The Iconography of Middle American Sculpture

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art
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Stone Sculpture from Southern Central America

Wolfgang Haberland
Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, Hamburg

1. Generalized phases and/or periods of cultural development, southern Central America. After various sources.

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Stone monuments from southern Central America were first reported about the middle of the nineteenth century (Friedrichsthal 1841; Squier 1850, 1852; Boyle 1868). They did not, however, stimulate a continuing interest, as did the Maya monuments. Investigations of them nearly ceased. If one excludes notices on newly discovered styles, only a few articles about Central American monuments can be named (Richardson 1940; Mason 1945; Stone 1961). Modern investigations and good photographs of the objects are largely unavailable. Therefore the often fanciful drawings of Bovallius (1886) and Squier (1852) are still used for discussions of Nicaraguan statues (for example, in Lothrop 1966). This is like using Waldeck's drawings (1838) for a comparison of Maya monuments. Some reasons for the neglect of our topic may be the absence of extensive cities, ceremonial centers, and buildings; the inaccessibility of the monuments; and the absence of stratigraphically established chronologies. It is significant that only after the development of the first chronologies, photographs instead of the old drawings accompanied a general book on Central American archaeology (Baudez 1970).

2. Southern Central America with distribution of main stone sculpture styles.
   1- Penonomé I and II
   2- Villalba
   3- Cébaco
   4- Barriles
   5- Diquis and Palmar
   6- Capelladas
   7- Mercedes
   8- Subtiaba
   9- Lake
To overcome the difficulties inherent in such scattered material, an account must be given of the main styles of stone figures in Panama, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua, describing their general characteristics, dating them as far as possible, and comparing them with one another. The emphasis will be on human and animal figures. Excluded will be functional stone sculptures such as altars, metates, mace heads, and so on, which would require a special paper, and also miniature stone carvings. Finally, singular pieces as well as some groups of smaller figures are omitted, especially if they lack adequate dates. Their inclusion would only confuse the already difficult picture. For general information, I present a sequence of phases and periods (figure 1) and a map showing the distribution of the major styles (figure 2).

The first group in the south I turn to is the one found by Verrill (1927; n.d.) in the vicinity of Penonome, province of Coclé, Panama. Only about a dozen of the more than one hundred statues mentioned by Verrill (1927, pl. IV) have ever been published (Verrill 1927, figs. 16-20; n.d., pls. opposite pp. 76, 84; Lothrop 1937, fig. 17; 1942, fig. 419; Dockstader 1964, fig. 188). There are also a few sculptures at the Museo Nacional de Panama, some of them mislabeled as coming from Barriles (Torres 1966, p. 21; compare Verrill 1927, fig. 18), at the Museum of the American Indian, New York, and at the Rietberg Museum, Zürich (figures 3, 4). Even this inadequate material, which is dated into the early Coclé phase (A.D. 500-800) (Ladd 1964, p. 222) points to at least, perhaps contemporaneous, perhaps not.

Stone columns with only the head set off and sculptured somewhat two-dimensionally form the Penonome I style. The arms, the "snakelike" curved legs, and the male genitals are carved in flat relief on the columnar body (Verrill 1927, figs. 17, 18; n.d., pl. opposite p. 76, upper right and lower left; Lothrop 1937, fig. 17). The only attribute that can be detected is a flute held by one of the figures (Dockstader, fig. 188). Sometimes the relief is more deeply carved, the columnar character more disguised, as in the Rietberg monument (figure 3). This statue is further distinguished by a second figure, perhaps a monkey, clinging to its back (figure 4).

The Rietberg monument forms a transition to the Penonome II style. Here, the figures are fully rounded and more naturalistic. Judging from the only two examples published (Verrill n.d., pl. opposite p. 76, upper left, opposite p. 84, bottom), the squatting or sitting figures are placed on medium-high square pedes-


tals, which may be characteristic of this style. If this holds true, animals (birds: Verrill 1927, fig. 18; jaguars: ibid., fig. 20) on rather large pedestals should be included. One of these pedestals with a jaguar on top, in the Museum of the American Indian, shows in addition a small human figure in a flat relief; one of its arms is held by the jaguar with a forepaw. Jaguars are also shown in a sitting-up position (Lothrop 1942, fig. 419). Two figures with human bodies and jaguar heads, in the Brooklyn Museum (Bennett 1954, fig. 193; von Winning 1968, figs. 520, 521), could also belong to this style, even if they are sometimes said to come from Chiriquí. If the Brooklyn figures could be traced to a Chiriquí origin, however, they might be included in the Villalba style, named after an island off David, in Chiriquí (Haberland 1960a).

Only two of the figures at Villalba, mounted on high round shafts, were still complete in 1959. Other pedestals showed remnants of sculptures broken off and carried away (Haberland 1960a, fig. 4). One of the complete figures was a standing female, rather crudely carved (figure 5) (ibid., fig. 3B), the other a small armadillo (ibid., fig. 3A). While stylistic differences between the human figures of Villalba and Penonomé II are obvious (according to the few examples known to me) there is a general similarity, not exclusively based on the fact that in both groups the figures are mounted on shafts. A connection between the two styles seems probable but needs further investigation. Dating, which would play a significant role, is difficult since no excavation has yet been done at the Villalba site (Linares 1968, pp. 12-13). Some sherds I picked up there indicate an occupation during the San Lorenzo phase (A.D. 800-1100).

The connections and dating of the Cébaco style, also from Chiriquí, are even more obscure, since its four figures are without any accompanying material (Holmes 1888, fig. 6; MacCurdy 1911, fig. 40; Museo Chiricano 1966, frontispiece). All are standing females without bases. While in general they can be considered naturalistic, a trend to geometric shapes is unmistakable. It is demonstrated by the rendering of the upper extremities: shoulders and lower arms are horizontally placed, the upper arm is vertical, being separated from the body by rectangular spaces. The face is triangular. A headband and a belt, always present, the belt sometimes with incised ornaments, are the only decorations.

A third group of stone figures in Chiriquí is found at Barriles and other sites along the Costa Rica-Panama frontier (Barriles, Chiriquí: Haberland 1960c; Torres, and others; Santa Marta, Chiriquí: Vidal Fraitts 1968; Cerro Gordo, Diquis region: von Winning, fig. 516). Most important are the double figures, showing an adorned male riding pickaback on a nude male (Torres, p. 16, left; Baudez, fig. 104) (figure 6). They are usually interpreted as "kings" riding slaves. The single figures are all males, standing on small round bases (Haberland 1960c, figs. 3, 4; Torres, p. 16, right, 18; Baudez, fig. 105). Their ornaments are similar to those of the "kings" and include necklaces with anthropomorphic figures, waistbands, conical
5. Female stone figure in Villalba style, photographed on Isla de los Muertos (Villalba), province of Chiriquí, Panama.

6. Double figure in Barriles style. The “king” wears a “coolie” hat and anthropomorphic pendants. In his left hand he holds a trophy head. From the Barriles site, province of Chiriquí, Panama. Museo Nacional de Panama.

“coolie” hats, and trophy heads. The figures can be called naturalistic, in spite of the fact that the arms are quite elongated and tubular. The pronounced triangular faces recall the Cébaco style. As shown earlier by me (1960b, p. 13; 1960c, p. 721) and recently confirmed (Ichón, 1968), the Barriles style is part of the Aguas Buenas phase (Haberland 1955). Other stone sculptures, all functional, of this phase are large, highly ornamented metates with caryatids (Torres, p. 20), a “stone altar,” with the only female figure (ibid., pp. 23–24), stone drums with relief sculpture on the flat sides (ibid., p. 15; Sander 1961, fig. 2), and the famous “stone balls” (Lothrop 1963, pls. V-VII; Stone 1948, p. 30; and others). The connection of the stone balls with this group is ascertained at Santa Marta, where fragments of Barriles figures, a drum, and a ball were found together (Vidal Fraîts), and at La Pintada (near San Vito de Java, Costa Rica), where I picked up Aguas Buenas sherds after drums and balls had been removed (Luigi Minelli, personal communication). The dating of Aguas Buenas is still uncertain. However, there are indications to place it either A.D. 1-300 or A.D. 300-500 (Haberland 1969a).
The Diquis style of southern Costa Rica is well known for its flat, highly stylized standing figures, male and female. Several substyles occur, but these may be due only to the different skills of the sculptors. Often rectangular slits (between the legs and between the arms and body) together with horizontal bars (shoulders, hands and genitals, feet and rounded base) give the figure its geometric appearance (Lothrop 1963, pls. Xb, XIII, XIva-b, XVI) (figure 7). This impression is fortified by the short tubelike neck and the gently curved face with its only slightly raised features. In this, the most geometric type, the arms hang down. On the other figures they are bent, with the hands on the stomach, or raised to the breast or shoulder, and so forth (ibid., pls. XII, XIVc, XVb). Here the slits between arms and body are often omitted. Most of the figures are naked. The rare belts are usually snakelike (ibid., pl. XII). Bands on legs and arms are more frequent (ibid., pls. Xe, XIII, XIVa) (figure 7). A few seem to wear short shoulder capes (ibid., pl. XIVa) (figure 7) and headbands or headdresses (ibid., pls. VIIIc, XIla, XVIII). Other attributes are trophy heads (ibid., pl. XII), scarifications (ibid., pl. XVIII; Mason, pl. 59E, C), what may be half masks (ibid., pls. 58A, E, 59B, E), and a staff or club (ibid., pl. 59A). Besides humans, mythical beings with human bodies and jaguar heads occur (Lothrop 1963, pls. XIX-XXI). They are often highly ornamented and show forked tongues ending in snake heads (ibid., pl. XXI). Finally, we find rounded but also highly stylized figures of jaguars (ibid., pl. XXIa; Mason, pl. 60C, D), crocodiles (Lothrop 1963, pl. XXIb, B), and birds (Mason, pl. 60B). The dating of this important group, which shows some stylistic similarities to the Cébaco style, is still uncertain (Lothrop 1963, p. 29). Personal communication in the field indicates, however, the possibility that they are contemporaneous, or part of, the Boruca phase, dating about A.D. 1100-1500.

The Palmar style is found in the same region of southern Costa Rica (Mason, pls. 52D, E, 53C-E; Lothrop 1963, fig. 9, pls. IXb, XIa-e, XVa). Its figures, which are all, as far as can be ascertained, male, are fashioned from boulders, with features in flat relief. Only the heads are more pronounced. Necks are missing, as are, sometimes, the lower extremities, which otherwise are straight or, rarely, curving. Two staffs held vertically (ibid., fig. 9) are the most prominent of the few attributes. The dating of these rather simple figures is uncertain, so nothing can be said about their relationship with the Diquis style. Certain stylistic trends, like the treatment of the faces, indicate that the Palmar group may have been the base from which the Diquis style developed.

One of the best-known styles of stone sculpture in southern Central America, the Mercedes, is found in the Valle Central of Costa Rica and its Atlantic watershed, especially the region of Linea Vieja. Mason's study of the Keith collection, Hartman's report on his excavations (1901), and publications by Doris Stone (1948, 1961) give a good idea of the scope and content of this style. Most of the naturalistic three-dimensional figures fall into one of three types, which are united through
style and the absence of bases. One type consists of standing females, whose hands usually support their breasts (Mason, pls. 36, 37). Besides their elaborate coiffures, only a waistband (ibid., pl. 37C) or a scarification (ibid., pl. 39E) occurs. Another type, standing males (ibid., pls. 40, 41), shows many more attributes. Except for a few with ornamented belts (Stone 1961, fig. 7) (figure 8), they, too, are naked. Not rare are trophy heads in the hands or on the back (ibid., fig. 7; Mason, pl. 40; Aguilar 1952) or clubs or axes held in the hand (Mason, pl. 41A,D-F). Whether a figure in the American Museum of Natural History with elaborate scarifications and an animal above its head (Vaillant 1949, p. 46) should be included in this group was once somewhat doubtful because of stylistic differences. However, I recently examined the piece, and as far as the rendering of the face, the shapes of the limbs, and the general treatment are concerned, the figure is quite within the range of the style. The animal on top is a crocodile-like creature, which appears again at the end of the elaborate headband on the right side of the head. As will be mentioned further on, there is a group of several sculptures in the Mercedes style with human bodies and crocodile heads. These

7. Geometric stone figure, female, in Diquis style. Note the shoulder cape and the bands on the arms and legs. Photograph: Carlos Balser.

8. Double figure of standing males, Mercedes style. Note the broad ornamented belts. The left figure wears a trophy head on his back. Photograph: Carlos Balser.
"deities" are all male and profusely ornamented with scarifications. Most probably, the figure in question depicts the same general concept, only in this case the human head has not been transformed and is instead crowned by a complete, if somewhat miniaturized, animal. Whether this is also meant to be a "deity" like the other ones or a priest of its cult is not clear. In any case, this exceptional statue has to be included within the style.

A third type unites the so-called sukia figures, squatting males with their elbows upon their knees, either holding a tubular instrument to their mouths (Lines 1945; Mason, pl. 43) or crossing their arms (ibid., pl. 43A-C). It is believed that they depict shamans, or sukias, using smoking tubes or cigars. Double squatting figures of this type are mostly carved back-to-back (ibid., pl. 44C), while the standing figures are depicted side-by-side, (Lines 1941, fig. 24) (figure 8).

Further types are highly ornamented figures with a human body and a crocodile head (Mason, pl. 35A, B), anthropomorphic monkeys (ibid., fig. 24), and crocodiles (ibid., fig. 26). Exceptional are the numerous human heads (ibid., pls. 45, 47), often richly carved at the crown. Here, the "coolie" hat appears again (ibid., pl. 45D). There is a wealth of functional stonework, all highly ornamented, to be found within the Mercedes style (ibid., pls. 15-34). As Hartman's excavations demonstrated, the Mercedes style is part of the last phase of Highland Costa Rica and may be dated between A.D. 1000 and the Conquest. In the Reventazon Valley on the Atlantic slope, stone figures appear in the Middle B period, dated between A.D. 850 and 1400 (William J. Kennedy, personal communications).

Another style in Highland Costa Rica centers around the Cantón Juan Viñas. The Capelladas style (Lehmann 1913, pp. 83-84, figs. 17-18; Mason, pp. 276-283, figs. 29-33) includes crude kneeling male and female figures, their arms often relieflike, a standing female with a "coolie" hat (ibid., fig. 31), and simple sitting jaguars as well as one bird. There are no indications as to the archaeological connections or dating of these figures.

In Nicaragua the Chontales style has been known at least since 1841, when Friedrichthal reported about it and brought one statue back to Vienna (Nowotny 1956, 1961) (figure 9). Chontales drawings have been published by Richardson (figs. 38, 39a, c). These drawings and the photographs of the Vienna monument (Nowotny 1956, figs. 1-5) were until recently the only material available, since the older drawings (Belt 1874; Boyle; Pim and Seemann 1869) are not reliable. A set of six statues was recently published by Baudez (figs. 84-89). Together with others I have observed in Juigalpa (figures 10,11), capital of Chontales, they form a sufficient corpus from which to generalize. All of them are columns, probably naturally shaped, with a round, oval, or flattened section. If complete, they measure generally between 2 and 2.5 meters, the largest measuring 4.8 meters (Baudez, fig. 88). All the features, including the face, are raised in flat relief. The arms are often bent, with the forearms placed horizontally (figure
9. Side view of Chontales statue, brought by Friedrichsthal in 1841 to Vienna. Note ornamented arm and belt and spear-shaped club across the front of the figure. The two-dimensional quality of this columnar statue is obvious. Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna. Photograph: Fritz Mandl.


10). Frequently, spear-shaped instruments, possibly clubs, are held with both hands (ibid., fig. 87; Richardson, fig. 39a; Nowotny 1956, fig. 1) (figures 9-11). The legs are straight (Richardson, fig. 38a; Baudez, fig. 88), or bent at right angles, as if the person were sitting (Richardson, fig. 38b; Baudez, fig. 85) (figure 9), or, in about fifty percent of the figures, undulating, "snakelike" (Baudez, figs. 84, 86). The feet always point inward regardless of the leg position. The neck is either short or missing entirely. Besides clubs, broad belts are common attributes (Richardson, fig. 39a; Nowotny 1956, fig. 1) (figures 9-11). Occasionally a loincloth is depicted (Baudez, figs. 84, 88). Both belts and loincloths are ornamented with
geometric, often plaitlike patterns. Similar designs sometimes occur on the
extremities (ibid., fig. 85; Richardson, fig. 39a; Nowotny 1956, fig. 3) (figures
9, 11). A snake head in profile at the top of a loincloth is an exception (Baudez,
fig. 84). Some figures wear broad necklaces with pendants (Nowotny 1956, fig.
5; Richardson, figs. 38a, b, 39a). The most complicated of these is a stylized
bird, accompanied by two human figures (Baudez, fig. 85). The headdresses range
from simple bands, sometimes with geometrical ornaments (Richardson, fig. 38a,
and “coolie” hats, to very elaborate affairs (figure 11). About a quarter of
the statues, in spite of extensive damage to the upper parts, still show animals
on the top of the head or headdress (Baudez, fig. 89). Sometimes only a very
close inspection reveals remnants. For instance, Baudez fig. 85 shows nothing,
but my field notes mention “a very weathered animal on the head.” An animal
carved in relief on the head, as it happens sometimes, could not have been
seen, even in mint condition, when the monuments were erect.

Three questions in connection with the Chontales style are especially difficult
to resolve: sex, distribution, and dating. Since the figures’ genitals are not shown,
sex determination is nearly impossible. However, despite the frequency of small
breasts, the loincloths, clublike instruments, and rich ornamentation make the
male sex probable. The distribution is only generally known, since no up-to-date
site map has been compiled, but obviously all or most of the statues come from
the Sierra de Amerisque, which divides Lake Nicaragua from the Atlantic drainage.
As to the dating, nothing definite can be said because of the lack of scientific
excavations in this part of Nicaragua and the absence of pottery found with the
monuments.

Last to be mentioned are the statues found near Subtiaba and around Lake
Nicaragua and Lake Managua. As noted earlier, illustrations of these statues have
been poor until now; the six in Baudez (figs. 78-83) are the exception. Correlating
photographs of the statues, especially of those at the Colegio Centroamérica
near Granada, proved difficult since the drawings in Squier 1852 and Bovallius
are sometimes completely incorrect (figures 12, 13). Further, some of the Colegio
monuments cannot be correlated because their place of origin is no longer known.
Statues from Ometepe Island in Lake Nicaragua, which I found, are included
in this study.

Four figures of the Subtiaba style were found by Squier at or near Subtiaba
(1852, vol. 1, pp. 318-321). All are kneeling or standing humans, their heads either
between the jaws of a serpent (ibid., vol. 1, p. 329) or surmounted by a snake
head with the lower jaw missing (ibid., vol. 1, p. 321). Feathers fall down the
back (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 318-319), to which a shield is sometimes attached Toltec
fashion (ibid., vol. 1, p. 318). Some wear a shieldlike object as a pendant (ibid.,
vol. 1, pp. 320-321). The Subtiaba figures show considerable Mesoamerican influence, which sets them apart from the Lake style in spite of certain similarities
with the Pensacola type. Whether it is really a special type, as indicated by the drawings, or part of the Pensacola type, and therefore the Lake style, can only be clarified through study of the originals. For the time being, I should like to consider them as a special style, to which I should add two upper parts of statues, now standing in front of the church of Alta Gracia on Ometepe Island (Schmidt 1963, figs. 1-6). They show few similarities to the monuments from Subtiaba, but again some Mesoamerican influence seems to be present. A standing figure in the Colegio collection, without provenance, may also belong to this style.

Four types can be distinguished in the Lake style. Monuments of the Ometepe type are easy to recognize, even when their heads are broken off, as is the case with several of the figures from Ometepe Island. Of the twenty statues of the Ometepe type, thirteen are still on Ometepe Island (Haberland 1969b, fig. 124) (figure 14), six are from Zapatera Island (Bovallius, pls. 12-16; Squier
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1852, vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 64; Haberland 1962, fig. 2; Baudez, fig. 83) while one, in the Colegio collection, is without provenance. The male or female figures all sit, naked and unornamented, on benches. Their heads are often inclined forward as if under the heavy load of an animal head worn on the back and neck or head. The animals include birds of prey (eagle?) (Bovallius, pl. 12; Haberland 1969b, fig. 124) (figure 14), crocodile (Bovallius, pl. 14; Haberland 1962, fig. 2; Baudez, fig. 83), jaguar (Squier 1852, vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 64), and deer (figure 14, background). Excavations conducted by Peter J. Schmidt (as part of the Seventh Archaeological Expedition to Central America of the Hamburg Museum) at Chilaite, Ometepe Island, where a torso still remains, show that the Ometepe type is part of the Middle Polychrome Period of Greater Nicoya. This is strengthened by comparison of individual traits such as the lower eyelids with designs on Papagayo Polychrome pottery (Lothrop 1926, pls. 36c, 44b, 65b, and others). The connection conforms with the ideas of Baudez, who dates them A.D. 800-1200.

The link between the Ometepe and the Zapatera types, apart from the style, is the animal headdress, which may change in Zapatera figures into a helmet mask (Bovallius, pls. 1-4, 30; Baudez, fig. 81). Contrary to the Ometepe type, Zapatera figures stand, sometimes in a backward slanting position, and the head or headdress is surmounted by a tenon. All of these so far known come from Zapatera Island. Figures of the third, or Pensacola type, also stand. Instead of an animal head on top of a human one, as in the first two types, an animal clings to the back (Baudez, fig. 79). The human head is sometimes placed between the jaws of the animal (ibid., fig. 78). Of the eleven monuments of this type now known, five are from Zapatera Island (ibid., fig. 79; Bovallius, pls. 9-10, 27-28; Squier 1852, vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 52, pl. opposite p. 62, fig. p. 63) (figures 12-13), two from Pensacola in the Isletas de Granada (ibid., vol. 2, frontispiece, pl. opposite p. 36; Baudez, fig. 78), and one from Nacascolo on the Golfo de Culebra north of Nicoya Peninsula (Cabrera 1924, p. 279; Stone 1958, fig. 11). The provenance of the remaining three is unknown. This type has, therefore, the widest known distribution of the Lake style. This would be considerably extended if the Subtiaba monuments prove to be of this type, too. The dating of the Pensacola figures is based on two facts: (1) sherds I collected from Nacascolo are undoubtedly of the Middle Polychrome period, and (2) the crocodile on the back of one figure (figure 13) is stylistically very similar to animals atop Potosi Appliqué incense burners (Schmidt 1966, fig. 4), which can be dated into the same period. This further strengthens the assignment of the Lake style into the Middle Polychrome period.

The characteristic element of the fourth style, seen in the Sapote group, is a high pedestal, rectangular in section in five cases, round in one. All except one show human figures on top, often dwarfed by the pedestal. The figures sit cross-legged (Bovallius, pl. 18) or on a bench (ibid., pls. 24-25; Squier 1852,
14. Monument 3, Alta Gracia, in front of the church, Ometepe Island. Beautiful example of the Ometepe type of the Lake style: male figure sitting on a bench, with the head of a bird of prey on top. In the background, Monument 4, Alta Gracia, of the same type, but with a deer head on top.

15. Statue i., square pillar with relief snake and geometric incisions, Punta del Sapote, Zapatera Island, Nicaragua, in the Colegio Centroamérica. Extreme example of the Sapote type of the Lake style. Compare Bovallius, pl. 5.

vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 60), or squat (Bovallius,pls. 21-22). One pedestal is plain (Squier 1852, vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 60), another shows only a small ornamented band immediately beneath the figure (Bovallius, pl. 21). All the other bases are ornamented with incised geometric or naturalistic designs, such as a cross (ibid., pl. 18), figure eights (ibid., pl. 24), rows of rhomboids (ibid., pl. 25; Baudez, fig. 80), and hourglass shapes (ibid., fig. 80). The only pedestal without a figure has a naturalistic design: a snake with short body, open jaws, and bifurcated tongue (Bovallius, pl. 5) (figure 15). This pedestal perhaps forms a transition to the rectangular slabs and round columns with human figures in relief, which might be part of the group (ibid., pls. 20, 29, 31-32). Finally, as far as can be seen, the “monster with the human head” may be included, since the base
16. Selected attributes of the main stone figure styles and types from southern Central America.

Abbreviations:  
(column 6) T- squatting, L- kneeling  
(column 7) O- figures one above the other  
N- figures side-by-side  
(column 17) S- club, B- ax  
(column 22) R- animal on back, k- animal on head,  
H- animal head on head or neck

shows some geometric incisions (ibid., pl. 23; Squier 1852, vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 64). Whether its base was high or low cannot be ascertained. All monuments certainly belonging to this group are from Zapatera Island.

Some of the attributes in these sculptures may aid us in the correlation of the different styles. (figure 16). One group is obviously formed by the Penonome I, Palmar, and Chontales styles, all apparently shaped from natural pillars
or boulders. The rendering of the figures is more two-dimensional than three-dimensional. The legs are often "snakelike" and without joints. All the figures are standing and male, with possible exceptions in the Chontales style. The figures of the Palmar and Chontales styles often hold clubs or staffs. The flute in the poorly known Penonome I style may be an equivalent.

As for the dating of the styles: Penonome I is dated between A.D. 500 and 800 (Early Coclé phase), and Palmar may be contemporary, if it is earlier than the Diquis style, while the Chontales style apparently flourished between A.D. 800 and 1200. All these styles may be remnants of an older stratum where free sculpture in the round had not yet been achieved. In that case the style should have been more widely distributed at an earlier time, but proof for this is lacking. Perhaps older statues were manufactured in another, perishable material, such as wood. If this is true, it would also indicate the reason for the shape of the sculpture of these styles.

Speculating about this, one has to take into account the presence of the fully rounded, three-dimensional figures of the Barriles style, which are part of the Aguas Buenas phase during the first centuries of our era (Haberland 1969a). As far as I can see, the Barriles monuments are the oldest of their kind in southern Central America. There are still reminiscences of an original column shape in the Barriles trunks and extremities, but these are at least cleverly disguised. Several important attributes are already present in the Barriles style. Especially notable is the trophy head, also displayed during the last centuries before the Conquest in the Diquis and Mercedes styles. Of equal interest is the "coolie" hat, which Barriles shares with the Capelladas, Mercedes, and Chontales styles. These and other attributes like the small human figures in relief of the Penonome style (Torres, p. 21), which appear again as pendants at Barriles (Haberland 1960c, fig. 4) and Chontales (Baudelz, fig. 85), give tantalizing glimpses of possible interconnections, unverifiable because so many of the monuments are so poorly published.

Finally, I touch on two kinds of figures which may prove of importance: composite figures and human figures with animals on their backs or heads. The composite figures, generally with a human body and an animal head, appear in the Diquis style with a jaguar head and in the Mercedes, Chontales, and Lake styles with a crocodile head. To this can be added either the Penonome II or the Villalba style, depending upon which one the anthropomorphic jaguars in the Brooklyn collection represent.

Human figures with animals on their backs or heads are frequent in the Lake and Subtiaba styles, but they also appear in the Chontales style, which because of this and other attributes might be considered contemporary with the Lake style. There are one or two other instances of this trait in southern Central America. One is a figure, already mentioned, which is part of the Mercedes style (Vaillant, p. 46); the other is the figure of Penonome I style in the Rietberg collection.
(figure 4). On the other hand, only one stone animal figure without a human being is known from the Lake style (from Pensacola, Squier 1852, vol. 2, pl. opposite p. 37), and none is known from the Subtiaba, Chontales, or Penonomé I groups. In those styles, however, where animals or their heads are not connected with human figures, statues depicting animals alone are not rare (Penonomé II, Villalba, Diquis, Capelladas, Mercedes). That is, the treatments seem to be mutually exclusive. It may be still more significant that of the five animals portrayed alone, four also appear with human beings (jaguar, crocodile, bird of prey, monkey). This fact, and the apparent exclusivity just mentioned, may be worth further investigation—as is the case, indeed, with other problems that have only been skirted here.

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