“Body Art and Greater Nicoyan Identity Through Time”

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NOTE: This paper was written for the electronic symposium on Nicaraguan Archaeology, led by Geoffrey McCafferty and Alex Geurds, at the 2011 Society for American Archaeology conference in Sacramento, California. The images included here are for instructional purposes only and not to be reused. If/when this paper is published, most images will be drawn by the author (except those from the Carlos Museum of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia).
Determining cultural identity for ancient peoples who left no formal system of writing behind can be difficult if not impossible. Body art designs can be a system of codes akin to writing and perhaps one of our best avenues for identifying distinct cultural patterns through time. The original inhabitants of southwestern Nicaragua and northwestern Costa Rica, an area called Greater Nicoya by archaeologists, left behind thousands of ceramic effigies of humans often covered with body art designs. When the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century, they recorded seeing tattooed bodies among the Nicaraos in Nicaragua and body painting on the men among the Chibchan-speaking Huetar of Costa Rica (Oviedo as cited in Lothrop 1926: 38). Today in the remaining indigenous areas of Costa Rica and neighboring Panamá, Chibchan women particularly don body paint for special occasions (Salazar S. 2002: 16, 136-139). Can we determine from the ancient Nicoyan ceramic effigies if the body art designs were tattoos or body painting and/or if they are designs that signal Nicarao identity or Chibchan or that of other groups? Who were the peoples who inhabited Greater Nicoya through time?

When the Spanish arrived they recorded that the Nicaraos, a Nahuatl-speaking group, lived along the southwestern shore of Lake Nicaragua (also called Lake Cocibolca) (see Fig. 1), and that a group known as the Chorotegans, who spoke an Oto-Manguean language related to the Otomi, Mazahua, Pirinda, and Trique of central and southern Mexico, lived north and south of the Nicaraos in Nicaragua.¹ Further south in the Costa Rican sector of Greater Nicoya another Oto-Manguean-speaking group, known as the Orotiñans, inhabited the Nicoya Peninsula, while, from southern Honduras to Colombia, Chibchan-speaking groups surrounded these speakers of Mexican languages (See Wingfield 2009: 77ff for a full discussion of these groups). Archaeological findings of round or elliptical house forms (Hoopes 1987: 7, 8), early maize agriculture², and mitochondrial DNA (Melton 2004) suggest a shared Chibchan culture for Colombia northward to the Nicoya Peninsula. Within Greater Nicoya maize agriculture has not been found to have been significant (McCafferty this symposium; Lange 2006), and DNA studies have not been conducted with Greater Nicoyan bodies. However, round or elliptical house forms seem to have been the norm in Greater Nicoya from early habitation in the Tempisque Period (c. 500 BCE-300 CE) through the Bagaces Period (c. 300-800 CE) (Guerrero Miranda and Solís Del Vecchio 1997).

Most significantly, however, is a distinct grouping of grave goods found in Greater Nicoyan tombs from the Tempisque Period through the Bagaces Period and found in the known Chibchan areas of the Central Highlands and Caribbean Coast of Costa Rica. This grouping of grave goods includes a volcanic stone metate/stool/funeral bier, jade or greenstone axe pendants, (usually) stone maceheads (now missing their wooden staffs), and ceramic effigies (Lange 2006: 27, 30ff; Snarskis 1981a: 26ff; Sweeney 1976, 1975; Baudez and Coe 1962). The effigies represent powerful figures from meditating fertile or pregnant or even birthing women to flying bat-humans to growling feline-humans to burrowing

¹ Lehmann (1915) as cited in Lothrop 1926: 22. Constenla Umaña notes that the Oto-Manguean speakers were either from Chiapas or from Nicaragua and the Nicoya Peninsula and that the two groups split c. 600-700 CE, suggesting a beginning point in time for Chorotegan migration overland from Chiapas southward (1992/1993: 200).
armadillo-humans. These objects can be explained through an understanding of Chibchan beliefs about the afterworld, as remembered and in some areas still practiced by living Chibchan peoples in Costa Rica. (The Chibchan-speaking peoples in Costa Rica today live in reservations on the Caribbean Coast and down to the border of Panamá and into the Diquis Peninsula. Some record in their oral history that they originated west of their current locations, and the Spanish recorded that when they arrived they were told by indigenous Chibchan groups in the mountainous areas just north of the Nicoya Peninsula that they wanted to reclaim their homeland in the Nicoya Peninsula from the Mexican encroachers who took it centuries before (Wingfield 2009: 83-85; Lothrop 1926: 23; Fernández Guardia 1913). I feel confident that we can look to the living Costa Rican Chibchans as a resource for understanding ancient Chibchan art of the Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast of Costa Rica as well as into Greater Nicoya, if we tread cautiously and remember that after 800 CE, the end of the Bagaces Period, there were changes in Greater Nicoya that did not occur in other parts of Costa Rica -- to be further explained through the following discussion of body art in Greater Nicoya.)

The extant Chibchan peoples revere both pregnant women and their morticians as those who can open the portal to the spirit realm, one at birth to bring a life into the earthly realm and the other at death to return a life to the spirit world. Costa Rican Chibchan morticians or buriers are associated with scavenging or burrowing animals, such as the vulture, armadillo, opossum, raccoon, and coati. Costa Rican Chibchan shamans, today called awapa by the Bribri and Cabécar of southeastern Costa Rica, are also capable of opening the portal to the spirit world when they need to contact the spirits for advice and help with earthly matters. The Bribri and Cabécar recall, though, that in the past there were much more powerful shamans than today's awapa, but these earlier shamans, usekares, were banished by Spanish, Catholic, and Evangelical Christian forces in the last five hundred years (Wingfield 2009: 14-15, 93-94, 154-157). The usekares were associated with top predators in the tropical world -- jaguars, pumas, harpy eagles, crocodiles, caimans, snakes -- and with the most human of animals -- the monkey. The top deity for Costa Rican Chibchans in pre-Hispanic times was Namásia, the First Grandmother or Stone Jaguar Grandmother (Jara Murillo and García Segura 2003: 206ff; Bozoli de Wille 1982a, 1982b, 1978, 1977, 1975; Stone 1962). She was called on by shamans to access the spirit world and to bring about successful births into the earthly realm and rebirths into the spirit realm. These key characters in Costa Rican Chibchan thought -- the pregnant woman, the mortician, and the shaman, often associated with Namásia -- are depicted in the effigies of ancient Greater Nicoyan and ancient Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast Costa Rican cultures (see Figs. 7, 16-18, 29, 31, 32, 37, 61, 66, 72, 73, 75, 80-82, and 85 for pregnant women, Fig. 70 for a mortician, and note that almost all the figures represent a shamanic figure of varying levels of power in the society; the bulging, entranced eyes, open mouths, and poses of the figures all suggest this reading of the pieces [see Wingfield 2009 for a full discussion of these ideas]).³ The ceramic effigies of Greater Nicoya, which portray these key Chibchan characters, were used in conjunction with the other items in the Tempisque and Bagaces

³ I go into much greater depth regarding these characters and their depiction in ancient Nicoyan art in my dissertation (Wingfield 2009); they are the thrust of the dissertation along with the assertion that many of the female images are not only the all-important pregnant woman but also shaman- or shamaness-chieftains (see also Wingfield 2007 for a shorter version of the dissertation, only about 30 pages). I was not able to delve into body art in the dissertation for time restraints and hope that this paper allows for a slightly deeper exploration of body art in Greater Nicoya.
Period tombs of Greater Nicoya and the Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast of Costa Rica. The metate was seen as a space for grinding seed, and humans are but seeds originally that grow to tall trees and must be felled at death by an axe (the axe pendants in the tombs). Humans on earth are food for the spirit world, so grinding human seeds is seen as necessary for the continuation of this world and the other world. The maceheads in the tomb were carved with distinct animal imagery most likely associated with Chibcha clans (Wingfield 2009: 39-41).

The earthenware effigies included in this grave grouping were produced in both the northern (Nicaraguan) and southern (Costa Rican) sectors of Greater Nicoya beginning as early as c. 800 BCE. The earliest styles of Bocana Bichrome and Rosales Zoned Engraved were manufactured in small villages of c. 100 persons or fewer by local artists who shared ideas with neighboring artists. These artists were also likely mothers and farmers and village leaders. By the Bagaces Period (c. 300-800 CE), village size had grown and society structure seems to have expanded beyond the village level to the beginnings of chiefdoms, wherein art was more standardized but still handmade. By the Sapoa Period (c. 800-1350 CE), molds had been introduced for mass production, although each piece was still hand finished and hand painted, giving each effigy a unique look.

The most common and repeating body art designs painted and incised on these effigies are circles, spirals, stripes, Amerindian crosses/cardinal directions markers, emanating lines, zigzags (flowing liquid), serpentine strands, snake markings, spots, four-cornered knots (guilloche), and woven mats. Not all of these designs appeared in the Tempisque Period, but all were prominent in the Bagaces Period (also called the Florescent Period by Costa Rican archaeologists [Guerrero Miranda and Solís Del Vecchio 1997] and my preferred term, although I am using the terms Geoffrey McCafferty is using for this electronic symposium on Nicaraguan archaeology). By the Sapoa Period most of these designs can still be found and in the same space on the bodies of the effigies, suggesting a continued tradition of body art (Chibchan body art?) through time. New body art imagery is introduced in the Sapoa Period, but it does not displace the original patterns.

The List of Figures with Descriptions below includes one to several representative effigies from each period for each body art design mentioned above. This list is ordered chronologically for readers to peruse and understand the development of the designs over time. Readers will notice that body art stamps are only known for the Bagaces Period. This matches with the designs, which are curvilinear and likely painted or tattooed on in the Tempisque Period but much more rectilinear and likely stamped in the Bagaces Period, and by the Sapoa Period the imagery is a mixture of curvilinear and rectilinear designs, suggesting a combination of techniques. Although stamps have not been found for the Sapoa Period (that I am aware), some could have been saved as heirlooms for special occasions.

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4 Stone n.d. [2009]: 120 (in Ch. 3), 160 (in Ch. 4), 247 (in Ch. 6), and Ch. 8; Helms 1998, 1993
What follows within this text are descriptions of the designs with "line-ups" of each design through time and an explanation of the significance of the designs in Chibchan thought.

Circles, as distinguished from spots which dot large expanses of space on the effigies, were used by Nicoyan artists to emphasize key body parts, primarily joints and other power points, such as breasts, the source of life-giving mother's milk, and the navel, seemingly the source of human life itself, where the umbilical cord attaches to an embryo which becomes a fetus and then a baby. Circles can also decorate the humps of survivors of kyphosis or osteomalacia (rickets), suggesting the power of these humps. What modern-day Westerners would call the physically challenged, ancient Amerindians would have considered special and destined for a spiritual path (Wingfield 2009: 120-122; Stone-Miller 2002: 86-87, cat. no. 159; Miller and Taube 1993: 82). Often these circles are reemphasized through the use of concentric circles and/or emanations emerging on the outside or inside of the circles. In one late example (Fig. 64), two concentric circles may mark the vulva, an all-important power point where life emerges into the earthly world.

Line-up of Circles Through Time:

![Fig. 1](image1) ![Fig. 7](image7) ![Fig. 16](image16) ![Fig. 20](image20) ![Fig. 57](image57)

![Fig. 58](image58) ![Fig. 59](image59) ![Fig. 60](image60) ![Fig. 62](image62) ![Fig. 61](image61) ![Fig. 63](image63)

Spirals also often mark power points on the body. Spirals are the first images seen in a shaman's trance, they are in two dimensions a representation of a three-dimensional tunnel to the spirit realm, often conceived of as a birth canal (Wingfield 2009: 148ff; Stross 1996).

Line-up of Spirals Through Time:
Stripes were also used to mark power points in Greater Nicoyan body art.

Line-up of Stripes Through Time:

Power points, especially the navel, were also often marked with a simple cross with equidistant arms, which I call an Amerindian cross because it is found throughout the Americas (as opposed to calling it a Greek cross, which is a common name for it in Western cultural studies). The Amerindian cross also doubles as a cardinal directions marker. The Nicoyan body art designs of Amerindian crosses/cardinal directions markers can be very simple or quite complicated, ranging from a stepped Amerindian cross (commonly called in Peru the "Andean cross") to a circle or concentric circles at middle with undulating lines emerging out of the middle in the four directions. The marker is placed over the navel to signal the location of the fifth direction of up and down, i.e. between the spirit world and the earthly world, along an umbilical cord or world tree (Stone personal communication 2009; Looper and Guernsey Kappelman 2001).

Line-up of Amerindian Crosses/Cardinal Directions Markers Through Time:
Nicoyan cardinal directions markers are often decorated with emanations, whether small hatch marks or pointing triangles. These emanations are also seen on lines which run up and down the chest, sometimes emerging from an Amerindian cross but not always. Emanating lines can also decorate the face and limbs. Most often they are straight lines, rarely curving (unless on the face or as circles surrounding breasts or navels or other power points). These emanations are symbolic of shamanic power bristling out of the figures as they try to open and close the door to the spirit world. They are metaphorical for crocodilian scutes (also seen as the surface of the earth and a permeable space for transgressing both worlds), feline spots, and bristling animal fur or human hairs (Wingfield 2009: 180-211).

Line-up of Emanating Lines Through Time:

![Line-up of Emanating Lines Through Time](image)

Fig. 12  Fig. 15  Fig. 32  Fig. 37  Fig. 67

Zigzags also often run vertically in Nicoyan body art, often down the legs of female figures, suggesting the flow of precious liquid such as menstrual blood, semen, "broken" water, and mother's milk.

Line-up of Zigzags Through Time:

![Line-up of Zigzags Through Time](image)

Fig. 13  Fig. 14  Fig. 19  Fig. 60

Perhaps the most prominent body art design motif of the Bagaces Period is the serpentine strands motif. It was not used in the Tempisque Period, and by the Sapoa Period it had been replaced almost exclusively by the mat-weave pattern. The association of a mat with a seat of authority is common in
Mesoamerica, where Maya rulers are known as ‘He of the Mat.’ The Mesoamerican mat, denoted by a grid design in the arts, was interchangeable with a jaguar's pelt, and both were metaphors for authority. These power symbols -- the mat and the pelt -- likely traveled south c. 300 CE with the intensification of trade with the Maya into Costa Rica. Also, the holes in basket weaves are believed to reference a jaguar’s spots in at least one Amazonian culture, the Yaminahua of southeastern Peru, making the mat or weave motif symbolic in not only Mesoamerican but also South American cultures and Lower Central America, a likely middle ground for incorporating the pattern into the ideology of its peoples. Both symbols, the mat and the jaguar skin, became completely interchangeable in Nicoyan art and a mainstay for the powerful for at least the next twelve hundred years, through the changes in trade and contacts north and south, long after the emergence of the Bagaces Period.

The worked fiber motif known as "twisted strands" to Andeanists, a "heliacal vine" in Rebecca Stone's work, the "cosmic umbilicus" or "vision serpent" to Mesoamericanists, and "serpentine" to Costa Rican scholars is related to the mat motif conceptually. The twisted strands motif consists of two undulating lines tangled together, often with round or diamond-shaped openings visible in the interstices of the two lines, much like the image of two pieces of thread twisted together loosely or two vines in the forest grown entangled or an umbilical cord doubled up on itself or serpents bound together. It, like the mat motif, is associated with power, particularly the power of a shaman or shaman-king (for the Maya). Its connection to worked fibers confers privilege, for those adorned with the most elaborate worked fibers were the most powerful in ancient Andean and Mesoamerican cultures, where cloth textiles were exquisitely woven and embellished. Its resemblance to jungle vines references some of the most potent hallucinogens, morning glory (Ipomoea alba) and ayahuasca ("ghost vine" in Kechwa, Banisteriopsis caapi), both used by Amerindian shamans to induce trance, transform from the human self into a predatory alterego, and communicate with the ancestors and the spirit world. That the symbol was simultaneously seen as or associated with a twisted celestial umbilical cord, a flowering vine, a vision serpent, and the Milky Way by the ancient Maya and their neighbors, particularly the Zapotec, imbues it with universal life-giving power from the celestial realm of the spirits to earthly leaders. Finally, that Costa Rican scholars most often see the pattern enmeshed with snake skin motifs or seemingly writhing across the surfaces of ancient vessels, metates, and celts associates it with serpents. Serpents are one of the first visions in an hallucinogenic trance.

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6 Townsley 1987. Mary Frame also discusses the importance of a "woven grid" in her seminal work on Andean textile production (1986).
7 Frame 1986.
8 Stone n.d. [2009]: 11, 42, 45, 47, 253ff. See also Harner 1973 for a discussion of hallucinogen visions involving intertwined serpents “like rolls of thick cable.”
13 Looper and Guernsey Kappelman 2001 (Maya); Stross 1996 (Zapotec).
and they are known for their annual renewal of themselves, their molting.\textsuperscript{14} What the symbol meant precisely to ancient Nicoyans is probably a combination of these various explanations of serpentine strands, as it was for one of Greater Nicoya's major trading partners beginning in the first millennium BCE: the Chorrera of Ecuador (or merchants from Manabí, Ecuador peddling their goods and, likely, ideas also). For the Chorrera and their modern-day descendants, the motif symbolizes the intertwined vines of \textit{Banisteriopsis caapi} or \textit{inebrians}, ceramic coils, the first visions of a shaman's trance, the uterus, snakes -- specifically the anaconda -- and the Milky Way. The anaconda and the Milky Way are metaphorically linked as both are the "subterranean river of death [and] rebirth," a "mediator," "transformer," and "ladder" of communication between worlds.\textsuperscript{15} Whatever message the motif conveyed for and by ancient Chibchans in Nicaragua and Costa Rica, it was prominent in Nicoyan art beginning c. 300 CE.

Line-up of Serpentine Strands Through Time:

\textsuperscript{14} Stone n.d. [2009]: 85, 88, 182; note that Stone points out that geometric patterns, such as diamond shapes or twisted strands, give way to serpent imagery in shamanic visions and constantly morph between the two, geometry and animal.

\textsuperscript{15} Weinstein 1999.
The importance of the snake in Nicoyan thought is not only found in the body art design motif of serpentine strands but also in more specific snake markings, most often associated with fertile young women, suggesting their ability to birth new life as a snake seemingly rebirths itself each year through molting. (A colleague, Meghan Tierney, has also suggested that when snakes consume their prey they almost appear pregnant due to the large bulge formed by the eaten creature prior to digestion.) As with the serpentine strands pattern, images of snake markings did not appear on the effigies until the Bagaces Period, but the association of snakes with young, fertile women appears to continue through the Sapoa Period in both the northern and southern sectors of Greater Nicoya.
Figure 51 exemplifies the interactive nature of Nicoyan thought, particularly with regard to animals. The body of Figure 51 has been divided into quadrants, centered on the navel, a firing hole for this figural vessel. Two quadrants are filled with snake markings, while the other two are filled with feline spots of dark brown/black on a yellowish-tan, the colorings of a jaguar, although the spots are stylized and not representative of actual jaguar spots, which are not so simple (see Fig. 72). The young, fertile woman represented in this effigy (or the idea she upholds) references the molting ability of the snake and the power of the top spiritual creature in Chibchan thought, the jaguar, associated with the First Grandmother, Namasía, the first to birth a child, as this young woman surely will do soon. The spots on this figure are similar to ones seen on numerous Nicoyan effigies, although not all are also associated with a youthful female but rather with older females who are pregnant, birthing, or have already produced their offspring. Feline spots are also associated with the powerful usekares of old and can be seen on effigies of humans in the various stages of the process of transforming into his/her feline self.

Line-up of Spots Through Time:
The four-cornered knot (or guilloche) is a stand-in for spots and a reference to serpentine strands and the Amerindian cross all at once. It, like the serpentine strands motif, does not appear in Nicoyan body art until the Bagaces Period and disappears by the Sapoa.

Line-up of Four-Cornered Knots Through Time:
By the Sapoa Period the woven mat motif is prevalent and seems to replace the serpentine strands motif, particularly in the northern sector. The woven design may also actually represent actual weaving of a bodice wrap that goes over the breasts and arms and back and is tied or twisted between the breasts and at the center of the back (Sharisse McCafferty personal communication 2006). Chibchan Nicoyans, like their Chibchan kin to the south in the Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast and Diquís Peninsula, were expert basketry weavers and tanga weavers (see Fig. 45 for a painted representation of a woven tanga) as well. (Spindle whorls are known archaeologically for the Bagaces Period in the Nicoya Peninsula [Tillett 1988: 14; N-HG archives; NMAI archives]). By the Sapoa Period, when Mexican immigrants are thought to have begun entering the region (some time in the seventh or eighth centuries CE; see McCafferty paper for this symposium), weaving and textiles may have taken on more prominence, as it was much more prevalent and important in Mesoamerican cultures than Chibchan. Mesoamericans developed sophisticated textile techniques beyond simple warp and weft weaving on a backstrap loom, such as brocade and embroidery (REF Looper [I need to confirm brocade]). These techniques may have been adopted by Chibchan women as the two cultures seem to have merged, especially in the northern or Nicaraguan sector of Greater Nicoya. The imagery within the ceramic art of the Sapoa Period has been noted by other scholars to have taken on Mesoamerican, possibly Mixteca-Puebloan, motifs in the Sapoa Period (Day 1994, 1985, 1984). As described earlier, snake markings and imagery, which became prevalent in the Bagaces Period in Greater Nicoyan body art, continued into the Sapoa Period but with a more Mesoamerican look, with images similar to the plumed or feathered serpent of Mesoamerican religions. This same figure of the plumed serpent is seen in what may be embroidered designs on woven bodice wraps worn by northern Nicoyan women in the Sapoa Period but not by Nicoyan women in the Costa Rican sector, suggesting that the Mesoamerican influence was stronger in the north than in the south.

Line-up of Mat-Weave Through Time:

Fig. 54  Fig. 56  Fig. 59  Fig. 60
The Chibchan nature of Nicoyan body art can be traced back to the Tempisque Period and through the Bagaces Period, where it fluoresced and then began to merge with Mexican beliefs by the end of the Bagaces and into the Sapoa, where the imagery of the northern sector in particular became increasingly influenced by Mexican imagery and ideas, while the southern sector seemed to retain a more traditional Chibchan ideology.
Appendix 1 - List of Figures with Descriptions

Notes regarding figures: Each of the objects illustrated here is unique, although for almost every object there is at least one if not multiple very similar versions. Due to space restraints only these representative few have been selected for this paper. All objects are from Greater Nicoya (southwestern Nicaragua and northwestern Costa Rica) and are identified below by collection number and/or by publication information and by ceramic type (see Typology above for dates of manufacture). The abbreviations for object collections are the following:

AMS - Arthur M. Sackler collection, Washington, D.C.
ARCC - Anthropological Research and Cultural Collections of the University of Kansas (formerly University of Kansas Museum of Anthropology [KUMA]), Lawrence, Kansas
BCCR - Museos Banco Central de Costa Rica (Gold Museum), San José, Costa Rica
DAM - Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colorado
DR - Maria Eugenia de Roy collection, Costa Rica
INS - Instituto Nacional de Seguridad (Jade Museum), San José, Costa Rica
M - Jan and Frederick R. Mayer collection, Denver, Colorado
MBM - Museo Barbier-Mueller, Spain
MC - Molinos collection, Costa Rica
MCCM - Michael C. Carlos Museum of Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia
MNCR - Museo Nacional de Costa Rica, San José, Costa Rica
MNN-M - Museo Nacional de Nicara gua, Managua, Nicaragua
NMAI - National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

General Order of the Figures

By archaeological period: Tempisque, Bagaces, Sapoa

then

By body art design: circles, spirals, stripes, Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, emanating lines, zigzags (flowing liquid), serpentine strands, snake markings, spots, four-cornered knot (guilloche), mat-weave

Note regarding body art design: An object may be used to represent more than one body art design; if so, that piece is introduced with its Figure number (e.g. Fig. 68), its first Design feature, a list of other design categories it will be mentioned in (e.g., "See also Sapoa serpentine strands and Sapoa mat-weave"), and a Brief description. Lastly, any design feature not found repeatedly in the effigies is mentioned in parentheses in the Design feature section of the caption for the effigy with that atypical design.
Maps

Fig. 1 - Map of languages spoken in the sixteenth century in Nicaragua and Costa Rica (Lothrop 1926: foldout insert). (Note that for publication I will redo this map as an adaptation to fit this paper better.)

Fig. 2 - Chibchan cultures map (Hoopes and Fonseca Z., 2003: 51). (Note that for publication I will redo this map as an adaptation to fit this paper better.)
Contemporary Chibchan Body Art

Fig. 3 - Marcelina Palacio, Mamachí priestess of the Guaimí wearing face paint (Salazar S. 2002: 16, 136-139, Picture 30)

Fig. 4 - Guaimí elder woman wearing face paint (Salazar S. 2002: 16, 136-139, Picture 31)
**Tempisque circles**

Fig. 5 - Bocana Bichrome. DAM1993.913  
**Design feature:** concentric circles along body; those at the power points of the shoulders/haunches and hips/haunches have emanating hatch marks. (See also *Tempisque stripes* and *Tempisque spots*)  
**Basic description:** ring-based vessel with a spotted feline as the base/ring; note that the spots of the cat are the reverse of nature, likely because the figure depicted is a human transformed into his/her animal self and is, therefore, in the spirit world where earthly realities are altered (light on dark instead of dark on light; see Fig. 68 below and Stone-Miller 2002: cat. no. 222 for a lengthier explanation of why this reversal occurs in Nicoyan art.)

Fig. 6 - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety.  
DAM1995.753  
**Design feature:** concentric circles on shoulders (and upside-down u-shapes under eyes)  

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a seated meditating female with hands on knees

Figs. 7a-c Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety.  
MCCM1991.004.344
**Design feature:** concentric circles at knees and at navel with emanations up and down; is this design an abstract image of a pregnant woman, as Rebecca Stone has suggested (personal communication 2009)? See also **Fig. 24** below for a stamp with this image. (See also *Tempisque spirals* and *Tempisque stripes*.)

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a seated meditating pregnant female with hands on thighs, head emanations/shaman's horns/hairbuns, and a jade or shell necklace with pendants (painted on)

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**Tempisque spirals**

*Fig. 9 - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. MNCR9518
Design feature:** spirals at shoulders and wrists

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a seated meditating female with hands on knees and a jade or shell necklace with pendant (painted on)

See also Figs. 7a-c Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. MCCM1991.004.344

**Design feature:** spirals on thighs, buttocks, and shoulder blades and half spirals (hooks) on cheeks

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**Tempisque stripes**

*Fig. 10 - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. María Eugenia de Roy collection, San José, Costa Rica. (photograph from Snarskis 1981b: 179, cat. no. 11)
Design feature:** stripes at shoulders and wrists (and jagged lines on cheeks -- lightning?; see **Fig. 83**)

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a seated
meditating female with hands on knees, a *tonga* (pubic covering typical of Chibchan attire for women in the sixteenth century), and a jade or shell necklace (painted on)

See also Fig. 5 - Bocana Bichrome. DAM1993.913
*Design feature*: horizontal stripes on legs

See also Figs. 7a-c Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. MCCM1991.004.344
*Design feature*: vertical stripes on forehead and cheeks

See also Fig. 8 - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Claro Variety. DAM1993.542
*Design feature*: stripes at haunches/shoulders and on tail

**Tempisque Amerindian cross/cardinal directions**

*Fig. 11* - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. MNCR display object
*Design feature*: elaborate cardinal directions around firing hole/navel (and feline or crocodilian on chest and possibly stripes on face and spirals on arms, although the surface of the piece is somewhat eroded so my drawing of the upper chest and face decoration is not complete.)
*Basic description*: effigy vessel of a seated

**Tempisque emanating lines**

*Fig. 12* - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. INS4907
*Design feature*: spirals on upper arms with emanations (and white and black face paint)
*Basic description*: effigy vessel of a meditating female leishmaniasis survivor with hands under breasts (see Wingfield 2009: 120-121, 186-187, 194, 199-200, 452-453, cat. no. 27 for a discussion of the piece as representative of a survivor of leishmaniasis.)

**Tempisque zigzags (flowing liquid)**

*Fig. 13* - Rosales Zoned Engraved, Rosales Variety. DAM1993.945
*Design feature*: zigzags and interlocking spirals running the length of the vessel
*Basic description*: effigy vessel of an erect human phallus
Fig. 14 - Red on Cream Transitional. MNCR24174
Design feature: vertical zigzags on belly and arms (within rectangles) and around breasts
Basic description: effigy vessel of a standing female with hands on pelvis and wearing a pubic apron, earspools, and a flaring hat (vessel opening)

Tempisque serpentine strands (none)

Tempisque snake markings (none)

Tempisque spots

Fig. 5 - Bocana Bichrome. DAM1993.913
Design feature: The circles running along the torso of this cat represent feline spots.

Tempisque four-cornered knot (none)

Tempisque mat-weave (none)

Bagaces circles

Fig. 15 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Var. MBM521-16
Design feature: circles with emanations around breasts and concentric circles around navel with cardinal directions coming off these circles (See also Bagaces stripes, Bagaces Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, and Bagaces serpentine strands)
Basic description: effigy of a standing, grimacing female with hands on waist

Fig. 16 - Carrillo Polychrome. MC377 (photograph from Ferrero 1977: 293, Illus. III-30)
Design feature: concentric circles with emanations at cheeks, forehead, navel (as everted navel of late pregnancy?), breasts, bulging chest, and bulging belly (because kyphotic or pregnant?) (See also Bagaces stripes)
Basic description: lidded effigy vessel of an intersexed(?), pregnant(?) human with hands on belly, a crenallated headdress, and earspools
Figs. 17a,b - Carrillo Polychrome M1618

**Design feature:** black circles around breasts and concentric circles on shoulders/upper arms and at navel (See also *Bagaces Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, Bagaces emanating lines,* and *Bagaces serpentine strands*.)

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a kyphotic, pregnant, intersexed human on a round stool and wearing a flaring headdress (vessel opening) and earspools (Note that this piece has been restored and some areas repainted; after examining it in person several times, I determined that the overpainting on the legs is not reliably ancient.)

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Fig. 18 - Carrillo Polychrome. INS240 (photograph from Soto Mendez 2002: 30)

**Design feature:** concentric circles around breasts, which appear broken into quadrants, and around navel with emanating lines from navel circles much like the navel design on Fig. 7 and made by the Fig. 24 stamp

**Basic description:** effigy vessel with pot stand of a pregnant female with hands on belly and earspools

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Fig. 19 - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. INS4067 (photograph from Soto Mendez 2002: 31)

**Design feature:** concentric circles around breasts with emanating hatch marks from circles and circles have Amerindian crosses in each quadrant (See also *Bagaces stripes, Bagaces Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, Bagaces emanating lines, Bagaces zigzags...*, and *Bagaces serpentine strands*)

**Basic description:** effigy of a standing young female with hands on waist, *tanga*, and hairbuns/shaman’s horns
Fig. 20 - Galo Polychrome. MNCR14505
Design feature: concentric circles at navel, shoulders/upper arms, and knees; John Hoopes (personal communication 2004) asserts that these raised concentric circles are gold embossed disks (as are known for this time period particularly from Panamá) and that the avian/crocodilian imagery on the chest are jade beads (also known for this time period, from the Central Highlands and Caribbean Costa of Costa Rica), although I think the avian/crocodilian imagery on the chest matches a stamp known for the time period from the Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast area (see Wingfield 2009: 786, cat. no. 337 for an illustration of this stamp), because the nipples of the male depicted on this vessel -- visible “through” the stamped image -- project outward as the avian/crocodilian eyes.
Basic description: effigy vessel of a kneeling aged male with hands on thighs and earpools

Bagaces matching stamps for circles

Fig. 21 Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. MCCM1991.004.177
Basic description: roller stamp with zigzag lines produced from rolled section of stamp and a solid circle with emanating hatch marks from the flat ends of the stamp

Fig. 22 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. MCCM1991.004.186
Basic description: flat stamp with handle that produces a design of concentric circles, each with emanating hatch marks

Fig. 23 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. DAM1993.634
Basic description: flat stamp with handle that produces a design of a circle with emanating hatch marks and four circles inside the quadrants of the main circle

Fig. 24 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. BCCR-c1276 (photograph from
Fernández Esquivel 2004: 27)

**Basic description:** flat stamp that produces concentric circles with legs and two curved hooks for a head – this pattern is almost an exact match for the designs on the navels of Figs. 7 and 18, which have been interpreted by Rebecca Stone as pregnant women, although another reading is a decapitated human with blood spurts instead of a head, both of which can be interpreted as the balance of the other -- creation and destruction/life and death; thus, this double reading very well could have been intentional on the part of Nicoyan artists.

*Bagaces spirals*

**Fig. 25 - Galo Polychrome. DAM1993.831**

**Design feature:** spirals on cheeks (See also *Bagaces serpentine strands*)

**Basic description:** effigy of a half-human/half-feline creature with the head of a human wearing a woven headdress and the body of a four-legged animal (considered feline because of the interchangeability of serpentine strands with feline spots in the Amerindian world of Lower Central America and the Amazon)

**Bagaces matching stamps for spirals**

**Figs. 26a,b - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. DAM1995.683**

**Basic description:** roller stamp that produces a design of two interlocking spirals with stripes and curlicues

**Fig. 27 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. BCCR-c1273 (photograph from Fernández Esquivel 2004: 28)**

**Basic description:** roller stamp that produces a design of spirals/waves and diamonds/spots within two outer parallel zigzag lines
**Bagaces stripes**

Fig. 28 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. MCCM1991.004.343

**Design feature:** stripe at shoulders/upper arms and thighs (See also *Bagaces Amerindian cross/cardinal directions* and *Bagaces emanating lines*)

**Basic description:** effigy of a standing female with hands on waist and earspools

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Fig. 29 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. DAM1995.735

**Design feature:** stripes run vertically and horizontally on arms and on legs (See also *Bagaces serpentine strands*)

**Basic description:** effigy of a squatting, grimacing pregnant female in the throes of labor wearing a woven skullcap and earspools and sporting elaborate body art -- from concentric circles at the breasts with emanating triangles inside to stripes on her arms and legs to a cardinal directions marker around her large protruding navel to serpentine strands within rectangles with emanating triangles all over her face and torso

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Fig. 30 - Guinea Incised, Resist Variety. DAM1993.811

**Design feature:** vertical stripes at shoulder area and along back (See also *Bagaces spots*)

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a gender-ambiguous survivor of osteomalacia (rickets), known from the humps at front and back

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See also Fig. 15 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. MBM521-16

**Design feature:** three incised lines, i.e. stripes, at shoulders/upper arms

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See also Fig. 16 - Carrillo Polychrome. MC377 (photograph from Ferrero 1977: 293, Illus. III-30)

**Design feature:** stripes on thighs

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See also Fig. 19 - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. INS4067 (photograph from Soto Mendez 2002: 31)

**Design feature:** stripes running down the cheeks and at shoulders/upper arms (The stripes around the waist are not likely intended to represent body art but, rather, the woven waistband used to hold up the *tanga.*)
Bagaces matching stamp for stripes (none with plain stripes only)

Bagaces Amerindian cross/cardinal directions

Figs. 31a,b - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. ARCC-A0134-0197

Design feature: incised curvilinear Amerindian cross at everted navel – this cardinal directions marker at the navel of a pregnant female is transitional from the comparable curvilinear depiction of this motif in the Rosales Zoned Engraved style (Tempisque Period) of Figs. 7 and 11 to the stiffly rectilinear depiction of this motif in most Guinea Incised and Carrillo Polychrome (Bagaces Period) pregnant female (or intersexed) effigies, as in Figs. 15, 17, 18, 28, 29, 32, 52.

Basic description: effigy vessel of a squatting, pregnant female in the throes of labor with hairbuns/shaman's horns

Fig. 32 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. AMS-N-1129 (photograph from Clifford 1985: 80, cat. no. 13)

Design feature: concentric Amerindian crosses with cardinal directions further extended with lines with serpentine strands and emanating triangles

Basic description: effigy of a pregnant(?), squatting(?) female survivor of osteomalacia (rickets) with hands on belly, earspools, and a woven skullcap

See also Fig. 15 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. MBM521-16

Design feature: cardinal directions lines emerge from concentric circles at/as the navel

See also Figs. 17a,b - Carrillo Polychrome M1618

Design feature: Amerindian crosses at shoulders/upper arms and navel

See also Fig. 19 - Galo Cat. no. 202 INS4067 (Soto Mendez 2002: 31)

Design feature: Amerindian crosses in each quadrant of each breast AND in interstices of serpentine strands around ankles
See also Fig. 28 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety.
MCCM1991.004.343

**Design feature:** concentric squares as navel with cardinal directions coming out of the squares and ending with hooks/spirals; also direction lines have emanating triangles.

*Bagaces matching stamps for Amerindian cross/cardinal directions*

![Image](image1)

Fig. 33 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. NMAI232603

**Basic description:** roller stamp that produces multiple simple Amerindian crosses in negative space of ink

![Image](image2)

Figs. 34a,b - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. DAM1993.633

**Basic description:** flat stamp with handle that produces quadrants with Amerindian crosses in each

![Image](image3)

Figs. 35a,b - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. DAM1993.660

**Basic description:** flat stamp with handle that produces simple Amerindian cross within a stepped Amerindian cross

![Image](image4)

Fig. 36 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. MCCM1991.004.181

**Basic description:** flat stamp with handle that produces large simple Amerindian cross with stepped Amerindian crosses inside each section of the large cross

*Bagaces emanating lines*

![Image](image5)

Fig. 37 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety.
MCCM1991.004.015

**Design feature:** emanating hatch marks coming off lines of cardinal directions markers at shoulders and on chest and emanating hatch marks on a black line coming off the red band around neck (necklace?)

See also Figs. 17a,b - Carrillo Polychrome M1618

**Design feature:** emanating hatch marks coming off vertical lines on chest

**Basic description:** effigy of a standing, pregnant(?) female with hands on belly, a woven skullcap, and earspools

**Basic description:** flat stamp with handle that produces simple Amerindian cross within a stepped Amerindian cross
does not appear to continue around the back) and off the black lines encircling the face

See also Fig. 19 - Galo Cat. no. 202 INS4067 (Soto Mendez 2002: 31)
Design feature: emanating lines/hatch marks from circles around breast and bands around ankles

See also Fig. 28 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. MCCM1991.004.343
Design feature: the lines of the cardinal directions marker at the navel have emanating triangles.

Bagaces matching stamp for emanating lines

See also Fig. 19 - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. INS4067 (photograph from Soto Mendez 2002: 31)
Design feature: zigzags running through center of horizontal stripes across shoulders/upper arms and chest

Bagaces matching stamps for zigzags (flowing liquid)

Fig. 39 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. MCCM1991.004.180
Basic description: roller stamp that produces a design of two undulating lines within a pair of solid lines

Figs. 38a-c - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. DAM1993.790
Basic description: roller stamp that produces a design of four thin lines with small emanating triangles within a pair of thicker lines with large emanating triangles (See also especially Fig. 38c for
Fig. 40 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. MCCM1991.004.182
Basic description: roller stamp that produces a design of three undulating lines within a pair of solid lines with emanating hatch marks/triangles

Bagaces serpentine strands

Fig. 41 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. MCCM1992.015.106
Design feature: serpentine strands vertically down chest
Basic description: effigy of a standing male with a club, elaborate headdress or hairdo, and earspools (could this "hairdo" match the description of that of a warrior as described in a sixteenth century chronicle [Oviedo (lib. XLII, cap. I) as cited in Lothrop 1926: 37-38]?)

Fig. 42 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. DAM1993.929
Design feature: serpentine strands separated at shared sternum(?)
Basic description: effigy of intersexed conjoined twins with woven skullcaps and knee adornment(?)

Fig. 43 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. DAM2005.088a,b
Design feature: serpentine strands/conjoined triangles as cutout for chest
Basic description: effigy vessel of a bird-human in flight
Fig. 44 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. AMS-N-1128 (photograph from Clifford 1985: 82, cat. no. 15)

**Design feature:** serpentine strands with circles alternating with weave pattern in interstices – this design seems to suggest a transition from serpentine strands (popular in the Bagaces Period) to the mat-weave motif (emerging in the later Bagaces Period and quite common by the Sapoa Period)

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a human-bat flying or floating and wearing a conical hat

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Figs. 45a,b - Galo Polychrome. M1852

**Design feature:** elaborate serpentine strands that almost perfectly match stamp Fig. 48 at shoulders/upper arms and more rectilinear serpentine strands down back (See also Bagaces four-cornered knot)

**Basic description:** effigy vessel of a female seated
on a round stool and wearing a woven headdress, two pairs of ear spools, and a *tanga*.

**Fig. 46 - Galo Polychrome. DAM1993.832**
*Design feature:* serpentine strands as conjoined diamonds snake around this tubular figure

*Basic description:* effigy vessel of an acrobatic snake-human wearing a woven headdress/hat

See also **Fig. 15 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. MBM521-16**
*Design feature:* rectilinear serpentine strands motif incised within cardinal directions lines at navel

See also **Figs. 17a,b - Carrillo Polychrome M1618**
*Design feature:* serpentine strands/conjoined triangles run up the center of the chest, around the back of the head, and down the legs (although leg art may be new paint, as may be the case of stripes on arms; other paint looks more original)

See also **Fig. 19 - Galo Cat. no. 202 INS4067 (Soto Mendez 2002: 31)**
*Design feature:* serpentine strands in nested Ss form run around waist as waistband for *tanga* and at ankles serpentine strands as conjoined diamonds with Amerindian crosses in interstices (instead of spots, which are more common)

See also **Fig. 25 - Galo Polychrome. DAM1993.831**
*Design feature:* serpentine strands around the four legs of this human-headed quadruped -- the serpentine strands are a metaphor for feline spots.

See also **Fig. 29 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. DAM1995.735**
*Design feature:* serpentine strands on cheeks, shoulders, upper arms, chest, and belly

**Bagaces matching stamps for serpentine strands**

**Fig. 47 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. BCCR-c205 (photograph from Fernández Esquivel 2004: 16)**
*Basic description:* roller stamp that produces a design of curvilinear serpentine strands with empty holes; note that the lines of the strands have emanating hatch marks.

**Fig. 48 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. BCCR-c204 (Fernández Esquivel 2004: 5)**
*Basic description:* roller stamp that produces curvilinear serpentine strands with empty holes and emanating hatch marks, and these strands run off a central column of two lines with emanating hatch marks.
Fig. 49 - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. BCCR-c13 (stamp impression by BCCR staff, provided to me by Curator Patricia Fernández Esquivel of the Gold Museum in San José, Costa Rica)

Basic description: roller stamp that produces a design of two parallel serpentine strands in the nested Ss version (in the negative space of the ink), both within a pair of parallel lines with triangular outward-pointing emanations (in the positive space of the ink)

Fig. 50a,b - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. DAM1993.867

Basic description: roller stamp that produces a design of rectilinear serpentine strands (the conjoined diamonds version of serpentine strands) when rolled out and a design of a solid circle when stamped from the flat ends

Bagaces snake markings

Fig. 51 - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. MC157

Design feature: snake skin pattern on upper proper right (p.r.) quadrant of body and lower proper left (p.l.) quadrant of body (See also Bagaces spots)

Basic description: effigy of a standing female with hands on belly and wearing a tanga and perhaps sandals

Bagaces matching stamp for snake markings (none that match exactly to the snake markings of Galo young females, as in Fig. 51)

Bagaces spots

See also Fig. 30 - Guinea Incised, Resist Variety. DAM1993.811

Design feature: spots on front hump and back hump – compare to osteomalacia survivors in the Papagayo Polychrome style of the Sapoa Period, Figs. 63 and 64

See also Fig. 51 - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. MC157

Design feature: spots in upper p.l. quadrant of body and lower p.r. quadrant of body and on face within
two parallel lines with outward-pointing emanating hatch marks

**Bagaces matching stamp for spots**

See also Figs. 50a,b

**Bagaces four-cornered knot**

![Image](image1.png)

Fig. 52 - Guinea Incised, Guinea Variety. NMAI235562

**Design feature:** one four-cornered knot (guilloche) at the center of the belly, i.e. a slightly more elaborate Amerindian cross/cardinal directions marker that also references the intertwining of serpentine strands

**Basic description:** effigy of a standing gender-ambiguous human with hands on belly and wearing a woven skullcap and earspools

See also Figs. 45a,b - Galo Polychrome. M1852

**Design feature:** four-cornered knots (guilloches) on sides of chest and down sides of body under arms

**Bagaces matching stamp for four-cornered knot**

![Image](image2.png)

Figs. 53a,b - Greater Nicoya or Central Highlands/Caribbean Coast, Costa Rica, Bagaces Period, 300-800 CE. BCCR-c83 (photograph and impression from Fernández Esquivel 2004: 11)

**Basic description:** flat stamp with handle that produces a design of a basic four-cornered knot (guilloche) in a circle with emanating triangles off three sides (-- did triangles on the fourth side disintegrate in the grave?)

**Bagaces mat-weave**

![Image](image3.png)

Figs. 54a-c - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. NMAI233874

**Design feature:** mat-weave pattern (coming out of serpentine strands tradition of Bagaces Period) along shoulders/upper arms and down chest sides to legs

**Basic description:** effigy of a standing male with a club (mace), asymmetrical headdress/hat/hairdo (or a combination thereof), and earspools
Fig. 55 - Galo Polychrome, Figura Variety. MNCR archaeology collection

*Design feature:* mat-weave pattern coming out of serpentine strands tradition along shoulders/upper arms and down chest sides to legs

*Basic description:* effigy of a standing female with hands on waist

Fig. 56 - Galo Polychrome. DAM1995.451

*Design feature:* mat-weave pattern on chest where earlier bat figures like this of the Guinea Incised style had serpentine strands (compare with Fig. 44). This piece provides a nice transition from serpentine strands of Bagaces Period pieces to the mat-weave motif of the Sapoa Period, both of which connote shamanic theocratic power.

*Basic description:* effigy vessel of a human-bat wearing a conical hat

**Bagaces matching stamp for mat-weave** (I noted the existence of such a stamp on view at the Jade Museum in San José, Costa Rica in the mid 2000s during my early dissertation research, when digital cameras were not the norm and slide film would not produce a viable image without the use of flash (as was prohibited in the Jade Museum); the stamp was on display in the old space for the museum in the INS building, but it was not on display in the new space when I was there last in 2007, and it was not exhibited with an exhibition or collection number before, so, unfortunately, I have not been able to procure an image of it or to gather more information about it from the Jade Museum staff.)

*Sapoa circles*

Fig. 57 - Belén Incised. M1449

*Design feature:* concentric circles with emanations at hindleg haunches/human knees (See also *Sapoa Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, Sapoa emanating lines, Sapoa serpentine strands, and Sapoa spots*)

*Basic description:* vessel with combined two-dimensional and three-dimensional depictions of standing and pouncing feline-humans

Figs. 58a,b - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety.
DAM2005.079
Design feature: concentric circles on thighs (See also Sapoa mat-weave)
Basic description: pendant whistle in the form of a seated female wearing a woven headdress, earspools, and a gold nosepiece

*Sapoa spots,* and *Sapoa mat-weave*
Basic description: effigy of a female seated on a double feline-headed bench and wearing a woven headdress, two pairs of earspools, a gold nosepiece, and a *tanga*

Figs. 59a-c - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety.
M1826
Design feature: concentric circles on breasts (See also *Sapoa stripes, Sapoa zigzags, Sapoa serpentine strands,* and *Sapoa mat-weave*)
Basic description: effigy of a seated female with hands on thighs and wearing a conical headdress, two pairs of earspools, and a *tanga*

Figs. 60a,b - Birmania Polychrome. M1868
Design feature: concentric circles with inward-pointing hatch marks on breasts (See also *Sapoa stripes, Sapoa zigzags, Sapoa serpentine strands,* and *Sapoa mat-weave*)
Basic description: effigy of a seated female with hands on thighs and wearing a conical headdress, two pairs of earspools, and a *tanga*
Figs. 61a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI191416
Design feature: concentric circles around breasts (which seem to come out of the border of the strip that runs around the chest, arms, and back) (See also Sapoa stripes, Sapoa spots, and Sapoa mat-weave)

Basic description: effigy of a pregnant(?) female seated on a tripod metate/stool (painted at back) and wearing a woven headdress, two pairs of earspools, a gold nosepiece, a tanga, and a necklace with a gold pendant (painted on and likely representing the typical splayed-leg frog pendants of the time -- John Hoopes has also noted, after seeing photographs of this piece I sent him, that the clasp at the back of the neck matches those used in contemporaneous Colombian gold jewelry [personal communication 2004].)

Fig. 62 - Birmania Polychrome. DAM1993.628
Design feature: at elbows and knees, concentric circles with circular emanations coming off the inner circles and red solid spots/circles just inside the outer circles (See also Sapoa spots)

Basic description: effigy of a standing female with a basket or vessel strapped to her back and wearing a woven headdress, two pairs(?) of earspools, a gold nosepiece, and a tanga

Figs. 63a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI136832
Design feature: concentric circles next to breasts and five sets of concentric circles on the back hump (compare to a comparable Bagaces Period effigy, Fig. 30)

Basic description: effigy of a kyphotic female with hands on knees, earspools(? -- two pair?), a gold nosepiece(?), and (likely) a necklace with gold pendants (painted on)
Figs. 64a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI159363

**Design feature:** concentric circles at vulva(?) (See also *Sapoa stripes*)

**Basic description:** effigy of a gender-ambiguous (likely female due to concentric circles in pubic area suggestive of a vulva) survivor of osteomalacia, possibly enthroned and wearing earrings( -- two pair?) and a necklace with gold pendants (-- the central pendant is likely a splayed-leg frog pendant typical of the time; see Fig. 61)

Figs. 65a,b - Papagayo Polychrome, Mayer Variety. DAM1993.934

**Design feature:** arms have concentric circles at power points of shoulders and elbows (See also *Sapoa stripes, Sapoa snake markings*, and *Sapoa spots*)

**Basic description:** effigy of a squatting gender-ambiguous human with shaman's horns/hairbuns and large earrings
Figs. 66a,b - Jicote Polychrome, Lunita Variety. MCCM1991.004.269

Design feature: concentric circles with emanations at knees / power points / firing holes (See also Sapoa snake markings, Sapoa spots, and Sapoa mat-weave)

Basic description: effigy of a standing female with woven headdress, two pairs (?) of earpools, and a gold nosepiece and carrying a basket or vessel on her back; note that she is either youthfully curvy or newly pregnant.

gender-ambiguous feline-human (pear shape of vessel implies a pregnant female)

Figs. 67a,b - Jicote Polychrome. DAM1995.804

Design feature: concentric circle at navel with cardinal directions coming out from these circles (See also Sapoa stripes, Sapoa Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, Sapoa emanating lines, and Sapoa spots)

Basic description: effigy vessel of a squatting, gender-ambiguous feline-human with hands on thighs and wearing a collar or necklace

Sapoa spirals

Fig. 68 - Pataky Polychrome, Pataky Variety. M1640

Design feature: power points at shoulders and knees are firing holes emphasized with circles with spiraling emanations; compare to the emphasis on power points of joints, such as shoulders and knees, in earlier Nicoyan art, e.g. Figs. 5-9, 12, 15, 17, 18, 20, and 28, and to contemporaneous effigies from the southern sector of Greater Nicoya, as in Figs. 57, 62, and 66 (See also Sapoa spirals, Sapoa Amerindian cross/cardinal directions, and Sapoa spots.)

Basic description: rattling effigy vessel of a squatting, gender-ambiguous feline-human with hands on thighs and wearing a collar or necklace

Fig. 69 - Birmania Polychrome. MNCR display object

Design feature: spirals at knees and shoulders; compare to earlier Nicoyan examples, as in Figs. 9, 11, and 12 (See also Sapoa spots)
Basic description: effigy of a seated feline-headed female with hands on waist and wearing a *tanga*(?) (likely a rattle or a whistle or both, but I was not able to examine this piece out of the case)

Figs. 70a-c - Jicote Polychrome. DAM1993.972
Design feature: running down the arms of this coatimundi-human are curvilinear interlocking spirals/hooks with spots. (The rear of the vessel is decorated with two crocodilians with scutes and a bifurcated tail; for a comparable image in an earlier Nicoyan rectilinear style, that of Tola Trichrome, see Clifford 1985: 92, cat. no. 21 and Wingfield 2009: 621, cat. no. 171). (See also *Sapoa Amerindian cross/cardinal directions* and *Sapoa spots*)
Basic description: rattling effigy vessel of a standing(?) coatimundi-human with clawed paws/hands at waist

See also Fig. 68 - Pataky Polychrome, Pataky Variety. M1640
Design feature: spiraling emanations surround the circles painted at the firing holes of the shoulder and knees and abound in bands above the elbows, wrists, and ankles

*Sapoa stripes*

Figs. 71a,b - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI159362
Design feature: horizontal stripes on arms at wrists and on legs at ankles and vertically running down face
Basic description: effigy of an intersexed human seated on a tripod metate/stool (painted at back) with hands on waist and wearing a fancy headdress and possibly two pairs of earring pendants and a gold necklace

Fig. 72 - Pataky Polychrome. DAM1993.534
Design feature: bands/stripes at wrists (See also *Sapoa spots*)
Basic description: effigy of a standing female feline-human with straight black hair, large earring pendants, and a growling maw (- the slightly swollen yet sagging belly could be a sign of a beginning pregnancy or the after effect of giving birth)

See also Figs. 59a-c - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety. M1826
Design feature: stripes at knees, calves, and ankles
See also Figs. 60a,b - Birmania Polychrome. M1868
Design feature: stripes at wrists and calves

See also Figs. 61a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI191416
Design feature: red horizontal stripes on legs

See also Figs. 64a - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI159363
Design feature: stripes/hatch marks of red paint all over front and back humps (as opposed to concentric circles on the hump[s] as in Fig. 63)

See also Figs. 65a,b - Papagayo Polychrome. DAM1993.934
Design feature: face has vertical stripes; arms have horizontal stripes on upper arms and at wrists, and legs have horizontal stripes

See also Figs. 67a,b - Jicote Polychrome. DAM1993.972
Design feature: cardinal directions markers emerge from the concentric circles at the navel (another implication that the figure is female or a male embodying the female, as Amerindian and Siberian shamans are known to do.)

See also Fig. 68 - Pataky Polychrome, Pataky Variety. M1640
Design feature: simple Amerindian crosses all over legs and arms as feline spots (alternating with miniature crouching felines which also act as big cat markings)

Sapoa Amerindian cross/cardinal directions

Sapoa emanating lines

Sapoa zigzags (flowing liquid)

Sapoa serpentine strands

Fig. 73 - Jicote Polychrome. DAM1993.683
central version (of curvilinear serpentine strands) on the torso, and a curvilinear version of nested Ss serpentine strands fills the tail.

See also Figs. 59a-c - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety. M1826
Design feature: serpentine strands on arms

See also Figs. 60a,b - Birmania Polychrome. M1868
Design feature: serpentine strands in nested Ss with spots form at center of chest and on calves and wrists

See also Figs. 67a,b - Jicote Polychrome.
DAM1995.804
Design feature: curving lines with large rectilinear emanations cover the back of this vessel and the space above the head and arms of the figure at front; these undulating lines are intermixed with what may be spots at back.

Sapoa snake markings

See also Figs. 65a,b - Papagayo Polychrome.
DAM1993.934
Design feature: plumed serpent imagery around body and neck especially

See also Figs. 66a,b - Jicote Polychrome, Lunita Variety. MCCM1991.004.269
Design feature: snake imagery runs all around her basket/vessel; her youthful form with snake imagery seems to connect her to the tradition of standing Galo Polychrome young women with snake markings, as in Fig. 51.

Sapoa spots

See also Figs. 75a,b - Jicote Polychrome. M1637
Design feature: large spots and small dots on arms (See also Sapoa mat-weave)
Basic description: effigy vessel of a squatting, pregnant female (likely birthing) with hands on belly, everted navel, and downward-pointing,
tensed toes (typical of birthing) and of a face (on opposite side of vessel)

Fig. 76 - Pataky Polychrome. NMAI191417
Design feature: red spots surround the open growling maw and columns of dots/spots flank the central weave pattern on chest (See also Sapoa mat-weave)
Basic description: effigy of a standing, gender-ambiguous feline-human with hands at waist and wearing a conical hat, two pairs of earspools, and possibly a pubic apron (likely female because of the rounded belly, possible pubic apron, and two sets of earspools)

See also Fig. 57 - Belén Incised. M1449
Design feature: circles/spots surround the Amerindian crosses on the forearms/front legs and run down the hindlegs/human legs

See also Figs. 59a-c - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety. M1826
Design feature: spots on calves

See also Figs. 61a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI191416
Design feature: abstract feline spots at ankles

See also Fig. 62 - Birmania Polychrome. DAM1993.628
Design feature: red solid spots/circles surround the central circle at each knee

See also Figs. 65a,b - Papagayo Polychrome. DAM1993.934
Design feature: spots at wrists

See also Figs. 66a,b - Jicote Polychrome, Lunita Variety. MCCM1991.004.269
Design feature: miniaturized crouching felines act as feline spots on the legs (see Fig. 68 for the same spots in a northern Nicoyan style, Pataky Polychrome)

See also Fig. 68 - Pataky Polychrome, Pataky Variety. M1640
Design feature: the feline's spots all over the legs and upper arms on this feline-human have been turned into miniature crouching felines and simple Amerindian crosses; the matte creamy white base color of this vessel is akin to the surface of plastered Mesoamerican books, which were known for Nicaraguan Nicoya at the time of Contact (Wingfield 2009: 64-65). In Mesoamerica these books were typically painted with dark brown/blacks and orange-reds (Miller 2001), like the decoration on Pataky Polychrome vessels. The style here is a Mesoamerican one, but the subject matter depicted in this new style is ancient Chibchan Nicoyan - a feline-human musical vessel, as in Fig. 8.

See also Fig. 69 - Birmania Polychrome. MNCR display object
Design feature: dots/spots abound on the cat face of the figure and surround the spirals on the effigy's shoulders and knees

See also Figs. 70a-c - Jicote Polychrome. DAM1993.972
Design feature: dots/spots cover the surface of the arms and belly

See also Fig. 72 - Pataky Polychrome. DAM1993.534
Design feature: jaguar "rosettes" on arms (these feline markings are the most recognizable as authentic jaguar spots, called rosettes because they are actually large, asymmetrical spots surrounded by curving -- often dashed -- lines)

See also Fig. 73 - Jicote Polychrome. DAM1993.683
Design feature: large spots and small dots abound on the arms and within the quadrants of the legs
**Sapoa four-cornered knot** (not identified yet)

**Sapoa mat-weave**

See also Figs. 58a,b - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety. DAM2005.079

**Design feature**: mat-weave pattern runs horizontally from shoulders/upper arms across chest but not at back

See also Figs. 59a-c - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety. M1826

**Design feature**: mat-weave in thighs, in square/rectangular space delineated by thick dark brown-painted lines

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**Figs. 77a,b - Mora Polychrome, Guabal Variety. NMAI233871**

**Design feature**: mat-weave across chest and upper arms but not around the back (suggesting body art and not a woven cloth wrap)

**Basic description**: effigy pendant of a seated, kyphotic, gender-ambiguous human with hands on waist and wearing a woven headdress and gold nosepiece (painted on)

See also Figs. 60a,b - Birmania Polychrome. M1868

**Design feature**: mat-weave with spots in interstices on upper arms/shoulders and on legs; this mat-weave pattern with spots in the interstices recalls the serpentine strands motifs of the Bagaces Period with spots in the interstices, suggesting again a strong correlation between the two motifs, as if they retain the same meaning through the different periods even though the design motif is not identical in the two periods.

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**Figs. 78a,b - Papagayo Polychrome. DAM1993.624**

**Design feature**: mat-weave pattern runs across chest around to the back; an elaborate knot-like design at the center of the chest could suggest how a woven cloth wrap was tied or twisted (Sharisse McCafferty asserts that the woven designs on the torsos of female Papagayo images are woven cloth wraps [personal communication 2006]), although contrastingly there is a gap at the center of the figure's back (not feasible for a cloth wrap) and the weave pattern does not extend to the arms -- they are decorated with vertical lines with emanations.

**Basic description**: effigy of a kneeling or seated female with hands on thighs and wearing a small woven cap, earspools, a gold necklace (painted around neck), a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap

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**Figs. 79a,b - Papagayo Polychrome. DAM2001.384**

**Design Feature**: mat-weave pattern runs across the chest and over the arms and to the back; unlike in Fig. 78 the central painting at front and back appear to depict ties of a cloth wrap more realistically and the arms sport the mat-weave design as well.
(further bolstering Sharisse McCafferty’s assertion that these women wear wraps).

**Basic description:** effigy of a seated female with hands on waist and wearing a small woven cap, earspools, a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap.

Figs. 80a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI136834

**Design feature:** mat-weave around breasts to back and on arms

**Basic description:** effigy of a seated pregnant (?) female with hands on waist and wearing a small woven cap, earspools, a gold necklace, a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap.

Figs. 81a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI233785

**Design feature:** mat-weave around breasts to back and eroded mat-weave (?) on arms

**Basic description:** effigy of a seated pregnant (?) female with hands on waist and wearing a woven headdress, earspools (?), a gold necklace, a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap.
Figs. 82a,b - Papagayo Polychrome. MNN-M0842

**Design feature**: mat-weave over breasts and belly and wraps around back, although not explicitly depicted on the arms

**Basic description**: effigy of a pregnant(?) female seated on a tripod metate/stool (painted on at back) and wearing a woven headdress, large earrspools, possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap, and striped body decoration on the legs

See also Figs. 61a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI191416

**Design feature**: a mat-weave pattern wraps around the front of the body across the chest and down the front of the arms; another band wraps around the back of the body and down the backs of the arms; Sharisse McCafferty suggests that the artists of Papagayo female effigies intended to depict a woven wrap that crossed over the chest and around the arms and back and not body art (personal communication 2006), although curiously the breasts are highlighted with concentric circles that "come out of" the "border of the woven strip."

Figs. 83a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. ARCC-A0132-0197

**Design feature**: instead of a mat-weave pattern over the breasts and arms and around the back, as is more typical of Papagayo Polychrome female effigies, the artist here chose to paint plumed serpent imagery on each breast (within a space delineated as if it is a woven cloth wrap) and on the arms, while the painted decoration at the figure's back still resembles a mat-weave pattern with ties at the center of the back. Perhaps this effigy depicts a woman whose cloth bodice wrap was embroidered (a Mesoamerican textile technique) with plumed serpent imagery. The figure depicted is a youthful woman and can be considered to follow in the tradition of the youthful Chibchan women associated with snakes from the Bagaces Period, as in Fig. 51 and later seen in the southern sector of Greater Nicoya in the Sapoa Period in the Jicote style, as in Fig. 66. This Papagayo version is in a Mesoamerican style (of matte creamy white base with dark brown/black and red-orange details - see
Fig. 68 for a discussion of the origins of this style.

**Basic description:** effigy of a seated youthful female with hands on waist and wearing a small woven cap, earspools, a gold necklace, lightning(?) face paint, a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap with embroidery.

**Fig. 84a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. NMAI136833**

**Design feature:** within the confines of a woven bodice wrap there are feathered serpents swirling around nipples (coiled snakes have replaced earlier Chibchan concentric circles) and feathers throughout remainder of wrap, suggesting this is another embroidered cloth bodice wrap, as in **Fig. 83**.

**Basic description:** effigy of a seated youthful female with hands on waist and wearing a small woven cap, earspools(?), a gold necklace, a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap with embroidery.

**Figs. 85a-c - Papagayo Polychrome. MCCM-L2006.21.1**

**Design feature:** Within the "woven" band around this figure's breasts, the design is no longer a mat-weave or curvilinear plumed serpents but instead stylized feathers and spots; the design on the arms is spots and at back is spots over the more traditional weave, and there is a tie at back to secure this wrap, although there is a gap in the center of the chest, and the patterning on the arms is not as thick as one might expect for a wrap.

**Basic description:** effigy of a seated pregnant(?) female with hands on thighs wearing a woven headdress, earspools, a gold necklace, a *tanga*, and possibly a woven cloth bodice wrap with stylized feather imagery woven into the cloth (either brocaded or tapestry).
See also Figs. 75a,b - Jicote Polychrome. M1637

Design feature: mat-weave on legs, separated by a red stripe running down the center of each leg.

Figs. 66a,b - Jicote Polychrome, Lunita Variety. MCCM1991.004.269

Design feature: mat-weave pattern on arms in patches BUT NOT on breasts or across the chest, suggesting the use of a mat-weave stamp on the upper and lower arms only (see Bagaces matching stamp for mat-weave above).

See also Fig. 76 - Pataký Polychrome. NMAI191417

Design feature: mat-weave pattern on arms and down center of chest (rounded belly).
Appendix 2 - List of Sources


______. "Textile Production on Mesoamerica's Southern Periphery: Recent Research at Santa Isabel, Nicaragua." Unpublished manuscript, paper presented at the 2004 Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Montreal, Canada, n.d. [2004].


Appendix 3 - Typology

Because a number of archaeologists have worked on excavated and unexcavated collections of Greater Nicoyan material over the last century, the ceramics of the region have received various type and variety names. In the 1980s under the sponsorship of Jan and Frederick R. Mayer of Denver, Colorado and through the leadership of archaeologist Frederick Lange, the ceramic types of the Greater Nicoya region were standardized, although some additions or alterations have been made to these in the last twenty years (Lange et al. 1987; Tillett 1988a). The listing below of Greater Nicoya Ceramic Typologies comes from the work carried out by Lange and his colleagues under the auspices of the Mayers (Lange et al. 1987). Additions or changes to the 1987 publication’s listings are referenced and explained below when necessary.

Greater Nicoya Ceramic Typologies

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<tr>
<td>Bocana Incised Bichrome, Bocana Variety</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bocana Incised Bichrome, Toya Variety</td>
<td>800 BCE-300 CE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bocana Incised Bichrome, Palmar Variety</td>
<td>800 BCE-300 CE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bocana Incised Bichrome, Diria Incised Variety</td>
<td>100 BCE-300 CE</td>
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<td>Santiago Appliqué 800 BCE-800 CE</td>
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<td>Rosales Zoned Engraved 500 BCE-500 CE</td>
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<td>Rosales Zoned Engraved, Claro Variety</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rosales Zoned Engraved, Oscuro Variety</td>
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<td>Schettel Zoned Incised 800 BCE-300 CE</td>
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<td>Popoyuapa Zoned Striated 500 BCE-500 CE</td>
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<td>Apompuua Modelled 300 BCE-1000 CE</td>
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<td>Espinoza Red Banded 500 BCE-800 CE</td>
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<td>Red on Cream Transitional 200-500 CE</td>
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<td>Guinea Incised, Resist Variety</td>
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</table>

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16 New variety proposed by Alice Tillett in “Signs and Symbols of Preclassic Nicoya,” Master’s thesis, Department of Art History, University of Texas, Austin, TX, 1988a.

17 Type and variety found in Healy 1980: 115-118.

18 New type name (for a previously an unnamed type) which I proposed in my dissertation (Wingfield 2009: 206-207, 221, 435-436, 478-498, cat. nos. 48-65).
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19 I suggest expanding the range of Potosí back into the fifth century CE, due to its similarity to Tola Trichrome (see Wingfield 2009: 206-207, 210-212, 608-623 [cat. nos. 161-172], 649-662 [cat. nos. 193-201]).
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Note that the ending date of the range for this type is apparently mistyped in Lange et al. 1987: 285 as “1550” instead of “1520,” as it is listed for the type’s varieties.

Note that the ending date of the range for this type is apparently mistyped in Lange et al. 1987: 304 as “1550” instead of “1520,” as it is listed for the type’s varieties.
Cuello Appliqué 1350-1520 CE

Murillo Appliqué 1350-1520 CE