

Essays in
Pre-Columbian
and Archaeology

by Samuel K. Lothrop and others

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The Stone Sculpture of Costa Rica

The importance of Costa Rica as a cultural meeting ground in pre-Columbian times cannot be underestimated. It is a crossroad area forming part of the great Central American isthmus which connects the northern and southern continents. Costa Rica exhibits outstanding and unique art forms which lend a character of their own apart from the cultural bonds linking it with the rest of Central America.

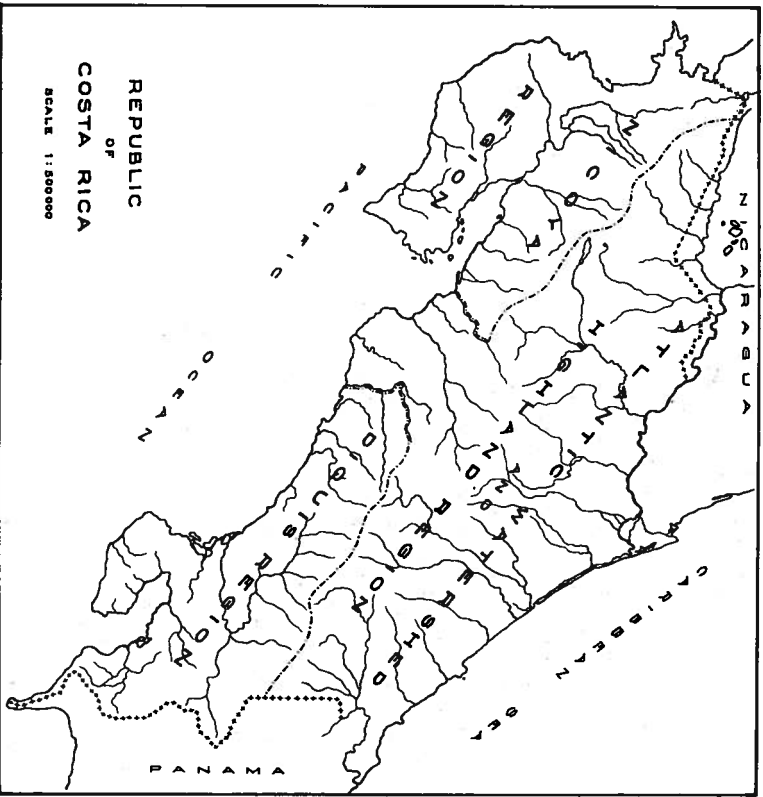


Fig. 1. The archaeological regions of Costa Rica.



Fig. 2. Stone figures, Nicoya Region. *a*, Feline-type head with alter-ego motif. *b*, Seated human figure.

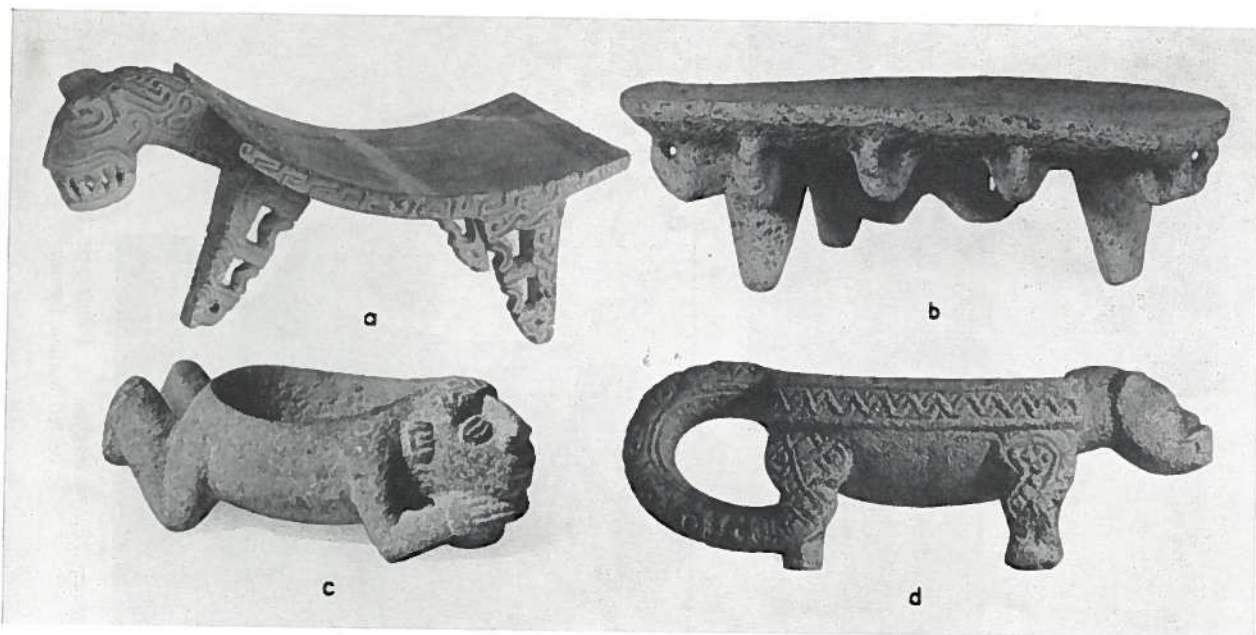


FIG. 3. Grinding stones from Costa Rica. *a*, Rimless stone, Nicoya region. *b*, Grinding stone with stylized vestige of flying panel, Línea Vieja. *c*: Grinding stone in form of reclining figure, Línea Vieja. *d*: Jaguar-type raised-rim grinding stone, typical of Diquis Region but also extending into Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region.

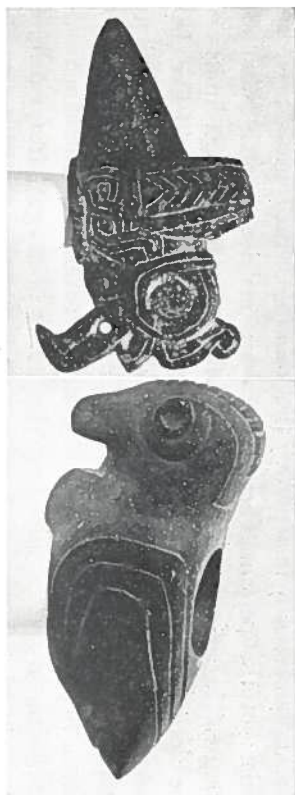


FIG. 4. Stone mace heads, Nicoya Region.

One of the principal manifestations of Costa Rican pre-Columbian art is stone sculpture¹ which indicates highly technical and aesthetic traditions, probably of considerable time depth, and which suggests local developments. Cultural sequences are not known, but there are regional variations. These in part reflect influences from the South American lowlands and the Antilles, the Andean highlands, and various Mexican cultures.

In Costa Rica, there are three archaeological zones based primarily on art styles: the Nicoya Region; the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region; and the Diquis Region (fig. 1). The first two manifest basic similarities with the South American lowland and the Antilles as well as a penetration of Mesoamerican cultures strong in the Nicoya Region but barely appearing in that of the Atlantic Watershed and Highland. The art of these two areas is fundamentally realistic although some conventionalization is evident. The Atlantic Watershed in particular might be given credit for the development of folk art in stone work. The Diquis Region shows few connections with Mesoamerica but decided relationships with Andean South America. It is characterized by a highly stylized art with an emphasis on form.

The Nicoya Region. The only part of Costa Rica where large statues are found in any number is the Nicoya Region. More than one style is evident. At Los Palmares on the Pacific coast, figures of human beings seated on horizontal benches are known (fig. 2, *b*). Facial features are in low relief and include flat nostrils on a narrow nose, thick oval lips and oval elongated eyes. Little attention is given to the limbs which seem inadequately thin in comparison to the massiveness of the figure as a whole. The low bench suggests the south.

There are two distinct types of monolithic statues both of which are also found in the republic of Nicaragua. In the area of Nacascola, "alter-ego" figures occur similar to those from Ometepe Island in Lake Nicaragua. These are representations of human beings with an animal or reptile on their heads

or backs. Symbolically they portray the "other I" or the spiritual protector or associate of the person. These statues are massive frontal examples of sculpture. The artist was apparently satisfied to conform to the limits of the stone block without an attempt to interpret any movement or lifelike characteristics. Some scholars have attributed such figures to northern inspiration. The fundamental concept appears at Comitan, southwestern Mexico, and again in highland Guatemala and western Honduras. In Mesamerica, the statues occur in greatest number in the area of Nicaragua already delimited. Lothrop has pointed out that these are probably early in the time scale as similar types have been found under certain altars at Copán, Honduras, and because they bear a stylistic resemblance to the Tuxtla Statuette.² At Los Palmares, Guanacaste, in the Nicoya Region, however, monolithic figures with feline type heads and alter-ego motifs are seen (fig. 2, a). In both technique and conception they are reminiscent of statues from the Andean site of San Agustín, Colombia. It is not improbable that the alter-ego monuments of Costa Rica represent two different cultures: one of northern and one of southern inspiration.

Still another link with Nicaragua appears in monolithic statues which follow the form of a column. In Nicaragua, these are classified as "Chontales type" sculptures³ and are found principally in the department of this name, and in Costa Rica, on the Nicoya Peninsula. They are carved in the round in low relief. Many of the Nicoya examples appear to wear masks and are covered with symbols suggesting tattoo or body painting.⁴

There is a small group of conventionalized male figures often cut in semi-round which occur in the Nicoya Region, but seem to extend from the Pacific coast of Panama through the Diquis Region of Costa Rica, and reappear in southern Honduras.⁵ These images also stylistically recall San Agustín. A nubby headress, generally an accentuated spine, and always a peg base are characteristic. The arms are doubled upward on the chest and the legs bent in a seated upright position. The striking quality of these statuettes is that the body members and features mentioned are sharply delineated but the stone core serves a definite and prominent place in the total concept.

Cylindrical stone seats with pinch-waists again connect in part the Nicoya Region with the Diquis.⁶ These are decorated with textile and geometric designs or with a bird's head, the bill of which protrudes and is frequently sculptured in an open-work, lace-like pattern reminiscent of the slab-leg grinding stones for maize which will be examined later. A humorous touch is sometimes given to the whole through the conventionalization of the eyes

and ears which are sculptured in high relief on the body proper. An occasional seat of this type is found on the Línea Vieja, Atlantic Watershed. The rarity of such specimens, however, is evidence that they were trade pieces in this latter region.

Distinctive of the Nicoya archaeological section, but found occasionally in the Línea Vieja and known in southwestern Nicaragua and the Comayagua area of Honduras, are three-legged rimless grinding stones. The grinding plate is the type associated with maize preparation. The legs are slab-shape and very often one end of the plate terminates in a protruding bird, animal or reptile head (fig. 3, a). Geometrical motifs as a rule adorn the outer edge of the plate, the legs, and the neck of the projecting head. The open-work and almost gothic-like delicateness of these pieces emphasize the technical proficiency of the aboriginal artist with the material he had at hand. There are also tubular leg grinding stones usually decorated with low relief textile designs both as a border on the upper portion of the plate and covering the part underneath.⁷ This latter adornment suggests a purely aesthetic purpose. In other words, when the stone was not in use, it was rested against the house wall, feet outward, and the decorative pattern afforded emotional pleasure to the casual observer. Raised-rim grinding stones associated with the rest of Costa Rica are likewise found in Nicoya.

Mace heads made of chalcidony, serpentine, granite, jadeite, diorite, etc., are distinctive of the Nicoya Region and the Reventazón Valley and La Unión de Guapiles on the Atlantic Watershed. These heads must have had a ceremonial significance although their effectiveness as a killing weapon cannot be denied if they were properly manipulated. Animals, reptiles, birds and human skulls are favorite subjects (fig. 4). The bold clean interpretation cut with a maximum economy of line is characteristic. The skull motif is perhaps the result of Mexican influence, but the over-all concept and execution of these mace heads remain without parallel in Mesamerican art.

The Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region. Human figures ranging from 3½ cm. to 75 cm. high are common in this region and can be divided into distinct groups. The most stylized class consists of seated men usually called by the Misquito Indian name "sukia" signifying medicine man. These are portrayed in a pensive attitude or blowing a flute. Typical of this group, although not seen in all pieces, is a conventionalized spine showing a remarkable facility on the part of the aboriginal artist to accent vital features. "Sukia" figures are associated with the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region, and appear occasionally in southern and southwestern Honduras, in western El Salvador, and in the Antilles.⁸

Characteristic of the Atlantic Watershed and Highland, however, is an artistic trend unfettered by conventions which gave rise to realistic and often humorous interpretations in stone and clay, a tendency rather uncommon in the Central American area. Stone images of human beings cut in the round and frequently giving the impression of portraits (fig. 5) appear in most of this territory but seem to have a center of manufacture along the Línea Vieja and in the Reventazón Valley. These genre or portrait-like statues are notable for the non-frontal conception which is unusual in primitive art. It is probable that many stone figures served as "penates" or household gods. Some, however, and in particular these individualistic statues could well have been representations of popular heroes, the beginning of a personalized interpretive style.

There are also stone figures which are on the whole more conventionalized although occasionally demonstrating individual characteristics. These include personages with ceremonial masks, for example, those usually attributed to the "alligator god" (although there are no alligators but only crocodiles in Costa Rica [fig. 5, *a*]); men kneeling on one knee and rubbing their backs with a rectangular object; or men with a hand placed over the forehead by one eye as if acting as lookouts. A particularly numerous group of figures is composed of semi-conventionalized nude females sustaining their breasts (fig. 6); men holding a trophy head and often an axe (fig. 7); or men wearing a head on a rope hung around the neck. Some figures of this class were found at Retes, Irazú volcano, and belong to a fairly recent period as we shall see later. Lone heads of varied sizes similar in style compose another group.⁹ The technique shown in the sculpture denotes a mastering of the material employed, a definite sense of design, and a remarkable ability to combine realistic form with a stylized attitude.

Historical documentation emphasizes the custom of human sacrifice every moon¹⁰ without pointing out the method employed. There are many ceremonial objects which perhaps developed from this cult. The figures holding or carrying human heads make one division; the lone heads constitute another. Grinding stones and circular tables decorated around the rim with stylized human and occasionally animal heads, as well as individual human heads of stone compose still other groups. In fact, the continual appearance of this motif throughout the region suggests that the common way to meet religious demands was to offer a head in sacrifice. This is a South American trait as opposed to the Mexican or northern custom of cutting out and offering the heart.

Part of the ritual in connection with death rites whether by sacrifice or

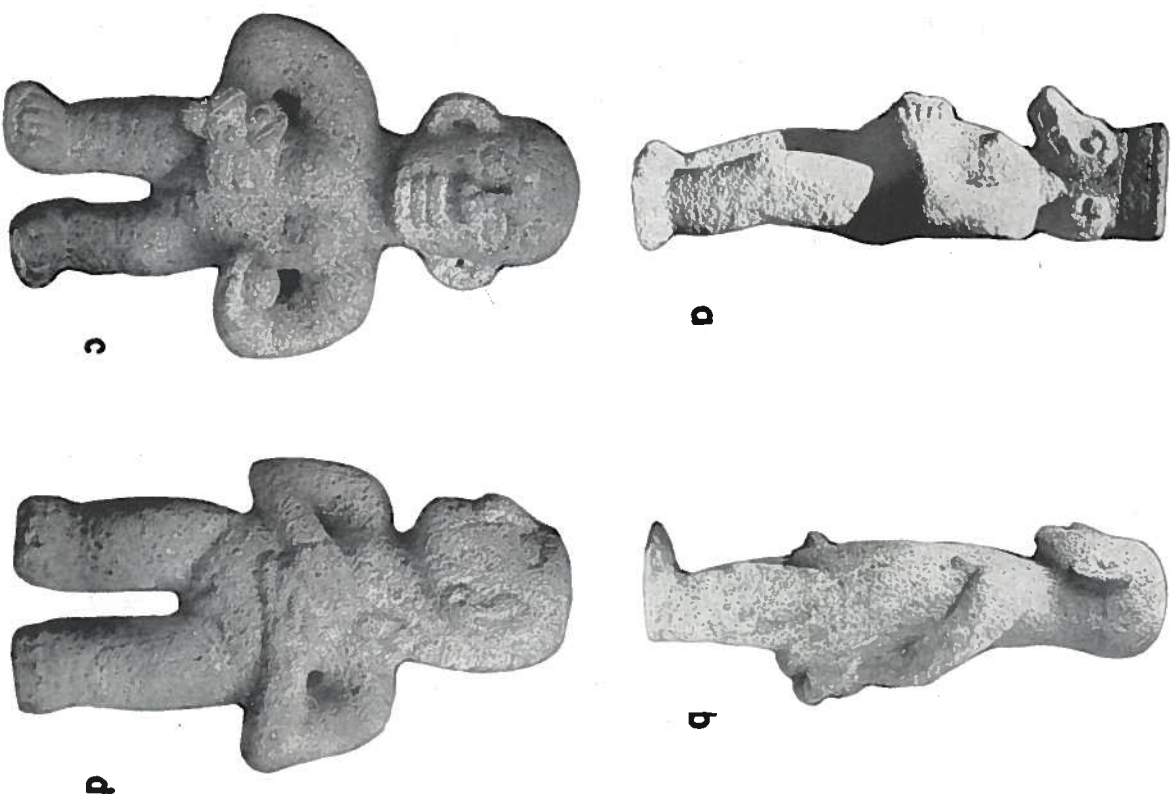


FIG. 5. Stone Figures, Línea Vieja. *a*: Human figure with "alligator" mask. *b*: Prisoner with hands tied. *c*: Woman with parrot and vessel. *d*: Woman braiding hair.

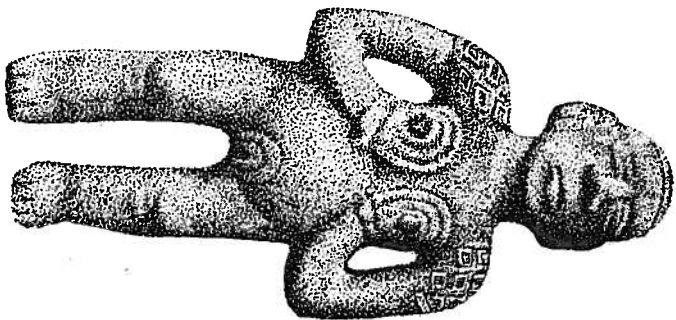


Fig. 6. Female figure sustaining breasts.

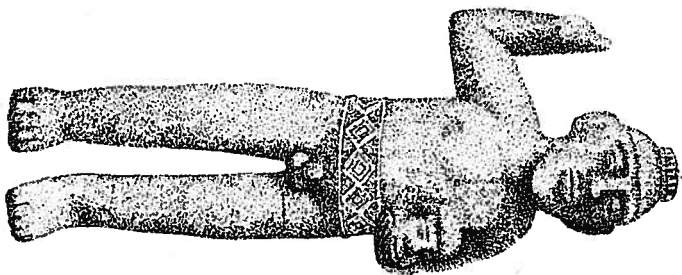


Fig. 7. Human figure holding trophy head.

not, required chicha, a fermented drink made of tubers such as yuca (*Manihot utilisima* Pohl), tiquisque (*Xanthosoma violaceum* Schott), ñampi (*Dioscorea trifida* L.) and of the fruit of the pejibaye palm (*Guitiema gasipaes* Bailey).¹¹ These foodstuffs, which are South American in origin, need more water in their preparation than maize, and served not only for ceremonial purposes but also made up the basic diet of the majority of the aboriginal population of Costa Rica and the Caribbean coast of Central America as far as the Aguan River in Honduras. They were mashed on raised-rim grinding stones, as a rule four-legged, and the process employed was a side-to-side or rocker motion as compared to the forward-backward movement peculiar to the rimless grinding stones associated with maize and especially with northern and Mexican cultures.

The raised rim of the grinding stones, particularly the elaborately sculptured ones which were undoubtedly for ceremonial purposes, are usually adorned with human but sometimes with animal heads in relief (Fig. 8). These are often so stylized that they give the impression of a fluted or notched border. When this is the case, a less conventionalized head is seen on two

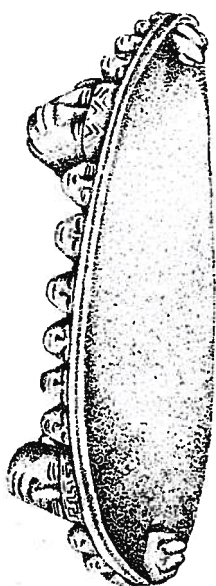


Fig. 8. Human heads adorning rim of grinding stone, Lína Vieja.

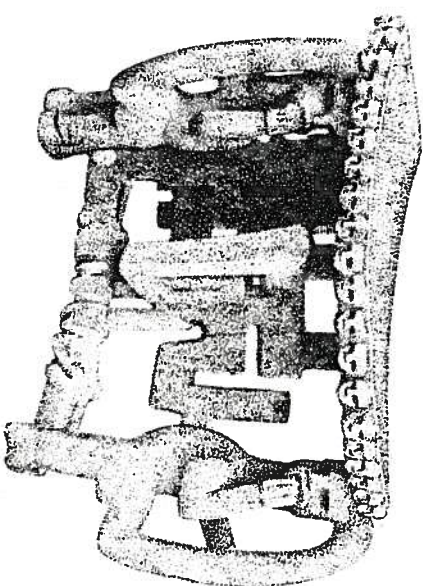


Fig. 9. Grinding stone with flying panel, Reventazón area.



Fig. 10. Offering table, Atlantican figures, Atlantic Watershed.

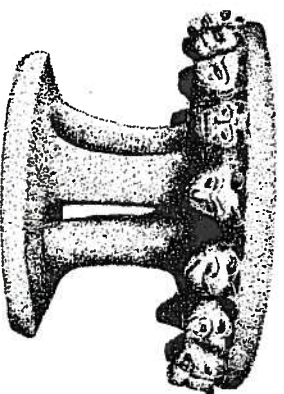


Fig. 11. Pedestal-supported offering table.

sides of the mealing plate which may be oval but is as a rule rectangular in shape.

The characteristic millers were stirrup-shaped to permit the rocking movement and at the same time protect the fingers from the raised edge of the grinding plate. Plain, short, horizontal and triangular ones are also seen. The stirrup-type and rectangular styles are generally decorated with naturalistic or geometric motifs which serve as handles.

In the Reventazón area and the western slopes of Irazú volcano, exquisitely sculptured raised-edged grinding stones with three legs and a flying panel appear (fig. 9). Sometimes on the Línea Vieja as well as the actual Highlands or Meseta Central, a stylized vestige of this panel is seen under the mealing plate (fig. 3, *b*). The raised rim is frequently adorned with conventionalized heads, but it is the symbolism depicted in the supports and the panel and the technical manner of interpretation which place this type of grinding stone in an unique category.

The principal theme associated with the adornment refers to a large beaked bird fertilizing and creating man. This belief was prevalent in the Greater Antilles during the early conquest.¹² The representation of this myth is known in the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region in clay¹³ as well as in stone, offering non-written evidence to back the extension of Antillean and eastern South American culture traits into the Caribbean area of Central America. Some of these lithic interpretations are more elaborate than others and include varied mythical figures suggesting a hierarchy of divinities. Prominent among these, in addition to the bird with a large beak, are the monkey, the "alligator" god and the serpent. All have in common a solidness and logical sense of form which recalls the work of twentieth century Georges Braque. Outside of the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region, similar grinding stones have been found in Veraguas, Panama.¹⁴

Reclining human figures on grinding stones, mortars, and pottery vessels are seen in the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region. The decorative elements do not take away from the utility of the object but are ingeniously adopted to it. The head of a male figure protrudes from the artifact which rests on representations of bent arms and knees or these members project from a side of the vessel body (fig. 3, *c*). In the above-mentioned region of Costa Rica, we have numerous examples of such figures. When of pottery, they are often combined with negative painting, a trait associated with the Andes.¹⁵ We also have the same motif in clay from Peru with painted elements that might be inspired by negative painting. Considering that only

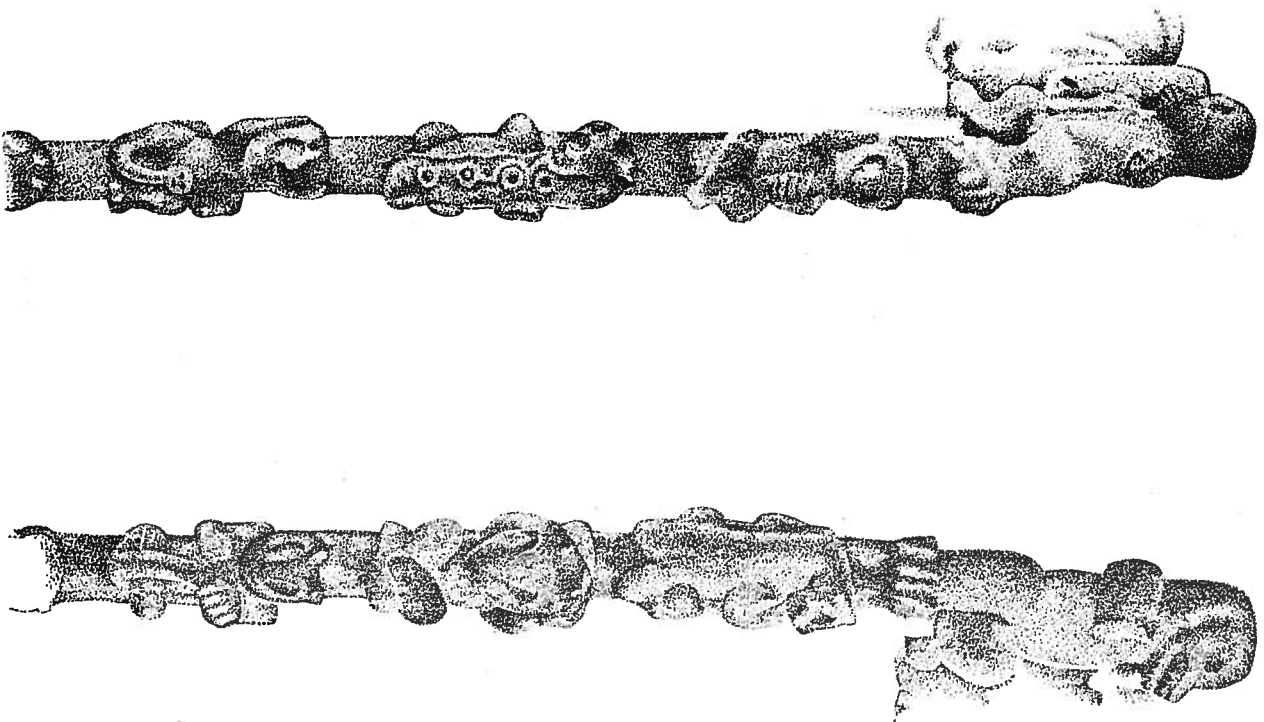


Fig. 12. Side detail.

Fig. 13. Side detail.

Figs. 12, 13, 14. Details of grave slab, Reventazón area.

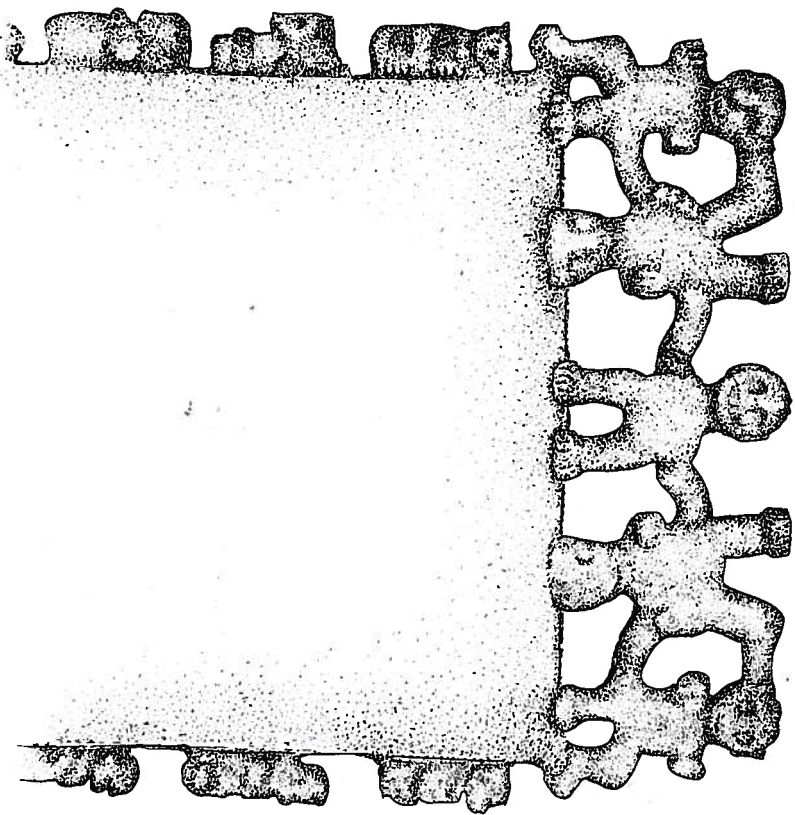


FIG. 14. Detail of upper front.

one example, and this of clay without paint, is known from Oaxaca, Mexico,¹⁶ we hold the motif of a reclining figure to be of southern relationship.

Stone bowls, pot stands and what may be offering tables appear in divers sizes and are characterized by Atlantean figures of men or animals. They are so skillfully sculptured that many offer a sense of movement, almost as a dance (fig. 10). These too are common to Panamanian territory, for example, Chiriquí.

Other artifacts associated with the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region of Costa Rica and found in lesser quantity in Chiriquí, Panama, but more crudely executed, are circular stone tables with a pedestal base. Made out of a single block, the support is frequently sculptured in an open-work pattern which suggests a basket-weave and lends a delicate aspect to what could be a massive, clumsy stand, or is open-cut in elongated slightly concave panels which indicate a dominance of design technique (fig. 11). Human heads in

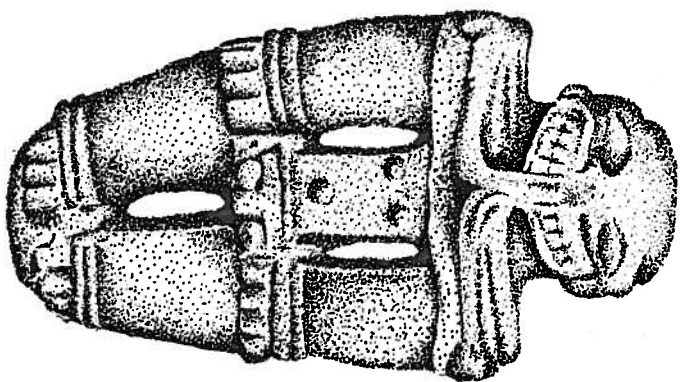


FIG. 15. Flat slab figure, Diquis Region.

high relief or animal figures adorn the outside margin of the border. Curiously, none of these tables show signs such as a smooth spot, a portion in the center, or anywhere on the surface which would denote use as a grinding stone. We are left free to suppose, therefore, that their purpose was purely ceremonial, most probably as offering tables upon which a head was placed. The ceremonial function for these tables is further suggested by the presence of a wooden replica in a cache of drums, tablets, staffs and idols, obviously for ritual use, from the slopes of Irazú volcano.¹⁷ This is the only find as yet in Costa Rica with a carbon-14 date indicated, approximately a.d. 960. It is possible that the animal representations on these tablets might signify given clans as it is known that at least this region of Costa Rica had a social organization based on matrilineal groups.¹⁸ At the time of the Spanish arrival, each had one or more totemistic protectors. Raised-rim grinding stones and circular tables with the incised details of the decorative motifs painted in white are unique and come from a single cemetery at La Unión de Guapiles on the Línea Vieja.

Further evidence of totemic clans and of the technical and artistic skill of the aborigines are the stone slabs used as markers for graves. These graves were communal in character and generally utilized for secondary or bone

burial, all persons related to the mother's side of the family being interred in the same place once the bones were clean and there was no flesh to putrify and contaminate the sepulcher. The grave was covered by the slab. The figures on the top of the slab are carved in the round and on the sides in high relief as to give the impression of being cut in the round. The bottom section was untouched as it was usually destined to be stuck into the earth leaving the sculptured area exposed. These slabs were located over the face of the grave or were placed in a slanting position to mark the opening.

Animal figures occasionally mixed with human ones formed the decorative motifs. The tendency to realism noted throughout the art of this region is combined here with a startling sense of design. There is also evidence of imagination and humor in the grouping of the figures (figs. 12; 13; 14). Such slabs are confined to the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region and in particular to the LÍnea Vieja and Reventazón areas. Except for one specimen from Las Mercedes,¹⁹ artistically these tomb indicators are unique in American archaeology. The sole exception noted is vaguely reminiscent of Quimbaya art. The uses of slabs, both decorated and plain, as grave markers is also known in the province of Manabí, Ecuador. The adornment on the Ecuadorian examples have geometric and conventionalized human motifs and are stylistically distinct from those of Costa Rica. Undecorated slabs serving the same function occur in the General Valley in the Diquis Region, and in Honduras, at Melchior in the Sula plain and on the Bay Islands.²⁰

The Diquis Region. Abstract and conventionalized expression comes into its own in the Diquis Region. There seems to be a joy in form for the sake of form. Peculiar to this section are colossal stone spheres, some with a diameter of 2.15 meters. These balls are limited to the drainage of the Diquis or Rio Grande de Térraba and the largest are found in the river flood plain where boulders are practically non-existent and where in some cases cobble-stone platforms had to be erected to maintain the spheres aloft in the alluvial soil. Many uses have been suggested for these balls, including the always present terms "ceremonial" and "calendrical." It is a fact, however, that in a number of instances these spheres have been found to mark the boundary of a graveyard. The technical dexterity required to fashion these stones and the engineering ability to transport them either before or after manufacture were remarkable achievements.

There are varied kinds of lithic figures usually ranging in size from 25 cm. to 132 cm. high. The common characteristic is the peg base already described in the Nicoya Region, the function of which was to maintain the image erect by burying the peg in the earth. There are three Diquis types

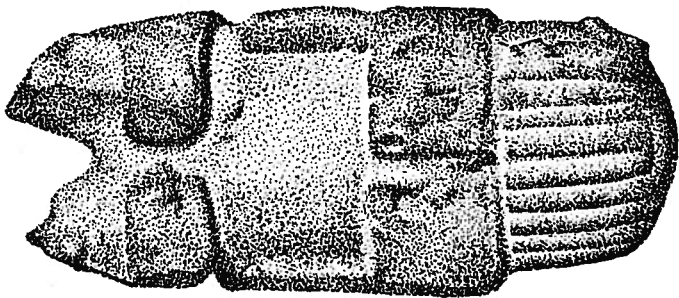


Fig. 16. Figure with indicated depressions, Diquis Region.

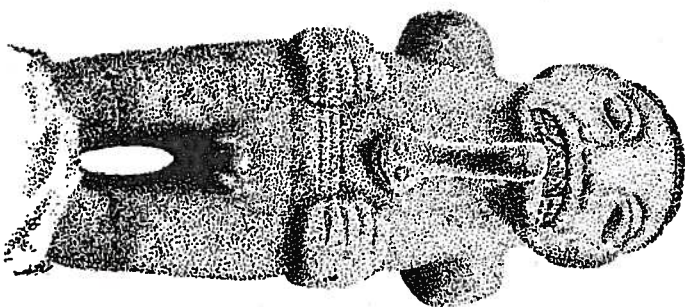


Fig. 17. Figure cut in the round, Diquis Region.

of statues. One is a human male, or occasionally a zoomorphic figure, cut from a flat slab of stone with arms and legs not freed from the body, the separative space being indicated by elongated rectangular openings (fig. 15); another is hewn from a deeper block of stone with only the depressions indicated (fig. 16); and a third is cut in the round (fig. 17). In all types, details are cut in relief. There is little attention given to a neck and no realistic treatment of hands, feet or other features. The arms lie straight at the body side; flexed to the chest; crossed at the front or back; or meet at the breast. Fingers and toes are boldly delineated or are not even indicated. The eyes are outlined by one line or by a double-line rim. At times the sockets are hollowed, or there is a single horizontal line to denote the lids. The superciliary arch or what represents the forehead is connected with the nose. The mouth is cut almost rectangularly with or without vertically marked teeth. Feline-type teeth are occasionally seen (fig. 17). The genital organs are often stylized in geometric form. Raised circular bumps probably signifying tattoo and "alligator" motifs around the shoulders and arms serve as decoration.



Fig. 18. Curly-tailed dog figure, Diquis Region.

Very rare examples show insect motifs recalling Quimbaya grasshoppers on the body. Occasionally hooded figures appear and frequently one or more serpents extend from the mouth of the image (figs. 15; 17). Sometimes a staff is held in the hand, or a trophy head is worn suspended by a rope on the back or is seen on the front of the body.

There are only two specimens known to the writer which break away from the frontal aspect and have the head turned aside.²¹ Stylistically the Diquis figures recall San Agustín and Los Barriles, Panama, statues. Their very form, the treatment of the features, details of adornment, and the position of the hands make one wonder if here in the southern Costa Rica area we do not have a flourishing of highly stylized art developed from Andean inspiration.

Even many of the non-human figures point toward the south. Replicas of dogs resemble those associated with Coclé gold animals (fig. 18). There are owls similar to those from San Agustín. On the whole, Diquis stone images are unique among the lithic interpretations seen in the greater portion of Central American territory.

The common grinding stone in this region is the raised-rim four-leg variety. The most usual kind is characterized by a projecting jaguar head at one extreme and a tail which is connected with one leg at the other (fig. 3, *d*). The supports themselves take the form of animal legs, often with an indication of a slightly bent knee, and they, as well as the tail, raised rim and head, frequently are deeply incised with geometric patterns more often than not portraying jaguar spots. This type extends into the Atlantic Watershed and Highland Region.

CONCLUSIONS

The Nicoya and Atlantic Watershed and Highland regions indicate basic similarities which are essentially South American lowland. Throughout that

of Nicoya, however, Mexican traits are common, while in the Atlantic Watershed and Highland, the Línea Vieja is the only area where Mexican elements occur in any number.

Andean South America plays an important part in Diquis lithic art. Manifestations of Diquis art appear in the regions of Nicoya and, in less degree, in the Atlantic Watershed and Highland.

The distinct cultural influences noted in Costa Rica gave rise to local art styles. Although extraterritorial extensions occur in each of the three archaeological regions, Nicoya, Atlantic Watershed and Highland, and Diquis, these regions individually demonstrate an artistic tradition confined chiefly to their respective borders. This sets one section apart from the other and places Costa Rica pre-Columbian art in a category of its own.

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Essay 14. Balser: *Some Costa Rican Jade Motifs*

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Essay 15. Mahler: *Grave Associations and Ceramics in Veraguas, Panama*

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of Livermore, California, suggesting the same conclusion as I had reached, namely, that the frayed ears of dogs might represent cases of chicleo's ulcer. She points out that Asa C. Chandler, in his *Introduction to Human Parasitology*, notes that a few cases of this infection have been observed in dogs in South America.

Essay 12. Dockstrader: *A Figurine Cache from Kino Bay, Sonora*

1. McGee, 1898.
2. Saville, 1924.
3. Moss, 1954.
4. Fay, 1956.
5. Owen, 1956.
6. Holzkamper, 1956.
7. Owen, 1956, p. 9.
8. McGee, 1898, pp. 287-93.
9. Owen, 1956, pp. 8-9.

Essay 13. Stone: *The Stone Sculpture of Costa Rica*

1. Jadeite will not be considered in this article as it is treated elsewhere in this volume.
2. Lothrop, 1921, p. 319.
3. Richardson, 1940, pp. 412-16.
4. See Stone, 1958a, fig. 1, f.
5. Stone, 1948, pl. 28.
6. Stone, 1958a, fig. 2, c-d.
7. Hartman, 1907, pl. X-XIII.
8. Stone, 1948, pl. 29, a-c.
9. Stone, 1958a, fig. 4, a.
10. Fernández, 1886, t. V, p. 156.
11. Today maize and plantains are also used. See Stone, 1956, pp. 189-94.
12. Marít de Angléria, 1944, dec. 1, lib. 9, cap. 5.
13. Balsler, 1955.
14. Lothrop, 1950, fig. 30, p. 29.
15. Stone, 1958a, pl. 1, a.
16. Caso, 1952, fig. 477, p. 323.
17. Aguilar P., see e.g., the report of 1953; Stone, 1958a, p. 19.
18. Peralta, 1883, p. 71; Stone, in press.
19. Mason, 1945, pl. 34, fig. B.
20. Stone, 1948, p. 181, pl. 32.
21. See e.g., Mason, 1945, pl. 56, fig. C.

Essay 14. Balsler: *Some Costa Rican Jade Motifs*

1. Hartman, 1907, pl. XXXII.
2. Balsler, 1953, fig. 41.
3. Seler, Coll. Museum of Natural History, New York; Covarrubias, 1957, p. 70.
4. *Ibid.*, fig. 20.
5. Lothrop, 1955, pp. 48-49.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Covarrubias, 1957, fig. 22.

8. Balsler, 1958, 1959.
9. Stirling, 1946, p. 297.
10. Drucker, Heizer, Squier, 1959, pp. 248-67.
11. Lothrop, 1950, fig. 142.
12. Hartman, 1907, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 8 and 10.
13. Balsler, 1955, p. 385.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 384-85.
15. Meggers and Evans, 1957, pp. 507-508, fig. 188, a-c.
16. Balsler, 1954, pp. 202-205.

Essay 15. Mahler: *Grave Associations and Ceramics in Veraguas, Panama*

1. Lothrop, 1950, fig. 142.
2. Smith and Ruppert, 1953, fig. 9, c.
3. Feriz, 1959, p. 186.
4. Curtis and Willey, 1949.
5. Lothrop, 1950, figs. 15, b, c; 16, b.
6. *Ibid.*, figs. 15, d; 16, c.
7. Willey and Stoddard, 1954; Ladd, 1957.
8. Lothrop, 1950, fig. 37.
9. Cf. Lothrop, 1950, fig. 7, c-f.
10. Lothrop, 1937-42, pt. II, figs. 276, 277.
11. *Ibid.*, fig. 470, b-c.
12. *Ibid.*, fig. 455, a.
13. Holmes, 1888, fig. 215. We have been unable to locate the photographs mentioned by Holmes. MacCurdy cites a French publication by de Zelmer (see references). The Musée de l'Homme has a Spanish translation published in the newspaper *El Fenix*, Panama, ca. Feb. 17, 1886, but there are no photographs with it.
14. Holmes, 1888, fig. 212.
15. Lothrop, 1937-42, pt. II, fig. 443, a.
16. *Ibid.*, figs. 194, 225, b.

Essay 16. Reichel-Dolmatoff: *Anthropomorphic Figurines from Colombia, Their Magic and Art*

1. Reichel-Dolmatoff, 1951; 1956; 1958.
2. Angulo, 1951; Reichel-Dolmatoff, ms.
3. For illustrations see Nordenskiöld, 1928, figs. 46, 52; 1929, fig. 2; Severin, 1944; and Host, 1952.
4. Cf. Nordenskiöld, 1929, p. 145, "Après avoir joué leur rôle dans une cérémonie religieuse, ces objets sont dénoués de toute valeur, car ils ne doivent être utilisés qu'une seule fois."
5. For illustrations see Nordenskiöld, 1928, figs. 28, 45, 53, 75, 94; 1928, figs. 1, 3; Wassén, 1935, figs. 11, 33; 1940, fig. 1.
6. Nordenskiöld, 1928, p. 58, observed only sexless figurines but Wassén, 1935, fig. 11, pp. 64-65, reports male and female figurines; however, they were considered to be "toys."
7. Wassén, 1935, figs. 7, B, C, D, pp. 56-59 also observed the manufacture of clay figurines among the Noanamá, but was told they were "dolls." Cf. Nordenskiöld, 1929, p. 156, on the possible use of clay figurines in curing rituals.