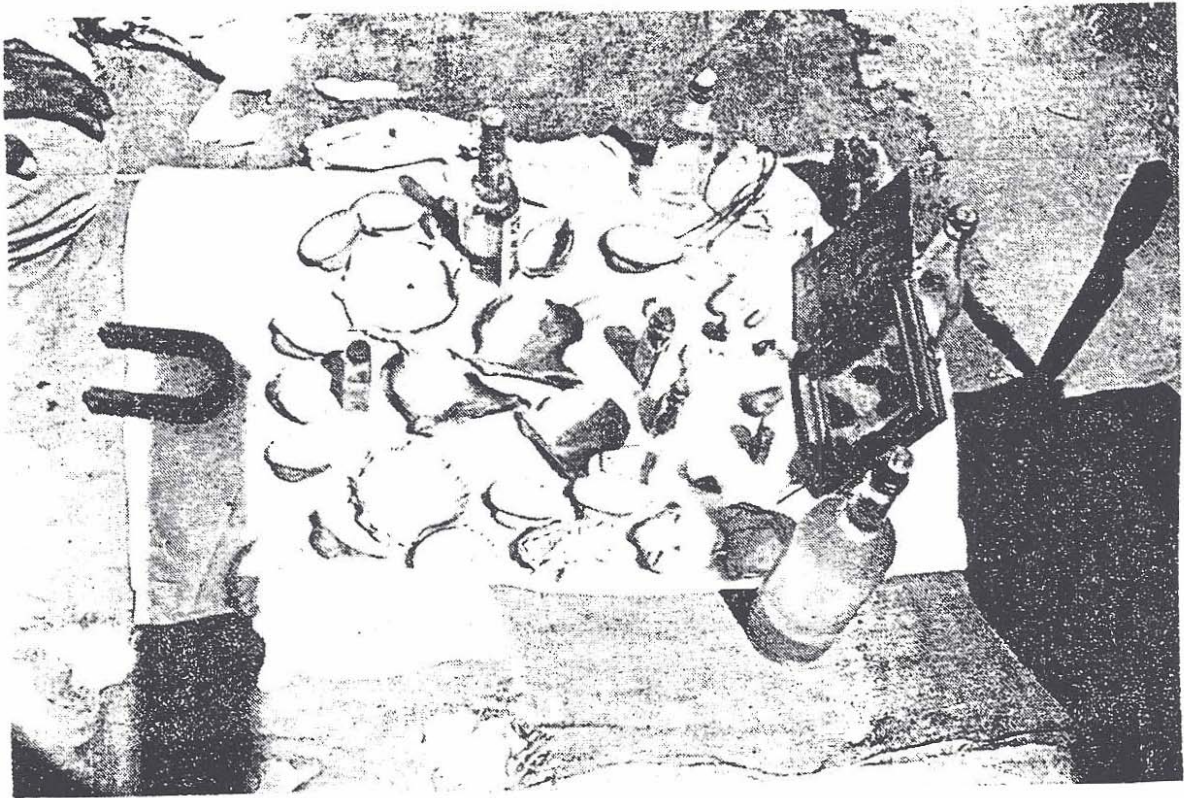


Figure 2. Mesa de Brujo of Gillin's informant (from Gillin 1947)



Figure 3. Eduardo Calderon at his Mesa (from Sharon 1978)

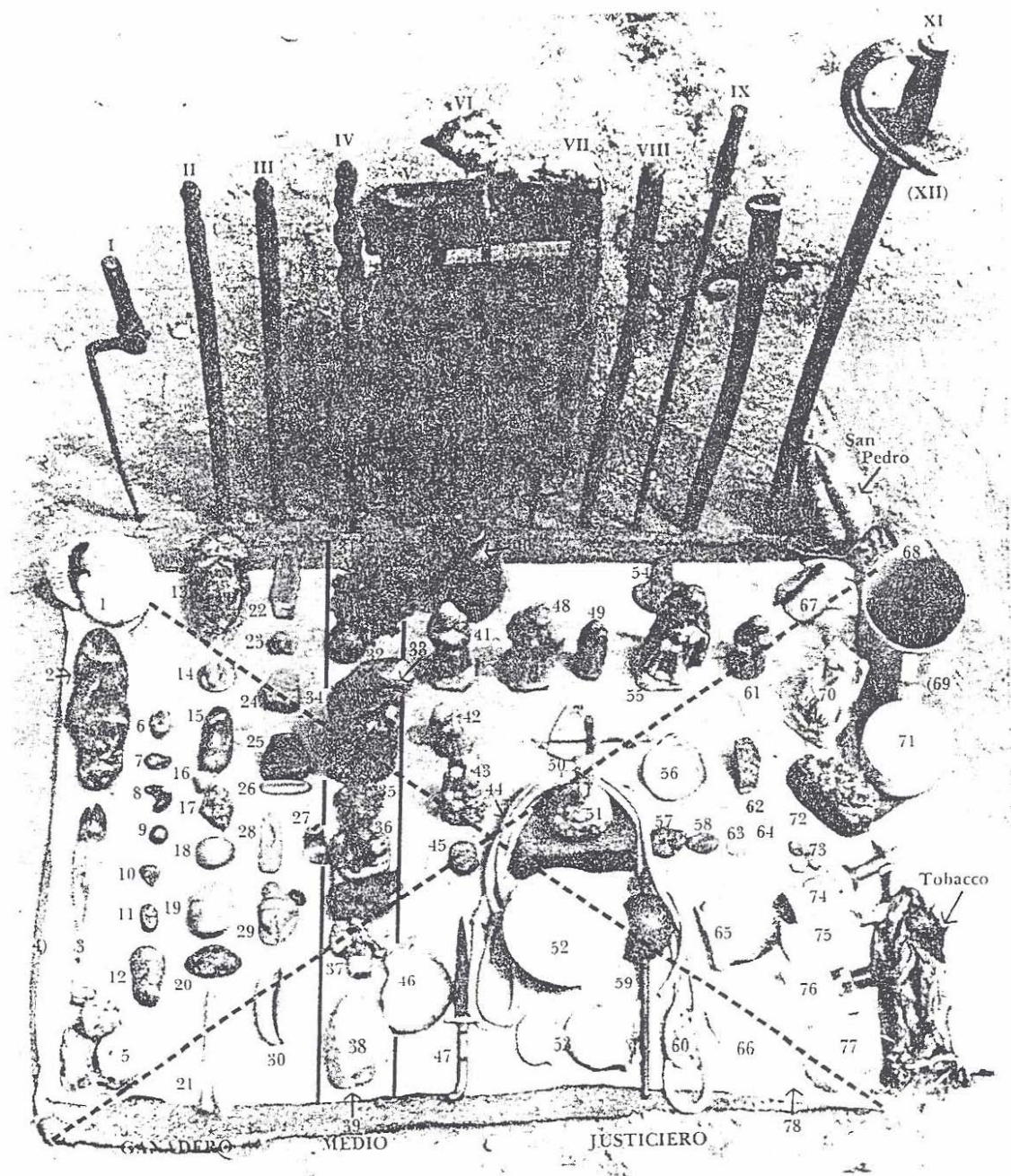


Figure 4. Divisions of Calderon's Mesa (from Sharon 1978)

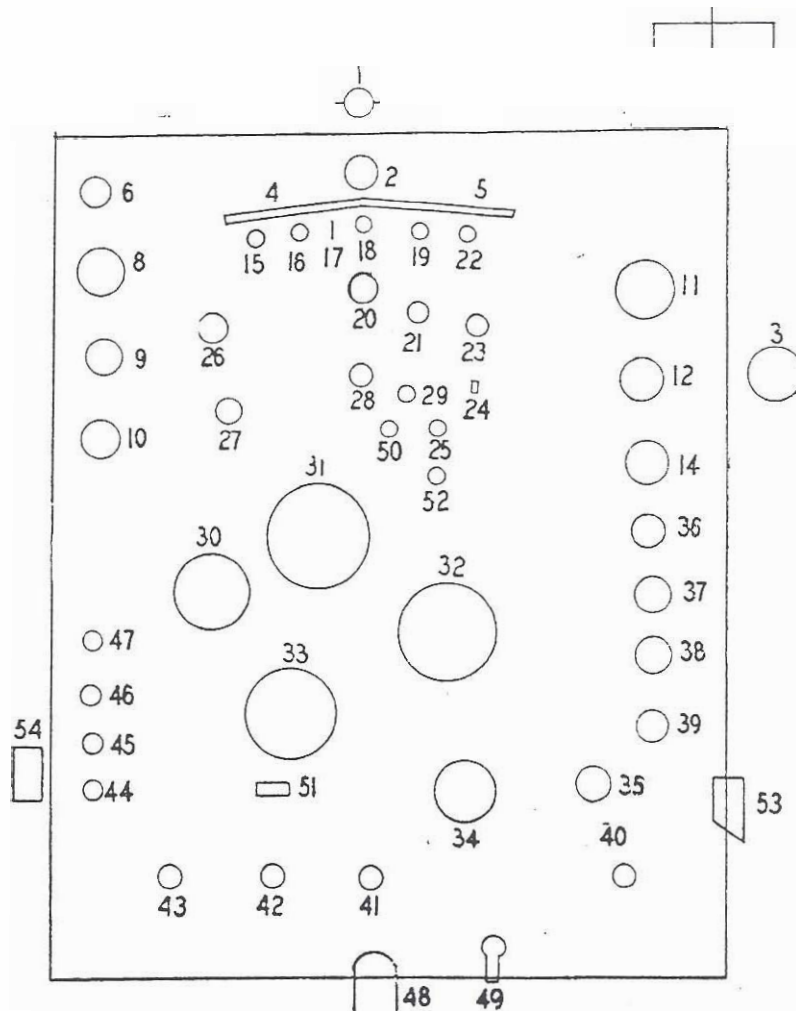


Figure 5. Diagram of Mesa objects from Gillin (1947)



Figure 6. Depictions of San Pedro and Misha (from Dobkin de Rios 1977)





Figure 7. Shaman healer (from Donnan 1978)

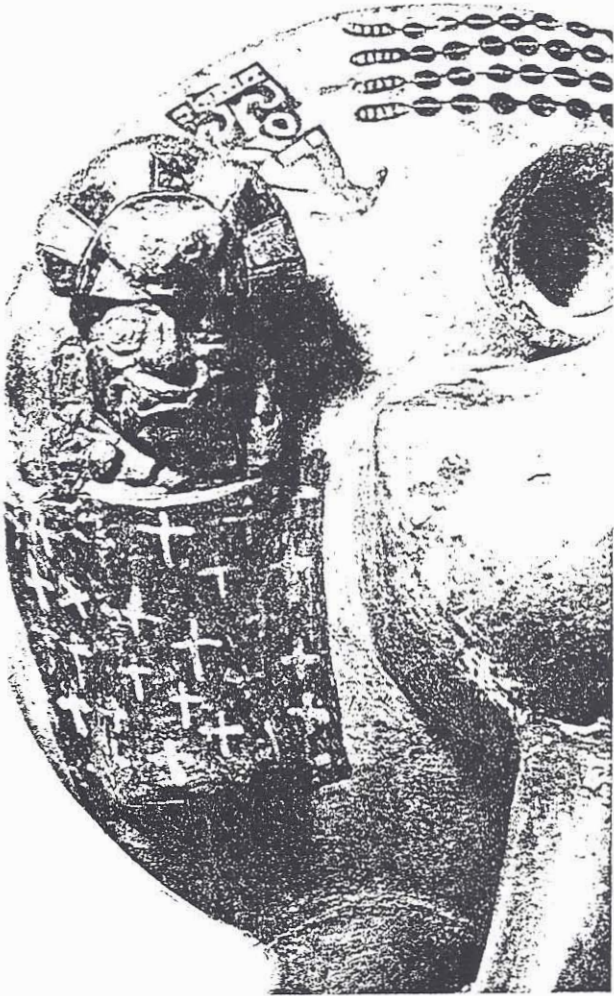


Figure 8. Patient with the face of the Fanged Deity (from Donnan 1978)

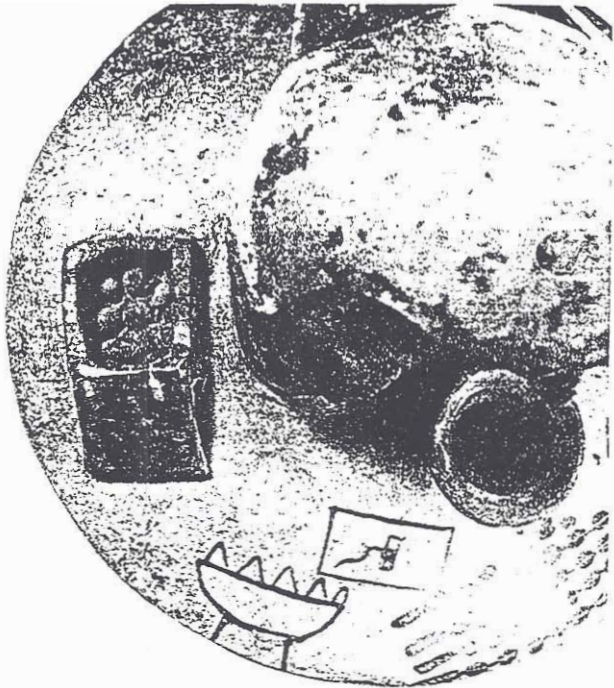


Figure 9. Box of Objects (from Donnan 1978)

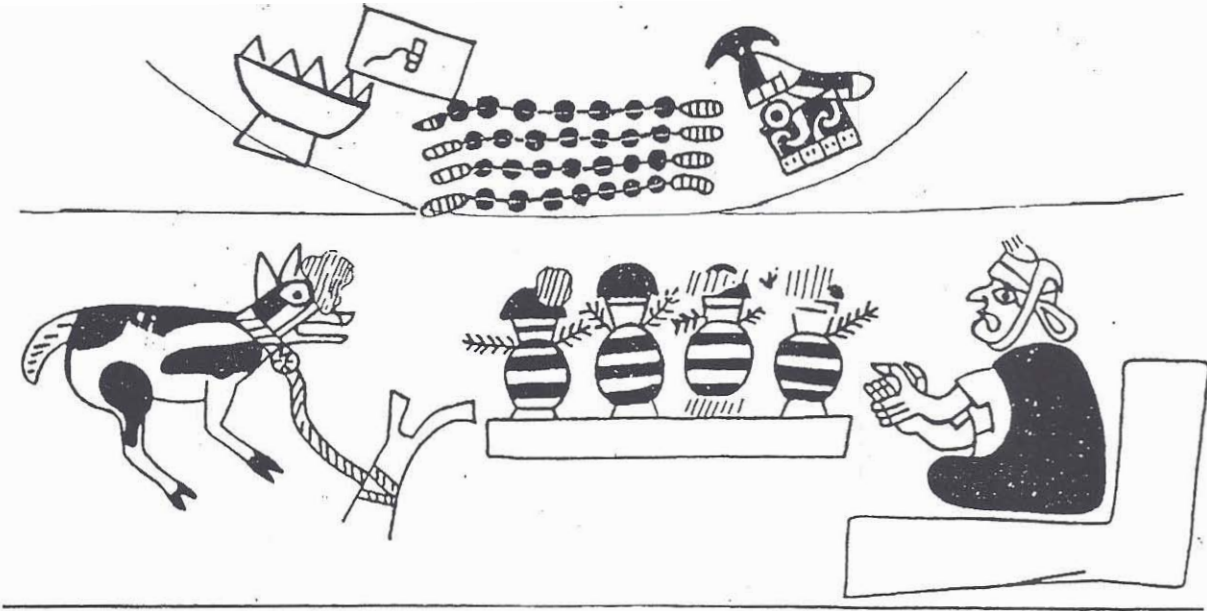


Figure 10. Image on the lower register of the healer vessel (from Hocquenghem 1987)



Figure 11. Shamanic ceremony

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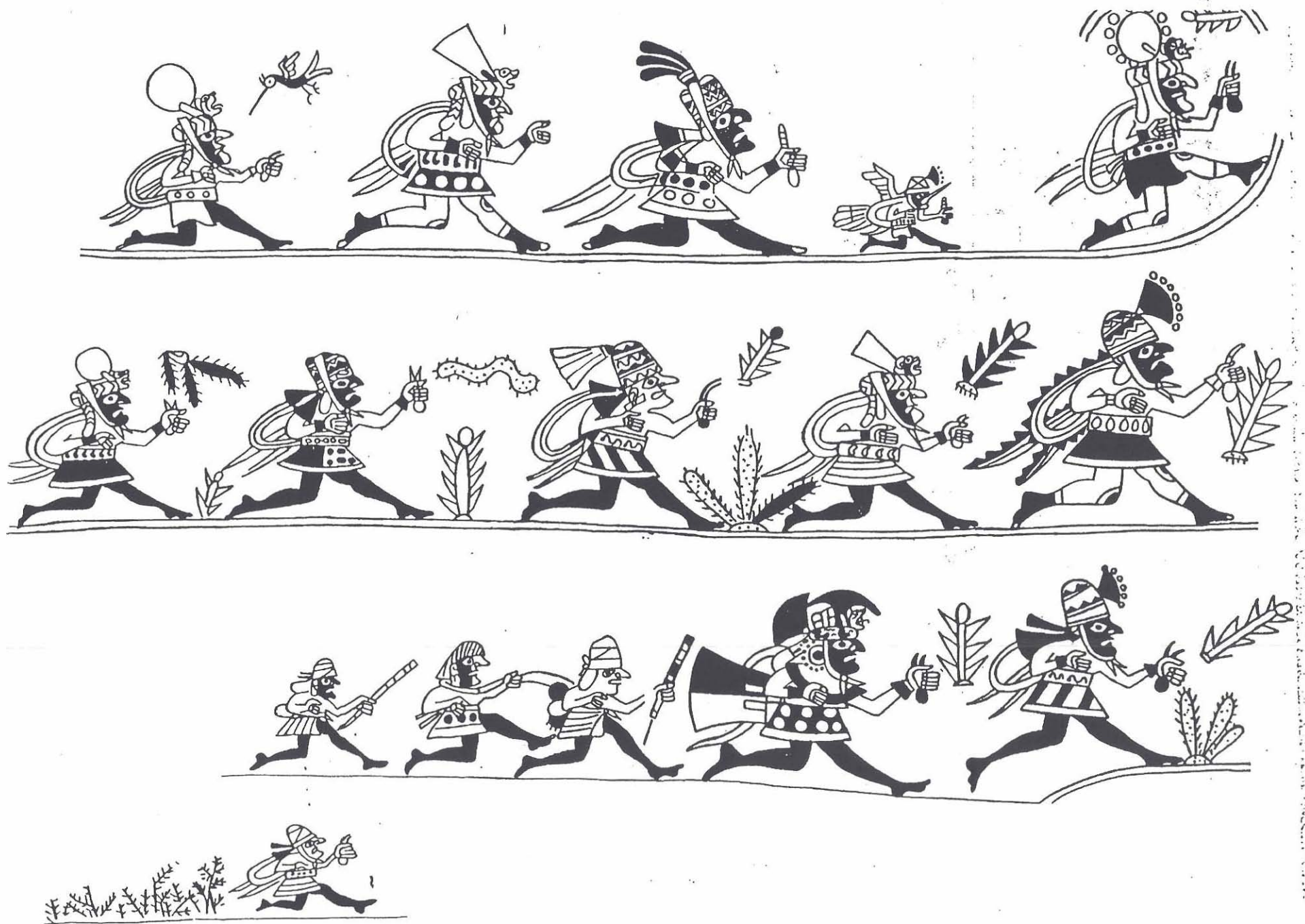


Figure 12. Pilgrimage (from Kutscher 1983)

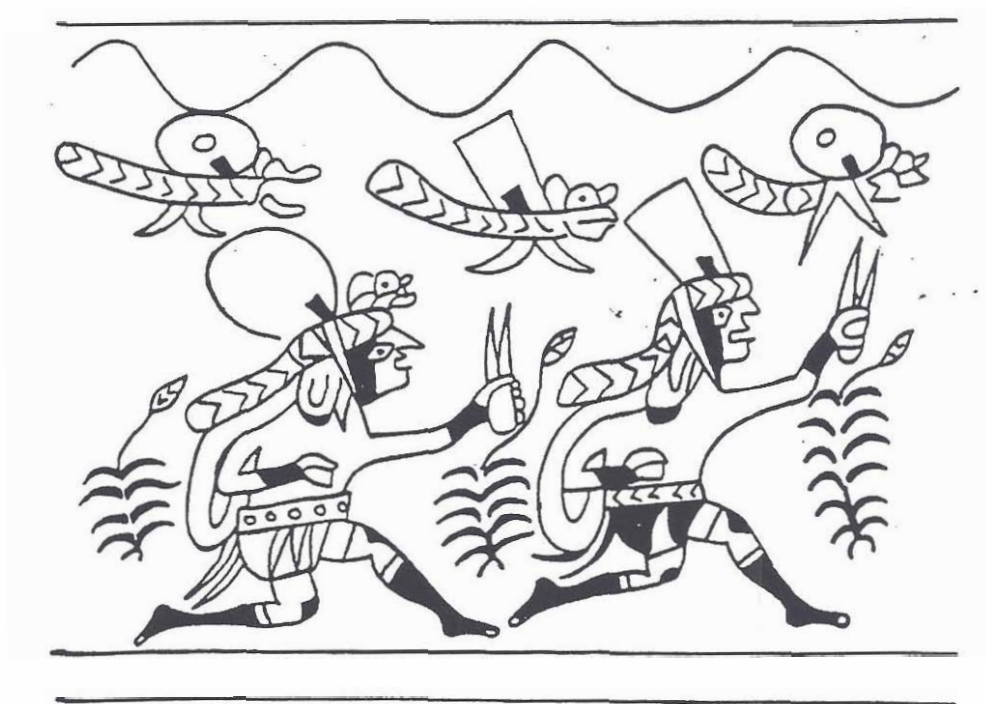


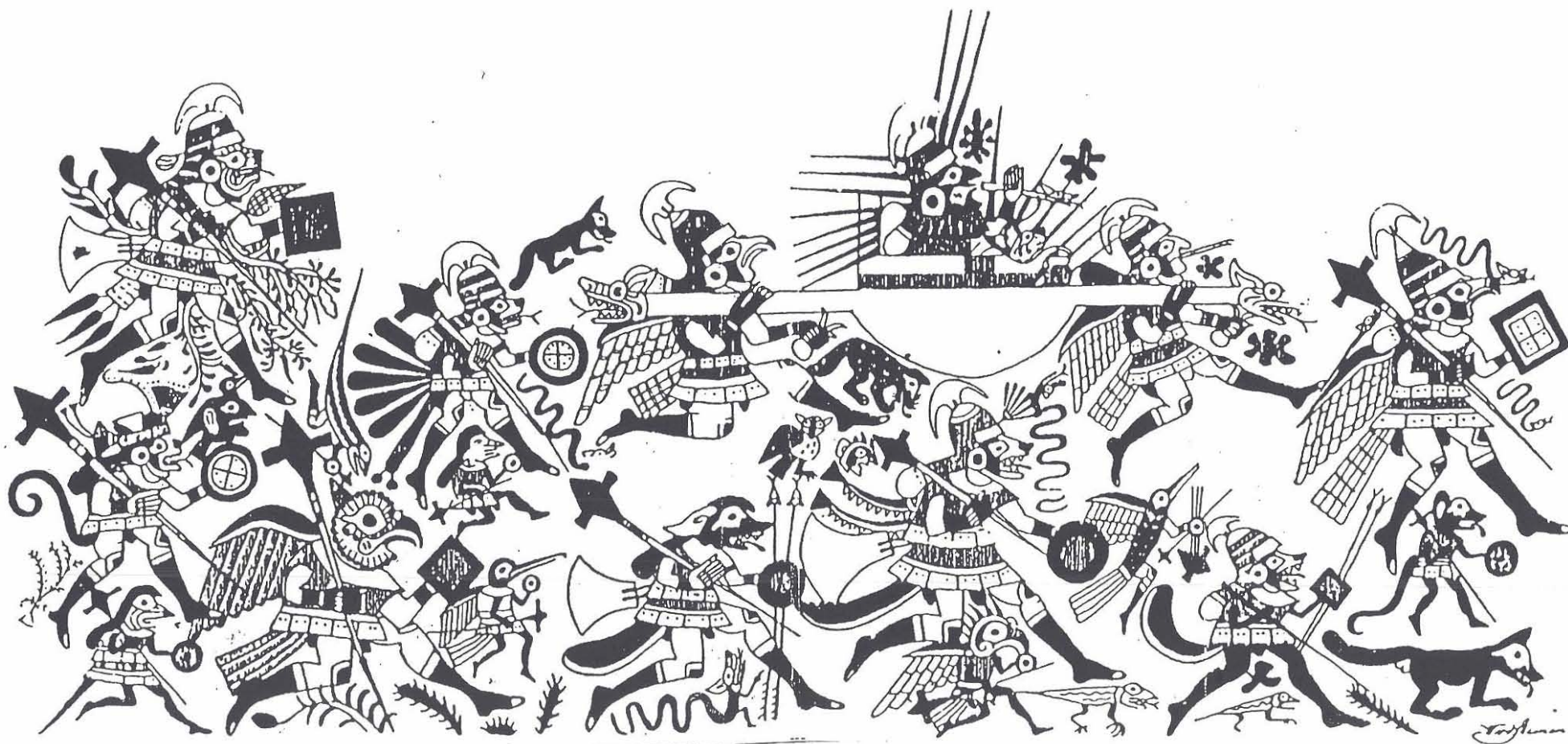
Figure 13. Pilgrimage to gather Misha (from Kutscher 1983)



Figure 15. Pilgrimage (from Kutscher 1987)



Figure 14. Pilgrimage (from Kutscher 1983)



Pilgrimage

Hocquenghem

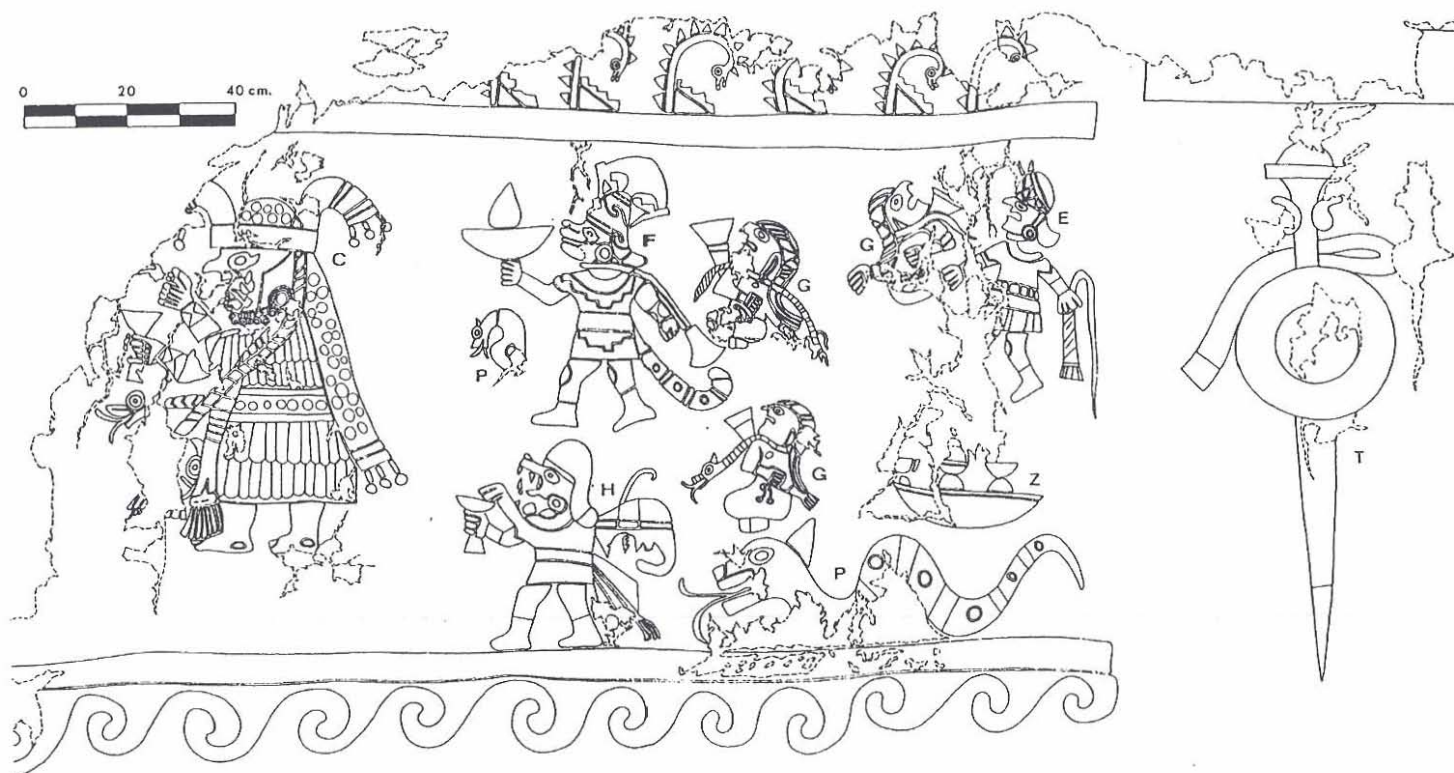


Figure 17. Cup presentation scene (from Donnan 1978)

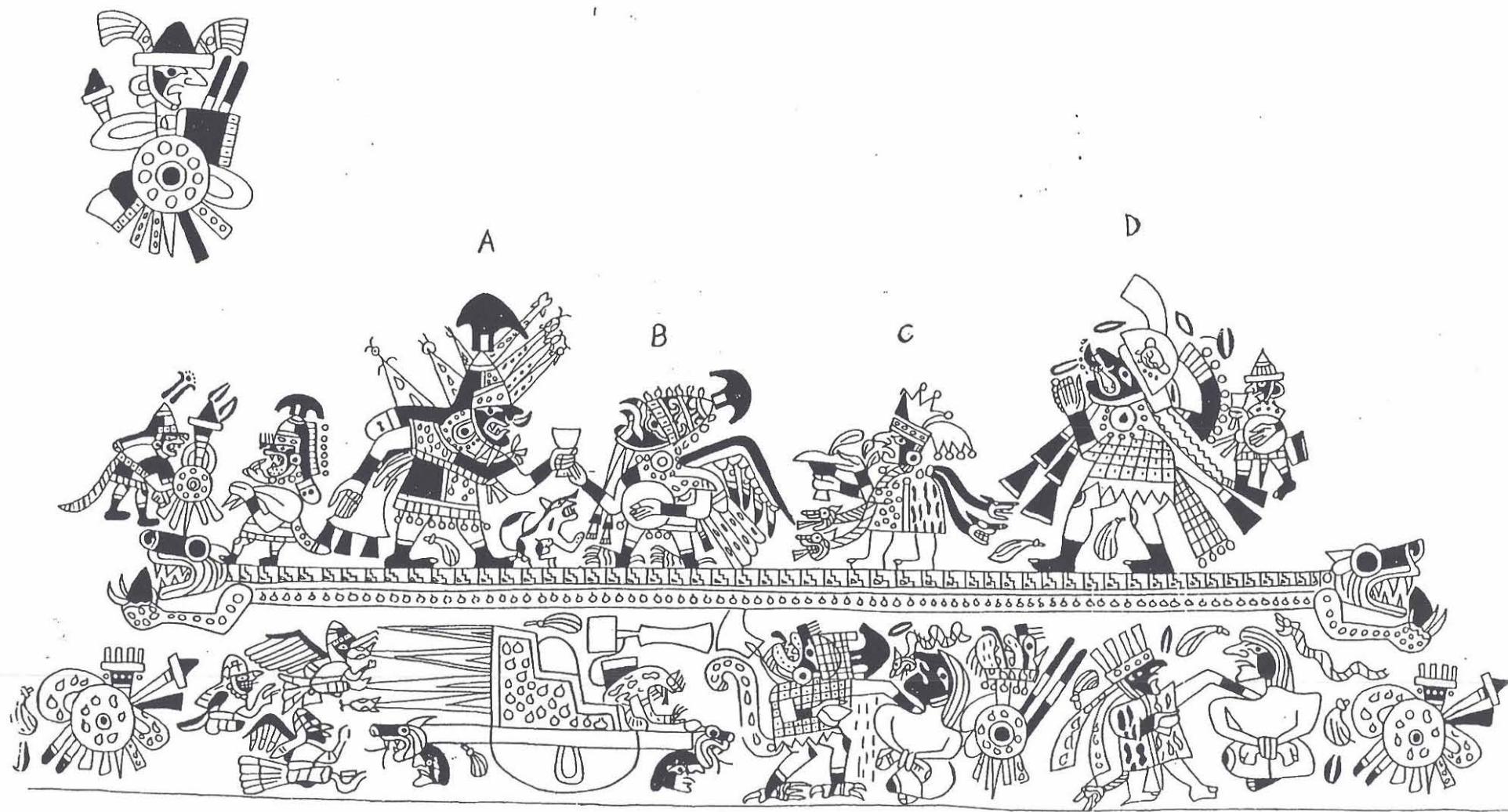


Figure 18. Donnan's Presentation Ceremony (from Kutscher 1983)



Figure 19. Cup presentation and floating spirits (from Alva and Donnan 1993)



Figure 20. Cup presentation and floating spirits (from Kutscher 1983)



Figure 21. Shaman inside a structure (from Kutscher 1983)

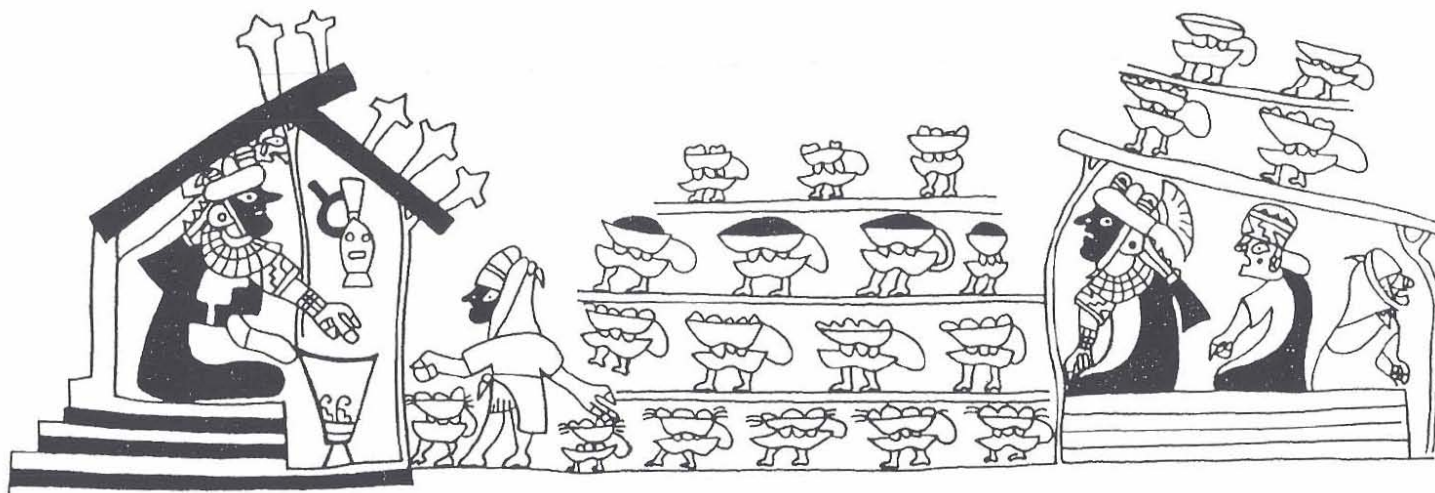


Figure 22. Shaman inside a structure (from Kutscher 1983)



Figure 23. Procession of patients being carried to a shaman (from Kutscher 1983)

*This surely looks
like "holding papers"*

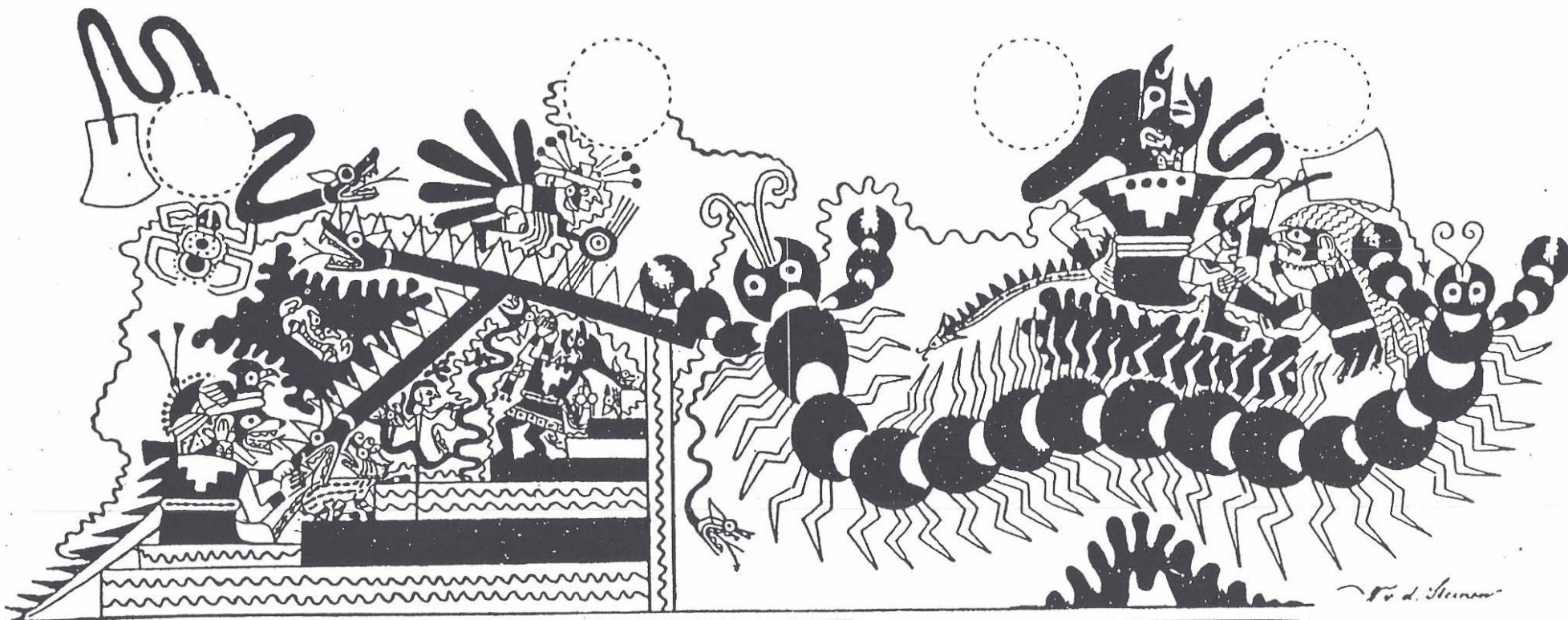


Figure 24. Chanting shaman inside a structure (from Hocquenghem 1987)



Figure 25. Roped, naked figures (from Dobkin de Rios 1977)

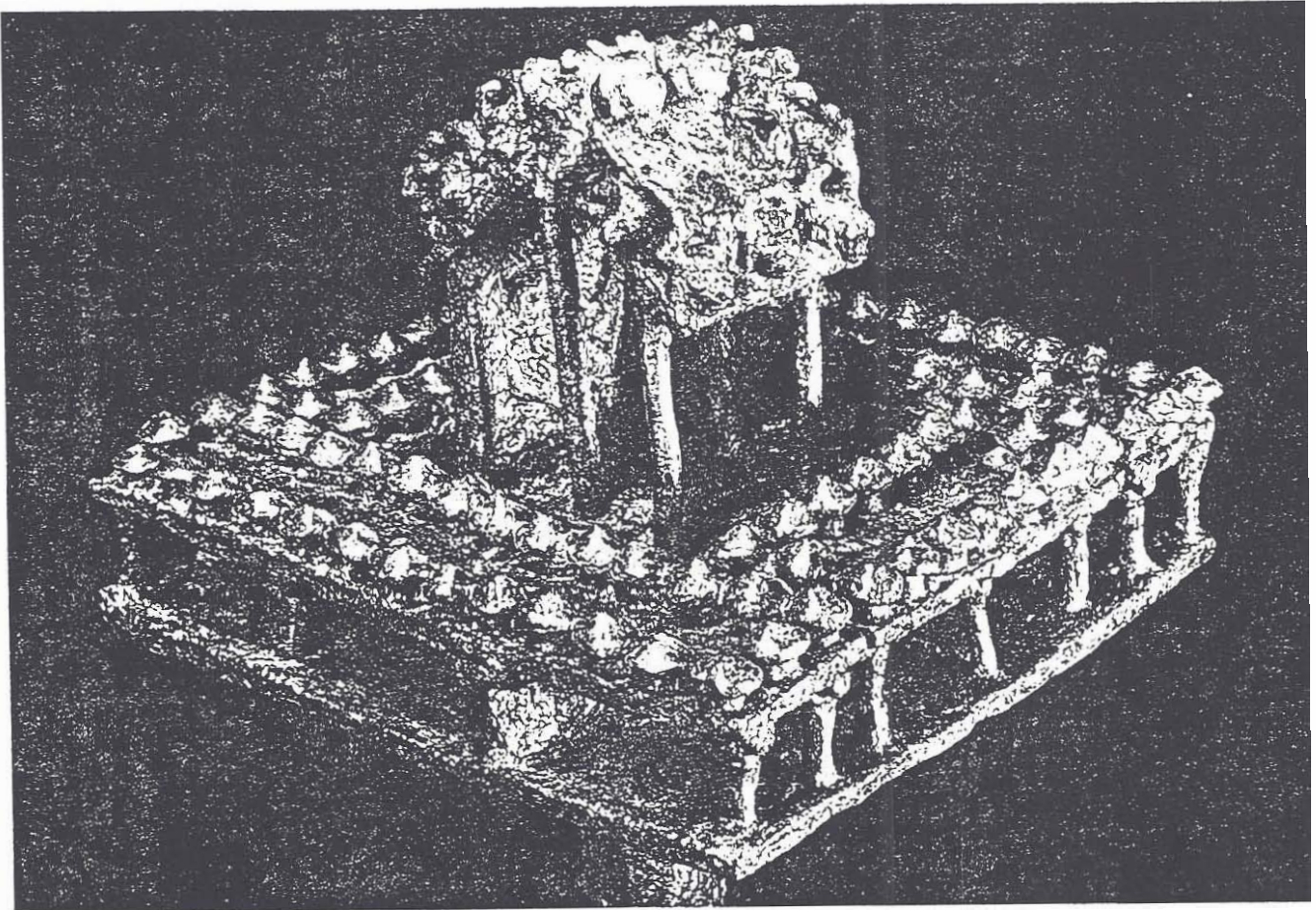


Figure 26. Structure surrounded by spears (from Alva and Donnan 1993)

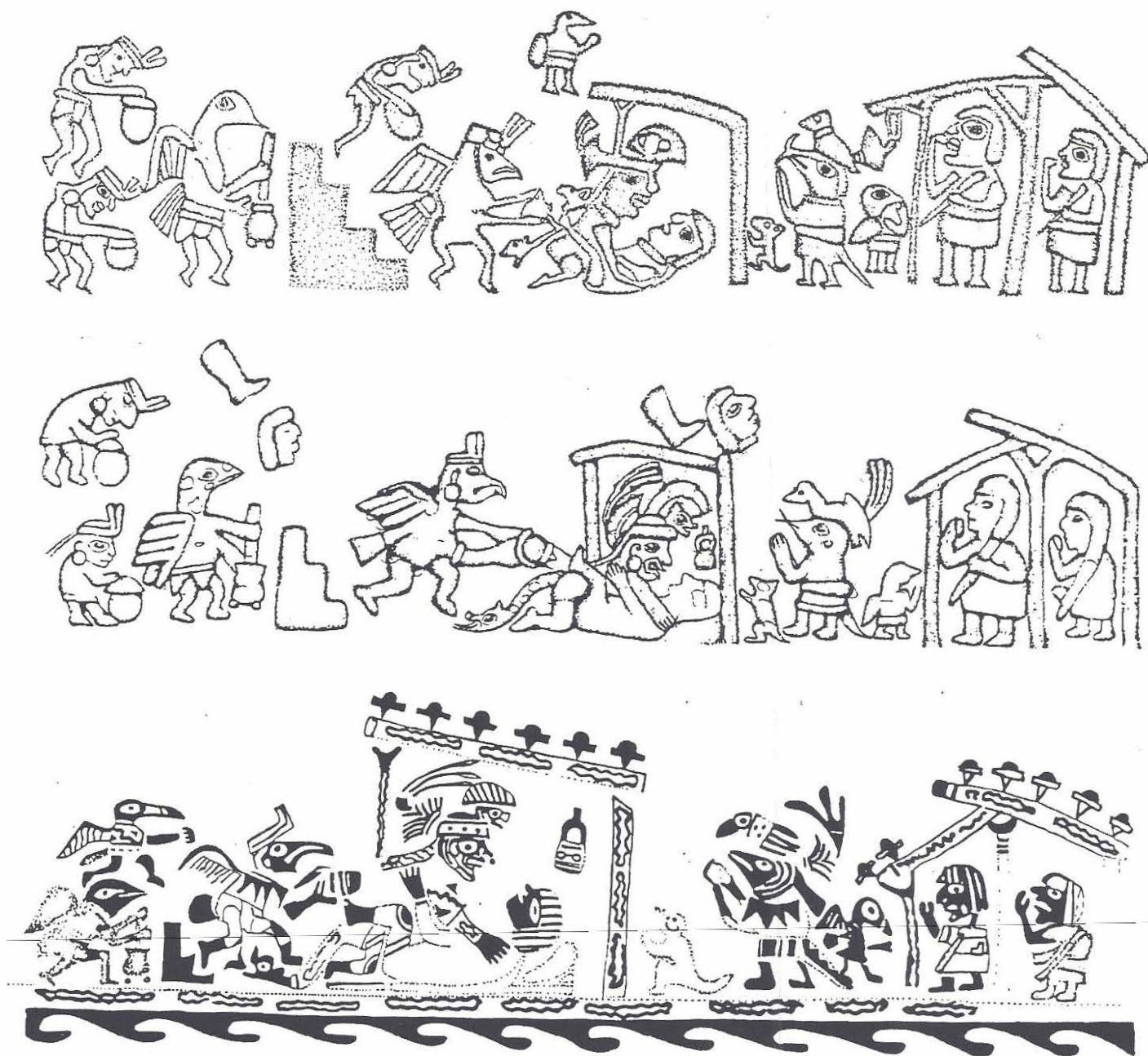


Figure 27. Shamanic copulation scene (Donnan 1978)

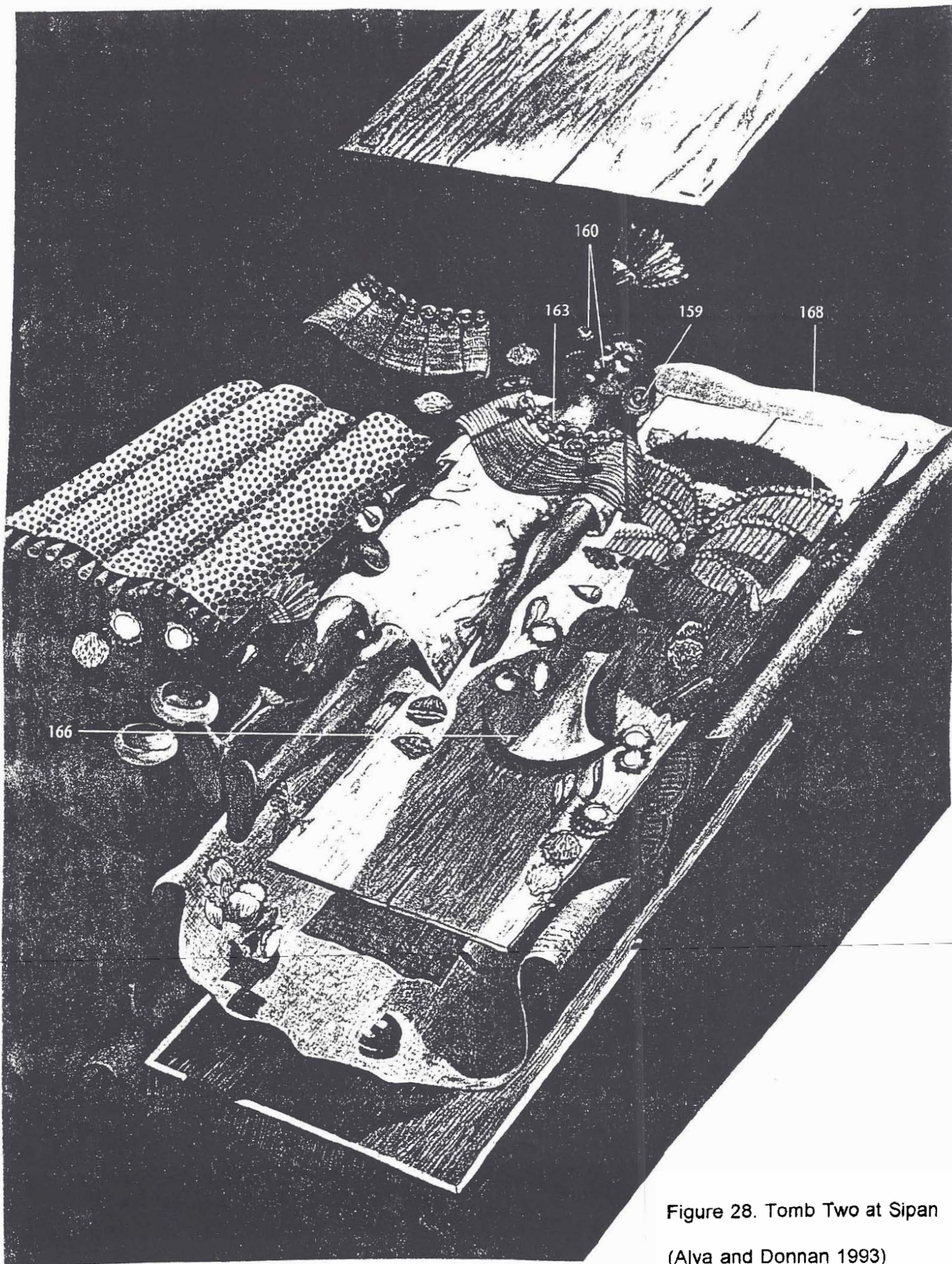


Figure 28. Tomb Two at Sipan

(Alva and Donnan 1993)